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Abstract

How has the recession affected the employment and job quality of Polish migrants in Ireland? The paper analyse unique data of more than 600 Polish migrants in Dublin, that has been collected using respondent-driven sampling, to shed lights on this question. Based on the reconstruction of the employment histories of the respondents, the paper demonstrates that employment levels, occupational status and earnings have been surprisingly stable at the macro-level of the Polish community in Dublin between 2008 and 2010. Underlying this macro-stability is a high degree of individual transitions in and out of employment and of vertical earnings and occupational mobility. Up-to 50 percent of Polish migrants in 2008 may have seen a deterioration of their labour market position until 2010, while in the same period about 40 percent may have seen gains in terms of employment and occupational attainment. The position of Polish women improved strongly relative to Polish men in this period. The main reason is that men on particularly well-paid and prestigious jobs had a particular high risk of losing their job. Job losses among women were fewer and the quality of the lost jobs was poor relative to the average job women held in 2008. The study is the first longitudinal study of labour market and occupational attainment of immigrants in Ireland.

Occupational and Earnings Mobility of Polish Migrants in Ireland in the Recession

Introduction

Between 2004 and 2008, Ireland was perhaps the most attractive destination for Polish migrants (Okólski, 2010). Factors that contributed to the attractiveness of Ireland were open access to the Irish labour market and a booming economy that provided ample job opportunities. In 2008, a bursting property bubble triggered a particularly severe recession. As a consequence, the employment volume in Ireland shrunk by 15 percent between end of 2007 and mid 2011 (CSO, QNHS) with souring unemployment and emigration numbers. In this paper, I examine how the recession has affected the quality of employment and jobs of the Polish community in Dublin. Was the overwhelming experience for Poles in Dublin that they felt their jobs are threatened and that many actually lost their jobs and, if they found alternative employment, had to settle for poorer jobs than before the recession? Or did the Polish community go on to establish itself in the Dublin labour market, progressing, perhaps at a lower rate than before the recession, to jobs that were more suited to their education and training than the ‘starting jobs’ they took after arrival? And, do the experiences differ strongly between Polish women and men? By answering these questions, the paper does not only contribute to the documentation of the economic situation of the Polish community in Dublin in the turbulent post-boom times but also contributes to our general understanding of the processes of migrants’ labour market integration since the different outcomes are strongly associated with the most prominent theories of how migrants integrate in domestic labour markets, human capital theory and dual labour market theory.

After briefly describing Polish migration to Ireland and the Polish community in Dublin, I will sketch the underlying theoretical frameworks, summarise and evaluate the evidence provided by previous research on the economic position of Polish migrants (and other migrants from the New Member States) in Ireland and identify the prior expectations guiding the analyses of the data. The following paragraphs introduce the data, how they have been collected and how work histories have been reconstructed from the data, and the general

strategy of analysing the data. The core of the paper consists in the report of the findings and the paper finishes with a discussion.

Polish migration to Ireland and the Polish community in Dublin

Ireland, beside the UK and Sweden, belongs to the few countries which granted free access to the labour market for migrants from the eight new member states of the European Union in 2004. As a consequence, Ireland became an important destination country for Polish migrants after 2004. Poles established themselves quickly as the largest group of migrants from the new member states in Ireland. The exact size of the Polish community is difficult to ascertain. The Irish census counted 73,402 Polish nationals in April 2006 in Ireland of which 10,126 were considered to be visiting (CSO, 2008). Figures of Polish Central Statistical Office are comparable with an estimated 76,000 Polish citizens staying in 2006 two month or longer in Ireland. According to the estimates of the Polish Central Statistical Office the number of Poles in Ireland peaked in 2008 with 200,000 staying three month or longer and since is somewhat declining (Kaczmarczyk and Okólski, 2008: 603; Okólski 2010). Eurostat reports, on the basis of the Irish National Quarterly Household Survey, that in 2010 90,200 Polish citizens resided in Ireland (Vasileva, 2011: 4). Compared with other destinations or the Polish general population, Polish migrants in Ireland are very similar to those in the UK: Predominately male, young and relatively well educated (Okólski, 2010). For example in 2006, 64 percent of the residing Poles were male and the average age 27.5 years. More than a quarter had tertiary education and further 58 percent completed upper secondary education (CSO, 2008). Aggregated figures for the New Member States indicate that it is likely that the share of women among the Polish migrants has increased since (CSO, QNHS, various issues).

Dublin as economic and cultural centre of Ireland is an important destination for Polish migrants in Ireland. In 2006, about 29 percent of the Poles in Ireland were residing in Dublin. A special counting of the Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS) estimates the number of Polish migrant older than 15 years in Dublin as 24,600 in the first and as 22,700 in the second quarter of 2010. The economy of Dublin is dominated by service industries;

construction, manufacturing and agriculture play far less a role in Dublin than in the state which makes the Dublin area particularly attractive for women. According to NQHS estimates, 55.5 percent of the Poles in Dublin are men and 44.5 percent women. About 35 percent have a tertiary qualification and more than 50 percent are younger than 30 with women being on average better educated and younger than men.

Structural integration or marginalisation?

Migrants typically have poorer jobs than domestic workers and Polish migrants in Ireland surely are no exception. There are two theoretical approaches in employment and migration studies accounting for this fact: human capital theory which explains the labour market position of migrants by their endowment with human capital, specifically their lack of destination-specific human capital, and dual labour market theory which emphasises the role of labour market segmentation and the inherent instability of the jobs accessible to migrants.

For human capital theory, the crucial insight is that important parts of human capital are not general, of use for every employer worldwide, but specific to a particular country (e.g., Friedberg, 2000). The language of a person is the most obvious one, but familiarity with local circumstances and practices and being connected with information and referral networks, what sociologists refer to as social capital, are also important. Differences in the way ‘things are done’ limit the cross-country transferability of education and work experience and lack of familiarity on the employers’ side with credentials and reputations in the country of origin add to the depreciation of the human capital stock of migrants. Even skills and knowledge, that are valuable in the destination country, may be of limited use in the destination country if the migrant is not endowed with ‘complementary’ destination-specific components, for example an architect lacking fluency in English and knowledge of Irish regulations (e.g., Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003). Consequently, migrants are expected to be first employed on jobs with qualifications needs far below their levels of education and skill. However, migrants have strong incentives to invest into destination-specific human capital. These incentives are stronger if migrants are endowed with a complementary stock of general human capital and if they intent to stay in the destination country for a long time (see, e.g.,

Dustmann, 1993). Consequently, they will experience a considerable improvement of their situation. In short, human capital theory expects that recent migrants are employed on marginal jobs that under-utilize their skills but regards this situation as temporary; in the long-term immigrants' human capital investments lead to structural integration or immigrants' labour market and occupational assimilation (e.g., Chiswick et al., 2005).

Dual labour market theory, in contrast, shares the expectations of human capital theory regarding the initial jobs but sees migrants as stuck in these positions. Dual labour market theory (Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Piore 1979) argues that labour markets are not integrated but consist of two separated sectors, the primary and the secondary sector. 'Good jobs' are located in the primary sector and are characterised by good wages, job security and opportunities of advancement while the 'bad jobs' of the secondary segment are poorly paid and precarious. A crucial argument of dual labour market theory is that secondary sector jobs are not 'stepping stones' to the more desirable jobs in the primary segment. Primary sector jobs are inaccessible for secondary sector workers due to various reasons ranging from labour turnover costs to blunt discrimination. These barriers separate 'outsiders' from competing with the 'insiders' of the primary sector (Lindbeck and Snower, 2001). Primary and secondary sector jobs may be concentrated in certain industries or in certain firms within industries. Within firms, many firms are said to divide their workforce in a core and a periphery (Atkinson, 1981). The important point is that workers on secondary sector jobs lack the promise of long-term employment and are therefore prevalent in volatile industries or function as 'buffers' that protect primary sector worker jobs in the economic downturn. Dual labour market theory has been used to analyse the position and role of migrant workers in general (e.g., Piore, 1979) and Favell (2008) sees the European 'East-West' migration as a primary case.

The labour market position of Poles and New Member State migrants: Pre-recession evidence

The available evidence for Ireland shows that Polish migrants work in occupations and are concentrated in industries that are typically considered to lack the long-term prospects of 'primary sector jobs'. According to the 2006 census (CSO 2008), only 9 percent of Polish migrants in Ireland were employed (or self-employed) as managers, professionals or associate

professionals, the occupations which most likely enjoy the privileges of primary sector workers (Goldthorpe, 2007) while 12 percent had unskilled and 22 percent semi-skilled jobs which typically are organised as secondary sector jobs. The majority was employed in skilled blue-collar jobs (26 percent) and sales, service and office jobs (23 percent), but most often in industries such as construction or low-skilled services such as retail, cleaning, personal services or the hospitality sector.

The knowledge about the labour market position of Poles in Ireland is limited, among others, because the Irish CSO does not publish figures separately for migrants from specific countries but aggregates them in their publications and data releases. If immigrants from the New Member States (NMS) are accepted as proxies for Polish migrants, a series of studies by the research group around Alan Barrett mainly using data from the 2006 National Employer Survey is illuminating. Barrett, McGuinness and O'Brien (2011) find that immigrants from the New Member States earn on average only about 57 percent of an Irish employee and that there is very little variation among the wages of NMS immigrants. Even when the wage is controlled for industry, occupation, job tenure, firm size and unionisation, NMS workers earn 10 percent less than Irish workers. This wage penalty is higher for better educated migrants and is particularly large in non-unionised companies.

The human capital approach regards additional training as crucial for migrants to build up their stock of destination-specific capital. Employer-sponsored training is also seen as a precondition for career advancement and as a characteristic of the primary sector. Barrett et al. (2009) show that NMS migrants have a lesser chance to receive training than Irish workers or other immigrants. Partially, this has to do with the occupations and industries they work in, but this can only explain a small part of the disadvantage. 'Training-intensive' companies tend not to employ NMS immigrants; and in companies that train only some employees NMS immigrants do not belong to the happy few. Consistent with this is an early study of Barrett and Duffy (2009), using 2005 QHNS data, demonstrating that NMS migrants had the largest occupational gap of all migrant groups. They neither find conclusive evidence that a larger proportion of earlier migrant cohorts works in managerial or professional occupations which

could be seen as indication that NMS immigrants progress in the occupational ranking over time.

According to dual labour market theory, indigenous and migrant workers are non-competing groups. The finding of Barrett, Bergin and Kelly (2011) that a high share of immigrants in a particular occupation-age cell is associated with a wage gain for similar domestic workers is consistent with this argument that there is little direct competition between Irish and migrant workers, for example because migrants are confined to ‘peripheral firms’ such as subcontractors in construction and indigenous worker take on foremen positions. On a more general note, Turner (2010), looking at the change in the occupational distribution between 2002-2006, sees a considerable amount of upgrading for the Irish workforce in this period and an increasing concentration of immigrants, in particular from the New Member States, in the low skilled occupations and concludes that their little evidence that NMS immigrants have competed with the domestic workforce for jobs.

The research reviewed above points thus firmly in the direction that Polish migrants are stuck on ‘lousy jobs’ with no indication that they progress to better jobs. This general conclusion appears to be uncontested and mirrored by findings for the UK (see Clarke and Drinkwater, 2008; Drinkwater et al., 2009). There appears to be some speculation whether this is more attributable to active strategies of employers to maintain a secondary sector (Krings et al., 2011; Wickham et al., 2011) and blunt discrimination of migrant workers by primary sector employers (McGinnity et al., 2010), as expected by the dual labour market approach, or to a lack of necessary investments in destination-specific human capital by Polish workers which would reconcile the failure of Polish migrants to get a stronger hold on the Irish labour market with the human capital approach. Strong language barriers, lack of long-term commitment to stay in Ireland or a lack of career orientation of ‘target earners’ and ‘drivers’ (cp. Barrett and Duffy, 2009; Eade and Garapich, 2006; Trevena, 2009) may explain why Polish migrants were not more eager to establish themselves in Ireland.

But perhaps the data are less conclusive than they appear. The data on which this research is based are from 2006 or earlier. At that point in time, post-accession migrants were two years or less in Ireland. My own research, using data described below, in contrast, shows that migrants experienced a considerable improvement of their occupational status and their job-skill match in the first three years of their stay in Ireland (Mühlau, 2010). To put that in comparative perspective: Simon et al. (2010) study of occupational attainment of migrant in Spain reveals that the average socio-economic index (ISEI) of the last job Eastern European migrants had in their home country was 38. Their average ISEI score of the first job in Spain was 24 recovering to an average ISEI of 27.4 after 3 to 6 years. The average score for the last job in Poland of the Polish migrants who migrated before January 2005 to Dublin was 47.6, the average score of the first job 34.9 and the average score of the job in January 2008 42.5 (own calculations, Polonia in Dublin dataset). Compared with the sample of Eastern-European in Spain, Polish workers in Dublin have a far stronger post-migration recovery of their occupational status. This finding is not implausible considering that the situation in Ireland in the mid-2000s provided a favourable context for Polish migrants: a language being taught in Polish schools with a high use value also outside of the destination country; a very dynamic and quickly growing economy and a flexible labour market with less clear demarcation between ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ than in many continental countries which should favour the labour market integration of migrant workers (Kogan, 2007).

Recession in Ireland and the effect on migrant workers

Compared with other countries, the 2008 recession hit Ireland particularly hard and was largely homemade with a property bubble, financed by aggressive lending by Irish banks, bursting in 2007/8. Depreciation of assets, credit rationing by banks and a fiscal crisis induced by the re-capitalisation of the banking system added to a drying up the domestic demand (see Lane, 2011). As a consequence, the employment volume in Ireland sunk dramatically, from 2,139,000 jobs in the last quarter of 2007 to 1,821,000 in the second quarter of 2011. Unsurprisingly, the construction industry was particularly hard hit with almost 2/3 of the jobs lost between 2007 and 2011. More than 40 percent of the lost jobs were skilled blue-collar jobs and another 35 percent were semi-skilled and unskilled blue-collar jobs. Far less clerical, sales and service positions have been lost and hardly any managerial

and professional jobs (CSO, QNHS, own calculations). Male workers, in particular less well educated male workers suffered particularly. Unemployment rates rose from 4.5 percent to 14.3 percent.

Jobs of NMS migrants were particularly at risk. The number of jobs held by NMS migrants shrunk by a third from 168,000 (Q1, 2008) to 107,000 (Q2, 2010) and is stable since. Table 1 details the net job losses of NMS workers by industry. The first column contains the number of jobs held by NMS migrants begin 2008 per industry, the second column the share of jobs held by NMS migrants in the industry 2008. As these figures indicate NMS migrants were over-represented in the hospitality sector (20 percent), trade, construction and administration and support services which includes cleaning services (each 14 percent). They were under-represented in the public services (1 percent), agriculture and the higher skilled private services (4 percent each). Although construction is an important industry for NMS migrants, the concentration of migrants in specific industries explains only a small part of the job losses. If NMS migrants would not have been concentrated in certain industries and had the same risk as other workers, 155,000 jobs would have been available for NMS migrants. Taking into account that migrants NMS are somewhat concentrated in industries with a higher job risk, the number of jobs would be reduced to 147,000 jobs. The lion share of the job loss, 40,000 or 66 percent comes simply from the fact that NMS migrants had a much higher risk of job loss than other workers in the same sectors. Column 5 reports the NMS migrant jobs lost between 2008 and 2010 as a percentage of the number of NMS migrant jobs in 2008. Column 6 does the same for all employees. With the exception of agriculture, where NMS increased in numbers in spite of general job losses, NMS workers experienced substantially higher job losses than other workers across all sectors. That holds for sectors as construction that contracted the employment volume considerably but also for sectors that still expanded their workforce in the period such as trade or public services. This difference is comparatively small in manufacturing with about 8.5 percent points, and ranges between 22 percent (Hospitality) and 38 percent points (Trade) for the other industries. The data suggest that, in many sectors, NMS workers were displaced by other, mainly indigenous workers. A study of Barrett and Kelly (2011) on QNHS micro-data shows further that the vulnerability of NMS migrants cannot be explained by the high share of males and young people among them who have a particular unemployment risk in Ireland during the recession year or other

demographical characteristics. Barrett and Kelly (2011) further show that male workers from the NMS experienced a far stronger reduction in their employment chances than female migrants.

Table 1: Employment of New Member States migrants by broad sector, q1 2008- q2 2010

	2008	% in sector	2010	% in sector	Change NMS	Change All
Agriculture	3.8	3.5	3.9	4.6	+2.6%	-22.5%
Industry	32.7	11.6	25.1	10.5	-23.3%	-14.9%
Construction	29.9	14.2	9.3	7.4	-68.9%	-40.6%
Trade	36.4	14.4	24.9	9.3	-31.6%	+6.2%
Hospitality	26.3	20.1	18.3	15.3	-30.4%	-8.3%
Admin/Support	11.7	14.2	5.6	9.1	-52.1%	-25.4%
Private Services (HJKLMR-U)	20.8	4.3	15.1	3.2	-27.4%	-4.1%
PubServices (OPQ)	6.7	1.4	5.1	1.0	-23.9%	+6.6%
TOTAL	168.3		107.3			

CSO, NQHS, q1 2008, q2 2010, own calculations

Many NMS migrants left the country – the estimated stock of NMS migrants over 15 shrunk from about 209,000 (q4, 2007) to about 170,000 (q4, 2009) and is stable since (CSO, QNHS). According to the population and migration estimates, more than 83,000 NMS migrants emigrated between 2008 and 2011, almost 50,000 (25 percent of the stock end 2007) in 2008 and 2009. Not all of them returned to their origin country – at least a third moved to other destinations than NMS. It is likely that migrants who lost their job in Ireland are largely over-represented among the NMS emigrants. However, inward migration continued: about 62,000 migrated from the NMS to Ireland between 2008 and 2011, more of half of them in 2008 (CSO 2011, own calculations). But among the stayers and recent arrivals, employment rates plummeted from 82 percent (q1, 2008) to 64 percent (q2, 2010) and unemployment strongly increased from 6 to 20 percent. There is also a higher share of NMS migrants which is not active in the labour force; the share of inactive persons rose from 13 to 21 percent. How much of this increase reflects discouragement and how much is the consequence of a higher share of inactive women migrating after 2008, is not clear.

The available evidence of how the recession affected the employment prospects of NMS migrants again strongly points that there is much truth in the idea that the Polish migrants did not penetrate the primary sector in a segmented labour market. In the study reported below, I will explore whether this is the dominant force shaping the mobility experiences of Polish workers between 2008 and 2010. If so, we should observe overwhelmingly transitions from employment into unemployment and from higher status and better paid to lower status and

worse paid jobs. The alternative hypothesis is that the recession has curbed but not stalled an on-going process of labour market integration of Polish migrants. Consequently, it is expected that a considerable share of Polish workers moved on to better jobs and that factors related to human capital such as education, language skills and job training are associated with status maintenance and upward mobility. Finally, we are interested in whether the recession affected women differently than men. As indicated by the high concentration of men in skilled blue collar positions, but also by a higher share of technical qualifications in the ‘higher’ occupations, skills of men are more industry-specific while women have more general skills. The transferability of such industry-specific skills across borders may be higher than of the general, but perhaps more ‘culture-specific’ skills of women, and may have provided a better starting position for men in the boom period. But industry-specific skills are not easily transferred across industrial sectors and many of these skills have been de-valued by the collapse of the construction industry. Moreover, women’s more general skills are more dependent on the accumulation of complementary country-specific knowledge and skill. Hence, from a human capital perspective, I expect a much higher degree of upward mobility among women than among men. A dual labour market perspective, typically arguing that secondary sector jobs have little skill requirement and that ascriptive characteristics tend to play a strong role in the allocation of jobs, would more likely lead to expect that women are crowded out by men looking for employment in the formerly ‘female’ sectors and occupations.

Data

The study uses the ‘Polonia in Dublin’ dataset which has been collected in the Greater Dublin Area between November 2009 and June 2010. The data were collected using respondent-driven sampling (RDS). This sampling method was developed by Heckathorn (1997, 2002) for ‘hard-to-reach’ populations where no sampling frame exists and has been recently applied to migrant communities such as unregulated workers in New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago (Spiller et al., 2010) or Polish migrants in Oslo, Copenhagen and Reykjavik and Ukrainian migrants in Warsaw (Friberg and Tyldum, 2007; Hansen and Hansen, 2009; Napierała and Friberg, 2011; Napierała and Wojtyńska, 2011; Napierała and Górny, 2011). RDS is appropriate if members of the target population know each other as members of the

target population and if the target population forms one social network that is sufficiently dense and interconnected to support recruitment and prevent strong clustering of the data. RDS is a chain-referral method, but designed to avoid or mitigate the known weaknesses of many ‘snowball-sampling’-type studies. To achieve that the sample is a good representation of the Polish population in Dublin, every person can only refer a small number of other persons and long chains of referral should be achieved. Respondents are rewarded for their participation in the interview and for referring others who subsequently participate. This provides a compensation for their time and effort but also motivates respondents to act as recruiters and encourage others to participate. This secures that the study gains the cooperation of a broad cross-section of the population (see Wejnert and Heckathorn, 2011).

In the ‘Polonia in Dublin’ study, the target population was Polish migrants living in the Greater Dublin Area. The fieldwork took place between November 2009 and July 2010. 17 Polish interviewers were recruited and trained, and 623 interviews were conducted. Respondents were rewarded with 20 Euro for participation in an interview, and 10 Euro for each respondent they successfully recruited. Recruitment was restricted to 2 to 3 respondents. The study had 55 seeds, out of which 37 were active recruiters. The longest recruitment chain was 15 respondents long, but the median was around 5 respondents. Of the interviewed persons, 58% recruited further participants. Per recruiter an average of 1.96 respondents were recruited. Most people recruited ‘mates’, whereas less recruited acquaintances and family members. Very few recruited close friends or strangers. Out of the vouchers respondents were given for recruitment, 44% were used to recruit a further respondent.

The data has been weighted using a composite weight reflecting relative inclusion probabilities due to differential network sizes, the effect of homophily in the referral process and recruitment effectiveness on the sample composition and differences in the propensity to respond. The network size component is based on reported individual network sizes, the referral and recruitment component is based on the referral patterns of group differentiated according to employment status, occupation, workplace concentration of Poles and sex and the post-stratification weight is based on the multivariate gender, age and education distribution as inferred from a special counting of Polish migrants in the Greater Dublin Area of the pooled first two quarters of the 2010 National Quarterly Household Survey. The

weighted sample underlies the reported univariate and bivariate distributions; this excludes the seeds. Regression results are presented for unweighted data including the seeds but the results of regressions on the weighted data are qualitatively similar (see Winship and Radbill, 1994).

The information about the respondents' employment status, earnings and occupations are based on reconstructed employment histories of the interviewees. The respondents provided information about the job they were holding at the time of the interview and retrospective information about the previous job they held in Ireland, their first job in Ireland and the last job they had in Poland including the start and end date of the employment. Based on this information, I reconstructed their employment and job situation in January 2008 and in January 2010. For the respondents who were interviewed in November and December the situation at the time of the interview was taken as proxy information for January 2010. For some of the respondents, it is not clear whether they were employed, what occupation and earnings they had in January 2008, because their first job in Ireland had already finished and the job preceding the current job has not yet started in January 2008. I refer to these as 'status 2008 not known' in the tables ($n= 56$). Other migrated to Ireland later than January 2008. These are referred to as '2008: Not in country' ($n= 79$). The respondents reported their earning per job. Unfortunately, within-job earning changes such as pay raises or pay cuts are not picked up. Earning changes refer thus to changes in the wages associated with job changes and the total amount of earnings mobility is likely to be underreported.

Results: Employment status

Table 2 presents estimates of the employment status for the Polish community in 2008 and 2010. Of the Polish population in Dublin in 2010, a substantial number were still in Poland in 2008. I estimate that about sixteen percent of the resident population in 2010 migrated between January 2008 and January 2010 to Dublin. With 21 percent, the share of recent migrants is substantially larger among women than among men (11 percent). If we take the migrants who were in January 2008 in Dublin at the basis, of 79 percent it is known that they were employed in 2008 with a slightly higher proportion of certainly employed men (81 percent) than employed women (76 percent). Nine percent of the weighted sample was either inactive or unemployed in 2008. Unsurprisingly the share of the inactive or unemployed was

higher among women (13 percent) than among men (5 percent). Of 12 percent of the sample I do not know the exact status in January 2008. 10 percent of the women and 13 percent of men fall in this category. People of this category are frequent job changers, having at least one job before January 2008 and two further jobs after January 2008; it is likely that a substantial share of this group was also employed in January 2008. If we assume that the share of unemployed/inactive is about twice as large for this category than for the remaining population, a reasonable estimate for the employment rate of women in January 2008 would be 85 percent, for men 93 percent and about 89 percent for the overall population.

Table 2: Employment status in January 2008 and January 2010, n=603

	2008					2010						
	All		Men		Women		All		Men		Women	
Employment	66.8	(79.5)	72.4	(81.9)	60.6	(76.4)	81.1	83.6	78.2			
Inactive/unemployed	7.5	(8.9)	4.7	(5.3)	10.8	(13.3)	18.9	16.4	21.8			
Status 2008 not known	9.8	(11.6)	11.3	(12.8)	8.1	(10.2)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.			
2008: Not in country	15.9	--	11.6	--	20.8	--	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.			

In 2010, the employment rate has fallen to 81 percent. If we exclude the migrants who arrived after 2008, the percentage differential between 2008 and 2010 shrinks from 8 to 6 percentage points. The gender gap in employment may have somewhat narrowed with 78 percent of the women being in employment and 84 percent of the men. Table 3 reports the transition between the employment status in 2008 and 2010. Eighty-five percent of the respondents that were in employment in 2008 were also employed in 2010. 57 percent had the same job than two years before, 28 percent were employed, but on another job than they held in January 2008. Of the respondents who were inactive or unemployed in 2008, 72 percent were in employment in 2010 and 79 percent of the respondents who moved in 2008 or 2009 to Ireland had a job in 2010. Noteworthy is that, while respondents who were employed in 2008 had a substantially higher chance of being employed in January 2010, the overwhelming majority of the most recent cohort of migrants and of the migrants that were unemployed or inactive in 2008 was employed in January 2010. Table 5 reports the transition to inactivity/unemployment contingent on the occupation in 2008. There is no much difference in the transition rates of major occupational groups with the exception of skilled blue-collar workers who are not only more than twice as likely than any other major group to be not in

employment in 2010 but also more likely not employed than the people who were inactive or unemployed in 2008 or move to Ireland after 2008.

Table 3: Employment transitions between January 2008 and January 2010, n=603

	2008	Employed	Inactive/unemployed	Not known	Not in country
2010					
Employment –same		57.0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Employment – different		28.1	71.7	70.7	79.4
Inactive/unemployed		14.9	28.3	29.3	20.6

Table 4 reports the results of a logistic regression on the chances of being employed in January 2010. Like in the subsequent regressions we model the outcome variable, the logged odds of being employed vs. being unemployed or inactive as a function of a number of independent variables. These are age, education (1=third level education, 0=less than third level education), living with a partner in Ireland and living with one or more children. All these variables have been interacted with gender and are centred at the sample mean. The interaction effect between a variable and gender indicates thus how the relationships of the variable differs between men and women, while the main effect for gender shows the gender differences for the average men or women in the sample. Further variables are self-rated language proficiency (ranging from 1-7), whether the employee has ever been provided with employer-sponsored training, and the time the person is in Ireland. The latter is the difference between January 2010 and the arrival date, calculated in years. Finally, the employment status in 2008 is included in Model 1 (with being employed as reference category) and additionally the major occupational group (ISCO1+2+3= Managers, professionals and associate professionals; ISCO4=Office workers, ISCO5=Service and sales workers and ISCO6+7= Skilled blue collar workers including skilled agricultural workers; the reference category is ISCO 8+9, operators (mainly drivers) and elementary occupations) of the position in 2008 in Model 2.

Table 4: Logistic Regression of being in employment, n=598

Variables	Coefficient	S.E.	Coefficient	S.E.
Constant-	2.67***	.77	2.69***	.79
Female	-.33	.30	-.36	.31
Age	-.11***	.03	-.10***	.03
Age X Female	.10***	.03	.09***	.03
Education	1.13**	.51	1.02*	.51
Education x Female	-.15	.60	-.06	.60
Partner	-.59	.43	-.47	.33
Partner x Female	.31	.56	.23	.56
Child(ren)	.04	.25	.05	.25
Child(ren) x Female	-.56	.37	-.56	.38
Time in Ireland	-.24**	.11	-.22**	.11
Language Proficiency	-.09	.15	-.08	.15
Training in Ireland	.71***	.27	.69**	.27
Not employed in 2008	-1.54***	.36	-1.49***	.43
Not known in 2008	-1.18***	.41	-1.21**	.49
Not in country in 2008	-.89*	.47	-.88*	.52
ISCO 1+2+3 in 2008			-.01	.53
ISCO 4 in 2008			-.17	.53
ISCO 5 in 2008			.01	.47
ISCO 6+7 in 2008			-.48	.50

Nagelkerke pseudo-R²: .23 (model 1), .23 (model 2)

As the results show, older men have a higher risk for not being in employment in January 2010. For women, age does not matter. With regard to variables associated with human capital, it is noteworthy that migrants with a university degree have a lower risk of not being employed than migrants with less than tertiary education. That holds for both men and women. Respondents who have received training in Ireland are less at risk of losing their job; however language proficiency is not a factor protecting Polish migrants from job loss. The multivariate specification shows further that respondents who were not employed in 2008 have a higher chance of being without a job in 2010 than respondents who were employed in 2008. Polish migrants who arrived after January 2008 are somewhat, but insignificantly, more likely to be not in employment in January 2010 than people who were in employment in 2008. Model 2 shows further that there is little differentiation between occupational groups. It is neither the case that Polish migrants in occupations requiring higher skill levels are better protected against the risk of job loss nor that skilled blue-collar workers (with a strong concentration in construction industry and related trades) which might be considered particularly vulnerable faced a higher risk of being in employment. Compared with the raw

transition rates in Table 6, the multi-variate specification shows being a skilled blue-collar worker in 2008 does not *per se* substantially increase your risk of being unemployed in 2010: Elder and less educated male workers end up in unemployment (and that regardless of whether they were skilled blue-collar workers or not), while younger and better educated males are retained or find alternative employment (or emigrate) even if they were working in skilled blue-collar occupations.

Results: Occupations

Table 5 reports the occupations of the weighted sample in 2008 and 2010. In 2008, 9 percent of the Polish migrants were employed in managerial or professional positions, 12 percent worked as technicians or associate professionals, 15 percent as office workers, 20 percent as sales and service workers. Twelve percent were skilled blue-collar workers and 32 percent had found work in as semi-skilled workers or in elementary occupations. Men were more likely than women employed as skilled blue-collar workers (20 versus 1 percent), as semi-skilled or unskilled workers (37 vs 26 percent) and as managers or professional (11 vs. 8 percent). Women occupied more likely than men positions as associate professionals (18 vs. 8 percent), as office workers (20 vs. 11 percent) and as sales and service workers (27 vs 14 percent). The occupational distribution in 2010 is virtually unchanged from the distribution in 2008, with the important exception that the share of skilled blue-workers has been reduced to 8 percent while sales and service occupations has gained in prominence (24 percent). In 2010, the share of women in managerial and professional positions exceed the share of men (9 vs 7 percent) and the occupational gender segregation is less pronounced than two years earlier with slightly declining shares of women being employed as associate professionals (17 percent) or office workers (17 percent). The share of men in skilled blue-worker positions has been largely reduced to 12 percent, reflecting largely the decline in construction and related industries. In 2010, relatively more men work as sales and service workers (20 percent), associate professionals (11 percent) or office workers (12 percent).

Table 5: Major occupational groups, January 2008 and January 2010, n=500 (2010), 430 (2008)

	2008			2010		
	All	Men	Women	All	Men	Women
Manager/Professionals	9.3	10.7	7.5	8.1	7.4	8.9
Associate Professionals	12.2	7.7	18.3	13.8	11.3	16.5
Office workers	14.7	10.7	20.0	14.6	12.1	17.4
Sales & service workers	19.8	14.1	27.4	24.0	19.1	29.5
Craft workers¹	12.0	20.1	1.1	7.5	12.9	1.3
Operators/Elementary	32.0	36.7	25.7	32.1	37.1	26.3

¹ Including skilled agricultural workers

Table 6 presents the matrix of the transitions between January 2008 and January 2010. The first column of figure indicates the share of a particular occupational group ending up in a particular category. For example, 70 percent of the people who were in 2008 employed as managers, professionals or associate professionals (ISCO1-3) are two years later employed in the same kind of job, 5 percent are employed as office workers and 1 percent each as sales and service worker or semi-skilled or unskilled worker. Thirteen percent of this group are inactive or unemployed 2 years later. The figure in the Job Changer cell gives the total number of people from the origin category that changed jobs between January 2008 and January 2010, 31 percent in the case of people originating from ISCO1-3 categories. The figures in brackets indicate how many of these in a particular destination cell, i.e. of the job changers, 72.7 percent of those originating in an ISCO1-3 job end up again in an ISCO1-3 occupation. As mentioned above, the matrix shows that with the exceptions of skilled blue-collar workers there are little differences in the risk to be inactive or unemployed between the origin occupational groups. Moreover, the rate of job changers does not differ much between the origin occupational categories. The diagonal in the matrix, even for the figures of job changers, is dominant, even for the ‘changers only’ figures. Occupations are sticky, but beside that the matrix shows little structure. In particular, being in employment does not provide you with an advantage regarding the attractive ISCO1-3 jobs. Vacancies in jobs in the more skilled occupations (Managers, professionals and associate professions) has been more likely filled by people who were unemployed or inactive or not yet in the country than by workers employed on jobs with lower skill needs.

Table 6: Transitions from occupation 2008 to occupation 2010. Percentages (Job Changer only in brackets)

	ISCO1-3	ISCO4	ISCO5	ISCO6/7	ISCO8/9	NA/UE	NK	NIC
ISCO1-3	79.3 (72.7)	8.5 (31.3)	4.0 (13.0)	--	3.2 (11.7)	16.6	10.9	12.8
ISCO4	4.9 (18.2)	76.3 (56.2)	5.3 (17.4)	--	1.6 (5.9)	6.7	8.7	6.4
ISCO5	1.2 (4.5)	1.7 (6.2)	73.3 (47.8)	4.3 (16.7)	7.1 (26.5)	25.0	34.8	18.1
ISCO6/7	--	--	--	56.5 (58.3)	4.0 (14.7)	3.3	---	2.1
ISCO8/9	1.2 (4.5)	1.7 (6.2)	6.7 (21.7)	6.5 (25.0)	69.0 (41.2)	20.0	17.4	39.4
NA/UE	13.4	11.9	10.7	32.6	15.1	28.3	28.3	21.3
JobChng	30.6	27.1	31.6	25.5	27.8			

To make the job moves more comparable, the next table presents the situation between 2008 and 2010 according to changes in occupational prestige which has been measured by the International Occupational Prestige Scale (IOPS, see Ganzeboom and Treiman, 1996). Job moves resulting in an increase of at least 5 occupational prestige scores are considered too be upward moves, job moves resulting in an decrease of 5 occupational prestige scores or more are considered too be downward moves and job changes resulting in a difference between plus four and minus four as ‘horizontal moves’. As the data show there are more than twice as many people who experience upward mobility than people who experience downward mobility and for women even 2.5 times as many.

Table 7: Job Prestige Change, 2008-2010, n=403

	All	Job changers	Men, all	Men, job changers	Women, all	Women, job changers
Downward	6.2	15.3	6.2	15.1	6.2	15.6
Lateral/stable	78.8	48.4	80.5	52.3	76.5	40.6
Upward	15.1	37.3	13.3	32.6	17.3	43.8

How can it be that the occupational job structure is largely stable but a much higher share of migrants experiences occupational upward mobility than occupational downward mobility? The solution in this puzzle lies in the role of people who exited employment between 2008 and 2010 and the people entering employment between 2008 and 2010. Table 8 shows the mean prestige scores for the migrants who were employed at both points in time, migrants who became unemployed between 2008 and 2010 and the different groups who were not in

employment in 2008 (or for which the occupation was not known) but were employed in 2010. The average scores for all in employment do not differ between 2008 and 2010, with a small decline for men and a small increase for women. For the migrants who were employed at both points in time, there is a small but highly significant increase in the average prestige score, smaller for men than for women. Whereas the prestige scores of migrants being employed in 2008 but unemployed in 2010 is slightly higher than the 2008 average of the migrants employed at both points in time, the prestige scores of those who were not in employment is considerably lower than the average score of the ‘continuously’ employed and cancel out the prestige gain of the migrants employed as points in time. The main difference accounting for the fact that the aggregate figures for women increased and the scores for men declined is the quality of the jobs lost between 2008 and 2010: The prestige scores of men being employed in 2008 and unemployed in 2010 is substantially higher than the average score of men while the scores of women employed in 2008 and unemployed in 2010 is substantially lower than the average score of women.

Table 8: Mean occupational prestige score by gender and transition type, 2008 and 2010

		All			Men			Women		
2008	2010	Share	2008	2010	Share	2008	2010	Share	2008	2010
Employed	Employed	61.4	34.5	35.9	62.7	33.2	34.4	60.6	35.4	37.0
Employed	Not empl.	8.7	35.0	--	10.4	40.1	--	7.5	29.3	--
Not Empl.	Employed	5.3	--	31.0	4.0	--	26.9	6.1	--	33.9
NIC	Employed	10.9	--	31.4	8.8	--	37.5	12.3	--	27.4
Not known	Employed	5.9	--	35.3	6.4	--	31.3	5.6	--	39.9
Total	Total	92.2	34.0	34.0	92.4	34.1	33.4	92.1	33.9	34.6

Table 9 reports the results of a multinomial regression on upward and downward mobility. Migrants who either did not change job or made a lateral change are the reference category for this analysis. There is little systematic difference between downwardly mobile migrants from ‘immobile’ ones. All occupational groups have a higher risk of downward mobility than the reference group, semi-skilled workers and labourers, but there is not much difference among the other occupational categories. Gender, age and the family situation are unrelated to downward mobility. People who report better proficiency in English or have received employer-sponsored training are not better protected against downward mobility. If any, male

graduates have a lower risk than men without a degree, but the relationship is statistically insignificant. Turning to upward mobility, migrants in ISCO 1-3 occupations in 2008 had by far the lowest chance to further advance their careers and the reference category, ISCO8+9, had the highest chance to progress to a job with higher prestige. More generally, upward mobility is strongly negatively correlated with the occupational status in 2008. Adjusted for the other variables, women are not more likely than men to experience upward mobility. The effect of age differs between the genders favouring younger women and older men but on its own age is unrelated to upward mobility for both sexes. Neither does the family situation affect the chances to advance to a more prestigious job. Both women and men with a degree are more likely to be upwardly mobile compared with migrants without a university education, and for women the relationship is weakly significant ($z=1.86$). The education-upward mobility relationship is also significant if estimated for all migrants without gender differentiation (not reported). Language proficiency is positively related to upward mobility, indicating that good command of English is a pre-condition to advance to better positions. Received training does not separate between ‘immobile’ and upwardly mobile migrants pointing to the job-specific nature of such training.

Table 9: Multinomial logistic regression of occupational mobility, n=361

	Downward		Upward	
	Coefficient	SE	Coefficient	SE
Constant	-4.04***	1.81	-2.95***	1.05
Female	-.21	.72	.11	.38
Age	-.11	.08	.06	.04
Age X Female	.03	.13	-.16**	.07
Education	-1.82	1.13	.75*	.52
Education x Female	1.11	1.32	.22	.67
Partner	-.45	.77	.13	.55
Partner x Female	1.52	1.13	-.33	.70
Child(ren)	-.40	.73	-.30	.46
Child(ren) x Female	-.05	1.26	.80	.66
Time in Ireland	.18	.21	-.18	.15
Language Proficiency	-.19	.34	.53**	.22
Training in Ireland	.18	.51	-.22	.33
ISCO 1+2+3	2.23*	1.18	-4.03***	.83
ISCO 4	2.59**	1.18	-2.30***	.57
ISCO 5	1.89*	1.14	-1.37***	.43
ISCO 6+7	2.27*	1.17	-1.18*	.70

Results: Earnings

The average weekly earnings in 2008 were €484 have fallen by almost 10 percent to €444 in 2010. For men, average weekly earnings fall from €539 to €498; for women, from €411 to €398 (see Table 12). Table 10 reports the weekly earnings in 2008 and 2010 in broad earnings categories. In 2008, 5 percent earned less than €250 per week. The majority, 56 percent, earned between €250-€500, 30 percent between €500 and €750 and 8 percent more €750. Two years later the earnings distribution is more skewed toward low and very low earnings: 9 percent earned in January 2010 less than €250 and 62 percent between €250 and €500. Only 22 percent earn between €500 and €750 and 7 percent more €750. There is a large wage gap between male and female workers. 78 percent of the women, but only 50 percent of the men earn less than €500 per week. In 2010, 81 percent of the women and 61 percent of the males earned less than €500. The recession has narrowed the earnings gap between men and women, but not closed it. This happened mainly by an over-proportional wage loss of male Polish migrants.

Table 10: Weekly gross earnings, January 2008 and January 2010, n= 491 (2010), 417 (2008)

	2008			2010		
	All	Men	Women	All	Men	Women
< €250	6.3	8.4	10.7	8.7	3.1	14.9
€250-€500	46.0	48.2	67.3	62.4	58.8	66.5
€500-€750	38.1	38.5	19.0	21.8	28.1	14.5
> €750	9.5	11.9	3.0	7.3	10.0	4.1

Table 11 report how the weekly earnings have changed between 2008 and 2010 for people in employment at both time points. Fourteen percent moved to a frequently substantially lower paid job; on the other side, 13 percent managed to get a new job with better payment. For the migrants who changed the job between 2008 and 2010, 39 percent experienced a worsening of their earning situation and 36 percent an improvement. Among men, 16 percent changed to a job with lower earnings (43 percent of the job changers) and 10 percent (28 percent of job changers) improved their earnings by a job change. The situation is less gloomy for women: 13 percent moved to a worse paid job (33 percent of job changers), while 20 percent could increase their earnings by changing their job (49 percent of job changers).

Table 11: Earnings Mobility January 2008- January 2010

All	Job changers	Men, all	Men, job changers	Women, all	Women, job changers
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< 90%	13.3	38.6	15.6	42.6	13.0	32.6
90-110%	73.4	25.4	74.0	29.6	68.5	18.6
> 110%	13.3	36.0	10.4	28.2	19.5	48.8

Again the discrepancy between the substantial change in the overall wage distribution in and the fairly stable earnings of the group who was continuously employed between 2008 and 2010 can be accounted for by relatively good 2008 earnings of the group which lost their job between 2008 and 2010 and the relatively meagre 2010 earnings of the group formerly not in employment. For the subsample of migrants who were employed in 2008 and 2010, the earnings were fairly stable with an average of €473 for 2008 and of €469 for 2010. The average 2008 earnings of the migrants employed in 2008 who were without a job in 2010 are €548 while the migrants not in employment in 2008 earned €391 in 2010 and the migrants arriving in 2008 or later earned on average €420. For the men, the earnings of the ‘continuously’ employed sunk from €515 to €502. More important for the aggregate is the substitution of the fairly well paid migrants who were unemployed in 2010 (€689) by the formerly unemployed (2010: €402) and the male migrants who moved after January 2010 (€566). For women, the earnings of the ‘continuously’ employed from €413 to €423 but that what outweighed by the ‘exit’ of women employed in 2008 with an average earning of €389 and the ‘entry’ of women who earned less in 2010 (not employed in 2008: €383, not in country: €316).

Table 12: Mean weekly earnings (in Euro) by gender and transition type, 2008 and 2010

		All			Men			Women		
2008	2010	Share	2008	2010	Share	2008	2010	Share	2008	2010
Employed	Employed	61.4	473	469	62.7	515	502	60.6	415	423
Employed	Not empl.	8.7	548	---	10.4	689	---	7.5	389	
Not Empl.	Employed	5.3	---	391	4.0	---	402	6.1	---	383
NIC	Employed	10.9	--	420	8.8	---	566	12.3	---	316
Not known	Employed	5.9	--	359	6.4	---	376	5.6	---	338
Total	Total	92.2	484	444	92.4	539	498	92.1	411	398

Table 13 reports regression results of upward and downward earnings mobility between 2008 and 2010. Earnings changes of more than 10 percent in either direction are considered to indicate mobility. Gender and age are unrelated to the risk of job change with a substantial earnings increase or decrease. Males having a partner experienced more likely downward earnings mobility, possibly indicating that they are willing to accept a lower paid job in

Ireland rather than emigrating. The length of stay in Ireland is negatively related to downward mobility, but associated with a lower chance of being in employment (see Table 4); perhaps early arrivals have acquired entitlements which may unemployment in Ireland preferable to going for a poorly paid job. The regression contains also the change in working time as an independent variable, expressed as ratio of normal working hours in 2010 and of 2008. This variable is an excellent predictor of earnings mobility, in particular of downward mobility. Much of the downward mobility reflects thus forced moves to jobs with reduced working hours and a substantial part of upward mobility is associated with longer working hour on the new job. For earnings mobility, the occupation of the migrant also matters. Sales and service workers experienced least likely a substantial reduction of their earnings while office workers and to a lesser degree the ‘higher’ occupations experienced less likely substantial increases associated with a job changes. Variables associated with human capital are unrelated to earnings mobility. Neither education, nor employer-sponsored training, nor language proficiency bears any relationship to the chance of a substantial pay increase or decrease associated with a job change.

Table 13: Multinomial logistic regression of earnings mobility, n=354

	Downward		Upward	
	Coefficient	S.E.	Coefficient	S.E.
Constant	6.86***	1.76	-5.44***	1.64
Female	-.18	.44	.51	.38
Age	-.03	.04	-.09	.07
Age X Female	-.04	.07	.09	.09
Education	.10	.60	.27	.59
Education x Female	.35	.79	.38	.73
Partner	1.08*	.64	.21	.59
Partner x Female	-.87	.85	.08	.73
Child(ren)	.28	.40	-.34	.63
Child(ren) x Female	-.87	.87	.35	.81
Time in Ireland	-.37**	.17	.22	.13
Language Proficiency	-.36	.25	.18	.24
Training in Ireland	.54	.39	.41	.34
Hrs2010/hrs2008	-7.06***	1.28	2.67**	1.08
ISCO 1+2+3	-.69	.59	-.81	.55
ISCO 4	.12	.56	-1.03*	.62
ISCO 5	-1.56**	.62	-.50	.48
ISCO 6+7	.44	.63	.53	.64

Discussion

In this study, I analysed data from a representative sample of Polish migrants in Dublin and examined, on the basis of retrospective employment history information, how their employment and occupational status and their earnings developed between January 2008 and January 2010. Ireland experienced a severe recession in this period, and labour market statistics indicate that NMS migrants had to take an over-proportional share of this burden. This has also been felt by the Polish community in Dublin. This study suggests that 15 percent of the Polish migrants in Dublin who were employed in the begin of 2008 and stayed in the country until begin to mid 2010 lost their job, further 6 percent had to settle for a job with lower prestige and 13 percent for a job with substantially lower earnings. More than 30 percent of the migrants who were in employment in 2008 experienced some form of downward mobility in the form of unemployment, lower occupational status or lower earnings. This does not include people who were in 2008 in Ireland but have migrated back to Poland or onward to another country. A rough estimate on the basis of the emigration figures reported above is that additional 15-20% of the workforce left the country, which would add another 10-15% to the share of formerly employed migrants who lost their job. Adding the unknown number of migrants who experienced a decrease in earnings while keeping their job, it is likely that more than 50 percent of the Polish community in employment in 2008 had seen their situation deteriorated by 2010.

On the other side, the Dublin labour market continued to integrate Polish migrants. Seventy-two percent of the migrants who were not in employment in 2008 and 79 percent of the Poles who migrated after 2008 had found a job by January 2010. These ‘newly employed’ migrants add up to 20 percent of the 2010 population. Of the migrants who were in employment in 2008, 15 percent changed to a higher status job and 13 percent to a job with better earnings. In total, 24 percent managed to get a better job in terms of prestige or wages. Again, we don’t know how many migrants experienced wage growth within their job. But even if that are not many, at least 40 percent of the Polish population who lived in Dublin in 2010 had experienced some form of upward mobility in the form of getting a job or progressing to a job with higher status or better wages. If we take into account all Poles who lived in 2008 or 2010 in Dublin (including the emigrants) more migrants will have experienced that their situation in Ireland worsened in terms of employment, occupational status and wage. But the difference is not dramatic, the net-share of losers is unlikely much larger than 10 percent. For

the Polish community still residing in Dublin in 2010 there may be even a slightly larger share of people who improved their situation between 2008 and 2010 than the share who lost employment, earnings and status between 2008 and 2010.

In terms of the change of employment, occupational status and wages, the position of Polish women improved in all dimensions relative to Polish men. This happened although a higher share among the women migrated after 2008. The gender gap in employment and in earnings has closed somewhat and women's average occupational status exceeds that of men in 2010.

In large parts, this had to do with the fact that many men on particularly well-paid and prestigious jobs became unemployed between 2008 and 2010. Job losses among women were fewer, but more importantly, the quality of the lost jobs was poor relative to the average job women held in 2008. Besides that, the facts that occupational attainment improved more for women than for men among the continuously employed and that women experienced a small rise in weekly earnings while men experienced a small loss has contributed to the relative improvement of women's standing.

From a theoretical point of view, the Polish community in Dublin appears to be not as marginalised as predicted from a dual labour market perspective. There is at least a strong under-current of a process of continuous integration. During the period a substantial minority improved their status and their earnings, as predicted by human capital theory, in spite of the adverse circumstance. There are also some indications that the progression has indeed to do with human capital: Graduates and migrants who received training had better chances to continue employment or get a job. Education and language proficiency were related to upward occupational mobility. Earnings reductions and increases, however, proved to be unrelated to variables associated with human capital. From a labour market segmentation point of view, it is noteworthy that there are no signs of clear demarcations structuring mobilities: The risk of being not employed is independent of the occupation. Professionals are as likely to retain their job as labourers. Chances for upward mobility are strictly negatively correlated with occupational status. There is no line separating 'dead-end' jobs

from 'stepping stones'. The fact that human capital matters, at least to some degree, and that there are no obvious barriers for mobility processes can either mean that the Dublin labour market is not strongly segmented and that Poles will have a fair chance of progress further in the Irish economy. In particular better educated Poles who more easily develop language proficiency and learn skills appreciated by Irish employer may benefit from opportunities if the Irish economy starts growing again. But the findings are also compatible with the idea that Polish migrants are on an unstructured labour market because they did not get access to a primary segment. They may experience some limited advancement for the first years after arrival, but may feel that the 'good jobs' in the Irish economy are closed for them. This interpretation would be compatible with much of the literature on NMS migrants in Ireland reviewed above.

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