

Labour Market Integration of young EU Migrant Citizens in Germany and the UK

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D 6.4a - Labour market integration of young EU migrant citizens in Germany and the UK

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Mismatch: Migration - *Comparing Labour market outcomes and integration of youth migrants*

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- i) to 'advance the knowledge base that underpins the formulation and implementation of relevant policies in Europe with the aim of enhancing the employment of young people and their transition to economic and social independence', and
- ii) to engage with 'relevant communities, stakeholders and practitioners in the research with a view to supporting employment policies in Europe.' Contributions to a dialogue about these results can be made through the project website www.style-research.eu, or by following us on Twitter @STYLEEU.

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Executive Summary

This paper examines the quantitative and qualitative labour market integration of recent young EU migrant citizens in Germany and the UK, separately for citizens from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), Romania and Bulgaria, and Southern European countries. It estimates weighted-proportions from German Microcensus and UK Quarterly Labour Force survey data. The analysis is novel in: its comparative perspective; focus on youth and differentiation between specific regions-of-origin. Germany and the UK are two major destination countries of intra-EU migration. Past research mainly assessed labour market outcomes of *all* migrants, ignoring a potential double-labour market disadvantage of migrant youth. Routinely, EU migrants' labour market outcomes are compared for EU-15 and CEE countries, rather than separately and against third country nationals. This paper finds two things:

- a high labour force participation of young EU migrants
- a labour market segmentation for young EU migrant citizen from CEE and Bulgaria, who experience more precarious work in both Germany and the UK.

Key words:

Migration, CEE, Germany, UK, employment, labour market dualization, precariate, freedom of movement, youth

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Abbreviations

A2	(Former) Accession countries: Bulgaria and Romania
A8	(Former) Accession countries: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CPI	Consumer Price Index
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EPL	Employment Protection Legislation
EU	European Union
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education
ISEI	International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status
LFS	Labour Force Survey
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

1. Introduction

Migrant youth are faced with the double challenge of labour market entry and problems associated with assimilation and discrimination in the broad context of migrant life-courses (cf. Kogan et al. 2011, p.75). In Hoijer's and Picot's (2015) words "*migrants are by definition labour market entrants*" (see also Kogan 2006). A number of recent usually single country studies have focussed on EU migrant workers and labour market flexibility and segmentation (e.g. McCollum and Findlay 2015; Khattab and Fox 2016). There is also some literature on challenges to labour market integration for *recent* immigrants in general (Altorjai 2013; Demireva 2011; Clark and Lindley 2009; Andrews et al. 2007; Kogan 2006). Little country comparative evidence is available on working conditions of *recent young* EU migrant workers. And only few studies explicitly compare between migrant citizens from different EU countries of origin (Akgüç and Beblavý 2015; Höhne and Schulze Buschoff 2015), whilst simultaneously taking into account the different institutional context in the countries of destination.¹

Against this backdrop, our paper focuses on the quantitative and qualitative labour market integration of recent young "*EU migrant citizens*"² from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE),³ Romania and Bulgaria (A2), and from Southern European countries⁴, living in Germany and the United Kingdom⁵. To contextualise these results we also present results for the old EU member states⁶ and third country nationals (TCN). We have chosen Germany and the UK as these two countries not only have very different labour markets and welfare regimes, but also major destination countries of intra-EU migration (Galgóczi and Leschke 2015). A comparison between the two countries is of special interest, as intra-EU migration has been one of the key issues in the debate leading up to the Brexit referendum in Britain, whilst the German Chancellor Angela Merkel is an outspoken advocate of freedom of movement, in contrast to the past openness of the UK labour market.

¹ Algan et al. 2010 compare earnings and overqualification between different migrant groups including EU migrants and natives across three receiving countries. Their study does however not focus on recent migrant workers.

² Throughout we use the term EU migrant citizens to clearly distinguish between migrants as defined by the UN, amongst other criteria, as "Persons who are outside the territory of the State of which they are nationals or citizens, are not subject to its legal protection and are in the territory of another State" (UNESCO, 2016). EU citizen in another EU country are afforded some legal protection, comparable to that of their sending state. Particular relevant in the context of this paper are that EU migrant citizens are entitled to the same social benefits as natives after a maximum of 5 years, and if employed (as "EU workers") even from the first day of employment.

³ The A8 countries acceded the union in 2004 and include the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia.

⁴ Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain, Malta and Cyprus.

⁵ We refer to the UK throughout the text, in line with the main data source, the UK Labour Force Survey.

⁶ Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Austria, Sweden, (plus for Germany only, the EFTA countries), Germany (UK analysis only), UK (German analysis only).

We attempt to address the following research questions: How well are recent youth migrants integrated relative to their peers from the respective destination countries? Does the degree of integration reflect structural differences between the regions of origin, in particular CEE and Southern European countries, and macroeconomics changes due to the economic crisis after 2008? Is there evidence that quantitative and qualitative labour market integration of recent young EU migrants vary across welfare regimes?

The novelty of this paper is its comparative perspective both at the level of country group of origin and destination countries. Our analyses are descriptive and for the most part show simple proportions and means across the different migration groups.

Usually analyses of migrants' labour market situation are undertaken using multivariate models controlling characteristics such as skills level or the age distribution amongst migrant groups (cf. Khattab and Fox 2016). The analyses presented here avoid this and we do not for example take into account young EU citizens' undoubtedly various motives for migrating (Verwiebe et al. 2014).

The aim here is to compare migrant groups *as they are*, rather than to isolate variation due to migration or difference in skills background, which would be the outcome of a multivariate model. Migrants in a specific age-range (20-34) from specific regions (e.g. Central and Eastern Europe) coming to Germany or the UK are a distinct (holistic) group of interest, and it is important to describe them as a whole, before considering any compositional arguments. This is in line with the public debates focusing on "migrants" rather than specific subgroups. In particular, we will investigate the aggregate differences between youth nationals and recent EU migrant population in Germany and the UK with a focus on the pre-crisis and post-crisis period, in line with our research questions (see below).

In the following we will first briefly present the economic and welfare state context of our two receiving countries in order to formulate assumptions with regard to labour market integration of EU citizens. Section 2 presents the data, definitions and measures. Section 3 contains the empirical results with a specific focus on non-standard employment, skills occupation mismatch and wages. This is followed by a discussion to draw out commonalities and differences at the level of origin and receiving countries.

2. Economic and welfare state contexts

Youth migrants face risks and challenges with regard to labour market integration generally faced by young people as well as those specific to migrants. Labour market outsidership – inactivity, unemployment, low-income and low employment protection – is increasingly a problem for young people across Europe (Seeleib-Kaiser and Spreckelsen 2016) leading to a “new generation with higher exposure to systematic labour market risks” (Chung et al. 2012, p.301). Youth vulnerability to labour market outsidership is due in part to limited work experience which impacts the transition from education to employment (Brzinsky-Fay 2007; Schmelzer 2008). Early career insecurity is enhanced through the prevalence of fixed-term contracts and “last-in first-out” principles. In addition, the dualization literature (Emmenegger et al. 2012) has highlighted the risks of migrants becoming labour market outsiders, exposed to (insecure) precarious employment and low wages (Standing 2009).

Access to the labour market by EU migrant citizens from A8 countries differed significantly between Germany and the UK. Whilst A8 migrant citizens more or less had immediate access to the UK labour market after the accession of the CEE countries in 2004, Germany applied strict transition rules until 2011 (Fihel et al. 2015). For the UK, economic pull factors were strong given low unemployment, the overall good economic performance and a liberal regulatory regime coupled with language advantages. By contrast low economic growth and comparatively high unemployment rates made Germany less attractive. Nevertheless, long-run traditions of migration from CEE countries, including particular inflows for seasonal labour, the existence of migration networks and geographic proximity played important roles in attracting EU migrant workers (for details see Kogan 2011). Similarly, A2 migrant citizens were restricted from entering the German and the UK labour market for the maximum possible transition period of seven years following the 2007 EU enlargement.

As a result of the asymmetric economic development within the EU after 2008, the growing German economy became much more attractive for intra-EU labour migrants. In contrast, the crisis had a particularly strong impact on the UK. Given increasing unemployment in the crisis period and a shift in migration policies (transitional measures for workers from Romania and Bulgaria and changes to benefit entitlements) the UK became comparatively less attractive during the crisis period (Tilly 2011). As a result, labour market integration of migrants in Germany is thus likely to have improved over time, while in the UK an inverse trend might be visible. The impact of transition measures is expected to be visible in particular with regard to the share of (solo) self-employed migrant citizens in the economy, as the freedom of establishment can be used to ‘circumvent’ employment restrictions.

Quantitative labour market integration of (young) migrant citizens might be easier in the UK than in Germany given different school-to-work transition regimes (Walther and Pohl 2005) and in particular the prevalence of general as compared to specific skills in the UK. Strongly institutionalized vocational

education systems and a relatively strong reliance on specific skills, as we find in Germany (Hall and Soskice 2001), can provide an entry barrier for migrant employment and might thus potentially also provide for more segmentation between nationals and migrants in qualitative labor market outcomes (see also Guzi et al. 2015). Irrespective of institutional labour market and welfare state differences (Hall and Soskice 2001; Hall 2007; Esping-Andersen 1990), both Germany and the UK have highly segmented labour markets, as evidenced in the low-wage sectors. Similarly, both countries have institutionalised job categories at the margin with the so-called minijobs in Germany and zero-hours contracts in the UK. Also, trade union density has been declining substantially over the last decades in both countries. Germany – unlike the UK where employment protection legislation (EPL) is lax in general – is also segmented with regard to job security (OECD 2013).

Empirical research by Fleischmann and Dronkers (2010) for example suggests that country of origin effects can be more important to labour market integration than the nature and characteristics of the destination labour market. There are several reasons for potential differences in labour market integration by country-region of origin. Wage differentials between country of origin and destination and differences in reservation wages might be due to much lower (portable) unemployment benefits. As Bruzelius et al. (2016) have shown, the weekly exportable unemployment benefit of an ideal-typical unemployed Romanian worker moving to another EU Member State is about €27, compared to the benefit of €213 of a Spaniard or €228 of a German unemployed worker. These are likely to expose migrants from CEE countries, and to a lesser extent migrants from Southern Europe, to precarious work. Compared to migrants from EU-Rest countries, they might thus also be more likely to take up jobs below their skills level. This problem will be even more pronounced for youth migrants as young people typically are less often eligible to unemployment benefits than adults due to insufficient contribution records (Leschke and Finn 2016).

Overall our expectation is to find a clear stratification of labour market integration by EU migrant citizens' region of origin due to the difference in reservation wages and the variation in application of transition measures. We expect overall lesser labour market integration and more segmentation compared to nationals in Germany than in the UK. This mirrors the stronger reliance of the German labour market on specific as compared to general skills and the recent precarisation and dualization trends (e.g. Lehndorff 2015), also found in the UK (Leschke and Keune 2008). In sum, we expect to see the following:

- A segmentation of labour market integration by region-of-origin according to their economic situation in terms of: employment (quantitative integration), income, and quality of jobs (qualitative integration) with potentially more segmentation in Germany.
- Due to institutional arrangements we expect higher rates of solo self-employment of A8 and A2 migrants in Germany and A2 migrants in the UK.
- Over time, we expect to see a better quantitative and qualitative labour market integration of EU youth migrants particularly in Germany while an inverse trend might be visible in the UK.

3. Methods

3.1 Data, definitions and measures

Youth in our analysis are defined as *young people* aged 20-34. Due to data restrictions migrants are identified slightly differently between the UK and Germany.⁷ We look at recent migrants, specifically those who have arrived in the respective receiving country in the previous 5 years (Rienzo 2013). Region-of-origin effects are best studied in recent migrants. These would be less relevant for established migrants who potentially already experienced a catch-up or assimilation with their national peers. Moreover, after five years of residence EU migrant citizens have the same social rights as nationals.

Our analyses utilizes the German micro-census⁸ and the UK quarterly Labour Force Survey (UK LFS)⁹, both are the national inputs to the European Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS) and thus relatively comparable in terms of sampling and indicators. However, the UK LFS has been known to underestimate migrant populations (Longhi and Rokicka 2012; Martí and Ródenas 2007). The same is likely true for the German micro census as the questionnaire is only available in German (with a translation help to English for interviewers).¹⁰ Both datasets inadequately cover short-term migrants (e.g. seasonal workers) and cross-border or posted workers. Furthermore, numbers for youth migrant workers are comparatively small, particularly when broken down by region of origin. Consequently,

⁷ For the UK, migrants are identified by having a different country of birth than the UK, no UK citizenship, and UK residency for between one and five years.

For Germany, migrants are identified as having a non-German citizenship and having migrated to Germany in the previous five years.

⁸ The micro-census data is a representative sample containing demographic and labor market information from 1% of all households in Germany. All persons who have right of residence in Germany, living in private or collective households, at their main and secondary residence are sampled, they are obliged to participate (Research Data Centre of the Federal Statistical Office and Statistical Offices of the Länder 2016).

⁹ The LFS is the largest social survey in the UK, all adult members from a rotating sample of 41,000 private households are interviewed, in 5 consecutive quarters. The sample size makes it the best dataset available to analyze recent migrants' labor market situation (Office for National Statistics 2015a).

¹⁰ In the German case there is an obligation to participate and non-participation is penalized. The UK LFS makes efforts to conduct face-to-face interviews with interpreters, if no household member speaks English.

we pooled data across waves to increase estimation samples and reliability. We also provide confidence intervals reflecting often small case numbers.¹¹

We combine data for 2004-2009 and 2010-2014 for the UK and 2005-2008 and 2009-2012, respectively for Germany to assess differences between the pre-crisis and crisis period. We estimated proportions and means for national youth and migrant citizen youth using the standard weights from the micro-census and labour force survey. These account for non-response and adjust for demographic factors, namely age, nationality, and gender.

Table 1 summarizes the dimensions of labour market integration and their corresponding indicators in the German and UK data. These dimensions allow us to capture the multidimensionality of job quality (Leschke and Watt, 2014). We use comparable measures and international standard classifications. Employment is defined according to the ILO convention.¹² We assess skill-mismatch by comparing the average occupational status for a skill/occupation level of natives against the corresponding level amongst migrants. Self-employment can be very heterogeneous, taking place both at the high and low end of the labour market (Ortlieb and Weiss 2015) whereby self-employed without employees (solo self-employed) have worse labour market outcomes than self-employed with employees. Self-employed workers in Germany, unlike the UK, are not obliged to contribute to social insurance. Hence, self-employed workers with comparatively low earnings are likely to face insufficient social insurance coverage (Schulze Buschoff and Protsch 2008).

Marginal employment is the key dimension that we had to conceptualize differently for both countries. Marginal employment in Germany is characterized by the prevalence and recent increase of so-called “Minijobs”. Minijobs pay a maximum monthly wage of 450€ (until 2013 400€) and are in principle exempt from social insurance contributions (Voss and Weinkopf 2012). These low-paying jobs are often topped up with in-work benefits (Bruckmeier et al. 2015) — similar to tax credits in the UK and US. They are of particular relevance given the absence of a statutory minimum wage until 2015. In the UK we assess marginal employment as employment at or below the national minimum wage.¹³

¹¹ Analyses on the German data: Janine Leschke (FDZ – Forschungsprojekt: 2014-2631); on the UK data and figures by: Thees Spreckelsen

¹² According to the EULFS definition persons working at least one hour in the reference week are counted as employed and asked questions relating to their employment status. Our analysis, unless otherwise stated, thus include students or those in vocational training.

¹³ Particularly in the public debate so called “zero-hour contracts” have recently become a prominent exemplar of precarious employment. Despite using pooled data we are not able to measure these, and thus report on them properly in our analyses (For the UK the measure is available since 2010, and a total of 24 survey participants who are EU migrants indicated that they were working on zero hour contracts).

Table 1 – Measuring dimension of labour market integration

	Germany	UK
Quantitative integration		
Employment, Unemployment, Inactivity	ILO	ILO
Qualitative integration		
Marginal employment	Minijobs (earnings <400 Euro)	Gross hourly wages at or below the national minimum wage according to age group ¹⁴
Fixed-term employment	Employees only	Employees only
(Solo-)self-employment	Self-employed without employees	Self-employed without employees
Skills-mismatch	Mean ISEI ¹⁵ score for skill level (low, medium, high: ISCED) ¹⁶	Mean ISEI score by origin of education (school, work-related, university)
Income	Net hourly income ¹⁷ (broad - including social benefits) adjusted for inflation (CPI) – only persons included whose main source of income is employment	Net hourly income (pay) ¹⁸ , adjusted for inflation (CPI)

¹⁴ Over time UK minimum wage limits differed, before 2010 the minimum wage increased at age 18 and age 22, from 2010, the age thresholds were 18 and 21, with a lower minimum for apprentices (GOV.UK 2016).

¹⁵ Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI) (Ganzeboom/Treiman 2003/15), calculated using syntax from GESIS (<http://193.175.238.45/missy-qa/de/materials/MZ/tools/isei>), a critical account of the ISEI measure see Schimpl-Neimanns (2004).

¹⁶ We use routines available at GESIS to create the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) (Schroedter et al. 2006).

¹⁷ Net hourly income is created from net monthly income which refer to the month previous to the survey and are available only in income classes. Jutta Höhne has kindly provided us with her syntax for the German case: the mean of the respective wage class (ef436) is divided by the normal working hours (per week*0.25). We also follow her strategy to calculate earnings only for persons whose main source of income are wages from work as the information in the micro census not only contains wages from work but also for example child benefits, income from renting and the like (for details see Engels et al. 2012, pp. 198ff).

¹⁸ Proportions estimated using a zero-inflated Poisson regression, adjusted for illness/absence in reference week (UK only).

4. Results

4.1 Demographic characteristics of young EU migrant citizens

In Germany and the UK, EU migrant citizens' share amongst all recent migrants increased from pre- to post-crisis, particular amongst those from A8 and A2 countries (for details Leschke et al. 2016). Notably and despite the economic crisis we observe no *relative* increase for Southern European migrant citizens in the UK compared to the pre-crisis period. For Germany we see some *relative* increases of this group (ibid.) and a steep *absolute* increase since the crisis (Destatis 2012).

Recent EU migrant citizens in Germany and the UK are predominantly young, aged 20-34 (see Table 2), highlighting the importance of focusing on youth migrants. In Germany gender proportions differ considerably across migrant groups with relatively more female CEE youth, and fewer female EU-South and EU-Rest youth. Gender proportions seem similar amongst youth migrant groups in the UK, except for fewer females amongst EU-South youth. Post-crisis more young migrant citizens are students in Germany (13%-30%) than in the UK (9%-23%).

Table 2: Demographics of recent migrants to Germany and the UK, pre-crisis and post-crisis period

Destination	Region of origin	Youth (20-34 years) %		Females % (of youth migrants)		Students % (of youth migrants)	
		Pre-crisis	Post-crisis	Pre-crisis	Post-crisis	Pre-crisis	Post-crisis
Germany	CEE (A8)	72.5	65.0	67.4	58.4	18.1	12.8
	Bulgaria/Romania						
	(A2)	52.4	52.9	66.0	50.2	36.1	19.0
	EU-South	66.9	63.5	46.3	43.0	24.2	29.8
	EU-Rest	67.0	58.2	48.5	45.4	24.2	26.5
	Third Country						
UK	(TCN)	68.7	71.4	53.7	54.7	25.2	28.7
	CEE A8	70.0	60.7	46.2	51.3	12.4	8.6
	Bulgaria/Romania						
	(A2)	68.7	67.1	50.1	51.1	17.7	14.9
	EU-South	63.3	61.6	53.4	44.0	17.7	14.3
	EU-Rest	53.3	53.2	50.4	55.8	15.9	14.3
	Third Country						
	(TCN)	55.9	57.4	49.4	50.3	24.0	23.1

Source: German Microcensus (2005-2012), pooled UK Quarterly Labour Force Survey, 2004-2014.

4.2 Quantitative labour market integration – economic activity

Figure 1 reports the employment, unemployment and inactivity levels amongst young EU migrant citizens. Overall, they are well integrated compared to third country nationals, and several groups improved over time. In the UK, CEE migrants have higher employment rates than their native peers. This is not the case in Germany; here however CEE nationals' employment (but not EU-South nationals) increased from pre- to post-crisis. This result is consistent with a labour demand argument, given a comparatively robust economic growth in Germany, the gradual labour market opening in particular for qualified CEE migrants (Fellmer and Kolb 2009) and the end of transition measures for CEE nationals in 2011. The different proportions of youth in the respective employment status, mirrors the different levels of students amongst the migrant groups (Table 2, following page).

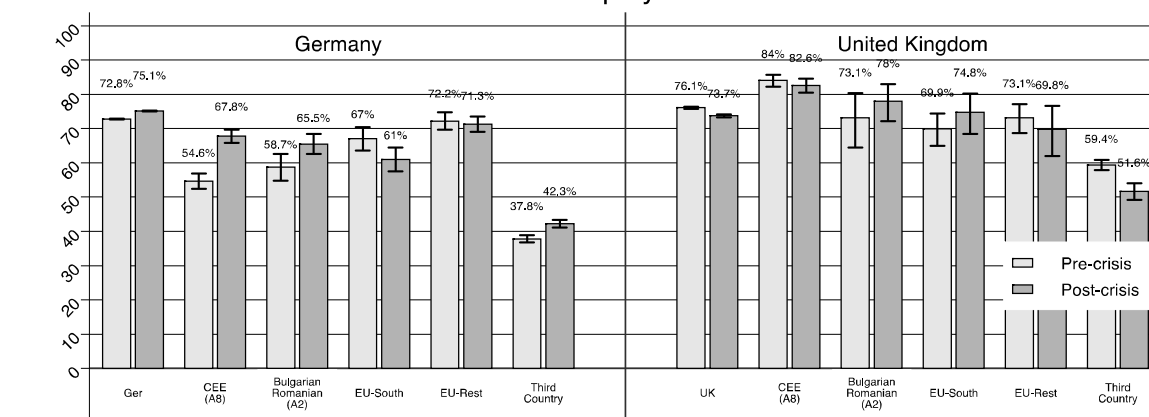
4.1 Qualitative labour market integration – the prevalence of non-standard employment

Despite finding (relatively) positive quantitative employment integration levels, particularly in the post-crisis period we demonstrate below important shortcomings in the quality of employment. We use prevalence of non-standard employment, skills-occupation mismatch and wages as indicators of quality of employment. We report forms of non-standard employment separately. However, they tend to overlap and often correlate with low wages (e.g. Leschke 2015; on youth labour market outsidersness cf. Seeleib-Kaiser and Spreckelsen 2016).

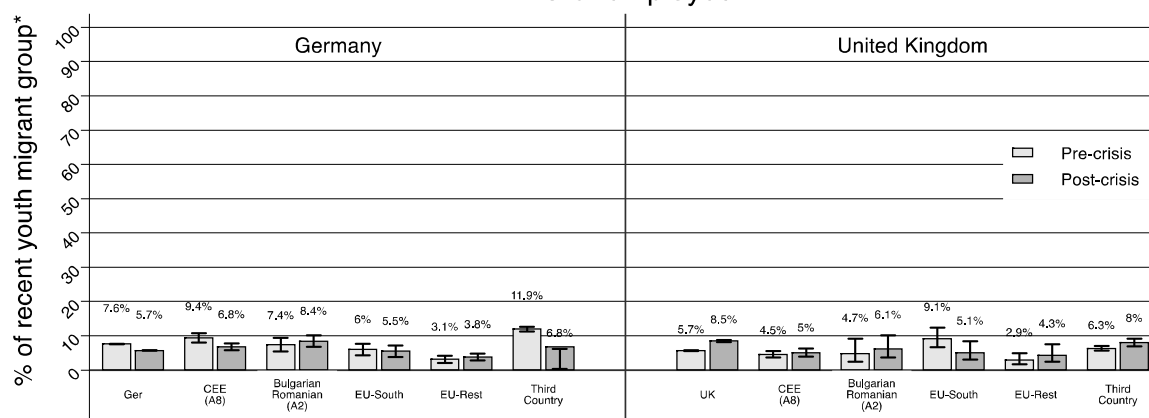
4.1.1 Non-standard employment

Temporary employment shares are considerably lower for UK youth than German youth (Figure 2), reflecting the weaker UK employment protection for permanent contracts (e.g. OECD 2013). In both countries we observe higher fixed-term employment levels amongst all migrant groups compared to their native peers with larger differences in Germany. This probably reflects the labour-market entrant status of recent migrants, irrespective of the host country. German nationals (post-crisis) have the longest fixed-term contracts, and name “being in education or training” as the main reason while CEE nationals frequently mention probation periods (Leschke et al. 2016, table 4a). CEE and EU-South nationals state “not finding a permanent job” as reason for **involuntary fixed-term employment**, more than other migrant groups and especially Germans (ibid.). Notably, we cannot discern consistent substantial changes in temporary employment from pre- to post-crisis.

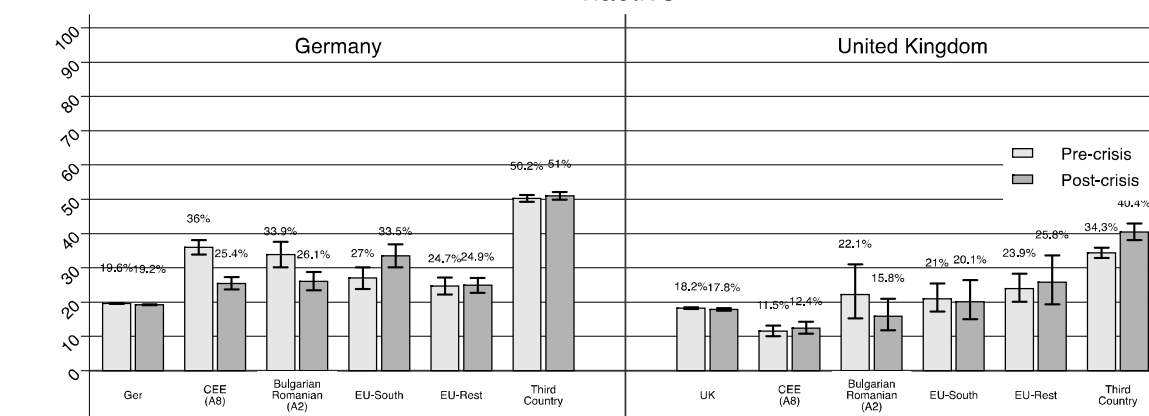
In employment



ILO unemployed



Inactive



Data: Pooled German Microcensus, 2009-2012 and pooled UK quarterly labour force survey, 2004-2014; weighted estimates adjusted for sampling design.

***Recent migrants:** arrived within last 5 years, country of birth not UK and no UK citizenship.

Figure 1: Employment status of recent youth migrants compared to nationals (Germany/UK, pre-crisis/post-crisis period)

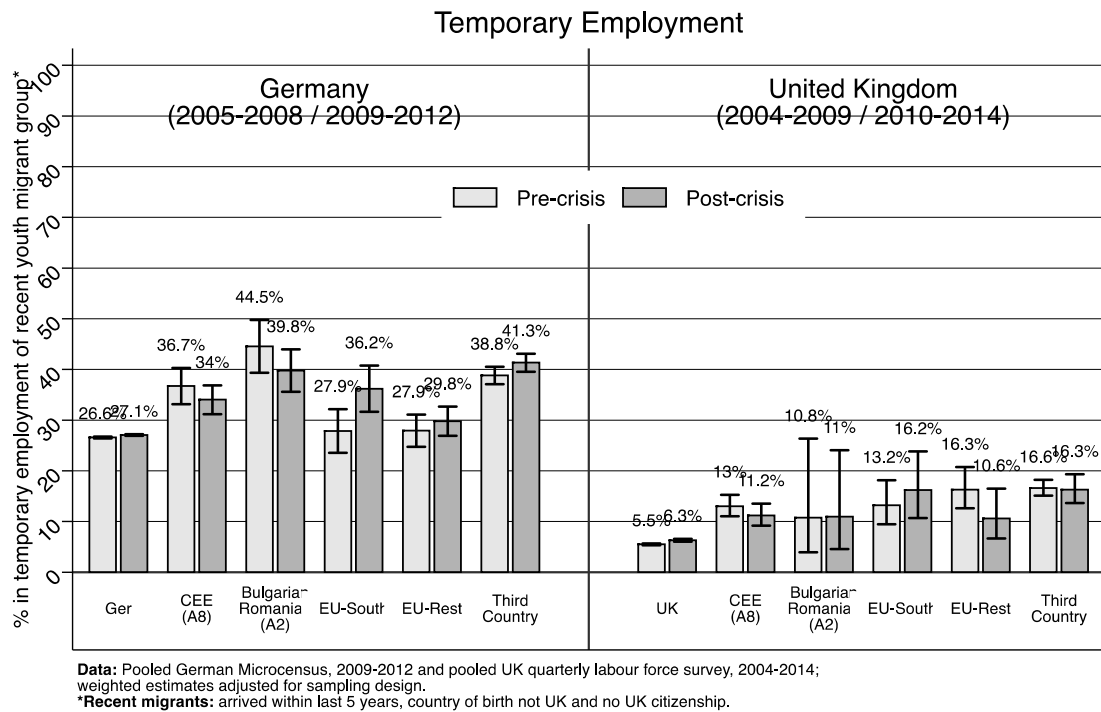


Figure 2: Temporary employment of recent youth migrants compared to nationals (Germany/UK, pre-crisis/post-crisis period)

The proportions of solo **self-employment** (self-employed without an employee) (Figure 3) attest strongly to the labour market impact of the post-enlargement transition regimes (Fihel et al. 2015). Restriction on the freedom of movement of labour applied to CEE A8 and A2 migrants in Germany, and A2 migrants only in the UK. Consequently, EU migrant citizens used the freedom of establishment on the basis of self-employment to gain access to the labour market (with some sectoral restrictions in place for Germany including construction and commercial cleaning). We observe exactly this, with elevated levels of solo self-employed CEE A8 and A2 youth in Germany, and significantly higher solo self-employment amongst A2 youth migrant citizen in the UK. We see a slight decline in Germany for A8 nationals in the post-crisis period, when transition measures were phased out.

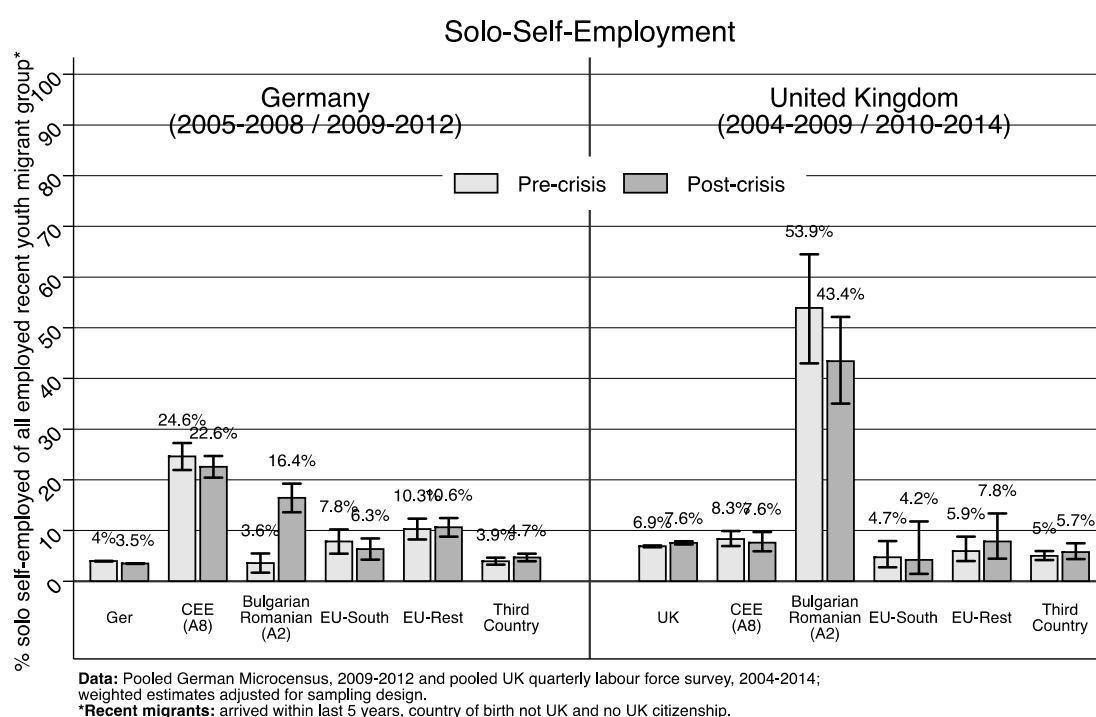


Figure 3: Solo-self-employment (i.e. employed with one employee only) of recent youth migrants compared to nationals (Germany/UK, pre-crisis/post-crisis period)

In addition to solo self-employment it seems pertinent to analyse so-called **marginal employment**. In Germany youth from CEE A8, A2 and Southern European countries have higher shares in minijobs than natives. Nationals from the EU-Rest countries have the lowest, third country nationals the highest shares (Figure 4).¹⁹

Although the UK has a lower earnings limit for national insurance contributions, employment at the national minimum wage constitutes the main form of marginal employment (more than 5% of all jobs).²⁰ Youth from CEE are more likely to earn a minimum or below minimum hourly wage than their UK peers. This also holds for A2, but not for EU-South or EU-Rest. If anything the latter have a lower share working at minimum wage. Mirroring the German findings, a larger proportion of third country nationals as compared to nationals in the UK earn a minimum hourly wage (Figure 5).

¹⁹ We only use information for 2009-2012. Since the earlier measure is incomparable These data also capture short-term employment (often seasonal) and “one-Euro-jobs” - an employment integration measure under the subsidiary welfare scheme.

²⁰ See ONS <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/about-ons/business-transparency/freedom-of-information/what-can-i-request/previous-foi-requests/labour-market/workforce-statistics/index.html>.

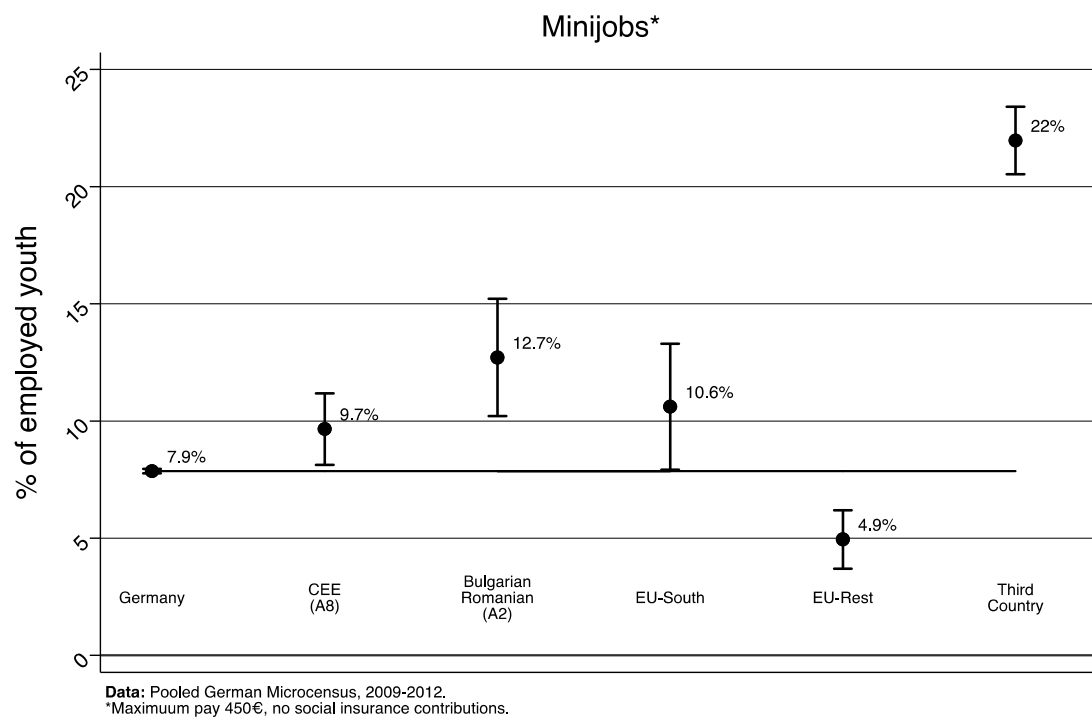


Figure 4: Share of minijobs, employed recent youth migrants compared to nationals (Germany, post-crisis period)

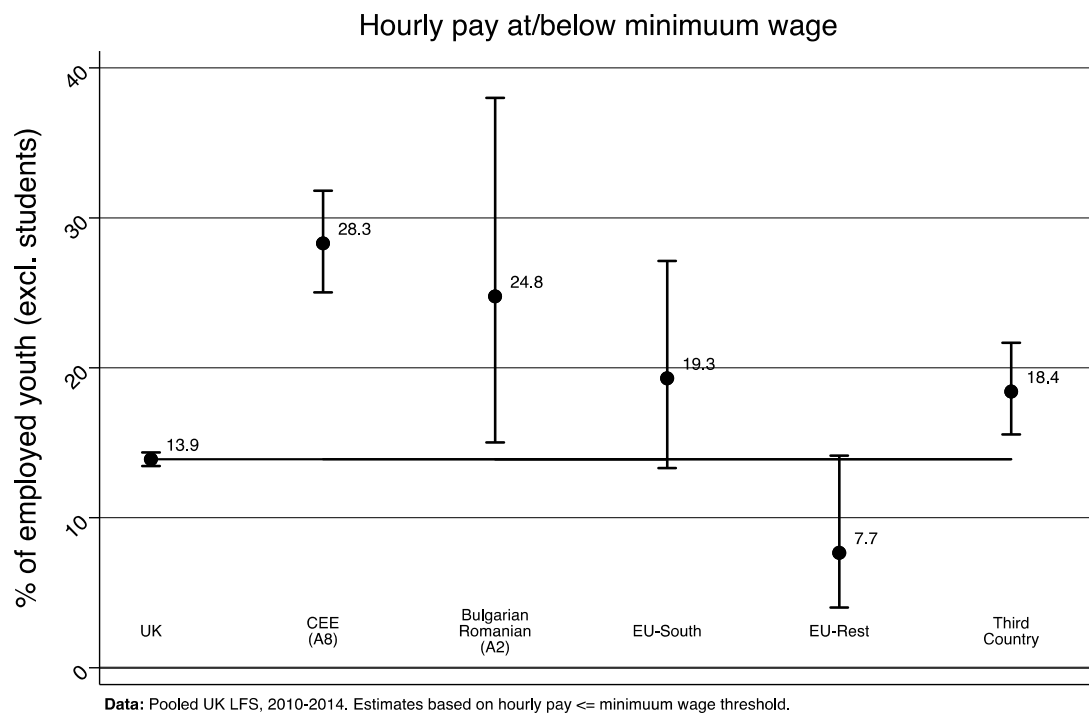


Figure 5: Hourly pay at/below the minimum wage, recent youth migrants compared to nationals (UK, post-crisis period)

4.1.2 Skills mismatch

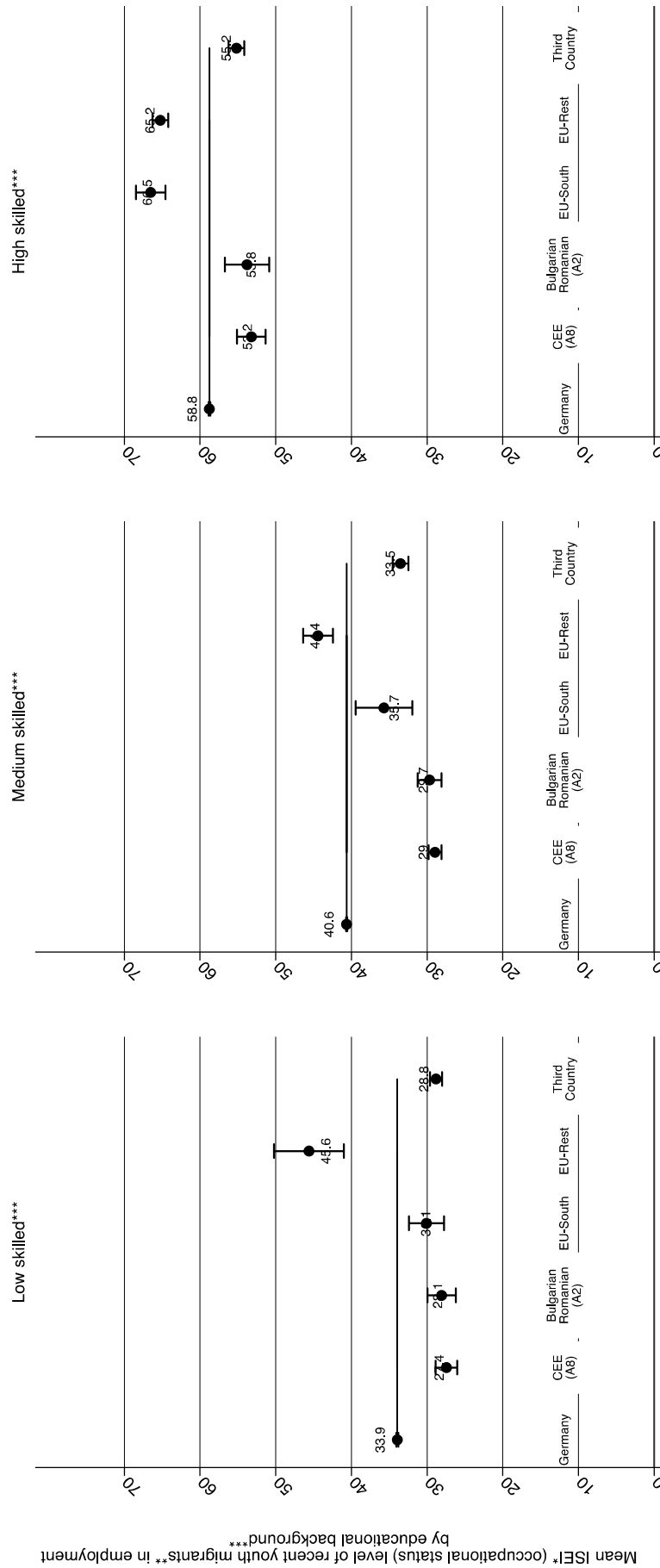
Several studies highlight a skills-occupation mismatch in particular amongst CEE migrant workers in EU15 countries (e.g. European Integration Consortium 2009; Bettin 2012; Engels et al. 2012).

Our measure of mismatch is relative, with the mean occupational status of the native youths in a skills category as a reference point (their status level is indicated by the horizontal line). We present pooled data combining pre- and post-crisis given low case numbers that results from dividing the migrants in three groups according to their skills level. The following results should be compared cautiously given the differences between the indicators used (see table 1 above), namely skills (Germany) and qualifications (UK).

Recent youth migrants from CEE A8 and A2 work consistently in lower status jobs than their German peers. In the UK, the same holds for A8 youth migrants, but not for their Bulgarian and Romanian peers. Consistently, young recent migrants from the Rest-EU achieve higher status jobs in the same skill-bracket as their native peers in both Germany and the UK.

EU-South migrants with tertiary education seem to achieve on average higher status jobs than their native peers in Germany. Those with medium or low skills backgrounds fare consistently worse than their native peers. For the UK, in contrast, EU South nationals with tertiary education have comparatively poor occupational outcomes. The same is true though with smaller gaps for those with work-related qualifications.

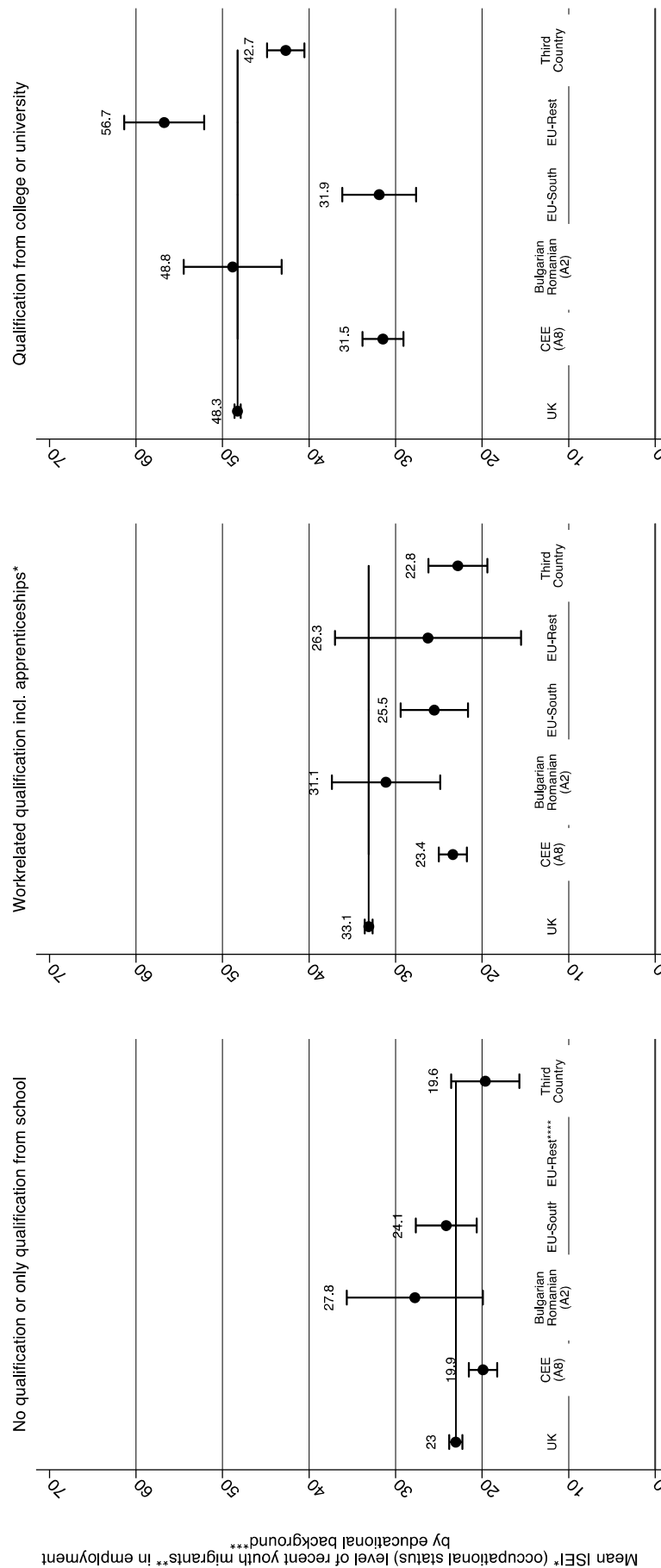
In Germany, migrant workers with medium skills levels (secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education) might have particular problems in using their skills (cf. Engels et al. 2012), which again might follow from the importance of specific rather than general skills in the economy.



Data: Pooled German Microcensus data, 2005-2012.

* ISEI-08 on basis of ISCO-08 ** 20-34years old, non-Nationals, arrived within last 5 years
*** Qualification based on ISCED.

Figure 6: Levels of Skill mismatch in Germany for recent youth migrants compared to nationals



Data: Pooled UK quarterly labour force survey, 2004-2014; weighted estimates adjusted for sampling design.
 * ISEI-08 on basis of ISCO-08 (using SOC 2010 and mapped SOC 2000). ** 20-34years old, country of birth not UK and no UK citizenship, arrived within last 5 years
 *** Origin of education using QULCH11 and QUALCH9, see note on ISCED. **** For no qualification category too small N.

Figure 7 Levels of Skill-mismatch in the UK for recent youth migrants
vis-à-vis nationals

4.1.3 Income differentials

Migrant-native income differentials have long been studied (e.g. Andrews et al. 2007) in their own right. We focus instead on the comparison between youth migrant groups, and Figure 8 presents the *average hourly income levels as a percentage of their German/UK peers*.

Using the broad micro-census income measure which includes social benefits (table 1) but restricting it to those people who say that their main income comes from work Germany appears to be more equal in terms of income with slightly lower net income amongst A2 migrants, and considerably higher income amongst EU-South and EU-Rest youth (+11% and +30%). In the UK by contrast, migrants from CEE, and to a lesser extend EU-South and third countries report lower income than their national peers. This is surprising given that the pay measure includes tax credits. However, it might reflect the different labour market experiences. The exception to this is the income of migrants from the EU-Rest. EU-Rest migrants also do particularly well in the German case.

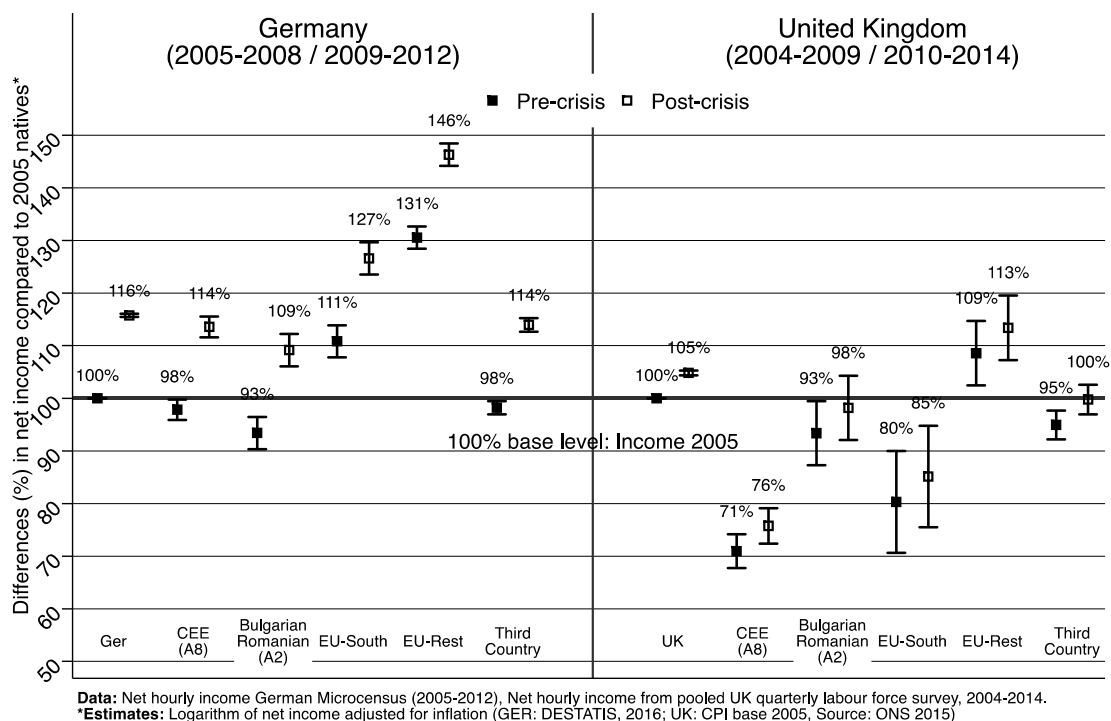


Figure 8: Wage income differentials for recent youth migrants compared to nationals in Germany and the UK

Note: the German income measure includes social benefits - we have restricted the analysis to persons who say that their main income comes from work; in the UK it includes tax credits.

5. Discussion

5.1 Quantitative and qualitative labour market integration

EU migrant citizens have generally high employment rates, especially in the UK. However, EU migrant citizens from CEE countries are more often in precarious employment compared to Southern European and particularly EU-Rest migrants. The latter's qualitative labour market integration is close to or better than nationals. Both countries show by far the worst outcomes for third country nationals on quantitative labour market integration (low employment rates and high inactivity).

These results might be due to the privileged status of EU migrant citizens based on the principle of non-discrimination in relation to nationals. Given free labour mobility, their migration channels differ substantially from third country nationals, who often come as asylum seekers or as part of family reunification.

The UK seemingly achieves a better quantitative labour market integration of EU migrant citizens (particularly from CEE countries) than Germany. This might be explained by the UK economy's orientation toward general rather than specific skills that facilitate the integration of youth migrants. Furthermore, the improvements in EU migrants' quantitative labour market integration visible in Germany during our second observation period are consistent with a labour demand argument, as unemployment has significantly declined.

In terms of qualitative labour market integration, the over-representation of migrant workers in non-standard employment in Germany is not surprising. Due to a high degree of dualisation of the German labour market, flexibility needs are achieved at the margins, for example through higher levels of fixed-term employment, solo self-employment (particularly for CEE migrant citizens during the transition period) and minijobs.

Our findings on wage income and occupation-skills mismatch point to an interesting segmentation of EU migrants according to regions-of-origin. For the UK which arguably provides a more clear-cut wage measure than the German data, our analysis points to lower wages for young recent CEE migrants as compared to their national peers, higher wages for EU-Rest migrants and no significant wage differences between nationals and EU-South migrants. CEE A8 migrants show pronounced occupation-skills mismatches in both countries, the results for EU-South migrants are more mixed and EU-Rest migrants – particularly in Germany – seem to perform better than nationals on this indicator.

These intra-EU differences in qualitative outcomes might partly be explained by destination country wage differentials, and differences in reservation wages due to much lower (portable) unemployment benefits (cf. Bruzelius and Seeleib-Kaiser 2016). These potentially render migrant citizens from CEE countries and to some degree EU-South migrants more willing than EU-Rest migrants to work under precarious conditions, for low wages and below their skills level. The results for A2 and EU-South migrants differ between Germany and the UK potentially also pointing to network effects and the role of general/specific skills. Broadly and crucially, the segmentation of labour market integration outcome might reflect structural differences by regions of origin.

Our analysis shows that contextual factors, such as transition arrangements, had a clear impact on migration movements, as EU migrant citizens' proportion increased in both destination countries, in particular from CEE countries, and their levels of solo self-employment indicated a response to the constraints on the freedom of movement. We did not detect large relative increases of EU-South migrants that have been prominently discussed in the media in the UK. However in particular the German data show some increasing trends.

5.2 Limitations

Our analysis has a number of limitations: the pooling of data makes it difficult to identify effects of the transition periods. Limited panel possibilities of the LFS data mean labour market outcomes of recent youth migrant workers are only examined in two time periods. Thus improved labour market integration due to better language skills, acquaintance with working culture norms and better networks is not accounted for (cf. Prokic-Breuer and McManus notion of "apparent qualification mismatch" (2016)).

Sampling biases mean our data captures 'better integrated' recent migrants that might not fully represent migrants as such. In both countries the data mainly captures residents, thus underrepresenting seasonal workers, posted workers or more recent migrants (see also section 3 on methods).

Comparability issues arise since we only use partially harmonized data (e.g. migrant definition, marginal employment and occupation skill-mismatch). Most of these reflect data-constraints but also country-specific labour market arrangements (e.g. minijobs).

Despite these limitations, our findings are rather consistent across measures and with theoretical expectations. Thus the native-migrant and region-of-origin differences are likely to reflect real circumstances.

5.3 Conclusions

Despite institutional differences of the labour markets and welfare regimes, as well as the different transition regimes, we can identify surprising similarities in the labour market integration of young EU migrant citizen across Germany and the UK.

Young EU migrant citizens who recently migrated are well integrated in the respective labour markets (in particular in the UK) when it comes to employment. However, EU youth migrants' qualitative labour market integration is segmented by their region of origin, as CEE (A8) and Bulgarian and Romanian (A2) citizens often work in precarious and atypical employment, youth from Southern Europe taking a middle position, and youth from the remaining EU countries doing better than their native peers. Notably, this segmentation can be observed for these migrant groups without a detailed analysis of demographic characteristics.

A number of broad directions for future research derive from the above findings. Crucially for labour market and social policy research, does the availability and *exportability of unemployment benefits* influence the segmentation of labour market integration outcomes by region-of-origin? For example, do these lead to observable differences in EU migrant citizens' reservation wages and support options, which in turn affect their labour market position in the countries of destination?

Finally and more generally the question arises whether at the micro-level EU cross border labour mobility simply replicates the existing stratification of young people across Europe, or whether migration gives young EU citizen an opportunity to improve their relative labour market position, compared to their position in the country of origin and their initial position in the country of destination. The corresponding question on the macro EU-wide level is, whether, and in what way, young EU citizens' migration can contribute to an economically and socially ever closer European Union.

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WP8 FAMILY DRIVERS

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STYLE Working Paper WP8.1 Work-poor and work-rich families

Family Strategies to cope with poor labour market outcomes

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Leaving and returning to the parental home during the economic crisis

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The role of parental material resources in adulthood transitions

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Family formation strategies, unemployment and precarious employment

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Policy synthesis and integrative report

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WP9 ATTITUDES AND VALUES

Value system shared by young generations towards work and family

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The impact of youth unemployment on social capital

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Aspirations of vulnerable young people in foster care

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STYLE Working Paper WP9.5

WP 10 FLEXICURITY

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NEW Tracing the interface between numerical flexibility and income security for European youth during the economic crisis

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Balancing Flexibility and Security in Europe: the Impact on Young People's Insecurity and Subjective Well-being

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Flexicurity Policies to integrate youth before and after the crisis

Smith and Villa (2016)

STYLE Working Paper WP10.4 Flexicurity Policies to integrate youth before and after the crisis

Policy synthesis and integrative report

(forthcoming) (2016)

STYLE Working Paper WP10.5

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| 1. University of Brighton – BBS CROME | – United Kingdom |
| 2. Institute for Employment Studies | – United Kingdom |
| 3. Institute for the Study of Labor | – Germany |
| 4. Centre for European Policy Studies | – Belgium |
| 5. TARKI Social Research Institute | – Hungary |
| 6. University of Trento | – Italy |
| 7. National University of Ireland Galway | – Republic of Ireland |
| 8. Democritus University of Thrace | – Greece |
| 9. University of Oxford | – United Kingdom |
| 10. Economic & Social Research Institute | – Republic of Ireland |
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| 13. University of Tartu | – Estonia |
| 14. Cracow University of Economics | – Poland |
| 15. Slovak Governance Institute | – Slovakia |
| 16. Metropolitan University Prague | – Czech Republic |
| 17. Grenoble School of Management | – France |
| 18. University of Tilburg | – Netherlands |
| 19. University of Graz | – Austria |
| 20. Copenhagen Business School | – Denmark |
| 21. Norwegian Social Research | – Norway |
| 22. Swedish Institute for Social Research | – Sweden |
| 23. Koç University Social Policy Centre | – Turkey |
| 24. University of Turin | – Italy |
| 25. EurActiv | – Belgium |

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9. Advisory Groups

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www.buinesseurop.eu

ETUI: European Trade Union Institute

www.etui.org

European Youth Forum

www.youthforum.org

European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

www.eurofound.europa.eu

ILO: International Labour Office

www.ilo.org

OECD: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

www.oecd.org

OSE: Observatoire Sociale Européen

www.ose.be

SOLIDAR: European network of NGOs working to advance social justice in Europe

www.solidar.org

EurActiv

www.euractiv.com

European Commission, DG Employment, Social Affairs & Inclusion

<http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=1036>

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