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Migrant diversity, migration motivations and early integration: the case of Poles in Germany, the Netherlands, London and Dublin

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Abstract

The expansion of the European Union eastwards in 2004, with an ensuing massive increase in East-West migration from the accession countries has been represented as a new migration system of a kind unique in recent migration history, with its specific features of rights of movement and low mobility and information costs accompanying persistent East-West wage differentials. In principle, it provides an ideal context in which to develop understandings of the 'new migration' reflecting complex motivations and migration trajectories as well as chain migration and transnational lives. Despite a rapid expansion of research in this area, new insights into the complexities of mixed migration motivations and migrant heterogeneity have tended to be focused on country-specific qualitative studies.

In this paper we utilise a unique, four-country data source covering over 3,500 Poles migrating to Germany, the Netherlands, London and Dublin in 2009-2010, to enable the quantitative characterization of the new migration. Exploiting information on pre-migration experience as well as expressed migration motivations and post-migration structural, subjective and social measures of integration in the receiving country, we conduct a three-stage analysis. First we employ latent class analysis to allocate the migrants to six migrant types. Second, we link these migrant types to pre-migration characteristics and estimate multinomial logit models for class membership. Third, controlling for these pre-migration characteristics we are able to explore how the migrant types are associated with measures of integration.

We reveal substantial heterogeneity among migrants and some evolving 'new' migrant types alongside more traditional labour migrants. We show how these types are associated with differences in pre-migration human capital, region of origin and employment experience and with post-migration social and subjective integration in receiving societies.

Keywords: JEL classification: J61; J11

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1. Introduction

The expansion of the European Union eastwards in 2004, with an ensuing increase in East-West migration from the accession countries involving millions of individuals has been represented as a new migration system (Favell, 2008) of a kind unique in recent migration history. Its specific features are rights of movement and low mobility and information costs accompanying persistent East-West wage differentials. In principle intra-EU East-West migration provides an ideal context to develop understanding of migration in a "frictionless" context, where traditional barriers to migration are dramatically reduced and hence the true underlying preferences for international movement can be revealed.

In the face of lowered barriers, international movement might not be primarily economically motivated (Massey et al., 1999, Borjas, 1994) but rather be an expression of more varied tastes and lifestyle choices; the kind of multiple complex motivations and migration trajectories, patterns of closure as well as chain migration and transnational lives catalogued by the recent surge in literature on this topic (see e.g. Favell, 2008, Krings et al., 2013b, González-Ferrer, 2010, Conradson and Latham, 2005). Greater variation in migration motivation and future intentions will undoubtedly result in greater variation in social, economic, and cultural integration. Nevertheless,

investigation of migration from Eastern Europe, following the enlargement of the European Union and the accession of eight East European countries in 2004 ("A8 migration"), has tended to be thought of in terms of traditional labour migration (albeit circular rather than static), and the focus has been on labour market outcomes (Drinkwater et al., 2009, Dustmann et al., 2010, Lemos and Portes, 2008, Barrett and Duffy, 2008, Clark and Drinkwater, 2008). Insights into the complexities of mixed migration motivations and migrant heterogeneity have derived primarily from country-specific qualitative studies (e.g. Eade et al., 2007, White, 2013). Like the qualitative research the few quantitative studies have also only focused on one receiving country context (e.g. Kalter, 2011, Drinkwater et al., 2009), thus missing the diversity and range of the 'new' migration across Europe. There is therefore a growing need to extend qualitative research on migrant heterogeneity to large-scale samples in multiple contexts and to test its implications for migrant outcomes.

In this paper we utilise a unique, four-country data source covering over 3,500 Polish migrants to enable the quantitative characterization of the new migration. The data surveyed recent migrants to Germany, the Netherlands, Ireland (specifically Dublin) and the UK (specifically London) during 2009-2010 (Gresser et al., 2014). The cross-national harmonised data collection enables analysis of new migrant trajectories within Europe and recent migrants' early socio-cultural integration. Key features were collection of pre-migration context and characteristics and the focus on very recent arrivals in the four countries. Though the complete data also cover groups from outside Europe, in this paper we focus on the sample of Poles.

We exploit information on pre-migration experience as well as expressed migration motivations to characterise the diversity of the new post-accession migration from Poland. We then link the resulting typology to post-migration

subjective and objective integration measures across our range of destination countries within Europe. Our analysis unfolds in three stages. First, we employ latent class analysis to allocate the migrants to six migrant types. Second, following Bean et al. (2011) we link these migrant types to pre-migration characteristics and estimate multinomial logit models for class membership. This enables us to understand the characteristics and antecedents of the different types. Third, controlling for these pre-migration characteristics, we explore how the migrant types are associated with economic, subjective and social measures of integration in the destination countries.

The data and analytical approach provide us with three specific advantages in advancing research on East-West intra-EU migration. First, the scale of our data and the comprehensiveness of our measures enable us to describe detailed migration classes and to test patterns of association with pre- and post-migration experiences, using appropriate analytical techniques. This is the first large-scale study of its kind.

Second, the fact that we have four destination countries enables us more fully to capture the diversity of migration experience. Migrants are likely to select differentially to different destinations. In a situation in which there is free movement across a wide range of potential destinations and costs vary little, such selection is more likely to be influenced by individual preferences and existing historical relationships rather than structural constraints. Migration types will thus tend to map to a greater or lesser extent onto particular destinations, though we would expect (and find) that overall there will be diverse types of migrants across all destinations, albeit with different distributions. Similarly, migrants to specific destinations will tend to originate from particular areas, linked to pre-existing chains, and differential modes of

transport. Hence our four countries allow us to avoid country-specific biases in claims about the key features of Polish migration. As we elaborate below, the diversity of experience within and to different countries enables a much fuller account of integration trajectories and their correlates among those migrating from Poland.

Third, our data focus on Polish migrants who are within 18 months of arrival in the destination country. The existing migration literature is heavily biased towards analysis of migrant 'stocks', with longer, more settled stayers dominating the samples. Indeed some national studies that are extensively used for investigation of migrants, such as the UK Labour Force Survey (LFS), explicitly exclude those who have been resident for short periods by requiring a certain length of stay for sample eligibility (see e.g. the discussion in Campbell, 2013). Such relatively settled populations are not only likely to differ from all migrants in their characteristics and motivations and to under-represent more mobile and transient groups, it is also likely that their construction of motivations and intentions will be shaped by their existing settlement. For example, a migrant who has been living in a country for three years cannot say that they are intending to stay no more than six months, even if that was their original intention. By surveying only those who are close to their point of arrival we much more nearly approximate the actual migration flows and their original intentions.

These three critical features of our source data, combined with our three-stage analytical approach, shed new light on post-accession migration. First, using measures of previous migration experience, migration motivation, and intentions of stay, our latent class analysis reveals six "motivation-intention" classes of Polish migrant across the four destination countries. In line with our expectations, although 'typical' patterns of circular or more settled labour

migration are prevalent among our sample there are other migration types that are consistent with the increasing interest in migration as a 'life-stage' or experiential aim and with transnational life-courses.

Second, we demonstrate how different antecedents (or 'selection' processes) influence the six migrant types. We anticipated that there would be considerable diversity in the characteristics of the migrant population, especially as applied to their expectations of their migration. We do indeed find great diversity in terms of levels of education, employment experience, and region of pre-migration settlement. Overall, we find that those who are circular migrants are relatively less positively selected and those who are more highly educated more likely to migrate for one-off stays or for non-economic reasons, challenging the characterisation of the East-West migration as being a specifically high-skilled migration (Burrell, 2009). We also show that the feminization of migration extends across migrant types.

Third, we anticipated that the variation in motivations and intentions would be associated with different social and economic integration outcomes. We find that different migrant types are indeed associated with quite distinct patterns of integration. Although firmly attached to the destination country labour market, circular and temporary migrants tend to show weaker levels of subjective orientation towards the receiving society and perceptions of its hospitality, and have lower levels of social and residential integration. Moreover, the link between (un)employment and subjective well-being is stronger for short-term economic migrants than for more settled and non-economic migrants, suggesting that labour market incorporation is not the most important factor for promoting integration for all migrants.

We expand on these findings below. In the next section we provide more detailed background, drawing on the literature to formulate our hypotheses for each stage of the analysis (Section 2). Section 3 outlines the data and methods, while Section 4 describes the results. Section 5 offers conclusions and discussion.

2. Background

2.1 Polish migration to Germany, the Netherlands, UK and Ireland before 2004

The number of A8 citizens living across Western Europe has increased dramatically since accession in 2004. In the UK alone, the number of A8 migrants arriving in the first five years following accession has been estimated at as many as 1.5 million (Sumption and Somerville, 2010), though much of this will have been short term. Nevertheless, by the 2011 Census the number of Polish-born adults (16 or over) living in England and Wales had increased from 19,000 in 2001 to 466,000 in 2011 (ONS, 2013). Similarly, in Ireland according to Personal Public Service numbers data[1] there were over half a million arrivals from new accession states between 2004 and 2010 (Department of Social Protection, 2013b, Department of Social Protection, 2013a). While many migrants moved back and forth, around 120,000 Poles were recorded as resident in 2011 from a base of around 2,000 in 2002 (Central Statistics Office, 2012). The Netherlands also follows the pattern of this trend, albeit at a lower level, as the number of Polish foreign born increased from only 2,234 in 2003 to over 13,000 in 2009 (Statistics Netherlands, 2010). In

[1] Personal Public Service Number (PPS Number) is an identification number required in order to access social welfare services, public services and information in Ireland.

contrast, Germany has a longer standing Polish community, and in 2009 over 1 million people reported Polish migration background, of which only 400,000 still remained foreign Polish nationals (BAMF, 2009).

While the scale and ease of migration makes this an unprecedented East-West flow, recent movements are embedded within existing migration traditions to different countries. We therefore outline the historical context of Polish migration to the four countries in our study.

After restrictions on movement were lifted following the collapse of communism in 1989, out-migration of Poles developed largely in the context of good exchange rates. Migration networks facilitated the process, and temporary and seasonal migration rather than permanent migration was the dominant mode (Koryś, 2003). Unskilled migration to the secondary labour market formed the bulk of migration in the 1990s, and took form of temporary and semi-legal 'incomplete migration' (Okólski 2001), in which a family member, usually a man, emigrated with the intention of remitting back to the family in Poland. In addition, in the 1990s unskilled migration from Poland developed under bilateral agreements pertaining to the employment of temporary workers in Germany, along with other EU member states and also Central and Eastern European countries (Kaczmarczyk, 2005). Polish emigration in the 1990s also already contained small numbers of skilled people including young recent graduates facing very high youth unemployment in the 1990s and early 2000s (Koryś, 2003: 135).

Within this broader picture, the size of the migration flows and the distributions of different sorts of labour migrant varied considerably across our destination countries. Before 2004, Germany was the main destination of Polish migrants attracting low skilled (illegal) work and also seasonal

workers. Polish migrants to Germany have traditionally been workers with basic vocational training, stemming from rural areas (Mioduszewska, 2008). There was also substantial migration outflow of Poles with German ethnicity, who were able to move to Germany as ethnic Germans (Aussiedler) and were granted immediate residential and citizenship rights.

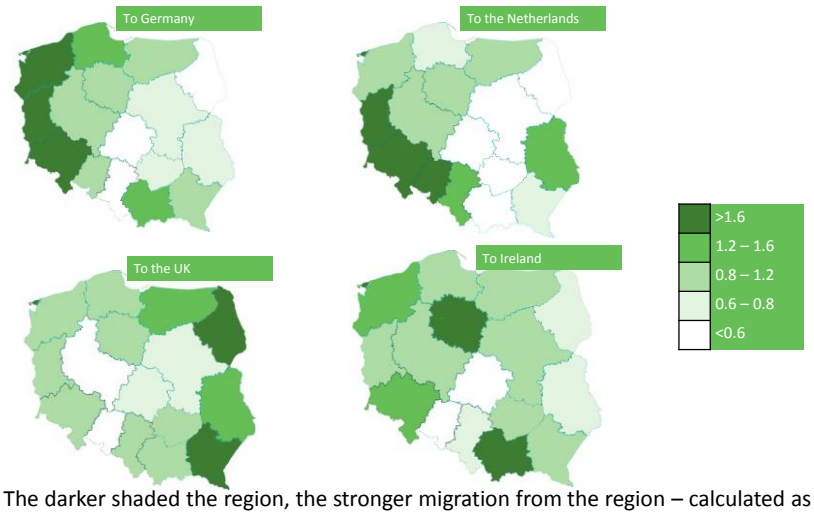
After Germany, among our four countries, the UK had the largest numbers of pre-accession Polish (Mioduszewska, 2008, Grabowska-Lusińska and Okólski, 2008). Migration to the UK has historically been more elite and politically driven than migration to Germany. Although the majority of Polish immigrants currently living in the UK have arrived only since 2004, Polish migration has a long history in the UK including waves who arrived post WWII and during the 1980s.

Unlike Germany and the UK, Ireland and the Netherlands did not feature as important migration destinations in the 1990s and early 2000s. In the Netherlands in 1990 there was seasonal migration, migration of Poles possessing German passports, illegal migration and some marriage migration (Karczemski and Boer, 2011). A number of circular migrant workers from Opole region in Poland worked in low skilled jobs in Netherlands (Okólski, 2006). Polish migration to Ireland shows a different pattern again. Post-war migration was very small, including those on scholarship schemes funded by the Irish government, 'Solidarity migration' of refugees in the 1980s and small numbers of marriage migrants (Grabowska, 2003). The Irish boom attracted some economic migrants and some seasonal migration during the 1990s (Grabowska, 2003), but it was only post-accession, when Polish migration to Ireland increased dramatically.

These traditional migration patterns across the four countries demonstrate the diversity of the antecedents to the post-2004 migration flows. This means that our data will capture those with different pathways and motivations across the four countries.

This diversity is also reflected in the areas of Poland from which migrants came to the different destination countries. As Figure 1, illustrates, unsurprisingly, due to geographical proximity and the long-standing relationship from these border regions, Germany attracted relatively many migrants in particular from the western regions of Poland. The geographical origins of migrants in our sample to the Netherlands were quite similar, and in line with earlier migration waves there. The UK attracted migrants from the eastern regions of Poland in particular, while migrants to Ireland, a new destination, were most diverse in terms of their geographical origins in Poland.

Figure 1: Regional Origins of Polish Migrants in Sample Data



Note: The darker shaded the region, the stronger migration from the region – calculated as the share of migrants to a country as compared to the share of the region's population in the total population of Poland.

Source: SCIP data 2010-2011. Maps created and shared by Marcel Lubbers.

At the same time, there were common factors driving migration from Poland in the period of our data collection. The recession has meant that the ratio of Western European to Polish unemployment has changed substantially; but economic incentives for those in work have remained consistently high with purchasing power parities across all four countries far higher than in Poland. The possibilities for migration opened up by accession in 2004 to essentially economically interchangeable destinations remain salient even as they are shaped by contingent non-economic, and historical, determinants.

The implications for our analysis are twofold. First, we anticipate that migration motivations and trajectories will vary across destination countries, linking to different histories and the ways different migrants select into different destinations. Particular destinations will facilitate the identification of particular forms of new migration. However, second, we expect that the greater diversity of migrant types and experience, discussed below, will be reflected across all our destination contexts, constituting in aggregate a much more holistic picture of the new migration to Western Europe.

2.2 Ease of movement: diversity of migration motivations and diversity of migrant characteristics

A8 migration was originally understood within existing models of economic migration (Massey et al., 1999, Borjas, 1994), which frame international migration as a reaction to push factors of unemployment and low wages and pull factors of tight labour markets (Wallace, 2002, Drinkwater et al., 2009). This assumption has been challenged in recent years. A body of primarily qualitative research is emerging that documents the complex, specifically non-economic motivations of the new EU migrants (Ryan et al., 2009, Krings

et al., 2013a, Cook et al., 2011, Burrell, 2010), as well as the complexity of their migration patterns. It is now widely accepted that this "new" migration system is qualitatively different – more varied in terms of the demographic characteristics of the migrants, their motivations, and their economic and social experiences in the destination country – than traditional economic migration.

The freedom of movement afforded in the EU and technological advancements in previous decades means that the Polish migrant is closer to a friction-less economic actor than ever before. She is largely unencumbered by border controls and work restrictions (though some countries retained transitional arrangements that imposed certain restrictions till 2011). Movement to and from EU destination countries is relatively cheap and easy, and hence the costs of migration in the neoclassical cost/benefit calculus are very low. The greater ease of communication afforded by cell phones and Skype (Dekker and Engbersen, 2012), not to mention cheap flights (Williams and Baláž, 2009), should also result in a rich web of transnational ties, providing information and social and economic support to the potential migrant (Kalter, 2011). This in turn enables straightforward exchange of remittances for family members strewn across borders, as well as the easier maintenance of transnational family and caring responsibilities, thereby encouraging the cumulative causation central to the new economics of labour migration framework.

On the one hand, these lowered costs should make economic incentives all the more compelling, as the potential net economic return will be greater in the absence of costs related to navigating migration restrictions and distant travel. On the other hand, such ease of migration may also result in greater weight for non-economic factors in the decision to move: as the hurdle to migration is

low, more capricious reasons for migration may be acted upon. We might see migration for love, adventure (Favell, 2011) or self-development (Cook et al., 2011). Even ambivalent or spontaneous desires for migration can be realised: an informant in Krings et al. (2013b: 94) explains: "So if I had seen problems coming up in front of me, like work permits, I wouldn't have left". Moreover, economic returns may be seen as contingent and part of a 'pathway' (Bachan and Sheehan, 2011, Parutis, 2011) to the eventual desired destination, with return being a viable option should the progression not materialise.

In this case, EU enlargement should increase the size of both traditional economic and "newer" non-economic types, such as students, the highly skilled, and young people seeking a lark, and the types should demonstrate more variation in their backgrounds and characteristics (Galasińska and Kozłowska, 2009). We set out to evaluate the implications of the new migration in terms of the diversity both in motivations and in migrant characteristics.

2.3 Migration motivations and migration types

A number of typologies have been proposed in order to characterise the Polish migrants in Western Europe. One of the most influential is the economic migration types presented by Eade et al. (2007) for the UK, namely: stayers, or permanent migrants; storks, or migrants who frequently move back and forth; hamsters, migrants who stay in the receiving country with the goal of maximizing savings to bring home, and searchers, who maintain an uncertain planned duration of stay. Düvell and Vogel (2006) create a UK typology similarly based on duration of stay but also including the location of family ties. For them, migrants can be characterised as returners, settlers,

transnationals, or global nomads. Grabowska-Lusińska and Okólski (2009) also focus on duration of stay to identify seasonal, settling down, long term residence, and unpredictable intentions. By contrast with these qualitative studies, Engberson et al. (2013) use a quantitative sample and apply cluster analysis to examine migrants to the Netherlands across two dimensions of migrant social and economic contact with the sending and receiving society. Engbersen and colleagues identify four migrant types: circular migrants, bi-nationals, "footloose" migrants and settlers. They demonstrate how these clusters of transnational ties are associated with background characteristics such as education and age, as well as occupation and employment in the receiving country.

These initial typologies help us to encapsulate the key characteristics of current Polish migration with reference primarily to migration motivations, intended duration of stay and links to the country of origin. However, they are typically derived from single country contexts, which are likely to vary in migrants' dominant characteristics. These studies also captured more settled populations, rather than migrant flows themselves. Hence the most "footloose" migrants will be lost or will be highly underrepresented. For example, the average migrant in the Engberson et al. study had already lived in the Netherlands for 2.5 years. Moreover, we know that migrants orientations change with time to become more permanent (Friberg, 2012). This implies that the existing types will themselves reflect elapsed duration as well as intended duration since intentions of stay are shaped by experience over time in the destination country (Bijwaard et al., 2011). For more settled populations, outcomes will already be implicated in the observed settlement patterns, and expressed intentions.

While quantitative analyses of the new A8 migration have recognised elements of more diverse and 'liquid' (Engbersen et al., 2010) migration, most have nevertheless focused primarily on labour market outcomes, without extensive consideration of how far these are part of a more complex set of migrations aims. Indeed, they typically exclude non-workers such as students (see e.g. Bachan and Sheehan, 2011, Drinkwater et al., 2009, Campbell, 2013). The majority of this research relies on labour force surveys and other general surveys, and as a result, we do not know, beyond basic demographic characteristics, whether the variation in these outcomes is independently linked to the migrant types identified in the literature on migrant motivations and intentions. Moreover, like the qualitative analyses, existing quantitative analyses also are based on stocks rather than flows. Indeed, this selection towards more settled migrants is a feature of essentially all data sources where Poles are grouped together.

The existing literature leaves a space for developing a more comprehensive typology of the new migration from East to Western Europe, one that more directly captures migrants' motivations close to the point of emigration and includes those who are destined to be only temporary or highly mobile migrants. The first stage of our analysis therefore characterises specific migration types that go beyond the traditional distinctions between labour and tied migrants, drawing on the co-varying combinations of initial motivations and intentions relating to duration of stay. As noted, by looking across a range of receiving country contexts, we are able to assess migration types that cover the full complexity of migration diversity. Given the lower cost of migration, we expect to observe across our sample a mix of complex motivations, including family strategies (Ryan et al., 2009, Ryan, 2010, González-Ferrer, 2010), strategies to maximise friendship networks

(Conradson and Latham, 2005), or pursuit of lifestyle improvement or adventure (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009).

Our first main hypothesis (H1) therefore posits that Polish migration to Western Europe will demonstrate a range of distinct migrant types that include both 'traditional' circular forms of labour migration and also primarily non-economic and experiential motivations; and that these will be identified by different constellations of migration motivation and duration of stay intentions.

2.4 Pre-migration diversity

The greater ease of international migration afforded by EU free movement and cheap travel and communications has resulted in greater demographic diversity among emigrants. Although the earliest pre- and immediately post-accession migrations were male-dominated, migration has become more mixed across the genders with 49 per cent of Polish migrants in the European Union now women, in contrast to only 35 per cent immediately following accession (Galgóczi et al., 2009).

Women are more likely to bring dependants with them, and both men and women migrating from Poland are increasingly likely to be family migrants. As of 2011, family migration accounted for 14 per cent of EU emigrants in Poland and 20 per cent of migrants to Germany (Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2013). Polish migrants also come with a diverse range of skills (Drinkwater et al., 2009). Many are highly skilled although over-qualification in Western European labour markets and high levels of occupational segregation is a common problem (Campbell, 2013, Barrett and Duffy, 2008) , despite evidence

of occupational and earnings mobility (Mühlau, 2012, Parutis, 2011). Nevertheless, this is not a conventional high-skilled migration, particularly given the accessibility of alternative labour markets for low skilled migrants from accession countries (White, 2011). Migrants are also from a wider age range, including larger numbers of very young men and women who have recently finished (or are completing abroad) their education as well as older, more traditional migrants with family members back home.

As a second step, then, we can ascertain how far the different migration types are linked to different patterns of pre-migration circumstances. Again, this stage goes beyond what has been possible in much of the quantitative literature where selectivity is typically crudely distinguished between the positive selectivity of 'pioneers' and the less positive – or negative – selectivity of family or tied migrants. We already know that migration is differentially attractive to different sorts of individuals; but this may extend beyond economic potential arguments (Haberfeld et al., 2010). For example, the expectation that those with high skills will select into contexts with best returns, does not necessarily hold (Drinkwater et al., 2009). Thus we expect to gain further insight into the factors shaping different forms of migration 'type' revealed in the first stage of analysis.

Specifically, we anticipate that while women will be more likely to have family-related motivations and anticipate a settled stay, there will also be many women migrating independently for work or adventure. Commensurately, we expect that there will be fewer gendered differences among those with temporary orientations, though more traditional circular labour migrants are still more likely to be men. In terms of migrant characteristics, we hypothesise first that sex is less strongly associated with

migration types other than the most traditional family and circular labour migration forms (H2a).

Human capital is often highly correlated with social and financial capital, all of which should enable greater mobility – for a wider variety of reasons - across international borders. We therefore anticipate that higher human capital will not necessarily be reflected among those migrating for labour but among those migrating primarily as students, and also be reflected in more transitional orientations for duration of stay (H2b).

2.5 Migrants' early integration outcomes

In the third stage of our analysis we turn to look at the consequences of migration and how it varies with the migrant types developed in stage 1, conditioning on pre-migration characteristics analysed in stage 2. We expect that the (pre-migration) motivations and intentions for settlement on migration will influence not only the extent of integration but also how it is experienced. Even as much of the literature continues to focus on economic integration of migrants, there is increasing interest in non-economic markers of integration such as friendships, engagement with society and co-location that are informative about how immigrants respond to their destinations and vice versa.

We have already noted that migrants move for a variety of reasons and diversity of motivation is facilitated by the 'frictionless' context of A8 migration. It seems clear that the salience of different types of integration are likely to be very different according to migrants' motivations and temporal perspectives. A number of studies have demonstrated poor economic

outcomes among Polish workers in Western European (Clark and Drinkwater, 2008, Pollard et al., 2008, Campbell, 2013). At the same time we have little information on the relative significance of these labour market 'penalties'; though a growing literature suggests first occupations may be transition occupations which complicates how we interpret them (Parutis, 2011, Bachan and Sheehan, 2011). Paying attention to migration rationales and to multiple forms of integration – structural, subjective and social -- gives us a way of enhancing existing studies.

For someone migrating to accumulate resources in a short period, employment and pay are likely to be critical to their well-being, while they will necessarily have less cause to invest in the destination society (Dustmann, 1999, Dustmann, 2003), will send more home in the form of remittances (Dustmann and Mestres, 2010) and will have potentially fewer expectations, for example, being more likely to be employed in contingent working arrangements (Luthra 2009). Hence, employment, of whatever kind is likely to be highly salient while investment in forms of social integration may not be.

Someone who is migrating for the long term, but still as a worker, will additionally have more invested in developing social relationships in the receiving society and may have a more long-term perspective for the labour market, waiting to take up a well-fitting, rather than any, job.

We know that "tied" (family) migrants tend to have worse labour market outcomes than "primary" (work) migrants (Mincer, 1978, Adsera and Chiswick, 2007). This is both because they are less likely to be selected on labour market relevant characteristics but also because of their motivation to migrate itself. If their goal in migration is (re)unification with their family then the realization of this goal, rather than finding a high paying job, will be

where they invest their efforts even should they end up employed as well. Their relationship to the host society as well as their subjective evaluation of their position will reflect their different orientations; and this will also be influenced by their intentions to stay. The dichotomy between primary and tied migrants, is, of course, an oversimplification of the multiple motivations migrants may experience and the potential interconnectedness of family and work migration (González-Ferrer, 2010). Hence, it is valuable to consider how migrants orient towards the receiving society both in terms of social integration and subjective evaluation, and the extent to which that is shaped by economic position itself.

Formal students are often explicitly excluded from studies of immigrant labour market integration as they are considered both temporary and of little interest in terms of economic outcomes. However, those who are interested in skill acquisition may not be (full-time) students, and moreover students are an important component of those with whom populations have contact and who inform the experience of localities and perceptions of integration. Those migrating for education specifically or even more generally for skill acquisition such as language or cultural learning may appear less successful in the labour market if they take lower wage jobs or are even unemployed; yet they may still be fulfilling their migration purpose. Educational migrants are also likely to be more socially or subjectively well integrated as they are more 'culturally interested' (Parey and Waldinger, 2011) and more likely to live in closer proximity to natives and pursue relationships with members of the receiving country. Moreover, such educational migration may be opening up future pathways for onward or subsequent migration (King and Ruiz-Gelices, 2003, Parey and Waldinger, 2011).

Someone migrating for experience (King, 2002) may be relatively satisfied with 'getting by' economically and eager to engage more widely socially. At the same time they are less likely to be dissatisfied with a society that is not seen as especially accommodating either economically or socially. Seeing their migration projects through flexible experiential lenses may make them less interested in integrating into the destination society, but also less concerned about how they fare. This may also be linked to their temporal perspective on their current position, with less urgency relating to the accumulation of financial resources.

From this overview of the relationship between the expected links between migration motivations/intentions and structural and social integration we develop some specific hypotheses relating to economic (e.g. labour market participation, nature of job), subjective or attitudinal (e.g. attitudes to the destination country, how positively it is regarded as a place to live, how it feels to live there) and social (e.g. contact with and exposure to destination country society) integration.

First, we anticipate that non-economic motivations will lead to lower levels of labour market integration (H3a) compared to labour migrants. In contrast, temporary workers will be the most likely to be economically integrated but will also be the least socially integrated (H3b). Those with non-economic motivations and those with settlement intentions will also tend to have higher levels of social integration and well-being in the destination country (H3c). Those who plan to settle indefinitely will feel more at home in the destination country than other labour migrants, but this will not be so evident for adventurers and students (H3d). Finally, we expect that economic integration will be more strongly associated with other forms of integration for economic

migrants than for non-economic migrants (H3e). These hypotheses are illustrated schematically in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Migrants' Motivation and Duration Intention: Hypotheses

Migration motivations	Duration intention	Form of integration			Hypotheses
		Economic	*Subjective*	*Social*	
Economic	Temporary	High	Low	Low	H3a, H3b
	Long-term	Middle	High	High	H3a, H3c, H3d
Non-Economic	Temporary	Low/ Middle	High/Low	High	H3a, H3c
	Long-term	Low	Middle	High	H3a, H3c, H3d

Note: hypothesis H3e is tested in an interaction between motivations/intentions and economic status.

In the next section we describe our data and how we derive our migrant types. We also describe our measures of pre-migration characteristics and of integration; and the methods we employ to enable us directly to test these three sets of hypotheses.

3. Data and Analysis

3.1 Data

We use the data deriving from the cross-national project on the Causes and Consequences of Early Socio-Cultural Integration Processes among New Immigrants in Europe (SCIP). These data cover migrants to four countries, who were first surveyed within 18 months of migration in 2010-2011 using a harmonised cross-national questionnaire. The study collected data on two main 'groups' of recent migrants (newer and older migration flows) in each

country and collected data from the same respondents both at the initial wave and a follow-up wave (see further Gresser et al., 2014). We focus here on the Polish respondents who represent the new migration flows and on the first sweep of data collection only.

The SCIP survey is unique in the scale of coverage of recent migrants to multiple European countries (over 3,500 new Polish migrants across four countries), in the breadth of measures included, and particularly for its emphasis on linking pre-and post-migration trajectories. Most important for our analysis are questions covering: reasons for migration, previous visits, prior contacts, friendships, economic position, settlement / return migration intentions, well-being / life satisfaction, language skills, as well as demographics. The survey also contains question domains on religion, cultural engagement, friendships and networks that will be explored in future work. The SCIP survey thus represents the only possible source to address our questions of interest. However, the sampling for such a survey is not straightforward.

Different approaches to sampling, and hence different geographies were covered across the four countries. In the German sample, respondents were sampled from population registers of four major cities in Germany: Berlin, Hamburg, Munich and Cologne. In the Netherlands, population registers were used to access a sample from across the whole country. In the absence of population registers in the UK and Ireland, respondent driven sampling (RDS) and free-find were used in the capitals of each: London and Dublin, respectively (see further, Luthra et al. forthcoming). There are well recognised challenges in attempting to sample a highly mobile population such as recent migrants. The higher chances of non-contact and mobility for migrants in general are well known (Feskens et al., 2006); and these are exacerbated if the

focus is on recently arrived migrants. Even in countries with comprehensive population registers such as the Netherlands and Germany, recent immigrants are less likely than the native population to register their location and they are more likely to frequently change address. These problems can result in a biased sample skewed towards more integrated and stable immigrants. In the UK and Ireland, no such sample frame to capture recent migrants exists at all. As a result RDS, a form of snowball sampling, along with free-find techniques, were used to locate and interview Polish migrants.

The focus on major cities in Germany and on capital cities in UK and Dublin was necessitated by the sampling approach, but it also was intended to capture the major points of entry for new migrants. While in the UK, Poles are relatively dispersed across different areas of the country, London nevertheless continues to provide the primary starting point for those at the beginning of their stay –and this is even more the case for Dublin. In addition, major cities will provide a greater diversity of migrant types compared to those who are linked into particular employment relations with locally specific industries or who, in Germany, return to border regions, and have thus been the focus of studies on seasonal migration or migration networks (Kalter, 2011, Korczyńska, 2003). Hence, while our samples are not fully representative of new Poles in Germany, UK or Ireland, or even, arguably, the Netherlands (due to the partial coverage of early registration), they do capture the diversity of migrant experience both within and across countries, as the analysis below shows.

Overall the results from the multiple sampling approach were excellent in terms of providing large numbers of interviewees: we have data from 3,631

Polish respondents in total (Germany: 1,468; Netherlands: 334[2]: UK: 777; Ireland 1,052). It is, however, impossible to establish probabilities of inclusion for the UK and Irish samples, and not straightforward for the other countries. Hence, although we report standard errors and other measures of statistical significance in this paper, these should be interpreted cautiously.

3.2 Measures

The research here relies on three sets of measures: those associated with the move itself, characteristics of migrants prior to migration, and measures of current integration. Descriptive statistics of all measures are provided in Table 1 for the whole sample and broken down by each of the four countries.

1. Migration Decision

We conceptualise the migration decision at the time we observe our respondents as the interaction between their previous migration experience, their current duration intentions and their current expressed reason for migration. We focus only on those factors relating to the migration decision and duration, to separate them from the demographic characteristics that represent initial conditions and the integration outcomes that may be consequences of their migration decisions.

Migration motivations encompass four possibilities representing the main choices in migration trajectory afforded by EU free movement. Multiple reasons for migration could be reported, and we therefore include separate measures for "work," "family," "education/ schooling" and "just because".

[2] While the number of Poles collected overall in the Netherlands was greater than this, it turned out that some had in fact been resident in the country rather longer than 18 months and these have been excluded from the analysis sample.

Hence, the motivation measures in Table 1 sum to more than 100, with work being a motivation for three-quarters of the sample, whether alone or alongside other motives.

Future intentions of stay are characterised as either wanting to return to Poland, wanting to stay in the receiving country, wanting to move between Poland and the receiving country, wanting to move on to a third country, or "don't know". We regard "don't know" responses (selected by around eight per cent of our sample) as being meaningful in their own right, indicating certain strategic uncertainty about future intentions, which has been documented to be one of the features of new migrations (see the formulation of "intentional unpredictability" in Eade et al., 2007).
Interestingly, even though we are capturing migrants at the very beginning of their migration trajectories when the 'myth of return' might be expected to be the strongest, we find that only 40 per cent of our sample intend to return to Poland with a further 17 per cent planning to move to and fro. Hence, 35 per cent of the sample is already committing – or expressing a commitment – to a life outside Poland with the addition of "strategic uncertainty" taking this to over two-fifths of our respondents.

Previous migration experience is reported as either having no previous migration experience in the receiving country, having work experience, having education experience, having experience with visits to family or friends, or "other" experience. While traditional circular migrants might be more likely to have work experience, newer types of mobility may be preceded by visits or educational sojourns in the receiving country. We can see from Table 1, that across the sample as a whole, while two-thirds have no prior migration experience a third do. We also include an indicator for

respondents who had secured a job prior to migrating to the receiving country.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics by Country of Destination, mean (SD) for interval variables and proportion for categorical variables

	UK	N'lands	Germany	Ireland	All
Migration decision (N)	778	338	1516	1059	3691
Motivation					
Family	.12	.18	.23	.21	.19
Work	.81	.68	.66	.81	.74
Education	.07	.09	.15	.08	.11
Just Because	.14	.10	.07	.14	.11
Intention					
Stay in [UK/NL/DE/IR]	.29	.40	.24	.18	.25
Move between	.12	.08	.22	.16	.17
Return	.42	.26	.38	.48	.40
Move on	.09	.10	.06	.15	.10
Don't know	.09	.17	.10	.04	.08
Prior experience of [UK/NL/DE/IR]					
No Migration Experience	.67	.71	.54	.82	.66
Work Experience	.23	.20	.26	.12	.21
Education Experience	.01	.01	.05	.00	.02
Visiting Experience	.05	.04	.11	.05	.07
Other Experience	.04	.05	.04	.02	.03
Had job to go to before Moving	.02	.06	.05	.04	.04
Migration Antecedents (N)	**775**	**326**	**1432**	**1050**	**3583**
Male	.60	.43	.55	.48	.53
Age	32.7 (11.0)	31.2 (9.5)	32.9 (10.9)	30.5 (10.9)	32.0 (10.7)
Married	.22	.48	.46	.24	.35
Has child(ren)	.41	.47	.50	.29	.41
Ever worked in Poland	.85	.87	.88	.93	.89
Years education (0-30)	13.3 (2.82)	13.3 (3.92)	13.7 (3.02)	14.2 (2.91)	13.7 (3.06)
[English/Dutch/German] fluency (1-4)	2.37 (.79)	1.75 (.6)	2.33 (.79)	2.64 (.81)	2.38 (.81)
Knew s/o from [UK/NL/DE/IR] before migrating	.83	.60	.77	.79	.77
From city	.34	.40	.37	.46	.40
From town	.51	.47	.38	.40	.42
From village/ country	.14	.13	.25	.14	.18
Pre-migration status					
Working	.50	.71	.59	.59	.58
Unemployed	.27	.07	.13	.15	.16
In education	.17	.18	.21	.20	.20
Other	.05	.04	.07	.06	.06
Integration outcomes (N)	**704**	**275**	**1223**	**987**	**3189**
Subjective measures					
Life Satisfaction (1-5)	3.9 (0.66)	4.00 (0.59)	3.95 (0.63)	3.86 (0.65)	3.91 (0.64)
Feel at home in [UK/NL/DE/IR] (1-3)	1.94 (0.79)	2.15 (0.71)	2.08 (0.76)	1.90 (0.74)	2.00 (0.76)
Thinks [UK/NL/DE/IR] is hospitable (1-5)	3.75 (0.80)	3.91 (0.98)	3.81 (0.82)	4.05 (0.69)	3.88 (0.80)
Agree Poles have opportunities (0/1)	0.71 (0.46)	0.73 (0.44)	0.76 (0.42)	0.84 (0.37)	0.77 (0.42)
Social measures					

Spend time w. people of [UK/NL/DE/IR] (1-6)	4.57 (1.32)	5.25 (1.31)	4.92 (1.58)	3.95 (1.91)	4.57 (1.68)
One of close friends is From [UK/NL/DE/IR] (0/1)	0.05 (0.21)	0.09 (0.29)	0.18 (0.38)	0.08 (0.27)	0.11 (0.31)
Poles in area (1-5)	3.76 (0.60)	3.91 (0.97)	3.94 (0.89)	3.80 (0.81)	3.85 (0.82)
Economic measures					
Working	.63	.79	.64	.57	.63
Unemployed	.31	.08	.08	.29	.20
Student	.03	.01	.16	.08	.09
Other	.03	.13	.11	.07	.08
ISEI: those in work (N)	381	205	705	545	1836
Current ISEI	22.87 (9.43)	28.96 (16.12)	31.15 (17.34)	24.90 (16.74)	27.33 (16.05)
Destination context					
Child in household	.11	.29	.19	.14	.16
Child in Poland	.20	.14	.20	.12	.17
Single	.58	.31	.40	.51	.47
Partner not in household	.13	.09	.22	.10	.15
Partner in household	.29	.60	.37	.40	.38

2. Pre-migration indicators

We include several measures to capture diversity in immigrant characteristics among Polish migrants to our four destination countries. First, sex has traditionally been linked to different migration routes with 'pioneers' or circular migrants typically being men and family migrants being women. While we expect there to be some differentiation by sex in the association with different types of migrant, the increasing "feminization" of recent East-West migration is likely to complicate the story. Family structure measures, including whether or not the respondent is married and has at least one child are also included: migrants with dependants are likely to have different motivations and orientations than single migrants. Age is also expected to influence migration type and integration, with younger migrants more likely to practice fluid and "footloose" migration patterns than older potential immigrants. We include an age squared term to account for a potential curvilinear relationship.

In addition to these demographic characteristics, our data also include detailed geographical information on the migrant's region of origin. We summarise this information into a three category variable of where the respondent lived prior to migration: in a city, in a town, or in a village/ in the countryside. More detailed information on actual city or county of previous residence was also tested and did not improve the fit of the model over the more general classification. Although the "classic" labour migrant is more likely to be of agricultural origins, the newer migrant types may be more likely to stem from urban settings. To capture social network effects, we also include a measure of whether the respondent knew someone in the receiving country prior to migrating.

Finally, we add several economic characteristics of the migrant pre-migration: an indicator of whether the respondent had ever worked before in Poland, and the respondent's labour force status prior to migration: in employment, unemployed, in education, or "other" which includes looking after children or illness/disability. We expect that the more traditional migrant type would be more likely to be economically active (unemployed or employed) prior to migration. Similarly, more educated migrants should have greater resources and choices which allow them to migrate for non-economic reasons; hence human capital is included as years of education in our models. We also include the respondent's proficiency in the destination country language as a further human capital measure: a scale constructed as the average fluency score of four 4-category variables on the respondent's ability to read, write, understand and speak the language of the receiving country. Language fluency is arguably more important for economic migrants than for family migrants, as they may need receiving country language skills to secure high paying jobs; on the other hand, respondents seeking "adventure" in the

receiving country may be more likely to arrive with the requisite language skills that will enable them to more fully experience life in their destination.

3. Integration outcomes

In this paper we address both economic integration and subjective and social indicators of early integration. Although there is accumulating evidence on the labour market integration of Polish migrants, there is relatively little on the "softer" migration outcomes. Given that the decision to migrate from Poland to Western Europe is influenced by a variety of factors, these subjective and social outcomes may be as important as a measure of integration and immigrant well-being as traditional economic outcomes. Moreover, they capture measures that are sources of substantial academic debate and policy concern in destination countries, such as the extent of social segregation and well-being.

First we employ two measures of economic integration, capturing labour market / economic activity status and, for those employed, the rank of their occupation. Specifically we measure

a. Current labour force status. Respondents were asked for their current activity status. Those who reported working form our omitted category, with "unemployed", "in education," and "other" – a collapsed category of those staying at home or currently ill or disabled – forming the alternatives. Respondents chose their main activity from a list of possible answers. Hence our measure of unemployment is not limited to active job searchers and does not map onto ILO definitions.

b. Occupational ISEI score: if the respondent reports a current job we assign an occupational status to the job using the International Socio-Economic Index score (Ganzeboom and Treiman, 1996). This measures the occupational standing of those respondents in work. Those respondents who are working but have incomplete occupational information we drop from the analysis (N=300).

These allow us to distinguish migrants according to the relationship between their combined motivations and intentions and their position in the labour market and test our corresponding hypotheses. Additionally, we incorporate economic status into our models of subjective and social integration, both as a likely influence on these outcomes and to ascertain whether the influence varies according to underlying migration rationales.

We have a set of broad attitudinal measures of the respondent's relation to the country of residence. We designate these as "subjective integration" measures, and they comprise:

a. Life satisfaction: "How satisfied have you been up to now with your life in [UK/NL/DE/IR]?" With values ranging from 1 (very dissatisfied) to 5 (very satisfied). While life satisfaction is typically measured on a 7- or 11-point scale with a showcard, the survey employed a shorter scale to be consistent with our unimode design (Dillman, 2000) throughout the study. This was because wave 2 of the study was designated as mixed-mode; and we wanted to ensure that change between waves was not consequent on sensitivity to mode effects(Pudney, 2010).

b. Feeling at Home: "Do you feel at home in [UK/NL/DE/IR]?". With values ranging from 1 (don't feel at home) to 3 (feel at home).

c. Hospitality country: "In general, [UK/NL/DE/IR] is a hospitable/welcoming country for Polish people." With values ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

d. Opportunities for Poles: "In general, Polish people can get ahead in [UK/NL/DE/IR] if they work hard", with a dummy for agreement taking the value of 1.

These measures are designed to capture the respondent's own experienced well-being in the country of destination as well as perceptions of the wider receptiveness of the country for Poles.

Second we have a set of measures reflecting forms of social contact and social context, covering exposure to the majority population in the country of destination and close friendship with a member of the majority population. A third variable captures the extent to which the respondent perceives that they live in a neighbourhood dominated by Poles or not. Hence it provides some perspective on differences in tendency to co-locate with fellow nationals and in perceived residential segregation. We designate these as 'social integration' measures and they comprise specifically:

a. Time spent with destination country people: "How often do you spend time with [destination country] people?" Answers range from 1 (every day) to 6 (never) (reverse coded).

b. Close destination country friend: This is a dummy variable based on questions on close friends, which takes a value of one if one of the reported (up to five) close friends is of destination country origins.

c. Poles in local area: "When you are thinking about the local area, how many people living there are from Poland?" With response categories ranging from 1 (all) to 5 (none or almost none).

These measures were selected for capturing different aspects of social contact – both direct and indirect. They are also measures that might be expected to vary both with migration orientations and correspondingly with employment status. For example, temporary workers will have less to gain from developing close friendships but may have a high level of exposure through work.

In our integration analyses, we include additional controls for the current location of partner and child, as not only is a present partner or child an important component of social and subjective context (relative to none or an absent one), in addition those with partners or children in Poland are likely to show rather different patterns of integration.

3.3 Methods

The aim of our analysis is to determine the predictors of and post migration consequences for particular migrant 'types', as represented by clusters of migration motivations and intentions. For defining the types, we employ latent class analysis, a method that has been successfully used to characterize immigrants before, in terms of legal status (Bean et al., 2011), acculturation type (Nieri et al., 2011) and family relationships (Rooyackers et al., 2014). Latent class analysis is used to identify the number of classes in a latent construct of migrant type, to estimate the distribution of cases for each migrant type, to determine the characteristics of each type, and to classify

each observation into a migrant type class. To this end, we estimate two kinds of latent class analysis model parameters: the class probability parameters and the item parameters (Nylund et al., 2007). The latent class probability is the likelihood that a migrant belongs to a specific class. It is used to determine the number of classes and relative size of each class. The sum of latent class probabilities is 1.0. The item parameters correspond to conditional item probabilities and provide information on the probability for an individual in that class to score positively on that item. These are comparable to a factor loading in factor analysis in that values closer to 1.0 indicate that that characteristic better defines the class (Nieri et al., 2011). In latent class analysis the class indicators – in this case, the measures of migration intentions and motivations – are assumed to be conditionally independent.

The LCA model with r observed binary items, u, has a categorical latent variable c with K classes (c=k; k=1, 2,….,K). The marginal item probability for item $u_j = 1$ is

$$P(u_j = 1) = \sum_{k=1}^{K} P(c = k)P(u_j = 1|c = k).$$

Assuming conditional independence, the joint probability of all the r observed items is

$$P(u_1, u_2, \ldots u_r) = \sum_{k=1}^{K} P(c = k)P(u_1|c = k)P(u_2|c = k)P(u_3|c = k).$$

We estimate a mixture model to identify groups with distinctive patterns of migration experience, current migration motivations, and migration intentions. Model assumptions are that a mixture of underlying probability distributions generates the data. The relationships between the measured variables enable us to estimate a single unobserved measure of migration

type, with a specific number of underlying classes. We estimate our mixture models in Mplus 7.0 (Muthén and Muthén, 2013).

We begin our model testing at 2 potential classes, applying a variety of tests as we increase the class size by one in each iteration. To ensure robustness and replicability of our results, for each potential number of classes, we ensure that the final stage log likelihood values stay consistent with at least 100 random starts, and once replication of optimal log likelihood is reached, we further replicate the analysis with double the starts to ensure that the same likelihood is reached and replicated. To determine the optimal number of classes, we rely on three tests which have been shown to perform well at identifying the true number of latent classes in simulated studies (Nylund et al., 2007): Bayesian information criterion (BIC), the Lo-Mendell Rubin adjusted likelihood ratio test (LMR) and the parametric bootstrapped likelihood ratio test (PBLR). To further assess the robustness of our results, we also test for consistency in class construction for our preferred model across each of our destination countries, performing latent class analysis for each country separately.

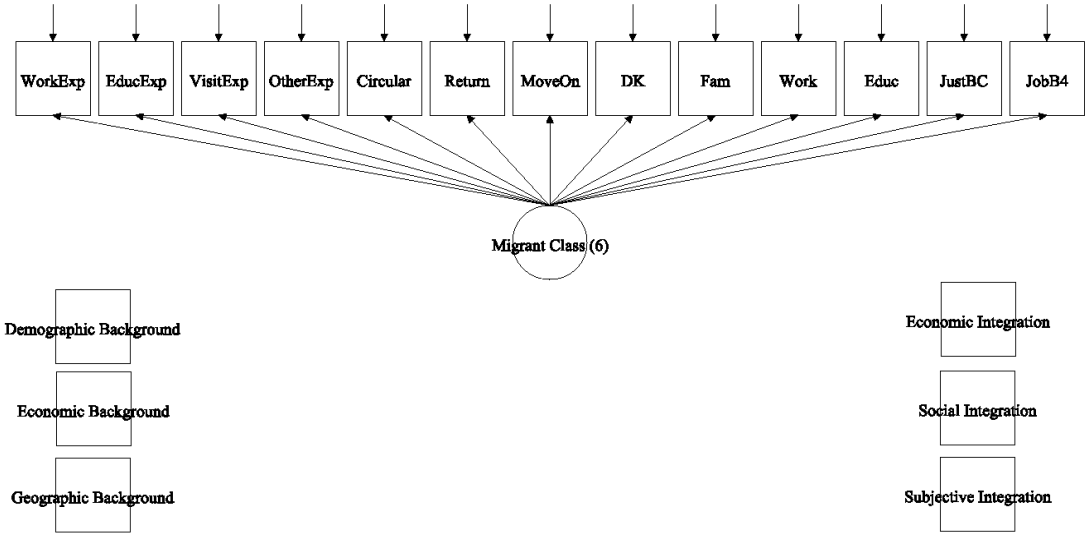
After determining the number of classes of migration type and estimating the probabilities of membership, we export the most likely class membership for each observation (Vermunt and Magidson, 2004). Given that the entropy level for our preferred model is very high (0.959) we assign each observation the most likely class membership. This has found to be the best performing method, with good coverage and power in simulated studies (Clark and Muthén, 2009).

We then estimate multinomial logistic regression models, regressing the assigned class membership on pre-migration characteristics to identify the

correlates of migration type. This and subsequent analyses we carry out in Stata version 13.

Finally, we use the assigned class membership as an independent variable to predict the various measures of subjective, social and structural integration. Our modelling strategy is shown schematically in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Analytic Strategy



Three of our integration measures are ordered categorical variables (satisfaction with life, feeling at home, agreeing that RC is hospitable), and we estimate ordered logistic regression models to determine the association between migration type and these integration outcomes. For labour force status we estimate multinomial logistic regression models; and agreeing that Poles have opportunities and having a close friend from the destination country, which are binary response variables, are modelled using logistic regression. OLS is used for occupational status. For these models of migration outcomes, alongside our key independent variable of migration type, we also control for pre-migration characteristics and country of destination, since that may also be linked to integration outcomes. Moreover, we model subjective and social outcomes controlling for employment status.

4. Results

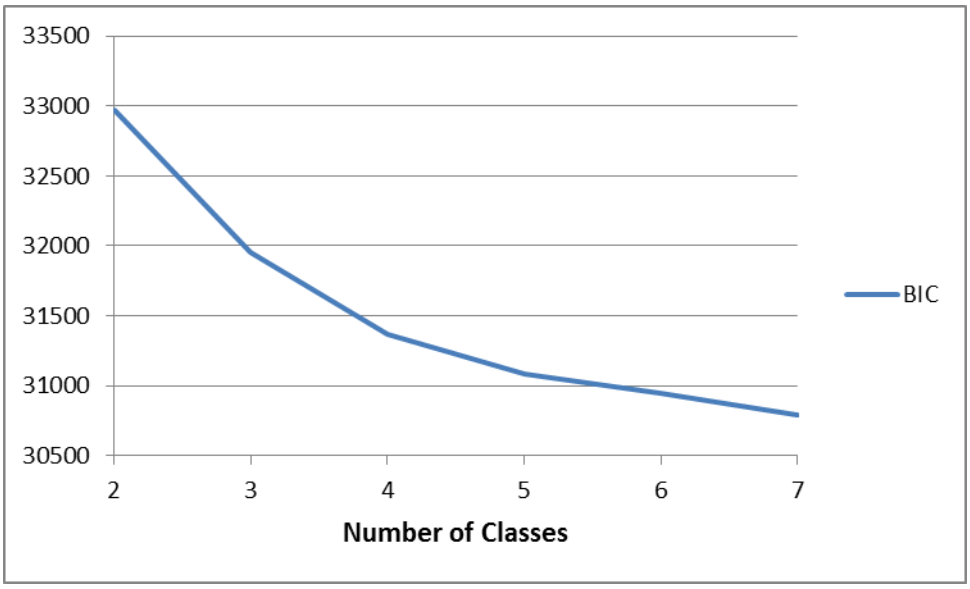
4.1 Latent Migration Classes

Our latent class model, using migration motivations and pre-migration experience of country of destination alongside future intentions allocates respondents to a latent class migration type variable with six outcome classes. The results of the model fitting are shown in Table 2. In the first row, BIC is reported for each model with classes ranging from two up to seven. A smaller BIC indicates better fit. The accompanying Figure 4 shows more clearly that the decline in BIC is sharpest as we move from two to four classes and then begins to level off. Extending the number of classes to five, six, and seven improves the fit of the model but much more marginally. The corresponding LMR and PBLR tests also show improving model fit up to six classes, at which point, according to the LMR, we can no longer reject at the .05 level that six classes is preferable to seven. We therefore choose to keep the number of classes at six, and find that the six classes are more readily interpretable.

Table 2: Model Fit Statistics for LCA

Test statistic	Number of Classes Tested					
	2	3	4	5	6	7
BIC	32969.5	31954.5	31370.6	31088.4	30949.1	30790.5
Vuong-Lo-Mendell-Rubin Likelihood Ratio Test						
Loglikelihood Value	-17249.2	-16373.9	-15808.9	-15459.4	-15260.9	-15204.2
2LL difference	1750.6	1130.0	698.9	397.2	254.5	184.8
Difference in N Parameters	14	14	14	14	14	14
Mean	15.3	8.1	18.7	7.0	12.5	72.5
Standard Deviation	8.3	5.4	13.1	7.6	8.7	84.3
P-Value	0	0	0	0	0	0.089
Lo-Mendell-Rubin Likelihood Ratio Test						
Value	1735.5	1120.3	692.9	393.8	252.3	183.2
P-Value	0	0	0	0	0	0.091
Parametric Bootstrapped Likelihood Ratio Test						
Loglikelihood Value	-17249.2	-16373.9	-15808.9	-15459.4	-15260.9	-15204.2
2LL Difference	1750.6	1130.0	698.9	397.2	254.5	184.8
Approx P-Value	0	0	0	0	0	0
Successful Bootstrap Draws	5	5	5	5	5	5

Figure 4: Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) for LCA with Increasing Numbers of Classes



As each of our observed variables is categorical, we report conditional item probabilities for each class. Our LCA has 13 observed binary items, and Table 3 shows that the latent classes are related to migration motivations and intentions in complex ways, with economic migrants strongly sorting on migration duration intention, but non-economic migrants representing more mixed future trajectories. For each class, we can identify the proportion with a particular response, and these can also be compared with the overall proportions in the sample. The six migrant types included both those that resembled more traditional constructions of circular and family migrants alongside newer migration forms. Table 3 shows our attribution to the classes of summary names based on the combinations of migration, motivations and intentions that they display. We have described them as 'circular migrants', 'temporary migrants', 'settled migrants', 'family migrants', 'students' and 'adventurers'. The final row of the table provides the proportion of the sample whose most likely allocation is that class.

Table 3: Characteristics of Migration Types from LCA (N=3,691)

	Whole Sample	Migrant Type (column %)					
		Circular	Temporary	Settled	Family	Student	Adventurer
Prior experience of [UK/NL/DE/IR]							
No Migration Experience	66	61	68	65	65	69	78
Work Experience	21	31	23	28	7	6	7
Education Experience	2	1	1	1	2	13	2
Visiting Experience	7	5	4	4	22	6	9
Other Experience	3	3	3	2	4	8	4
Intention							
Stay in [UK/NL/DE/IR]	25	0	0	58	37	19	37
Move between	17	10 0	0	0	15	15	13
Return	40	0	100	0	30	39	20
Move on	10	0	0	22	7	19	22
Don't know	8	0	0	20	13	9	8
Motivation							
Family	19	4	6	7	98	6	1
Work	74	98	99	10 0	10	10	0
Education	11	2	3	5	0	93	0
Just Because	11	3	5	11	4	8	100
Had Job Before	4	9	6	4	0	1	0
Proportion in Group (row %)	100	13	32	28	14	9	5

Note that motivations can sum to more than 100 as multiple motivations were allowed.

Circular migrants are the traditional circular labour migrants who retain strong connections to the country of origin, while undertaking repeated spells of work in more favourable labour markets. From Table 3 we can see that these circular migrants are overwhelmingly moving for work, with only small likelihoods of reporting other reasons for migration. They have often worked before and are more likely than any other group to have secured a job in advance. They sort completely on their intention to migrate back and forth between the receiving country and Poland. This is the classic Piore (1979) bird of passage, and the most prevalent form of earlier migration between Poland and neighbouring Germany (Kaczmarczyk, 2005); yet here they make up only 13 per cent of the sample.

Temporary migrants also overwhelmingly come for work, however they all plan to return to Poland after their current sojourn. Temporary migrants are also likely to have a previous work experience in the receiving country, although their likelihood at 23 per cent is less than the 31 per cent probability of circular migrants having had previous experience. At 32 per cent of the total sample, temporary migrants are the largest Polish migrant type in our sample.

Settled migrants also report work as their primary motivation, although they are slightly more likely to report moving "just because" or for family or education as well.

Settled migrants have a high probability of wanting to stay in the receiving country although a sizeable minority, 22 per cent, also expect to move on to a third country. These migrants thus do not fit the usual "myth of return" model but rather are committed to an international life from the very onset of their migration. Making up 28 per cent of the sample, these migrants comprise part of the "stepwise" migration pattern that is only recently receiving attention (Bell, 2012, Paul, 2011), whereby economic migrants plan multiple or lasting migrations to secure economic goals.

The remaining three groups are all non-economic migrants, who, although smaller in size, make up nearly a third of the total sample together. Family migrants sort strongly on their migration motivation for family reasons, and have an over 20 per cent likelihood of previous visits to the receiving country to visit friends or family members. Their migration intentions however are very diverse, with approximately a third planning to stay in the receiving country and a further third planning to return to Poland. Students comprise nine per cent of the total sample and migrated for education purposes,

although also report migrating for work or just because as well. While typically excluded from analysis of labour market outcomes of new migrants (Bechan and Sheehan 2011, Campbell 2013, Drinkwater et al. 2009), students can (and we will show that they do) contribute to the economically active accession country population in countries of destination. We can see that while students are more likely than the other non-economic migrant groups to want to return to Poland, they are also relatively likely to want to move to another country in due course, reflecting the greater 'transnational' opportunities for the highly skilled.

Finally, adventurers are the smallest proportion of our sample but are a unique and unstudied group. All of them report migrating "just because", and they represent a range of migration intentions. However, only 13 per cent plan to return home to Poland.

These six groups show varying migration motivations and settlement intentions, making it clear that there is no one labour migrant model, nor indeed one model of circularity, with or without labour market attachment. While a substantial share do wish to return to Poland, and the costs of doing so are relatively small, the costs of settling are also decreased, with implicit regular family contact and contact by other means (Dekker and Engberson 2013). Moreover, we highlight transnational or 'stepwise' migration patterns that have been associated with both disadvantage and privilege in previous literature (Paul, 2011, Rezaei and Goli, 2011, Takenaka, 2007).

We would expect the distribution of these migrant types to vary across our four countries both as a result of underlying differential migrant selection and due to sampling variation implied by our data collection strategies; and we find that is the case (see Appendix, Table A1). While the differences in

distributions by country link to existing, country-specific knowledge of migration patterns, all types are represented across all countries.

However, as a check on the consistency of the classes within countries, we also replicated the latent class analysis for each country separately. The summary results for this are reported in the Appendix, Table A2. (Full tables available from authors on request.) The results of this analysis showed that the six latent classes identified in the combined model were replicated in the individual London and Netherlands samples. In Germany and Dublin, however, the non-economic classes were configured slightly differently in the separate latent class analyses. In Germany, instead of the adventurer category, the LCA analysis revealed two separate student categories: one which intended to return to Poland after the current stay and another, more varied group that comprised those who came for both education purposes and "just because", and had more varied duration intentions. Given the larger percentage of students in Germany, and its closer proximity to Poland and more established migration history, it is perhaps unsurprising that "adventurers" would not choose this more established destination. In the new, English-speaking destination of Dublin, however, we find instead of students two different kinds of "adventurers": those who migrated "just because" but have a very high probability of intending to return to Poland, and those who migrated "just because" but have more varied intentions and other motivations as well.

We have claimed that the strength of our cross-national approach is that it allows us to attend properly to those whose experience may be missed in country–level studies. We argue that the distribution of overall classes across countries and the large degree of consistency of classes in the within-country analysis, with some explicable variation, supports this claim.

We next report on the (pre-migration) characteristics that are associated with these different migrant types. This helps us better to understand how migrant types emerge and how their motivations and intentions are shaped by demographic and economic constraints and opportunities.

4.2 Who make up these types? Antecedent factors that predict membership

We consider a range of demographic and economic factors that precede migration to illuminate the antecedent characteristics and make sense of the six migrant types. These characteristics comprise those socio-demographics outlined in the methods section above.

Table 4 illustrates the results from estimating a multinomial logistic regression, with circular migrants as the reference category. We can see that, as expected in hypothesis H2a, men are more likely to migrate as circular migrants, and women are more likely to be family migrants. Women are also overrepresented among students and adventurers. Moreover, women do not differ from men in their likelihood to migrate as temporary or settled workers. The feminization of migration from Poland hence extends not only to lifestyle migration choices but to less traditional labour migration patterns. Marital status and age are also important predictors of migration type, with younger people generally less likely to be circular migrants and married migrants more likely to be of the two traditional family and circular migration types.

Table 4: Antecedents as Predictors of Migrant Type: Results from multinomial logit regression: reference category = Circular (N=3,583)

	Temporary	Settled	Family	Student	Adventurer
Male	-0.03	-0.15	-1.70*	-0.81*	-0.78*
Age	-0.08+	0.08+	-0.17*	-0.26*	0.03
Age2*100	0.08	-0.13*	0.18*	0.18	-0.05
Married	-0.23+	-0.50*	0.65*	-0.60*	-1.37*
Has child(ren)	-0.04	0.21	0.52*	-0.40	-0.63*
Migrated from… (Ref=city)					
From town	-0.26+	-0.44*	-0.50*	-1.05*	-0.64*
From village/ country	-0.28+	-1.00*	-0.69*	-1.63*	-1.52*
Pre-migration status (ref=employed) Employed					
Unemployed	-0.13	-0.06	-0.73*	0.00	-0.70*
In Education	-0.42*	-0.89*	-0.93*	0.87*	-0.86*
Other	0.10	0.16	0.75*	0.24	0.47
Ever worked in Poland	0.19	-0.38	-0.68*	-0.36	-0.22
Years Education	0.04*	0.02	0.05*	0.25*	0.01
[English/Dutch/German] fluency	0.02	0.19*	-0.12	0.62*	0.21
Knew s/o from [UK/NL/DE/IR] before migrating	0.06	0.07	0.83*	-0.36+	0.30
Constant	2.13*	0.24	3.50*	1.04	-0.57

Note: *= statistically significant at the 5 per cent level; += statistically significant at the 10 per cent level.

In our hypothesis H2b, we also anticipated that students and those with less permanent migration duration intentions would have higher levels of human capital than more permanent and work and family migrants, for whom migration is more likely a constraint than a choice. This hypothesis is partially substantiated in our analysis, as students and temporary workers report higher levels of human capital than circular migrants; however, the difference is small and the other education comparisons to circular migrants are insignificant.

We can also see that circular migrants are more likely to have come from villages or rural areas. Their fluency in the receiving country language is similar to family and temporary workers, but is poorer than students and workers with more permanent settlement aims. Circular migrants also appear to maintain seasonal working habits, and are more likely to have been

unemployed rather than working prior to migration than family migrants or adventurers, whereas students are unsurprisingly more likely to have been education prior to moving abroad. Consistent with their family migrant status, those who were not economically active or in education are over-represented among family migrants compared to circular migrants.

This analysis therefore conveys how different migration pathways emerge for those with different characteristics. The cosmopolitan students and adventurers, city dwellers with good linguistic fluency in the language of their chosen destination and fewer family ties and obligations represent differently selected groups, whose migration is likely to fit with their life stage and educational aspirations in the case of students or desire to travel and develop wider experience in the case of adventurers. The temporary labour migrants, on the other hand, particularly the circular migrants show indications that their migration is one of constraint rather than choice, stemming from more rural backgrounds, reporting a higher probability of unemployment prior to migration, and having lower relative levels of education. The settled workers demonstrate how variation in migration intentions creates differences even within labour migrants, as these are on average older, more urban, less likely to be married, and more likely to know the receiving country language than the other economic migrant types.

Finally, the non-economic migrant types are much more female-dominated, in particular family migrants are more likely to be women who were out of the labour force prior to migration and who had never worked in Poland. This finding is consistent with prior research that demonstrates that "tied" migrants are less economically prepared. However, their higher educational profile and greater urbanity than circular migrants suggests that they may not

be negatively selected in terms of their ability to integrate in non-economic domains. We go on to investigate integration outcomes in the next section.

4.3 Structural, subjective and social integration of migrant types

In this section, we consider how three dimensions of integration vary across the migrant types. We estimate a series of regression models, as outlined above, with each of the measures of integration as a dependent variable and using the migrant types as our key independent variable, with circular migrants as the reference category. We control for all the pre-migration characteristics, as well as current household context, country of destination and (for the subjective and social measures) current economic status.

The results for our key independent variables of migrant type are shown in Tables 5 and 7. (Full tables are provided in the Appendix, Tables A3-A6.) Table 5 gives the coefficients for migrant type for the measures of structural integration, Table 7 for subjective and social integration. For ease of interpretation, we also provide predicted probabilities by migrant type of the estimated outcome (the most integrated/positive outcome for the ordered logistic regression models) for each indicator at average values of the covariates. These are illustrated in Tables 6 and 8.

First we look at standard measures of structural integration – employment status and occupational status. This locates our Polish migrants in relation to existing research on labour market outcomes and allows us to explore the extent to which different clusters of motivations and intentions are linked to labour market participation. We can then identify the extent to which patterns of economic status are implicated in subjective and social integration.

Table 5: Economic Integration Outcomes of Different Migrant Types, relative to circular migrants: results from multinomial logit (economic status) and OLS (ISEI) regression models

Migrant Type	Economic Status (N=3189)			
(Ref.: Circular)	Unemployed	In education	Other	ISEI (N=1836)
Temporary	-0.04	0.81*	0.57	-1.35
Settled	0.39*	0.40	1.24*	-0.66
Family	1.54*	2.29*	2.97*	2.02
Student	1.19*	3.33*	2.11*	5.16*
Adventurer	1.06*	0.57	1.71*	-2.64

*= p<0.05 +=p<0.1. Models control additionally for demographics, family context, pre-migration characteristics, country of destination.

Table 6: Predicted probabilities of Economic Outcomes at Means of Covariates

	Employed	Unemployed	In education	Other	Mean ISEI
Circular	0.85	0.14	0.01	0.01	27.9
Temporary	0.84	0.13	0.02	0.01	26.6
Settled	0.78	0.18	0.01	0.03	27.3
Family	0.50	0.37	0.04	0.09	30.0
Student	0.54	0.29	0.13	0.04	33.1
Adventurer	0.65	0.30	0.01	0.03	25.3

Marginal effects from full models. Other characteristics held at mean values.

Our first hypothesis relating to integration outcomes, H3a, was that economic migrants would show stronger signs of economic integration relative to non-economic migrants. Looking at Table 5, we see that this is the case: the three worker types are less likely to be unemployed than adventurer and family types of migrants. Turning to occupational status, we see evidence of the familiar story of economic constraint: although less likely to be unemployed, worker migrants are more likely to work in lower status jobs. By contrast, students and family migrants who are employed find higher status work, even after controlling for their higher levels of education and better language ability. They are also, unsurprisingly, more likely to be in education or pursuing other main activities.

We next address our measures of social and structural integration. These are illustrated in Table 7, with the marginal effects in Table 8. We see that, consistent with hypothesis H3b, temporary migrants face the lowest levels of life satisfaction and are also least likely to feel at home or be socially

integrated in the destination country. In contrast, as expected in hypothesis H3c, settled, family migrants and, particularly students, all have relatively high proportions expressing the highest satisfaction level, with 'adventurers', interestingly insignificantly different from circular workers. This probably links to their more temporary orientation. Settled migrant workers also are more likely to feel at home than other migrants (H3d), though the story is less clear for attitudes towards hospitality of or the opportunities offered by the receiving society. While the positive attitudes of settled migrants may be taken as evidence of reverse causation, the short period at which the migrants have been resident suggests that it is equally, if not more, likely that those intending to settle are actively invested in the country of destination. Also consistent with our expectations, temporary workers also have the most negative attitudes towards the hospitality of the receiving society and are also the least likely to perceive opportunities for Poles.

Table 7: Subjective and Social Integration of Migrant Types Relative to Circular Migrants, results from ordered (life satisfaction, feeling at home, country is hospitable, spend time with UK/NL/DE/IR people and Poles in area) and binary (Agree Poles have opportunity and has friend from UK/NL/DE/IR) logistic regression models (N=3189)

Migrant Type (Ref.: Circular)	Subjective Integration				Social Integration		
	Life satisfaction	Feel at home in [RC]	Thinks [RC] is hospitable	Agree Poles have opportunities	Spend time w. people of [RC]	One of close friends is from [RC]	Poles in area
Temporary	-0.25*	-0.48*	-0.20+	-0.23	0.02	0.18	0.08
Settled	0.37*	0.59*	0.06	-0.03	0.27*	0.41+	0.06
Family	0.27+	0.12	-0.04	-0.3	-0.35*	0.42	0.40*
Student	0.51*	0.06	-0.12	-0.40+	0.53*	0.85*	0.42*
Adventurer	0.13	0.26	0.08	-0.1	-0.09	0.3	0.53*

*= p<0.05 +=p<0.1. Models control additionally for demographics, family context, pre-migration characteristics, current economic status, country of destination. RC=receiving country, that is UK/NL/DE/IR.

Table 8: Predicted probabilities of subjective and social integration outcomes at means of covariates

Migrant type	Variable						
	Life satisfaction	Feel at home in [RC]	Thinks [RC] is hospitable	Agree Poles have opportunities	Spend time w. people of [RC]	One of close friends is from [RC]	Poles in area
	Response category						
	Very satisfied	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	See every day	Has close friend	None
Circular	0.11	0.27	0.18	0.81	0.37	0.05	0.13
Temporary	0.09	0.18	0.15	0.77	0.37	0.06	0.13
Settled	0.15	0.4	0.19	0.8	0.44	0.08	0.13
Family	0.14	0.29	0.18	0.75	0.29	0.08	0.18
Student	0.17	0.28	0.17	0.73	0.5	0.11	0.18
Adventurer	0.13	0.32	0.19	0.79	0.35	0.07	0.2

Marginal effects from full models. Other characteristics held at mean values. RC=receiving country, that is UK/NL/DE/IR.

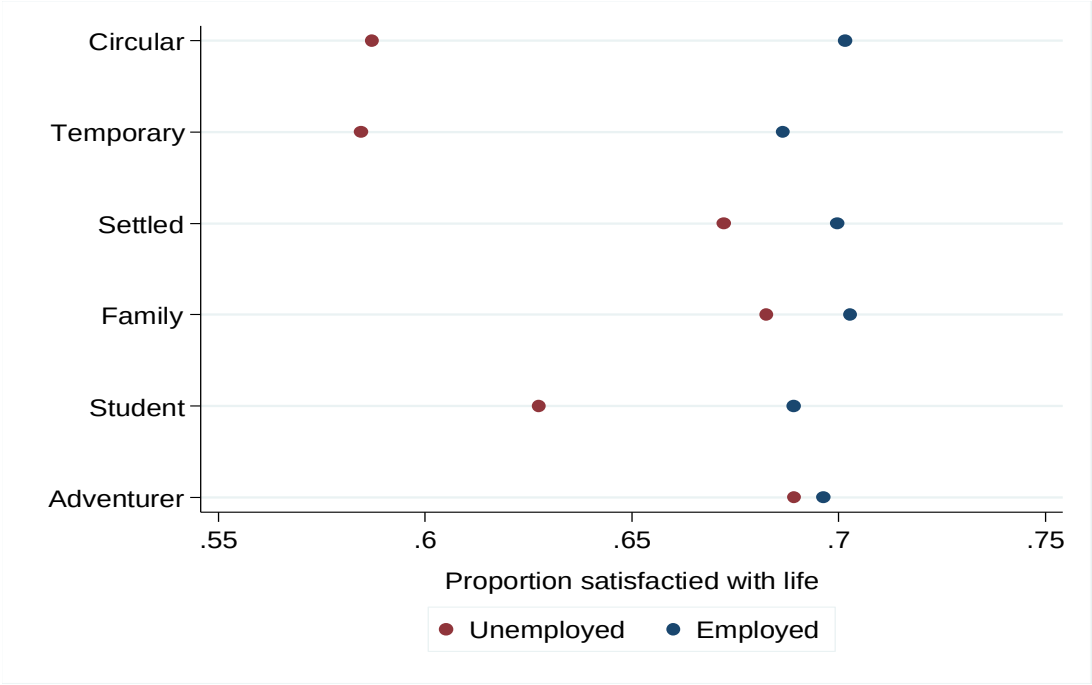
In relation to social integration, exposure to people from the destination country is likely to be driven by opportunities for interaction and is, perhaps unsurprisingly, highest among students. However, it is also notable that it is relatively high among settled migrants, even conditioning on employment status, and low among family migrants. This latter finding does somewhat go against our expectations in hypothesis H3c; but overall the findings indicate that not only different constraints and opportunities but also different investment strategies play a role across the groups, with settled workers looking outwards to social network opportunities and family migrants focusing more on family context. In relation to friendships, students and settled migrants again are the most likely to have a close friend from the majority society, again supporting our hypothesis H3c. This time family migrants are more comparable to settled migrants, suggesting that while they

may not have the opportunities for broader social networks, they are able to establish closer bonds.

Finally, we see that Poles are much more likely to dominate the neighbourhoods of the worker classes of migrant. This may well reflect the concentration of particular forms of employment in which Poles cluster; but it is interesting that it is as much the case for settled as for temporary and circular migrants. By contrast, family migrants, students and adventurers all tend to live in less Polish dominated areas (or perceive their areas of residence as less Polish-dominated). This may be linked to different ways in which these migrant types engage with community and neighbourhood.

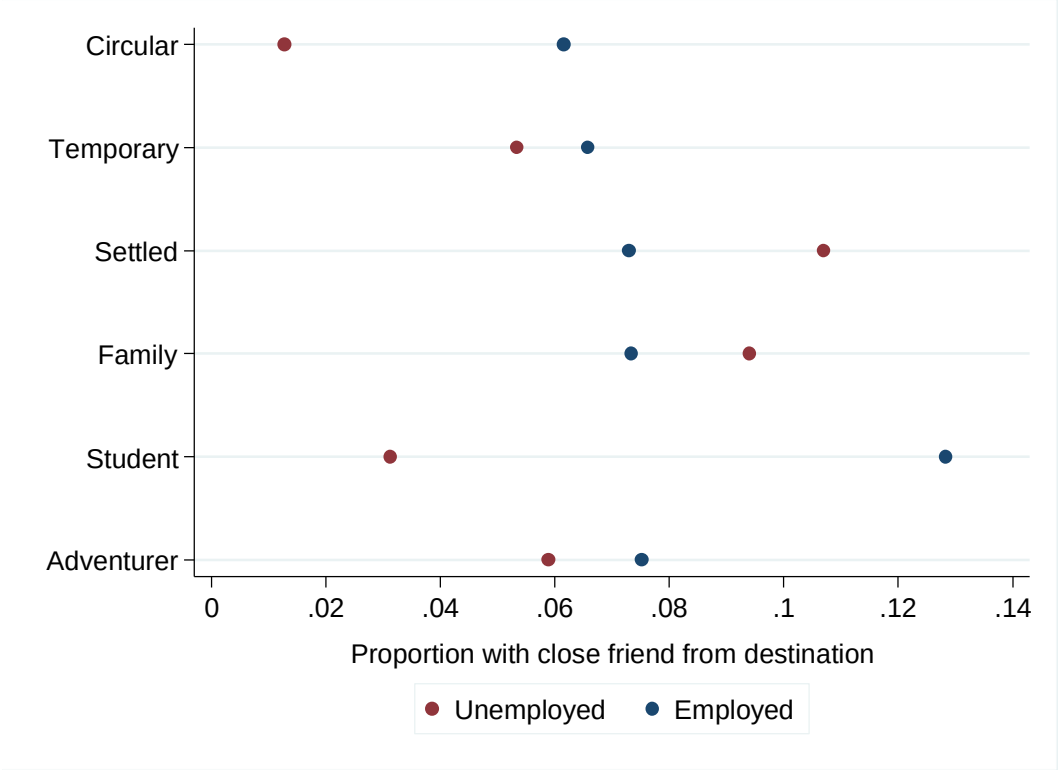
We then considered our final hypothesis H3e that the relationship between economic status and subjective and social outcomes may vary by migrant type. We re-estimated the subjective and social integration models interacting migration type with economic status. While tests on the inclusion of the interaction suggested that overall they were non-significant at conventional levels, some were marginally statistically significant and in addition individual interactions between migrant type dummies and economic status did seem to indicate variation in relationships. Specifically, as illustrated in Figures 5 and 6, we see that there were different impacts of unemployment on subjective well-being and on having a close friend depending on migrant type. Note that we chose "satisfied" (category 4) rather than "very satisfied" (category 5) as the basis of our interaction model probabilities as it is the most numerous category.

Figure 5: Impact of unemployment on probability of being very satisfied with life by migrant type



Note: Marginal effects from ordered logistic regression model of life satisfaction with interaction between migrant type and unemployment. Other characteristics held at mean values.

Figure 6: Impact of unemployment on probability of having a close friend from destination country by migrant type



Note: As for Figure 5

While unemployment reduced life satisfaction for circular and temporary migrants, for whom work and accumulation appears to be the driving migration motivation, it did so only marginally for the other migrant types, whose motivations and temporal perspectives were more varied and complex. In relation to having a close friend from the destination country, unemployment had a negative impact for most of the classes but not significantly for family migrants – whose routes to friendship may come through family and children, nor for adventurers, for whom friendships may be part of their experiential aims, rather than a side-product of work-based contact.

5. Conclusions and Discussion

With lower institutional barriers post-2004 'new' Europeans are now free to move within the EU to the destination and at the timing of their choosing (Galasińska and Kozłowska, 2009). Technological advancements have facilitated both physical and virtual mobility, and the number of Poles who decided to emigrate has grown rapidly. As a response new research looks at the new waves of migration from Eastern Europe. Much of this new literature, however, has been selective in its treatment of migrants, their outcomes and their countries of settlement.

We have exploited a unique new data resource to draw together the three currents of recent scholarship on Polish migration to Western Europe – research which documents diversity in demographic factors and selectivity, in migration motivations, and in integration. These data present the first opportunity to examine quantitatively the relationship between pre-migration characteristics on migration motivations and duration and intentions, and

their subsequent association with early economic, social and subjective integration. In contrast to previous typologies, our typology derives from a large sample of Polish immigrants across a wide range of receiving contexts with varying migration histories: geographically neighbouring Germany with a long standing tradition of seasonal migration from Poland; the UK (London) with a longer history of smaller, and more highly selected flows from Poland; and relatively new destinations in the form of the Netherlands and Ireland (Dublin). Thanks to our large sample of very recently arrived migrants, our data allowed us to identify more transient and smaller migrant student, family, and adventurer types alongside the circular, temporary, and settled labour migrant types that coincide with previous research on migrant types. Comprising nearly one third of our sample, these typically overlooked migrant types represent an important part of the EU free movement project (c.f. Ryan et al., 2009, Krings et al., 2013a, Cook et al., 2011) and contribute strongly to the diversity in receiving country integration patterns.

The new taxonomy allowed us to address questions of migrant selectivity in a new way, across a wider array of demographic, regional and economic characteristics. Our focus on free movers within the EU enables us to more closely approximate actual migration intentions operating independently of migration costs. We demonstrate that relatively "new" groups, such as women and younger cohorts, are more often exploiting the opportunities to migrate offered by free movement. They are more likely to compose non-economic migrant classes, but are also well represented among worker types other than traditional circular migrants. Human capital is also an important predictor of migrant class. Against more negatively selected traditional migrants circulating between origin and destination, non-economic migrants, including students and family movers tend to move with better educational resources. Migrant types with strong settlement intentions and also students

are more likely to possess language capital, a highly destination-specific form of human capital. Our findings suggest that free movement offered by the EU has likely led to more positive and varied composition, to the benefit of receiving countries. While migration seems to be an option more broadly available to various groups of people, broad social background and human capital remain important predictors of how international mobility projects are constructed.

Our study further demonstrates the need for greater attention to the diversity of migrant motivations and intentions in research on A8 migration. The "success" or "failure" of post-accession migration is typically framed in purely economic terms (Dustmann et al., 2010). But, as recent research has shown (Card et al., 2012), hostility towards European migrants is frequently based in fear surrounding the potential for social and cultural cohesion. Separating the discussion of economic impacts and integration from social and subjective outcomes ignores the inter-relationship between the two. For example, we found that non-economic migrant types were less likely to be in employment, but were likely to have a slightly higher employment status when they were. Socially students seem to be more inserted in the receiving context than traditional circular migrants, as are other non-economic migrants who moved for adventure or family reasons. Even amongst worker migrants, intended duration matters. Migrant workers who planned to stay, tended to be particularly embedded within and positive towards their local receiving country contexts. In subjective terms, circular migration was associated with lower life satisfaction and a lower probability of feeling at home. Temporary workers had the poorest subjective and social well-being across the range of measures. It is clear that migration motivation and duration intentions underlie much of the diversity currently reported in Polish labour market and

social integration, even after controlling for commonly observed characteristics such as age, sex, and years education.

The paper has enhanced our understanding of the diversity of the new migration and the implications of that diversity both for integration and for migrants' trajectories themselves. It has complemented the growth of country-specific qualitative and quantitative studies on the new migration by providing a large-scale cross-national perspective with attention to pre-and post-migration factors. The implication of our findings is that the diversity of migrant types and trajectories needs to be better taken account of to be able to explain and evaluate migrant outcomes in different contexts and to allow a better understanding of the migrant profiles of those captured in more typical cross-sectional data sources. This will render possible the development of a fuller theoretical account of the relevant factors informing migration decisions in a relatively frictionless context.

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Appendix

Table A1: Migration Types by Country of Destination (column %)

	UK	Netherlands	Germany	Ireland	Total
Circular	8	6	17	12	13
Temporary	35	22	27	41	32
Settled	36	41	21	27	28
Family	9	15	18	12	14
Student	5	9	14	3	9
Adventurer	7	7	3	4	5
All types (N)	100 (778)	100 (338)	100 (1,516)	100 (1,059)	100 (3,691)

Table A2: Summary of LCA results for separate countries

	UK	Netherlands	Germany	Ireland
Circular	0.08	0.06	0.16	0.12
Temporary	0.35	0.22	0.26	0.36
Settled	0.36	0.42	0.19	0.27
Family	0.09	0.15	0.19	0.11
Student	0.05	0.07	0.13	N/A
Return student	N/A	N/A	0.06	N/A
Adventurer	0.07	0.08	N/A	0.05
Return adventurer	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.07
Entropy	0.98	0.99	0.94	0.93

Table A3: Economic integration outcomes: Full results from multinomial regression (Economic status: Ref.=employed) and OLS (ISEI)

	Unemployed		In Education		Other		ISEI	
	Coef	SE	Coef	SE	Coef	SE	Coef	SE
Migrant type (ref=circular)								
Temporary	-0.0398	(0.169)	0.809*	(0.380)	0.567	(0.484)	-1.346	(0.961)
Settled	0.393*	(0.172)	0.400	(0.422)	1.237*	(0.476)	-0.663	(1.038)
Family	1.543*	(0.211)	2.293*	(0.427)	2.972*	(0.463)	2.017	(1.602)
Student	1.193*	(0.327)	3.331*	(0.424)	2.113*	(0.632)	5.156*	(2.499)
Adventurer	1.057*	(0.254)	0.568	(0.600)	1.705*	(0.608)	-2.643	(1.935)
Pre-migration								
Male	-0.00752	(0.109)	-0.175	(0.204)	-1.686*	(0.232)	4.212*	(0.731)
Age	0.0397	(0.0397)	-0.311*	(0.105)	-0.240*	(0.0636)	0.442	(0.274)
Age2*100	-0.0244	(0.0521)	0.347*	(0.148)	0.344*	(0.0810)	-0.545	(0.361)
Ever worked in Poland	0.390+	(0.205)	0.743*	(0.265)	-0.212	(0.310)	1.422	(1.423)
Years education	-0.0501*	(0.0186)	0.0827*	(0.0405)	-0.00941	(0.0295)	1.157*	(0.127)
[English/Dutch/German] language fluency	-0.303*	(0.0784)	0.360*	(0.142)	-0.321*	(0.133)	6.161*	(0.519)
Knew s/o from [UK/NL/DE/IR] before migrating	0.456*	(0.132)	-0.0548	(0.240)	-0.0408	(0.230)	-0.966	(0.781)
Migrated from… (Ref=city)								
From town	-0.0424	(0.113)	-0.594*	(0.217)	-0.120	(0.199)	-2.907*	(0.766)
From village / country	-0.00642	(0.152)	-0.703*	(0.292)	0.175	(0.251)	-5.048*	(0.984)
Pre-migration status (ref=employed)								
Unemployed	0.642*	(0.130)	0.463	(0.408)	0.111	(0.294)	-1.813+	(0.961)
In Education	0.513*	(0.183)	2.253*	(0.261)	0.420	(0.329)	0.0503	(1.315)
Other	-0.0327	(0.256)	-0.854	(1.057)	1.294*	(0.262)	-0.943	(1.565)
Context								
Child in household	-0.560*	(0.171)	0.0950	(0.406)	1.371*	(0.200)	0.232	(1.096)
Child in Poland	-0.0474	(0.153)	-0.266	(0.652)	-0.504	(0.364)	-1.747+	(0.981)
Partnership status (ref=single)							0	(.)
Partner not in household	-0.864*	(0.187)	-0.927	(0.712)	0.0211	(0.407)	2.885*	(1.070)
Partner in household	0.0796	(0.115)	-0.169	(0.221)	0.981*	(0.242)	0.309	(0.801)

Country (ref=UK)	0	(.)	0	(.)	0	(.)	0	(.)
Netherlands	-1.697*	(0.261)	-0.695	(0.718)	0.438	(0.374)	9.876*	(1.317)
Germany	-1.264*	(0.146)	1.970*	(0.320)	0.908*	(0.306)	9.572*	(0.944)
Ireland	0.322*	(0.123)	1.248*	(0.333)	0.863*	(0.323)	-0.154	(0.966)
Constant	-1.563*	(0.749)	-2.210	(1.573)	-0.238	(1.297)	-15.62*	(5.044)
Observations	3189		3189		3189		1836	

Standard errors in parentheses
+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$

Table A4: Subjective integration outcomes: Full results from ordered and binary logistic regressions

	Life satisfaction		Feel at home in [UK/NL/DE/IR]		Thinks [UK/NL/DE/IR] is hospitable		Agree Poles have opportunities	
	Coef	SE	Coef	SE	Coef	SE	Coef	SE
Migrant type (ref=circular)								
Temporary	-0.251*	(0.123)	-0.477*	(0.110)	-0.199+	(0.115)	-0.226	(0.147)
Settled	0.365*	(0.130)	0.587*	(0.116)	0.0599	(0.121)	-0.0344	(0.154)
Family	0.271+	(0.164)	0.120	(0.146)	-0.0363	(0.153)	-0.303	(0.193)
Student	0.508*	(0.213)	0.0616	(0.185)	-0.119	(0.195)	-0.400+	(0.241)
Adventurer	0.126	(0.219)	0.255	(0.193)	0.0794	(0.199)	-0.103	(0.248)
Pre-migration								
Male	-0.181*	(0.0846)	-0.132+	(0.0753)	-0.202*	(0.0787)	0.0277	(0.0974)
Age	-0.0852*	(0.0290)	-0.0240	(0.0265)	-0.0739*	(0.0274)	-0.0539	(0.0352)
Age2*100	0.116*	(0.0377)	0.0680*	(0.0345)	0.111*	(0.0357)	0.0752	(0.0460)
Ever worked in Poland	-0.0739	(0.142)	0.107	(0.127)	-0.223+	(0.133)	-0.00213	(0.164)
Years education	-0.0211	(0.0139)	-0.0456*	(0.0126)	-0.00973	(0.0131)	-0.0152	(0.0159)
[English/Dutch/German] language fluency	0.208*	(0.0591)	0.441*	(0.0528)	0.114*	(0.0546)	0.0143	(0.0669)
Knew s/o from [UK/NL/DE/IR] before migrating	0.129	(0.0925)	0.0120	(0.0832)	-0.0153	(0.0867)	0.277*	(0.103)
Migrated from… (Ref=city)								
From town	0.183*	(0.0863)	-0.0296	(0.0778)	0.0424	(0.0812)	0.286*	(0.0984)
From village / country	0.0605	(0.113)	-0.0246	(0.101)	0.233*	(0.105)	0.418*	(0.133)
Pre-migration status (ref=employed)								

Unemployed	-0.200+	(0.110)	-0.123	(0.102)	-0.0841	(0.104)	-0.289*	(0.123)
In Education	0.118	(0.141)	0.121	(0.126)	-0.250+	(0.132)	0.201	(0.167)
Other	-0.429*	(0.168)	-0.310*	(0.154)	-0.389*	(0.158)	-0.285	(0.193)
Economic Status (ref=employed)								
Unemployed	-0.739*	(0.103)	-0.0621	(0.0931)	-0.238*	(0.0969)	0.0399	(0.119)
In Education	0.0622	(0.182)	0.0407	(0.157)	0.0550	(0.164)	0.0723	(0.209)
Other	-0.0718	(0.172)	0.199	(0.152)	-0.121	(0.161)	0.406+	(0.210)
Context								
Child in household	0.163	(0.123)	0.283*	(0.109)	0.170	(0.114)	0.230	(0.145)
Child in Poland	-0.0373	(0.119)	0.103	(0.108)	0.00184	(0.112)	0.0406	(0.135)
Partnership status (ref=single)								
Partner not in household	0.0596	(0.132)	-0.188	(0.119)	0.292*	(0.123)	0.0932	(0.150)
Partner in household	0.145	(0.0923)	-0.0897	(0.0825)	0.0426	(0.0861)	0.145	(0.107)
Country (ref=UK)								
Netherlands	0.0945	(0.164)	0.643*	(0.146)	0.454*	(0.159)	0.0479	(0.178)
Germany	-0.0700	(0.109)	0.398*	(0.0982)	0.0291	(0.100)	0.239*	(0.119)
Ireland	-0.225*	(0.108)	-0.0786	(0.0982)	0.739*	(0.102)	0.755*	(0.126)
cut1 / Constant	-7.282*	(0.645)	-0.305	(0.500)	-5.858*	(0.552)	-1.577*	(0.655)
cut2 Constant	-5.091*	(0.564)	1.634*	(0.501)	-3.748*	(0.523)		
cut3 Constant	-2.771*	(0.553)			-2.308*	(0.519)		
cut4 Constant	0.717	(0.550)			0.512	(0.517)		
Observations	3189		3189		3189		3189	

Standard errors in parentheses
+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$

Table A5: Social Integration outcomes: Full Results

	Spend time w. people of [UK/NL/DE/IR]		One of close friends is from [UK/NL/DE/IR]		Poles in Area	
	Coef	SE	Coef	SE	Coef	SE
Migrant type (ref=circular)						
Temporary	0.0168	(0.111)	0.184	(0.236)	0.0835	(0.122)
Settled	0.271*	(0.117)	0.408+	(0.238)	0.0590	(0.128)
Family	-0.348*	(0.147)	0.418	(0.282)	0.401*	(0.162)
Student	0.528*	(0.195)	0.847*	(0.310)	0.418*	(0.207)
Adventurer	-0.0917	(0.189)	0.298	(0.352)	0.530*	(0.209)
Pre-migration						
Male	0.0545	(0.0758)	-0.193	(0.138)	-0.143+	(0.0826)
Age	0.00335	(0.0257)	0.0427	(0.0526)	0.0737*	(0.0286)
Age2*100	0.00671	(0.0332)	-0.0155	(0.0675)	-0.0765*	(0.0372)
Ever worked in Poland	0.0382	(0.126)	0.524*	(0.228)	-0.0212	(0.137)
Years education	-0.0153	(0.0128)	0.0599*	(0.0227)	0.0381*	(0.0137)
[English/Dutch/German] language fluency	0.633*	(0.0537)	0.941*	(0.0957)	0.158*	(0.0572)
Knew s/o from [UK/NL/DE/IR] before migrating	0.108	(0.0839)	0.312+	(0.164)	0.226*	(0.0909)
Migrated from… (Ref=city)						
From town	-0.0848	(0.0773)	-0.273+	(0.144)	-0.0685	(0.0850)
From village / country	0.118	(0.102)	-0.107	(0.196)	-0.393*	(0.112)
Pre-migration status (ref=employed)						
Unemployed	-0.123	(0.0963)	-0.142	(0.219)	0.0627	(0.107)
In Education	-0.0901	(0.125)	0.336	(0.213)	0.269+	(0.138)
Other	-0.0682	(0.150)	0.296	(0.270)	0.0685	(0.167)
Economic Status (ref=employed)						
Unemployed	-0.895*	(0.0881)	-0.0161	(0.192)	0.102	(0.0985)
In Education	-0.472*	(0.161)	-0.268	(0.252)	-0.00166	(0.176)
Other	-0.958*	(0.149)	-0.114	(0.276)	-0.0444	(0.168)
Context						
Child in household	-0.141	(0.109)	-0.201	(0.210)	-0.191	(0.120)
Child in Poland	0.179+	(0.108)	-0.273	(0.228)	-0.116	(0.118)
Partnership status (ref=single)						
Partner not in household	-0.200+	(0.119)	-0.448+	(0.242)	-0.175	(0.130)
Partner in household	-0.221*	(0.0819)	-0.438*	(0.154)	0.0601	(0.0894)
Country (ref=UK)						
Netherlands	1.705*	(0.155)	1.712*	(0.309)	0.986*	(0.164)
Germany	0.886*	(0.0955)	1.637*	(0.217)	0.823*	(0.106)
Ireland	-0.468*	(0.0924)	0.295	(0.230)	0.201+	(0.103)
cut1						
Constant	-0.890+	(0.491)	8.200*	(1.003)	-1.283*	(0.556)
cut2						
Constant	-0.255	(0.491)			0.581	(0.541)
cut3						
Constant	-0.0401	(0.491)			1.482*	(0.541)
cut4						
Constant	0.831+	(0.491)			4.799*	(0.549)
cut5						
Constant	2.039*	(0.492)				
Observations	3189		3189		3189	

Standard errors in parentheses
+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$

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