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**Temporary Employment among the EU Migrants ('Eastern Europeans') in Britain**

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## ***Abstract***

*This paper will explore the work status of the EU migrants in temporary jobs, drawing on the data obtained from the Labour Force Survey. In particular, comparing systematically with the rest of the workforce in temporary and permanent jobs, it will be argued that the work status of these migrant populations embodies the disadvantages related to both ethnic divisions and short-term recruitment. To start with, the paper will provide an overall review of temporary employment among the EU migrants, and then it will document the evidence with regard to demographic, regional, industrial and occupational variations. Finally, the paper will analyse the disadvantaged positions of the EU migrants in temporary jobs in terms of pay, workload, training and unionisation.*

## **Introduction**

Despite a certain level of bifurcation, temporary jobs are generally seen as undesirable in line with the inadequacy of regulations to save temporary workers from unfair treatments (Booth et al, 2000; Cam et al, 2003). Although the Labour government decided to endorse the EU directive in September 2005 through a piece of legislation, the bill was later shelved, not least because of the well-publicised reservations in business circles (CBI 2006). Such practices, however, are claimed by trade unions to have boosted public scepticism rather than labour flexibility (TUC 2006a): since the advent of the Labour government, there has been only a slight increase in the proportion of temporary employment in total employment, from 7% in 1997 to 8% in 2006 (LFS, 1997 & 2006). Partly for this reason, academic research into temporary employment has declined to certain degree in recent years despite some up-to-date studies (e.g. Conley 2006; Forde and Slater 2006). Meanwhile, the relation of the BMEs and migrant workers to temporary jobs has remained under investigated.

Migrant workers from the European countries had historically been regarded as the 'lucky' ones among the UK's migrant workers. For example, Blackburn and Mann (1979) found that, in the food and textile industries, ethnic discrimination against them was less pronounced compared to other migrant workers –and gender discrimination in general. In the following years, scholars such as Harris (1995) argued that the disadvantaged status of migrant workers in the World, including that of those within the EU countries, had become prevalent. Recently, few researchers in Britain have also begun to investigate migrant workers with references to the EU migrants in terms of semi-compliant, low paid and forced labour in domestic works

(Anderson 2005), hospitality (Anderson *et al*, 2006), au pairs sector (Ruhs and Anderson 2006), agriculture and sex industry (Anderson and Rogaly 2005). Their empirical findings point to tough labour market conditions for the EU migrants as well as for other migrant workers in Britain. However, various issues such as unionisation, access to training opportunities or industrial distribution remain unexplored, especially in the case of the EU migrants. Ethnic and racial discrimination, for example, is not much associated with industrial segregation in Britain compared to the US where such a link has been well established, despite a recently documented process of desegregation (Tomaskovic-Devey *et al*, 2006). Even so, the public imagination about the EU migrants in Britain is hardly fed with anything more than a couple of migrant workers posing in picking fields or comic television shows mocking Polish workers as ‘plumbers’.

The implications of recruitment types for the growing proportions of the EU migrants in temporary jobs, too, remain unexplored. Kersley *et al* (2006) have shown that the WERS’04 data on fixed-term contract employment do not vindicate a core-periphery model of labour market segmentation (Harrison, 1994). The same argument was extended by Cam (2006) to temporary jobs in general on the basis of insignificantly differentiated distribution temporary workers into low and high skill-based occupations. Such observations are also in line with the findings of another recent research into temporary workers in local governments (Conley 2006), indicating that the distinction between temporary and permanent jobs is by and large defined by numerical flexibility, rather than functional flexibility. In other words, current research findings provide further substance for the long-standing concerns over the arbitrary nature of political conditions that endanger a ‘two-tier labour market’ (Hyman 1988; Pollert 1991). The notion of two-tier labour market, however, does not explicitly acknowledge potential differences within disadvantaged groups, although such differences on the basis of employment contracts or ethnic divisions, for example, may have important implications for workers.

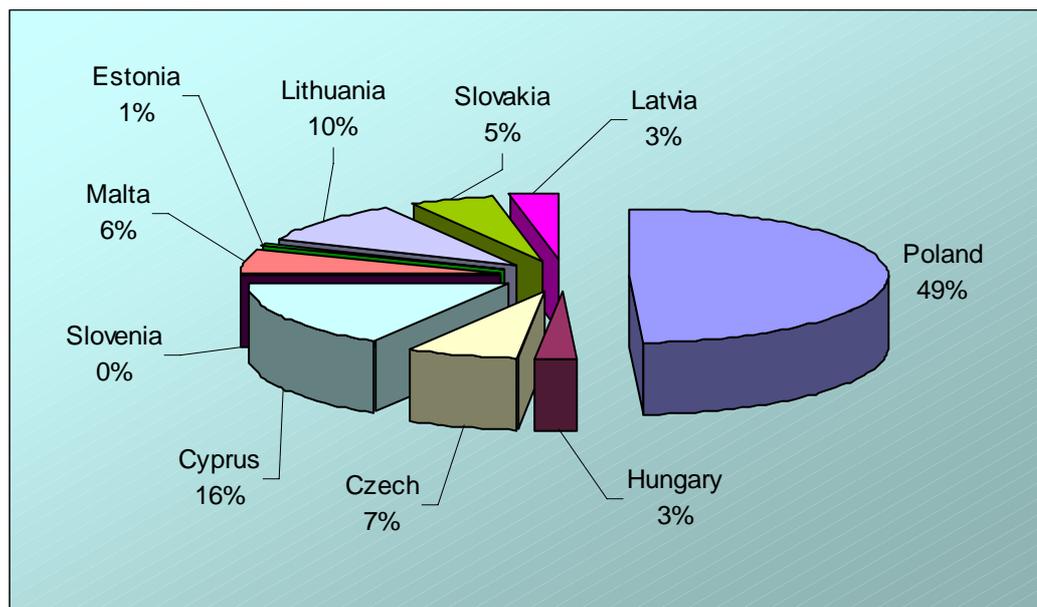
Bearing these issues in mind, the present paper will explore temporary employment among the EU migrants since the expansion of the EU in May 2004. The paper will first provide a general review of the EU migrants in Britain drawing on the data obtained from the Labour Force Survey. Then, it will systematically compare

temporary jobs among the EU migrants and the rest of the UK's workforce with regard to the specific types of temporary jobs, demographic, regional, and industrial characteristics and occupational variations. Finally, a comprehensive analysis of inequalities will be presented in terms of pay, workload, training and unionisation whilst arguing that the work status of the EU migrants in temporary jobs is hampered by the disadvantages accompanied by both ethnic divisions and short-term recruitment.

### **The EU Migrants and Temporary Jobs**

In recent years, racism and xenophobia have been revitalised in Britain in social and political spheres (Beynon and Kushnick 2003). Such a political environment was not particularly conducive to welcoming migrant workers. Before the expansion of the EU in May 2004, many columnists from not only tabloids but also spreadsheet newspapers had argued that the labour market in Britain would crumble because of the 'influx' of Eastern Europeans. Yet the government did not step back and, on the contrary, it insisted on 'open door policy'. The economic rationale for the government has soon become evident: the EU migrants made remarkable contributions to the economy, over £5 billion from May 2004 to August 2006 (Grice and Brown 2006: 2). Despite their significant contributions to the economy, the latest *Accession Monitoring Report* published by the Home Office in August 2006 has indicated that less than 600 thousand migrants came to the UK after the EU enlargement (Home Office 2006).

**Figure 1 - EU Migrants by Nationality: 2006**



Source: LFS, Autumn 2006

There is a widespread public scepticism about the accuracy of the statistics produced by Home Office. However, as a well-respected source among the research communities, the findings from the Labour Force Survey, carried out in autumn 2006, suggested that there were 466,637 migrant workers in Britain from the new EU countries (LFS, 2006).<sup>1</sup> In particular, Figure 1 shows that almost one in two EU migrants<sup>2</sup> has come from Poland, and this was followed by 16% from Cyprus and 10% from Lithuania.

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<sup>1</sup> This figure excludes dependants: the data on migrant workers from the new accession countries are produced by combining the results of two separate LFS questions: the country of birth and the year of arrival to the UK. The data are weighted and grossed out on the bases of population and income matrices.

<sup>2</sup> Hereafter the term 'EU migrants' refers to migrant workers from the new accession countries, excluding dependants

**Table 1 - Temporary Employment\* among the EU Migrants and Rest of the UK: 2006**

		Permanent	Temporary	Total
Poland	N=	113723	26668	140391
	%	81.0	19.0	100.0
Hungary	N=	4586	1819	6405
	%	71.6	28.4	100.0
Czech	N=	18225	975	19200
	%	94.9	5.1	100.0
Cyprus	N=	29526	962	30488
	%	96.8	3.2	100.0
Malta	N=	15191	0	15191
	%	100.0	.0	100.0
Estonia	N=	2157	0	2157
	%	100.0	.0	100.0
Lithuania	N=	21165	4947	26112
	%	81.1	18.9	100.0
Slovakia	N=	11804	4099	15903
	%	74.2	25.8	100.0
Latvia	N=	5933	1285	7218
	%	82.2	17.8	100.0
<b>All EU Migrants</b>	<b>N=</b>	<b>222310</b>	<b>40755</b>	<b>263065</b> <sup>3</sup>
	<b>%</b>	<b>84.5</b>	<b>15.5***</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Rest of the UK</b>	<b>N=</b>	<b>22924747</b>	<b>1341837</b>	<b>24266584</b>
	<b>%</b>	<b>94.5</b>	<b>5.5</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: LFS, Autumn 2006

\* The data over temporary employment refers to only employees in this paper as opposed to the self-employed since it is not possible to make a consistent distinction between the permanent and temporary work status of various categories within the self-employed on the basis of the data provided by the LFS

\*\*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level (Logistic Regression)

In 2006, the TUC conference put the issue of migrant workers in temporary jobs on top of its agenda and urged the government to take action to protect the rights of migrant workers in such jobs (TUC 2006b). The concerns of trade unions are given much political substance by the high levels of temporary employment among the EU migrants. An overall average of more than 15% temporary employment among the EU migrants is significantly different from a less than 7% average for the rest of the workforce in the UK (Table 1). Further, this figure is over 18% among the Latvians, 19% among the Polish migrants, 25% among the Slovakian migrants and as high as 28% among the Hungarian migrants.

<sup>3</sup> The total number of the EU migrants in the tables provided throughout may not be consistent because of missing values.

**Table 2 - Different Types of temporary Jobs (Percentages): 2006**

	Seasonal work	Contract for fixed period, fixed task	Agency temping	Casual work	Other	Total	N=
Poland	3.2	27.9	47.9	16.9	4.1	100.0	26668
Hungary	.0	69.4	.0	30.6	.0	100.0	1819
Czech	.0	44.2	.0	.0	55.8	100.0	975
Cyprus	.0	.0	.0	100.0	.0	100.0	962
Lithuania	24.3	.0	65.7	.0	10.1	100.0	4947
Slovakia	.0	16.0	77.5	.0	6.5	100.0	4099
Latvia	.0	67.2	32.8	.0	.0	100.0	1285
<b>All EU Migrants</b>	<b>5.0</b>	<b>26.1***</b>	<b>48.1***</b>	<b>14.8***</b>	<b>5.9</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
N=	2052	10650	19613	6027	2413		40755
<b>Rest of the UK</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>45.7</b>	<b>16.7</b>	<b>21.5</b>	<b>11.3</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
N=	64047	612675	224371	288116	152187		1341396

Source: LFS, Autumn 2006

\*\*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level (Logistic Regression)

In particular, the distribution of temporary EU migrants to different types of temporary jobs shows significant differences from that of other temporary workers (Table 2). Notably, they are over represented in agency temping with an overall average of 48%, compared to 16% for the rest of the UK's temporary workers. Arguably this is affected by the fact that these workers are often brought to the UK by labour supply agencies, and they may continue to work either through or for such agencies in the country (ALP, 2006). They are, on the other hand, relatively under represented in fixed-term contacts (26%) and casual works (14%): for other temporary workers, these proportions are 45% and 21% respectively. In what follows, we will have a closer look at the temporary employment among the EU migrants with in the context of demographic, regional, industrial and occupational variations.

### **Socio-Economic Characteristics of Temporary Employment among the EU Migrants**

Over the past few decades, women gained access to the labour market on a par with men. Scholars underlined that their jobs were segregated on the basis of temporary and part-time status as well as of managerial, occupational and industrial benchmarks (Hakim 2000). Even so, the data presented in Table 3 suggest that gender difference is less pronounced in both temporary and permanent jobs among the EU migrants, compared to the rest of the labour force in the UK which is skewed toward a

statistically significant over representation of female workers in temporary jobs, circa 56 %.

**Table 3 - Gender Composition (Percentages): 2006**

	EU Migrants			Rest of the UK		
	Permanent	Temporary	Total	Permanent	Temporary	Total
Male	52.9	52.5	52.8	51.0	43.8	50.6
Female	47.1	47.5	47.2	49.0	56.2***	49.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
N=	222310	40755	263065	22924747	1341837	24266584

Source: LFS, Autumn 2006

\*\*\* Significant relation at the 0.05 level (Logistic Regression)

Academic research had highlighted that temporary workers tend to be younger than the permanent ones (Purcell and Cam 2002). Even though the updated data provided in Table 4 confirm that the same can be said of the EU migrants as well as of the rest of the UK's workforce, the EU migrants are significantly younger in both permanent and temporary jobs. In the case of temporary jobs, in particular, almost 90% of them are aged between 16 and 34 years old, whereas the figure is just above one in two for other temporary workers.

**Table 4 - Age Composition (Percentages): 2006**

	EU Migrants			Rest of the UK		
	Permanent	Temporary	Total	Permanent	Temporary	Total
<b>16-34</b>	<b>69.8</b>	<b>88.3***</b>	<b>72.6***</b>	<b>36.0</b>	<b>51.7***</b>	<b>36.9</b>
16-19	1.5	1.6	1.5	4.9	14.0	5.4
20-24	20.8	39.6	23.7	8.9	18.3	9.4
25-29	31.0	35.7	31.7	10.6	11.7	10.7
30-34	16.5	11.4	15.7	11.6	7.7	11.4
<b>35+</b>	<b>30.2</b>	<b>11.7</b>	<b>27.4</b>	<b>64.0</b>	<b>48.3</b>	<b>63.1</b>
35-39	5.6	2.2	5.1	13.0	9.7	12.8
40-44	8.3	2.3	7.4	13.4	8.7	13.1
45-49	7.0	2.2	6.3	12.2	7.6	11.9
50-54	5.6	4.0	5.3	10.4	6.7	10.2
55-59	2.3		2.0	9.3	6.1	9.1
60-64	1.2		1.0	4.3	5.3	4.4
65-69	.2		.2	1.0	3.1	1.1
70+		1.0	.2	.4	.9	.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
N=	222310	40755	263065	22924747	1341837	24266584

Source: LFS, Autumn 2006

\*\*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level (Logistic Regression)

There is a lack of systematic comparisons between the EU migrants and the rest of the workforce in either permanent or temporary jobs with regard to regional distributions. The regional concentration of the EU migrants in general is significantly different from that of the rest of the workforce in the UK (Table 5). Notably, although the EU migrants are over represented in London with 26% compared to 11.7% of the rest of the workforce, they are under represented in North West (5.6%), Scotland (4.3%) and Wales (1.5%) compared to 11.2%, 8.8% and 4.6% for the rest respectively.

**Table 5 - Regional Distribution (Percentages): 2006**

	EU Migrants			Rest of the UK		
	Permanent	Temporary	Total	Permanent	Temporary	Total
North East	.7		.6	4.1	4.2	4.1
North West (inc Merseyside)	6.2	2.3	5.6**	11.3	9.9	11.2
Yorkshire and Humberside	8.6	19.8	10.3	8.4	7.4	8.3
East Midlands	10.4	18.6***	11.7	7.4	7.0	7.4
West Midlands	6.2	1.0	5.4	8.9	8.4	8.8
Eastern	9.6	14.2	10.3	9.4	9.0	9.3
London	26.8	21.8	26.0***	11.6	13.5	11.7
South East	13.7	10.2	13.2	14.4	15.5	14.5
South West	9.3	1.2***	8.1	8.6	8.4	8.6
Wales	1.6	1.1	1.5**	4.6	4.9	4.6
Scotland	4.2	4.5	4.3**	8.7	9.1	8.8
Northern Ireland	2.7	5.2	3.1	2.5	2.7	2.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
N=	222310	40755	263065	22924747	1341837	24266584

Source: LFS, Autumn 2006

\*\*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level; \*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level (Logistic Regression)

In the case of temporary jobs, the uneven distribution of employees repeats itself further, with two more regions: almost 19% of temporary EU migrants are employed in East Midland whereas this is down to 7% for the rest of the UK's temporary workers. Their concentration in South West, on the other hand, is residual, although this proportion is over 8% for the rest.

**Table 6 - Industrial Distribution (Percentages): 2006**

	EU Migrants			Rest of the UK		
	Permanent	Temporary	Total	Permanent	Temporary	Total
Agriculture, hunting & forestry	.5	1.0	.6	.7	.9	.7
Fishing				.0	.1	.0
Mining, quarrying				.4	.4	.4
Manufacturing	21.0	33.8***	23.0***	14.2	8.0	13.8
Electricity gas & water supply	.3		.2	.7	.4	.7
Construction	6.4	4.2	6.0	6.0	3.8	5.8
Wholesale, retail & motor trade	11.4	8.1	10.9	15.5	8.5	15.2
Hospitality (Hotels & restaurants)	13.3	18.5	14.1***	4.3	7.4	4.4
Transport, storage & communication	7.8	10.2	8.2	6.8	4.1	6.6
Financial intermediation	.8		.6	5.0	2.9	4.8
Real estate, renting & business activities	13.0	2.3***	11.3	10.5	10.0	10.5
Public administration & defence	3.2	3.3	3.2	8.1	8.5	8.2
Education	5.5	1.3**	4.8***	9.7	21.1***	10.3
Health & social work	10.4	4.6***	9.5	13.3	15.0	13.4
Other community, social & personal	4.8	7.6	5.3	4.7	8.2	4.9
Private house holds with employed persons	1.4	4.8**	2.0	.2	.7	.2
Extra-territorial organisations, bodies	.2		.2	.1	.1	.1
Workplace outside UK				.0	.0	.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
N=	221855	40755	262610	22905092	1339685	24244777

Source: LFS, Autumn 2006 (SIC 2003, Digit One)

\*\*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level; \*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level (Logistic Regression)

Differences between the EU migrants and rest of the workforce are also significant in terms of their industrial distribution (Table 6). Although the EU migrants are over represented in manufacturing and hospitality, for example, they are under represented in education, compared to the rest of the workforce. However, such a disparity becomes much clearer in the case of temporary jobs. Almost 44% of temporary EU migrants are employed in manufacturing whereas the figure is down to 8% for other temporary workers. Their concentration in education, on the other hand, is residual, albeit this proportion goes up to an overall average of 20% for the rest. This gap is arguably contributed to by less accessibility of teaching posts for migrant educators (Enneli *et al*, 2005).

**Table 7 - Close Up Distribution to Selected Industries (Percentages): 2006**

	EU Migrants			Rest of the UK		
	Permanent	Temporary	Total	Permanent	Temporary	Total
Food, beverage manufacture	8.3	27.9***	11.0***	1.5	2.8	1.5
Pulp, paper, paper prods manufacture	2.1		1.8	.3	.1	.3
Printing, publishing, recorded media		17.8***	2.4	1.2	1.3	1.2
Coke, petrol prods, nuclear fuel man.	1.8		1.5	.3		.2
Rubber, plastic products manufacture	1.2		1.0	.7	.6	.7
Machinery equipment manufacture	1.8		1.5	1.4	.5	1.4
Other transport equipment manufacture	2.1		1.8	1.0	.3	.9
Wholesale, commission, trade (fee, contract)	4.3	21.9***	6.7	2.6	.2	2.5
Retail trade (not motor vehicles) repairs	8.0	4.7	7.5	11.0	7.0	10.8
Transport by land, pipeline	1.3		1.2	2.0	.5	1.9
Aux transport activities travel agents	10.6***		9.1	2.2	1.7	2.2
Computer related activities	1.9		1.6	2.0	1.4	1.9
Other business activities	6.4		5.5	6.6	5.4	6.6
Public admin, defence, social security	2.6		2.2***	7.8	8.5	7.9
Recreational, cultural, sporting activities	2.8		2.5	2.5	5.2	2.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
N=	233349	36990	270339	22987074	1257488	24244562

Source: LFS, Autumn 2006 (SIC 2003, Digit Two)

\*\*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level (Logistic Regression)

A closer examination of the data (through the two-digit classification of industries) indicates that the distribution of the EU migrants to sub-industries varies from that of the rest of the workforce in the UK, once again in the shape of both over representation and under representation (Table 7). Notably, although the EU migrants are over represented in food and beverage manufacturing, they are under represented in public administration, defence and social security. However, this pattern also becomes much clearer in the case of temporary jobs. Almost 28% of temporary EU migrants are employed in food and beverage manufacturing whereas the figure is less than 3% for other temporary workers. The data presented in the table, on the other hand, failed to detect the presence of temporary EU migrants in public administration, defence and social security, although almost 8% of the rest in temporary jobs are employed in these industries.

**Table 8 - Distribution by Company Size (Percentages): 2006**

Number of Employees	EU Migrants			Rest of the UK		
	Permanent	Temporary	Total	Permanent	Temporary	Total
1-10	18.9	9.4***	17.4	18.3	20.5	18.4
11-19	6.4	5.7	6.3	8.9	7.7	8.8
20-24	4.1	1.2	3.7	4.3	4.6	4.3
Don't know but under 25	3.3	5.7	3.6	1.9	3.7	2.0
25-49	13.9	16.9	14.4	13.5	12.7	13.5
50-249	26.0	30.2***	26.7	23.5	19.5	23.3
250-499	7.3	4.4	6.9	7.7	5.4	7.6
Don't know but between 50 and 499	4.5	12.1	5.6	3.4	5.2	3.5
500 or more	15.6	14.4	15.4	18.5	20.7	18.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
N=	220993	40203	261196	22709986	1306115	24016101

Source: LFS, Autumn 2006

\*\*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level (Logistic Regression)

Despite all the differences shown so far between the EU migrants and the rest of the workforce in general, the data presented in Table 8 indicate no significant variation with regard to their concentration levels in small, medium and large companies. Even so, the evidence suggests that the EU migrants in temporary jobs in particular are more likely to work for larger companies to certain degree when compared to other temporary workers: only less than 10% of them work in small companies (with ten or fewer employees) whereas such companies employ over 20% of the remaining temporary workers across the country. In the case of larger companies, a contrary situation emerges: more than 30% of the EU migrants in temporary jobs work for companies employing between 50 and 250 workers, although this proportion is less than 20% for the rest of the UK's temporary workforce.

**Table 9 - Occupational Distribution (Percentages): 2006**

	EU Migrants			Rest of the UK		
	Permanent	Temporary	Total	Permanent	Temporary	Total
Managers and Senior Officials	8.7	0.0***	7.4***	15.5	4.2***	14.8
Professional occupations	9.5	1.1***	8.2	12.5	21.2***	13.0
Associate Professional and Technical	5.8	1.4	5.2***	14.4	12.3	14.3
Administrative and Secretarial	5.9	6.4	6.0***	13.3	16.1	13.5
Skilled Trades Occupations	8.0	6.4	7.7	8.4	4.7	8.2
Personal Service Occupations	9.4	6.5	9.0	8.0	12.0	8.2
Sales and Customer Service Occupations	5.3	.0***	4.5	8.7	7.4	8.6
Process, Plant and Machine Operatives	14.1	19.2	14.9***	7.5	5.1	7.4
Elementary Occupations	33.2	59.0***	37.2***	11.7	17.1	12.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
N=	222310	40755	263065	22906583	1340597	24247180

Source: LFS, Autumn 2006

\*\*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level (Logistic Regression)

The proportion of the EU migrants with high qualification-based occupations appears to be significantly low compared to the rest of the workforce in the UK: less than 8% of them are manager or senior officials whereas this proportion is almost 15% for the rest (Table 9). With a varying degree of influence, this also applies to professional occupations, associate professional/technical occupations and administrative /secretarial occupations. In less qualification-requiring occupations, on the other hand, a reversal picture emerges with, for example, over 37% of the EU migrants in elementary jobs, compared to no more than 12% for the others.

The negative correlation between the status of the occupations and their commonness among the EU migrants appears to be more pronounced in temporary jobs. Notably, professional occupations hardly account for more than 1% of the EU migrants in temporary jobs, whereas the figure goes above 20% for other temporary workers. In particular, this 20% is also markedly higher than circa a 13% for all but the EU migrants in permanent jobs –largely because of the widespreadness of temporary jobs in public services such as education, health and social work (See, Table 6).

As for the low skill-based occupations, almost 60% temporary EU migrants have elementary occupations, compared to 17% for other temporary workers (Table 9). To certain degree, this supports a core-periphery model of labour market segmentation

(Harrison 1994) in the case of the EU migrants. Nevertheless, one should not forget that we do not know to what extent these figures imply a well-balanced match between jobs and skills since there is a lack of systematic research into the issue of over qualification (MacKay and Winkelmann-Gleed 2005). Further, the figures in Table 9 suggest that there is a polarisation in terms of the distribution of temporary jobs between high and low skilled occupations among the rest of the temporary workforce in the UK. Accordingly, it seems to be possible to say that the available data lend greater support to long-standing claims about the polarisation of skills (Gallie 1991), but such a situation applies only to temporary jobs rather than permanent ones.

### **Disadvantages of the EU Migrants in temporary Jobs**

Previous research has underlined that a substantial proportion of temporary workers are ‘trapped’ in such jobs as a result of the difficulties in finding permanent jobs (Booth *et al*, 2002). As shown in Table 10, nearly one quarter of temporary workers – except the EU migrants– reported that they could not find permanent jobs, but almost 30% of them also said that they did not want permanent jobs. In the case of the EU migrants, on the other hand, majority of the respondents in temporary jobs reported that they worked on short-term contracts since they could not find permanent jobs (more than 60%), and only less than 8% of them did not want permanent jobs. That is, although higher proportions the EU migrants work in temporary jobs compared to the rest, lower proportions of them prefer such jobs. Obviously, potential ambiguities related to temporary jobs present a challenge for the future plans of the EU migrants in host society. However, the evidence presented below also suggests that they are in the most disadvantaged positions in temporary jobs, albeit inequalities at the expense of these migrant populations appear to be a common situation to certain degree in permanent jobs as well. This should be put against the growing concerns of the ILO over the working conditions of migrant workers around the World (Rush 2005).

**Table 10 - Reasons for Temporary Jobs (Percentages): 2006**

	Contract inc training	Contract for probationary period	Could not find permanent job	Did not want permanent job	Other	Total	N=
Poland	9.6		63.2	4.1	23.2	100.0	26668
Hungary	.0		30.6	.0	69.4	100.0	1819
Czech	55.8		.0	.0	44.2	100.0	975
Cyprus	.0		.0	56.3	43.7	100.0	962
Lithuania	.0		86.0	14.0	.0	100.0	4947
Slovakia	.0		63.9	16.0	20.1	100.0	4099
Latvia	.0		32.8	.0	67.2	100.0	1285
<b>All EU Migrants</b>	<b>7.6</b>		<b>60.6***</b>	<b>7.3***</b>	<b>24.5</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
N=	3093		24694	2980	9988		40755
<b>Rest of the UK</b>	<b>7.6</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>24.3</b>	<b>29.1</b>	<b>36.2</b>	<b>100.0</b>	
N=	101279	37521	326323	389790	485970		1340883

Source: LFS, Autumn 2006

\*\*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level (Logistic Regression)

It had been documented up until the first couple of years of the new millennium that temporary employees were paid lower on average than permanent workers (Booth *et al*, 2002). The issue of earnings inequalities on the basis of ethnic differences, however, was hardly touched by the academic research into temporary jobs. By and large, this still remains so despite widespread claims that migrant workers in general are under paid (Riddle, 2006).

The evidence presented in Table 11 suggests that the EU migrants are paid significantly lower than the rest of the workforce in the UK, under £315 and over £394 per week respectively. The type of jobs also has significant implications for the pay levels. Accordingly, temporary workers are paid less among both the EU migrants and the rest of the workforce. Yet, since the pay levels of temporary EU migrants are related to not only temporary but also migrant status, their weekly earnings appear to be 30% less than that of other temporary workers, below £200.

**Table 11 - Gross weekly pay (£): 2006**

		Mean	N=
<b>EU Migrants</b>	Permanent	333.22	234377
	Temporary	198.27	36990
	Total	314.83***	271367
<b>Rest of the UK</b>	Permanent	402.19	23006158
	Temporary	259.69***	1257887
	Total	394.80	24264045

Source: LFS, Autumn 2006

\*\*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level (Loglinear Analysis)

An obvious reason for the earnings gap is the hitherto addressed high level of elementary occupations among the EU migrants, especially in temporary jobs (Table 9). However, if we exclude elementary occupations in order to see the situation in other occupations, it becomes clear that earnings gap remains statistically significant (Table 12).

**Table 12 - Gross weekly pay (£) in main job by Occupations (Excluding Elementary Occupations): 2006**

		Mean	N=
<b>EU Migrants</b>	Permanent	386.96	138053
	Temporary	240.97	13865
	Total	373.64***	151918
<b>Rest of the UK</b>	Permanent	428.69	20303706
	Temporary	284.21***	1060258
	Total	421.52	21363964

Source: LFS, Autumn 2006

\*\*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level (Loglinear Analysis)

The British workers have a relatively heavy workload as measured by working hours: they work, for example, longer than their counterparts in the continent. On average, employees in Britain work over 42 hours per week (Table 13), whereas this average is less than 38 hours in the continent. In countries, such as France and Germany, it goes further down, especially because of the introduction of 35 hours limit in recent years (Lambert 2006: 5).

The EU migrants, in particular, work longer than the rest of the UK's workforce, but the gap is not statistically significant, 42 and 45 hours per week respectively (Table 13). Nor does the temporary or permanent status of jobs have significant implications for the working hours of the EU migrants. However, the rest of the UK's workforce in temporary jobs work significantly less, 36 hours per week or 28 hours without

overtime, essentially because of the high level of part-time employment among them, one in two –that is twice as much compared to the rest (LFS, 2006).

**Table 13 - Weekly Average of Usual Working Hours: 2006**

		Without Overtime	Including overtime
<b>EU Migrants</b>	Permanent	37.10	45.11
	Temporary	36.87	44.66
	Total	37.05	45.08
<b>Rest of the UK</b>	Permanent	33.13	42.52
	Temporary	28.46	36.31**
	Total	32.81	42.33
<b>Total</b>	Permanent	33.17	42.55
	Temporary	28.71	36.51
	Total	32.85	42.36

Source: LFS, Autumn 2006

\*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level (Loglinear Analysis)

Occupational characteristics of the jobs however, change the picture of working hours. A specific consideration of elementary occupations as the most common one among the EU migrants points to the fact that they work significantly longer in such jobs than the rest of the workforce in both permanent and temporary jobs (Table 14). Having said this, it is also necessary to underline that a comparison of the results provided in Table 13 and Table 14 suggests that the gap is not due to long working hours in elementary occupations compared to overall averages. On the contrary, the EU migrants work relatively shorter in such occupations, but this is more so for other workers in the UK.

**Table 14 - Weekly Average of Usual Working Hours in Elementary Jobs: 2006**

		Without Overtime	Including overtime
<b>EU Migrants</b>	Permanent	37.47	44.97
	Temporary	37.42	41.50
	Total	37.46***	44.83**
<b>Rest of the UK</b>	Permanent	26.12	39.19
	Temporary	19.99**	32.52**
	Total	25.63	38.93
<b>Total</b>	Permanent	26.39	39.52
	Temporary	21.98	33.05
	Total	26.00	39.26

Source: LFS, Autumn 2006

\*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level; \*\*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level (Loglinear Analysis)

Since the late 1980s, the training of employees has become one of the most important issues in the labour market as a booster for labour productivity and as a response to the restructuring of labour markets under the growing pressures of post-industrialisation and globalisation (Fairbrother 1996). Yet scholars have often underlined that the importance of the issue was not well appreciated by policy makers (Stroud and Fairbrother 2005). For example, the government’s support for training programmes has been in a long-term decline. The most noticeable downward trend in the number of these schemes had been observed between 1992 and 1999, from 400 to 161 (LMT 2000: 18). Meanwhile, trainees’ number had also decreased from 547000 to 345000 (NOS 2000). In succeeding years, such a process rendered the contributions of employers to the training of workers even more important (*Global* 2005).

However, the evidence points to the reproduction of employees’ disadvantages by the training opportunities provided by employers since such programmes are less accessible for the EU migrants. They are offered significantly less training by employers compared to the rest, 35% and 58% respectively (Table 15). The type of jobs also has significant implications for the training opportunities. Temporary workers are offered less training among both the EU migrants and the rest of the workforce. Yet, since the training opportunities for temporary EU migrants reflect the inequalities accompanied by not only temporary but also migrant status, the proportion of those who are offered training among them appears to be three and a half times less compared to other temporary workers, circa 12%.

**Table 15 - Education or Training Offered by Employer? (Percentages): 2006**

	EU Migrants			Rest of the UK		
	Permanent	Temporary	Total	Permanent	Temporary	Total
Yes offered	39.1	12.2	34.8	59.7	41.6	58.8
Never offered	60.9	87.8***	65.2***	40.3	58.4***	41.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
N=	172222	32541	204763	15651346	795357	16446703

Source: LFS, Autumn 2006

\*\*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level (Logistic Regression)

The susceptibility of the British working class to political divisions on the bases of gender, race, occupations etc has long preoccupied scholars (Nichols and Armstrong 1976). An iconic example for these historic divisions was the ‘ring fencing’ policies of the 1980s by trade unions which aimed to protect the jobs of their members against

‘outsiders’ during local government reorganisation and the privatisation of public utilities. Such a sectionalist and defensive propensity served to reinforce social divisions (Mann 1992).

In the following years, union membership has dramatically declined, from circa 13 million in the early 1980s to 11 million by the end of the Conservative government in 1997 and, with a further momentum under the Labour government, down to 7 million in 2006. Meanwhile, having begun to be perceived as ‘hollow shell’ (Hyman 1997), trade unions tended to put more emphasis on anti-racist policies. They also started to expose racist managerial practices, especially in terms of pay and promotion by organising various campaigns in cooperation with the Equal Opportunities Commission.

**Table 16 - Are you member of a Trade Union? (Percentages): 2006**

	EU Migrants			Rest of the UK		
	Permanent	Temporary	Total	Permanent	Temporary	Total
<b>Yes</b>	3.9	4.5	4.0***	29.7	18.6***	29.1
<b>No</b>	96.1	95.5	96.0	70.3	81.4	70.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
N=	123652	23954	147606	20752349	1214798	21967147

Source: LFS, Autumn 2006

\*\*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level (Logistic Regression)

Even so, the union density among the EU migrants appears to be less than 5%, compared to almost 30% for the rest of the workforce in the UK (Table 16). Notably, working for a temporary or permanent job makes no statistically significant difference in terms of union membership among the EU migrants, although the same cannot be said in the case of other temporary workers, roughly 19% of them are union members. This is in line with the previous research findings into the weaknesses of unions in organising the flexible workforce (Heery *et al*, 2002).

**Table 17 - Whether unions present at workplace? (Percentages): 2006**

	EU Migrants			Rest of the UK		
	Permanent	Temporary	Total	Permanent	Temporary	Total
<b>Yes</b>	19.6	3.1***	17.5***	32.5	48.7***	33.5
<b>No</b>	80.4	96.9	82.5	67.5	51.3	66.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
N=	90255	13452	103707	11876248	714198	12590446

Source: LFS, Autumn 2006

\*\*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level (Logistic Regression)

Arguably, the short history of the EU migrants in the UK contributes to the low level of union density among them, but a further analysis of the available data helps look at the issue from a more specific angle. They are twice less likely work in companies where unions present than the rest of the UK's workforce, 17.5% and 33.5% respectively (Table 17). The type of jobs is significantly related to working at unionised or unionised workplaces, but this is true only for temporary EU migrants, just above 3%. Such a result constitutes a sharp contrast with the situation of other temporary workers in the UK since they are more likely work in unionised workplaces than permanent workers, 48.7%. This probably reflects their high concentration in better-organised public services such as education, health and social work (See, Table 6).

**Table 18 - Pay Conditions are affected by Union Agreements? (Percentages): 2006**

	EU Migrants			Rest of the UK		
	Permanent	Temporary	Total	Permanent	Temporary	Total
<b>Yes</b>	16.9	2.5***	14.6***	35.6	31.2	35.4
<b>No</b>	83.1	97.5	85.4	64.4	68.8	64.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
N=	102755	18818	121573	18900583	1004884	19905467

Source: LFS, Autumn 2006

\*\*\* Significant relation at the 0.01 level (Logistic Regression)

The pay and working conditions of the EU migrants in general are also less likely to be covered by union agreements compared to the rest, 14.6% and 35.4% respectively (Table 18). However, the type of jobs also has significant implications: temporary workers' pay and working conditions are less likely affected by union agreements particularly among the EU migrants, although such a situation is less pronounced among the rest of the workforce. Less than 3% of temporary EU migrants' conditions are affected by union agreements, compared to a more than 31% for other temporary workers in the UK.

## **Conclusion**

The evidence lends some support to the core/periphery model of labour market as measured by a relatively high level of low skill jobs among the EU migrants, especially in temporary jobs. This, however, appears to be at odds with the overall situation for the rest of temporary workers who are polarised into low and high skill

jobs. The data also suggest that the EU migrants in general are in a disadvantaged position compared to the rest of the workforce with regard to various issues such as pay, training, workload and unionisation. As shown in the case earnings, inequalities are evident in both high and low skill jobs. The disadvantages of temporary EU migrants in particular are added further by the inequalities related to short-term contracts.

There is no plan on the agenda of policy makers to introduce regulations in order to protect migrant workers against discriminatory managerial practices. On the contrary, just before the second wave of the EU expansion in January 2007, the government has passed a new law that denies the full-employee rights of migrant workers from Bulgaria and Romania. The government fails to respond to the call of the EU for the introduction of common standards into migration laws. It does not endorse the UN/ILO resolution for the humane treatment of migrant workers around the World either. The failure of the government to show a political determination to prevent discrimination against migrant workers rings alarm bells. Various policy watchdogs, such as the Commission for Racial Equalities, often warn that Britain travels in a direction that threatens future political prospects by alienating the BME and migrant workers whilst risking civil unrest.

Nor does Britain have proper regulatory frames in place in order to prevent the unfair treatment of temporary workers in general by unscrupulous employers. The government and business representatives still resist the EU directive on temporary employment. They fear that Brussels' provisions risk undermining competitiveness and labour productivity. However, the continental experience has shown that tighter regulations have accompanied higher levels of temporary employment and labour productivity in such countries as Belgium, Sweden, Netherlands, France and Germany than Britain. The government acknowledges that Britain cannot afford global competition by cheap labour as its practical appeal in short-term runs against the long-term sustainability, and that investing in skills and training along with R&D programmes, science and technology is the only way forward. Yet it fails to secure the equal treatment of not only the EU migrants but also the rest of the UK's workforce in temporary jobs with regard to training.

Considering all these, one may conclude that it makes sense for Britain in both political and economic terms to revise the current policies about temporary workers from the BME, migrant and main stream communities. The success of such attempts, however, would require better-informed policy practices through the grounded evidence of substantive research into the relationship between the work status of migrant workers and ethnic, demographic, occupational and contractual variations together with performance-related outcomes.

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