Types of Migration: Correlates and Consequences of the New Migrant Diversity in Europe

ABSTRACT

This article explores the antecedents and early integration outcomes of migrants in a new migration system: east-west movement following the 2004 expansion of the European Union. Applying latent class analysis to a unique data source of 3,500 recent Polish migrants in Germany, the Netherlands, London and Dublin, we provide a systematic account of constellations of migration motivations and intended duration of stay in the absence of border restrictions. We characterize these diverse migrant types in terms of their pre-migration characteristics and link them to varied early social and economic integration pathways. Developing a set of testable hypotheses we provide a first step towards a middle range theory that captures the complex motivations and migration trajectories of immigrants in the context of 'free movement'.

INTRODUCTION

In a review of immigration theory nearly two decades ago, Portes (1997) highlighted that the existing wealth of empirical, data driven analyses of migration did not necessarily lead to the development of generalizable theory, and argued that there was a need for mid-range theory that advanced theoretical propositions which could be tested across national contexts. Although writing about US migration scholarship, Portes' injunction remains highly salient for the phenomenon of intra-European migration following the expansion of the European Union (EU) in 2004, when ten countries including eight from former Eastern Europe (the "A8" nations) acceded to the EU. The resulting massive population movement from the A8 countries, amounting to several millions of people, displayed several key characteristics distinguishing it from other migration systems (Favell 2008).

Most importantly, the A8 accession represents an exception to the century long, essentially world wide trend towards increased control of international movement, dramatically reducing or eliminating legal barriers to Western European territory and labor markets for these countries. Restrictions for Sweden, UK and Ireland were lifted in 2004 with interim arrangements in other countries persisting till 2007 (e.g. Netherlands) or 2011 (e.g. Germany), when movement across Europe by all EU citizens was unconstrained. Concurrently, technological innovation has lowered the social and financial costs of international movement, with transnational movement and networks cheaply and easily maintained through mobile phones and low-cost air travel. The sheer scale of the movement further distinguishes it from other migration systems, as A8 migrants moved in large numbers to countries that had no established history of Eastern European migration, as well as to countries with existing links.

The absence of restrictions to international movement that shape nearly every other current migration stream has enabled a loosening of traditional links between migrant motivations and migrant characteristics and allows for more diverse motivations and settlement intentions to guide the migration decision (Burrell 2010; Cook, Dwyer and Waite 2011; Krings et al. 2013; Ryan et al. 2009). The combination of ease of movement, migrant diversity and heterogeneous motivations, could be expected to lead to more varied migration trajectories than in other contexts. The huge number of qualitative studies spawned by the post-2004 A8 migration (for reviews see, e.g., Burrell 2010 for the UK) suggest new integration patterns, but we still lack a systematic, cross-national account of the impact of "new" migration types on integration trajectories.

Using a unique, harmonized cross-national data set of over 3,500 Polish migrants in four European countries, surveyed in 2011 within 18 months since migration (Gresser and Schacht 2015), our paper addresses this lacuna in several steps. First, we perform latent class analysis to identify six migrant types within our large sample of Poles across Europe, based upon their migration motivations and intended duration of stay. Capturing the immigrants close to the point of arrival, across a range of receiving countries, enables us to develop a more complete typology of the key – and novel – features of migrant diversity under free movement in the EU. Second, we develop testable hypotheses linking migrant type to several indicators of social and economic integration, as well as the relationship between these two. Third, we test these hypotheses by regressing a variety of social and economic outcomes on our migrant typology. We incorporate both pre-migration characteristics and migrant outcomes that follow closely on the act of migration itself, enabling us to better isolate the relationship between migration motivation and early integration from bias arising from differences in demographic composition or return migration probabilities between migrant types. Finally,

by focusing on Poles, a single sending country, we are able to factor out sending country contextual factors, and instead focus on internal differentiation. Nevertheless, the propositions we develop in this paper lay themselves open for testing with other A8 countries and in other contexts of relatively low cost international movement.

Overall, we expect to find a) greater diversity in migrant motivations and expectations than those that currently dominate the theoretical literature; b) that 'newer' migration forms will be associated with less traditional labor migration characteristics (younger, women, higher educated); and c) that these new immigrant types pursuing movement for non-economic reasons will be more socially integrated even as they are less economically successful, hence representing a potential break in the socioeconomic – sociocultural link consistently found in traditional migration systems.

We find that labor migration dominates this new migration system, but there is considerable heterogeneity among these in their intended durations of stay, with significant consequences for their economic and social well-being. We further identify discrete, less studied migrant types, such as students, family, and experiential migrants. These less common types nevertheless make up over a third of our sample. Moreover, they tend to be more urban and educated, and show a greater representation of women than the labor migrants that garner the majority of research attention. Their social and subjective well-being is also less strongly tied to labor market outcomes. The migrant types are differentially distributed across our four distinctive European destinations; but all types are found in all four countries, supporting our contention that we are characterising a pan-European, rather than context-specific migration flow. We conclude that our findings largely substantiate our expectations about diversity in migration types and their consequences within a context of lowered migration barriers. We offer some reflections on limitations and possible extensions.

BACKGROUND

Polish migration to Germany, the UK, the Netherlands and Ireland

The number of A8 citizens living across Western Europe has increased dramatically since accession in 2004. For example, in the UK 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). While much of this migration was short term, nevertheless, the number of Polish-born adults living in England and Wales had increased from 19,000 in 2001 to 466,000 in 2011 (ONS 2013). In 2009, Germany reported 400,000 foreign Polish nationals resident (BAMF 2009). Similarly, in Ireland there were over half a million arrivals from new accession states between 2004 and 2010 (Department of Social Protection 2013a; Department of Social Protection 2013b); and, despite substantial mobility, 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 this pattern, albeit at a lower level: Polish foreign born residents increased from only 2,234 in 2003 to over 13,000 in 2009 (Statistics Netherlands 2010). Although all of the countries in our survey experienced a surge of Polish migration following 2004 accession, we expect both historical migration patterns as well as cross-national differences in the implementation of free movement following accession to influence the size and composition of the flow.

Before 2004, Germany was the main destination of Polish migrants. Due to geographical proximity Germany has long attracted migrants to low skilled jobs (illegal work) and for seasonal agricultural work (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. In contrast to the other countries in our study, Germany opted to restrict migration from the accession countries until May 2011, and so Poles in our German sample still required visas for nearly the entire duration of fieldwork. Hence, we expect migration to Germany to be more network or family driven given the longer migration history and the need for visa status.

After Germany, among our four countries, the UK had the largest numbers of pre-accession Polish (Mioduszewska, 2008; Grabowska-Lusińska and Okólski, 2008). Although the majority of Polish immigrants currently living in the UK have arrived only since 2004 (92 per cent of those who were recorded in the 2011 Census had come since 2001), 150,000 Poles settled in London immediately following WWII, and during the 1980s, thousands more Polish émigrés joined them. Though many returned home following the dissolution of the Soviet Union (Drinkwater et al 2009), these settled migrants began an ethnic economy that was later expanded by the undocumented and self-employed Polish migrants that arrived under the auspices of the 1994 Europe Agreement (Pollard et al 2008: 16; Garapich 2008: 128). Alongside Ireland and Sweden, the UK was also one of the few countries to allow immediate labor market access to A8 migrants, and received by far the largest number of immigrants post-2004.

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 the 1990s there were low levels of seasonal migration, migration of Poles possessing German passports, illegal migration and some marriage migration (Karczemski and Boer, 2011). In Ireland, there was a numerically small ‘Solidarity migration’ of refugees and marriage migration in the 1980s. The Irish boom attracted some economic migrants and some seasonal migration

during the 1990s (Grabowska, 2003). Yet in both these countries numbers were low until accession. Ireland, like the UK, also opened its borders immediately following accession, whereas the Netherlands placed restrictions which were fully lifted on 1 May 2007.

These traditional migration patterns are important for positioning recent migration flows, as well as the more recent economic context (post-2010), which is the period at which our data were collected. While the recent recession has impacted Polish migration, it has not done so consistently. According to Polish CSO data on temporary migrations, at the outset of the global recession the Netherlands actually saw an increase of Polish residents. The numbers stayed stable in Germany, while in Ireland and the UK numbers dropped dramatically, (Iglicka and Ziolek-Skrzypczak , 2010), though at lower rates thereafter.

New migration: diverse motivations, diverse backgrounds

The size and distinctiveness of A8 migration to western Europe has invited a burgeoning of research. Initially, A8 migration was understood within existing models of economic migration (Borjas 1994; Massey et al. 1999), which frame international migration as a reaction to push factors of unemployment and low wages and pull factors of tight labor markets (Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich 2009; Wallace 2002). Movement to and from EU destination countries is relatively cheap and easy, and 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, as well as the easier maintenance of transnational family and caring responsibilities, thereby encouraging the cumulative causation central to the new economics of labor migration framework.

A parallel body of primarily qualitative research has emerged, which provides empirical detail on the ways that the greater ease of migration has created new types of migration flows under free movement (Favell 2008). This literature has argued that there is now more diversity in the demographic characteristics of the migrants, their motivations, and their economic and social experiences in the destination country (Burrell 2010; Cook, Dwyer and Waite 2011; Krings et al. 2013; Ryan et al. 2009). As migration is no longer constrained to state-defined legal categories (or the shadows of illegality), we might see more migration for non-economic aims such as love, adventure (Favell 2011) or self-development (Cook, Dwyer and Waite 2011). Moreover, we may see a combination of varied aims among migrants who are no longer restricted to the rules of existing visa categories (prohibiting work among students, for instance). Rather than a primary motivation, immediate economic returns may be seen as contingent and part of a 'pathway' (Bachan and Sheehan 2011; Parutis 2014) to the eventual desired destination, with return – and even multiple attempts - being a viable option should the progression not immediately materialize.

With lowered economic and social costs, such new opportunities for non-economic – or mixed – migration can thus be pursued by Poles, who are more privileged than the labor migrants of the past but also less advantaged than the typical "skilled migrant." In contrast to 2001, when over half of Polish emigrants had only elementary qualifications, in 2011 a quarter of them had degree-level qualifications (Polish CSO 2014). These more highly skilled migrants are often overqualified in Western European labor markets and exhibit high levels of occupational segregation (Barrett and Duffy 2008; Campbell 2013), despite some evidence of occupational and earnings mobility (Mühlau 2012; Parutis 2014). This is likely linked to the fact that this is not a conventional high-skilled migration, where entry is conditional on

skills or qualifications and appropriately matched job offers are required. In addition, those with high skills do not necessarily select into contexts with the best economic returns, but rather may factor non-economic amenities as well (Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich 2009), and this is likely to vary with migration motivations.

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. The gender distribution of Polish migrants has shown a complex pattern, with the immediately post-2004 period characterized by predominantly male migration, as it typical of 'pioneer' movements, particularly to the new destination of Ireland. However, in more recent years the distribution has become more balanced.

As is true of many newly available experiences, we anticipate that the more transient, spontaneous, and less economically motivated opportunities for migration under free movement will be taken advantage of by younger and more highly educated individuals. We further anticipate that women will be more likely to pursue new migration pathways than the traditional working paths historically dominated by men.

Migration motivations and migration types

Responding to the general finding of more diverse migration motivations, a number of typologies have been proposed in order to characterize the specific features of Polish migrants in Western Europe. Both Eade et al. (2007) and Düvell and Vogel (2006) have created typologies for the UK, distinguishing migrants by duration of stay and locations of

family members. The two typologies both identify permanent migrants intending to settle, those who plan to return home, circular migrants, and a smaller fourth category of "searchers" or "nomads" with uncertain future plans. Drawing on emigration data of Poles across Europe, Grabowska-Lusińska and Okólski (2009) also identify similarly four types based on duration of stay. Another quantitative study of Poles in the Netherlands applies cluster analysis to sort migrants across two dimensions of social and economic contact with the sending and receiving society (Engbersen et al. 2013). This study further demonstrates how 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 to encapsulate the key characteristics of current Polish migration, namely diversity in intended duration of stay and links to the country of origin. Yet they primarily constitute small single-country studies of settled labor migrant populations, populations shaped by selection into specific receiving countries as well as return migration in ways that are difficult to investigate. The single-country nature of these existing typologies has meant that, while implicitly presented as a comprehensive overview of Polish migration, they are unable to address whether the typology was a highly localized one with only partial coverage of potential migrant types.

In these studies, the most transient migrants are lost or highly underrepresented. For example, the average migrant in the Engbersen et al. study had already lived in the Netherlands for 2.5 years. We know that migrants orientations change with time to become more permanent (Friberg 2012); this implies that types derived from more settled migrants will themselves reflect elapsed duration in the destination country (Bijwaard, Schluter and Wahba 2011). Integration outcomes will thus already be implicated in the observed settlement patterns, and

in their contemporary expressed intentions. The outcomes become, effectively, part of the typology rather than being able to be estimated as a consequence of it. Our own data contains, for the Netherlands, a subsample that is resident for longer than the 18 months used in our analytic sample. Comparison between shorter and longer stayers clearly reveals that the longer stayers (median duration 38 months) were much more likely to want to settle in the Netherlands, were more likely to have migrated for work, and were less likely to be joining family than the most recent arrivals.[i]

The existing literature therefore leaves space for developing a more comprehensive, pan-European typology of the new migration from Poland to Western Europe. Our study utilizes an inclusive definition of migrant, namely all Poles who identify themselves as immigrants (rather than visitors or tourists) in London and Dublin and who, in Germany and the Netherlands, register with the local authorities (as required by law). By surveying close to the point of arrival, we are able to capture those who are destined to be only temporary or highly mobile as well as the settlers who dominate other studies. Including Poles migrating to four different countries with very different migration histories, we aim to cover the full range of migrant diversity, part of which will be reflected in the selection of country itself. We illustrate the distribution of our migrant types across the different countries and test our 'European' typology against analysis based on the individual countries in our sample to substantiate this claim.

Migrants' early integration outcomes

Having established our set of migrant types, we explore the consequences of migration, using our typology to link outcomes with migration motivations conditioning on antecedents and

country of settlement. A number of studies have demonstrated poor economic outcomes among Polish workers in Western Europe (Campbell 2013; Clark and Drinkwater 2008; Pollard, Latorre and Sriskandarajah 2008). At the same time we have little information on the relative significance of these labor market 'penalties' for social integration as well as subjective orientations towards the receiving country and general well-being; though a growing literature suggests first occupations may be transition occupations which complicates how we interpret them (Bachan and Sheehan 2011; Parutis 2011). 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*.

Recent research shows that subjective orientations towards the receiving country such as life satisfaction are strongly associated with duration intentions and civic and social integration, but that satisfaction can be negatively associated with human capital (Massey and Akresh 2006). Amongst labor migrants, for those migrating to accumulate resources in a short period, employment and pay are likely to be critical to their well-being, and they will have less cause to invest in the destination society (Dustmann 1999; Dustmann 2003). Hence, employment, of whatever kind, is likely to be highly salient while social and subjective integration may not be. Workers migrating for the long term in contrast will have more invested in developing social relationships in the receiving society and may wait to take up a well-fitting, rather than any, job.

"Tied" (family) migrants tend to have worse labor market outcomes than "primary" (work) migrants (Adsera and Chiswick 2007; Mincer 1978). They are less likely to be selected on

labor market relevant characteristics and their migration motivation is less orientated towards income maximization. Their relationship to the host society as well as their subjective evaluation of their position should reflect this different orientation; and this will also be influenced by their intentions to stay,with those who intend to stay espousing higher levels of subjective integration. At the same time, the dichotomy between primary and tied migrants is an oversimplification of the potential interconnectedness of family and work migration (González-Ferrer 2010); in a context of free movement, multiple aims can be realized without visa or employment constraints. Hence, although we may expect some economic participation among family migrants, we do not expect that its absence will be strongly associated with social integration and subjective orientations towards the receiving country.

Formal students are often explicitly excluded from studies of immigrant labor market integration as they are considered both temporary and of little interest in terms of economic outcomes. However, in countries like the UK a significant share (16%) of EU citizens are students (Benton and Petrovic 2013) and their right to work enables intra-EU students the ability to combine both employment and educational aims. Those migrating for education or more generally for skill acquisition, such as language or cultural learning, may appear less successful (overqualified) in the labor market if they take lower wage jobs or are unemployed; yet they may still be fulfilling their migration purpose if they achieve higher levels of social integration (Parey and Waldinger 2011). As student migrants are generally more highly educated, however, we may expect them to have higher expectations and thus have lower levels of satisfaction with the receiving country than economic or family migrants (Tolsma, Lubbers and Gijsberts 2012).

Finally, those migrating for more general experiences (King 2002) – independent of family, study or work motivations – are typically considered only tourists or a privileged minority. In the context of free movement, however, they may occupy a place of greater numeric and substantive importance. Such "searchers" may be relatively satisfied with "getting by" economically and eager to engage more widely 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.

From this overview, we develop some specific hypotheses relating to economic (e.g. labor market participation, nature of job) and social (e.g. contact with and exposure to destination country society) integration. We also address subjective or attitudinal integration (e.g. attitudes to the destination country, how positively it is regarded as a place to live, how it feels to live there). Such measures are, however, less comprehensively discussed in assimilation research, and so our expectations relating to these outcomes are more exploratory.

First, we anticipate that, net of pre-migration characteristics, those who migrate for economic reasons will have higher levels of labor market integration, but lower levels of social and subjective integration than non-economic migrants (H1). Among economic migrants, those who have permanent aims may appear, in the short term, to be less economically integrated than short-term migrants, but will be more socially integrated and will have postive subjective orientations towards the country of settlement (H2). Among migrants with non-economic motivations, those with more temporary outlooks will achieve even lower economic integration than non-economic migrants with more permanent settlement plans (H3). Finally, among long-term non-economically motivated there will be some variation

with type of migration, such that, those migrating for family, and less through free choice, are likely to be less socially integrated and less positively disposed towards the settlement context, than other non-economic migrants (H4).

Finally, we expect that the (pre-migration) motivations and intentions for settlement on migration will influence not only the extent of integration but also interact with how it is experienced. We therefore anticipate that economic integration will be more strongly associated with other forms of integration for economic migrants than for non-economic migrants (H5).

DATA AND ANALYSIS

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 harmonized cross-national questionnaire. The study collected data on two main 'groups' of recent migrants (Poles and one non-EU group) 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 EU migration, and to maximize sample size we focus on the first sweep of data collection only.

The SCIP survey is unique in the scale of coverage of 3,631 Polish respondents to four European countries (Germany: 1468; Netherlands: 334[ii]: UK: 777; Ireland 1052), 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, which are the basis of existing and ongoing analyses (see e.g. Diehl and Koenig 2013). The SCIP survey thus represents the only possible source to address our questions of interest.

Different sampling frame availability resulted in different geographical coverage across the four countries. 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 (Heckathorn 1997) and non-random searching techniques (advertising, social networks, approaching individuals in Polish shops and cultural centers) were used in the capitals of each: London and Dublin, respectively (see further,Frere-Smith, Luthra and Platt 2014). It is, therefore, impossible to establish probabilities of inclusion for the UK and Irish samples, and not straightforward for the other countries. Hence, standard errors and other measures of statistical significance in this paper should be interpreted cautiously. Validation exercises using Census, Labor Force Survey, and governmental data sources revealed that the age, sex, and employment distributions of recently arrived Poles in our data were roughly aligned with other sources, with the exception of higher unemployment rates (Gresser et al 2014).

Measures

This paper 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 are provided in Table 1.

Migration Types

We conceptualize migration type as the interaction between previous international migration experience, current duration intentions and current expressed reason for migration. Migration motivations encompass four possibilities representing the main choices in migration trajectory afforded by EU free movement: “work,” “family,” “education/ schooling” and “just because”. Multiple reasons for migration could be reported, and therefore separate measures are included for each.

Future intentions of stay are characterized 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 intra-EU migration (see the formulation of "intentional unpredictability" in Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich 2007).

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. We also include an indicator for respondents who had secured a job prior to migrating to the receiving country, though this was the case for very few, highlighting a distinctive feature of free movement.

Pre-migration indicators and controls

Our first measures of pre-migration characteristics are respondent's sex, age, and years of completed education. We include the respondent's proficiency in the destination country language: 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. We also include an age squared term to account for a potential curvilinear relationship.

Additionally, we include whether or not the respondent is married and/or has at least one child; whether the respondent lived in a city, in a town, or in a village/ in the countryside prior to migration; and to capture social network effects, whether the respondent knew someone in the receiving country prior to migrating.

We added several pre-migration economic indictors: whether the respondent had ever worked before in Poland, and the respondent's labor force status prior to migration: in employment, unemployed, in education, or "other" which includes looking after children or illness/disability.

Finally, we include additional controls for the current household context: a present partner or child is an important component of social and subjective context (relative to none or an absent one); and those with partners or children outside of the household are likely to show rather different patterns. All integration analyses additionally control for country of destination.

Integration outcomes

Our measures of economic integration are current labor force status[iii] and occupational status (Ganzeboom and Treiman (1996)'s International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI) score) of the current job.

We have four broad attitudinal measures of the respondent's relation to the country of residence. We designate these as "subjective integration" measures, and they comprise life satisfaction, feeling at home, percieved hospitality for Poles, and perceived opportunities for Poles.

Finally, we have three measures designated 'social integration' outcomes. These comprise time spent with people of receiving country origins, whether the respondent has a close friend who was born in the receiving country, and the proportion of Polish people in the respondent's local area of residence.

The questions and answer categories for each of these measures, consistently coded with the most "integrated" outcome as the highest category, are summarized in Table 1.

Methods

First, for defining migrant types, we employ latent class analysis (LCA), a method that has been successfully used to characterize immigrants, in terms of legal status (Bean et al. 2011), acculturation type (Nieri et al. 2011) and family relationships (Rooyackers, de Valk and Merz 2014). We estimate two kinds of latent class analysis model parameters: the class probability parameters and the item parameters (Nylund, Asparouhov and Muthén 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 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

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

We estimate mixture models in Mplus 7.0 (Muthén and Muthén 2013), to identify groups with distinctive patterns of migration experience, current migration motivations, and migration intentions.[iv] To determine the optimal number of classes, we rely on three tests which have been shown to perform well in simulated studies (Nylund, Asparouhov and Muthén 2007): Bayesian information criterion (BIC), the Lo-Mendell Rubin adjusted likelihood ratio test (LMR) and the parametric bootstrapped likelihood ratio test (PBLR). Given that the entropy level for our preferred model is very high (0.959) we then assign each observation the most likely class membership. This has found to be the best performing method for assigning class membership, with good coverage and power in simulated studies (Clark and Muthén 2009).

For the next phase of the analysis, we 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. Three of our integration measures are ordered categorical variables (satisfaction with life, feeling at home, agreeing that RC is hospitable), for which we estimate ordered logistic regression models. For labor force status we estimate multinomial logistic regression models. Agreeing that Poles have opportunities and having a close friend from the destination country are binary response variables and are modelled using binary logistic regression. OLS is used for occupational status. Alongside our key independent variable of migration type, we also control for pre-migration characteristics and country of destination to estimate the association between migrant type and our outcomes net of selection based on compositional and destination differences across types. Moreover, we model the subjective and social outcomes controlling for employment status.

RESULTS

Latent Migration Classes

Our latent class model allocated respondents to a latent class migration type variable with six outcome classes. Model fit was assessed with Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC), Lo-Mendell-Rubin (LMR) and Bootstrapped Parametric Likelihood Ratio (BPLR) tests. The decline in BIC (a smaller BIC indicates a better fit) 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 decreases the BIC statistic but much more marginally. The corresponding LMR and BPLR

tests also show improving model fit up to six classes, at which point, according to the LMR, we can no longer reject at the five per cent level that six classes is preferable to seven. We therefore choose to keep the number of classes at six.

We allocated summary names to each of the six classes, based on the combinations of conditional item probabilities on the 13 observed variables for each class. Table 2 shows summary names ("circular migrants", "temporary migrants", "settled migrants", "family migrants", "students" and "adventurers"), the proportion of the sample allocated to each class, and the conditional item probabilities for each class as well as the distributions of the migration decisions variables across the sample as a whole. The six migrant types include both those that resemble more traditional constructions of circular and family migrants alongside newer migration forms.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

"Circular migrants" retain strong connections to Poland, while undertaking repeated spells of work in Western Europe. They have often worked in the country of destination 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). Important to note is that this "traditional" migration type comprises only 13% of our total 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, though less likely than circular migrants.

"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. They 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 are committed to an international life from the very onset of their migration, including the recently noted "stepwise" migration pattern for achieving goals through staged or multiple moves (Bell 2012; Paul 2011).

The remaining three groups are all non-economic migrants. "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" migrated for education purposes, although they also report migrating for work or just because as well. While typically excluded from analysis of labor 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 A8 population in countries of destination. 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, 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, strikingly only 13 per cent plan to return home to Poland.

These six groups show varying migration motivations and settlement intentions in the presence of "free movement". 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 easy contact (Dekker and Engberson 2013) and no legal restrictions on stay. 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). Sampling close to the point of migration enables us to capture those with rather short-term and heterogeneous migration intentions and motivations.

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. We see the effect of long-standing migrant links between Poland and Germany in the greater prevalence of family and student migrants there; the migration restrictions that were still in place there during the course of our fieldwork are also likely to have influenced the smaller proportion of labor migrants intending to settle in Germany. As the newest destination, Dublin hosts the largest proportion of explicitly temporary workers, whereas Polish workers in the Netherlands and London are more likely be "settlers." The appeal of global cities in the Netherlands and of London also attracts more "adventurers" to these destinations.

Nevertheless, all types are represented across all countries. Further, a check on the consistency of classes within individual countries, by replicating the LCA at individual country level revealed a high level of consistency. Specifically the six latent classes were fully replicated in the London and Netherlands samples. In Germany and Dublin, four classes were the same; but in Germany, instead of the adventurer category, the LCA analysis revealed two 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, its closer proximity to Poland and continued barriers to free movement during our fieldwork, it is perhaps unsurprising that "adventurers" would not choose this more established destination. In the new, English-speaking destination of Dublin, instead of students there were two kinds of "adventurers": those who migrated "just because" but had a very high probability of intending to return to Poland, and those who migrated "just because" but with more varied intentions and other motivations as well. [v] 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. The distribution of overall classes across countries and the large degree of consistency of classes in the within-country analysis, with additionally some explicable variation, supports this claim.

Compositional Variation

We now consider differences across the types in various pre-migration demographic and economic characteristics. Table 3 provides a summary of these compositional differences. Each variable is a significant predictor (at the .05 level) of migrant type in a multinomial logistic model including all variables listed.[vi]

TABLE 3

We see that younger migrants are more likely to move for schooling whereas older migrants follow more traditional labor migration patterns. For instance, the average age of students in our sample is 24, as compared to 34 for circular migrants. As expected, men are more likely to migrate as working migrants, and women are more likely to be family migrants. However, a distinctive element of this migration system is women's overrepresentation among the newer migrant types, comprising nearly three fourths of student migrants and six out of ten of the adventurer type. Women thus appear to be availing themselves more to the new opportunities offered by European membership, even as men continue to have higher prevalence as labor migrants.

We also anticipated that advantaged individuals would be best placed to pursue non-economic migration enabled by open borders. And indeed we see that this is the case, as the newer student and adventurer migrant types are privileged with higher levels of human capital, greater receiving country language fluency, and are more likely to hail from urban areas. Unemployment is also clearly a weaker driver of migration for the non-economic migrants, further suggesting that the for newer migrant types, migration may reflect choice rather than constraint.

Economic, subjective and social integration of migrant types

We estimated a series of regression models with each of the measures across our three domains of integration as a dependent variable. Migrant type was our key independent variable, with circular migrants as the reference category; and we controlled 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 4 (for structural integration) and 6 (for subjective and social integration).[vii] For ease of interpretation, we also provide predicted probabilities based on average marginal effects for each migrant type for the most integrated/positive outcome. These are illustrated in Tables 4 and 5.

TABLES 4 AND 5 ABOUT HERE

First we look at standard measures of structural integration – employment status and occupational status. Our first hypothesis relating to integration outcomes, H1, was that the working migrant types would show stronger signs of economic integration relative to non-economic migrants, even after controlling for compositional differences. Looking at Tables 6 and 7, we see that this is the case: the three worker types are less likely to be unemployed than adventurer and family types of migrants. And as anticipated in hypothesis H2, among economic migrants, temporary and circular workers with less permanent intended durations of stay have the lowest probabilities of being out of work. 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. As predicted

in hypothesis H3, those non-economic migrants with more tenuous relationships to the receiving country, namely adventurers, have the lowest status jobs of all.

Turning to the subjective and social integration outcomes in Tables 8 and 9, we see that consistent with hypothesis H1, temporary and circular 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. As expected in H2, workers with a more temporary intended duration of stay fare worst of all on social and subjective integration measures. Even though all the migrants in our sample have only resided for 18 months or less, with the majority being very recent arrivals, those workers who only intend to stay temporarily are already less invested: they report only a 20 per cent predicted probability of agreeing that they feel at home in the receiving country, 8 percentage points lower than the next least at home group (circular migrants), and report lower levels of life satisfaction and assessments of receiving country hospitality than either circular or settled workers.

In contrast, non-economic migrants generally report more favorably than economic migrants on their experiences with the receiving country, although with much nuance. For instance, family migrants and students have higher satisfaction and report the most integrated living arrangments, with nearly one in five reporting residence in a neighborhood with no other Poles; however both students and family migrants are slightly less likely to agree that Poles have opportunities or, in the case of family migrants, to actually spend time with receiving country nationals on a daily basis (largely due to the large number of stay at home parents in this group). Social integration is driven by opportunity as well as choices, which may explain the higher social integration among students, in particular their greater likelihood to have a close receiving country friend. The adventurer group provides levels of social and subjective

integration as we might expect given their name: they are similar to family and student migrants in their percieved residential integration, and generally subjectively well disposed towards the receiving country, reporting feeling at home and agreeing that Poles have opportunities; however, perhaps due to their lack of ties in the receiving country, they are not as active socially as the other non-economic migrant groups, and they do not differ significantly from circular migrants on any measure except for residential integration. Hence, the expectations of H4 are only partially borne out, as the more "constrained" family migrants do indeed report lower levels of some social integration measures, but the most unconstrained group of all, the adventurers, do not report the higher levels of social and subjective engagment we expected.

TABLE 6 AND 7 ABOUT HERE

We then considered our final hypothesis H5 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 1 and 2, 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 3) rather than "very satisfied" (category 4) as the basis of our interaction model probabilities as it is the most numerous category.

FIGURES 1 AND 2 ABOUT HERE

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.

To summarize, the integration patterns of the circular and temporary migrant types align with predictions of the new economics of labor migration theory, commonly applied to quantitative studies of A8 migration. These migrant types, which make up 45 per cent of our sample, appear to follow an income diversification strategy, taking any job where wages are high and intend to return home to spend or invest where cost of living is lower. These (predominantly male) workers are motivated by the economic opportunity afforded to them in the receiving country even as their life satisfaction and social integration remain low, given their orientation of earning with the goal to return home.

In contrast, the remaining 55 per cent of our sample presents early integratation configurations which are less well explained by prevailing models. The existing qualitative literature on A8 free movement, combined with our typology developed above, helps explain the decoupling of economic and social and subjective outcomes among immigrants. Free movement has provided more advantaged potential migrants, who can afford to move for

preference or self-development without immediate economic returns, the opportunity to realise their migration aims. Freed from visa constraints and state selection mechanisms, these students and adventurers, and to a lesser extent the settler workers who aim to make international living a way of life, can enjoy sojourns in Western Europe even as they are unemployed or in low skilled occupations, and can entertain uncertain or multi-step migration plans. Such plans particularly suit young and highly educated women, who are taking advantage of new opportunities in Europe at disproportionately high rates. It is these migrants that represent the novelty of the new migration, and which require a broader theorisation of their migration decision and early integration that goes beyond economic imperatives.

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper we set out to formulate the key features of the migration process in a situation of low information and travel costs and low or no legal barriers to entry. We argued that the absence of receiving state restrictions post-accession would enable greater diversity in migration motivations and intentions than in other migration systems, and that these would be consequential for early integration.

Using a large, cross-national sample of recent Polish immigrants to Western Europe in 2010/2011, we were able to identify both more traditional migrant forms from the pre-2004 era, such as circular and family migrants, but also newer forms of migrant with motivations linked more to learning and experiential concerns. These newer migrant forms were also more diverse in their pre-migration characteristics, showing less gender differentiation, a younger and more urban profile, and a higher level of skills than traditional migrants. Those with settlement intentions were also more positively selected than circular and temporary migrants.

When investigating whether there were, as hypothesized, differential integration outcomes across the different types, we paid attention to both the economic, social and subjective measures of integration. While, the "success" or "failure" of post-accession migration is typically framed in purely economic terms (Dustmann, Frattini and Halls 2010), hostility towards European migrants is often based more around concerns about social and cultural difference, than job threat (Card, Dustmann and Preston 2012). Hence, from both a migrant and a receiving country perspective it is important to consider both economic and social dimensions of engagement and the relationship between the two. Moreover, we explored these relationships controlling for the individual characteristics of migrants (sex, age, family status, education), to identify the ways in which migration type was independently associated with particular outcomes, rather than through the differential selectivity associated with the type.

Commensurate with their differing motivations and duration intentions, we found that non-economic and settler migrant types were less likely to be in employment, but were likely to have a slightly higher occupational status when they were. Socially, students and family migrants were more integrated than traditional circular migrants. Migrant workers who planned to stay, tended to be particularly embedded within and positive towards their local receiving country contexts, while temporary workers had the poorest subjective and social well-being across the range of measures. Since we were capturing the post-migration experience and intentions at an early stage, we were more convincingly able to discount feedback effects from the receiving context. Our findings suggest that the newer forms of migration facilitated by free movement are linked to greater contact with and positive

orientation towards receiving societies. They also highlight the relevance of evaluating integration outcomes against motivations and intentions.

A limitation of our study is that we cannot measure whether the types we identify will be consequential in the long term. We specifically surveyed migrants at a period that was as close as possible to the migration decision, while allowing for some experience in the destination country. Identifying the extent to which motivations and intentions are consistent over time will be an important next step for analysis. Longitudinal studies of migrants, particularly newly arrived migrants, are challenging and tend to identify the least mobile, but additional data collection rounds may enable some light to be shed on subsequent outcomes.

A second next step will be to extend – and empirically evaluate – our framework and hypotheses to explain migration from other A8 accession countries with rather different historical relations to Western Europe (such as Hungary, Lithuania and the Czech Republic). Moreover, with the changing profile of migration worldwide, and the ever-decreasing costs of travel and information (though not necessarily of barriers to entry), other migration flows which share many of the pre-conditions of the 'new migration' could serve as testbeds for our model.

Third, our paper has illuminated the role of motivations and intentions and characteristics, among those who migrated in the post-2004 era, but, other than in the increased volume of migration, we were unable to compare these directly with the implicit counterfactual of pre-2004 migration. Identifying opportunities where the stylized features of the new European migration can be directly compared with an earlier migration system would be a valuable complement to the theoretical and empirical claims made in this paper.

These shortcomings notwithstanding, our paper extends current qualitiative and quantiative research on post-2004 intra-EU migration. We currently lack an overarching theorization of migration under free movement across pre-migration features and post-migration consequences, connected by the migration decision itself, which can potentially be extended to and tested in other contexts. Building on Portes's (1997) emphasis on the role of typologies in the understanding of migration, not simply as a descriptive tool but also as a means to illuminate the differential consequences and causes of contrasting responses to a common context, we aim to have provided not only a set of extensible and convenient summary types, but a broader base of testable hypotheses based around those types.

NOTES

[i] Analyses available upon request.
[ii] While the number of Poles collected overall in the Netherlands was greater than this, some had in fact been resident in the country longer than 18 months and have been excluded from the analysis sample.
[iii] 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.
[iv] 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.
[v] Results available on request.
[vi] Likelihood ratio tests were performed for each predictor in a multinomial regression of migrant type on all variables listed. Results of full multinomial model available on request.
[vii] Full tables available on request.

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FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 1: Impact of unemployment on probability of being very satisfied with life by migrant type

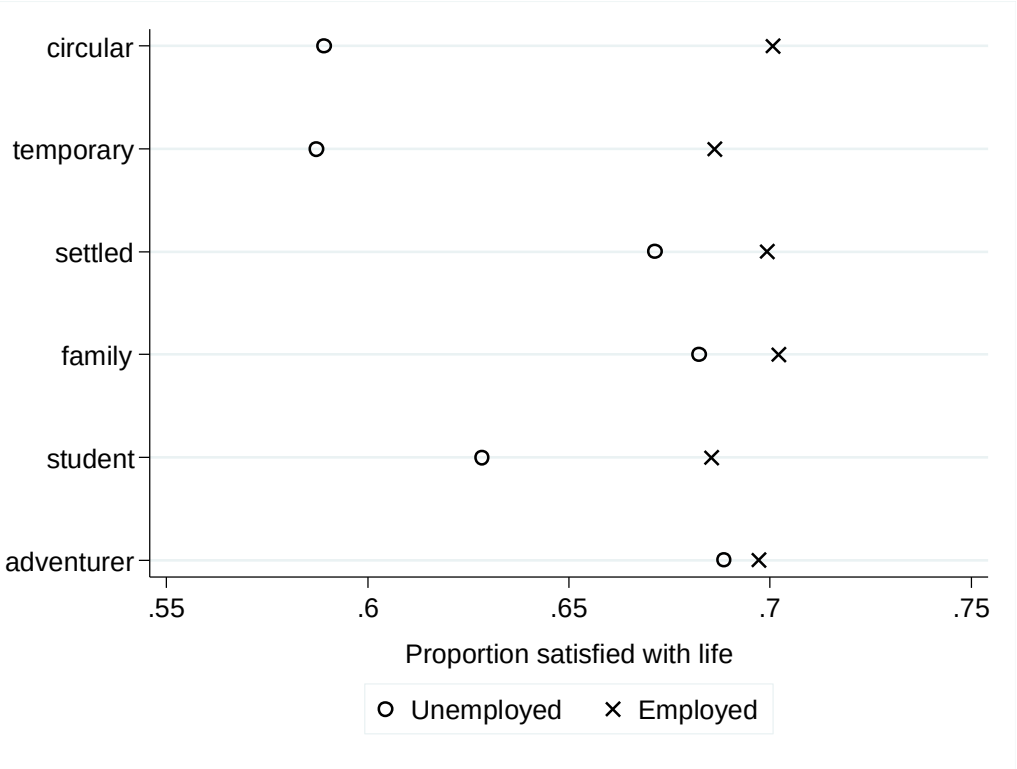

Figure 2: Impact of unemployment on probability of having a close friend from the destination country by migrant type

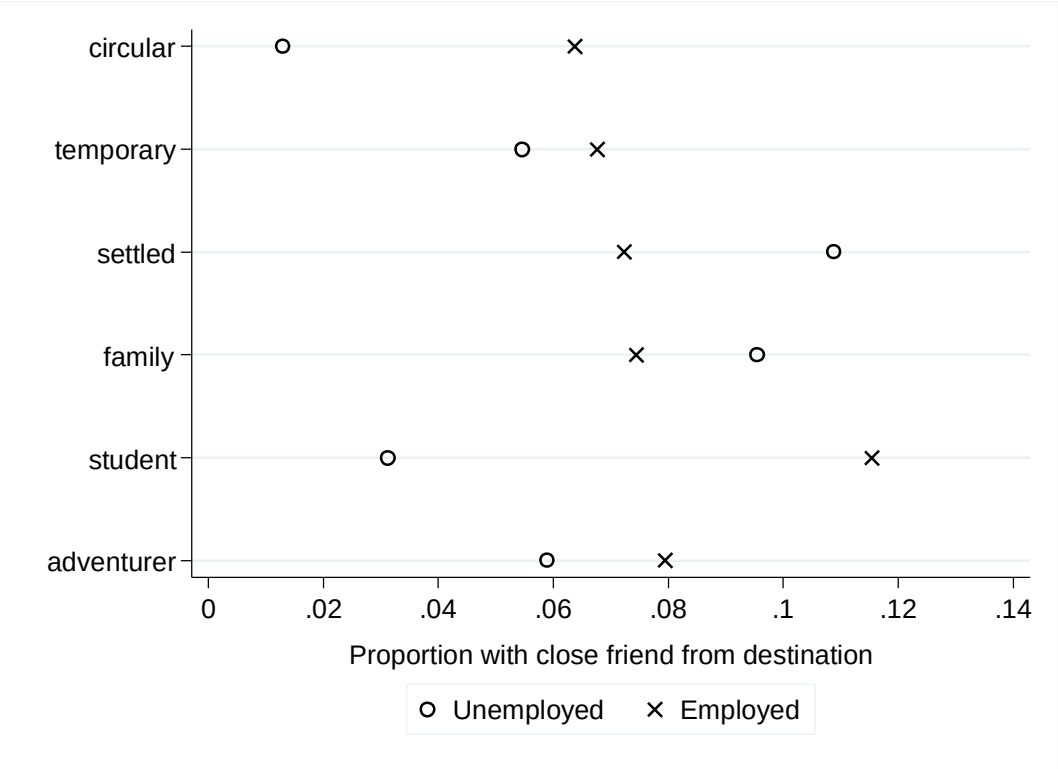
circular
temporary
settled
family
student
adventurer
0
.02
.04
.06
.08
.1
.12
.14
Proportion with close friend from destination
Unemployed
Employed

Table 1: Descriptive statistics of sample for the migration decision, migration antecedents and integration outcomes analyses, proportion / mean (SD)

MIGRATION DECISION (N=3691)		MIGRATION ANTECEDENTS (N=3583)	
Prior experience of [RC]		Male	0.53
No Migration Experience	0.66	Age	32.0 (10.7)
Work Experience	0.21	Married	0.35
Education Experience	0.02	Has child(ren)	0.41
Visiting Experience	0.07	Ever worked in Poland	0.89
Other Experience	0.03	Years education (0-30)	13.7 (3.06)
Intention for stay		[RC] language fluency (1-4)	2.38 (0.81)
Stay in [RC]	0.25	Knew s/o from [RC] before migrating	0.77
Move between [RC] and Poland	0.17		
Return to Poland	0.40	From city	0.40
Move on	0.10	From town	0.42
Don't know	0.08	From village/ country	0.18
Migration motivation		Pre-migration status	
Family	0.19	Working	0.58
Work	0.74	Unemployed	0.16
Education	0.11	In education	0.20
Just Because	0.11	Other	0.06
Had job before moving	0.04		

INTEGRATION OUTCOMES (N=3246)			
SUBJECTIVE MEASURES		SOCIAL MEASURES	
How satisfied have you been up to now with your life in [RC]?		How often do you spend time with [RC] people?	
Completely Unsatisfied/Unsatisfied	0.02	Less often, never	0.20
Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	0.17	Several times a month	0.14
Satisfied	0.67	Several times a week	0.24
Completely Satisfied	0.14	Every day	0.41
Do you feel at home in [RC]?		Of all the people who are important to you we'd like to know a bit more about the first four you can think of …In what country was this person born?	
No	0.29		
Sometimes yes sometimes no	0.42		
Yes	0.29	Not-[RC] [all 4]	0.89
		Receiving country [any of 4]	0.11
In general, [RC] is a hospitable/welcoming country for Polish people?		When you are thinking about the local area, how many people living there are from Poland?	
Strongly Disagree/Disagree	0.07	All or most	0.09
Neither agree nor disagree	0.16	Half	0.10

Agree	0.59	Some	0.65
Strongly Agree	0.18	None or almost none	0.15
In general, Polish can get ahead in [RC] if they work hard.		Economic measures (N=3246)	
Neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree	0.23	Working	0.63
Agree, Strongly agree	0.77	Unemployed	0.20
Destination context controls (N=3246)		Student	0.09
Child in household	0.16	Other	0.08
Child in Poland	0.17	ISEI: THOSE IN WORK (N=1836)	
Single	0.47	Current ISEI	27.33 (16.05)
Partner not in household	0.15		
Partner in household	0.38		

Note. RC= "receiving country", i.e. Germany, Netherlands, UK or Ireland

Table 2: Characteristics of Migration Types from Latent Class Analysis

	Whole Sample	**Migrant Type (column %)**					
		Circular	Temporary	Settled	Student	Family	Adventurer
Previous Experience							
No Migration Experience	66	61	68	65	69	65	78
Work Experience	21	31	23	28	6	7	7
Education Experience	2	1	1	1	13	2	2
Visiting Experience	7	5	4	4	6	22	9
Other Experience	3	3	3	2	8	4	4
Intention							
Stay in RC	25	0	0	58	19	37	37
Move between	17	100	0	0	15	15	13
Return	40	0	100	0	39	30	20
Move on	10	0	0	22	19	7	22
Don't know	8	0	0	20	9	13	8
Motivation							
Family	19	4	6	7	6	98	1
Work	74	98	99	100	10	10	0
Education	11	2	3	5	93	0	0
Just Because	11	3	5	11	8	4	100
Had Job Before	4	9	6	4	1	0	0
Distribution across Countries							
London	21	8	35	36	5	9	7
Netherlands	9	6	22	41	9	15	7
Germany	41	17	26	22	14	18	3
Dublin	29	12	41	27	3	12	4
Proportion in Group (row %)	100	13	32	28	9	14	5
Note that motivations can sum to more than 100 as multiple motivations were allowed.							

Table 3: Composition of Migrant Types

	Migrant Type					
	Circular	Temporary	Settled	Student	Family	Adventurer
Previous						
Male	.654	.627	.592	.270	.239	.423
Age	34.536	32.157	32.265	23.578	33.974	30.816
Married	.434	.342	.310	.084	.580	.123
Has child(ren)	.499	.400	.433	.041	.609	.239
From city	.268	.337	.415	.709	.379	.521
From town	.473	.431	.448	.226	.422	.393
From village/ country	.259	.232	.136	.064	.199	.086
Working	.601	.626	.636	.186	.586	.650
Unemployed	.196	.168	.198	.047	.105	.110
In education	.155	.161	.119	.760	.136	.184
Other	.048	.045	.047	.007	.174	.055
Ever worked in Poland	.911	.919	.904	.693	.864	.902
Years education (0-30)	13.076	13.568	13.606	15.287	13.793	14.031
[RC] language fluency (1-4)	2.187	2.292	2.384	3.133	2.226	2.577
Knew s/o from [RC] before migrating	.723	.759	.768	.736	.876	.822
Note: Each variable predicts latent class membership at the .05 level within a multinomial logistic model including all covariates						

Table 4: Economic integration outcomes of different migrant types, relative to circular migrants: results from multinomial logit (economic status) and OLS (ISEI) regression models

	Economic Status (N=3246)						ISEI (N=1836)	
	Unemployed		In education		Other			
Temporary Worker	-0.05		0.68	+	0.56		-1.35	
Settled Worker	0.39	*	0.58		1.24	*	-0.66	
Student	1.21	*	3.34	*	2.11	*	5.16	*
Family	1.54	*	2.38	*	2.96	*	2.02	
Adventurer	1.06	*	0.92	+	1.68	*	-2.64	

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

Table 5: Predicted probabilities and values of economic integration outcomes

	Employed	Unemployed	In education	Other	Mean ISEI
Circular	0.76	0.16	0.05	0.03	27.94
Temporary	0.73	0.15	0.08	0.04	26.60
Settled	0.67	0.20	0.07	0.06	27.28
Student	0.39	0.26	0.26	0.08	33.10
Family	0.38	0.33	0.14	0.14	29.96
Adventurer	0.55	0.30	0.07	0.08	25.30

Table 6: 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 [RC] people and Poles in area) and binary (agree Poles have opportunity and has friend from [RC]) logistic regression models (N=3246)

	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 Worker	-0.244*	-0.484*	-0.196+	-0.237	0.019	0.175	0.175
Settled Worker	0.361*	0.575*	0.054	-0.045	0.262*	0.363	0.059
Student	0.560*	0.008	-0.130	-0.435+	0.366+	0.714*	0.448*
Family	0.286+	0.123	-0.037	-0.286	-0.364*	0.391	0.378*
Adventurer	0.149	0.271	0.072	-0.077	-0.099	0.306	0.546*

Note. Models control additionally for demographics, family context, pre-migration characteristics, current economic status, country of destination. RC= "receiving country", i.e. Germany, Netherlands, UK or Ireland. *= p<0.05 +=p<0.1

Table 7: Predicted probabilities of subjective and social integration outcomes

	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	0.12	0.28	0.19	0.80	0.40	0.09	0.14
Temporary Worker	0.10	0.20	0.16	0.76	0.40	0.10	0.15
Settled Worker	0.16	0.40	0.20	0.79	0.45	0.11	0.15
Student	0.19	0.28	0.17	0.72	0.47	0.15	0.20
Family	0.15	0.30	0.18	0.75	0.32	0.11	0.19
Adventurer	0.14	0.33	0.20	0.79	0.38	0.11	0.21

Note. RC= "receiving country", i.e. Germany, Netherlands, UK or Ireland.