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POLISH MIGRANTS' REPRODUCTIVE BEHAVIOUR IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

INTRODUCTION

The recent migration of Polish people to the United Kingdom (UK) following Poland's accession to the European Union (EU) has had a major impact on the British and Polish populations and on these countries' labour markets. However, there is considerable uncertainty about whether recent Polish settlement is permanent or will be reversed. Decisions to stay in the UK or to return to Poland are always subject to a complex set of factors, such as, for instance, motivations for migration, labour market conditions and employment opportunities, education opportunities, the welfare system, housing and health services in both the UK and Poland. Many of these socio-economic factors have been explored by researchers focusing on Polish migrants in the UK. In this article we focus on the fertility behaviour of migrants, which we feel has not been paid sufficient attention to date, and we argue that childbearing decisions are a crucial factor in determining settlement decisions.

The child-bearing decisions of migrants is an important topic to study because it is related to the individual/family motivation for migration, the career and life plans of migrants and the response of migrants to national differences in social policy related to employment, education and welfare benefits within the Single European Market. Despite the broad literature on Polish migrants in the UK, analysis of the reproductive behaviour of Polish migrants is still scarce. Studies by Green *et al.* (2008), Trevena (2009) and White (2011) suggest that, given the young age of migrants compared to the average age of the UK population, we can expect an increase in the number of children born to Polish mothers in the UK over the coming years. In addition, as children born to Polish mothers constitute

a large and growing share of all children born in the UK, this topic may grow in importance in the policy discussions in the UK over the coming years.

In this paper, we shed light on the fertility behaviour of Polish migrants in the UK by analysing the birth register data. We provide analysis of the trends in births to Polish mothers in the UK between 2004 and 2010. Based on this analysis, we discuss some of the main impacts of these trends for Poland and the UK.

This article is structured as follows: First, we briefly present the main theories regarding migrants' fertility and an overview of the available literature on Polish migrants' childbearing behaviour in a number of European countries. This is followed by a review of literature on the fertility of Polish migrants in the UK and the presentation of a few facts on recent Polish migration to the UK. The next section, on data and methods, provides information on the birth registration data in the UK and explains the usefulness of using the birth registration data for monitoring trends on births. Analysis of this data and our research findings are presented in the next section. We conclude by discussing the key trends in births to Polish migrants and the potential implications of these trends for Poland and the UK.

FERTILITY OF MIGRANTS

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

There is a substantial body of literature on the impact of the migration experience on childbearing preferences and outcomes for Polish migrants to other European countries. Earlier research studies have proposed five partly complementary, partly contradictory, hypotheses about how migration might affect the patterns of fertility (see Kulu 2005, for a review). The *adaptation hypothesis* assumes that the fertility behaviour of migrants adapts to that of people in the destination country. This convergence in migrants' childbearing behaviour is often the result of exposure to cultural factors or socio-economic conditions in the receiving society. As shown by Andersson (2004) and Andersson and Scott (2004), migrants adapt their reproductive behaviour to the social, political and labour market conditions in the receiving society. This means that migrants alter their fertility behaviour on the basis of practical factors, such as the type of a welfare system in the receiving country or its labour market situation. For most migrants, adaptation in fertility patterns usually means convergence to a lower fertility level in the host country. However, convergence from a lower fertility context to higher fertility behaviour is also observed (see Milewski 2007, for a review).

The *socialisation hypothesis*, in contrast, emphasises the critical importance of childhood surroundings and predicts that migrants follow the fertility preferences found in their childhood environment. According to this hypothesis, migrants' fertility patterns are mostly shaped by the values and the dominant social norms experienced in the childhood years in their countries of origin. It means that migrants originating from countries with different fertility patterns will exhibit different fertility behaviour in the destination country (Milewski 2007).

The *selection hypothesis* argues that migrants are a specific group of people whose personal norms and values are more similar to those of people in the country of destination than in the country of origin. According to this hypothesis, migrants move to countries closer resembling their personal fertility preferences and it means that migration is not changing migrants' fertility intentions. The selection hypothesis emphasises the importance of individual, observable, demographic and socio-economic characteristics of migrants, such as education or occupation, as well as unobservable factors such as fertility preferences or professional career ambitions (Milewski 2007; Schmid & Kohls 2009).

The *disruption hypothesis* suggests that, immediately before and after migration, migrants exhibit lower fertility than that expected if they had not migrated. This lower fertility level can be linked to several factors, such as insecurity and stress related to the move itself, temporal separation of partners if they move at different points in time, breaks in economic activity and other disruptive factors associated with migration. Lower fertility levels before migration are reported in the literature as childbearing is postponed in anticipation of the move, whereas elevated birth rates following shortly after migration are seen as catching-up behaviour to compensate for the delay in childbearing (Kulu 2003; Milewski 2007). Schmid and Kohls (2009) suggested that the decrease in fertility is only a temporary effect and usually had no impact on the completed fertility of a woman.

Finally, the *interrelation of events hypothesis* suggests that elevated birth rates shortly after migration result from different events, such as family formation and migration, taking place at the same time. This is particularly relevant for migrants moving for the purpose of family building, when childbearing follows shortly after migration (Milewski 2007). For instance, Andersson's (2004) study of immigrant fertility in Sweden showed that, for many women, migration to Sweden should be seen as part of the family formation process. He observed that migration and family building are often interrelated factors, and many migrant groups experience elevated levels of first births shortly after immigration to Sweden. The author also found that migration triggers rather than disrupts the childbearing process, also for higher births orders.

There is some similarity between the *disruption* and *interrelation of events hypotheses*, as they both mostly focus on the short-term effects (timings effects) between migration and fertility. In contrast, the *socialisation* and *adaptation hypotheses* mostly focus on the long-term effects, whereas the *selection hypothesis* emphasises the importance of the wider socio-economic characteristics of migrants. As noted in Schmid and Kohls (2009: 41), “these hypotheses are not mutually exclusive” and may operate at the same time, apply only to certain groups of migrants or to specific times, or even “impose counter-acting influences on migrant fertility”.

These hypotheses could be potentially useful in examining the fertility trends of Polish migrants in the UK. For instance, hypotheses that analyse the short-term effect of migration on fertility could be particularly useful since large scale Polish migration to the UK is still a relatively new phenomenon. The reproductive behaviour of Polish migrants could be analysed through the lens of the *disruption hypothesis*, for instance, by analysing the average age at birth for Polish migrants in the UK and for Poles in Poland. Applying this hypothesis, Polish migrant mothers on average would have children later in life than Polish mothers who remained in Poland, as the migration experience would have acted as an interruption to their reproductive plans. On the other hand, the older age at childbearing for Polish migrants could possibly be an indicator for the adaptation hypothesis, as the average age at childbearing in the UK is higher than in Poland¹. The *adaptation hypothesis* could also possibly be tested through the analysis of Polish migrants’ fertility rates. Migrants’ fertility rates which correspond more closely with the UK fertility rates rather than the fertility rates of women in Poland could possibly serve as an indication of adaptation of British norms and values. However, the *adaptation hypothesis* is mostly used to analyse the impact of migration on fertility in a long-term perspective and it might not be fully applicable to the situation of Polish migrants, most of whom still have a relatively short migration history in the UK.

In this article, we shed some light on the complex relationship between fertility behaviour and migration, using birth registration data. Nevertheless, in order to conclusively support any of the hypotheses discussed above, analysis of a broader range of data sources would be required. This is, however, beyond the scope of this paper.

¹ In 2010, for first births the mean age of mothers was 26.6 years in Poland and 27.8 years in the England and Wales. The mean age at childbirth across all birth orders was 28.6 years and 29.5 years respectively for Poland and the UK. ONS and Central Statistical Office of Poland (GUS). GUS (2012), ONS (2011c).

FERTILITY BEHAVIOUR OF POLISH MIGRANTS IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE: GERMANY AND SWEDEN

In this section, we briefly discuss available literature on the fertility outcomes of Polish migrants focusing on the situation of Polish migrants in Germany and Sweden. Typically, the situation of Polish migrants is examined alongside that of other migrant groups, with few papers providing specific findings for Polish migrants. The papers discussed in the next two parts of this article are the only sources referring specifically to Polish migrants that we identified during our literature search.²

Germany

Germany has been one of the main migration destination countries in Europe. It is also one of the most important migration destinations for Polish migrants. However, despite the high number of migrants of all nationalities in Germany, there is a small number of scholarly articles analysing migrant's reproductive behaviour, and as suggested by Schmid and Kohls (2009) it can be partly explained by the lack of adequate data. In their publication, they analyse the post-migratory reproductive behaviour of female migrants in Germany using the Completed Fertility Rate (CFR) based on the representative Sample Survey of Selected Migrant Groups in Germany conducted in 2006/2007. It means that Schmid and Kohls' analysis only includes the cohorts of women who have reached the end of their childbearing years, that is women aged over 40 at the time of the survey (women born before 1966). Schmid and Kohls found that migrant fertility in Germany differs according to their country of origin. Among major migrant groups analysed by the authors, Polish women have the lowest fertility level with an average CFR of 1.5 children per woman. The level of childlessness of Polish migrant women was reported at 12.9%, which was similar to the respective level for German women, but higher than for migrant women from other countries. The authors also observe that, in general, migrant women with German partners have lower fertility than women with non-German partners. In contrast to the overall trend, Polish women have fertility levels above average when living with German partners. The authors suggest that this is due to their migrating specifically for marriage and family formation and consequently being more family-oriented than other migrants. Schmid and Kohls conclude that the path of reproductive behaviour of Polish women in Germany is in tune with the *selection hypothesis* (i.e. entering Germany mostly for marriage) and the *interrelation hypothesis* (i.e. a strong family orientation when migration and family formation are linked).

² We only searched sources in English and Polish.

A study by Cygan-Rehm (2011) has also analysed immigrant fertility patterns in Germany. It is based on the German Socio-Economic Panel longitudinal study of private households and has focused on females with completed fertility (in this case, defined as women aged 45 and above). Polish migrants are analysed alongside other migrant groups. Cygan-Rehm found that migrants' fertility behaviour is mostly influenced by the childbearing standards that are dominant in sending countries and that the likelihood of retaining the home country fertility patterns increases with migration at an older age. She has also noticed that, the better educated the migrants, the more likely it is for their fertility rates to converge with the natives' fertility patterns than is the case for less well educated migrants. Cygan-Rehm concludes that her study supports the *socialisation hypothesis* and stresses the importance of childbearing norms and patterns in the migrants' countries of origin for their childbearing behaviour.

Sweden

Sweden, similarly to Germany, has a long immigration history. Comprehensive data sources (including administrative sources such as population registers; birth registers; immigration records; household surveys; as well as economic data such as the registered income of each person in Sweden) allow for detailed analysis of natives' and migrants' fertility behaviour. Here, we review Polish migrants' childbearing behaviour as analysed in two articles by Andersson and Scott.³

Andersson and Scott (2004) have analysed the labour market experience of migrant and Swedish-born women in order to explain their childbearing behaviour. They used a broad range of sources covering years 1982-1997 and took into account the period of migration. They found that having an established position in the labour market increases the likelihood of beginning childbearing among all women, whether Swedish-born or migrant (including Polish migrant women). The authors also found that, contrary to popular belief, migrants dependent on social welfare are less likely than their Swedish-born counterparts to start a family. Andersson and Scott suggest that, since the income replacement during parental leave is linked to earnings before childbirth, all women in Sweden are given strong incentives to be in employment and to have an appropriate level of income before having a child. In terms of specific findings referring to Polish migrants, the authors found that the level of childlessness among Polish migrants is low, and is lower than among Swedish-born women.

Andersson and Scott's (2007) study also focuses on the role of the labour market in shaping fertility behaviour. They analysed births to migrant mothers from ten countries between 1982 and 1997. They found that the length of

³ These are the only studies that refer specifically to fertility of Polish migrants in Sweden.

stay in Sweden has an impact on the levels of labour market integration. On average, around two thirds of Polish women are established in the labour market and have work-related earnings as their main source of income. The authors suggest that the labour market attachment of parents is most important when starting a family (first child), and that this association becomes weaker with the continued childbearing of parents. Andersson and Scott's study also shows that the considerable efforts by national policymakers in Sweden to support working parents and to make family and professional life compatible have paid off in terms of the increase in fertility rate. Fertility levels in Sweden are one of the highest in Europe and progression to have a second and a third child is high. About 85% of Swedish-born mothers with one child progress to have a second child and nearly half of mothers with two children progress to a third birth. In contrast, mothers from Poland have a relatively low rate of progression to a second or third child compared to Swedish women. The authors conclude that this disparity stems from the different social and cultural backgrounds of the two groups of mothers.

The articles discussed above shed some light on the fertility of Polish migrants in two European countries. However, they provide analysis of the reproductive behaviour of Polish migrants in a historical perspective and do not explain the current fertility trends among Polish migrants in these countries. First of all, fertility trends are presented for pre-2004 Polish migrant groups. This is before Poland became a European Union (EU) Member State and Polish citizens consequently acquired rights to work and to access the social security systems in the EU15 Member States (albeit with some restrictions in certain EU countries). The possibility to legally participate in the labour market in the migrant destination countries has an influence on migrants' socio-economic situation and therefore can play an important role in their reproductive decisions. Secondly, statistical data from Germany and Sweden (and from the UK prior to 2004, as will be seen later in this article) shows that the majority of children born to Polish migrant women had a non-Polish father. Partnership formation with non-Polish men⁴ most probably had an influence on the decision to have children as well as on the number of children. Finally, papers focusing on the situation of Polish migrant women in Germany provide analysis of cohorts with completed fertility, that is cohorts of women born before 1970. We can assume that the socio-economic situation of these migrant women was different from the situation of current Polish migrant women and thus had an influence on their reproductive decisions. In summary, previous literature on the fertility trends among Polish migrant women provides only some explanation of the reproductive behaviour of

⁴ Mostly Swedish men in Sweden, German men in Germany and British men in the UK.

Polish migrants. Conclusions from earlier papers are not always transferable to the current situation due to a different context and time of migration.

FERTILITY OF POLISH MIGRANTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

POPULAR PRESS ARTICLES

Available papers in Poland and the UK discussing the topic of Polish migrants' childbearing behaviour are mainly in the form of short newspaper articles that do little more than provide a few facts on births to Polish migrants. These articles are mostly based on the ONS press releases. Examples of such articles are included in Table 1.

Table 1.

Articles on births to foreign mothers and Polish mothers⁵

Poles Head List in Record Total of Babies Born to Foreigners, „Metro”, August 30 th , 2012.
Record Number of Babies Born to Foreign-born Mothers, „The Telegraph”, August 30 th , 2012.
Every fourth child born by a Polish women in the UK has father of other nationality, [Co czwarte dziecko urodzone przez Polkę w Wielkiej Brytanii ma ojca innej narodowości], „Gazeta Wyborcza”, August 28 th , 2012.
Poland's British Baby Boom, „New Poland Express”, May 25 th , 2012.
Polish Baby Boom but not in Poland [Polski baby boom, ale nie w Polsce], May 19 th , 2012, www.onet.pl [Accessed: 6.10. 2012].
More children in Britain born to Polish mothers than those from any other foreign country, „The Daily Mail”, September 19 th , 2011.
Polish mother on benefits in the UK [Matka Polka na zasiłku w Wielkiej Brytanii], „Gazeta Wyborcza”, July 19 th , 2011.
Polish Women in the UK are Having Babies at a Faster Rate Than Those in Poland, „The Daily Mail”, March 15 th , 2011.
UK – the place to give birth [Jak rodić, to na Wyspach], „Gazeta Wyborcza”, March 11 th , 2011.
The New Baby Boom, „The Guardian”, August 29 th , 2009.
Baby Boom Drives British Population to Record High, „The Independent”, August 28 th , 2009.
The Polish Baby Boom: Fears for NHS and schools as 1,000 Polish children are born EVERY month, „The Daily Mail”, November 26 th , 2007.
Polish Immigrants Swell Scotland's New Baby Boom, June 15 th , 2007, www.scotland.com [Accessed: 6.10. 2012].

Source: author's own compilation of articles.

⁵ When compiling this list of articles, the author tried to provide representative examples of articles that were published in respective Polish and UK newspapers. Translation of Polish headings into English is the author's own.

Some articles report births to Polish migrants as part of a wider trend of births to migrants, whereas other articles focus solely on those to Polish mothers. Most articles provide objective reporting on birth statistics but errors are found in these articles in that the information provided is not always factually correct and might be misleading. Common errors include: referring to a Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of all foreign-born women in the UK as a TFR of Polish women in the UK⁶, comparing the TFR of women in Poland with this alleged TFR of Polish women in the UK and stating that Polish women are more likely to have children than British women. In addition, when explaining an increase in the total number of births to Polish mothers, some articles conclude without more in-depth analysis, that this results from a better social protection and social benefit system, and better healthcare provision through the National Health Service (NHS) in the UK.

SCHOLARLY PAPERS

Our literature search has identified two articles providing analysis of Polish migrants' fertility in the UK, and we discuss these papers below.

A recent scholarly article by Waller *et al.* (2012) has focused on migrants arriving in the UK after 2001⁷ and the context within which their childbearing occurs. In particular, the authors have analysed Polish, Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi migrants' family formation patterns⁸ looking at the relationship between the timing of births and the timing of migration. The study has used the Own Child Method (OCM), an indirect estimation technique that uses relationship information from household surveys. In this case, study analyses are based on the UK Labour Force Survey and used data for years 1997-2010. One of the limitations of the OCM is that it does not take into account differing survey sample sizes across the years. In this study, the largest samples were available for the period 1997-2001, while from 2002 onwards the sample sizes diminish with each subsequent year. This means that the estimations for the most recent years are based on much smaller samples than for the earliest years and are therefore likely to be less reliable.

⁶ It is not possible to calculate the TFR of Polish women in the UK as there are no reliable population statistics per age group and per country of birth. The 2012 ONS publication, cited in the earlier section of this paper, has provided the general fertility rate. When 2011 Census data become available, detailing population by country of birth, age and sex, ONS intends to produce 2011 TFRs for women born in specific country groups.

⁷ In 2001 a census was held in the UK. Most research project still base their estimations about migrants on the 2001 census data. The Office of National Statistics has been releasing data from the most recent census of 2011 from the mid-2012.

⁸ Migrants born in these countries have the highest total number of children born in the UK.

Analysing the Age-specific fertility rates (ASFR), the authors found that Polish fertility is lower than that of other analysed migrant groups and is similar to the fertility levels found in Poland. The authors conclude that this finding provides support for the socialisation hypothesis and is evidence of the strong effects of the fertility trends in the migrants' countries of origin. The study also suggests that there is no evidence of fertility increasing in the period after 2004 and that the high number of children born to Polish women "is likely to be attributable to the size of the Polish population" (Waller *et al.* 2012: 19). Based on Waller and colleagues research, we conclude that these findings have to be treated with some caution as the highest increase in the total number of births to Polish women in the UK has been observed for the years for which the estimations are least accurate.

The authors also found that almost 100% of Polish women aged between 15-19 and 20-24 are childless upon arrival in the UK. The proportion of childless women at arrival decreases with age up until 35, with around 80% of 25-29 year olds and around 50% of 30-34 year olds arriving in the UK without children. Then, for 35-39 year olds the proportion of childlessness at arrival increases to just over 60%, suggesting that some Polish women might be leaving their older children in Poland. This finding is consistent with that of qualitative research by White (2011).

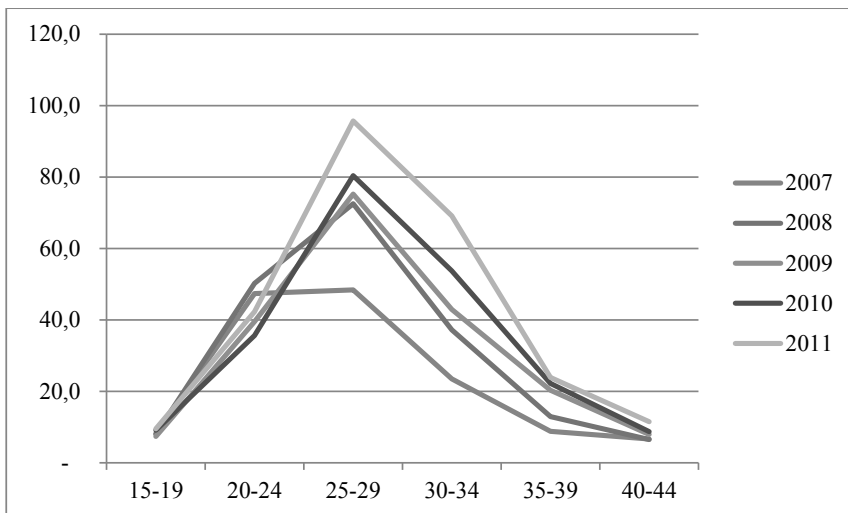
Waller *et al.*'s research has also explored whether migration and fertility are interrelated. They found that the percentage of Polish women who had a child within three years of arrival in the UK is small (around 10-20% for different age groups), and much smaller than for other analysed groups of migrants. However, analysis of the births within five years of arrival show that nearly 40% of childless Polish migrants aged between 20-24 and between 25-29 at arrival have had a child in the UK. The authors conclude that the recent increase in births to Polish women could be explained by childbearing of the more established Polish migrants. They also suggest that the longer their duration of residence in the UK, the higher the probability of their having children in the UK. Based on this finding, we can conclude that, as the largest numbers of Polish immigrants to the UK, those arriving after 2004 become established in the country, we can expect an increase in the total number of children born to Polish mothers in the coming years. The increase in births to Polish women may also result from more Polish migrants entering the highly reproductive age group. Evidence shows that Polish migrants are usually very young when they arrive in the UK. Therefore, it is possible that some Polish migrants may not yet have reached or are only just reaching an age that is considered "appropriate" for childbearing (the late 20s and early 30s).⁹

⁹ See for instance: Mynarska, M. (2009), Deadline for Parenthood: Fertility Postponement and Age Norms in Poland, „European Journal of Population/Révue Européenne de Démographie”, Vol. 26, Issue 3, pp. 351–373.

Polish migrant childbearing has also been analysed in the Office of National Statistics (ONS) paper by Zumpe *et al.* (2012). The study is based on the analysis of the birth registration data combined with the Annual Population Survey (APS) data. It presents analysis of the live births to the top five countries of birth for non-UK born mothers, namely Poland, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and Nigeria. The authors investigate fertility rates of UK-born and migrant women using the general fertility rate (GFR); that is, the number of births in a year to 1,000 women aged 15-44. They found that there was an increase in the GFR for women from Poland. In 2007 Polish migrants had a GFR of 93, which increased to 106 in 2010 and decreased to 93 in 2011. These figures were significantly higher than the GFR of UK-born women of around 60 in both 2007 and 2011. The fluctuation in the GFR of Polish women may have been caused by changes in the age structure of this migrant group, changes in their fertility behaviour, or a combination of both. The authors found that women born in Poland have a distinctively different age distribution compared with other migrant women and with UK-born women. There was a much higher concentration in the age group 25-29, and much smaller proportions of women over 30 years old (aged 30-34, 35-39 and 40-44). The authors suggest that the changes in the size of different age groups of Polish women across recent years, as shown in Figure 1, have highly influenced their changing GFR.

Figure 1.

Women born in Poland of childbearing age living in the UK, by age group, 2007-2011



Source: APS – ONS, cited after Zumpe (2012).

The authors do not find any significant differences in Polish women's GFRs in London compared to "England excluding London". The authors conclude that Polish migrants' fertility may have an important effect on the measurement of the total fertility rate of non-UK women. If the total number and proportion of births to Polish women increases in the coming years relative to other migrant groups¹⁰, the overall fertility level for non-UK born women might decrease as women from Poland have lower fertility than other non-UK born migrants.

POLISH MIGRANTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Following European Union (EU) accession in 2004, Poland experienced a large out-migration to other EU Member States, with a large proportion of Polish migrants moving to the UK. It has been estimated that between 2003 and 2011 the estimated Polish born population in the UK increased from 75,000 to 643,000 (ONS 2012c).

There is a number of sources used to estimate the number of Polish migrants in the UK. Below we present data sources used in migrant's estimations and potential challenges resulting from using these data.

1. The Worker Registration Schemes (WRS) registrations.

WRS was a scheme for new accession countries nationals. All post-2004 migrants (apart from migrants from Malta and Cyprus) were required to register if they wished to work in the UK for at least a month. The WRS gathered information¹¹ on employment, intentions to stay and dependants living in the UK at the time of application. According to the latest Accession Monitoring Report (Home Office 2009), the highest proportion of approved applications under the WRS was from Poland. Between May 2004 and March 2009, a total of 626,000 applications from Polish migrants were approved, 66% of the total number of applications received in this period. It has to be noted, however, that the WRS was an opt-in system without incentive and it was possible that some of the migrants did not register under the scheme because of its cost and lack of enforcement. Furthermore, the WRS was only counting inflows of migrants, thus it does not provide data on outflows or on migrant stocks (Trevena 2009).

¹⁰ In 2011, 12% of children born to non-UK born women have a mother from Poland.

¹¹ WRS stopped operating in 2012 that is after the 7 year transition period for new Member State countries elapsed. However, the latest Accession Monitoring Report has covered years up to March 2009 only.

2. National Insurance Number (NIIno) registrations

National Insurance number is a number used in the administration of the National Insurance and social security system, and used for some purposes in the tax system. Polish migrants had to apply for NIIno when starting employment or claiming social benefits. Similarly to the WRS, the NIIno provides information about the inflow of migrants and is not useful for data on migrant stocks and outflows.

In total, there were 1,031,880 NIIno applications received from Polish nationals between January 2004 and March 2012 (DWP 2013).

3. The Labour Force Survey (LFS)

The LFS is a quarterly sample survey of households in the UK. It is conducted by the Office for National Statistics. The purpose of the LFS is to provide information on the UK labour market. As the LFS is based on population samples, it is subject to sampling error. For small population groups, such as for instance migrant groups, this error may become proportionately larger. In addition, the LFS relies on respondents' willingness to take part in the survey and response rates among migrant groups tend to be lower than for the general population.

According to the LFS, in 2011 the most common non-British nationality in the UK was Polish with 687,000 Polish nationals estimated to live in the UK. This number was considerably higher than figure from 2007 estimating the number of Polish nationals at just over 400,000 (ONS 2012d; ONS 2012 e).

The 2011 census data, now slowly being released, provides the most accurate picture of Polish migrants. The data show that the number of Polish-born people living in England and Wales was 579,121 in 2011, and migrants from Poland constituted 8% of all migrants living in these two countries. The figure on the total number of Polish migrants in the UK has not been released so far.

Various data sources on Polish migration to the UK after EU accession show that Polish migrants were predominantly young, single and without dependant children. The ratio of male and female migrants was almost equal (Home Office 2009). ONS estimates show that 86 per cent of Polish migrants in the UK were aged 16 to 64, compared with 65 per cent of the UK population as a whole in 2010 (ONS 2011a, 2011b). This higher proportion of persons of working age among Polish migrants *vis-à-vis* the British population results from the fact that most Polish migrants to the UK are economic migrants coming to work (Pollard *et al.* 2008). It also results from the relatively low proportion of Polish people aged 65 and over, mostly consisting of post-war emigrants¹² as well as,

¹² Pre-accession, the Polish-born population was extremely elderly. According to the 2001 census data, there were 58,000 people born in Poland living in the UK in 2001, and 57% of them were aged over 64 (Drinkwater *et al.* 2006).

until recently, the small number of Polish children aged 16 and under living in the UK.

The young age profile of Polish migrants, with a high number of people in their peak reproductive years, has an important impact on the number of babies born to this migrant group. As Zumpe *et al.* (2012) article explains, it is not possible to calculate the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of Polish migrants because of data shortages¹³. However, birth register data provides the opportunity to analyse some trends in births to Polish migrants and shed light on the fertility of this migrant group.

DATA AND METHODS

BIRTH REGISTRATION DATA IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Birth registers provide the most accurate and high quality source of information on births in the United Kingdom (UK). All parents are required to register their child shortly after the birth date¹⁴. The birth register holds a variety of information, including the child's sex as well as date and place of birth. Also included is the mother's and father's place of birth, as well as their occupations, marital status and residence (including postcode). Birth registration data is compiled into birth statistics. Information on births in England and Wales is held by the Office for National Statistics (ONS), while birth data for Scotland are recorded by National Records of Scotland, and those for Northern Ireland are recorded by the Northern Ireland Statistics Research Agency¹⁵. All birth records are based on the year of registration rather than the year of occurrence. It means that birth figures incorporate a small number of late registrations from births occurring in the previous year.

Birth registration data include each parent's country of birth, which makes them an excellent source of data to analyse birth trends among specific (first generation) migrant groups in the UK¹⁶. In most cases, details on both mother

¹³ This results from insufficient data on Polish women in particular age groups.

¹⁴ Any birth which occurs in Scotland must be registered within 21 days, in England and Wales and Northern Ireland parents must register the birth of their baby within 42 days.

¹⁵ Data used in this article were provided by the Office for National Statistics for England and Wales (ONS). Birth register data from Scotland and Northern Ireland were also provided by the ONS, as it requests these data directly from the Scottish and Northern Irish statistical authorities, and combines them into one database.

¹⁶ Analysis of birth registration data are based on parents' country of birth as it cannot change over time. For that reason it is the most robust variable to analyse change over time. Nationality re-

and father are recorded at birth registration. However, father's details are not available for births outside marriage that are registered solely by the mother, and these births constituted on average 6-7% of all UK births in the last five years. For this reason, statistical reports published by UK statistical authorities use solely mothers' country of birth to explore the impact of international migration on fertility in the UK (see Tromans *et al.* 2009). The author of this article applied the same approach and only included detailed analysis of births to Polish mothers¹⁷, and just a brief description on children born to Polish fathers. As birth registers only contain basic information on children and parents, the data do not allow for complex statistical analysis. Nevertheless, these data are sufficient to analyse trends in births to Polish mothers in the UK.

DATA LIMITATIONS

Whilst the birth registration data provides accurate information on births in the UK, there are a number of limitations of this data source. One such limitation is that birth register does not record birth orders meaning that we do not know whether a particular record is for a first or subsequent child. Secondly, the birth register does not track people beyond the registration stage and, as a result, we do not know whether a child and his/her parents are still in the UK.

Finally, our research is based solely on live births and records on stillborn children are excluded.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

THE PROPORTION OF BIRTHS TO POLISH MOTHERS IS INCREASING IN THE UK

The statistical data gathered by national statistical authorities in the UK¹⁸ show that births to Polish mothers constitute a significant and growing proportion of all births in this country. Until 2004, the year of Poland's accession to the

fers to the country shown on a person's passport and can change over time. It means that nationality can differ from individual's country of birth. ONS standard practice is to analyse birth data based on country of birth rather than nationality.

¹⁷ The official birth register term describing Polish mothers is "Polish-born mothers". In this article, both terms are used interchangeably.

¹⁸ There are three statistical authorities in the UK, a common authority for England and Wales, and independent bodies for Scotland and for Northern Ireland.

European Union (EU) and following high migration levels from Poland to the UK, births to Polish mothers constituted a very small proportion (below 0.2 per cent) of all births in the UK¹⁹. Since 2004, the share of births to Polish mothers has increased significantly each year.

Table 2 provides details of the total number of births to Polish mothers and the proportion of these births relative to the total number of births in the UK. In 2004, children born to Polish mothers constituted 0.26 per cent of all children born in the UK, rising to 2.76 per cent of all births in the UK in 2010 (personal communication with the ONS). The ONS estimates that there was a further increase in the number of children born to Polish mothers in 2011 to around 23,000 births (Zumpe 2012). This represents a lower rate of increase than in previous years. This lower rate of increase in the number of children to Polish

Table 2.

Live births (numbers and percentages) to Polish-born mothers in the UK, 2004-2010

Year	Live births to Polish mothers	Share of births to Polish mothers relative to the total number of births in the UK
2004	1,870	0.26%
2005	3,560	0.49%
2006	7,171	0.96%
2007	13,333	1.73%
2008	18,326	2.31%
2009	20,560	2.60%
2010	22,242	2.76%

Source: ONS, personal communication with the ONS.

mothers can first be observed from around 2009. The high initial increase in the number of births to Polish mothers is probably related to the high inflow of Poles to the UK, thus the increase in the total number of Polish migrants living in the UK. According to the Accession Monitoring Report (Home Office 2009), the culmination of Polish migrants arriving in the UK was observed in 2006 and

¹⁹ The earliest data on births to Polish mothers in the UK held by UK statistical authorities goes back to 1995. In this chapter the author mostly refers to data from 2004 (the year of Poland's EU accession). Data for earlier years is provided in the appendices.

2007, and has slowed down since. However, despite the smaller number of Poles coming, we still observe the increasing total number of births to Polish women. This can be explained twofold: (1) there is some time delay between migration and childbearing (as consistent with the disruption hypothesis) and migrants' fertility is still catching up; (2) Polish migrants were young on average and it is only now that they are entering the highly reproductive age group.

Since 2005, Poland has been in the top ten on the list of mothers' countries of birth for non-UK born mothers giving birth in the UK, and since 2010 Polish-born mothers have topped this list (personal communication with the ONS). Poland is the most common maternal country of birth for all UK countries, and in London (Zumpe 2012).

THE INCREASE IN BIRTHS TO POLISH MOTHERS HAS BEEN SUBSTANTIAL THROUGHOUT THE UK

Table 3 and Figure 2 present births to Polish mothers in the UK disaggregated for England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. Since 2004, all UK countries recorded a significant increase in the total number of births to Polish mothers. There were 1,830 births to Polish mothers in England and Wales in 2004 and this figure had increased to 19,762 births in 2010. In Scotland, 31 children were born to Polish mothers in 2004 and by 2010 this had increased to 1,727

Table 3.

Births to Polish mothers in England and Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland, 2004-2010

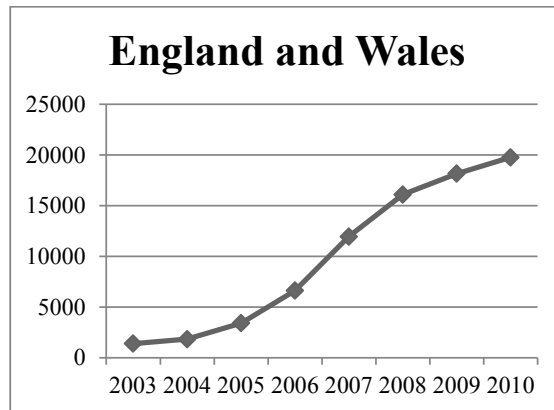
Year	England & Wales	Scotland	Northern Ireland	UK Total
2004	1,830	31	9	1,870
2005	3,403	114	43	3,560
2006	6,620	365	186	7,171
2007	11,952	934	447	13,333
2008	16,101	1,509	716	18,326
2009	18,159	1,681	720	20,560
2010	19,762	1,727	753	22,242

Source: ONS, personal communication with the ONS.

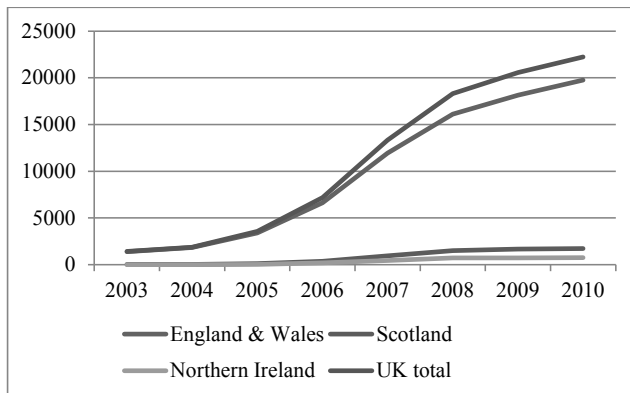
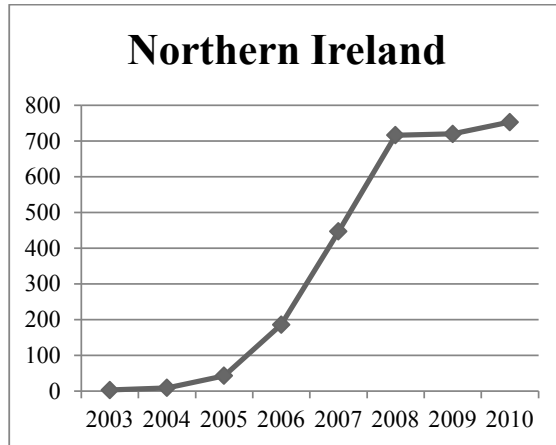
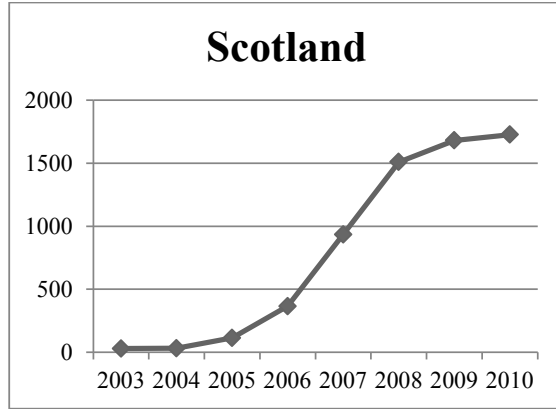
births. In Northern Ireland, there were only 9 births to Polish mothers in 2004 and 753 births in 2010. Overall, during the analysed period, between 2004 and 2010, there were 87,062 children born to Polish mothers in the UK. Over this period there was an increase each year in the total number of births to Polish mothers in each of the countries, although the rate of increase slowed down from around 2009. It is worth noting that the proportion of births to Polish mothers in England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland from around 2007-2008 closely reflects the relative proportion of the total UK population living in these countries; that is, around 89 per cent of births to Polish mothers take place in England and Wales, around 8 per cent in Scotland and around 3 per cent in Northern Ireland (more detail is provided in Table 8 of the appendices). These figures correspond with the Worker Registration Scheme data, with 88 per cent of applicants registering in England and Wales, 8 per cent in Scotland and 3 per cent in Northern Ireland.²⁰ The birth trend also seems to mirror the fall in the NIino registrations being a proxy for the fall in migration from Poland during the recession.

Figure 2.

Births to Polish mothers in England and Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and the UK, 2003-2010



²⁰ Worker Registration data refers to all A8 migrants.



Source: ONS, personal communication with the ONS.

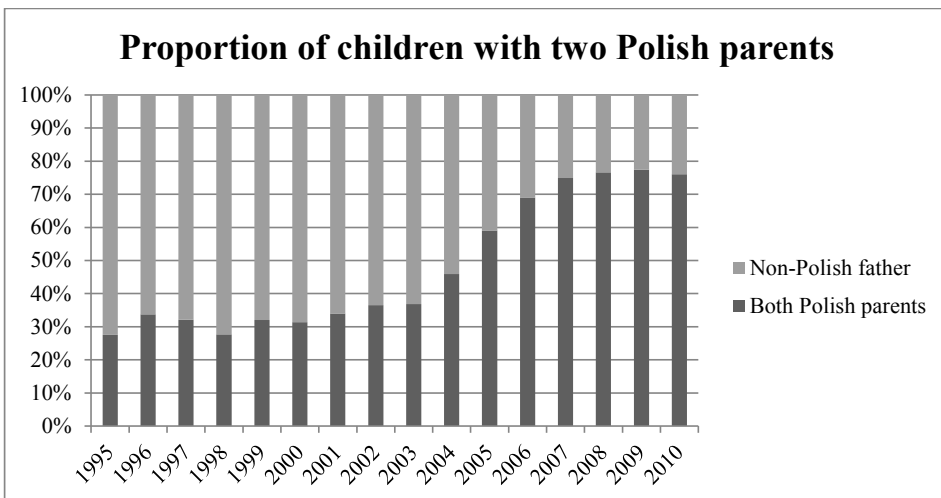
THE PROPORTION OF CHILDREN WITH TWO POLISH PARENTS IS ALSO INCREASING

Over recent years, the proportion of children with both a Polish mother and a Polish father has increased significantly. In the era preceding Poland's EU accession, only around one in three children of Polish mothers also had a Polish father (see Table 9), but this proportion increased considerably from 2004 onwards. Overall, from around 2007 approximately three in four children born to Polish mothers also had a Polish father. This translates to 64,794 children with two Polish parents being born between 2004 and 2010 in the UK.

The proportion of children with two Polish parents varies between UK countries. Between 2008 and 2010, the highest value is found in Northern Ireland, with around 83-89 per cent of children born to a Polish mother also having a Polish father. In Scotland, this proportion is also high, ranging between 83-85 per cent in the same period. In England and Wales, the corresponding proportion is around 75 per cent.

Figure 3.

Proportion of children born in the UK with two Polish parents, 1995-2010



Source: ONS, personal communication with the ONS.

Table 4.

Children with two Polish parents, 2004-2010

Year	England & Wales		Scotland		Northern Ireland		UK Total	
	total births to Polish mothers		total births to Polish mothers		total births to Polish mothers		total births to Polish mothers	
	both parents Polish	% of children when both parents Polish	both parents Polish	% of children when both parents Polish	both parents Polish	% of children when both parents Polish	both parents Polish	% of children when both parents Polish
2004	1830		31		9		1870	
	842	46%	13	42%	4	44%	859	46%
2005	3403		114		43		3560	
	1999	59%	68	60%	36	84%	2103	59%
2006	6620		365		186		7171	
	4515	68%	281	77%	157	84%	4953	69%
2007	11952		934		447		13333	
	8835	74%	769	82%	388	87%	9992	75%
2008	16101		1509		716		18326	
	12126	75%	1277	85%	637	89%	14040	77%
2009	18159		1681		720		20560	
	13868	76%	1425	85%	636	88%	15929	77%
2010	19762		1727		753		22242	
	14847	75%	1441	83%	630	84%	16918	76%

Source: ONS, personal communication with the ONS.

POLISH FATHERS MOSTLY HAVE CHILDREN WITH POLISH PARTNERS²¹

The number of children born to Polish fathers is significantly lower than the number born to Polish mothers, despite the fact that the male to female ratio for Polish migrants was almost equal.

Although the number of children with a Polish father and a mother born either in Britain or in any other country is increasing, the rate of increase is much smaller than in the case of Polish mothers. In general, the proportion of children with a Polish father and a non-Polish mother is small; between 2004 and 2010, on average around 93-96 per cent of children with a Polish father also had a Polish mother. Nevertheless, the increasing total number of children to Polish fathers and non-Polish mothers has to be noted as it indicates an increase in the number of Polish fathers sufficiently committed to the relationship (i.e. married or in a stable relationship) to be named on the birth certificate. It can also indicate an increase in the number of permanently settled Polish men in the population, due to migration, since this figure was virtually unchanged year-on-year prior to 2004 (see Appendix, Table 10).

Table 5.

Number of births to Polish fathers and non-Polish mothers, 2004-2010

Year	England & Wales	Scotland	Northern Ireland	UK Total
2004	127	6	0	133
2005	178	12	4	194
2006	266	30	7	303
2007	424	42	17	483
2008	571	60	16	647
2009	706	73	29	808
2010	772	71	29	872

Source: ONS, personal communication with the ONS.

²¹ Data on births to Polish fathers have some limitations. This is due to the fact that some records on births registered solely by child's mother are missing data on fathers. It is not clear whether there is some systematic bias in reporting (i.e. births to migrant fathers or births to fathers from some socio-economic backgrounds are not reported). Therefore, it is possible that there were more births to Polish fathers than were reported by the children's mothers but, taken the overall small number of births to Polish fathers and non-Polish mothers, we assume this number would be very small.

DISCUSSION

The rate of increase and the total number of births to Polish mothers in the UK is on an unprecedented scale. Not only is Poland now the most common country of birth for non-UK born mothers, but this has occurred over a short period of time. In 2005 Polish mothers first appeared on the list of the ten most common countries of birth for non-UK born mothers, and by 2010 Polish mothers occupied the first place on this list. The total number of births where the child's mother is Polish have thus overtaken the number of births to mothers from the first generation immigrant groups from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh that have had the highest number of births among non-UK born mothers for the last decade.²²

It is difficult to predict how the trend in Polish mothers giving birth to children in the UK will develop in the future. So far, we have observed an increase in the total number of births to Polish mothers each year between 2004 and 2010, and an estimated increase for 2011. Nevertheless, the rate of increase was slowing down in the last 2-3 of these years²³. Given the young age profile of Polish migrants in the UK, we can estimate that over the next few years, we will continue to observe a "Polish baby boom", with the total number of children born to Polish mothers continuing to increase or staying at the current high level.

This high number of births to Polish mothers in the UK poses wider questions regarding the impact of migrants' childbearing decisions on Poland's demography. First of all, it relates to an imminent potential population loss due to migration and children being born abroad. Secondly, it presents challenges for the future resulting from the complex relationship between migrants' decision making regarding childbearing and the duration of their stay in the UK, as well as their potential for returning to Poland. Migrants fertility also poses a question about the importance of the socio-economic context for childbearing (availability of the social support and benefits system, health system, childcare opportunities and combining childbearing with employment).

It is difficult to assess whether births to Polish mothers in the UK are a potential population loss for Poland. As discussed in Hoorens *et al.* (2011) this assumption about potential population loss is weaker when only the child's mother is Polish,

²² We have to note, however, that in South Asian communities most births are to UK-born mothers, so the country of birth statistics understate their fertility.

²³ This lower rate of increase in the number of children being born to Polish mothers could have resulted from the fact that migration from Poland to the UK has also slowed down in the same period. There is also suspicion of return migration during the recession, although no reliable data exist to prove it. White (2011) research among Polish migrants in the UK and Poles in Poland did not confirm that the return migration is happening.

and is stronger in cases where both parents are Polish. A single migrant having a child or several children abroad might not have been able to do so in Poland due to an objective shortage of potential partners or a subjective lack of desirable partners. On the other hand, Polish couples having a child or children in the UK might have conceived these children in Poland as well. As a variety of factors influence childbearing decisions - such as economic conditions, childcare options and wider support for families - we cannot be certain that such a couple would have had children in Poland. However, "the likelihood of potential Poland's population loss is greater in the case of a child born to both Polish-born parents than in the case of births when only mother is Polish-born" (Hoorens *et al.* 2011: 41). We can therefore assume with a high degree of certainty that the large number of people of childbearing age emigrating from Poland to the UK (and to other European countries) has led to fewer children being born in Poland in recent years. As Hoorens and colleagues conclude (2011: 41): "it is almost certain that emigration had led, in absolute terms, to fewer children being born in Poland in recent years than would have been in the absence of migration, through the removal from the resident population of substantial numbers of women of childbearing age".

The available literature provides some guidance regarding migrants' childbearing behaviour, and the relationship between their childbearing and settlement decisions. However, in the case of Polish migrants it is not clear whether settlement decisions follow childbearing decisions, or vice versa. As White (2011: 177) observes, the arrival of a baby is a factor that further "enhances a sense of being at home in the English home", therefore the birth of a child can be an indication of plans to stay in the UK for a longer period of time. On the other hand, we do not know to what extent the large number of children born to Polish mothers in the UK is simply a consequence of the large number of Polish migrants being in a highly reproductive age group. If Polish migrants have children in the UK simply because they are in a highly reproductive age group, the age of Polish migrants would be a factor mostly influencing decisions to have a baby in the UK. Then, the experience of having a child abroad might be followed by a decision to settle in the UK. As Orellana *et al.* (2001: 587) observe (referring to migrant families in general), "the presence of the children is central to the families' decision-making process" and families with children (and in particular with school-age children) are tied in more ways to the receiving community. Therefore "it takes more to uproot them: factors encouraging return have to be strong and also multiple" (White 2011: 201).

For couples where both parents are Polish, potential return to Poland seems easier than for couples where only one parent is Polish. For instance this can be due to the linguistic barrier of one partner not being sufficiently fluent in Polish. Taking into account that around three in four (See Figure 3 and Table 4) children

born to Polish mothers also have a Polish father, the prospect of moving back to Poland within a few years of the birth of a child is still possible for these couples. Furthermore, as White's (2011) research has shown economic reasons play the most important role for Polish migrants when emigrating, whereas psychological aspects mostly motivate decisions about return. Therefore, the likelihood of return migration due to emotional factors relating to being close to family and friends is higher for a both Polish-parent family.

However, if having a child in the UK is an indication of a settlement decision, we can conclude that there is little likelihood of migrants who have done so returning to Poland after a period of working abroad. Similarly, in the case of nearly one-fourth of children born to non-Polish fathers, it is likely that many of these children will not be coming back to Poland in the coming years as there is evidence that Polish mothers tend to settle in the country of residence of their child's father. It means that "this removal of women of childbearing age may be important for the population structure of Poland" (Hoorens *et al.* 2011: 41) if Polish migrants decide to emigrate permanently.

Finally, the unpredictability of Polish migrants' behaviour is a challenge for policymaking and for future planning and resource allocation. As we do not know people's rationale for migration or for decisions about settlement abroad, it is not clear how national and European Union policies could address the needs of Polish migrants, both in the UK and in Poland. Polish migrants have an important impact on the welfare system, labour market and public services in both countries. The large number of Polish migrants in the UK increases demand for public services (i.e. healthcare, housing). Furthermore, the growing proportion of children born to Polish mothers has an important impact on child-related service, in particular on future demands on the publicly funded education system.

In regard to the labour market, Polish migrants' decisions have significant consequences in both the short- and long-term. The large number of Polish migrants belongs predominantly to the working age population, making a substantial positive contribution to the overall size of this demographic group in the UK, and resulting in a considerable reduction in its size in Poland. This can have important consequences, for instance for the publicly- funded pension and benefit system. In addition, if children born to Polish mothers in the UK stay abroad, it would have long-term consequences for population structure and the size of the working age population in Poland in the long run. The unpredictability of Polish migrants' settlement decisions makes it very difficult to plan for efficient service provision, as discussed here, and as a result policies might not adequately respond to Polish migrants' needs. Further research on the challenges to the policymaking in Poland and the UK as related to the Polish migrants childbearing in the UK is however beyond the scope of this paper.

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APPENDICES

Table 6.

Live births (numbers and percentages) for Polish born mothers in the UK,
1995-2010

Year	Live births to Polish mothers	Share of births to Polish mothers to the total number of births in the UK
1995	537	0.07%
1996	572	0.08%
1997	645	0.09%
1998	654	0.09%
1999	725	0.10%
2000	852	0.13%
2001	924	0.14%
2002	1,041	0.16%
2003	1,424	0.20%
2004	1,870	0.26%
2005	3,560	0.49%
2006	7,171	0.96%
2007	13,333	1.73%
2008	18,326	2.31%
2009	20,560	2.60%
2010	22,242	2.76%

Source: ONS, personal communication with the ONS.

Table 7.

Births to Polish mothers in England and Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland,
1995-2010

Year	England & Wales	Scotland	Northern Ireland	UK Total
1995	519	18	n/a	537
1996	564	8	n/a	572
1997	633	11	1	645
1998	641	12	1	654
1999	711	12	2	725
2000	836	14	2	852
2001	896	25	3	924
2002	1,016	17	8	1,041
2003	1,392	29	3	1,424
2004	1,830	31	9	1,870
2005	3,403	114	43	3,560
2006	6,620	365	186	7,171
2007	11,952	934	447	13,333
2008	16,101	1,509	716	18,326
2009	18,159	1,681	720	20,560
2010	19,762	1,727	753	22,242

Source: ONS, personal communication with the ONS.

Table 8.

Proportion of births to Polish mothers in England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, 1995-2010

Year	England & Wales		Scotland		Northern Ireland		UK total births to Polish mothers
	total births to Polish mothers	proportion of the total number of births to Polish mothers in the UK	total births to Polish mothers	proportion of the total number of births to Polish mothers in the UK	total births to Polish mothers	proportion of the total number of births to Polish mothers in the UK	
1995	519	97%	18	3%	n/a	n/a	537
1996	564	99%	8	1%	n/a	n/a	572
1997	633	98%	11	2%	1	0,2%	645
1998	641	98%	12	2%	1	0,2%	654
1999	711	98%	12	2%	2	0,3%	725
2000	836	98%	14	2%	2	0,2%	852
2001	896	97%	25	3%	3	0,3%	924
2002	1 016	98%	17	2%	8	0,8%	1 041
2003	1 392	98%	29	2%	3	0,2%	1 424
2004	1 830	98%	31	2%	9	0,5%	1 870
2005	3 403	96%	114	3%	43	1%	3 560
2006	6 620	92%	365	5%	186	3%	7 171
2007	11 952	90%	934	7%	447	3%	13 333
2008	16 101	88%	1 509	8%	716	4%	18 326
2009	18 159	88%	1 681	8%	720	4%	20 560
2010	19 762	89%	1 727	8%	753	3%	22 242

Source: ONS, personal communication with the ONS.

Table 9.

Children with both Polish parents, 1995-2010

Year	England & Wales		Scotland		Northern Ireland		UK Total	
	total births to Polish mothers		total births to Polish mothers		total births to Polish mothers		total births to Polish mothers	
	both parents Polish	% of children when both parents Polish	both parents Polish	% of children when both parents Polish	both parents Polish	% of children when both parents Polish	both parents Polish	% of children when both parents Polish
1995	519		18		n/a		537	
	144	28%	4	22%	n/a	n/a	148	28%
1996	564		8		n/a		572	
	190	34%	3	38%	n/a	n/a	193	34%
1997	633		11		1		645	
	203	32%	4	36%	0	0%	207	32%
1998	641		12		1		654	
	181	28%	0	0%	0	0%	181	28%
1999	711		12		2		725	
	230	32%	1	8%	1	50%	232	32%
2000	836		14		2		852	
	265	32%	2	14%	0	0%	267	31%
2001	896		25		3		924	
	312	35%	1	4%	1	33%	314	34%
2002	1016		17		8		1041	
	375	37%	4	24%	1	13%	380	37%
2003	1392		29		3		1424	
	519	37%	5	17%	1	33%	525	37%

Table 9.

Year	England & Wales		Scotland		Northern Ireland		UK Total	
	total births to Polish mothers		total births to Polish mothers		total births to Polish mothers		total births to Polish mothers	
	both parents Polish	% of children when both parents Polish	both parents Polish	% of children when both parents Polish	both parents Polish	% of children when both parents Polish	both parents Polish	% of children when both parents Polish
2004	1830		31		9		1870	
	842	46%	13	42%	4	44%	859	46%
2005	3403		114		43		3560	
	1999	59%	68	60%	36	84%	2103	59%
2006	6620		365		186		7171	
	4515	68%	281	77%	157	84%	4953	69%
2007	11952		934		447		13333	
	8835	74%	769	82%	388	87%	9992	75%
2008	16101		1509		716		18326	
	12126	75%	1277	85%	637	89%	14040	77%
2009	18159		1681		720		20560	
	13868	76%	1425	85%	636	88%	15929	77%
2010	19762		1727		753		22242	
	14847	75%	1441	83%	630	84%	16918	76%

Source: ONS, personal communication with the ONS.

Table 10.

Births to Polish fathers and non-Polish mothers, 1997-2010

Year	England & Wales	Scotland	Northern Ireland	United Kingdom
1995	80	4	n/a	84
1996	76	0	n/a	76
1997	78	3	0	81
1998	82	4	0	86
1999	83	6	0	89
2000	84	2	2	88
2001	81	6	0	87
2002	95	8	1	104
2003	120	5	2	127
2004	127	6	0	133
2005	178	12	4	194
2006	266	30	7	303
2007	424	42	17	483
2008	571	60	16	647
2009	706	73	29	808
2010	772	71	29	872

Source: ONS, personal communication with the ONS.

