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Overemployed Migrant Workers: Evidence from the Annual Population Survey for a 'Special Model of Gendered Confidence'

Surhan Cam

Abstract:

Long working hours among the migrant workers were regarded by academic discussants both as a cause for concern and as a super-saving strategy for transnational investments back home. However, there is a lack of systematic research as to whether or not migrant workers find their working hours too long or wish to have them reduced. The evidence retrieved from the Annual Population Survey points to a marked desire among migrants to work shorter hours, despite the recessionary climate. By filling the research gap specifically into the reasons behind such a desire, this paper will inform not only egalitarian policies but also an improved supply-demand management in the labour markets. Predicated on a logistic regression modeling, the results suggest that using an intersectional approach by covering various demographic and work-related characteristics helps explain migrant workers' demand for shorter hours. The influential factors considered are conceptually framed by advancing a 'special model of gendered confidence'.

Introduction:

The aim of this article is to explore the reasons behind migrant workers' overemployment, as defined by a desire to work fewer hours (Golden & Gebreselassie, 2007). Long working hours among the migrant workers were heralded as a cause for concern in precarious jobs (Anderson, 2010). Paradoxically, such working hours were also claimed to be an opportunity for migrant workers to make some strategic savings since they could be multiplied by favorable currency rates when they were invested back in their home countries (Mann, 2005). The length of working hours among the professional migrants, on the other hand, hardly drew any

academic or public attention.

In particular, no academic study has been carried out in the UK so far as to whether or not migrant workers themselves find their working hours too long or if they would wish to work fewer hours. The data we have retrieved from the Annual Population Survey (APS) highlights the remarkable scale of the issue as over a quarter of migrant workers want to work fewer hours,¹ with two-thirds wishing to have more than eight hours reduction and one-third expressing preparedness for pay deductions (APS, 2013).

It is important to develop a proper insight into migrant workers' overemployment. One reason for this is because nationally aggregated statistics in the international literature have shown that overemployment in general has implications for life satisfaction, job satisfaction (Wooden *et al*, 2009), absenteeism (Lee *et al*, 2015), job-quitting (Böheim and Taylor, 2004), commitment (Emmerik & Sanders, 2005) and labour productivity (Smyth *et al*, 2013). Understanding the demand of migrant workers for reduced hours can have important implications for both egalitarian policies and an improved management of labour markets –whilst the populist pressure on policy makers grows to heed to the notion of 'British jobs for the British'.

For a proper evaluation, however, it is essential to avoid reducing overemployment to long working hours since people may wish to have fewer working hours for a variety of reasons as will be stipulated in the following sections. Accordingly, the present paper asks what are the dynamics of migrant workers' overemployment in the UK? To answer the question, we will analyze the APS data and develop a model that one might call a 'special model of gendered confidence' for the sake of convenience. The model refers to a set of demographic and work-related characteristics that influence overemployment among migrant workers through the sense of confidence. It suggests that the reasons behind these workers' overemployment have significant peculiarities, despite some similarities with the rest of the workforce in the UK. To show this, the paper will make some comparisons between the two groups –although a systematic comparison between them is beyond the paper's scope. The model will stipulate that migrant workers' vulnerable position at work and in society renders their demand for working fewer hours much more dependent on the sense of confidence than others.

¹ This is lower than the proportion for rest of the work-force in the UK, but still comparable, just below one-third (APS, 2013).

The model will further elaborate that migrant workers' overemployment is distinctly gendered with a higher likelihood among women, especially in safer positions at work. The gender issue will be covered through a systematic comparison between male and female migrants. For a step-by-step unwrapping of the model, first let's consider some 'usual suspects' along with references to the existing overemployment debates in general.

'Usual Suspects'

A 'long hours culture' has been underlined in the UK over the past couple of decades (Bond *et al*, 2002), despite some decline in more recent times (Bonney, 2005). References were made particularly to certain occupational groups such as managers and professionals (Bryan, 2007) including women in these positions (Smith & Elliott, 2012). Some industries have also been pointed at for the prevalence of long hours in the likes of transport and communication, whereas female-dominated industries were shown to have shorter hours due to part-time jobs, as in the case of health and social work (Bryan, 2007). Long working hours have caused concerns over the well-being of employees and work-life balance (Chatzitheochari & Arber, 2009; Rigby & O'Brien-Smith, 2010).

Nevertheless, long working hours are not proxy for overemployment (Drago *et al*, 2009). Evidence from Australia suggests that even if people work long hours, sometimes they can be reluctant about less hours due to various incentives such as pay and authority at work (Wanrooy & Wilson, 2006). Conversely, even though some people work shorter hours, they may prefer fewer hours due to having child-caring or other responsibilities. In particular, some part-time workers wish to have shorter hours since they actually work comparably long hours with full-time workers (Echtelt *et al*, 2006).

In addition to long hours, we already have some information about various dynamics behind overemployment in general. Men, for example, are more likely to wish to have shorter hours than women. Likewise, being discontent with jobs, having higher pay and holding better qualifications are among the predictors of overemployment (MacInnes, 2005). We, on the other hand, lack systematic evidence regarding the role of some potentially critical issues such as holding a second job (Butler & Harris, 2015) or pay settlements as the evidence from Finland points to the importance of difference between hourly and weekly earnings (Lundberg & Karlsson, 2011).

We will rectify the lack of research evidence regarding the implications of the dynamics mentioned above for overemployment in the specific case of migrant workers. Although there is a growing convergence between migrant workers and the rest, especially for the educational attainments required by the UK's point-system (Cam, 2014), it is worth considering their peculiarities, as detailed in what follows.

A Special Model?

In the late Nineties, Bell (1998) highlighted that working hour preferences in the US were varied on the basis of –what he considered to be– race. Socio-economic differences of migrant workers from the rest can give peculiar characteristics to their overemployment. We already know that longer hours among migrant workers, as opposed to the rest, is particularly prevalent at the lower-end (Datta *et al*, 2007) and 'illegal' jobs (Ahmad, 2008). Industrial variations can also have exclusive implications for migrant workers' overemployment, although they are not significant in the UK in general (MacInnes, 2005). Notably, ethnic minority businesses are associated with unsocial/long hours (Ram *et al*, 2011). The evidence from Canada further indicates that project-based and therefore contingent engineering industries are discriminatory against the hiring of BME's under the pretext of skills deficiency (Shan, 2013).

In the nationally aggregated analyses, occupations and family situations are shown to have little effect on overemployment (MacInnes, 2015). However, such issues may turn out to be important for the migrant workers. Overqualification can be given as an example. There is a sizeable propensity toward overqualification among migrant workers: roughly one in five migrants who have higher education or above work in elementary occupations,² compared to 5% for the rest (APS, 2013). Among migrant workers, this can add a critical importance to occupational differences in terms of overemployment since the better educated migrants in elementary jobs are not easily able to afford shorter hours financially (Wooden *et al*, 2009). Further, migrants are more likely to be single and younger which, as the evidence over the US populations suggests, can be accompanied by fewer family responsibilities (Jacobs & Gerson, 2001) but more physical capacity to tolerate longer hours (Perreira *et al*, 2007).

Pertinently, part-time jobs are also relatively limited among the UK's migrant workers (25%), especially since work permits are usually granted on the basis of full-time jobs

² Elementary occupations/jobs are the ones which require little or no skills as defined by the Standard International Classification of Occupations (ILO, 2012)

–compared to 30% of the rest (APS, 2013). Against this, although migrant workers' part-time jobs are not different to the rest in terms of weekly averages of working hours, 26, they are variegated at the industrial level: In health, for example, part-time migrants work over 30 hours on average whereas the remainder work less than 24 hours (APS, 2013). Such diversities have possible implications for the overemployment of migrant workers in full-time and part-time jobs. As discussed below, the peculiarities of migrant workers can be further related to a confidence issue.

Confidence

Confidence in general has a complex character. It is about how much you can rely on others along with the surrounding conditions, and how much you can trust yourself in terms of your talents, skills, knowledge etc. (Griffin and Tversky, 1992). It varies from one dimension to another and from one person to another: One can be confident about his or her financial state, but not necessarily about the social status (Crouch, 2012). The same events also affect people's confidence differently, depending on personal characteristics (Koriat *et al*, 1980). Confidence is affected by a variety of additional factors including social and legal rights, privileges (Seligman, 1997), familiarity, experience (Luhmann, 1988), stability, uncertainty (Peterson and Pitz 1988), culture (Dequech, 1999), perceived intentions of others and collectiveness (Allwood and Mothgomery, 1987).

Confidence at work is important not only for ethical reasons, but also for employees' commitment and productivity since they can be adversely affected by the dearth of confidence in employers (Nichols *et al*, 2009). Research has long evidenced that some companies exploit insecure positions of precarious workers in general in order to compel them to undertake extra working hours (Stier & Epstein, 2003). This implies that overemployment may well be informed by the sense of confidence. Employees probably become hesitant about shorter working hours due to its implications for earnings and savings –or tensions with employers, especially if there is no pay deduction. Confidence can become an issue for the professionals as well, not least due to the factors outlined above such as personal characteristics, the level of social/legal rights, privileges, familiarity and uncertainty in addition to the perceived intentions of others. Bearing all these in mind, we will systematically relate migrant workers' overemployment to the sense of confidence.

Migrant workers' confidence and hence their attitudes toward fewer working hours, to

start with, are probably affected by a number of factors which are exclusive to them. As a set of social and legal rights, citizenship entitlement, for instance, can be considered one of such potential factors (Anderson, 2010). Likewise, the time spent in the UK may inform migrants' confidence and overemployment by raising their familiarity with the socio-economic environment and awareness about the available networks (Cam, 2014).

People's country of origin hint at potential influences on their sense of confidence and overemployment: French migrants typically inherit a conflictual political culture about long working hours (Rigby and O'Brien-Smith, 2010). The evidence from Norway over the influence of the country of origin on one's position at work in general (Karlsen, 2012) further renders it worth checking whether such varieties play a role in the specific case of overemployment. Besides, migrants' confidence is arguably affected by the UK policies about their country of origin. Legally, the more precarious position of migrant workers from countries outside the European Union is an important issue (Meardi, 2012), even though Brexit is also expected to push the EU migrants to a vulnerable position over time (Oliver, 2016).

Migrant workers are likely to retain more sensitivity than the rest about some potentially confidence-related factors. These include working in larger establishments as it implies business stability (Milkman *et al*, 2012), and union membership as it represents the strength of collectiveness (Rigby & O'Brien-Smith, 2010), although these correlates do not appear to be significant in the nationally aggregated analyses (MacInnes, 2005). Working in the public sector which is another likely influence on confidence –for prioritizing social responsibilities over financial considerations– was proven to have boosted the wish to work fewer hours among the US populations (Golden & Gebreselassie, 2007). Similarly, the length of work with the same employer as an indicator of experience with potential bearings for confidence (Taylor, 2013) was linked to trust in managers in the UK (Nichols *et al*, 2009) and overemployment in the Netherlands (Emmerik & Sanders, 2005). Evidence from the American hotels points to overemployment in temporary jobs as a result of racist managerial practices (Zamudio & Lichter, 2008). Especially specific types of temporary jobs such as agency or seasonal work may undermine people's confidence and assertiveness about working arrangements by causing varying levels of uncertainties about the job prospects (Broschak *et al*, 2008). In addition, training provided by employers tends to create a 'paradox of autonomy' (Echtelt *et al*, 2006): the new skills that trainees obtain

give them a sense of privilege and confidence to negotiate working hours, on the one hand, and yet the same skills tempt the companies to extend working hours, on the other.

Gender

Intersectional debates have highlighted that a proper understanding of migration-related issues would require taking the role of gender into consideration (Bradley and Healy, 2008) amid the growing proportions of women among the migrant populations (Robertson and Sgoutas, 2012). It was highlighted, for example, that their migration motivations vary from men's since, among others, they seek emancipation or fulfilling gender identities (Luibheid, 2004). Women also face different levels and types of discrimination in receiving societies (Nash, 2008). We already know that demand for fewer hours is influenced by gender at the national level (MacInnes, 2005). A recent survey in the UK has additionally highlighted the relationship between women's preferences regarding working-hours flexibility and the low level of their self-confidence at work, compared to men (Glassdoor, 2016).

However, it is not known what sort of role, if at all, gender plays in the case of migrant workers' wish to have fewer working hours. The limited evidence related to the issue testifies the impact of motherhood. The White American women reduce labour supply more than the Asian in response to parenthood (Greenman, 2011). The less likelihood of single motherhood among the UK's migrants (45%) compared to the rest (55%) can also affect their attitudes toward working hours (APS, 2013).

Work-related factors presumably alter the gender aspect of overemployment among migrant workers: Although the migrant women are more likely to fill part-time jobs than their male counterparts similarly to the rest of society, the gender gap is less pronounced among them compared to the remainder: 38% of migrant and 47% of other women are in part-time jobs, whereas the migratory status implies little difference for men with a 15% overall average (APS, 2013). In particular, overemployment in part-time jobs can involve gender variations as the evidence shows that much of the discrepancy between American men and women's overemployment reflects their different responses to the specific job characteristics of part-time contracts such as total weekly hours (Golden & Gebreselassie, 2007). We will also check the potential impact of female-dominated industries (Bryan, 2007), occupational gender segregation (Smith & Elliott, 2012) and the educational gender gap (Karlsen, 2012).

Confidence-related influences may have a gendered demeanor. Stier & Epstein (2003) highlighted that insecure positions at work are a common issue for women among the OECD countries with regard to the imposition of long hours on them by employers. Aziz (2015) further documented that the sense of confidence is a crucial human capital in the case of the UK's female migrant workers from Poland to improve their positions at work. In addition to these, we will also examine the relation of migrant men and women's overemployment to the themes associated with confidence earlier: time spent in the UK, country of origin, citizenry status, working in the private or public sectors, receiving job training, working in small or larger companies, seniority and temporary jobs.

Broadly speaking, we will explore migrant workers' attitude toward fewer working hours through a 'special model of gendered confidence', covering the potential predictors discussed so far under five broad categories: demographic profiles (country/region of origin, year of arrival, citizenry status, age, marital status and dependent children), tenure (the time worked for the current employer and temporary/permanent jobs), workplace characteristics (establishment size, public/private sectors and industries), work-status indicators (occupation, hourly/weekly pay, education, union membership and training provided by the employer)³ and hours-related correlates (full/part-time jobs, usual working hours and the second job).

Method

Data is analysed from the latest round of the UK Annual Population Survey (APS, 2013) with a boosted sampling for the BME populations (ONS, 2011). Predicated upon face to face and telephone interviews with a small amount of postal surveys, APS conducted a total of 318,850 questionnaires, with 85% response rate (ONS, 2014).

APS asks respondents whether they would wish to have fewer working hours. Their affirmative answers will be used as the dependent variable which picked up 1,927 male and 1,699 female migrant workers who want to work fewer hours (out of 15,497 male and 18,374 female migrant workers in total). We also considered using the question asking respondents 'if they would wish to have fewer working hours with less pay', but its sample size was relatively smaller for various clusters used in the analyses than the threshold advised by the APS, 25 before grossing out (ONS, 2011).

³Among the work-status-related factors debated, only the job satisfaction will be missing from the empirical analyses since no national data in the UK is conducive to such undertakings for the migrant workers.

The concept migrant workers in this study excludes second generation ‘immigrants’ (Castles and Miller, 1993). Our analyses are not limited to a certain arrival year in Britain, although various scholars use different cut-points (Bell and Jarman, 2004). The reason for this is because we will explicitly control the impact of arrival years.

Independent Variables

Among the demographic variables, ‘the regions of origin’ is produced by collapsing the countries of origin into a widely used classification (Black and Skeldon, 2009). Although this is a broad categorisation, it was good enough to evidence the impact of origins on overemployment. The year of arrival is recoded to control the impact of time spent in the UK as specifically as possible. The beginning of the second most recent bracket (2006-2009) marks average minimum years to be spent in the UK to become a British citizen as well as a fuller arrival of the EU migrants (Anderson, 2010). Even so, we added a specific citizenship variable. The ages of respondents and dependent children are bracketed in line with the conventional practices (Blanden and Machin, 2003), excluding the respondents over 65 years old due to small sample size. Marital status is also embedded within demographic characteristics.

The tenure-related variables include the number of years worked for the present employer and temporary employment with its specific types, but seasonal and casual workers are collapsed due to small sample size.

Workplace characteristics (as well as part/full-time, temporary/permanent works and occupations) are reported for the main jobs. Industries are derived from the international classification of SIC-2010 (Double-digit: *Industry Sectors*). Due to the small sample size, we dropped agriculture, forestry and fishing, whilst splitting public administration, education and health. The second workplace characteristic is a dichotomous variable of respondents’ work in the public or private sector. The third one in this group, establishment size, refers to the number of co-workers reported by respondents. Establishments were first collapsed into three bands: small (< 50), medium (50-249) and large (\geq 250) companies (Forth *et al*, 2006). However, considering the high proportion of migrant workers in non-unionised small businesses with less than twenty employees (Cam, 2014), we separated them from the rest.

Among the work-status nominators, occupations are compatible with their major level (single-digit) international classification (SOC-2010). As the highest qualification attained, education was taken in this group, but the results were similar when used

within the demographic indicators. Pay is taken as weekly and hourly quintiles (ONS, 2011). The lowest hourly pay threshold roughly marks national minimum wage and below. Training variable reports the migrant workers who received employer-funded training in the past three months. Since the APS has no union question, it was borrowed from the LFS, and hence it could not be incorporated into the logistic analyses (Brook, 2001).

Working hours-related indicators have three variables, part-time/full-time employment, holding an additional job and the quintiles of usual working hours, including overtime. Because the first variable (as well as the public/private sectors and temporary jobs) is based on self-definitions, responses may not be consistent across the sample.

Analytical Technique

The analysis uses logistic regression, which is widely employed when modelling binary outcomes and for predicting the probability of an event. Independent variables are successively added to logistic models in sequential blocks, which allow the observation of changes in the predictors' relationship to the outcome variable and assessment of the relative importance of each predictor in the model. Neither the order of variables within the blocks, nor that of blocks within the models, makes a significant difference to the results. However, using demographic variables for Model 1 and then adding work-place characteristics in Model 2 proved better than other combinations for the goodness of fit.

Results

Descriptives

We will now proceed to account for the results of the APS data that we have analysed. We will present the relevant categories in the form of tables and comment on or point out differences and/or similarities with regard to women and men. The first observation from Table I refers to region of origin. It shows that female migrants from Western Europe and other developed countries are less likely to be overemployed than men from these regions. The same difference is also a fact for those of Latin or Central American origins whereas Southeast Asian women are more likely to wish for shorter hours of work than men.⁴

⁴ Gender breakdown highlights that the difference between migrant and other workers is essentially attributable to the higher level of male overemployment among the latter, almost 40% (APS, 2013)

Recently arrived migrant workers do not present a strong gender difference, although the women who came between 2000 and 2005 are slightly more likely to wish to have fewer working hours than men. The gap becomes apparent among those who came before 1980, but this time women are less likely to be overemployed, compared to men.

[Insert Table I here]

There is no gender gap among the migrant workers who gained British citizenship as in the case of non-citizens, despite a lower level of overemployment among the latter. Gender difference in terms of overemployment is also limited across the age brackets, with the exception of a less likelihood for women aged from 50 to 65 years compared to men.

Marital status does not point to substantial variations between men and women either, in spite of some difference in the case of separation and divorce with a similar yet reversed discrepancy.

There is no gap between men and women without dependent children, but some variations emerge on the basis of dependent children's ages. Critically, if toddlers under 2 years old are involved, then women are more likely to wish to have fewer working hours than men whereas the result essentially reverses if the age bracket increases to between 16 and 18 years old.

When people's working lives are considered, it is possible to say that permanent jobs imply no gender difference with roughly one quarter wishing to have shorter hours (Table II). In temporary jobs, the proportions remain equal for men and women, whilst going down to almost one-fifth. Even so, the proportion halves for men in the specific context of seasonal and casual works.

[Insert Table II here]

Just after starting to work, fewer women report overemployment compared to men. Yet this reverses as the proportion goes up for women after the completion of a full year with the same employer. The gender difference becomes slightly more evident during the following decade, but it disappears in the longer run.

As for workplace characteristics, there is little difference between men and women in the public and private sectors, although a residually higher proportion in the public sector is evident for women (Table III).

[Insert Table III here]

Establishment size does not imply a strong gender difference, albeit women are slightly less likely to be overemployed compared to men in the establishments with less than twenty employees. Nor does an upward trend in overemployment along with the establishment size sustain a substantial gender difference.⁵

Gender gap is evident across the industries. Only a limited proportion of women in hotels and food industries want to have fewer hours compared to men. However, the proportions become higher, especially for women in some other industries such as energy, water, public administration and defence.⁶

Among the work-status indicators, educational differences reveal significant gender differences (Table IV). Women who have no qualifications are less likely to wish to have fewer hours compared to men. Speaking in relative terms, however, the gap decreases as overemployment goes up along with the educational level.

[Insert Table IV here]

Occupations point to some gender gap. In lower occupational positions including process, plant and machine operatives, women have less demand for fewer hours than men. Along with the occupational status in general, demand for fewer hours augments, especially among women in professional occupations implying a reverse yet smaller difference in relative terms.⁷

Women are more likely to wish to have fewer working hours across all the quintiles of weekly earnings. Overemployment rises along with the quintiles, but the gap remains largely unaffected. The decline in demand for shorter hours in higher earnings brackets is confirmed by hourly pay quintiles as well, but with a residual gender difference this time.

Receiving employer-funded training denotes little gender difference, yet female trade union members are less likely to wish to have fewer working hours than men, and the discrepancy is further limited among non-members.

⁵ The difference between migrant (27%) and other men's (43%) overemployment is considerable in large establishments (APS, 2013)

⁶ Industry (water, energy and manufacturing) also helps understand the gap between migrant and other male workers' overemployment, 23 and 43%, respectively (APS, 2013)

⁷ This is considerably lower than the proportion for the men within the rest of the workforce in the UK, one-in-two, helping further to explain the men's difference in-between the two groups (APS, 2013).

Among the working hours-related variables, having a full-time or part-time job implies some gender difference (Table V). A higher proportion of women in full-time jobs are overemployed than men. The gender gap slightly narrows down whilst overemployment substantially goes down in the case of part-time jobs.

[Insert Table V here]

Holding a second job proves no gender gap, but more women are overemployed than men across all the quintiles of weekly working hours. The gap is most pronounced in the lowest quintile, albeit overemployment soars in the higher quintiles.

Overall, with a varying degree of influence, the majority of the demographic and work-related characteristics considered are coupled by gender differences. Whether women or men are more likely to wish to have shorter hours, as well as the lack of a significant gap appears to be dependent on the specific benchmarks considered.

Logistic regression models

Both separate and joint logistic regression models to examine the differential effects of demographic and work-related circumstances on male and female migrant workers' demand for fewer working hours are provided in Table VI. For each predictor variable, the last category in bivariate analyses is defined as the reference category.

Model 1 for demographic profiles shows that the regions of origin have a significant effect on migrant workers' overemployment ($p < 0.001$). Compared to the rest of the World, migrant workers from Western Europe usually display a higher inclination toward wishing to have fewer hours –the reference category (Table VI). However, some results do not fit into this generalisation, especially in the case of women from Eastern Europe and ex-SSCB countries as well as Afro-Caribbean origins and the rest of the developed countries.

[Insert Table VI here]

The year of arrival in Britain is a strong predictor as the earlier arrivals are more likely to wish to have fewer working hours ($p < 0.001$): Demand for fewer working hours among those who came between 2010 and 2013 (OR = 0.32, $p < 0.001$) is roughly three times lower compared to those who had arrived before 1980.⁸

⁸ It is worth noting that the intentions to stay in the UK only briefly for a fast-track saving hardly reduces the recent arrivals' overemployment any more than the earlier comers': When specifically asked whether prepared for pay cuts, the proportion of those who wanted fewer working hours plummeted almost four times

Age is an important factor on migrant workers' demand for fewer working hours ($p < 0.001$), but this is essentially because of a negative correlation between age and such a demand among women, rather than men.

Marital status further influences overemployment ($p < 0.001$), yet this impact is exclusive to the married men who are either living together with, or separated from, the wife. They are roughly fifty percent more likely to demand fewer working hours than divorced men.

There is a significant relationship between having dependent children and overemployment ($p < 0.001$) largely as a ramification of having children aged from 5 to 15 years old for women, with a roughly twenty percent less likelihood, compared to not having dependent children.

Model 2 suggests that migrant workers in temporary jobs are less likely to demand fewer working hours, but this is basically a reflection of the impact on migrant women's attitudes (OR = 0.058, $p < 0.001$).

There is a positively linear relationship between the time spent with the same employer and overemployment: Demand for fewer working hours among those who started to work less than a year ago (OR = 0.51, $p < 0.001$) is less than half or so compared to those who had started to work a quarter of a century ago or before.

Bringing in workplace characteristics, Model 3 illustrates their impact on migrant workers' wish to have fewer working hours. Although the model failed to find a difference between the public and private sectors, establishment size tends to inversely correlate with the likelihood of overemployment ($p < 0.001$): Demand for fewer working hours among those who work in establishments with less than twenty employees is one-third less compared to those who work in establishments with 500 or more employees (OR = 0.65). For women, however, middle-sized establishments are not much different from the larger ones.

Industries have marked implications ($p < 0.001$) as the likelihood of demand for fewer hours turns out to be, for instance, more than fifty percent higher in construction (OR = 1.52) as well as banking and finance (OR = 1.58), compared to health. However, the result for construction, in addition to a similar finding in transport and communication,

among the latest arrivals, down to 4%. However, the decline was also more than three times for the earliest arrivals, down to 12% (APS, 2013).

applies only to men. Women in the food industry, on the other hand, are one-third less likely to be overemployed than their counterparts in health.

The incorporation of workplace characteristics into the analysis in Model 3 weakened the role of demographic factors, especially by eradicating the significance of marital status for men, and that of having dependent children for women. Likewise, the model also denied the importance of time span with the same employer. That is, such factors were largely a reflection of workplace characteristics.

Model 4 gauges the relation of migrant workers' demand for fewer hours to work-status indicators. To start with, education enhances the likelihood of overemployment ($p < 0.001$), but this is true only for women. The gap between migrant workers who have no qualification and the remainder is roughly three times on average. Even so, the data fail to elicit a clear sense of direction in terms of the impact of educational levels due to little variations.

As for occupations, migrant workers' wish to have shorter hours vary across occupational levels ($p < 0.001$). Overemployment in elementary jobs, for example, is considerably low compared to associated professional occupations (OR = 1.36) as well as managers, senior officials and directors (OR = 1.69). The impact on men, however, is less pronounced to some extent since they are more keen on fewer working hours in lower-ranking occupations such as sales and customer services (OR = 2.04).

There is a linear correlation between weekly pay and the demand for fewer working hours ($p < 0.001$). Such a demand is more than ten times lower among those who are in the bottom quintile (OR = 0.08) compared to their counterparts in the top quintile. This contradicts an inverse relationship between overemployment and hourly pay ($p < 0.001$). Those in the bottom hourly pay quintile are almost four times more likely to demand fewer working hours (OR = 3.86) compared to those in the top quintile of hourly pay.

Adding Model 4 to the analysis weakened the role of the regions of origin, especially by eradicating its significance for women. It also had a similar effect on age, but particularly in the case of men. It further denied the role establishment size both for men and women, implying that the hitherto highlighted influences of these factors are actually a function of one's status at work. The addition conversely indicated that

having dependent children can be an important drive for the attitudes toward working hours, depending on work-status.

Model 5 evidences that part-time working migrants are up to four times less likely to become overemployed than full-time workers. However, this only applies to women (OR = 0.25, $p < 0.001$). Similarly, migrant workers in the lowest quintile of weekly working hours are over three times less likely to wish to have fewer working hours than those in the top quintile. However, the aforementioned result applies to only men this time (OR = 0.30, $p < 0.001$).

Including Model 5 in the analysis weakened the arrival years' role as well as eradicating the significance of temporary jobs and education for women. It also had similar effects on occupations and weekly pay for both men and women, implying that these factors were largely mirroring working-hours related factors. Further, it reversed the impact of lower hourly pay in general, underlining that such a pay would not actually raise but curtail the likelihood of overemployment if the impact of (longer) working hours is isolated. Finally, taking the hours-related factors into consideration unearthed the role of age, dependent children and establishment size for men as well as the length of time worked with the same employer for women in addition to the difference between the private and public sectors for both.

Generally speaking, all but four variables controlled in the logistic analyses were proven significant: Having tried with various combinations of the regions of origin, citizenship did not fit into the model, although it appeared to be relevant in the descriptive results reported in Table I, as happened for the specific types of temporary jobs (Table II). Employer provided training (Table IV) and the second job (Table V) did not fit into the model either.

Discussion and Conclusions

Rectifying the lack of research into migrant workers' demand to work fewer hours, this paper analysed various demographic and work-related correlates in order to explain their overemployment through a special model of gendered confidence.

Evidence over a sizeable demand among migrant workers for shorter hours does not sit happily with the assumption of 'a rationalist response to the relative value of penny' (Mann, 2005). Their overemployment is lower than the rest of the workforce largely owing to a higher proportion of male overemployment among the latter group, especially in professional jobs, water, energy supplies, manufacturing and larger

establishments. However, the gap between the two populations is by no means incomparable.

Migrant workers' wish to work fewer hours has common characteristics with the rest: Working long hours in full-time jobs creates enthusiasm among the migrants for shorter hours (Wanrooy & Wilson, 2006), but overemployment in part-time jobs is also unmistakable (Echtelt *et al*, 2006). Such a result is in line with the data over the rest of the workforce since 43% of them wish to have shorter hours in full time jobs, compared to 15% in part-time jobs (APS, 2013). The findings further indicate that better pay implies a higher likelihood of migrants wishing to have fewer hours. This points to the role of financial ability to afford shorter working hours in general (Böheim and Taylor, 2004). Likewise, little effect of marital status among migrants conforms to the national picture (MacInnes, 2005).

However, migrant workers have peculiarities as well: Specific outcomes reported in the present paper suggested that some 'usual suspects' such as education, occupations and industry had a limited effect on migrant workers' attitudes toward the length of working hours. Among other workers, on the other hand, the demand for shorter hours run parallel with the status at work in general (MacInnes, 2005). In particular, an inconsistency between higher education and the enhancing impact of better pay on the demand of migrant workers for fewer working hours resonated with their overqualification since many of the better educated migrants work in poorly paying jobs (NAO, 2008). Besides, even when they hold higher-ranking occupations, their pay may not always be proportionate to the one that the rest would receive for the same job (Cam, 2014). In other words, migrant workers' overemployment is less likely to be contributed to by, speaking metaphorically, a chain reaction between higher educational attainments, higher occupational levels and higher pay rates.

Closer analyses provided by this study also evidenced that migrant workers' wish for fewer hours had a paradoxical relationship with earnings: Separate considerations of hourly and weekly earnings have shown that although the demand for fewer hours was positively affected by (higher) hourly pay, aggregated weekly earnings did not correlate with the attitudes (Lundberg & Karlsson, 2011). In other words, lower weekly earnings involved as much keenness about fewer working hours as higher weekly earnings. The reason for this was because lower weekly earnings tend to imply long working hours. Indeed, almost one-in-two in the bottom quintile of weekly pay works

over 45 hours (with a quarter working over 50 hours) per week (APS, 2013).

Migrant workers' wish to work shorter hours goes up if they are in a potentially confidence-boosting position at work and in the British society (Nichols *et al*, 2009). A general tendency is that the more years the respondents have been working –with the same employer–, the more grows the share of those who want to work less hours. An explanation for this could be their own aging and/or the fact of having been worn out by many years at their jobs. Nonetheless, as highlighted earlier, previous studies have further related tenure to the sense of confidence like the other social profile characteristics considered in the present paper. Accordingly, the likelihood of preferring shorter working hours is also raised by migrating from a Western country and living longer in the UK in addition to British citizenship –although the latter works only to a certain degree arguably because of a deterioration in the labour market status of 'naturalised' citizens (Anderson, 2010). Likewise, working in public sector companies, larger private establishments and union membership imply a more pronounced desire to work fewer hours. So do permanent jobs –as opposed to all temporary ones, regardless of their specific types (Broschak *et al*, 2008).

Having a safe position at work is important for both migrant workers and others, but it is more so for the former (Bell, 1998). As in the case of migrant workers, for example, demand for fewer hours within the rest of the populations is high in permanent jobs (37%), compared to the temporary ones (22%). Speaking relatively, however, the overemployment gap between union members (37%) and non-members (27%) is markedly higher among the migrants than the gap within the remainder, 43% and 37%, respectively (LFS, 2013). Further, working in the private or public sector does not affect workers' overemployment in the latter group (APS, 2013).

Logistic regression results demonstrate significant differences between men and women, but the gender issue is slightly complicated: Although women's overemployment is nationally lower than men's in the UK (MacInnes, 2005), migrant workers appear to have no gender gap, especially for a relatively less pronounced over-representation of migrant women in part-time jobs (Robertson and Sgoutas, 2012). However, separate analyses of part-time and full-time jobs in this paper revealed a gender gap (Golden & Gebreselassie, 2007) as migrant women's overemployment turns out to be higher –as opposed to little gender difference for the rest, with 12% and 43% averages, respectively (APS, 2013).

Higher level overemployment among the migrant women occurs despite the limited tendency toward single motherhood. Accordingly, their demand for shorter hours has little to do with dependent children (Greenman, 2011). Notwithstanding a consolidating impact of full-time works, it does not reflect actual working hours, either. The desire of migrant women for shorter hours is rather informed by the gendered demeanor of confidence (Nash, 2008). Compared to men, for instance, migrant women's overemployment is less hindered by some confidence-challenging factors, including a non-Western country of origin, relatively more recent arrivals in the UK, middle-age and working in smaller companies. This is basically in harmony with a high likelihood of migrant women covering long zero-hours with low-pay contracts in such establishments (Clarion, 2016) as well as men's patriarchal sense of bread-winning responsibilities (Luibheid, 2004). Migrant women's demand for shorter hours, on the other hand, responds more positively, if not exclusively, to certain confidence-boosting factors which directly affect one's personal position at work. With a varying degree of influence, these factors are comprised of working with the same employer for longer periods, having a qualification, holding higher occupations and sitting on permanent, as well as full-time, contracts (Bradley and Healy, 2008). Such an outcome may well attest women's need for reassurances against gender-specific disadvantages (Stier & Epstein, 2003) as well as extra time to join personal development programs in order to fulfil their career ambitions despite the glass-ceiling (Aziz, 2015).

In general, the results of the analyses sustain the special model of gendered confidence by illustrating that migrant workers' overemployment has substantial peculiarities with an apparent dependence on the sense of confidence because of the unique or accentuated characteristics of their work and demographic profiles. Likewise, it is distinctly gendered with a higher likelihood of women's overemployment, especially in safer positions at work.

Findings bear some policy implications. Addressing the issue of overemployment among migrant workers would help improve employment opportunities for both migrant workers and the rest of society by promoting, for example, job-sharing practices. This can be assisted through the reduction of segregation between ethnic economies and the remainder in terms of multi-cultural recruitment (Ram *et al*, 2011). Further contributions can come from exercising regulatory powers more decisively to raise labour standards in the work-places dominated by migrants.

Since the overemployment among migrant workers had long been neglected, future research should rectify the gap by systematically mapping out specific types of jobs which accommodate higher levels of overemployment in an attempt to develop target-oriented policy suggestions. There is also a need to explore the relation of migrant workers' overemployment to some likely dynamics such as the patterns of working hours, job satisfaction, home-based work, zero-hour works, intentions in relation to the duration of stay and being the main breadwinner.

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Table I: Overemployed migrant workers by demographic profiles

		Men		Women	
		N [†]	% [‡]	N [†]	% ^{‡(Y)}
Regions of Origin	New EU members ^z	50450	15.3	45216	16.7
	Eastern Europe and ex-SSCB	13423	24.5	14838	24.4
	Latin and Central Americas	9940	27.6	6403	20.5***
	Non-European developed countries	46550	37.7	43294	33.4**
	Afro-Caribbean	92323	31.0	86567	31.3
	Middle East	28060	25.7	10777	24.2
	Indian Sub-continent	89845	20.7	46456	20.7
	Southeast Asia	16846	20.2	25278	25.0***
	Western Europe	114713	34.6	88804	29.8***
	Year of Arrival	2010-2013	33803	15.5	21046
2006-2009		69103	19.0	58577	20.1
2000-2005		104120	21.5	91906	24.0*
1990-1999		92115	30.6	77754	30.6
1980-1989		53568	30.8	49129	30.2
1979-		136216	40.2	94236	34.1***
Citizenship	British	196770	30.7	153747	29.9
	Not British	291163	23.6	236182	23.9
Age (Years)	15-25	23690	15.8	18171	13.3
	26-35	138690	21.6	125229	23.9
	36-49	196361	28.5	150619	29.5
	50-65	121304	33.6	95135	29.9**
Marital Status	Single (never married)	112749	21.2	100081	21.4
	Couple	334744	27.8	237399	28.4
	Separated	15095	26.2	15299	23.1*
	Divorced	17467	25.8	32611	29.0*
Dep. Children	Under 2 years old	66614	25.1	52682	30.6***
	2-4 years old	69044	26.5	42608	24.0
	5-9 years old	56406	26.7	38115	22.8**
	10-15 years old	45842	28.4	39855	26.1
	16-18 years old	18799	31.1	12639	23.4***
	No dependent child	232005	25.2	206749	26.1

[†] Number of fewer hours-demanding migrant workers is weighted and grossed out.

[‡] Overemployed as % of all in each category, Weighted

^Y Chi-square results (weighted) for 'All' are based on the differences from the rest in each category; and they are for the gender gap in the 'women' column: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

^z Exclusively covers 'EU migrants' –A8 accession countries, Romania and Bulgaria (They are not included in the category of 'Eastern Europe and ex-SSCB')

Source: APS, 2013

Table II: Overemployed migrant workers by tenure[†]

		Men		Women	
		N	%	N	%
Temporary Work	Permanent	368493	26.4	340574	27.5
	Temporary	14785	17.3	18414	18.3
	Agency	3397	13.6	2457	10.1
	Fixed-term Contract	9981	25.2	11941	23.9
	Seasonal and Casual work	1407	6.8	4016	15.5***
Start of job	2013	18520	21.7	11143	14.5***
	2012	42937	19.5	40012	19.3
	2011	32443	19.2	38471	25.6***
	2010	35239	24.7	32492	23.9
	2009	29830	25.2	25324	24.6
	2008	28127	28.1	28576	26.1
	2005-2007	70207	26.1	67278	29.8**
	2000-2004	57892	29.7	59071	33.6**
	1990-1999	41421	38.7	38707	38.2
1980-1989	18092	39.9	12809	40.2	

[†] Please see Table I for the notes

Table III: Overemployed migrant workers by workplace characteristics †

		Men		Women	
		N†	%‡	N†	%‡(Y)
Sectors	Private Sector	415792	25.6	265088	24.2
	Public Sector	72721	28.8	126887	30.4
Establishment size	Less than 20	107454	25.9	72988	21.9**
	20-49	55518	27.0	62463	28.2
	50-249	84135	25.2	84080	28.1
	250-499	30936	28.4	28985	31.7*
	500+	120451	32.6	104515	32.4
Industries	Energy and Water	7124	24.3	3276	29.3***
	Manufacturing	48695	21.7	24940	22.2
	Construction	46169	27.0	5399	29.4
	Distribution	37159	25.1	25123	22.0*
	Hotels	5783	20.1	5201	15.1***
	Food	46322	20.8	21308	15.3***
	Transport and Communication	77021	26.3	26648	28.7
	Banking and Finance	111983	32.2	87273	31.8
	Public administration and defence	19995	29.4	22059	34.2**
	Education	29688	32.3	50896	28.0**
	Health (and social work)	36763	24.1	99949	26.8

† Please see Table I for the notes

Table IV: Overemployed migrant workers by work-status variables †

		Men		Women	
		N†	%	N	%
Education	Degree or equivalent	241385	30.3	224470	31.4
	Higher education	41375	28.8	39937	23.8***
	GCE A Level or equiv	63955	28.5	42925	24.7**
	GCSE grades A-C or equiv	39709	25.6	33239	27.7
	No qualification	26234	15.7	10105	10.1***
Occupations	Managers and Senior Officials	91755	38.8	42206	38.3
	Professional occupations	132714	30.8	137827	34.7*
	Associate Professional and Technical	75833	33.6	52462	31.4
	Administrative and Secretarial	20823	27.4	61182	31.0*
	Skilled Trades Occupations	63451	23.4	7884	19.5**
	Personal Service Occupations	10995	15.3	35263	16.2
	Sales & Customer Service Occupations	14071	17.6	23670	22.0**
	Process, Plant and Machine Ops	41149	17.8	5821	12.3***
	Elementary Occupations	37578	14.7	26097	11.3
Weekly pay‡	<196	6138	8.6	24502	11.1
	196-326	33427	16.1	48088	21.2***
	327-461	48560	25.5	46851	30.8***
	462-691	78967	32.1	80202	37.5***
	>691	132406	40.5	88599	51.8***
Hourly pay‡	<6.93	25517	15.4	37450	17.3
	6.93-9.23	39299	19.2	39934	18.7
	9.24-12.57	50899	28.8	51814	31.6
	12.58-18.20	65819	33.6	68328	35.1
	>18.20	115782	39.7	89866	47.0***
Training	Yes	54601	26.8	53360	27.3
	No	202135	23.8	168221	23.7
Union‡	Member	79977	38.6	85208	34.0**
	Not member	377269	28.2	265420	26.0

‡Gross pay quintiles

‡LFS, Autumn 2013

†Also see Table I for the notes

Table V: Overemployed migrant workers by hours-related indicators †

		Men		Women	
		N†	%	N	%
Full/part-time Work	Full-time	477357	27.9	340976	33.0***
	Part-time	11229	6.8	50924	10.6*
Second Job	Yes	10512	22.7	13693	23.2
	No	478413	26.1	378955	26.0
Usual hours‡	<35.95	3145	12.0	18307	21.8***
	35.96-40.80	25126	29.4	36037	40.6***
	40.81-44.80	34264	37.8	29289	42.6**
	44.81-49.80	44831	35.7	32796	40.2**
	>49.80	98902	44.0	45731	50.7***

‡ Including overtime, quintiles

†Also see Table I for the notes

Table VI: Overemployed Migrant Workers															
	Odds Ratios for All					Odds Ratios for Men					Odds Ratios for Women				
	Mod I	Mod II	Mod III	Mod IV	Mod V	Mod I	Mod II	Mod III	Mod IV	Mod V	Mod I	Mod II	Mod III	Mod IV	Mod V
Demography															
<i>Region of Origin</i>	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
New EU members	.49***	.45***	.48***	.62***	.46***	.47***	.42***	.46***	.52***	.36***	.51***	.50***	.51***		
Eastern Europe and ex-USRR	.71***	.73***	.75**	.66***	.77	.65***	.67**	.72	.65	.47	.75	.74	.74		
Latin and Central Americas	.72***	.88	.92	1.15	.86	.87	.99	1.17	1.92***	1.75	.60***	.73	.67		
Non-Europe developed cntns	1.13	1.20***	1.18*	1.06	1.21	1.09	1.11	1.19	1.19	1.30	1.16	1.25**	1.15		
Afro-Caribbean	.88**	.88**	.91	.98	1.09	.76***	.73***	.79***	.92	1.10	1.01	1.00	1.01		
Mideast & North Africa	.68***	.68***	.76***	.81	.62*	.63***	.61***	.70***	.75	.53**	.68***	.67**	.75		
Indian sub-continent	.52***	.50***	.53***	.58***	.59***	.46***	.43***	.47***	.50***	.52***	.58***	.56***	.58***		
Southeast Asia	.62***	.62***	.66***	.75***	.73	.49***	.42***	.46***	.56***	.66	.76**	.81	.82		
Western Europe															
<i>Year of Arrival</i>	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
2010-2013	.32***	.33***	.29***	.30***	.26***	.29***	.27***	.26***	.28***	.34***	.33***	.31***	.33***	.32***	.19***
2006-2009	.45***	.50***	.45***	.47***	.39***	.38***	.39***	.38***	.42***	.34***	.53***	.53***	.54***	.49***	.41***
2000-2005	.53***	.56***	.52***	.51***	.45***	.46***	.45***	.45***	.43***	.37***	.62***	.61***	.61***	.58***	.52***
1990-1999	.67***	.70***	.67***	.65***	.74**	.64***	.63***	.62***	.57***	.61***	.73***	.74***	.74***	.75***	.91
1980-1989	.65***	.65***	.60***	.58***	.50***	.61***	.56***	.53***	.46***	.38***	.72***	.71***	.68***	.74***	.70
1979 and before															
<i>Age Bands</i>	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
15-25	.78***	.89	.74***		.67			.58***		.61	.78	.82	.86	.70	.68
26-35	1.17***	1.27***	1.09		1.06			.92		.72	1.30***	1.37***	1.26***	1.26**	1.47
36-49	1.14***	1.20	1.07		.65***			.95		.49***	1.35***	1.39***	1.21***	1.08	.88
50-65															
<i>Marital Status</i>	***					***	***								
Single, never married	1.06					1.11	1.02								
Married, living with suppose	1.23***					1.45**	1.29								
Married, separated from supp	1.08					1.50***	1.36								
Divorced															
<i>Dependent Children</i>				***	***					***	***	***			
Under 2 years old				1.42***	1.78***					1.93***	1.13	1.12			
2-4 years old				1.11	1.47***					1.70***	.89	.89			
5-9 years old				1.01	1.30					1.24	.77***	.77***			
10-15 years old				1.11	1.47***					1.47	.81**	.80**			
16-18 years old				.85	.85					.53	.79	.74			
No dependent child															
Tenure															
<i>Temporary Jobs</i>		.72***	.54***	.46***								.58***	.46***	.46***	
<i>Starting year of the job</i>		***													***
2013		.51***													.86
2012		.61***													.70
2011		.66***													1.72
2010		.66***													.79
2009		.66***													.95
2008		.69***													1.06
2005-2007		.72***													.68
2000-2004		.78**													1.44
1990-1999		.84													.85
1980-1989															
Firm characteristics															
<i>Private Sector</i>					.67***						.41***				.50***
<i>Establishment Size</i>			***	***				***	***			***			
<20			.65***	.66***				.64***	.36***			.64***			
20-49			.84***	.65***				.80***	.51***			.86			
50-249			.80***	1.04				.73***	.63**			.87			
250-499			.93	.78				.81	.91			1.11			
500+															
<i>Industries</i>			***	***				***				***			
Energy and water			1.35	.86				1.36				1.45			
Manufacturing			1.01	.97				.99				1.16			
Construction			1.52***	1.01				1.70***				1.16			

Distribution			1.08	.85				1.31					.94		
Hotels			.79	.96				.90					.80		
Food			.86	.77				1.10					.67***		
Transport and Commun			1.29***	1.01				1.42***					1.21		
Banking and Finance			1.58***	1.24***				1.60***					1.66***		
Public admin			1.00	.78				1.04					1.05		
Education			1.16*	1.25***				1.29					1.11		
Health															
Work-status															
Education															
Degree or equivalent				1.94***										2.93***	
Higher education				1.78***										2.36***	
GCE A Level or equiv				2.02***										3.22***	
GCSE grades A-C/equiv				1.85***										3.08***	
No qualification															
Occupations															
Managers, Drctrs and Sn Officials				1.69***				1.75***						1.80***	
Professional Occupations				1.20				1.16						1.47**	
Assoc. Prof, Technical				1.36***				1.26						1.61***	
Admin & Secret				1.60***				1.47						1.81***	
Skilled Trades Occupations				1.08				1.07						1.10	
Caring, Leisure & Oth Service				.80				.87						.83	
Sales & Customer Service				1.76***				2.04***						1.46	
Proc, Plant & Mach Ops				1.20				1.13						1.35	
Elementary Occupations															
Weekly Pay (£)															
<196				.08***	1.52			.05***						.06***	
196-326				.20***	1.28			.20***						.14***	
327-461				.37***	.86			.37***						.29***	
462-691				.54***	.94			.51***						.47***	
>691															
Hourly Pay (£)															
<6.93				3.86***	.54			3.18***	.67					4.43***	.50***
6.93-9.23				2.05***	.37***			1.98***	.40***					2.08***	.29***
9.24-12.57				1.83***	.76			1.75***	.67**					1.85***	.55***
12.58-18.20				1.33***	.80			1.41**	1.01					1.27	.52***
>18.20															
Hours Indicators															
Part-time work															
Usual hours of work					.30***										.25***
<35.95					.53***									.30***	
35.96-40.80					.60***									.44***	
40.81-44.80					.79									.70***	
44.81-49.80					.72***									.70***	
>49.80															
Δ df	8	8	6	8	8	8	8	5	4	4	8	8	6	6	4
-2 LLR	13729.1	11299.2	10013.9	4071.3	1494.4	7217.2	5542.7	4860.6	2014.2	675.9	6468.3	5713.6	5107.1	2044.4	765.9
Δ -2 LRR		2429.9	1285.3	5942.6	2576.9		1674.5	682.1	2846.4	1338.3		754.7	606.5	3062.7	1278.5
Significance of Δ -2 LRR		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***

Source: APS 2013, weighted.

Significance of difference from the reference category * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$