

# The end of post-enlargement migration from Poland?

Izabela Grabowska (✉ [igrabowska@kozminski.edu.pl](mailto:igrabowska@kozminski.edu.pl))

Kozminski University

Olga Czeranowska

SWPS University

Iga Wermińska-Wiśnicka

Warsaw School of Economics

---

## Research Article

**Keywords:** post-accession migration, migrant selectivity, young adult migrants, Labour Force Survey.

**Posted Date:** March 3rd, 2023

**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.21203/rs.3.rs-2642382/v1>

**License:** © ⓘ This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License.

[Read Full License](#)

## Additional Declarations:

Competing interests: The authors declare no competing interests.

---

## The end of post-enlargement migration from Poland?

### Abstract

**Intro:** The main aim of this article is to discuss a change in a post-enlargement migration picture of the European Union (EU) through analysing *migrant selectivity* from households remaining in an origin of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), in Poland. We link the properties of selectivity to various socio-demographic and economic characteristics, which helps us sub-stratify the population of migrants with special focus on young adult migrants who dominated in the phenomenal post-accession migration flows from CEE for many years after the EU enlargement in May 2004, especially to the UK which was the key destination.

**Method:** Applying the concept of *migrant selectivity* requires datasets for general populations, such as the Labour Force Survey, in which both migrants and non-migrants can be identified.

**Results:** We established, contrary to our initial hypothesis about sustaining a positive post-enlargement selectivity of highly educated young adult migrants from Poland, that in a post-Brexit EU, men with intermediate education from rural areas select positively for going to work abroad, predominately to Germany, as it used to be in the pre-EU enlargement period of 2004.

**Conclusion:** With the help of the concept of migrant selectivity and with the data of Labour Force Survey which covers both migrant and non-migrant population, we were able to explain the phasing out of the social phenomenon of 'post-enlargement migration' as young adults with tertiary education are no more overrepresented in migration flows. It means that EU East-West migration normalises.

**Keywords:** post-accession migration, migrant selectivity, young adult migrants, Labour Force Survey.

### 1. Introduction

The 2004 'post-enlargement migration' (cf. Ruspini 2005, 2008; Gerdes & Wadensjo 2009; Hazan & Philips 2009; Kahanec & Zimmermean 2010; Górny & Kaczmarczyk 2019) or 'post-accession migration' (cf. Friberg 2012; Engbersen & Snel 2013; Galasinska & Kozłowska 2004; Eldring at al. 2012; Black at al. 2010; Garapich at al. 2018; Author X) resulted in substantial migration from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) to Western Europe.. Between three and four million people moved from Central and Eastern Europe to Western Europe in a short period of time (cf. Black at al. 2010; Glorius at al. 2013), within one continent, exercising the free movement of labour. The shift on the European migration destination map happened rapidly, making the UK the leading destination country for post-enlargement migrants, followed by traditional top destination – Germany, then the Netherlands , and a new kid on the migration block – Ireland which experienced an unprecedented inflow of post-accession migrants from CEE, mostly from Poland. The socio-demographic composition of post-enlargement flows was also remarkable, consisting of one third of university educated young adult migrants below 35 years of age (Author X 2016, Kaczmarczyk & Tyrowicz, 2015). Young migrants without any commitments and family obligations have been able to adapt smoothly to the new environment while still having attachments to Polish society. The term 'easy transnationalists' was

coined to capture this transnational reality (cf. Ryan, Klekowski von Koppenfels and Mulholland 2015: 199).

This post-accession migration of young adults was partly caused by high youth unemployment rates around 2004 in CEE, especially in Poland. UK and Ireland as English speaking countries with liberal labour markets became the main destinations for post-accession young adult migration. The young wave had certain 'generational' qualities such as being born after or soon before 1989 and not remembering communism much, coming from families where education mattered but also going abroad for 'a school of life' (see e.g. Burrell 2016; Szewczyk 2015; Krzaklewska 2008). This was a wave, which changed, partly because of developments in CEE: over the years CEE urban and especially metropolitan labour markets become attractive to young middle-class people (SOURCES). Furthermore, in the period 2016-2022 Brexit became a reality and affected migration flows from CEE (SOURCES). However, young people from big CEE cities still continue to 'migrate' in order to study abroad, or as lifestyle/professional migrants who end their programs and contracts and return more often than it would have happened 10 years ago as there are many more prospects in Warsaw, Vilnius and Bucharest (see e.g. Lulle et al 2019; cf. White 2022). In other words: it is not clear to what extent the composition of migration flows has significantly changed.

In this exploratory article we will analyse if we see indications of possible changes in 'post-enlargement migration' patterns as a result of Brexit which started in 2016 by public referendum and ended in 2021 with the final legal exit of the UK from the EU. We present some preliminary evidence that Brexit is ending the era of so-called 'post-accession' historical EU migration from East to West and normalises the mobility within the EU 27, especially for young adults. We do this by analysing changes in migrant selectivity. The leading question of this article is: do we see differences in social and demographic characteristics of Poles who migrated to Western European countries in the period XXXX and in the period YYYY.

This article consists of five sections, including this introduction followed by a presentation of the conceptual framework, in which we discuss the concept of migrant selectivity from the perspective of various disciplines: sociology, economics and demography. We take a special focus on migrant selectivity in order to document a possible change in 'a post-enlargement migration' trends in a diminished EU. In the third section, we present an application of the concept of *migrant selectivity* with a focus on young adult migrants (aged 19-34) who predominated in the post-accession migration flow, mostly to the UK, from various types of households applied to the 18 quarters of the Polish Labour Force Survey of 2015-2019 covering the process of Brexit. The fourth part brings conclusions about a possible in 'post-enlargement migration' trends with a special focus on young adult migrants and anticipates directions of future research.

## 2. Conceptualising migrant selectivity

Much is known about the various push and pull factors and their intervening obstacles, providing insights into the reasons why people choose and decide to migrate and what are migrants' preferences for destination countries, jobs, and duration of stay. (cf. Lee 1966; Zimmerman 1996; Hadj Abdou 2020; Ferwerda and Gest 2021). This article does not discuss the motivations and reasons behind people's decisions to remain in their home countries or move abroad but aims to examine how people select themselves to be sedentary or spatially mobile in relation to socio-demographic and economic characteristics; and how these selectivity behaviours construct a migration trend, especially in the context of so called unsettling events (Kilkey and Ryan 2021) with Brexit as an example.

*Selectivity* is a cross-disciplinary concept used in the social and the natural sciences. The concept posits that there are phenomena in the social world that bear some similarity to those of the natural world, and in both worlds, they have so-called "emergent properties" (Layder 1998). In the social world, which is of interest in this article, these properties include social, demographic and economic characteristics of humans embedded in a society.

The most well-known approach to *migrant selectivity* is related, however, to social stratifying mechanisms. Persons with specific social and demographic characteristics are more inclined than others to engage into geographical mobility and are able to profit from certain institutional arrangements linked to migration policies, migration regimes and structural circumstances. It is important to distinguish *pre-migration selectivity* which is about comparing out-migrants with non-migrants in a sending country and *post-migration selectivity* which is about comparing immigrants to natives in a destination or comparing return migrants to non-migrants back to an origin. In other words, *migrant selectivity* is about how migrants or return migrants differ from people who do not migrate from a given place. Migrants can differ from non-migrants on rather easily observable characteristics such as age, gender, educational and occupational levels but they also can differ on rather hard-to-observe and hard-to-measure characteristics such as aspiration, ambition, motivation, work ethic, risk-taking, resilience (cf. Feliciano 2020) and personality traits (cf. Boneva and Frieze 2001). Portes and Rumbaut (1996) theorised that those who decide to migrate are particularly ambitious, motivated or well-resourced.

Migration studies exploring selectivity show that migrants do not select randomly from the home country's population (Castles et al. 2014; Massey et al. 1998; Feliciano 2020) and enquire: (...) how, from a pool of potential migrants, do the particular individuals and families who actually migrate select themselves or become selected? Societal structures, individual human capital, family economies, and social capital set parameters" (Harzig, Hoerder with Gabaccia 2009: 91). Furthermore: "(...) Socio-demographic selectivity is also useful for surmising some of the root causes and potential consequences of migration for sending and receiving areas and for investigating them further. Given the paucity of detailed data for many immigrant groups, socio-demographic profiles of both emigrants and return migrants have helped scholars to understand migration trends, particularly at regional and global levels" (Lutz, Butz, KC 2014: 348 after Fassman and Munz 1992; Zlotnik 1998). Therefore socio-

demographic characteristics of migrants are useful for rough estimations and forecasting of migration trends because surprisingly migrant flows display relatively stable patterns unless there are some unexpected, unsettling events.

Migrant selectivity is a cross-disciplinary concept. Migration economics investigates the nature (positive, negative and intermediate), causes and effects of the (*self-selection of migrants* (cf. Biavaschi & Elsner 2013). When the migrants leaving a country are primarily skilled individuals, this is referred to as “positive selection”, because migration presents a hurdle for the low-skilled (Chiswick 1999). When the migrants from a country are primarily low-skilled, this is referred to as negative selection (Borjas 1987). When migrants display the same skill level, on average, as those who remain behind, this is referred to as intermediate selection. Borjas (1987) shows both observable and unobservable characteristics being proxies for an economic mechanism of migrant selectivity. Things are more complicated with return and temporary migrants. Borjas (1985) argues that return migration is partially biased because mostly the successful stay in destination countries. Some Economic studies have attempted to analyse migrant selection between world regions. The research evidence ranges from island states in the Pacific and middle-income countries in Central Europe and South Africa to the welfare states of Scandinavia (Biavaschi & Elsner 2013) and confirms the positive and negative selection models. Research also needs to deal with a *selectivity bias*. It concerns the overrepresentation or underrepresentation of certain categories of people owing to the limitations of sampling procedures that could distort objective conclusions. *Migration selectivity bias* is an issue in migration studies because representation and randomisation of sampling are not possible, and we have no complete population registers from which to sample migrants (Author X 2013). Most studies on migrants use purposive sampling, which gives rise to a new challenge: the *self-selection bias* of migrants. This means that the migrants who report to research projects tend to have legal and stable jobs and have had successful migration experiences. Biavaschi et al. (2020: 1) demonstrated that world migration is skill biased. People with third level education are four times more likely to go abroad for work than people with lower educational attainments. Biavaschi and colleagues (ibid.) created an international model with variables of trade, human capital and remittances and compared it with the counterfactual model with the same number of migrants who were selected from their origin countries neutrally. They established that migrant skill biases increase welfare in nearly all OECD countries. The effects on non-OECD countries are more nuanced.

Sociology links migrant selectivity to *migrant educational selectivity*. Feliciano and Lanuza (2017) analysed *immigrant educational selectivity* in the USA in the nationally representative longitudinal survey data and combined it with international educational data. They showed that most groups of immigrants’ children complete more years of schooling than do White Americans with native-born parents because they selected themselves from migrant parents with higher educational background and social status back in the origin. Research on *immigrant selectivity* is often dominated by measures of educational attainment of adult immigrants who completed schooling prior to migration. They do not measure the post-migration context of these immigrants. For instance, studies based on the US and Mexican Census data display that Mexican immigrants tend to be more educated than Mexican non-migrants. Some scholars suggest that these results are biased by undercounts of low-skilled

immigrants in the US Census. Analyses using Mexican data sources find evidence of neutral or negative selectivity (Moraga 2011). Using Mexican data is problematic because data miss full households who have migrated (cf. Feliciano 2020: 25.4). In an analysis of individual census data, Tammaru and Kontuly (2011) demonstrated *destination selectivity* among Russian speaking minorities in Estonia. They argue that spatial distribution among members of ethnic minorities is beyond the main gateway cities in Estonia, and this trend is very different from the situation during the Soviet period.

Demography defines migrant selectivity as a *migrant selectivity index (MSI)* which is based on the following formula (cf. Cieslak 1992):

$$MSI_{V=i} = \frac{\frac{M_{V=i}}{M} - \frac{P_{V=i}}{P}}{\frac{P_{V=i}}{P}}$$

Where:  $MSI_{V=i}$  is an index for category  $i$  of variable  $V$ ;  $M_{V=i}$  and  $P_{V=i}$  are the number of migrants and number of people in the general population, respectively, falling into category (or value)  $i$  of variable  $V$ ; and  $M$  and  $P$  are the overall numbers of migrants and people in the general population, respectively. Outflow selectivity exists if the index assumes a non-zero value for any category (value) of a given variable. A positive MSI value means that migrants falling into a specific category of a given variable are relatively more numerous than people in the general population with the same characteristic, whereas a negative value (equal to or higher than -1) means the opposite. The higher the positive value and the lower the negative MSI value, the stronger the selectivity (Kaczmarczyk, Mioduszevska & Zylicz 2009: 10; Anacka & Okolski 2010).

In other words, an MSI score of zero for a characteristic means that people whose characteristics are equally represented among migrants and the general population. That means that with regard to that characteristic, people have *the same* characteristic(s), not different. A negative MSI value means that migrants with certain traits leave the country less eagerly than other groups while positive indicators are evidence of an overrepresentation of people from the group in question among migrants in comparison to society. (Author X and Okolski 2009: 121-122). Using the Migrant Selectivity Index (MSI) scholars have been able to determine which people – categorised in terms of human capital characteristics – migrate to which receiving countries (Author X & Okolski 2009). For instance, as per post-EU accession outflow migration from Poland, the youngest cohort of Polish migrants, a well-educated and fairly gender-balanced group, were shown to migrate to the UK and Ireland. These analyses also helped answer questions that some receiving municipalities had about the challenges of the integration of migrants from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE).

### 3. Methodology

In this article we take Poland as a case study of the biggest country of the region of CEE and the biggest sending country after historical enlargement of May 2004. In the period 2004-2020 more than 2.2 million Poles left Poland (Statistics Poland), with 1/3 of those with third level education, usually being young adults (19-34).

In order to explore our leading question about a possible change in post-enlargement migration, we critically make use of public statistics in Poland in relation to migration data. There exists no synchronised dataset for Polish emigrants and immigrants. Statistics Poland uses different Polish and foreign datasets in order to publish its reports. One of those sources is the Polish Labour Force Survey (BAEL - Badanie Aktywności Ekonomicznej Ludności). Although the main aim of the LFS is to track the situation on the Polish labour market, the questionnaire also contains questions about the migration history of respondents, as well as other household members who are absent at the time of the survey. The Polish LFS thus offers a snapshot of households with migrants of which at least one household member still lives in Poland. However, this means that households consisting entirely of migrants are not included in the sample. Another concern is that respondents may not admit having migration experience or hide this information about other persons in the household; for example, if they were working without the necessary documents. As a consequence, Polish migrants are underrepresented in the Polish LFS (Statistics Poland, 2018: 31), with sampling errors caused by the small sample size and the different target of the LFS. However, it is crucial to remember that migrants are generally a specific subpopulation in a much larger population since there is a challenge with sampling as there are no complete registers to draw the sample for migrants from.

Our data covers Polish adult migrants (at least 15-years-old respondents) who have been abroad for at least three months and are still registered in Poland as inhabitants. The LFS data concerning migrants is not publicly available; and we purchased the raw datasets from Poland Statistics in 2020. The average sample size for the 18 quarters is 78,200, of which ca. 0.9 % are migrants. The preparation of data for the proper analysis of selectivity is very demanding. The survey questionnaire interviews of household members are based on a 2-(2)-2 scheme. This means that each household is under research for two quarters, then it is excluded from the study for the following two quarters, then covered again for two consecutive quarters. (Statistics Poland, 2018). Despite having many drawbacks (Anacka and Fihel 2013), the Polish LFS still remains a valuable source of information about Polish migrants if not the most important one although its limitations. The LFS is also one of the sources used by Statistics Poland to realise public statistics. Due to the LFS data methodology, we must strongly emphasise that our results concern mainly seasonal or circular migrants whose families remain in Poland. We performed our analysis of Polish migrants using the Polish LFS dataset from the first quarter of 2015 to the second quarter of 2019 (a total of the 18 quarters) based on project X. The time span was justified by the timing of the exit of the UK from the EU – started by public referendum in 2016 and ending with legal exit on the turn 2020/21. Our funding possibilities covered 18 quarters of this period.

For the purpose of this article, we calculated a new selectivity index for young adult population (19-34) as a testimonial population for this phenomenal post-enlargement migration as in the post-enlargement selectivity analyses this group dominated in the flows. We performed our analysis of Polish migrants using the Polish LFS dataset from the first quarter of 2015 to the second quarter of 2019 (a total of the 18 quarters) based on project X. The period covered the Brexit process and was limited to the Project X's funding as we needed to pay for the datasets from LFS.

We calculated *migrant selectivity* for migrants from Poland in the period 2015-2019, using the selectivity index formula presented in the conceptual part of this article and data about migrants' and non-migrants' characteristics: age, gender, education and domicile of household. We also took into consideration the receiving country for those who had moved. By looking at each quarter separately, we were able to see changes in selectivity according to characteristics. We then took a closer look at the subsample of young adult migrants by creating a joint dataset consisting of young migrants in all quarters (deleting duplicates, so that each person appeared only once).

Before we present the results, we must also mention other limitations of the Labour Force Survey data. Firstly, households with migrants are not randomly selected. This is since when someone from a migrant household stays in Poland then he/she has a chance to be surveyed. These migrant households who left Poland – in other words – all household members left – cannot be surveyed because there is no informant available for a survey questionnaire. Secondly, the number of migrant households in the dataset had been gradually decreasing.

Against the methodological backdrop and the interdisciplinary literature review presented above, for the application of the selectivity concept to a case dataset of Polish Labour Force Survey, we formulate, as a test case, the following research question (RQ): what is the *selectivity* of young adult migrants (19-34) from Poland in a post-Brexit EU as referenced to the general population and the population of young adult Poles?

#### **4. Findings showing a change in a 'post-enlargement migration' from Poland**

As an application of the concept of *migrant selectivity* we take for the purpose of this article movements of people from East to West after the EU enlargements (Black et al. 2010). The initial accession selectivity index (pre- and post-) was calculated for Polish migrants (cf. Kaczmarczyk and Okolski 2008, Author X and Okolski 2009, Mioduszezewska 2008). According to these results, migrants who left Poland after 1 May 2004 were more diversified regarding place of origin than before the enlargement. However, people from the countryside and small and mid-sized towns were still more likely to move than the inhabitants of cities. More information could be found in Table 1. These results were confirmed by Anacka and Fihel (2012), who proved the existence of "the elite mechanism". Representatives of particular socio-demographic groups are more prone to migrate than the rest of the society. In the case of Polish post-accession migration, there are young people gender-balanced from villages with medium education who are the most prone to go abroad.



Table 1. Migration selectivity for three categories of place of residence among pre- and post-accession out-migrants from Poland

Period	Place of residence		
	Cities*	Small and mid-sized towns**	Countryside
Before EU enlargement	-0.30	0.10	0.15
After EU enlargement	-0.22	0.11	0.08

\* ≥100,000 inhabitants.

\*\* <100,000 inhabitants.

Source: based on Labour Force Survey, Statistics Poland; pre- and post-accession calculations based on Kaczmarczyk and Okolski 2008 and Author X and Okolski 2009: 124, Table 10.1.

Table 2. Migration selectivity index for selected characteristics of out-migrants from Poland in the pre-and post-accession periods

Characteristics of out-migrants	Before EU enlargement	After EU enlargement
Sex (male)	0.20	0.35
Age (mobile, 20-39)	0.97	1.21
Education (3rd level)	0.02	0.42
Education (basic vocational)	0.34	0.30

Source: based on Labour Force Survey, Statistics Poland; before and after accession based on Kaczmarczyk and Okolski 2008 and Author X and Okolski 2009: 125, Table 10.2.

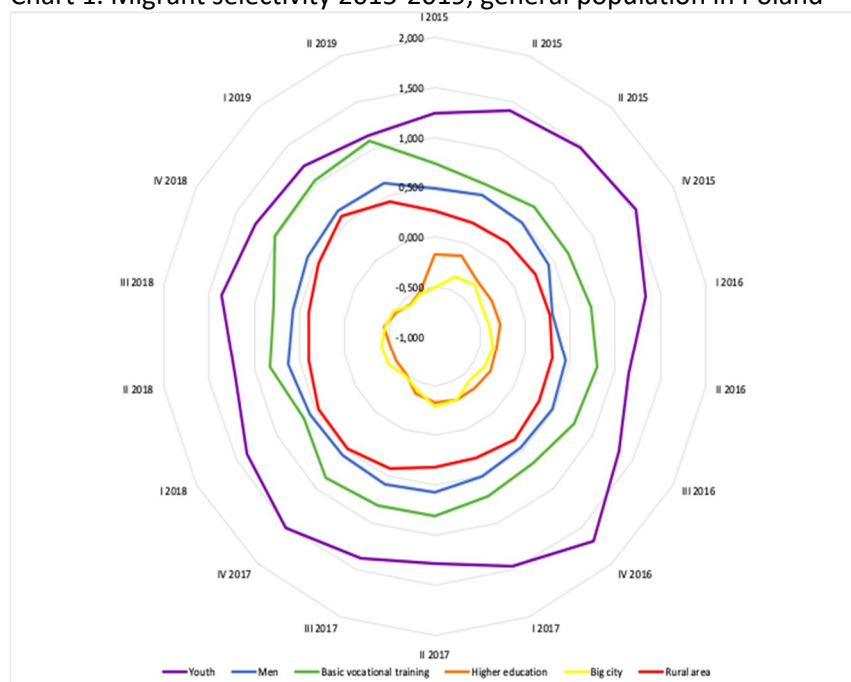
As Table 2 shows, Poland's accession to the EU reinforced the trend of male migration from Poland (MSI score increased from 0.2 to 0.35). One of the main characteristics of Polish post-enlargement migration is the high ratio of educated people (MSI =0.42). However, both the formal qualifications and occupations of migrants differ between destination countries (Author X and Okolski, 2009). For instance, the youngest migrants, a well-educated and fairly gender-balanced group, primarily migrate to the UK and Ireland. Even though both countries opened their labour market at the same time, Polish migrants with similar qualifications took different kinds of jobs in the UK than in Ireland. Studies have shown that in the UK, Polish migrants work primarily in the secondary labour market (Kaczmarczyk, 2006; Tyrowicz and Kaczmarczyk, 2015), while in Ireland a similar proportion of migrants performed both simple jobs and jobs requiring high qualifications (Kaczmarczyk, 2006). Comparing the profiles of Polish migrants in the UK and in other countries, Okolski and Salt (2014) also found that Poles in the UK were more educated than Polish migrants who had chosen different destination countries. The "British flow" was characterised by an over-representation of migrants with higher education

diplomas; this over-representation was especially pronounced immediately after accession time (cf. Author X and Okolski 2009). We calculated the selectivity index for each of the quarters from the first quarter of 2016 to the second quarter of 2019. The most apparent tendency is that throughout the entire period, young people (19-34 years old) were more likely to migrate. The selectivity index values for young people fluctuated within each year, always being highest in the second part of the year (this may be due to young people leaving after completing some level of education). Below, we present the selectivity index values for each quarter, calculated the general sample and the youth subsample (ages 19-34).

Regarding place of residence before migration (also being the place of residence of the members of respondents' households who had remained in Poland), in the general population sample people from rural areas had higher propensity for migration. On the other end of the spectrum, people from big cities were less likely to move. Young people, both from rural households and those from big cities, had negative selectivity index values, which means that young people from small and mid-sized towns were the group with the highest probability of migration. Moreover, the index values among respondents from rural areas were much closer to 0 and stable, while the values among respondents in big cities were more negative and fluctuated.

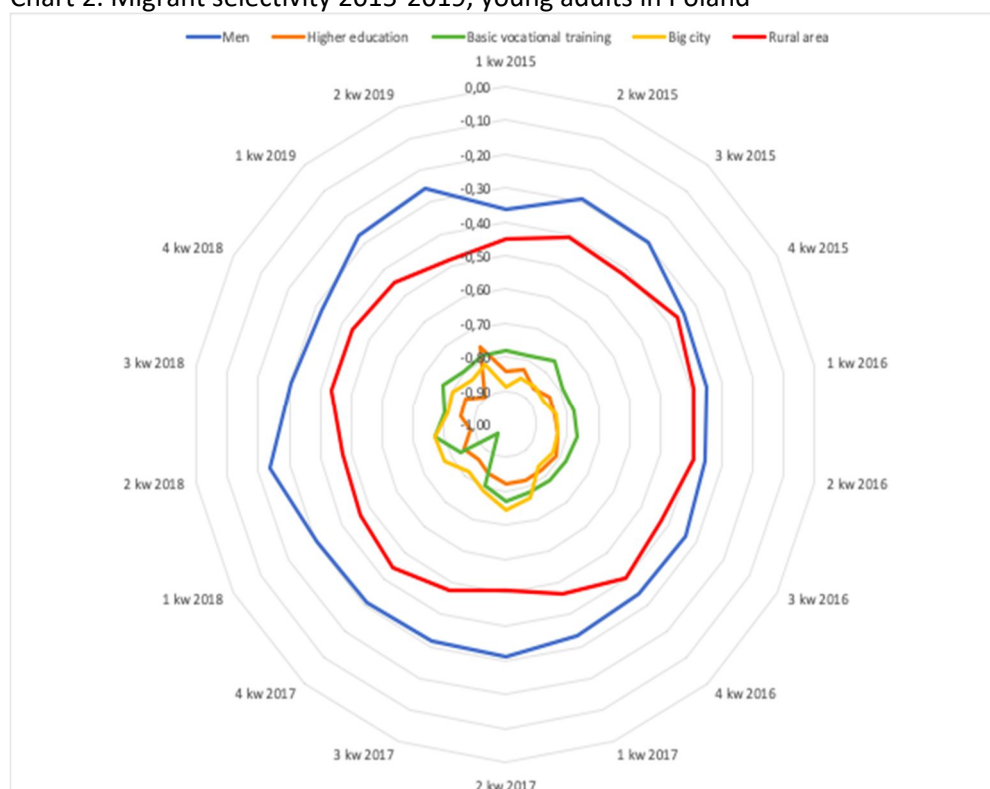
Regarding educational attainment in the period 2015-2019, in the general population, having a higher education degree related to a lower probability of migration (contrary to the post-accession period, cf. Author X and Okolski 2009). Conversely, people with vocational education had positive index values, peaking towards the end of the observed period. The positive selectivity of vocational education in conjunction with the masculinisation of the migration flows can be attributed to the demand for specific technical and manual skills and certain occupational positions in the destination countries of the EU, diminished by the UK as a result of Brexit. In the youth subsample, the selectivity index value remained negative for youths both with higher education and with vocational education; youths with intermediate education were most likely to migrate. It should also be noted that the selectivity index value for the group with higher education steadily decreased over the period under study, while for the vocational education group, the value was higher and remained stable. This means that young adult migrants have a different educational profile than older migrant groups and may be targeting other kinds of occupational positions abroad.

Chart 1. Migrant selectivity 2015-2019, general population in Poland



Source: own elaboration based on Labour Force Survey, Statistics Poland.

Chart 2. Migrant selectivity 2015-2019, young adults in Poland



Source: own elaboration based on Labour Force Survey, Statistics Poland.

We were able to consolidate the data on young adult migrants (ages 19-34) across the 18 quarters of the Labour Force Survey. We connected records using the unique codes consisting of variables IDEN (ID), NRM (number of household) and NRO (number of person), and erased duplicates, so that for each

person we had only one record (the first quarter in which a person appeared in the dataset). This left us with 2733 records.

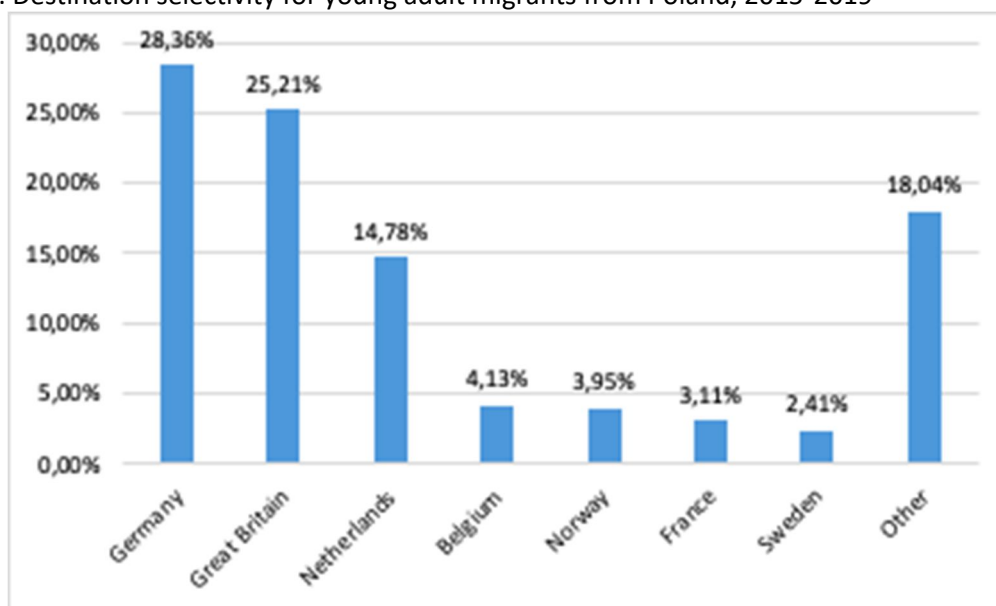
The young adult migrant population was strongly masculinised, consistent with the findings of the quarter-by-quarter analysis described above. This may be connected with LFS's sampling method and therefore its limitations. Due to remaining traditional gender roles in Poland, the head/breadwinners of households are more likely to migrate (temporarily, seasonally) in order to work abroad while the other members of the household stay in Poland and as a result take part in the LFS survey. The subsample of migrants prepared for this analysis was therefore strongly masculinised (nearly 70 per cent of the migrant population with 1892 male migrants).

Regarding educational attainment, the most numerous groups of young migrants obtained secondary education (with or without final exam). This group constituted almost half of the sample, with secondary vocational education being more common than general secondary education. Migrants with basic vocational education were the second-largest group, constituting slightly over one-quarter of the sample. Respondents with tertiary education were a minority: about one in five migrants had bachelor's or master's degrees.

More than a half of the young migrant subsample lived in rural areas before migration. Again, this may be due to the makeup of the LFS's sample, as households in rural areas are more likely to be multigenerational (making it more likely for at least one household member to have remained in Poland and therefore be eligible to participate in the survey). Also, town-based households are more likely to migrate (e.g., because they tend to live in rented apartments, while in rural areas residents tend to be homeowners).

Finally, we examined the destination selectivity in which young adult migrants resided at the time of their household's participation in the survey in Poland.

Chart 3. Destination selectivity for young adult migrants from Poland, 2015-2019



Source: own elaboration based on Labour Force Survey, Statistics Poland.

Germany became the leading destination country, followed by the UK which is still on a destination map due to unclear residence procedures between referendum 2016 and legal exit 202/21. The third country, The Netherlands, was the destination of half as many young migrants as Germany. Ireland rather ceased from the post-enlargement migration destination map in the studied period. The three primary destination countries together accounted for almost 70% of the respondents, which shows that young adult migration from Poland is concentrated in a small number of destination countries.

In this section of the article, we analysed Polish LFS datasets for each of the quarters from the first quarter of 2015 to the second quarter of 2019. The selectivity index values show that men are more likely to migrate than women, and younger people (ages 19-34) are more likely to migrate than the older population. In the young adult subsample, people from small and mid-sized towns were more likely to leave their household behind when migrating to a foreign country. In the general sample, people living in rural areas were most likely to migrate. Regarding educational attainment, in the youth subsample, people with an intermediate level of education were most likely to move abroad, while in the general sample, the selectivity index values were highest for basic vocational education. The selectivity index values are therefore slightly different in the youth subsample – the typical young adult migrant is a person from a small or mid-sized town with a secondary level of education, while the typical migrant overall comes from a rural area and has basic vocational education.

We also prepared a joint young adult migrants' subsample by consolidating the datasets. Analysing the descriptive statistics of this subsample revealed that it was strongly masculinised, with secondary education being the most common level of educational attainment. Most respondents were from rural areas. The masculinisation and other characteristics of the migrants' in the youth subsample may be connected with the LFS sampling.

Our migrant selectivity analysis of the Labour Force Survey data is not without limitations, most of which relate to the sampling procedure. Firstly, certain types of households are more likely to participate in studies of this kind, and response rates have been in decline, with fewer respondents every quarter. Especially significant for the migrant selectivity index is the likelihood that migrants whose household remains behind in the country of origin have different characteristics than migrants who migrate along with their entire households. Due to the nature of the LFS and its questions, the data only includes migrants who are part of the household of a respondent are residing in Poland; because young migrants may still be perceived as part of the household by their parents, this may mean that young migrants are overrepresented. Despite its limitations, LFS quarterly datasets are still a valuable source of data on Polish migrants and non-migrants. We believe that our analysis sheds light on the selectivity of migration between various types of migrant households.

#### **4. Conclusions**

In this article we tried to discuss the limits of the phenomenon of 'post-enlargement or post-accession migration' in the EU, after the historical enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe which took place in May 2004, marked also by the exit of the UK from the community in years 2016-2020. We explored the title argument about 'post-enlargement migration no more' from the perspective of the biggest sending CEE country – Poland. The contribution of this article to social sciences is threefold.

Firstly, the concept of migrant selectivity, and especially selectivity of young adult population, helped us to explain the end of the social phenomenon of post-enlargement migration from the East to the West of the EU. *Migrant selectivity* is a stratifying mechanism for the general population, from which migrants are selected and for young adult population from which also young migrants select themselves. Selectivity can be used to explain who and where certain people choose to migrate and return while others choose to remain in their home country.

Secondly, our findings show that profiles of migrants in the general population and in the young adult population are slightly different. Both are masculinized while in the post-enlargement flows they were more gender balanced. In the general population we are back to the pre-enlargement type of migrant from rural area with basic vocational education while young migrants are more from small/middle sized town with intermediate level of education (secondary). Above all we do not see in the outflows anymore any overrepresentation of young adults with university education as it used to be in so called 'post-enlargement flows', making this process socially phenomenal.

Thirdly, various characteristics are reported by migrants and non-migrants subjectively either by a household member or by an individual migrant which tells us about self-selection to migration. We know that for the future research we need more indication as to how selectivity bias can be eliminated in studying migration phenomena. An important methodological challenge would be to try to find access to the data of different parts of population/migrant population, because the LFS dataset is only

able to capture a very particular group of migrants (people who are still belonging to a household in the home country, which is typical for temporary migrants).

## References

- Aleksynska, M., Tritah, A. (2013). Occupation–education mismatch of immigrant workers in Europe: Context and policies. *Economics of Education Review*, 36, 229–244, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2013.06.001>.
- Anacka, M., Fihel, A. (2013). Charakterystyka migrantów powracających do Polski oraz ich aktywność zawodowa na rodzimym rynku pracy. *Studia Migracyjne - Przegląd Polonijny*, 4, 57–71.
- Anacka, M., Fihel, A. (2012). Selektowność emigracji i migracji powrotnych Polaków - o procesie "wypłukiwania." *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, 1(1), 57–68.
- Anacka, M., Okólski, M. (2010). Direct demographic consequences of post-accession migration from Poland, in: Black R., Engbersen G., Okolski M, Pantiru C. (eds). *A Continent Moving West? EU Enlargement and Labour Migration from Central and Eastern Europe*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 141-186.
- Biavaschi, C., Elsner, B. (2013). Let's Be Selective about Migrant Self-Selection, *IZA DP No. 7865*.
- Biavaschi, C., Burzyński, M., Elsner, B., & Machado, J. (2020). Taking the skill bias out of global migration. *Journal of Development Economics*, 142, 102317.
- Black, R., Engbersen, G., Okolski, M, Pantiru, C. (2010) (eds). *A Continent Moving West? EU Enlargement and Labour Migration from Central and Eastern Europe*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Boneva, B. S., & Frieze, I. H. (2001). Toward a concept of a migrant personality. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(3), 477-491.
- Borjas, G. J. (1985). Assimilation, Changes in Cohort Causality, and the Earnings of Immigrants, *J. Lab. Econ.*, 3(4): 463–89.
- Borjas, G. J. (1987). Self-selection and the Earnings of Immigrants, *The American Economic Review*, 77(4): 531-553.
- Carstensen, L. L. (1993). Span: A Theory of. *Developmental perspectives on motivation*, 40, 209.
- Castles, S., Haas, H., Miller, M.J. (2014). *The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chiswick, B. R. (1999). Are Immigrants Favourably Self-Selected, *The American Economic Review Papers and Proceedings*, 89(2):181-185.
- Cieślak, M. (1992). *Demografia. Metody analizy i prognozowania*. Warszawa: PWN.
- Engbersen, G., Snel, E., & De Boom, J. (2010). A van full of Poles': Liquid migration from Central and Eastern Europe. *A continent moving west*, 115-140.
- Eldring, L., Fitzgerald, I., & Arnholtz, J. (2012). Post-accession migration in construction and trade union responses in Denmark, Norway and the UK. *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, 18(1), 21-36.
- Fassman H. Munz R. (1992). Patterns and Trends of International Migration in Western Europe, *Population and Development Review*, 18(3): 457-480.
- Feliciano, C. (2020). Immigrant selectivity effects on health, labour market, and educational outcomes. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 46, 315-334.

- Feliciano, C., & Lanuza, Y. R. (2017). An immigrant paradox? Contextual attainment and intergenerational educational mobility. *American Sociological Review*, 82(1), 211-241.
- Favell, A. (2008). The New Face of East–West Migration in Europe, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34:5, 701-716, DOI: [10.1080/13691830802105947](https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802105947).
- Ferwerda, J., & Gest, J. (2021). Pull Factors and Migration Preferences: Evidence from the Middle East and North Africa. *International Migration Review*, 55(2), 431-459.
- Friberg, J. H. (2012). The stages of migration. From going abroad to settling down: Post-accession Polish migrant workers in Norway. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(10), 1589-1605.
- Galasińska, A., & Kozłowska, O. (2004). Discourses of a 'normal life' among post-accession migrants from Poland to Britain. *Polish migration to the UK in the 'new' European Union: After*, 87-106.
- Gerdes, C., & Wadensjö, E. (2009). Post-enlargement migration and labor market impact in Sweden. In *EU labor markets after post-enlargement migration* (pp. 163-179). Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg.
- Glorius, B., Grabowska-Lusinska, I., & Kuvik, A. (Eds.). (2014). *Mobility in transition: Migration patterns after EU enlargement*. Amsterdam University Press.
- Górny, A., & Kaczmarczyk, P. (2019). European migration transition in the context of post-enlargement migration from and into Central and Eastern Europe. *The SAGE Handbook of International Migration*, 358.
- Hadj Abdou, L. (2020). 'Push or pull'? Framing immigration in times of crisis in the European Union and the United States. *Journal of European Integration*, 42(5), 643-658.
- Hamilton, E. R., & Huang, P. C. (2020). Contextualising Mexican Migrant Education Selectivity. *Population and Development Review*, 46(3), 603-616.
- Hardy, J. (2010). „Brain Drain“, „Brain Gain“ or „Brain Waste“: East-West Migration after Enlargement. *Mobility & Inclusion*, 48.
- Harzig, Ch., Hoerder, D., Gabaccia, D. (2009). *What is Migration History?* Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hazans, M., & Philips, K. (2009). The post-enlargement migration experience in the Baltic labor markets. In *EU labor markets after post-enlargement migration* (pp. 255-304). Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg.
- Kaczmarczyk, P. (2006). Highly skilled migration from Poland and other CEE countries – myths and reality. *Centrum Stosunków Międzynarodowych*.
- Kaczmarczyk, P. & Tyrowicz, J. (2015). Winners and Losers among Skilled Migrants : The Case of Post-Accession Polish Migrants to the UK. IZA Discussion Paper, No. 9057.
- Kaczmarczyk, P., Mioduszewska, M., Żylicz, A. (2009). Impact of the post-accession migration on the Polish labor market. In *EU labor markets after post-enlargement migration*, Springer: Berlin Heidelberg, 219-253.
- Kaczmarczyk, P., Okólski, M. (2008). Demographic and labour-market impacts of migration on Poland. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 24(3), 600–625. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxrep/grn029>
- Kahanec, M. (2010). *EU labor markets after post-enlargement migration*. K. F. Zimmermann (Ed.). Berlin: Springer.
- Layder D. (1998). *Sociological practice. Linking theory and social research*, London: Sage.
- Lee E. S. (1966). A Theory of Migration. *Demography*, 3(1), 47-57.



- Li, F. L. N., Findlay, A. M., Jowett, A. J., & Skeldon, R. (1996). Migrating to learn and learning to migrate: a study of the experiences and intentions of international student migrants. *International Journal of Population Geography*, 2(1), 51-67.
- Lutz, W., Butz, W., & KC, S. (2014). World Population and Global Human Capital in the 21st Century.
- Massey D. S., Arango J., Hugo J., Kouaoci A., Pellegrino A., Edward Taylor J. (1998). *Worlds in Motion: International Migration at the End of the Millennium*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- McCrae R. R., Costa, P. T. (1987). Validation of the five-factor model of personality across instruments and observers. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 52(1), 81.
- Mioduszewska, M. (2008.) Najnowsze migracje z Polski w świetle danych Badania Aktywności Ekonomicznej Ludności, *CMR Working Papers*, No. 36/94, University of Warsaw, Centre of Migration Research (CMR), Warsaw.
- Moraga, J. F. H. (2011). New evidence on emigrant selection. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 93(1), 72-96.
- Nowicka, M. (2012). Transcultural Encounters of Diversity. The Case of Polish Presence in the UK. In: A. Dziewulska and A. M. Ostrowska (eds.), *New Neighbours – on the Diversity of Migrants' Political Involvement*, 111–124. Warsaw: Centre for Europe, University of Warsaw
- Okólski M., Salt J. (2014). Polish emigration to the UK after 2014; Why did so many come? *Central and Eastern European Migration Review* 3(2), 11-37.
- Park R. E. (1928). Human migration and the marginal man, *The American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII(6): 881-893.
- Portes A. and Rumbaut r. G. (1996). *Immigrant America: A Portrait*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. 2nd edition.
- Rain, J. S., Lane, I. M., Steiner, D. D. (1991). A current look at the job satisfaction / life satisfaction relationship: Review and future considerations. *Human Relations*, 44, 287–307.
- Ruspini, P. (2008). The post-enlargement migration space. *International Migration in Europe*, 179.
- Ruspini, P. (2005). Forms and features of the post-enlargement migration space. *The Romanian Journal of European Studies*, (4), 9-18.
- Statistics Poland (2018, 2020). *Zeszyt metodologiczny. Badanie Aktywności Ekonomicznej Ludności*. Available at: [https://stat.gov.pl/files/gfx/portalinformacyjny/pl/defaultaktualnosci/5818/3/1/1/zeszyt\\_metodologiczny\\_bael.pdf](https://stat.gov.pl/files/gfx/portalinformacyjny/pl/defaultaktualnosci/5818/3/1/1/zeszyt_metodologiczny_bael.pdf) ( Accessed 20 January 2021).
- Ryan L., Klekowski von Koppenfels A., Mulholland J. (2015). 'The Distance between Us': A Comparative Examination of the Technical, Spatial and Temporal Dimensions of the Transnational Social Relationships of Highly Skilled Migrants. *Global Networks* 15(2): 198–216.
- Tabor, A. S., Milfont, T. L., & Ward, C. (2015). The migrant personality revisited: Individual differences and international mobility intentions. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology (Online)*, 44(2), 89.
- Tammaru, T., & Kontuly, T. (2011). Selectivity and destinations of ethnic minorities leaving the main gateway cities of Estonia. *Population, Space and Place*, 17(5), 674-688.
- Thomas W. I., Znaniecki F. (1918/1920). *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Trevena, P. (2013), Why do highly educated migrants go for low-skilled jobs, w: Glorius B., Author X-Lusińska I., Kuvik A. (red.), Mobility in transition. Migration Patterns after EU Enlargement, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, s. 169-190.

Tyrowicz, J., Kaczmarczyk, P. (2015). *Winners and Losers among Skilled Migrants : The Case of Post-Accession Polish Migrants to the UK*. (9057).

Zimmermann, K. F. (1996). European migration: Push and pull. *International Regional Science Review*, 19(1-2), 95-128.

Zlotnik H. (1998). International migration 1965-96: an overview, *Population and Development Review*, 24(3): 429-468.