

The ‘good life’ of Polish migrants in Britain: Daily behaviours and subjective wellbeing of migrants, stayers, and the British

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Accepted manuscript

Population, Space and Place

27 May 2020

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Abstract

The situation of Polish migrants in Britain has mostly been analysed from the labour market perspective. More recently, research has also addressed the topic of migrants’ social connections, identity, and integration. However, little is known about their everyday lifestyle practices, in particular non-market behaviours, such as socializing or consumption. These behaviours are constitutive for migrants’ ‘home-making’ in Britain, and may impact their mobility decisions. Using a pooled dataset of two nationally-representative time-use surveys (Polish and British) this study analysed how much time migrants allocated on a daily basis to selected non-market activities, and compared it to time-use patterns of the British and of Poles living in Poland. Regarding behaviours, Polish migrants were more similar to the British than to Poles in Poland. However, they spent least time socializing and showed very low participation rates in civic and community activities. They also seemed to derive less satisfaction from social life than either stayers or the British.

Key words: Lifestyle, migrants, time allocation, subjective wellbeing

1 INTRODUCTION

Employment has arguably been the central theme in the analyses of post-accession Polish migration to the UK (Pollard, Latorre, & Sriskandarajah, 2008). Nearly 70% of migrants from the EU countries came to the UK to either take up a job or look for one (Office for National Statistics, 2009). Though migrants' labour market participation rates have been high (Dustmann, Frattini, & Halls, 2010), their occupational success is debatable. Around 40% of the Accession 8 (EU8) migrants have been employed in positions below their educational qualifications, with these numbers being well above the UK national average (Home Office, 2009; Office for National Statistics, 2016). Low labour market position is linked with disadvantage in other areas. Migrants' housing conditions are often poor, and they live in neighbourhoods with high crime rates and low personal security (McGhee, Heath, & Trevena, 2013; Wright, 2011). Many have experienced ethnic discrimination (Fox, Moroşanu, & Szilassy, 2012). In particular, the Brexit referendum in 2016 was followed by an increase in hate crimes against Polish migrants in Britain (Burnett, 2017). These may further grow in force after the UK left the European Union. Nowadays many Poles and other European migrants share the feeling of great uncertainty regarding the 'settled status' and their future in the UK (Guma & Dafydd Jones, 2019; McGhee, Moreh, & Vlachantoni, 2017).

These are valid reasons for migrants to consider returning to Poland. In 2019 there were more Poles leaving the UK than arriving to the country (Office for National Statistics, 2019). At the time when the surveys used in this study were collected (2013-2015), the official unemployment rates in Poland improved substantially compared to the pre-accession levels (Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2019). The following years saw further decline to under 6% in 2019 (Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2019). Favourable economic conditions in Poland, together with the uncertainty related to the aftermath of Brexit make returning to the country look like

a rational decision. In the present political and economic context, the main question is: what would make Polish people decide to stay in Britain?

Scholarly analyses have pointed to personal attachment and emotions associated with living in the UK (Kate Botterill, McCollum, & Tyrrell, 2019), the sense of belonging to a particular place (Kate Botterill & Hancock, 2019), and the feeling of being ‘in between’ Poland and Britain, particularly strong for the second-generation migrants (Tyrrell, Sime, Kelly, & McMellon, 2019). These are relevant factors that frame individual mobility decisions, but the list is certainly not exhaustive. What seems to be overlooked is the pragmatic reality of everyday experiences, and the particular country-specific ways of living in Britain or in Poland which migrants may find appealing or not. In the pre-Brexit reality many Polish migrants declared no intention of returning to Poland (McGhee et al., 2013). The reason given by most interviewees at that time was the fact that in the UK they were able to ‘live a more “dignified” and a generally happier life’ (McGhee, Heath, and Trevena 2012, p. 712). What they referred to were the everyday experiences outside their occupational roles. Migrating to the UK, although for most not associated with an increase in occupational prestige, has brought better living conditions for many Poles. They were satisfied with their housing (Findlay, Nowok, & McGowan, 2012), and were able to consume goods beyond what was the basic necessity, as it had often been the case in their home country (McGhee et al., 2012). As a result, they became full members of consumer society, and started living what they took to be the ‘good life’.

So far only few studies have explored how migrants settled in Britain and how they functioned in their daily lives, outside of their occupational roles (e.g., Grzymala-Kazłowska, 2016; Piętka-Nykaza & McGhee, 2017; Ryan, 2015). Migrants’ everyday experiences in the new country, including how they contribute to individual’s subjective wellbeing, sense of belonging to the community, or the overall quality of life, have not been sufficiently addressed in existing research. Qualitative studies exploring Polish migrants’ attitudes and behaviours related to the

non-market sphere, were characterized by low number of cases and limited geographic coverage (Burrell, 2010). Quantitative studies on migration typically focused on employment and material rather than subjective wellbeing (Nowok, van Ham, Findlay, & Gayle, 2013). Few studies that addressed migrants' subjective wellbeing analysed it in the context of relative income (David Bartram, 2011), social conditions (Bălăţescu, 2007), or the experience of discrimination (Safi, 2010). None took into account everyday activities, which ultimately represent how migrants *live* in a place.

In this study we analysed time that Polish migrants living in Britain allocated on a daily basis to four non-market activities: (1) socializing, (2) TV viewing, (3) consumption, and (4) other leisure. We compared migrants' time-use to the patterns of time allocation of the British, and of Poles living in Poland. We aimed to establish whether migrants have adopted a lifestyle that is more similar to that of the British, or maintained their former habits which are assumed to be similar to those of the Polish population. Living a life that is similar to that of the British might be one of the markers of migrants' integration – at least on the behavioural level. Next, we examined differences in the reported subjective wellbeing across the three samples: migrants, Poles living in Poland, and the British. The associations between subjective wellbeing and time spent in each of the four categories of activities were analysed to examine which variables accounted for the differences in subjective wellbeing across the samples.

It is largely an explorative study, but allows for quantitative examination of what the 'good life' of Polish migrants in Britain might be about, whether it really is different from the lives of Poles living in Poland, and, finally, how migrants' daily behaviours might be linked with their subjective wellbeing. The study also adds a voice to the debate about the drivers behind migrants' mobility decisions by pointing to their everyday activities and lifestyle preferences as important factors framing their choices.

2 RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

2.1 'Good life' – compared with whom?

The UK is rated among the most unequal countries in Europe (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009), and migrants from poorer countries, including Poles, typically fall at the bottom of the income distribution. The direction in which this would impact their satisfaction with life in Britain is likely to depend on the reference category they use for social comparisons. Specifically, migrants may compare their situation to that of the British, to the lives of their acquaintances who stayed in Poland, or to their own experiences before the migration.

Comparisons with the natives might result in a feeling of disappointment. Although migrants' absolute income would likely increase following migration, they typically become poorer in relative terms, which negatively impacts their wellbeing (Layard, 2005). Even earning a higher wage would not necessarily result in greater wellbeing as choosing a wealthier group for social comparisons becomes more likely once migrants manage to increase their earnings over time (Clark, Diener, Georgellis, & Lucas, 2008). Higher earnings may also lead to increasing financial aspirations and, consequently, a decrease in satisfaction derived from objective gains in income (Bartram 2011).

If migrants compare their situation to their own lives before migration, they may believe they are better off in Britain. Many Poles left the country in order to escape unemployment, but even those, who worked in Poland prior to migration often found their income insufficient to make ends meet (McGhee et al., 2012). In Britain they are able to consume more and enjoy greater material security (McGhee et al., 2012). Psychological factors may play a role too, as people tend to be more critical about their former selves in order to maintain a view that they improved over time (Wilson & Ross, 2001).

Finally, migrants may compare themselves to stayers. On the one hand, comparing the general societal conditions in Poland versus the UK may add to the positive feeling (Bălăţescu, 2007). On the other, individual economic benefits of migration have been questioned with some of the existing data showing that Polish migrants, and in particular well-educated individuals, did not improve their earnings in absolute or relative terms compared to those who stayed in the country (Paweł Kaczmarczyk & Tyrowicz, 2015).

Differences in absolute or relative wage are an important migration driver, but migration imbalance between regions reflects also the differences in the quality of life (Cushing & Poot, 2003). Even if we assume that it was wage differentials that brought Poles to Britain, and that the current financial situation of Polish migrants in the UK is favourable, at least when compared to their pre-migration selves, the relative importance of individual's material status for their subjective wellbeing may change over time.

2.2 From achieving material security to settling down in Britain

Individual's experiences at the early stage of migration, and at the later stages, many years after moving to the new country, are fundamentally different (Friberg, 2012). Initially labour migration is often linked with certain level of deprivation, both in objective, such as housing conditions (McGhee et al., 2013), and subjective terms. Personal links with individual's home country are usually the strongest at that point since migrants have not yet established relations in the new place, and most of their close connections live elsewhere (Ryan, Sales, Tilki, & Siara, 2008). This initial stage of migration is also characterized by great uncertainty regarding one's own future (Friberg, 2012) which is likely to add to the general stress.

With time migrants usually manage to achieve better occupational positions and more stable employment (Krings, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamońska, & Wickham, 2013). Along with greater

financial security comes also the will to invest more in consumption and leisure (Friberg, 2012). That may shift one's focus from material to non-material resources. Many individuals establish personal relations with locals and generally interact with them more the longer they stay (Spencer, Ruhs, Anderson, & Rogaly, 2007). Eventually the once clear borders between 'home' and 'away' become blurred – the sending country is no longer the only one to be associated with close personal relations; the destination country is seen as more than just the source of material wellbeing. Migrants start thinking about their new country not only in terms of work, but consider also their social milieu, leisure options, and the quality of life.

2.3 Finding a fulfilling life

The desire to 'feel at home' in the new country is often expressed by migrants, including by Polish migrants in the UK (Parutis, 2006), and implies that they actively look for different ways to enjoy their lives in the new place. Taking into account migrants' everyday experiences and lifestyle preferences is important in this regard. Recent Polish migration to the UK was very particular (Glorious, Grabowska-Lusinska, & Kuvik, 2013; Kaczmarczyk & Okolski, 2008; Mioduszevska, 2008). Most migrants were well-educated (Friberg, 2012), and showed aspiration for lifestyle and self-development, which made them different from typical labour migrants (Krings et al., 2013). Securing sufficient income helped them establish their new identity as consumers in the UK. This particular aspect of migrants' lives has been recalled by many of them as the new quality they considered essential for living a 'normal' or 'dignified' life in Britain (McGhee et al., 2012). Compared to their earlier experiences of being 'flawed consumers' (Bauman, 2004) back in Poland that is not being able to afford anything beyond essentials, living in the UK opened the door to the multiple opportunities offered by a

developed consumer society. For many Poles migration meant therefore not only finding a gainful employment, but also starting new and rewarding 'life projects' (Bauman, 2004).

Constructing their identities around consumption opportunities seems to be a reasonable choice for Poles, whose occupational careers may not be equally rewarding. Migrants explicitly declare that the new consumption opportunities in Britain have contributed to making their lives better (McGhee et al., 2012). However, consumption theory calls this enthusiasm into question by stating that being able to fully participate in the consumer society, though undeniably appealing, does not lead to a long-term increase in subjective wellbeing. After reaching a certain level of financial security, money do not 'buy happiness' (Easterlin, 2003). Individuals also get accustomed to their wage being higher, which further erodes its positive effect on happiness (Easterlin, 2005).

Importantly, individual's mobility negatively affects the quality of their relationships within the community and in the families (Layard, 2005). These relations may matter more for wellbeing than financial gains (Helliwell, 2005; Soons & Kalmijn, 2009). In fact, tight social networks may have a protective effect on happiness even if money is scarce (Diener, Ng, Harter, & Arora, 2010). Close relationships may also protect individual's health by improving their immunity and lowering stress levels (Uchino, Cacioppo, Kiecolt-Glaser, et al., 1996). As opposed to that, maintaining cross-border family ties has been linked with a greater risk of depression, in particular among first-generation migrants (Torres, Lee, González, Garcia, & Haan, 2016).

Family relationships are important for Poles and they affect their mobility decisions (Botterill, 2014). It is likely that social relations would also affect their wellbeing. Studies suggest that migrants are generally less happy than natives (Safi, 2010), and that Polish migrants are also less happy than stayers (Bartram, 2013). This is another valid reason why getting a

comprehensive picture of the kind of life that Polish migrants live in the UK, how it compares to the lives of stayers and the natives, and, finally, how it might be affecting them, should be taken into account in the debate on their mobility choices.

2.4 Everyday behaviours and subjective wellbeing

Everyday activities, including leisure behaviours have been linked with individual's subjective wellbeing (Brajša-Žganec, Merkaš, & Šverko, 2011; Han & Patterson, 2007; Newman, Tay, & Diener, 2014). However, different activities may affect wellbeing in opposite ways. Participation in social life and, broadly speaking, interaction with others, were shown to positively affect people's subjective wellbeing and the quality of life (Helliwell, 2005; Mogilner, 2010). Conversely, the most common and widely available low-cost leisure activity, TV viewing, has been associated with a decrease in subjective wellbeing and an increase in material aspirations (Frey, Benesch, & Stutzer, 2005). What is important in the context of migrants' low relative income, more TV viewing may make people feel poorer (Layard 2005). Regarding material aspirations, more shopping does not necessarily translate to greater happiness (Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2002). However, as the UK is often seen as highly commercialized by migrants from poorer countries (Wright 2011), participation in consumption may contribute to creating the sense of belonging. Consumption possibilities were also highlighted by Polish migrants as an important and positive aspect of their lives in the UK, and time dedicated to consumption may be indicative of its relative importance in their daily lives. In some cases individuals may also use shopping as an antidote to loneliness (Kim, Kang, & Kim, 2005).

2.5 Lifestyle preferences as migration motivation

The concept of lifestyle migration does not typically come into mind when analysing a category of people arriving to Britain from a post-socialist country. However, as argued by Benson and O'Reilly (2009), lifestyle migration does not necessarily exclude economic considerations, and the concept may well be used to 'understand migration trends that are not ordinarily considered lifestyle migration' (Benson and O'Reilly 2009, p.31). An example of such application of the concept of lifestyle migration is a study by Bolognani (2014) who used it to analyse British Pakistani migrants' attitudes towards returning to Pakistan, and demonstrated that their considerations were clearly related to lifestyle choices, not labour market situation. This paper argues that, in a similar way, the term may be used to analyse the current situation of Polish migrants in the UK. In particular, in the present macroeconomic and political situation in the UK and in Poland, Polish migrants' decisions whether to stay or leave Britain should not be analysed as a negative choice dictated by economic necessity but rather as a positive choice of a certain kind of lifestyle they want to lead.

Lifestyle migrants leave their country to find a more fulfilling way of living. This includes improving their quality of life, and consumption opportunities compared to what is available to them in their home country (Hayes, 2014). The conceptual borders between economic and lifestyle migration are blurred, in particular in terms of how either of these concepts may be operationalized (Huete, Mantecón, & Estévez, 2013). Great majority of Poles came to the UK as economic migrants, and many of them recalled the experience of material deprivation they had suffered in Poland (McGhee et al., 2012). Despite the fact that their economic perspectives in the home country might have improved, for them Poland may remain associated with different lifestyle and consumption patterns than the UK. Ultimately, when considering whether to return or stay in Britain they may consider lifestyle reasons in the first place. The concept of lifestyle migration is not exclusive and so it may be used as analytical tool to

‘understand the complex reasoning and experiences of migrants’ (Benson and O’Reilly 2009, p.31), including Polish migrants in Britain.

3 DATA AND METHOD

This paper used data from the 2013/2014 Polish Time Use Survey (PTUS) collected by the Main Statistical Office (Główny Urząd Statystyczny), and the 2014/2015 United Kingdom Time Use Survey (UKTUS) collected by the Office for National Statistics. It analysed daily activities for 3 distinctive samples of respondents: Polish migrants living in the UK, Polish population, and the British. Data on the Polish population came from PTUS. Data on the migrants and the British came from UKTUS. Both surveys were household-based and carried out within the Harmonized European Time-Use Survey (HETUS) framework. They were also nationally representative for either country. Each individual completed two diary days – one for a weekday, and one for a weekend day. PTUS collected 78759 diaries of eligible individuals aged 10 and above. UKTUS sample included 16503 diaries completed by individuals living in Britain aged 8 and above. Among those were also the diaries completed by migrants. UKTUS data was split into two distinctive samples: diaries representing British-born individuals that is excluding any first-generation migrants (14528), and diaries of first-generation Polish migrants (202). The 2001 UK census data showed the number of Polish-born residents in the UK to be 58,000 (Office for National Statistics, 2001). Ten years later, in the 2011 census it reached 676,000 (Office for National Statistics, 2011). In 2012 and 2013 190,924 Poles applied for the National Insurance Number (Okólski & Salt, 2014). Based on these rather conservative estimates at least 866,424 Poles were official residents in the UK in 2014 and an overwhelming majority of them came to the country after 2004. It is therefore assumed that the majority, if

not the whole of the migrant sample in this study consists of migrants arriving after 2004, although the exact dates of their arrival to the UK are not given in the dataset.

Time-use diaries were shown to provide highly comparable and robust estimates of time allocation that are much less prone to bias than survey estimates (Kan & Pudney, 2008). Diary data were harmonized to assure comparability. The process involved recoding all activities into 19 broader categories that were the same for both PTUS and UKTUS respondents (see Table 1 for a complete list of activities). Harmonization included also background variables that were used as control or explanatory variables in the models: sex, age, education, employment status, income, household type, and occupational class. These characteristics were shown to account for heterogeneity of migrants and their preferences (Cushing & Poot, 2003). All variables except for the last one were harmonized in accordance with the guidelines included in the Multinational Time Use Survey (MTUS) harmonization guide (Gershuny & Fisher, 2014). Sex as a binary variable and age as a continuous variable used original survey codes as these were already compatible. Education used 3 categories: (1) incomplete secondary and below, (2) completed secondary, and (3) tertiary, which corresponded to the ISCED scale. Employment status used the following MTUS categories: (1) working full-time, (2) working part-time, (3) other work arrangements, (4) not working for pay. Income used distribution-based categories: (1) bottom 25%, (2) 25-75%, (3) top 25%. Household type was recoded into the following categories: (1) one-person household, (2) couple alone, (3) couple with others, including children, (4) other household arrangements. Finally, occupational category was recoded into 3 broad categories based on the National Statistics Socio-economic classification (NSSEC): (1) higher occupations - managers and professionals, (2) intermediate occupations, (3) lower routine and manual occupations.

Satisfaction with life in general was used as a proxy for individual's subjective wellbeing. UKTUS used an 11-point scale (0-10) with 0 standing for not satisfied at all, and 10 – very

satisfied. In PTUS satisfaction with life was a categorical variable with values range between 1 and 5 where 1 meant ‘not satisfied at all’, and 5 meant ‘very satisfied’. The 11-point scale variable from UKTUS was harmonized with the PTUS variable to produce the same 5-point scale categorical variable for both datasets.

Polish migrants provided a relatively low total number of diary days (202) but the sociodemographic composition of the sample was similar to the structure of the Polish migrants subsample in the British Labour Force Survey (see also: Kaczmarczyk and Tyrowicz, 2015). Specifically, it matched the characteristics of the post-2004 migration where young people constituted majority of migrants. Mean age of migrants was 34, and over 50% of the sample had higher education. Lastly, despite their high educational attainment, majority of those people worked in lower occupations, that is in routine and manual jobs which is another commonly cited characteristics of the post-2004 Polish migration to the UK (Paweł Kaczmarczyk & Tyrowicz, 2015). Information on the composition of the sample of migrants is provided in the Appendix (Table 1a).

This study focused on selected non-market activities. It analysed mean time over 24 hours that was dedicated to (1) doing shopping and using services; (2) social life, including conversations of any type; (3) watching TV or DVDs; and (4) other leisure practices including reading, indoor leisure and relaxation, games, hobbies, and other. Some important lifestyle activities, such as sport or religious practices could not be analysed due to a low (below 20) number of individuals who reported participating in this activity in the sample of Polish migrants (Table 1).

Time dedicated to doing shopping and using services was used as a proxy for consumption of goods and services which is not only central to Bauman’s consumption theory but also, according to the earlier studies (McGhee et al., 2012), to the migrants’ experiences of the ‘good life’ in the UK. Time spent on social life accounted for all types (online, over the phone, or in

person) of meaningful social interactions. TV viewing was included as the most common way to spend free time in both, Poland, and the UK. General leisure time accounted for any other leisure activities.

3.1 Analytical strategy

First, we analysed predictive means for the amount of time spent on a daily basis in the four activities by Poles, Polish migrants, and the British, controlling for their age, sex, education, employment status, income, occupational class, and household type. Following that, we briefly examined differences in reported satisfaction with life across the samples as well as the association between time spent in each of the four activities and individual's subjective wellbeing in the pooled dataset. Next, three nested multivariate ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models were fitted to analyse the association between individual's subjective wellbeing and their sociodemographic characteristics as well as to estimate the net effects of time spent in selected non-market activities. For all models we randomly sampled one day per respondent. Model 1 used only individual's sociodemographic characteristics as explanatory variables: sample type (migrants, British, and Polish), age, sex, education, employment status, income, household type, and occupational group. Model 2 added daily duration of shopping and services, social life, leisure, and TV viewing (all given in hours). Model 3 included the interaction effects between the sample type and time spent in each of the four non-market activities.

4 RESULTS

We started with comparison of mean estimates of activities duration across the 3 samples, which revealed some differences between how Polish migrants (further referred to as

‘migrants’), Poles living in Poland (‘Polish’ or ‘stayers’), and the British (‘natives’) spend their time (Table 1). In case of 13 out of 19 categories of activities migrants differed significantly from stayers. With regard to the British, these differences were significant for 7 out of 19 activity categories. Compared to Poles, migrants spent significantly less time on eating and food preparation, which might reflect the fact that approach to food and eating in the UK is different from that in the continental Europe (Warde, Cheng, Olsen, & Southerton, 2007). Migrants also spent significantly more time working (compared to the British) and studying (compared to Poles), which is likely to reflect the distinctive sociodemographic profile of this group. Conversely, migrants did not dedicate much time to unpaid work. On average, they did significantly less housework than either Poles or natives, which was related to the fact that they were less likely to own their homes, and most of them lived in rented accommodation (results not shown).

[Table 1 about here]

Regarding consumption and leisure activities, migrants spent more time on shopping and using services compared to stayers. That may be seen as supportive of their claims about having greater consumption power in the UK than it was the case in Poland. They also spent significantly less time on social interactions compared to Poles or to the British. This may be indicative of them having fewer social connections in Britain. It may also suggest that their contacts with family or friends living in Poland were infrequent, since the category of ‘social life’ included also contacts over the phone or online. Migrants also watched less TV than individuals from either of the two other samples. That might suggest not only preference for different types of leisure but possibly also that their insufficient language skills limit their use

of English-speaking media. Lastly, very low participation rates and, in consequence, very little time spent in voluntary and religious activities compared to Poles or to the British might indicate that most migrants are not involved in any civic or spiritual community in Britain.

Comparison of predictive means for selected activities across the three samples (Figure 1) supports earlier claims that migrants in the UK, in terms of lifestyle behaviours, are more similar to their British counterparts than to their counterparts in Poland. Overall, individuals living in the UK, whether of Polish or other origin, spend more time doing shopping and using services, which seems to support earlier claims that, in terms of consumption, life in the UK is 'easier' and people are able to afford more (McGhee et al., 2012). Migrants and the natives also enjoy more of the 'other leisure', though in the case of the former it is possibly due to the fact that they allocate significantly less of their spare time to watching TV and to social life.

[Figure 1 about here]

Regarding subjective wellbeing, migrants were not statistically different from the British or from Poles. Mean satisfaction with life was 3.87 for migrants, 3.82 for Poles, and 4 for the British (on a 5-point scale). The fact that migrants did not differ significantly from stayers or from natives may, at least to some extent, be attributable to the large standard error resulting from the fact that the sample size for migrants was low. Noteworthy, subjective wellbeing was significantly lower in the Polish population compared to the British.

In Figure 2 subjective wellbeing in the pooled dataset was analysed in relation to time spent in each of the four types of activities. The most straightforward, linear association was that between subjective wellbeing and time devoted to contacts with others (social life). The more time an individual spent on social interactions, the higher satisfaction with life he or she

reported. Conversely, the association between TV viewing and subjective wellbeing was close to linear, but negative. More time spent watching TV was linked with lower subjective wellbeing. Regarding general leisure the association between its duration and the reported satisfaction with life was curvilinear and close to the 'U' shape. However, a large proportion of individuals who were not satisfied with their lives and at the same time had much leisure time, were those who were unemployed or inactive on the labour market. Lastly, time spent on shopping and using services was roughly the same for all individuals regardless of how satisfied with life they were.

[Figure 2 about here]

In Model 1 (Table 2) we examined the association between subjective wellbeing and individual's sociodemographic characteristics. Individuals who were better educated, more affluent or had higher occupational position reported higher levels of subjective wellbeing. Being in a couple (including a couple with children) was also associated with greater satisfaction with life. Unlike in the case of crude mean comparisons, when sociodemographic characteristics were accounted for, differences in subjective wellbeing between migrants and the British were statistically significant, though minor.

[Table 2 about here]

Model 2 added behavioural covariates that is time spent in each of the four activities: shopping and services, social life, TV viewing, and other leisure. Duration of social life, shopping and

using services, and TV viewing were all significantly associated with individual's wellbeing, net of their social characteristics. Every additional hour spent on social life was associated with a 0.01-point increase in the score for satisfaction with life in general. As opposed to that, every additional minute spent on TV viewing was associated with a decrease of 0.02 point. Taking into account the duration of these activities in each population, the effect of time-use patterns on individual's wellbeing is not negligible. Lastly, time spent in shopping and services was significantly and negatively associated with individual's wellbeing.

Model 3 added interactions between the sample respondent belonged to and the duration of selected daily behaviours. The difference in subjective wellbeing between migrants and the natives became insignificant. However, the positive effect of the duration of social life on wellbeing was significant in case of both, the Polish and the British. The effects were also nearly the same for these groups – every additional hour spent socializing was associated with an approximately 0.35-point increase in reported subjective wellbeing. These results suggest that social life could make the natives and the stayers relatively happier compared to the migrants. Related to that, less satisfying social life may be a factor that lowers the overall wellbeing of Polish migrants in the UK.

5 DISCUSSION

Most of the Polish migrants currently living in the UK arrived there on the wave of the post-2004 economic migration. Many aspired for self-development and finding a more fulfilling way of life; few found jobs that matched their educational attainment. Overall, migrants typically have lower socioeconomic position compared to the natives. Had economic motivation been the main driver of this migration, Poles disadvantaged position in the British society would likely result in low levels of satisfaction with life in Britain. However, existing

research argues that wage differentials were not the main, and certainly not the only motivation for this migration flow (Paweł Kaczmarczyk & Tyrowicz, 2015). Furthermore, qualitative evidence shows that many migrants see their life in Britain as rewarding not only in financial terms.

The analyses presented in this study suggest that Polish migrants' have adopted a lifestyle that is more similar to the lifestyle of the British than that of Poles living in Poland. Migrants work relatively long hours, but also enjoy a substantial amount of leisure. Compared to Poles they spend significantly more time on consumption that is doing shopping and using services. This finding supports claims regarding greater 'affordability' of things in the UK and how 'easy' life in the UK is compared to migrants' earlier lives in Poland. Enjoying greater purchasing power comes at a cost. Migrants socialize less than Poles or the British, and it seems that their social lives may also be less rewarding.

Our findings regarding the sociodemographic covariates of migrants' subjective wellbeing are in line with earlier reports (Bartram, 2011) and economic theory (Layard, 2005). Primarily, we find strong effects of relative income and household composition on individual's wellbeing. Being a migrant, net of other social characteristics, is negatively associated with satisfaction with life compared to the natives, though the difference is small. This finding is also consistent with results reported elsewhere (Bălăţescu, 2007; Safi, 2010). However, contradictory to some earlier findings (Bartram, 2013), we find that migrants are no less happy than stayers. The question is – could reported differences in wellbeing simply reflect national differences in the way people rate their happiness? The UK consistently scores higher than Poland on all dimensions of multidimensional wellbeing that is its material, personal, and community aspects (Pinar, 2019). Overall, it seems to be a 'better' country to live in – which we would expect to be reflected in greater average wellbeing of its inhabitants, in particular after controlling for the relative income or individual's social position. So why migrants are not happier than stayers

and just as happy as the natives? Our findings suggest that it is lifestyle factors that are behind migrants' lower wellbeing relative to the natives. The net difference in wellbeing between these two categories is fully explained by the utility (or happiness) derived from social interactions. Furthermore, as the duration of social life is associated with higher reported subjective wellbeing for Poles and for the British, but not for the migrants, it might be the case that if migrants' social life improved, their wellbeing score would be greater than that of stayers. These findings show the importance of including daily behaviours in the analyses exploring the links between migration and subjective wellbeing.

If we accept the claims that most migrants indeed live 'good lives' in the UK, this study suggests that what may be the key contributor to their 'good lives' are the broader societal conditions including material wellbeing and greater affordability of goods and services that leads to a more fulfilling participation in the consumer society. However, in line with the consumption theory it seems that consuming, while contributing to having a 'good life', does not warrant a happy life. Less time allocated to community and social relations and lower satisfaction derived from the latter suggest that deficiencies in personal and community wellbeing might compromise migrants' overall happiness.

Migrants seem to have been well-integrated into the British society on the behavioural level, but the potentially unsatisfying social life and their very low participation in voluntary or civic activities cast doubt on the extent of this integration. Lack of community involvement together with limited social contacts may make migrants feel alienated. Furthermore, very few of them report participating in any spiritual or religious events. Catholic religion has been seen as closely intertwined with Polish cultural and ethnic identity (Bruce & Voas, 2004; Trzebiatowska, 2010). In the past the Polish diaspora in the UK centred around Polish Catholic churches, however, that is not necessarily the case for the post-2004 migrants (Gill, 2010). Polish migrants present diverse attitudes with some of them seeing Church attendance as

essential to their sense of religious and ethnic identity, and others openly declaring anti-church sentiments (Ryan, 2010). Overall, lack of religious participation may suggest not only poor integration with the local community, but also cultural alienation with regard to migrants' home country. Interestingly, a similar trend reported for Poles living in Germany has partly been attributed to their greater attachment to the secular German mainstream (Diehl & Koenig, 2013). More research is needed on the specific reasons behind these behaviours, as well as on whether the present findings can be generalized to other A8 migrants, but our study highlights important social and policy issues that have not been addressed.

This study comes with its own limitations. The major one is the low sample size of migrants. This leads to large standard errors of the derived estimates. For example, the positive effect of duration of socializing on wellbeing for Poles, and the British is only marginally significant. This study also does not include a potentially important variable that is when the migrants arrived to the UK. Another limitation is the fact that migrants sample comes from the same dataset as the sample used to represent the British. While both Polish and British time-use surveys use the same instrument – that is time use diary based on the HETUS format, there may be some unmeasured design effects involved. Lastly, a single and general measure of subjective wellbeing such as satisfaction with life, gives a rather narrow and unidimensional picture of a very complex phenomenon. Ideally three separate surveys should be used, each sampling one individual per household and providing more information on that person, and each using the same composite measures of subjective wellbeing. Realistically, there is no other dataset that would collect information on migrants' time-use patterns, and certainly no dataset that would include a larger sample of Polish migrants' diaries than the most recent UKTUS.

Lastly, this study also brings a new perspective on the question of what factors might make Polish migrants consider leaving the UK and the analytical framework that may be applied to it. Analysing migration decisions as induced only by labour disequilibrium ignores the

adjustments in the labour market situation, and individual's shifting preferences regarding local amenities. As opposed to that, the spatial equilibrium approach might provide a more relevant framework. Amenities such as sociodemographic characteristics of the local population, presence of a large migrant community, and regional human capital have been shown to matter for the assessment of location's attractiveness by migrants. Furthermore, the personal importance of these certain attributes and the demand for amenities change over time (Schachter & Althaus, 1989). At low income levels, individuals focus attention on goods, but when the standards of living increase, other amenities become more important (cite: Partridge 2010). In a similar way, as Poles settle down in Britain and gain financial stability, they may shift their focus from material issues to other factors, such as establishing meaningful connections with others (Spencer et al., 2007). Changes in demand may also stem from a change in individual's objective circumstances. In such cases lack of relevant support might cause issues that go beyond the sphere of personal relations. For instance, lack of close relations might be more difficult to accept for families with children, since the presence of grandparents or other relatives who provide informal childcare alleviates time pressure on working parents. In fact, in many cases, it is informal childcare provisions that enables UK-based mothers to get back to work (Wheelock & Jones, 2002). If we accept the claims that work plays a central role in migrants' lives, lowering the barriers to work for migrant women is of key importance. Unavailability of such support, in particular for women, might therefore be seen as a disequilibrium variable in the context of their migration decisions. But even in such case, should a consequent migration decision be framed as purely economic? And would such distinctive categorization be useful to analyse it? This study adds to the discussion on the conceptual borders between economic and lifestyle migration, in particular in the perspective of long-term migration, and changing mobility patterns. We agree with Huete et al. (2013) that juxtaposing economic and lifestyle migration makes them less relevant for quantitative

research. We therefore conclude that in the context of everyday behaviours as related to individual's wellbeing and mobility decisions, the borders between labour and lifestyle migration cannot and should not be drawn.

Acknowledgements

The authors wish to thank two anonymous Reviewers for their help in development of this paper.

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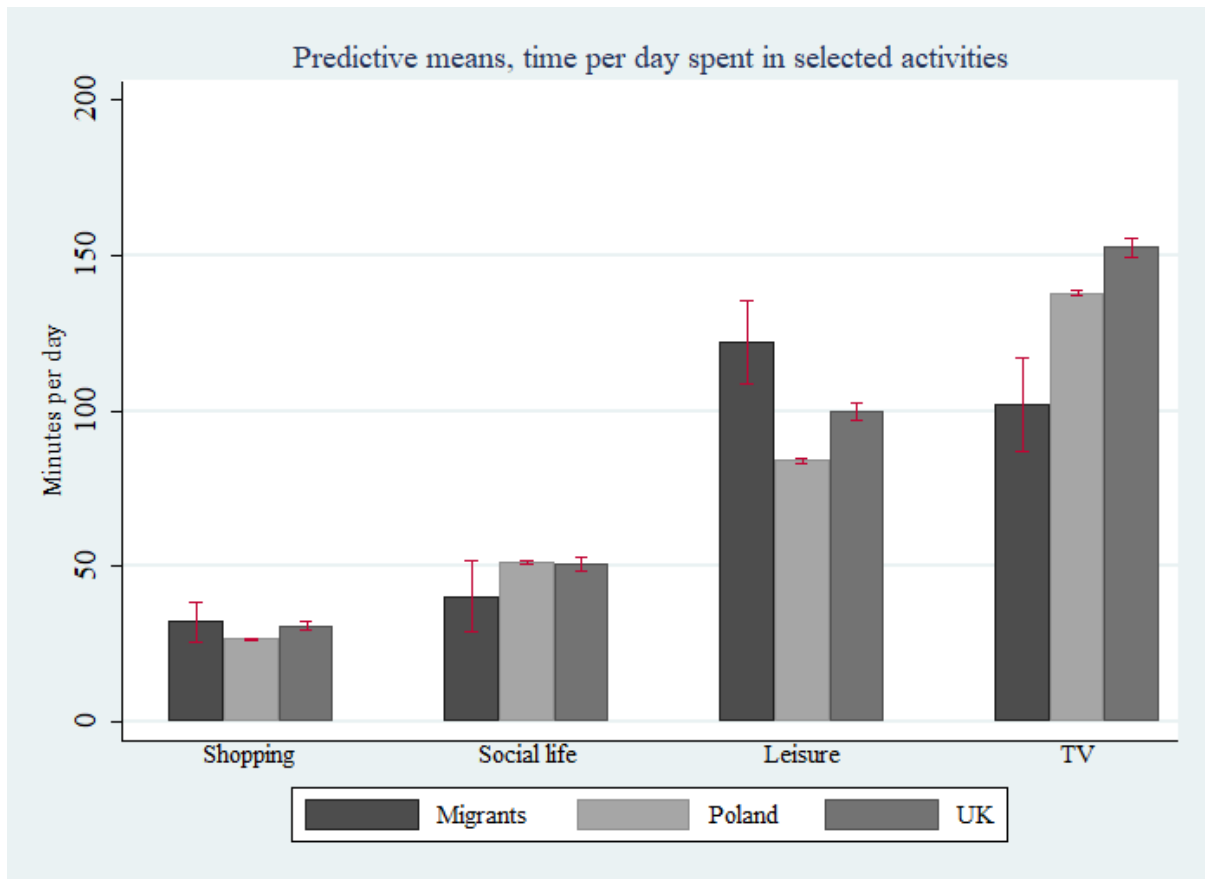
Figures and Tables

Table 1: Mean time in minutes spent in all activities by the type of the sample

	Polish population Mean (SE)	Polish migrants Mean (SE)	British natives Mean (SE)
Sleep	529 (0.40)	522 (9.86)	528 (1.08)
Self-care	60 (0.11)	58 (2.96)	59 (0.36)
Eating	100 (0.21)	84 (4.30)	88 (0.53)
Paid work	144 (0.84)	161 (16.31)	114 (1.71)
Work break (L)	1.44 (0.51)	0.04 (0.00)	1.58 (0.07)
Education/ study	16 (0.29)	33 (7.01)	28 (0.82)
Food prep.	56 (0.22)	38 (3.00)	34 (0.36)
Domestic work	88 (0.35)	61 (4.51)	80 (0.82)
Shopping, services	25 (0.15)	32 (3.36)	32 (0.47)
Sport (L)	24 (0.19)	12 (2.22)	14 (0.35)
Walk, active travel	9 (0.12)	21 (3.89)	14 (0.32)
Childcare	24 (0.27)	47 (5.81)	18 (0.48)
Adult care (L)	1.43 (0.75)	1.81 (0.63)	1.19 (0.10)
Voluntary/civic act. (L)	12 (0.17)	3.81 (1.78)	12 (0.36)
Social life	52 (0.30)	42 (4.92)	54 (0.74)
Religious act. (L)	15 (0.13)	3 (0.83)	5 (0.21)
Leisure	86 (0.34)	117 (9.13)	102 (1.00)
TV viewing	137 (0.40)	76 (6.07)	152 (1.15)
Travel	60 (0.23)	80 (5.66)	78 (0.74)

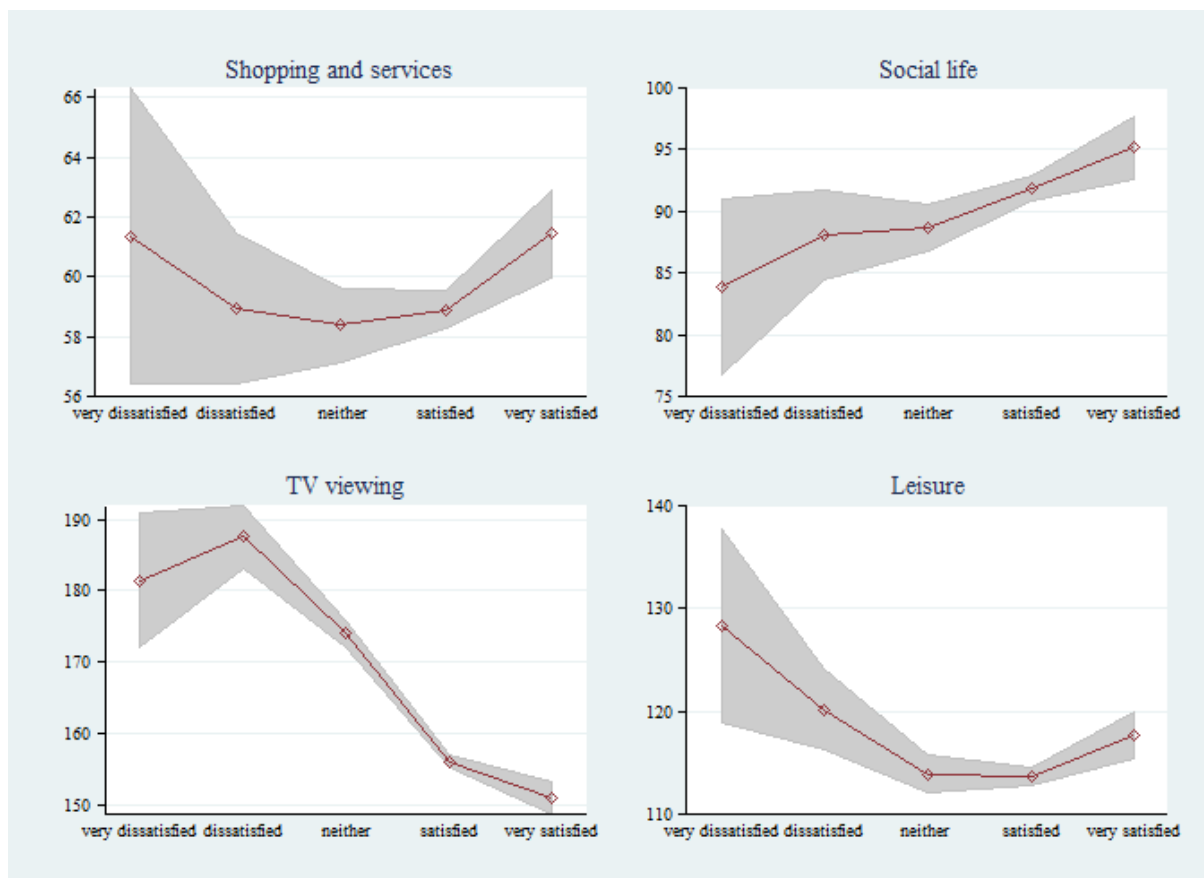
Note: Means for the Polish and the British sample are weighted. Abbreviation (L) indicates activities for which participation rates in migrant sample were very low (<20 individuals) for these activities. Values significantly different from mean values for Polish migrants are given in bold (95% CI).

Figure 1. Predictive means for selected leisure activities.



Note: Control variables include age, sex, education, employment status, income, occupational class, and household type.

Figure 2. Satisfaction with life in general and mean time spent in selected activities, pooled sample (95% confidence intervals).



Note: Shaded area represents 95% confidence intervals.

Table 2. Life satisfaction and its covariates, point estimates from OLS models

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<i>Sample (ref. Polish migrants in the UK)</i>			
Polish population	0.08 (0.08)	0.08 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.22)
British natives	0.18* (0.08)	0.19* (0.08)	0.22 (0.15)
Female (ref. male)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)
Age	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
<i>Education (ref. incomplete secondary)</i>			
Completed secondary	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)
Tertiary	0.08*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.01)
Missing	0.07 (0.03)	0.06 (0.03)	0.06 (0.04)
<i>Employment (ref. in full time employment)</i>			
Working part-time	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Working, unknown hours	0.02* (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
Not in paid work	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)
Missing	-0.46* (0.20)	-0.44 (0.20)	-0.47 (0.28)
<i>Income (ref. bottom 25%)</i>			
25% - 75%	0.17*** (0.01)	0.17*** (0.01)	0.17*** (0.01)
Top 25%	0.28*** (0.01)	0.28*** (0.01)	0.28*** (0.01)
Missing	0.20*** (0.01)	0.19*** (0.01)	0.20*** (0.01)
<i>Household type (ref. one person HH)</i>			
Couple alone	0.21*** (0.01)	0.22*** (0.01)	0.22*** (0.01)
Couple and others (children)	0.16*** (0.01)	0.17*** (0.01)	0.17*** (0.01)
Other types of household	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)
<i>NSSEC (ref. higher occupations)</i>			
Intermediate occupations	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)
Lower occupations	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.01)
Missing	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.07** (0.02)
Duration of general leisure (hrs)		0.00 (0.00)	0.07 (0.06)
Duration of social life (hrs)		0.01*** (0.00)	-0.34 (0.15)
Duration of shopping and services (hrs)		-0.01* (0.00)	-0.07 (0.14)
Duration of TV viewing (hrs)		-0.02*** (0.00)	0.02 (0.07)
<i>Interaction terms</i>			
Poles* duration of general leisure			-0.06 (0.06)
British* duration of general leisure			-0.07 (0.06)
Poles* duration of social life			0.35* (0.15)
British* duration of social life			0.35* (0.15)
Poles* duration of shopping and services			-0.06 (0.14)
British* duration of shopping and services			-0.08 (0.14)
Poles* duration of TV viewing			-0.04 (0.07)
British* duration of TV viewing			-0.05 (0.07)
Intercept	3.55*** (0.11)	3.56*** (0.12)	3.68*** (0.22)
R-Squared	0.07	0.07	0.07
Number of observations	41,072	41,072	41,072

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Appendix

Table 1a: Polish migrants sample composition

		Percentage
Level of education	Secondary and below	14%
	Tertiary	53%
	Missing	33%
Gender	Men	43%
	Women	57%
Household income	Bottom 25%	11%
	Between 25%-75%	43%
	Top 25%	25%
	Missing	21%
Employment status	Employed full time	41%
	Employed part-time	18%
	Employed, hrs unknown	12%
	Not working	30%
Household type	One person	8%
	Couple	13%
	Couple + others	52%
	Other arrangements	23%
	Missing	4%
NSSEC	Managerial & professional	15%
	Intermediate	15%
	Routine & manual	50%
	Missing	19%