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Managing Foreign Labour Immigration to the UK: Government Policy and Outcomes since 1945

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Occasional Paper

Managing Foreign Labour Immigration to the UK: Government Policy and Outcomes since 1945

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The nature of the study

The aim of this study is to bring together for the first time information on how the UK work permit system has developed since 1945, including its transition into a points based system in 2009. It also shows how various supplementary special schemes have been incorporated into government labour immigration management as a whole. Using statistical data, many unpublished, it identifies the main geographical, sectoral and occupational lessons arising from analysis of trends over the period. It identifies three underlying principles: global sourcing; the need for flexibility; and the symbiotic relationship between changing government policies and employers. Such managed migration takes place within the broader context of UK migration as a whole, including free movements and non-labour flows such as family, student and asylum which in their different ways have influenced overall migration policy.

For almost a century the UK government has run a management policy for foreign labour, mainly through a work permit system and, since 2009, through the Points Based System which replaced it. Since the Second World War this has been supplemented by a series of special schemes, aimed at specific occupations or groups. In addition, free movement arrangements for EU/EEA citizens have also been put in place. Finally, since Irish independence its citizens have been allowed to continue to live and work in a common travel area which allows free movement between the Republic of Ireland and the UK. Hence, there was a fourfold system but only the first two were actually managed by the UK government. EEA movement was partly managed during transition periods after new member states joined the group. Irish labour immigration has never been managed except in wartime.

The study is thus not an analysis of the totality of labour migration affecting the UK but of that part where government has traditionally sought to exercise control. It takes a long view, through a rehearsal of the main policy developments and their outcomes showing how the UK government's labour immigration management has adapted during the period. It demonstrates that although various regulatory controls have been in place the UK labour market has been open to a substantial amount of foreign labour. Although government management has accommodated itself to changing conditions, in particular shifting from a focus on relatively low-skilled labour in the years after 1945, as post-war reconstruction went ahead, towards a more recent and continuing concern with attracting highly skilled workers. EU free movement after 1973 initially continued existing recruitment trends from member states, largely for less skilled jobs. More recently the demand for low skilled workers has been filled from post-2004 accession countries. Because of historical free movement which means the flow from Ireland has never been part of UK labour immigration management through a work permit system is mentioned only briefly. However, it is accepted that the Irish flow has been an integral part of the labour immigration story as a whole and therefore has affected flows from elsewhere. It should also be added that the emigration of British labour, often creating vacancies which were then filled from foreign sources, is also excluded although it undoubtedly has had a

role. For example, data over many years show a net loss of professional and managerial British workers has been more than compensated by inflows from abroad: in 2017 a net loss of 9,000 British but a net gain of 85,000 foreigners.

1.2 Structure of the paper

Starting in the 1940s the paper records changes in work permit policy and analyses shifts in the nationalities, industrial sectors and occupations of work permit holders and its Tier 2 visa replacement since 2008, following the introduction of the points based system. Its elements show both continuity and change. For example, in the first decades after World War II western European countries were the main sources. They ‘disappeared’ from the work permit statistics after 1973 when the UK joined the EEC, but never went away and in the last few years have again become major sources. In contrast Commonwealth sources, their citizens formerly allowed in unhindered before 1962, after 1971 entered the work permit system. There were also substantial changes as new sources were tapped, notably the US, Japan and China. Intra-company transfers, allowing international companies to move their staff to and from the UK for varying periods within corporate internal labour markets, have been a major element in the work permit system throughout and receive separate treatment.

Following this, data relating to free movement by Irish and EEA citizens are discussed briefly. Administrative data on their recruitment are scarce and they are not part of the managed system. However, the availability of these workers has influenced the magnitude of flows from non-EEA sources. The various special schemes for non-EEA labour are then described, their outcomes in geographical and occupational terms presented and their complementarity to the main scheme discussed.

The final sections of the paper first draw out the main trends over the period by nationality, occupation and sector. These include the global nature of the UK migration field and within this the continuing importance of Western European sources along with rediscovery of the Eastern European source. The Old Commonwealth and other advanced economies help provide a baseload of temporary skills, many of these migrants are almost certainly reciprocal exchanges with British expatriates. Particularly striking is the rise of India as the main skilled labour provider and the recent rise of China.

These trends point to three major conclusions which have a resonance for future labour immigration policy. First, the UK economy has proved unable to manage without substantial labour immigration, from both the EU and elsewhere. Unless there is a major collapse of the UK economy, immigrant workers will still be required in similar numbers. Second, the nature of skills recruited from overseas has shifted in response to the changing economy; hence management needs to be pragmatic and nimble. Finally, globalisation and international competition ensure that any immigration management system must take into account the needs of employers so that a continuing symbiosis between labour management by government and by business is essential.

1.3 The changing context

Foreign labour immigration management by successive UK governments has evolved within a central framework set by the need for foreign labour to supplement domestic sources without undercutting their wages or restrict their opportunities. Periodic reviews of the various schemes have been the result of both economic and politically driven decisions. It is also clear that pragmatism is paramount as political, economic and social conditions have changed. The study reveals a large although fluctuating demand for foreign workers throughout the period. It shows a continuing flow from European sources within a geographically expanding international migration field. The incoming labour has been occupationally diverse with a dichotomy between generally highly skilled flows through the work permit system and lower skilled flows through the various special schemes.

It is important to understand that the period was one of substantial political and economic turbulence which drove labour immigration policy. The growing volume and complexity of movement reflect the changing international context, most notably with economic, social and cultural globalisation. For the UK major political shifts include:

- the retreat from empire, the changing migration link with the Commonwealth and joining EFTA and the EU;
- the changing international division of labour led employers to respond in new ways to the recruitment and mobilisation of labour, including the development of corporate internal labour markets which involved new accommodations between employers and governments to allow an international cadre of executives and specialists to develop;
- changing manufacturing processes and the rise of a differentiated service economy reduced demands for some skills, while creating new ones;
- domestic population concerns about immigration generally and especially the consequent pressures, both real and perceived, were also instrumental in driving labour immigration policy in the direction of managed control;
- the reluctance of the domestic workforce in the UK and elsewhere to take on low skilled jobs with few prospects, low pay, unsocial hours and often temporary led to vacancies that came to be filled through special schemes;
- growing international competition for skills meant that the UK could not act in isolation but must take account of developments elsewhere.

As the UK moves uncertainly towards a new immigration regime in light of exit from the EU, attention is increasingly focused on border management and on labour migration. Withdrawal from the EU poses new issues for this management system. The assumption is that the common travel area with Ireland will continue, allowing Irish citizens to participate in the labour market as in the past. Cessation of free movement with the rest of the EEA requires the inclusion of EEA citizens in an extended form of the points based system (PBS) currently applying to non-EEA citizens. What is clear is that since 1945 the UK has benefited from a steady flow of workers at all skill levels from Europe, most of the sources now being members of the EEA. Restriction on those flows will create a

vacuum not easily filled from elsewhere; in any case, without the ease of free movement and equality of EU citizenship it is less likely that member nationals would wish to come and work in the UK.

Any new system has to find a way to include the hitherto free movement regime for citizens of former partner states along with those from outside the EEA while maintaining free movement with the Irish Republic. The system must also take account of ways in which the globalisation of economic activity, particularly through corporate activity and the widespread international competition for high level skills, impinges upon the UK government's ability to manage movement. While most political discussion focuses on creating a skills-based migration management system, much evidence points to a continuing demand for lower level skills, many of them temporary in nature, as in the hospitality and agricultural sectors.

The information presented here is based largely on the lead author's 35 years as the UK's Correspondent to the OECD's SOPEMI committee, a co-operative venture between that organisation and the relevant UK government departments which provided data¹ and policy information. The paper also draws upon a series of project reports produced for the Department of Employment and the Home Office by the Migration Research Unit at UCL.

¹ Many of the data were unpublished management statistics, provided by the Department of Employment and the Home Office for the purposes of the SOPEMI reports.

2. THE MAIN WORK PERMIT SCHEME: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Post-war developments

Restrictions on foreigners seeking work in Britain were first introduced during World War 1. In 1919-20 a system of work permits was brought in which laid down conditions to regulate the employment of foreigners. To obtain permits, employers had to show that the proposed employment of a foreigner was reasonable and necessary, that adequate efforts had been made to find indigenous labour (the resident labour market test) and that wages and conditions were not less favourable than those accorded to British employees for similar work. These conditions remain broadly extant today.

No restrictions were imposed on immigration from the Empire and Commonwealth, or from the Irish Free State after its independence in 1923. Not until the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962, with the introduction of a voucher system, was labour immigration from the Commonwealth brought under some kind of control. Labour immigration from Ireland never has been although during World War II there were joint Irish-UK controls on travel between the countries but recruitment of Irish workers continued (Delaney, 2001).

Post-war reconstruction after 1945 created a demand for workers which was met both through the work permit system and a series of special schemes as well as migration from the Empire and Commonwealth. The attitude of successive Labour and Conservative governments was relatively relaxed providing that immigrants did not undercut the wages of the domestic population. During the 1950s the Conservative government grew more concerned however, about the openness of the UK to immigration from the Empire and Commonwealth and moves began towards greater restriction of entry. The introduction of a voucher scheme for Commonwealth citizens in the 1960s heralded a change in the flow of labour immigration although the number of work permits issued continued to rise (Figure 1).

The entry of the UK into the European Economic Community (EEC) brought a fundamental change. From January 1st 1972 work permits for jobs in industry and commerce were not issued for unskilled and semi-skilled foreign workers from countries outside the EEC, Denmark and Norway (the last at the time was expected to join the EEC). The only exception was the hotel and catering industry where a reduction in numbers was brought about in stages by means of a quota system. The 1971 Immigration Act of the new Conservative government further tightened controls. Under this Act work permits for Commonwealth citizens were issued on the same basis as for foreigners from non-EEC countries. For a permit to be issued an overseas worker now had to have both a specific job to come to and a skill or qualification that was needed. A work permit was granted to a specific employer for a named person for a specific job through the main scheme.

2.2 Reviews of the work permit scheme

In the following decades, there were three major reviews of the scheme by the Overseas Labour Service, part of the Department of Employment, and responsible for the work permit system in the early 1980s, late 1990s and turn of the century. These took place within the context of overall immigration policy which, under Conservative governments, was to reduce numbers entering and keep net immigration low or negative.

First, with the aim of improving management efficiency, the 1981 review (Department of Employment, Rayner Report, 1981) examined the operation of the component parts of the scheme: Main scheme; Training and Work Experience Scheme (TWES); Working Holiday makers and Permit-free occupations. It took place against a background of economic recession and high and rising unemployment. Its focus was on administrative costs and how they may be alleviated, but only minor operational amendments resulted. These included better working rules to distinguish cases deserving exemption from the resident labour search requirement and guidelines on appropriate skill thresholds for occupations most commonly requested, in banking and finance in the growing business services sector. Other amendments related to pay levels: for example, TWES workers were now admitted only to jobs paid above a set minimum. Some flexibility was introduced: those coming to work for up to three years were given a permit for the full period he/she intended to stay rather than having to go back for renewal; similarly, a person with a work permit could now be promoted, thus in theory changing occupation without requiring Department of Employment approval. There was also an attempt to transfer processing costs to the employer, through a charge on each application made, but the necessary legislation was not passed.

An improving economy during the later 1980s saw policy shifting from employment protection towards encouragement of an enterprise economy. There were both political and economic reasons for this. The need for better training had led to the Industrial Training Act in 1964 with the creation of nine industrial training boards. Variable performance led to their abolition in 1981. Investment in training in the private sector remained poor, leading to more competition for available skills and greater mobility of labour, both internally and internationally. At the same time there was a shift away from manufacturing and towards the service sector, much of which functioned globally. In the City the 'Big Bang' led to a surge in applications for work permits in financial occupations. Increased international competition for skills led to more flexibility and greater mobility in the labour market became. The work permit system was seen as imposing barriers and costs on some companies for which it was advantageous to employ foreign labour. Government policy to deregulate the labour market and to give employers more flexibility, combined with pressure from employers, led to calls for a quicker, more responsive work permit system.

A second internal review in 1989 led to substantial changes to the main scheme from October 1991 (Department of Employment, 1989). As part of the review, one study carried out for the Department of Employment in the late 1980s examined four sectors: finance; health; engineering; and hotels/catering (Salt, 1989). It found that many firms

still thought little about foreign labour recruitment beyond their internal policies of career development and intra-company transfer (ICT). Use of the work permit system varied, with some companies, mainly large and operating internationally, heavily involved; others, servicing national markets, and also small and medium sized ones, hardly at all. Success rates, measured in approved applications to the Overseas Labour Service, varied around the average of 79 per cent. Significantly, companies making heavy use of the system for ICTs – notably in the finance sector – had the highest success rates (89 per cent).

As a result of the review a two-tier system for processing applications was introduced in 1991. Those clearly meriting approval and satisfying existing occupational skills criteria were to be dealt with under a simplified procedure in ‘Tier 1’. The occupations involved were largely senior management roles and those suffering skills shortages. Other applications, in ‘Tier 2’, continued to need fuller justification for appointing an overseas candidate. Amongst other changes, a new category of ‘Keyworker’ was introduced to allow for high-level, specialised, language (such as translators) and cultural skills. The overall thrust of these changes was to simplify entry for highly skilled and senior people, particularly corporate transferees.

The work permits scheme, which had expanded rapidly in the late 1980s, saw reduced numbers in the early 1990s as the Conservative government committed to keeping immigration low – “to the irreducible minimum”. At this time also rising unemployment reduced labour demand. Unfortunately, there are major incompatibilities in statistics relating to the scheme pre-1995, resulting from changes in methods and techniques in data collection and presentation. Prior to 1978 data were presented on the basis of the Standard Industrial Classification. After that the Standard Occupational Classification was used. Changes in the way that work permit applications and issues are recorded meant that data for the periods before and after 1997 needed to be treated separately, although the two systems overlapped 1994-97.

The new Labour government elected in 1997 had a more expansive view of labour immigration management than its predecessor. Growing international competition for skills, particularly from North America, Australasia and elsewhere in Europe, led to further consideration of the competitiveness of the UK economy. The UK labour market for overseas workers was opened up in order to increase the availability of skills. With the intention of better administrative targeting, in 1998 new classifications were introduced in addition to the main scheme:

- In country extension: application from an employer who wished to extend the employment of an individual currently working for them in the UK;
- In country change of employment: application from employer who wished to employ an individual already in the UK who originally entered with a work permit for a different employer;
- In country technical change: applications from employers wishing to engage an individual in other work for the same employer;
- In country supplementary employment: applications from employers wishing to employ

an individual during a period covered by another employer's work permit. The agreement of the current employer was sought by the Overseas Labour Service first;

- Work permit extension: extension applications from employers to extend the employment of an individual who was out of the UK at the time the application was considered.

A third internal review of the work permit arrangements followed, between November 1999 and February 2000. It was initiated by Ministers in response to a number of factors, including the need to achieve greater efficiencies the volume of applications rose. Recent and forecast changes in the dynamics of domestic and international labour markets were also recognised, especially skill shortages in certain sectors such as Information Technology, Communications and Electronics (ITCE). The immigration minister at the time (Barbara Roche) voiced the need for the UK to be more responsive to globalisation trends and the potential benefits to the UK of adapting to the new economic environment. Being able to attract the brightest and best talents was deemed essential for international competitiveness. The review involved discussion with a range of stakeholders and resulted in the implementation of a simpler, more transparent and cost efficient system, more flexible and responsive to employers' needs and requirements. In addition, keyworkers with particular skills were incorporated into the main scheme. The Overseas Labour Service became Work Permits (UK).

The main conclusion of the review was that work permit arrangements would continue to be labour market driven. Specific changes were:

- Department for Education and Employment² and Department for Trade and Industry would continue to work together on identifying shortages in the Information Technology, Communications and Electronics (ITCE) sector;
- Skills shortages would be established more quickly and effectively through a rolling programme of sector analysis and consultation;
- The work permit skills criteria would be revised to accommodate skill shortages;
- The criteria for hotel and catering posts would be revised as part of a wider review of the current Keyworker category;
- A scheme to allow multi-national employers to self-certify rather than apply for a work permit for employees on intra company transfers, was to be piloted to assess whether there were benefits to be gained;
- The requirement for a labour market test for extension and change of employment applications for existing work permit holders was removed;
- The need for permits for supplementary work was abolished;
- The maximum period for which a work permit could be issued was raised from four to five years;
- "Season tickets" for workers coming for short periods on a regular basis was introduced;
- A quota-based scheme was to be piloted to assess whether there were benefits to be gained from allowing people of outstanding ability to apply on their own behalf for entry clearance to seek work in the UK;
- The work permit arrangements for entertainers were to be redesigned.

² Created from the merger of the Department of Employment and that of Education in 1995.

A major consequence of these changes was that the turnaround time for applications became a matter of days rather than weeks, giving the UK a competitive edge over other countries where permissions took longer. Another significant development from the review was the establishment of Sector Panels, run by Work Permits (UK) and including employer and trade union representatives. The task of these Panels was to review the labour market conditions in their respective economic sectors and to monitor the degree and nature of skill shortages and make appropriate recommendations.

After the 2001 general election, Work Permits (UK) was transferred from the Department for Education and Skills³ to the Home Office. This was to integrate the work permit system more closely with other migration systems such as immigration control and UK Visas. It also heralded the creation of a set of additional schemes, meaning that the UK was now embarked on a micro-management of migration more characteristic of the New World than Europe. What was not clear was how these schemes were to be co-ordinated. Furthermore, these developments occurred in the context of an expanding demand at both ends of the skills spectrum.

2.3 Towards a points based system

By 2005, the introduction of new and the development of existing schemes in the years before had led to a situation in which the need for better integration of the various components of labour immigration policy had become apparent. The existing system was felt by government to be too complex, bureaucratic, subjective, lacked transparency and with limited action taken to curb abuses by sponsors. The government aimed to increase the number of highly productive and highly skilled workers in the UK, fill short term shortages and gaps in the labour market and increase UK exports (e.g. by increasing innovativeness, productivity and efficiency among UK firms and by students spending money on UK goods and services). At the same time, it wanted to improve public confidence in the system of control, prevent those who did not meet the criteria from getting to the UK and ensure that those who were not entitled to be in the country left. For labour migrants the intention was to move away from the current two-step process where an employer obtained a work permit and then the individual worker applied for entry or stay clearance. Work permits would be abolished and the only role for the employer would be the interview/job offer process and to assure the Home Office's Immigration and Nationality Department that it had a UK base.

The essence of the proposal was to move from the existing two-tier work permit system plus the other entry schemes (Working Holiday Makers, Sector Based Scheme, Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme, Highly Skilled Migrant Programme – see p11) to an all-encompassing five tiers which reflected the purposes of different migrants in coming to the UK. Management would be through a points based system (PBS).

³ This took over from the Department of Education and Employment in 2001.

These were:

- *Tier 1*: Highly skilled individuals to contribute to growth and productivity. This was the existing HSMP.
- *Tier 2*: Skilled workers with a job offer and workers to meet specific requirements where an overseas national was necessary. This comprised the two current tiers of the work permit system.
- *Tier 3*: Limited numbers of workers to fill low skill shortages.
- *Tier 4*: Students: increasing exports and improving the education sector (through overseas fees) for the UK.
- *Tier 5*: Other temporary categories: visiting workers, selected development schemes and youth mobility/cultural exchange.

It was proposed that Tiers 1 and 2 would have a route to permanent residence subject to meeting five years' residence and other requirements. The others would not do so. In some cases, for instance students graduating and finding work in a shortage area, people on the Fresh Talent: Working in Scotland scheme, or post-doctoral researchers, individuals were allowed to move quickly into Tiers 1 or 2 and thus have a route to permanence. Migrants would have different entitlements according to tier: for example, to work with or without restriction; or to be joined by their immediate family. The tier of entry or stay also affected the possible contribution of a sponsor to making the system work. Tier 3 was not introduced on the understanding that Bulgarians and Romanians, during their transition period after entry to the EU, would fill any lower skilled vacancies.

In 2008 the work permit system was replaced by Tier 2 of the new Points Based System (PBS). Whereas a work permit was issued to an employer for a specific job, a Tier 2 visa was given to a foreign worker, subject to certain conditions. The worker must have a job offer, an appropriate salary and the required level of English. In order to recruit a worker the employer must possess a Certificate of Sponsorship (CoS) issued by the government, the number of certificates subject to an annual quota, currently 20,700, split into monthly limits.

At the same time the then Labour Government set up an autonomous Migration Advisory Committee (MAC) of economists. Their task was to review labour shortages and make regular reports and recommendations to the Home Secretary, notably about additions to and removals from the occupational shortage lists. With the election of the Coalition government in 2010 the remit of the MAC was continued. The committee has been asked by successive Home Secretaries periodically to carry out special studies of certain labour market sectors and groups, for example seasonal workers, Bulgarians and Romanians and students. In addition to data and trend analysis the MAC has carried out a series of consultations with a range of stakeholders, most notably employing organisations. It has become an integral part of immigration policy construction, its recommendations for the most part being accepted.

Parallel to the MAC a Migration Impacts Forum was established in 2008, consisting of local authority representatives and others to review the social aspects of immigration. Its role was to assess the wider, more qualitative, social implications of immigration in local regions and to help ensure that public services, such as housing, education, health and social care could respond to new demands arising from migration. When the Coalition Government came to power in 2010, the MIF was abolished. Hence labour market policy advice became mainly demand led without systematic analysis of the consequences for housing, education provision and infrastructural provision.

Following the election of a Coalition Government in 2010 the main elements of Tier 1 – the old HSMP and the Post-Study Work Route for international students - were abolished over the next two years, leaving Tier 1 to be mainly the domain of relatively small numbers of entrepreneurs and investors. Changes to the Tier 2 PBS after 2010 were largely confined to minor adjustments, mainly in relation to monthly and annual quotas, changes in salary levels and modifications to the shortage list. Most of these were responses to recommendations by the Migration Advisory Committee.

In anticipation of Brexit, in December 2018 the Conservative government announced that the future labour management system would apply in the same way to all nationalities – EU and non-EU citizens alike – except where there were objective grounds to differentiate: for example, in the context of a trade agreement, or on the basis of risk. Skilled migrants would be prioritised and current “GATS Mode 4” commitments, which cover independent professionals, contractual service suppliers, intra-company transfers and business visitors would continue. There would be no cap on the numbers of skilled workers and the route would include workers with intermediate level skills, at RQF 3-5 level (A level or equivalent) as well as graduate and post-graduate. A minimum salary threshold would be set after consultation and employers would no longer need to carry out a resident labour market test as a condition of sponsoring a worker. As a transitional measure, a time-limited route for temporary short-term workers would be established, allowing people to come for a maximum of 12 months, with a cooling-off period of a further 12 months to prevent people effectively working in the UK permanently.

In anticipation of the end of the Brexit transition period in December 2020, the MAC was commissioned to review the role of the PBS and comment on the design of future salary thresholds. Their report was published in January 2020.

3. THE WORK PERMIT SCHEME: MAIN TRENDS

The main government vehicle for managing labour immigration from countries outside free movement systems, i.e. Irish, Commonwealth countries prior to 1962 and 1971, EC/EU after 1973, has been the work permit system. This section analyses the main trends in work permit and PBS issues over the period in light of the evolution of the system described in the last section.

3.1 Data availability and quality

There is no single source of data that encompasses the whole period since WW2. A range of sources has been used here, some unpublished. For much of the period up to the 1960s only total numbers of annual permit issues were published in the Ministry of Labour Gazette and then not every year. Details of the main industries/occupations and nationalities were provided. The first comprehensive overview was in the 1977 project report by the Unit for Manpower studies (Department of Employment, 1977) which provided detail by occupation, industry and nationality for some early years, although there are gaps when only total issues were published. The MoL/Department of Employment Gazette provided more detailed data during the 1970s but publication of tables recording applications and issues ceased in the early 1980s. For the mid-1980s to the present the main source used here is the set of published and unpublished tables provided for the UK annual SOPEMI report to the OECD on international migration. The data were derived from the government's migration management database⁴. Additional data were provided to the MRU for a series of analyses of trends carried out on behalf of the Department of Employment and the Home Office (Dobson et al., 2001; Mc Laughlan and Salt, 2002; Clarke and Salt, 2003).

The quality of the data is variable. The occupational categories in the published data varied over the years. For the most part they are derived from caseworker files and until relatively recently are not always consistent, for example, the number by occupation does not always correspond exactly to those by industry or nationality. The main reason for this seems to be that because the data were largely unpublished and the number relatively small there was no great public or research interest in accuracy. Unless otherwise specified, the analysis here refers to numbers of work permits and first permissions and excludes changes of employment, extensions and TWES applications and issues. These were chosen because they include only new immigrant workers and therefore measure the increment to the total foreign workforce. The focus is long-term (over one year) issues. However, the distinction between long- and short-term is not always clear for earlier years in the data.

In the tables and graphs which follow data are presented for selected years to reduce the potential large volume of statistics. The objective is to identify the main trends. Broadly we include every fourth year although variations occur owing to data availability. While some annual nuances may be missed, the frequency of data here is sufficient for the purpose. In certain cases the inclusion reflects dates of particular events, for example

⁴ It is difficult to access many of the data today because they were originally held on computerised systems now outdated.

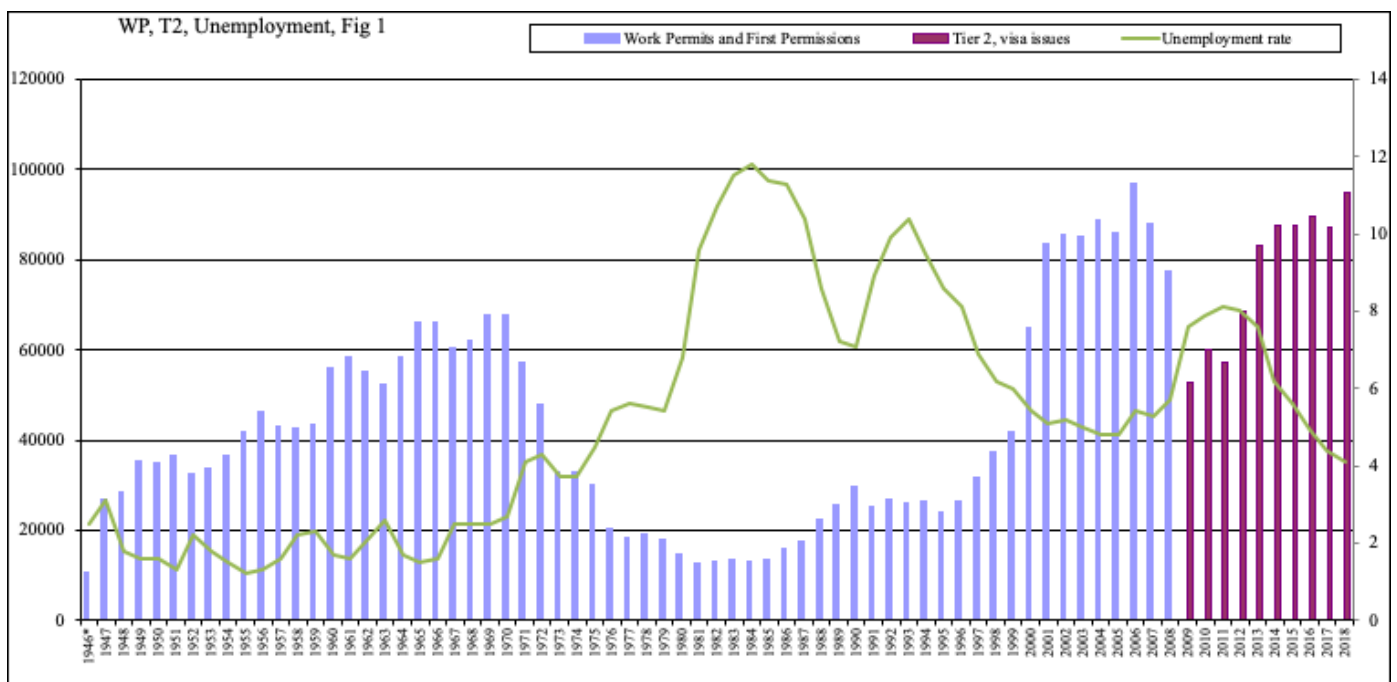
around the time of EU enlargement. Frequency of year increases in more recent years, partly because of better data availability and partly because of greater pertinence of this period in view of political developments including Brexit.

3.2 The big picture

The story of work permit issues between the Second World War and the present has been something of a roller-coaster (Figure 1). The management of labour immigration into the UK falls into three main stages. After the Second World War there was a long term rise in the number of work permits issued, with minor fluctuations until a peak in 1969-70. Thereafter, numbers fell sharply in the early 1980s with workers from EC member states allowed free entry and numbers more or less plateaued until 1995. A sharp rise followed as the economy improved, then after 1997 the new Labour government encouraged skilled immigration. Numbers peaked in 2006 before a steep fall in 2009 as the recession hit. This was also when the old work permit system ended and the PBS began. It is not possible to compare directly work permit numbers with the Tier 2 equivalent because of differences between the two systems. Since the administrative change coincided with a major economic recession it is unclear where the main responsibility for the dip lay. In the period of recovery from the 2008-9 recession the points based system served to maintain a high level of managed non-EU labour immigration.

Evidence from the labour market can indicate the sensitivity of managed labour immigration to economic conditions. Comparison with unemployment rates over the period shows a statistically significant inverse relationship ($r^2 = -0.332$) with immigration (Figure 1). As might be expected from buffer theory (Bohning, 1972; Dobson, Latham and Salt, 2009), when unemployment has been low the UK economy has brought in foreign labour; the converse is true at times when unemployment has been high.

Figure 1 – WP and Unemployment rate, 1946 – 2018



3.3 The early years 1940s-1960s

3.3.1 Nationality

The need to rebuild Europe's shattered economy after 1945 led to labour shortages in a number of countries, including the UK. Between 1945 and 1950 about 170,000 displaced citizens from Eastern Europe were placed into employment; in addition, another 136,000 foreigners with work permits, mostly from Western Europe, came in during this period (Department of Employment, 1977).

Work permit issues were dominated by North-West European sources as the 'bumps graph'⁵ (Figure 2) shows. Countries are ranked by the number of permits granted to their nationals at the dates indicated. People from Ireland and the Commonwealth were able to move freely to the UK to work and did not require permits. In essence, the supply of labour was predominantly European with only US citizens from further afield. The pattern of rankings throughout the period was relatively stable, suggesting a chain effect as the same national sources were tapped year after year. The main shifts were the rise in number from Spain and to a lesser extent from Portugal and the fall in Austrians, Swedes and Swiss. Post-war growth and associated labour demand in the last two occurred soon after the war, their economies being less affected by hostilities so there were more domestic job opportunities.

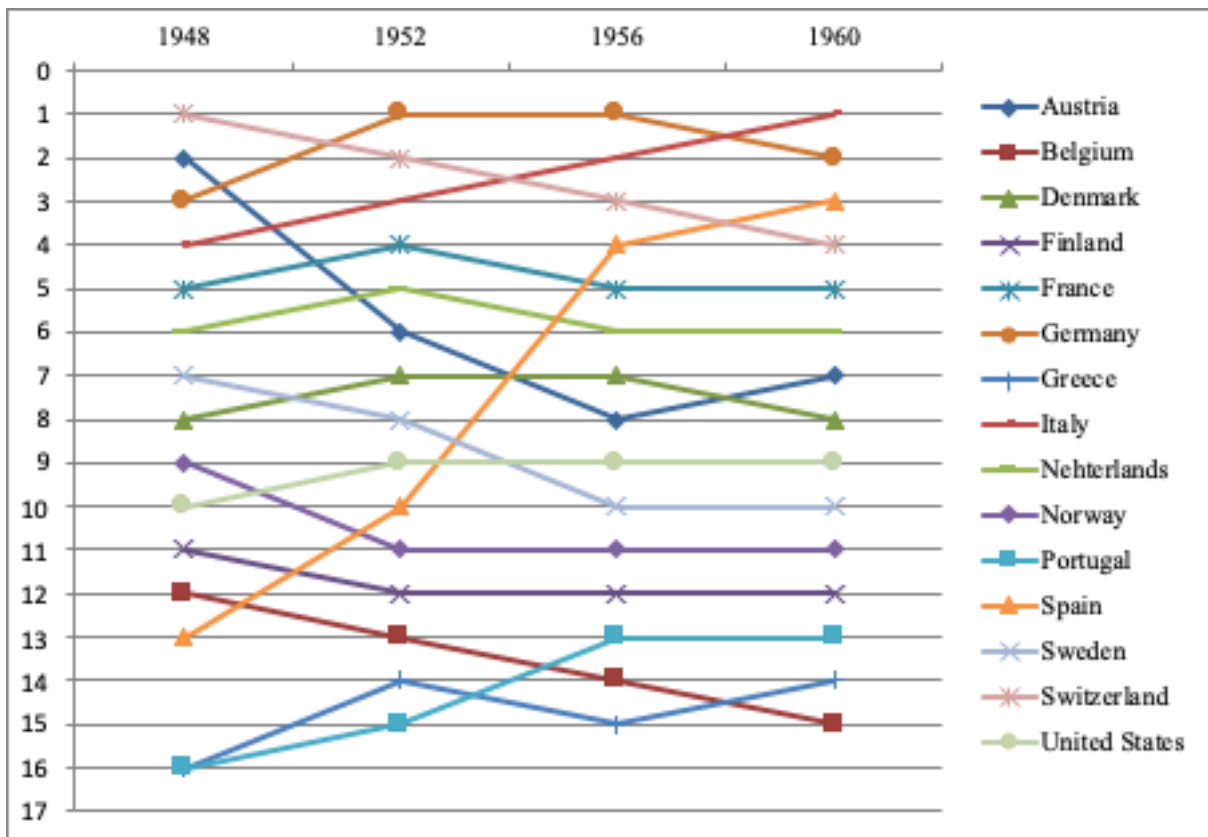
The nationality graphs are derived from Appendix 1 which contains the full dataset by nationality. Because of the volume of annual data, statistics for approximately every four years are included, depending on availability. For more recent years the data frequency is greater.

3.3.2 Industry and occupation

Most work permits went to unskilled and semi-skilled workers. During the 1950s the largest category was domestic service in private households, hospitals, nursing homes, schools and other institutions which accounted for almost two-thirds in 1948 and still half in 1956 (Table 1). Artists and entertainers were another important category before 1956. Those working in hotels and restaurants were mainly seasonal and expected to return to their home countries at the end of summer. The number employed in industry and commerce grew over the period. In a foretaste of things to come a growing number of permits were granted for nurses, rising from around 700 in 1948 to 2,500 in 1956, although thereafter the trend levelled off as domestic numbers increased. Students were an important group in several sectors. They were given permission to work in British firms to widen their experience and improve their knowledge of the English language, while being employed in a supernumerary capacity for a maximum period of 12 months after which they had to return home. Subsequently, the Training and Work Experience scheme (TWES) formalised this form of movement.

⁵ These show the changes in hierarchical position from one time point to another. Where a country 'disappears' from the graph it means either that it dropped out of the top 20 or there were no data available for that time.

Figure 2 – Nationality, 1948 – 1960



3.4 1960s - early 70s

3.4.1 Nationality

This period was characterised by both stability at the top of the ranking table and change below (Figure 3). It was also a time when rising UK unemployment coincided with economic rapid growth in some of the main sending countries which had the effect of increasing wages there and turning them into net migrant receiving countries. Six countries, USA, Spain, France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland occupied the top positions throughout, the main trends among them being the growing importance of the USA and the decline in Italy's position. Others becoming less important were the richer north-west European countries, notably Austria, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark and Norway. Portugal and Japan rose strongly but for different reasons: the former for relatively low skilled workers the latter for more skilled workers associated with a growing corporate role. Numbers of Finns and South Africans also rose. New arrivals in 1968 were Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, probably a response to political change in the form of encouraged emigration from the former and the consequence of the Soviet invasion after the Prague Spring in the latter case.

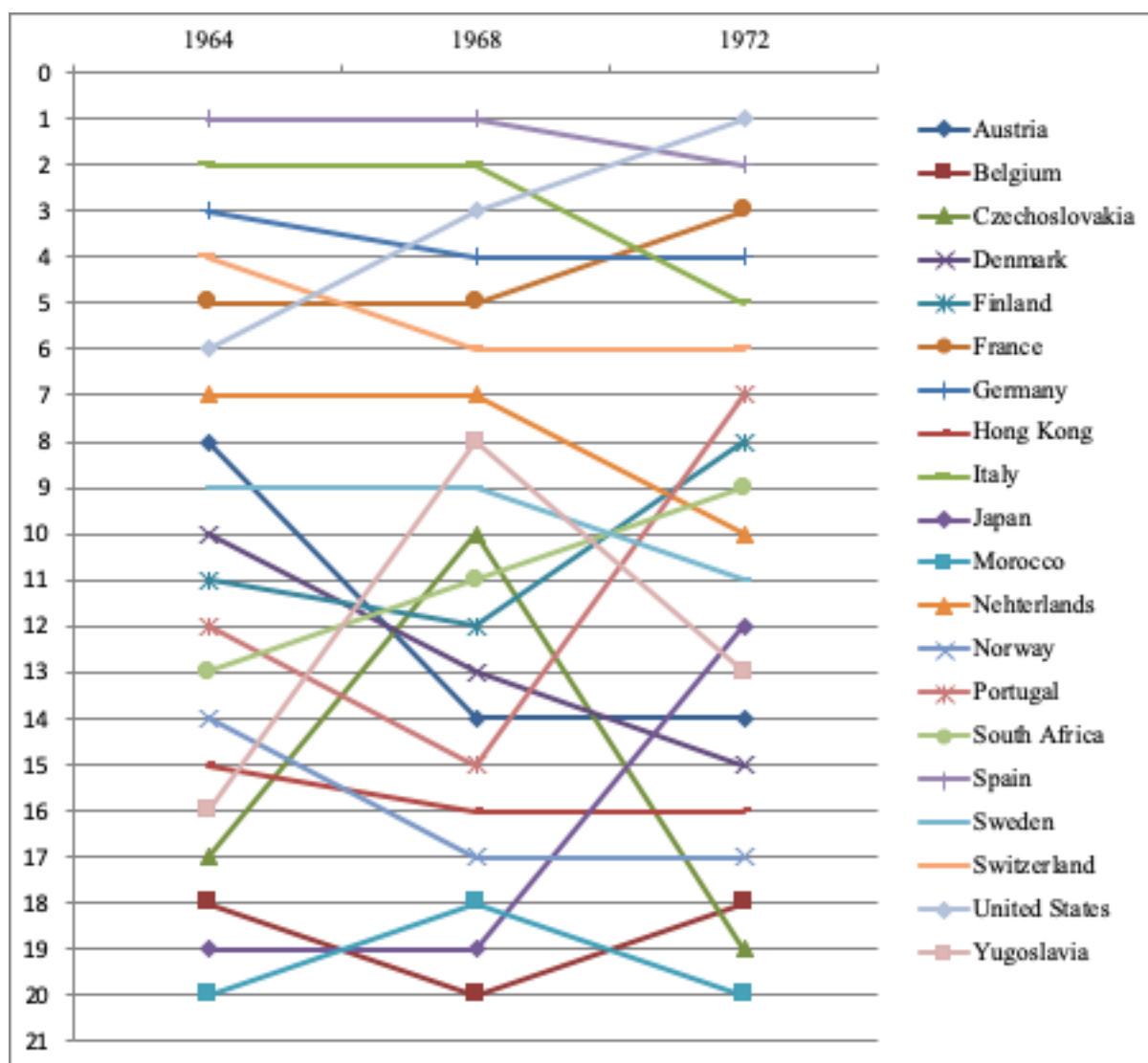
Table 1 – Work permits and first permissions by occupation, 1948 – 1972

Occupational group	Numbers					
	1948	1952	1956	1964	1968	1972
<i>Domestic Service</i>				14783	10003	8077
Private households	18371	17014	22828			
Hospitals, etc.	299	680				
Schools & colleges	524	915				
Miscellaneous institutions	201	351				
<i>Concert, stage, variety, etc.</i>				5628	6719	7625
Artists & musicians	2460	3566	4826			
Entertainers (misc.)	263	424				
<i>Industry & commerce</i>			6037	13960	16281	11720
Student employees	1788	3181	5137			
Others	2207	2408				
Teachers (mainly foreign languages)	799	932	1025			
<i>Hotels & restaurants</i>			3343	3530	4307	
Student employees	203	231	253			
Others	439	802				
Nurses	697	1881	2535	2809	2581	2597
Film technicians	17	44	25			
<i>Miscellaneous</i>				7511	7452	5296
Student employees	33	17		647		
Others	159	186	108			
TOTAL	28460	32632	46117	58338	62267	48000
Others (1)	2746	3015	4016			
	Per cent					
	1948	1952	1956	1964	1968	1972
<i>Domestic Service</i>				25.3	16.1	16.8
Private households	64.6	52.1	49.5			
Hospitals, etc.	1.1	2.1				
Schools & colleges	1.8	2.8				
Miscellaneous institutions	0.7	1.1				
<i>Concert, stage, variety, etc.</i>				9.6	10.8	15.9
Artists & musicians	8.6	10.9	10.5			
Entertainers (misc.)	0.9	1.3				
<i>Industry & commerce</i>			13.1	23.9	26.1	24.4
Student employees	6.3	9.7	11.1			
Others	7.8	7.4				
Teachers (mainly foreign languages)	2.8	2.9	2.2			
<i>Hotels & restaurants</i>			7.2	6.1	6.9	
Student employees	0.7	0.7	0.5			
Others	1.5	2.5				
Nurses	2.4	5.8	5.5	4.8	4.1	5.4
Film technicians	0.1	0.1	0.1			
<i>Miscellaneous</i>				12.9	12.0	11.0
Student employees	0.1	0.1				
Others	0.6	0.6	0.2			
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Notes:

1. Permissions issued to persons who had been admitted as visitors or students (not included in TOTAL)
2. Source for the years in italics is Employment and Productivity Gazette

Figure 3 – Nationality, 1964 – 1972



3.4.2 Industry and occupation

During the 1960s and into 1972 fewer occupational details were published. Domestic service remained an important group but numbers fell, the proportion of the total from a quarter in 1964 to 16.8 per cent in 1972. Although the number in industry and commerce declined, the proportion remained stable, around a quarter of the total. Nurses continued to be a significant group throughout. Artists, musicians and entertainers continued to be important, rising to 15.9 per cent of the total in 1972.

Overall, the 1960s and 1970s was a period of change in the role of the work permit system. After the post-war rises, numbers began to fall. Although they were still important, there was a declining emphasis on permits for the less skilled. Statistics by industrial sector for the period 1960-72 (Table 2), derived from Department of Employment (1977), show the beginning of the shift in the economic balance away from manufacturing and into service industries more generally that characterised later periods. Among the major sectors there were only minor fluctuations in their relative importance (Figure 4).

Table 2 – Total permits issued and permissions granted to aliens in industry/occupation 1960 – 1976

	Numbers				
	1960	1964	1968	1972	1976
Agriculture/mining, etc.	1524	1119	1002	536	742
Food, etc.	156	487	878	199	310
Coal, chemicals, etc.	364	646	806	509	350
Metals, engineering, vehicles, etc.	1318	2009	2266	1246	1378
Textiles, leather, clothing, etc.	1313	969	777	299	143
Bricks, timber, paper & other manufacturing	740	1250	871	377	279
Constructions & public utilities	332	633	895	547	223
Transport, etc.	421	588	686	595	467
Distribution	1007	1810	2461	1614	1061
Business & professional services	2354	2496	3067	4925	6642
Miscellaneous services & public administration	1345	1953	2572	873	550
Hotel & catering	6769	13000	19231	12685	5087
Entertainment	5142	5628	6719	7625	6031
Domestics	23350	14783	10003	8077	1147
Nurses	2454	2809	2581	2597	-
Total (excluding student employees)	48589	50180	54815	42704	24410
Student employees	7544	8158	7452	5296	-
	Per cent				
	1960	1964	1968	1972	1976
Agriculture/mining, etc.	3.1	2.2	1.8	1.3	3.0
Food, etc	0.3	1.0	1.6	0.5	1.3
Coal, chemicals, etc	0.7	1.3	1.5	1.2	1.4
Metals, engineering, vehicles, etc	2.7	4.0	4.1	2.9	5.6
Textiles, leather, clothing, etc	2.7	1.9	1.4	0.7	0.6
Bricks, timber, paper & other manufacturing	1.5	2.5	1.6	0.9	1.1
Constructions & public utilities	0.7	1.3	1.6	1.3	0.9
Transport, etc	0.9	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.9
Distribution	2.1	3.6	4.5	3.8	4.3
Business & professional services	4.8	5.0	5.6	11.5	27.2
Miscellaneous services & public administration	2.8	3.9	4.7	2.0	2.3
Hotel & catering	13.9	25.9	35.1	29.7	20.8
Entertainment	10.6	11.2	12.3	17.9	24.7
Domestics	48.1	29.5	18.2	18.9	4.7
Nurses	5.1	5.6	4.7	6.1	-
Total (excluding student employees)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Notes:

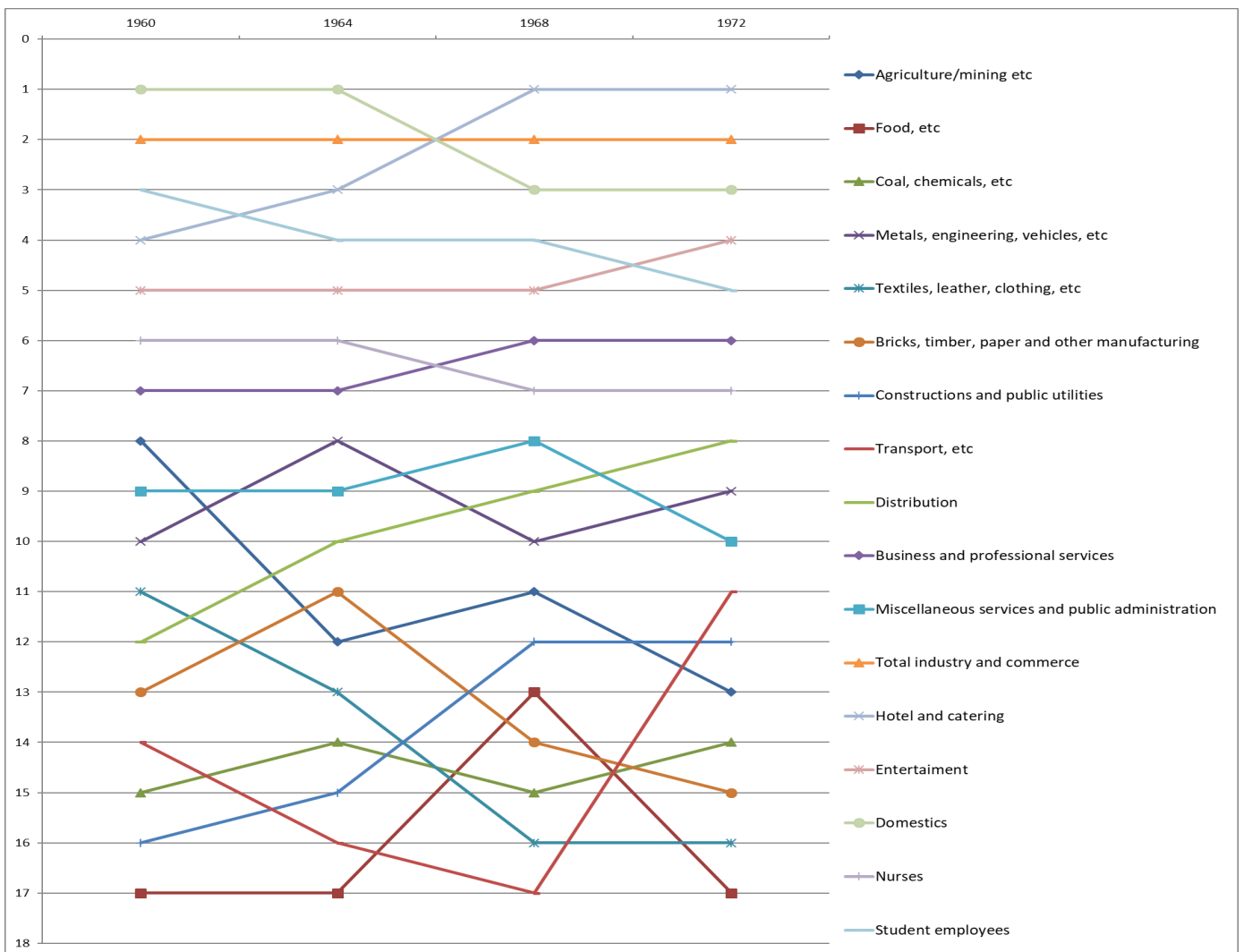
Long term and short term permits and permissions.

Data in italics are taken from Department of Employment Gazette.

Source is Department of Employment table B7 total number records only those where data available by sector.

The textile and bricks etc. sectors gave most ground, with transport and construction gaining. Domestic service numbers and proportions fell rapidly, while hotels and catering doubled and entertainment also increased sharply: these three sectors accounted for 72.6 per cent of the total in 1960, falling to 66.5 per cent in 1972. Business and professional services was a major growth sector, rising from four to nine per cent of the total. Data for 1976 are not directly comparable with the previous years because of a classification change and because, after 1973, EU citizens no longer required work permits and were thus free to take lower skilled jobs if they wished. This may partly explain the fall in permits for domestic services. The continuing growth in business and professional services to over a quarter of the total is a reflection of a selection process that favoured more highly skilled foreign workers.

Figure 4 – Industry, 1960 – 1972



3.5 1970s-1990s

The increase in numbers of long-term work permits in the 1990s was consistent with an increased demand for skills as the UK economy emerged strongly from recession and went into a period of sustained growth. The data suggest that deregulation in the UK labour market opened it up to labour from outside the EEA. The election of a Labour government in 1997 saw a change to a more positive approach towards the attraction of foreign skills. Hence it is important to analyse the breakdown of work permit issues by nationality, industry and occupation. Unfortunately, a long- and short-term breakdown for occupations and industries under the new system was not possible.

3.5.1 Nationality

The major change during this time resulted from the UK's accession to the EEC, triggering the free movement of labour. The work permit system therefore recorded a swing away from European sources to other parts of the world. During the 1980s total work permit numbers fell sharply as a result of government policy to restrict immigration levels, economic recession and free movement within the EC. Later EEC/EC joiners no longer needing work permits were Greece (1981), Spain, and Portugal (1986). Labour Force Survey data for the mid-1980s suggest around 9,000 EC workers (excluding those from the Irish Republic) entered the UK annually (Salt, 1989)⁶; for more details see section 5.2.

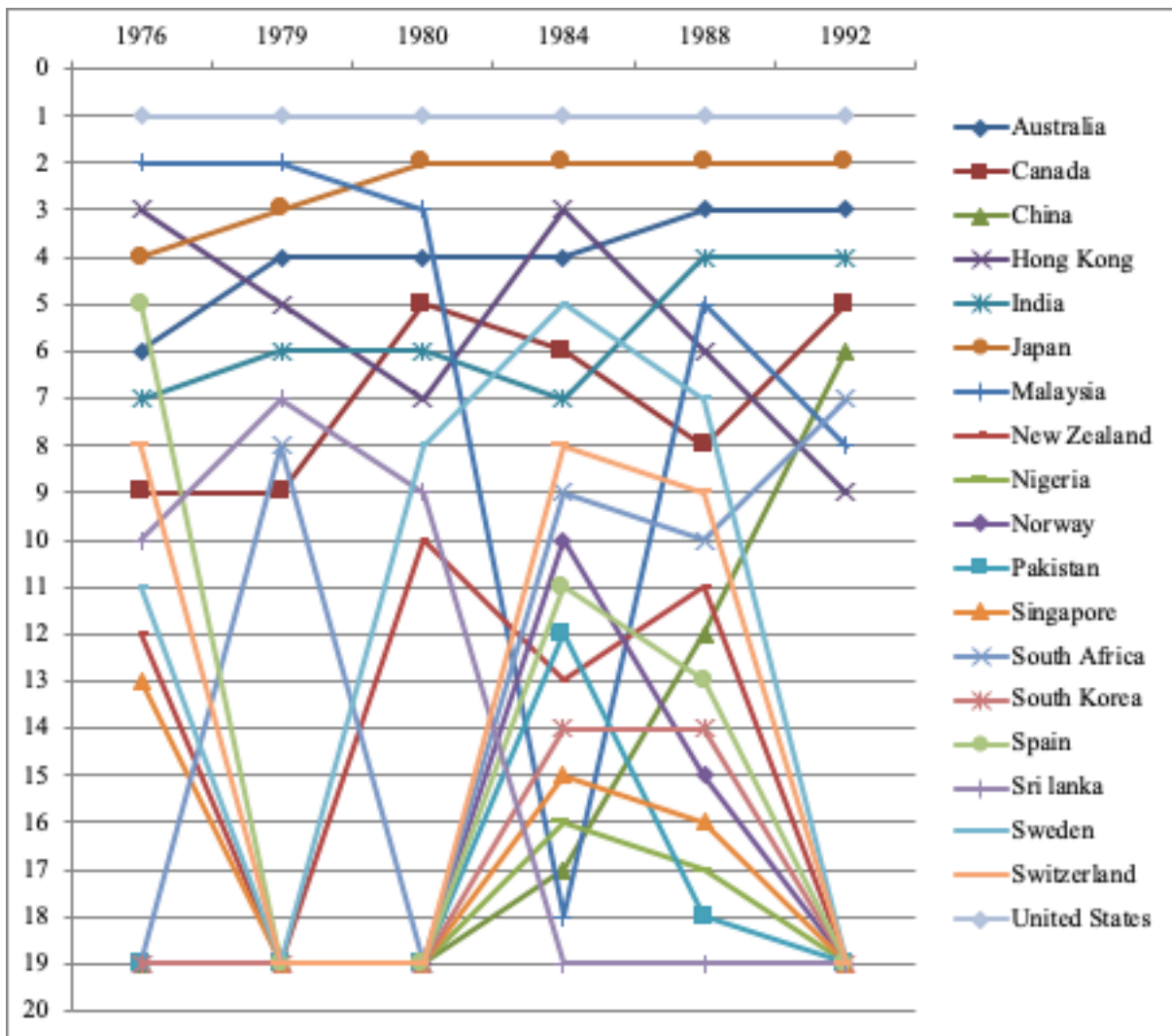
During this time the geographical pattern changed substantially (Figure 5). By 1976 the traditional sources in most of Western Europe had disappeared from the statistics; only the EFTA states continued to provide European labour through the work permit system. A new 'big four' emerged: USA, Japan, Australia and India. The main driver was the growth of trans-national corporations and their associated business services with movement responsive to client needs. The importance of Canada as a source also became apparent. The particular novelty at this time was migration from the Republic of China, first making its presence felt in the early 1980s before rising to sixth position by 1992.

3.5.2 Industrial group

Data for 1979 and through the 1980s used the CODOT classification by industry. Those for 1979 were published; later figures were not published but were made available from management statistics for the UK annual SOPEMI report to the OECD and are used here. In terms of relative importance, four sectors occupied the top positions throughout the 1980s and much of the 1990s, – professional services; insurance, banking and finance (IBF); miscellaneous services; and metal and engineering. This was a period during which the issue of work permits began to rise again. In essence they record the UK retreat from manufacturing and the growth of its service based economy.

⁶ Defined as living and working outside the UK a year before. The number is almost certainly an underestimate because it excludes short-term movers.

Figure 5 – Nationality, 1976 – 1992



During the 1980s and 1990s the industrial pattern of work permit issues was remarkably stable (Table 3). Short-term work permits were dominated by the miscellaneous services category (mainly entertainers and sportspeople), which accounted for around three-quarters of issues. Insurance, banking and finance (IBF), professional services and metal industries were the only other industrial groups to have over a thousand short-term work permits and first permissions. There is some evidence, however, of a shift in the distribution. After 1992 the dominance of miscellaneous services was slowly eroded, indicating a tendency for more short term mobility in other industries. This move reflected a new pattern of foreign recruitment and staff mobility across UK industries as large international companies changed their portfolios of mobility by combining their employee mobility types in different ways: for example by substituting short-term movement for long-term transfers (Millar and Salt, 2007; Salt, 2011).

Table 3 – Work permits and first permissions by industry, 1979 – 1996

Numbers

Long term (including TWES)	1979	1980	1984	1988	1992	1996
Mining, oil	406	473	661	547	507	490
Coal, chemicals	181	91	176	319	424	498
Metal industries	1107	832	1128	1769	1775	2681
Other manufacturing	273	180	212	453	468	482
Transport & communications	208	216	272	454	347	415
Distribution	693	697	526	410	316	274
Ins., banking, finance	1360	1305	1679	3037	3210	4230
Prof. & science	2905	2136	2133	3207	3732	4553
Misc. services	911	382	1190	2232	3349	5025
Others	232	111	120	291	303	357
Total	8276	6423	8097	12719	14431	19005

Per cent

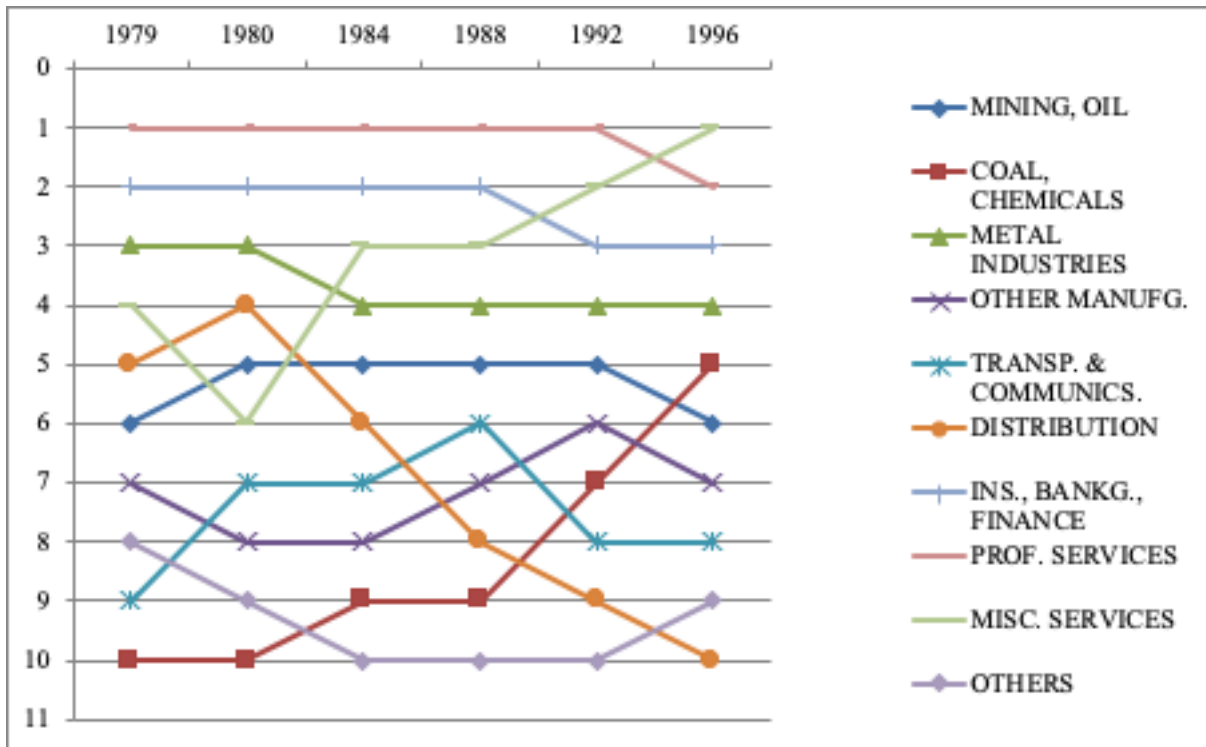
Long term (including TWES)	1979	1980	1984	1988	1992	1996
Mining, oil	4.9	7.4	8.2	4.3	3.5	2.6
Coal, chemicals	2.2	1.4	2.2	2.5	2.9	2.6
Metal industries	13.4	13.0	13.9	13.9	12.3	14.1
Other manufacturing	3.3	2.8	2.6	3.6	3.2	2.5
Transport & communications	2.5	3.4	3.4	3.6	2.4	2.2
Distribution	8.4	10.9	6.5	3.2	2.2	1.4
Ins., banking, finance	16.4	20.3	20.7	23.9	22.2	22.3
Prof. & science	35.1	33.3	26.3	25.2	25.9	24.0
Misc. services	11.0	5.9	14.7	17.5	23.2	26.4
Others	2.8	1.7	1.5	2.3	2.1	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Notes: 1976 mining includes agriculture

Long-term permits are economically the most significant for the labour market. Although the main pattern was of continuity and overall stability, there was already evidence of change (Figure 6). Three service industries dominated: IBF, professional services, and miscellaneous services. By 1996 the last category was the largest group. IBF, which peaked in 1988, probably in anticipation of financial deregulation in the City of London, levelled off at around 22 per cent during most of the 1990s. Professional services, which remained fairly stable during the 1980s, declined in 1996 to its lowest position for a decade. In the rest of the economy, only metal industries (including engineering), maintaining a relatively stable position, made any substantial use of overseas non-EU nationals. Among the other industries, the decline in mining/oil (which was mostly oil) was halted in 1996, but the proportionate decrease in distribution continued. Both of

these categories were reduced to almost negligible proportions after 1984. In contrast, coal/chemicals (which was almost all chemicals) rose in 1996, metal industries were fairly stable while other manufacturing fell.

Figure 6 – Industry, 1979 – 1996



3.5.2 Occupational group

The nature of some occupations means that they are to be found across industrial sectors: for example, most industries require IT specialists. In contrast others, such as health workers, are mainly concentrated in selected industries. Hence trends by industrial sector may not match those by occupations.

The occupational distribution of work permit issues, like the industrial breakdown, also remained remarkably stable over the period 1984-96 (Table 4). Around four-fifths of short-term permits were received by literary, artistic and sportspeople, highly skilled in their own right. Over the period their proportional significance declined, owing almost entirely to the rising importance of professional and managerial short-term permits. This group accounted for most of the remaining short-term permits and until 1996 showed a clear growth trend in both number and proportion, especially among those providing professional and managerial support. The rise was resumed in the following years, a likely result of the tendency for companies to bring in specialist expertise for short periods, perhaps on corporate transfers (see later). It may also reflect career development processes in both internal and external corporate labour markets, with entry to the UK associated with short career training periods.

Table 4 – Work permits and first permissions by occupation, 1979-1996

Numbers

Long term (including TWES)	1979	1980	1984	1988	1992	1996
General Management	<i>405</i>	<i>536</i>	1286	2265	1848	2781
Prof/Manag. Support	<i>1967</i>	<i>1774</i>	2634	4656	4271	4096
Prof/Manag. in Education						
Health & Welfare	<i>1983</i>	<i>1316</i>	947	1348	2916	2087
Prof/Manag. in						
Science & Tech	<i>1710</i>	<i>1489</i>	1690	2291	2630	4267
Other Managerial	<i>499</i>	<i>496</i>	300	229	124	87
All Prof/Managerial	<i>6564</i>	<i>5611</i>	6857	10789	11789	13319
Literary, Art, Sport	<i>274</i>	<i>195</i>	774	1175	1440	1409
Clerical & Related	<i>208</i>	<i>89</i>	22	84	14	12
Catering, Personal Services	<i>781</i>	<i>232</i>	276	517	746	296
Others	<i>449</i>	<i>295</i>	168	154	442	3970
Total	<i>8276</i>	<i>6423</i>	8097	12719	14431	19005

Per cent

Long term (including TWES)	1979	1980	1984	1988	1992	1996
General Management	<i>4.9</i>	<i>8.3</i>	15.9	17.8	12.8	14.6
Prof/Manag. Support	<i>23.8</i>	<i>27.6</i>	32.5	36.6	29.6	21.6
Prof/Manag. in Education						
Health & Welfare	<i>24.0</i>	<i>20.5</i>	11.7	10.6	20.2	11.0
Prof/Manag. in						
Science & Tech	<i>20.7</i>	<i>23.2</i>	20.9	18.0	18.2	22.5
Other Managerial	<i>6.0</i>	<i>7.7</i>	3.7	1.8	0.9	0.5
All Prof/Managerial	<i>79.3</i>	<i>87.4</i>	84.7	84.8	81.7	70.1
Literary, Art, Sport	<i>3.3</i>	<i>3.0</i>	9.6	9.2	10.0	7.4
Clerical & Related	<i>2.5</i>	<i>1.4</i>	0.3	0.7	0.1	0.1
Catering, Personal Services	<i>9.4</i>	<i>3.6</i>	3.4	4.1	5.2	1.6
Others	<i>5.4</i>	<i>4.6</i>	2.1	1.2	3.1	20.9
Total	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	100	100	100	100

Notes: Data in italics are taken from Department of Employment Gazette

Long-term work permits were mainly for the highly skilled (Table 4). The UK developed a network of ‘brain exchanges’ with other advanced industrial countries. In 1988, 85 per cent of long-term work permits went to professional and managerial people. The proportionate decline in this group was counterbalanced by a rise in permits to workers in the Other⁷ category, up from 1.9 per cent in 1992 to 29.7 per cent in 1996. However, the growth in this category makes it difficult to determine what skills came into the country during the second half of the 1990s.

⁷ This was used as a default category by case workers who were identifying occupations for recording purposes. As a result it is a false record of what was actually happening.

Trends among the constituent categories of the professional and managerial group show some significant variations. The professional and managerial support (middle level management) category was consistently the largest in the group as a whole. The proportion of professional and managerial workers in education, health and welfare rose markedly in the early 1990s, with a continuing but smaller rise during the decade; subsequent proportionate declines were probably associated with the increases in the Other category. Numbers of science and technology professionals and managers were more responsive to the state of the national economy than others. The rise in their number was probably a consequence of the increasing 'technification' of UK industry, allied to a growing international corporate culture, with foreign experts brought in to support and further these changes.

Among the non-professional/management/technical group, long-term work permit issues to those in catering and personal services fluctuated over the period, while those to Others rose sharply to become the largest individual group.

3.6 The New Millennium

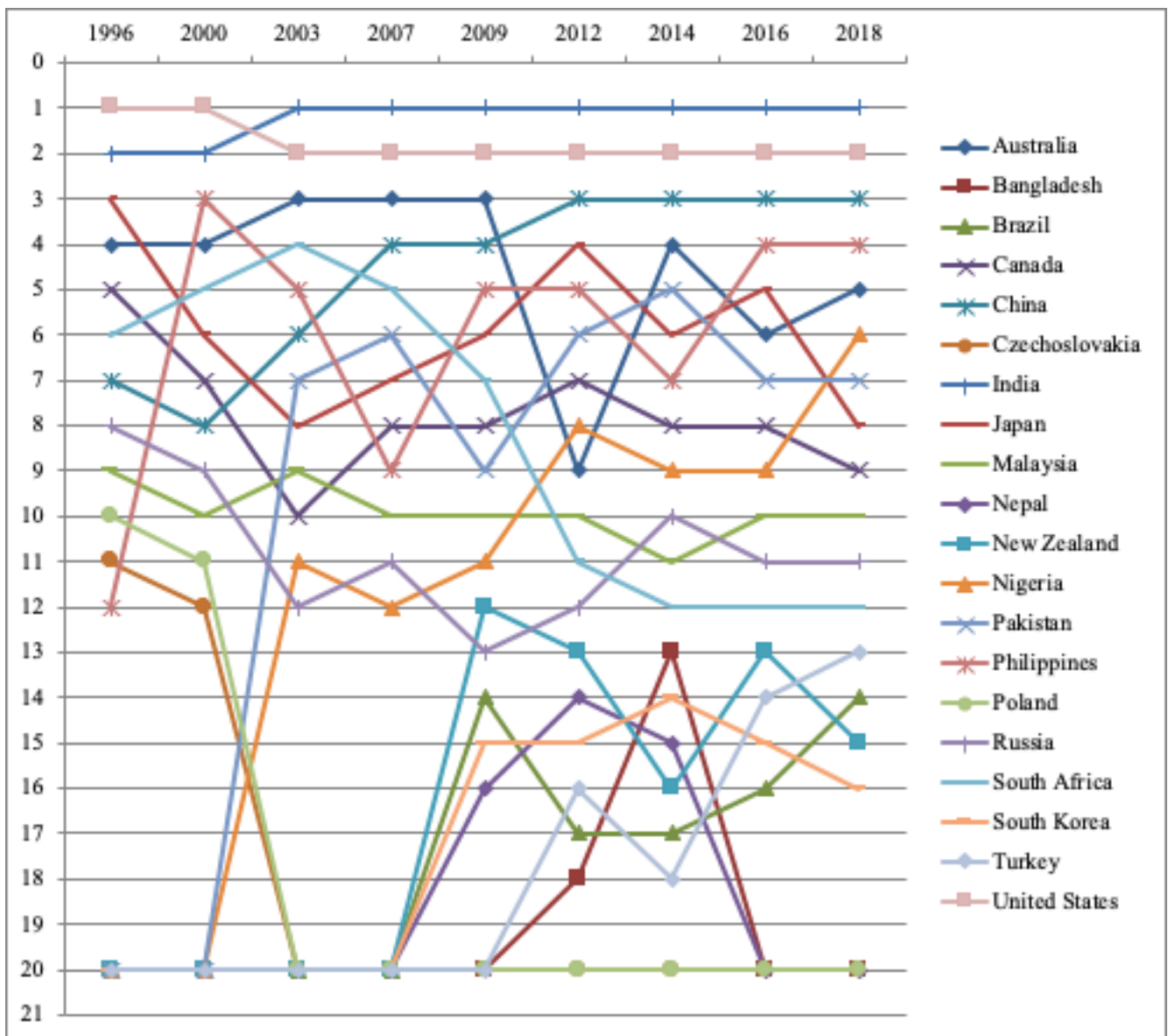
3.6.1 Nationality

The top of the geographical pecking order was remarkably stable after the late 1990s (Figure 7). India and the USA led the field, although with widely different trends in numbers: between 1996 and 2018 Indians increased from 2,679 to 41,453 while American numbers remained at around 8,600 (Annex 1). Australia was also among the main sources but with fluctuating numbers and slipping in position after 2009. China rose rapidly to third place after 2009, from 688 to 4,929, becoming one of the top three. Japan remained a significant supplier and like the USA with no significant shift in numbers over period. The importance of the Philippines fluctuated along with South Africa, Pakistan and Malaysia, all suppliers particularly of health service workers. The number of health workers recruited tends to reflect government investment in the NHS and which occupations are on the shortage list. In recent years Nigeria and Russia have grown in importance. After their accession to the EU in 2004, the new A8 members no longer required work permits.

3.6.2 Industrial group

From the late 1990s, a different industrial classification used in the management information system provided a higher level of detail (Table 5.1). Before the introduction of the PBS, the sector bumps race shows considerable volatility, although at the lower end of the spectrum this was largely owing to small numbers with minor changes from year to year (Figure 8). The PBS ushered in a period of relative stability in position for most sectors. Professional, scientific and technical services remained in the top three throughout; education was consistently in the top five. The major shift was in the IT sector, rising from eighth in 2000 to first place beyond 2009. Other sectors became less important, notably health and social care following lower public investment, administrative and support services, arts, entertainment and recreation, hospitality (accommodation and food services). Manufacturing was never in the top group although its position was

Figure 7 – Nationality, 1996 – 2018



fairly stable. Overall, the period oversaw a major sectoral shift, with the rise to dominance particularly of IT, business services and financial services. On the eve of the PBS, these three accounted for 26.9, 12.8 and 11 per cent respectively of the total.

After 2008 a new industrial classification was used (Table 5.2). Amid the general rise in Certificate of Sponsorship (CoS) numbers there were some marked sectoral shifts. Throughout the period the information and communications sector held prime position with around a third of the total. The other two principal business services – professional services and insurance, banking and finance – also increased in number and proportion. The big change was the health sector which doubled its proportion between 2012 and 2018 as several of its occupations were added to the shortage list, in part because of the loss of available workers from the EU following the 2016 referendum.

Table 5.1 – Work Permits and First Permissions approved by Industry, 2000 – 2007

	Numbers			Per cent		
	2000	2003	2007	2000	2003	2007
Administration, business & management services	9026	9638	11273	14.0	11.3	12.8
Agriculture activities	267	822	405	0.4	1.0	0.5
Computer services	12726	10386	23677	19.7	12.2	26.9
Construction & land services	751	1663	2953	1.2	1.9	3.4
Education & cultural activities	3832	6603	7087	5.9	7.7	8.1
Entertainment & leisure services	4235	4469	4619	6.6	5.2	5.3
Extraction industries	1044	741	1401	1.6	0.9	1.6
Financial services	6997	4549	9666	10.8	5.3	11.0
Government	228	700	492	0.4	0.8	0.6
Health & medical services	14516	24621	7526	22.5	28.9	8.6
Hospitality, hotels, catering & other services	1751	12116	4799	2.7	14.2	5.5
Law related services	881	781	1216	1.4	0.9	1.4
Manufacturing	2747	2779	2958	4.3	3.3	3.4
Real estate & property services	94	211	329	0.1	0.2	0.4
Retail & related services	927	1487	1536	1.4	1.7	1.7
Security & protective services	58	127	144	0.1	0.1	0.2
Sporting activities	989	1582	2360	1.5	1.9	2.7
Telecommunications	2228	1071	3699	3.5	1.3	4.2
Transport	780	1005	834	1.2	1.2	0.9
Utilities: gas, electricity, water	498	435	817	0.8	0.5	0.9
Unconfirmed	-	-	177	-	-	0.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 5.2 – Tier 2. Certificates of sponsorship by industrial sector, total, 2009 – 2018

	Numbers					Per cent				
	2009	2012	2015	2016	2018	2009	2012	2015	2016	2018
Total	53952	68114	86947	89167	94087	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
I Accommodation & food service activities	2336	2498	1470	882	522	4.3	3.7	1.7	1.0	0.6
U Activities of extraterritorial organisations & bodies	20	18	19	19	16	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
T Activities of households as employers, etc.	5	6	5	5	4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
N Administrative & support service activities	627	847	1041	965	932	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.0
A Agriculture, forestry & fishing	141	50	50	51	31	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0
R Arts, entertainment & recreation	610	812	1075	1253	1357	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.4
F Construction	658	742	861	902	827	1.2	1.1	1.0	1.0	0.9
P Education	4580	5059	6637	7448	8169	8.5	7.4	7.6	8.4	8.7
D Electricity, gas, steam & air conditioning supply	139	252	386	324	296	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3
K Financial & insurance activities	5259	8244	10877	11113	11297	9.7	12.1	12.5	12.5	12.0
Q Human health & social work activities	7951	6485	8426	10328	17356	14.7	9.5	9.7	11.6	18.4
J Information & communication	17619	23474	29832	30089	29275	32.7	34.5	34.3	33.7	31.1
C Manufacturing	2330	3663	4214	4306	3767	4.3	5.4	4.8	4.8	4.0
B Mining & quarrying	852	1235	974	791	788	1.6	1.8	1.1	0.9	0.8
S Other service activities	980	1138	2498	1242	1009	1.8	1.7	2.9	1.4	1.1
M Professional, scientific & technical activities	7994	11386	16073	16637	15858	14.8	16.7	18.5	18.7	16.9
O Public administration & defence; compulsory social security	583	354	272	295	306	1.1	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.3
L Real estate activities	51	84	251	267	290	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.3
H Transportation & storage	387	538	548	566	623	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.7
E Water supply; sewerage, waste management, etc.	37	59	54	30	40	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0
G Wholesale & retail trade; vehicle repair	793	1170	1384	1654	1324	1.5	1.7	1.6	1.9	1.4

Notes:

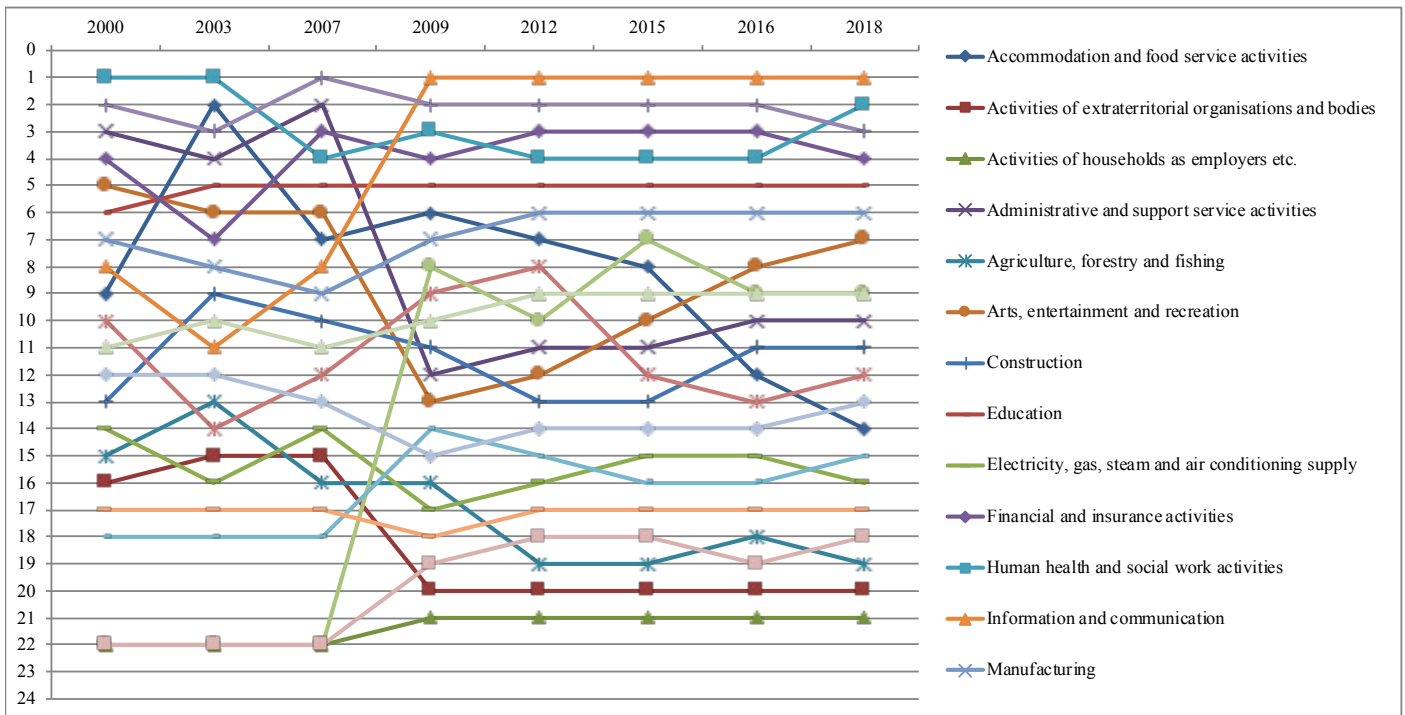
For the years 2009-2011:

Category E was a part of D, 36-39; subtracted from D

Category H was a part of G, 49-53; subtracted from H

Category T was a part of S, 97-98; subtracted from S

Figure 8 – Industry, 2000 – 2018



3.6.3 Occupation group

Nationality and route of entry

Under the PBS, a detailed breakdown of the characteristics of Tier 2 migrants may be derived from data on certificates of sponsorship (CoS) issued to companies (Annex 2). There are two sets of CoS: those for workers recruited from outside the UK (out-country) and those for workers already in the UK (in-country). The former group are new recruits, the latter are mainly extensions for workers already in the UK and include those granted an initial period of limited leave to remain in the UK (i.e. switchers, almost all students). Broadly speaking, the two categories are similar to the old work permits and first permissions. The number of out-country issues is governed by the Tier 2 quota, currently (2020) 20,700 per year, allocated proportionately on a monthly basis. In-country extensions and switchers are not part of the quota. CoS data may be used to categorise individuals according to their route of entry: shortage occupations (as defined by the Migration Advisory Committee); other occupations, requiring a resident labour market test (RLMT); and intra-company transfers (ICTs).

Since 2009 the general trend in CoS issues has been upward. Over the period, almost half were Indians, the proportion slipping in recent years, with Americans in second place, their proportion stable at around 10 per cent (Tables 6.1, 6.2). Other ‘traditional’ sources such as Australia and South Africa became relatively less significant while the number and proportion of Chinese rose, although still accounting for a small percentage of the total. Fluctuations particularly reflect changes to the shortage list: for example, in 2016 the largest increase was among those from the Philippines as nurses were added.

Table 6.1 – Tier 2. Certificates of sponsorship, top 20 nationalities by routes of entry, 2012

	RLMT		Short		ICT		Total	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
India	7232	26.8	843	23.3	25698	68.4	33773	49.6
United States	3152	11.7	184	5.1	4488	12	7824	11.5
China	2178	8.1	91	2.5	683	1.8	2952	4.3
Japan	335	1.2	25	0.7	1886	5	2246	3.3
Australia	1286	4.8	166	4.6	703	1.9	2155	3.2
Philippines	1091	4	460	12.7	174	0.5	1725	2.5
Pakistan	1228	4.6	354	9.8	120	0.3	1702	2.5
Canada	908	3.4	109	3	485	1.3	1502	2.2
Nigeria	1009	3.7	153	4.2	100	0.3	1262	1.9
Malaysia	720	2.7	68	1.9	194	0.5	982	1.4
South Africa	537	2	74	2	335	0.9	946	1.4
Russian Federation	558	2.1	35	1	283	0.8	876	1.3
New Zealand	436	1.6	47	1.3	89	0.2	572	0.8
Sri Lanka	369	1.4	103	2.9	56	0.1	528	0.8
Nepal	446	1.7	55	1.5	9	0	510	0.7
Egypt	258	1	85	2.4	147	0.4	490	0.7
Korea, Republic of	254	0.9	13	0.4	221	0.6	488	0.7
Turkey	249	0.9	16	0.4	176	0.5	441	0.6
Brazil	177	0.7	21	0.6	211	0.6	409	0.6
Bangladesh	289	1.1	92	2.5	25	0.1	406	0.6
Total	26954	100	3614	100	37546	100	68114	100

Between 2012 and 2018 around half of all issues were for ICTs, lower than for the period 2009-2012. Indians dominated this route of entry throughout, accounting for towards three quarters of the total, their proportion tending to rise slightly over the last few years. Americans made up 9 per cent and of other nationalities only the Japanese were well represented in the ICT stream.

After 2009 the importance of the RLMT route grew to reach 49.4 per cent of issues in 2018. In part, the increase reflects demotions from the shortage list, obliging employers to recruit this way. Indians were again the largest group with between a fifth and a quarter of the total. American numbers remained stable at around 10 per cent with Chinese numbers approaching that level.

Periodic reviews of the shortage list by the Migration Advisory Committee have for the most part resulted in removals from it. The proportion of occupations deemed to be in shortage fell from 11 per cent in 2009 to four per cent in 2015, but rose to 7.3 per cent in 2018 mainly because nurses were added to the list, the Philippines and India being the main sources.

In summary, the data suggest that although the shortage occupation list is responsible for relatively few labour immigrants it has a marked effect on particular occupational flows. The much less controlled ICTs still play the dominant role in Tier 2 immigration. However,

Table 6.2 – Tier 2. Certificates of sponsorship, top 20 nationalities by routes of entry, 2018

	RLMT		Short		ICT		Total	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
India	10564	22.7	2058	30	28831	70.8	41453	44.1
USA	4272	9.2	279	4.1	4079	10	8630	9.2
China	3850	8.3	165	2.4	914	2.2	4929	5.2
Philippines	3368	7.2	1105	16.1	245	0.6	4718	5
Australia	2377	5.1	390	5.7	662	1.6	3429	3.6
Nigeria	2282	4.9	503	7.3	81	0.2	2866	3
Pakistan	2061	4.4	332	4.8	101	0.2	2494	2.7
Japan	311	0.7	38	0.6	1789	4.4	2138	2.3
Canada	1407	3	180	2.6	459	1.1	2046	2.2
Malaysia	1442	3.1	64	0.9	131	0.3	1637	1.7
Russian Federation	1275	2.7	58	0.8	290	0.7	1623	1.7
South Africa	864	1.9	133	1.9	413	1	1410	1.5
Egypt	1093	2.4	214	3.1	102	0.3	1409	1.5
Turkey	662	1.4	88	1.3	206	0.5	956	1
Brazil	577	1.2	110	1.6	247	0.6	934	1
New Zealand	713	1.5	71	1	91	0.2	875	0.9
Singapore	556	1.2	27	0.4	187	0.5	770	0.8
South Korea	457	1	33	0.5	233	0.6	723	0.8
Iran	576	1.2	65	0.9	19	0	660	0.7
Sri Lanka	463	1	69	1	127	0.3	659	0.7
Total	46499	100	6864	100	40725	100	94088	100

a substantial proportion is in response to skills gaps that are not on the shortage list but which employers are unable to fill, even after carrying out resident labour market tests. Most striking is the dominant role of Indians, especially among ICTs.

Category and route of entry

Within a general rise in CoS numbers in recent years, the main trend has been for the business services sector of the economy to become more dependent on non-EEA skilled labour. Apart from minor fluctuations in its proportion of the total, the information and communication sector has consistently been the main importer of non-EEA workers, with around a third of the total. Professional, scientific and technical activities and financial and insurance activities have occupied second and third places. Health and social work became relatively less important after 2009 but in 2014 and 2015 the sector's numbers and proportions stabilised before increasing in 2016 as some health occupations were added to the shortage list. The proportions in both manufacturing and construction have generally remained fairly flat and low.

The pattern by route of entry has also been fairly stable over the last few years. In 2018, ICTs were 43.3 per cent of issues, RLMTs 49.4 per cent and Shortage 7.3 per cent. The ICT route remains dominated by the information and communications sector with 23,679 issues in 2018 (58 per cent of the total). Professional, scientific and technical activities, and finance and insurance between them accounted for almost a third of the total. The

only other sector to reach five per cent was manufacturing. Thus, business services and the ICT route are inextricably linked.

The general pattern for the RLMT route differed from ICTs, having a more widespread distribution with no dominant sector. Human health and social work activities led the field in most years, rising from 18.6 per cent in 2014, to 28.7 per cent in 2018 with 13,329 issues over the year. Education, 16.5 per cent in 2018, was consistently the second largest sector while also becoming relatively less important over the period. In contrast, professional, scientific and technical activities, financial and insurance activities and information and communication have each increased in both numbers and proportions in recent years. Between them, these five sectors accounted for 87 per cent of all RLMT uses in 2018. Of the other sectors, only manufacturing (3.1 per cent) exceeded a thousand issues. Hence, labour market testing occurs mainly in the business services and public service (health and education) sectors.

The number coming through the shortage route depends on the recommendations of the Migration Advisory Committee and subsequent government decisions about which occupations should be added to or removed from the shortage list. Any changes may then increase or reduce activity through the RLMT route. Since 2009 there have been significant changes in the sectoral distribution coming through the shortage route, in the context of a continuing decline in numbers until 2016. After falling numbers in the human health and social work activities sector as health occupations were removed from the list, the addition to it of nurses in early 2016 brought about a change. The sector's proportion of entries through the route rose from 28.4 per cent in 2015 to 56.5 per cent in 2018, the number of issues rising from 984 to 3,878 over the year. Of other sectors, only professional, scientific and technical activities accounted for more than ten per cent of the total. Numbers in other sectors tended to be small and fluctuated over the period.

At the level of individual occupations, services rather than manufacturing dominate the list. During the period 2009-18 information and communication technology professionals (IT) were the largest group, both their number and proportion steadily increasing to reach 39.7 per cent of the total in 2016, falling slightly to 36.3 per cent in 2018.

The main demand for foreign IT workers in 2018 came from two occupations at the 4-digit level: (i) programmers and software development professionals and (ii) business analysts, architects and systems designers; each accounted for 34 per cent of all IT workers. IT project and programmers accounted for a further 9.4 per cent; 15.6 per cent were classified as IT and telecommunications specialisms not elsewhere specified. The main proportions were similar to recent years, indicating a prevailing shortage.

Business, research and administrative professionals were the second largest group (10,463 issues, 11.1 per cent of the total). The largest 4-digit occupational group among these was management consultants and business analysts with 5,329 issues, 51 per cent of the group. Chartered and certified accountants, with 2,894 issues were another 27.7 per cent, while 1,298 (12.4 per cent) were business and financial project management

professionals. Again, proportions were similar to the last few years.

Engineering professionals (4,677, 5 per cent of the total) were the third largest group. Among these, design and development engineers were the largest 4-digit engineering category with 1,212 issues, 26 per cent of the group total. The number of health professionals who were mainly doctors and anaesthetists rose from 7,144 to 9,720, 10.3 per cent of all issues; that of nurses and midwives rose from 4,494 to 7,215, 7.7 per cent of all issues.

What seems to be happening is an increasing concentration of certificates on a small group of occupations relating to IT, corporate management and business services. This implies that UK employers are failing adequately to train the domestic workforce and that this is a systemic failure. The health sector ebbs and flows, depending on the identification of shortage occupations. The data demonstrate particularly the growing importance of non-EEA nationals entering via ICTs in the business services sector of the UK economy.

4. INTRA-COMPANY TRANSFERS

4.1 Corporate organisation and ICTs

Underlying these sector and occupational trends is corporate globalisation, particularly in the business services sector, which creates an environment in which certain skills routinely move internationally. Multinational employers have traditionally employed various combinations of international exchange to deploy their staff expertise to where it is needed. They develop 'portfolios of mobility' which combine different types of mobility within their internal labour markets, including long-term, short-term and commuting assignments, business travel and virtual mobility, not all of which require a work permit or CoS (Millar and Salt, 2007). Their portfolios of mobility are adapted to diverse market and project requirements, as well as to the operation of multiple production and market locations and the need for international staff development. In offering professional, consultancy and outsourcing services, their corporate priorities are: to develop growing global markets; to implement continuous structural change, especially in resolving tensions between the 'local' and 'global' requirements of their services; to be flexible in relation to changing client relations; and to adapt staff recruitment and deployment processes to changing circumstances.

Inevitably there is a trade-off between these corporate requirements and governmental management of labour markets through immigration policy. In some respects this relationship has changed over the period covered in this paper but there is also a strong element of continuity which will now be addressed.

Intra-company transfers have always been treated differently from other work permits. Under the PBS system they are exempt from RLMT requirements and the conditions on which CoS are granted are treated separately. Historically, most applications came from large, reputable organisations, easily able to make a case for bringing in an individual on the grounds of product and market development and corporate career progression. Invariably these companies have had prior experience of the scheme, specialist personnel to deal with applications and liaise with the Department of Employment (and later the Home Office) and specialist agents to handle difficult cases. One of the few detailed studies, carried out in 1989-90 (Salt and Kitching, 1989; Salt and Singleton, 2005) showed ICT workers to be predominantly male, older and in receipt of much higher salaries than other work permit recipients. They were more likely to be in the financial sector, be senior administrators, come from either the US or Japan and work in London. In contrast, non-ICTs were mainly engaged in professional services, health, education, science and engineering.

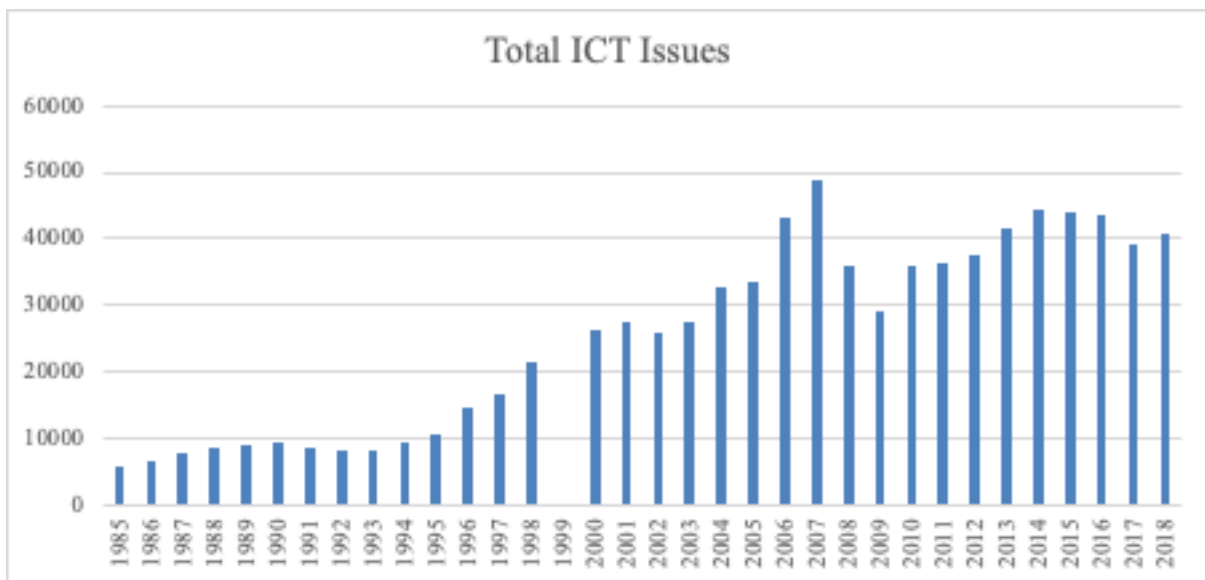
More recent evidence shows that sectors that are noted for the existence of large multinational employers that have global staffing policies are heavy users of ICTs (for example, Kolb et al., 2004; Salt and Wood, 2011). They are to be found particularly in the IT and business services sectors. In these and the other sectors that use ICTs heavily, mobility is the result of a suite of reasons that include career development, project management and client relations.

How large companies in different sectors operate their internal labour markets, therefore, plays a highly significant role in government management of labour migration. Most large organisations operate in dynamic environments characterised, for example, by the drive to consolidate existing markets ('farming') and to develop new and emerging markets ('hunting') through global corporate restructuring, often involving strings of mergers, acquisitions and divestments (Millar and Salt, 2007). All of these activities require accommodations with governments in the countries in which they operate. Hence any single government's role in managing migration is inexorably intertwined in a symbiotic relationship with the mass of corporate global management of human resources.

4.2 The scale of ICTs

ICTs have been a major component of labour immigration for many years. Figure 9 shows the number of work permits (including first permissions) and Certificates of Sponsorship accounted for by intra-company transfers from the mid-1980s. During the 1980s and 1990s some ICTs were approved as part of the Trainee and Work Experience Scheme (TWES) and they are included. The data are taken from successive SOPEMI reports, original sources being both published and unpublished DfEE/Home Office management information. ICT data for 1999 were not available for SOPEMI because of a change in the work permit and associated statistical system at that time.

Figure 9 – Total ICT issues



An alternative measurement (Salt, 1989) used data from the LFS to estimate the scale of ICTs during the mid-1980s, defined as those living outside the country a year before and now living in the UK but having the same employer as before entry. In total, they accounted for 46 per cent of all labour immigrants, 58 per cent of non-EC citizens, 22 per

cent of those from the EC. This indicates that EC workers were filling the lower status jobs on offer, confirmed by the empirical results of the study survey.

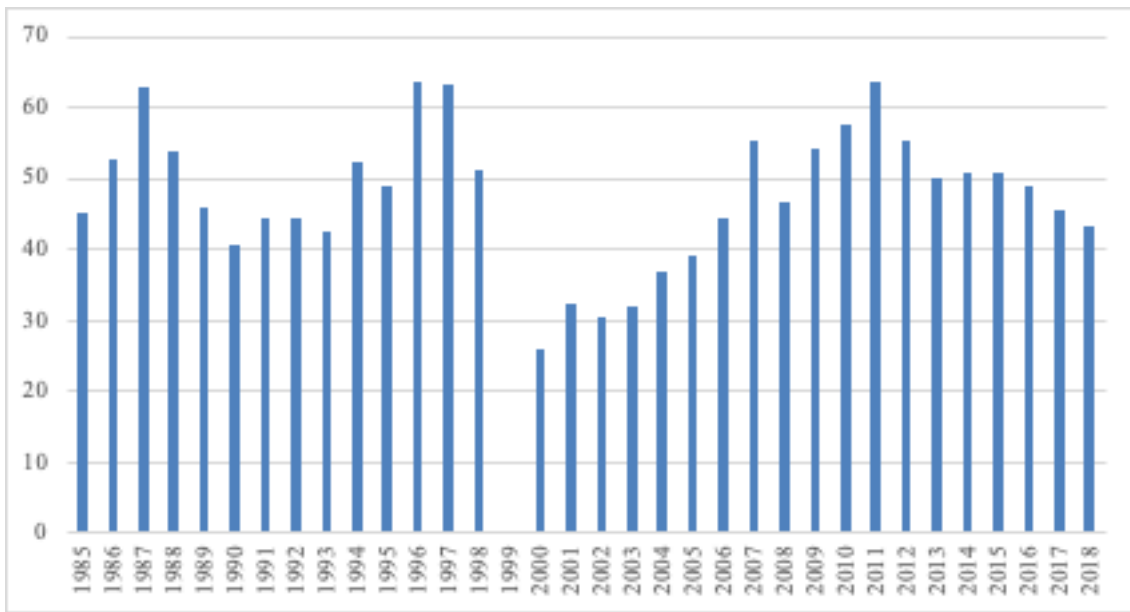
Fluctuations from year to year occur for many reasons, including the state of the UK's (and others') economy and labour market, individual corporate developments, administrative changes which may have brought forward or held back applications, or other circumstances. During the period there was a steady increase in the number of approvals from 6,000 in 1985 to 43,500 in 2016 and 40,725 in 2018, coincidental with the spread of economic globalisation (Figure 9). Dips in the early 1990s and after 2008 to some extent reflect the recessions at those times, although in the latter case the switch from a work permit to a points based system means it is impossible to distinguish the effects of recession from those of administrative change. The faltering upward trend in the early years of the millennium was partly owing to the slowdown in IT sector growth.

The number of ICTs is related to the total number of work permits and CoS approved. The proportion of the total they account for is not easy to calculate, depending on the denominator used. Until 1998 work permits were divided into long-term and short-term. The latter were further subdivided into professional/managerial and others. Most short-term permits were in the 'others' category, the vast majority being entertainers and sportspeople.

Advice from the Overseas Labour Service at the time was that any ICT short-term permits should be regarded as professional/managerial. Hence the numerator for those years included all work permit and TWES ICTs; the denominator was total long-term and TWES approvals, along with professional/managerial short-term approvals. From 2000 change in the categories removed the short-term entertainers and sportspeople groups, while TWES was incorporated into the main scheme. The proportions were obtained by dividing the total number of ICTs by the total of approvals (Figure 10).

The post-millennium peak was in 2011 when almost two-thirds of CoS were ICTs. More recently the proportion has hovered around half the total, confirming that these corporate movements are a major part of UK labour immigration management. The ways in which employing organisations choose to organise their international staffing depend partly on the rules laid down by governments. However, governments adopt rules and systems that accommodate business requirements.

Figure 10 – ICTs as percentage of all work permits and CoS



5. IRISH AND OTHER EEA LABOUR

This section provides a brief summary of Irish and other EC/EU labour to provide a context for the managed flows. The two main sources of data are the Labour Force Survey and National Insurance (NINo). The LFS provides stock data and ‘flow’ data based on address a year ago. NINo data measure flow by recording new entries to the labour market through the issue of national insurance numbers, a necessary precursor to starting legal employment. They have been published only since 2002, although unpublished statistics were made available for the 1970s and 1980s (Salt, 1991). Because the statistics measure different things, they are not comparable and are used here to indicate trends and relative orders of magnitude.

5.1 The Irish

Migration between Ireland and the UK has a special place in UK labour immigration management. The historic legacy resolved into continued free movement after the founding of the Irish Free State then Republic. Flow data between the UK and the Irish Republic are limited although the Census and LFS provide some indication of the change in stocks. Migration between the Irish Republic and the UK has fluctuated since WWII, initially driven more by the state of the Irish economy than conditions in the UK. During the late 1940s estimates of the net annual movement to the UK varied between 12,000 and 21,000 (Carrier and Jeffery, 1953) peaking in 1957 at 54,000 then falling to a balance around 1970. The 1971 UK census recorded 421,000 economically active who were born in the Irish Republic and had both parents born there.

Post-war increases in the number of Irish born in the UK peaked in 1971, approaching one million before falling to 407,000 in 2011. More pertinent here is the number of Irish by nationality working in the UK (Table 7). To some extent the change in numbers reflects the state of the Republic’s economy as well as demand in the UK. Never the less, the data indicate a steady fall in the total after the late 1980s to a relatively stable situation during the present century of 160-180,000. In 2018 Irish nationals were 5.2 per cent of the total foreign workforce (0.6 per cent of the national total).

Table 7 – Foreign nationals working in the UK, thousands

Year	Numbers			Per cent		
	Ireland	EU	FN	Ireland	EU	FN
1985	255	128	1018	25.0	12.6	100.0
1988	275	142	1123	24.5	12.6	100.0
1992	256	148	882	29.0	16.8	100.0
1995	218	192	865	25.2	22.2	100.0
1999	206	246	1107	18.6	22.2	100.0
2004	172	338	1445	11.9	23.4	100.0
2007	162	358	2035	8.0	17.6	100.0
2011	176	438	2558	6.9	17.1	100.0
2018	184	828	3539	5.2	23.4	100.0

Source: LFS

Notes: 1995, 1999 data from purple epic

The decline in the number of Irish working in the UK was accompanied by a change in the occupational skill structure. Traditionally the bulk of the Irish were employed in lower skilled routine and intermediate occupations. In 1951 Irish male employment tended to be in manual occupations with building the largest activity (18 per cent) followed by 'Unskilled Labour' (14 per cent), 'Metal Manufacture' (13 per cent) and 'Transport' (9 per cent). Professions, Administration and Clerical occupations occupied only 15 per cent. The Irish female occupational distribution was much more heavily concentrated, with over 70 per cent of the workforce concentrated in only three activities: 'Personal Service' (39 per cent), 'Professions' (mainly nurses) (22 per cent) and 'Clerical' (9 per cent) (Glynn, 1981). As the Irish economy developed and with less skilled labour becoming available from other sources, notably Mediterranean countries and parts of the New Commonwealth, the employment structure of the Irish shifted. By 1992-3 25 per cent of them were in professional occupations, 31 per cent were classified as intermediate and 44 per cent routine (lower skilled). Ten years later the respective proportions were 51 per cent professional, 26 per cent intermediate and 22 per cent routine, heralding a stable situation to the present – in 2018 55 per cent professional, 29 per cent intermediate and 16 per cent routine.

NINo data for the 1970s and 1980s show a marked sensitivity to UK economic conditions with a fall in the number of Irish registrations from 9,100 (1975/6) to 2,950 (1982/3)⁸. Similar data published from 2002 show a gradual increase in Irish registrations, peaking in 2014/15 at 19,300. On average, between 2002 and 2018 Irish workers generally account for around 2 per cent of all new registrations by foreign nationals (Table 8).

5.2 Other EU/EFTA citizens

After the UK entry to the EC/EU in 1973, citizens from other member states continued to come to the UK to work and accounted for a substantial proportion of the foreign labour force. The only administrative record available to indicate flow is from national insurance data from the Department of Work and Pensions and its predecessor, published only since 2002. However, data for the 1970s and 1980s were provided for a separate study by the then Department of Social Security (Salt, 1990). The data record payment of at least one Class A insurance stamp during a financial year and so may include both short- and long-term working. Excluding the Irish, during the period 1975/6-1988/9 there was an annual average of 12,900 EC citizens registering⁹. Numbers dipped during the recession of the early 1980s but then increased, from 5,300 in 1982/3 to 24,800 in 1988/9 as the UK economy improved. Over the period, consistently around a fifth of all annual registrations or re-registrations were EC (excluding Irish) citizens. The Irish accounted for a further 10-15 per cent. Hence, in the years after the UK joined the EC, about a third of foreign workers registering for national insurance purposes were Community workers, two-thirds were part of the managed system. LFS data are an alternative source, although not available for the 1970s. They provide an indication of flow trends as they record numbers

⁸ Work permits at those dates totalled 30,078 and 12,897 respectively.

⁹ Data for Greece, Spain and Portugal which joined in the 1980s are included.

in the UK at the time of the survey who were not in the country a year before¹⁰. They show a steady rise in worker recruitment from the EC. During 1985-88 an average 8,500 workers per year came from the EC/EFTA (excluding Ireland), defined as being outside the UK the year before. LFS data also measure stock levels, which during this period averaged 128,000 for the same group, and skill levels. The largest group at this time were manual workers (56 per cent), followed by those at intermediate level (23 per cent) and professional/managerial workers (21 per cent).

Depending on source, the annual labour flow from EC (excluding Ireland) countries was between 8,500 (LFS) and 20,000 (NI). This compares with around 10,000 long-term and a similar number of short-term work permits at the same time. These three datasets are not directly comparable because they use different definitions and concepts but they give some idea of the relative levels of labour immigration from EC and non-EC sources.

By 1995 the LFS recorded the flow from the EC (excluding Ireland) had risen to 17,000 per annum and the stock to 192,000 (in addition the Irish stock was 218,000). The increases continued in 2000, with 25,000 EC/EFTA (excluding Ireland) who were working in UK, but were outside a year before. The stock working in the UK meanwhile rose to 246,000. By 2010, in the enlarged EU 39,000 from the EU27/EFTA were recorded as working in UK but not there a year ago. Of these 13,000 were from EU15/EFTA members. By 2018 EU27/EFTA working stock had risen to 2.293 million of whom 184,000 were Irish; 828,000 were non-Irish EU15/EFTA.

Table 8 – NINOs by Year of Registration: 2002 – 2019

	<i>Numbers</i>				<i>Per cent</i>			
	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>ROW</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>ROW</i>	<i>All</i>
2002/03	97.8	8.7	248.5	346.2	28.2	2.5	71.8	100.0
2003/04	115.1	9.6	258.4	373.5	30.8	2.6	69.2	100.0
2004/05	197.6	8.7	237.8	435.4	45.4	2.0	54.6	100.0
2005/06	374.5	10.4	288.5	663.1	56.5	1.6	43.5	100.0
2006/07	420.6	10.0	285.2	705.8	59.6	1.4	40.4	100.0
2007/08	439.9	10.1	293.2	733.1	60.0	1.4	40.0	100.0
2008/09	377.1	11.5	309.0	686.1	55.0	1.7	45.0	100.0
2009/10	274.3	10.3	298.5	572.8	47.9	1.8	52.1	100.0
2010/11	359.7	16.1	345.2	704.9	51.0	2.3	49.0	100.0
2011/12	350.0	15.9	251.0	601.0	58.2	2.6	41.8	100.0
2012/13	385.0	15.5	177.0	562.0	68.5	2.8	31.5	100.0
2013/14	439.5	16.4	163.0	602.5	72.9	2.7	27.1	100.0
2014/15	629.3	19.3	194.9	824.2	76.4	2.3	23.6	100.0
2015/16	630.9	16.8	195.6	826.5	76.3	2.0	23.7	100.0
2016/17	589.8	14.5	195.9	785.7	75.1	1.8	24.9	100.0
2017/18	474.4	12.0	195.4	669.8	70.8	1.8	29.2	100.0
2018/19	413.5	10.0	282.9	696.4	59.4	1.4	40.6	100.0

¹⁰ These data are not flow data and should not be compared directly with IPS or administrative flow statistics.

NINo registrations of EU/EFTA citizens rose sharply in the early years of the millennium mainly as a result of the accession of new member states in 2002. A first peak in 2007/8 (439,900) was followed by a fall during the recession (Table 8). A second rise after 2011/12, mainly following the admission of Romanians and Bulgarians, peaked in 2015/17 (630,900) when EU/EFTA sources were responsible for three-quarters of foreign registrations. After the Brexit referendum in 2016 there was a further fall; even so, EU states provided the majority of registrations.

6. OTHER LABOUR MANAGEMENT SCHEMES

6.1 Postwar schemes

The work permit system provided only part of the foreign labour recruited into the UK in the immediate aftermath of WWII. As the PBS now, it worked on the basis of individual employers and workers. Postwar labour shortages required further action, particularly to fill jobs shunned by domestic workers. In 1946, in order to accommodate those members of the Polish armed forces who did not want to return to Poland, as well as providing much needed workers, the Polish Resettlement Corps was established (Department of Employment, 1977). Its main function was to provide them with training and employment and ease their incorporation into civilian life. Around 88,000 were placed in employment in the UK by 1949.

The Displaced Persons camps across Europe provided an additional reservoir of workers to be recruited in large numbers and in a controlled way (Kay and Miles, 1992; Mc Dowell, 2007). Those arriving were called European Voluntary Workers. The government view was that it could direct foreign labour into essential industries by controlling entry and preventing shifts to other occupations in a contractual system.

The EVW scheme lasted from October 1946 to December 1949. The initial target was 60,000-100,000 at the rate of 4,000 per week. Those recruited were mainly Poles, Balts, Ukrainians and Yugoslavs. By December 1950 they numbered 74,000, the largest groups being Poles and Polish-Ukrainians (27,000), Latvians (13,000) and Ukrainians (8,000). Around three quarters were male. By February 1949, the first placings out of 78,000 recruits were: agriculture 29,000, domestic work 12,000, coal mining 11,000, cotton 8,000, and the woollen industry 4,000. For women the main focus was domestic work in hospitals, particularly in sanatoria ("Balt cygnets") (Mc Dowell, 2007).

The EVW scheme did not last because of a number of inherent contradictions in its operation (Kay and Miles, 1992). There was an overall problem of enforcement by a government which lacked the resources to control the labour after it arrived. Furthermore, the lifting of wartime controls on British workers in 1949 made strict control of EVWs indefensible. There was a gradual build-up of resistance by employers who found they were unable to prevent the EVWs moving to other employment, regions or countries. On the supply side job dissatisfaction grew since many were more skilled than their jobs required. As pressures for liberalisation grew, the system collapsed. Even so, workers were still needed and as number of DPs willing to come to the UK fell, new sources were tapped, e.g. North Sea scheme to bring in German women as domestics, Blue Danube scheme for Austrian women into textiles on short-term (two year) contracts.

6.2 Voucher Scheme

During the late 1950s an increasing number of immigrants from the New Commonwealth came to work. Many of them were recruited from overseas by companies experiencing labour shortages. Concerns about the social problems arising led to the 1962

Commonwealth Immigrants Act which, for the first time, restricted access to the UK for Commonwealth citizens. A system of employment vouchers was introduced, operated by the Ministry of Labour. There were three categories: Category A for those with a specific job to go to; Category B for those with a skill or qualification deemed to be needed; and Category C for other Commonwealth citizens wishing to come to the UK to work. Initially it was expected that numerical controls would mainly be through variations in the number of C vouchers issued. Applications for C vouchers were considerable, one estimate put the number at half a million (Davison, 1965). Moreover, the number of A and B issues was so great that from 1964 no new C vouchers were issued. Numbers of A and B vouchers were increasingly restricted and in 1971 the annual total was set at 2,700, compared with 900 per week at the scheme's inception.

In the period 26 December, 1964, to 26 November, 1965, the U.K. Government received 17,682 applications for A vouchers and 8,252 applications for B vouchers (Department of Employment, 1977). Of these, 7,755 A applications and 872 B applications were rejected, either because it turned out that a voucher was not necessary, or because the conditions of issue were not satisfied. Of the remaining 9,927 A and 7,380 B applications, 84 per cent of the A and 94 per cent of the B vouchers were granted. The great majority of the vouchers went to those from India and Pakistan. Jamaica received 6.5 per cent of the total, Barbados 9.5 per cent and the rest of the Commonwealth territories in the Caribbean area 5 per cent of the total. The reason why Barbados received such a disproportionately large number of the vouchers granted, viewed in relation to its population, was in response to efforts by the Barbados Government to make special arrangements with employers such as London Transport and Lyons teashops, to secure specific job offers for Barbadians in the U.K.

Table 9 show the numbers of vouchers issued between 1962 and 1972. Over 90 per cent of the total went to citizens of the New Commonwealth, although the proportions of the more skilled A and B vouchers going to those from the Old Commonwealth were higher. Over the period as a whole numbers gradually declined until the scheme was ended in 1972.

The picture by occupation is blurred by changes to the way in which jobs were classified in the later years. Category A vouchers were issued across a wide spectrum, indicating labour shortages across the economy (Department of Employment, 1977, Table B11). Relatively small numbers were taken up by the public services (health and education), the largest skilled group in the period to 1969 being 'other graduates and professions'. In 1971 and 1972, after the number of available vouchers was curtailed and individual occupations were not listed, most skilled vouchers were for professionals, managers and executives. Among the less skilled, waiters and kitchen workers, unskilled factory workers and 'others' were the main groups, along with domestic workers and shop assistants. Even in the last two years, catering workers and labourers continued to be in demand. Overall, the pattern seems to replicate that entered by migrants in the years before 1962 and suggests that employers were continuing to offer jobs to incomers.

Table 9 – Commonwealth immigrants, employment vouchers issued, 1962 – 1968

	A			B			C		
	Old	New	Total	Old	New	Total	Old	New	Total
1962 (Jul - Dec)	307	3063	3370	1163	3363	4526	667	16827	17494
1963	460	7002	7462	1369	9518	10887	470	22182	22652
1964	383	10219	10602	814	7187	8001	620	2159	2779
1965	283	8361	8644	842	6560	7402	1757	41168	42925
1966	23	2852	2875	461	4964	5425			
1967	26	3013	3039	348	5022	5370			
1968	24	2865	2889	429	4802	5231			
1969	89	2731	2820	905	3044	3949			
1970	130	2736	2866	1295	1402	2697			
1971 (1)	169	1788	1957	887	1974	2861			
1972	236	1191	1427	704	2152	2856			
	2130	45821	47951	9217	49988	59205			
	16.5%			15.6%					

	Total			Trainees (2)			Seasonal workers (2)		
	Old	New	Total	Old	New	Total	Old	New	Total
1962 (Jul - Dec)	2137	23253	25390						
1963	2299	38702	41001						
1964	1259	19565	20824						
1965	1125	14921	16046						
1966	484	7816	8300	111	525	636	20	209	229
1967	374	8035	8409	212	643	855	19	223	242
1968	453	7667	8120	195	592	787	23	243	266
1969	994	5775	6769	180	668	848	29	79	108
1970	1425	4138	5563	170	632	802	30	76	106
1971 (1)	1056	3762	4818	105	376	481	4	50	54
1972	940	3343	4283	120	296	416	24	78	102
	13104	136419	149523						
	8.8%								

Notes:

1. From June 1971 a new system operated by DHSS and not involving the issue of an employment voucher was introduced to control immigration of doctors and dentists from Commonwealth. But the Department of Employment were confused about the issue of an entry certificates from such doctors and dentists To maintain comparability with earlier figures recommendations that such entry certificates be issued are included in the figures for category B vouchers issued in 1971 and 1972.

2. Entry certificates recommended.

3. Old/New Commonwealth.

Data on category B vouchers show a different occupational distribution (Department of Employment, 1977. Table B12). They were given more selectively and went particularly to professionally qualified people. Those in public service occupations, notably medical and educational staff, along with others in a range of science, technology and engineering occupations were granted vouchers and allowed to enter and search for jobs.

The 'voucher years' were ones of low national unemployment, rates mostly under two per cent. Annual work permit issues were around 60,000, vouchers averaged 13,500, so the main scheme was dominant. What the voucher system did was integrate Commonwealth labour immigration, formerly open, into mainstream foreign labour management. In doing so it provided a small but still substantial supplement to the process of dealing with shortages of specific skills.

6.3 Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme (SAWS)

The Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme was designed to allow farmers and cultivators in the United Kingdom to recruit low-skilled overseas workers to undertake short-term agricultural work. Initially an exchange programme encouraging students to work in UK agriculture during harvest times, it evolved as a flexible tool to meet changing labour demands in the agricultural sector. It was only after the 1990s that British agriculture became heavily dependent upon international migrant workers. By then SAWS was being used to address a widespread difficulty in recruiting to relatively low-skill, often seasonal jobs in the sector, for example, harvesting, but also planting and other crop work. A large horticultural operation providing bedding and other plants to DIY stores and garden centres used SAWS workers as well as other migrant workers to plant up and pack plants ready for dispatch (Dench et al., 2006). SAWS workers carried out work deemed to be low-skilled including: planting and gathering crops; on-farm processing and packing of crops; handling livestock. Workers were paid at least the Agricultural Minimum salary, were provided with accommodation by the farmer or grower employing them and were subject to the same tax and national insurance rules as resident workers. The migrants were all students and young people, as required by the scheme. After 2004 employers began supplementing their SAWS employees with workers from the EU new accession members on the Worker Registration Scheme.

The scheme worked on a quota basis. The quota was set at 25,000 in the early years of the millennium, reduced to 16,250 until 2009 then raised to 21,250. After 2005 around 96-100 per cent of the quota was filled (MAC, 2013). Farmers and growers who participated in the scheme were allowed to employ a fixed number of overseas workers each year. After 2007 participation was restricted to Bulgarians and Romanians. Candidates in the scheme were issued with a work card which gave them permission to work in the United Kingdom for up to 6 months.

The scheme was managed by nine approved operators, working on behalf of the Home Office which issued a fixed number of work cards to operators each year. Once these

work cards were issued to workers the scheme was closed for the year, with no more applications accepted. Operators were responsible for sourcing and recruiting eligible workers; assessing and monitoring farmers' ability to provide suitable work placements; ensuring workers were treated fairly and lawfully; and ensuring farmers and growers were provided with people suitable to do the work on offer. Operators charged a fee for the service provided.

Since the early 1990s the number of work cards has escalated, from 3,560 in 1992 to 16,971 in 2007, the last year before it was restricted to Bulgarians and Romanians. The Scheme has been dominated by workers from Eastern Europe and provided the first government-managed route into the UK labour market for workers from there since the 1940s and predated the main opening up of the UK labour market to them in 2004 (Table 10).

Even so, the geographical shift in countries of origin was nuanced. Early sources were predominantly the first accession members, notably Poland and former Czechoslovakia along with Bulgaria. By the mid-1990s citizens of the former USSR, particularly Ukraine, entered the mix, followed by Lithuania. A further geographical shift came with the new millennium. From 2004, nationals of the A8 accession states were able to come by alternative routes, notably the Workers Registration Scheme (WRS): some continued to work in agriculture but were no longer required to be part of SAWS. In any case, labour shortages led to an enlarged quota. The consequence was to tap into more easterly sources, particularly Ukraine, Russia, Belarus and Moldova, along with Bulgaria and Romania –the last two being on the road to accession. With the introduction of the PBS in 2008 the scheme was restricted to Bulgarians and Romanians, with very small numbers from elsewhere as a result of existing contracts.

In response to actual and projected labour shortages in light of Brexit, in September 2018 the Home Office launched a new pilot SAWS. It allows fruit and vegetable farmers to employ up to 2,500 migrant workers from outside the EU for seasonal work for up to 6 months, alleviating labour shortages during peak production periods. The pilot is managed under the Tier 5 (Temporary Worker) Seasonal Worker category of the immigration system.

Table 10 – SAWS work cards issued, 1992 – 2008

Numbers				Per cent			
1992		2005		1992		2005	
Total	3560	Total	15714	Total	100.0	Total	100.0
Poland	1350	Ukraine	5072	Poland	37.9	Ukraine	32.3
Czech	1330	Bulgaria	3006	Czech	37.4	Bulgaria	19.1
Bulgaria	340	Russia	2466	Bulgaria	9.6	Russia	15.7
Slovenia	100	Romania	1954	Slovenia	2.8	Romania	12.4
FSU	60	Belarus	1625	FSU	1.7	Belarus	10.3
Other	380	Moldova	1077	Other	10.7	Moldova	6.9
1995		2006		1995		2006	
Total	4660	Total	15714	Total	100.0	Total	100.0
Poland	1760	Ukraine	5072	Poland	37.8	Ukraine	32.3
FSU	1060	Bulgaria	3006	FSU	22.7	Bulgaria	19.1
Slovakia	390	Russia	2466	Slovakia	8.4	Russia	15.7
Bulgaria	360	Romania	1954	Bulgaria	7.7	Romania	12.4
Czech	340	Belarus	1625	Czech	7.3	Belarus	10.3
Other	750	Moldova	1077	Other	16.1	Moldova	6.9
1998		2007		1998		2007	
Total	9449	Total	16971	Total	100.0	Total	100.0
Poland	3688	Bulgaria	5,684	Poland	39.0	Bulgaria	33.5
Lithuania	1065	Ukraine	4,177	Lithuania	11.3	Ukraine	24.6
Bulgaria	1052	Romania	2,280	Bulgaria	11.1	Romania	13.4
Ukraine	879	Russia	2,237	Ukraine	9.3	Russia	13.2
Slovakia	786	Moldova	1,036	Slovakia	8.3	Moldova	6.1
Other	1979	Belarus	777	Other	20.9	Belarus	4.6
2000		2008		2000		2008	
Total	10100	Total	16,594	Total	100.0	Total	100.0
Poland	3200	Bulgaria	10,850	Poland	31.7	Bulgaria	65.4
Ukraine	1840	Romania	5,674	Ukraine	18.2	Romania	34.2
Bulgaria	1290	Ukraine	61	Bulgaria	12.8	Ukraine	0.4
Lithuania	1250	Moldova	9	Lithuania	12.4	Moldova	0.1
Slovakia	370			Slovakia	3.7		
Czech	250			Czech	2.5		
Others	1900			Others	18.8		
2004				2004			
Total	19761			Total	100.0		
Ukraine	6163			Ukraine	31.2		
Bulgaria	2456			Bulgaria	12.4		
Russia	2301			Russia	11.6		
Belarus	2258			Belarus	11.4		
Poland	1865			Poland	9.4		
Romania	1040			Romania	5.3		

6.4 Working Holiday Makers

The Working Holiday Makers Scheme (WHMS) was designed after the Second World War to allow young people aged 17-30 from Commonwealth countries to come to the UK for a holiday of up to two years. They were allowed to work for part of their holiday for any 12 out of 24 months stay. The scheme brought in a significant, additional, temporary, flexible workforce and allowed them to experience life in the UK, although it is not possible to know how many were working at any time. Hence the total number working over a year may be greater than the number of entries recorded. While little is known about the characteristics of working holidaymakers, it is reasonable to assume that they were generally well educated and adaptable. Similarly, there are no statistics on what jobs they perform but anecdotal evidence points to occupations such as hospitality, customer services, childcare, teaching and healthcare. There is also no regional breakdown in the statistics for working holidaymakers. The lack of information about them makes it unclear why the numbers have fluctuated in recent years.

The scheme has made a substantial contribution to number of temporary workers, peaking at 62,390 in 2004, after which it fell to 32,725 in 2008, the last year before it merged into Tier 5. Although the scheme attracted people from a wide range of countries, four Old Commonwealth countries dominated flows: Australia (the clear leader), South Africa, New Zealand and Canada. However, after 2003 the scheme broadened its supply base, notably to India and Ghana.

The WHMS was replaced by the Tier 5 Youth Mobility Scheme under the PBS. Points are awarded on the basis of nationality, age, and availability of funds. The Scheme is only open to countries which have a special reciprocal agreement with the United Kingdom: Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Japan, Hong Kong, Korea, Taiwan and Monaco. Numbers recruited were smaller than under the WHM, totalling 21,593 in 2018 and reflecting the exit from the original scheme of several large suppliers.

6.5 Sectors Based Scheme (2003-08)

This was introduced in May 2003 to address shortages in lower skilled occupations, initially in food processing and hospitality (hotels and catering). Employers applied for SBS permits on a first come, first served basis. Permits were available where there were shortages of resident workers in certain positions requiring qualifications below NVQ level 3 and were issued for overseas employees aged 18 to 30 to work for up to 12 months. Permit holders were not allowed to bring their spouses or dependants and had to leave the country when the permit expired. The scheme operated on a quota system of 10,000 initially but this was reduced as a result of the accession of new EU member states. At first about a third of permits were in food processing, most of the remainder in hospitality (Table 11). In July 2005 the hospitality sector was withdrawn from the scheme except for extensions and changes of employment, so that by 2008 all permits were for food processing.

Table 11 – All SBS work permits approved by industry, 2003 – 2008

Nationality	Numbers						Per cent					
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Total	7808	16864	7,401	3,586	1,472	1,570	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Bangladesh	1400	7270	193	413	18	1	17.9	43.1	2.6	11.5	1.2	0.1
Ukraine	1061	1654	1282	1371	6	0	13.6	9.8	17.3	38.2	0.4	0.0
Bulgaria	526	1424	1683	532	1181	1380	6.7	8.4	22.7	14.8	80.2	87.9
Pakistan	442	1214	620	253	11	1	5.7	7.2	8.4	7.1	0.7	0.1
Vietnam	69	768	81	0	0	0	0.9	4.6	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
India	240	708	644	33	0	0	3.1	4.2	8.7	0.9	0.0	0.0
Romania	269	699	884	227	245	188	3.4	4.1	11.9	6.3	16.6	12.0
Poland	1003	381	0	0	0	0	12.8	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Belarus	64	338	379	109	0	0	0.8	2.0	5.1	3.0	0.0	0.0
Moldova	138	336	207	238	10	0	1.8	2.0	2.8	6.6	0.7	0.0
Russia	130	301	217	38	0	0	1.7	1.8	2.9	1.1	0.0	0.0
Philippines	133	288	465	220	0	0	1.7	1.7	6.3	6.1	0.0	0.0
China	33	254	48	61	1	0	0.4	1.5	0.6	1.7	0.1	0.0
Brazil	76	122	38	26	0	0	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.7	0.0	0.0
South Africa	21	94	102	7	0	0	0.3	0.6	1.4	0.2	0.0	0.0
Slovakia	620	92	0	0	0	0	7.9	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Thailand	62	80	125	5	0	0	0.8	0.5	1.7	0.1	0.0	0.0
Lithuania	337	74	0	0	0	0	4.3	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Latvia	287	59	7	0	0	0	3.7	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Czech Republic	461	15	0	0	0	0	5.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Rest of World	57	147	93	0	0	0	0.7	0.9	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0

Table 12 – All SBS work permits approved by nationality, 2003 – 2008

Nationality	Numbers						Per cent					
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Total	7808	16864	7,401	3,586	1,472	1,570	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Bangladesh	1400	7270	193	413	18	1	17.9	43.1	2.6	11.5	1.2	0.1
Ukraine	1061	1654	1282	1371	6	0	13.6	9.8	17.3	38.2	0.4	0.0
Bulgaria	526	1424	1683	532	1181	1380	6.7	8.4	22.7	14.8	80.2	87.9
Pakistan	442	1214	620	253	11	1	5.7	7.2	8.4	7.1	0.7	0.1
Vietnam	69	768	81	0	0	0	0.9	4.6	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
India	240	708	644	33	0	0	3.1	4.2	8.7	0.9	0.0	0.0
Romania	269	699	884	227	245	188	3.4	4.1	11.9	6.3	16.6	12.0
Poland	1003	381	0	0	0	0	12.8	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Belarus	64	338	379	109	0	0	0.8	2.0	5.1	3.0	0.0	0.0
Moldova	138	336	207	238	10	0	1.8	2.0	2.8	6.6	0.7	0.0
Russia	130	301	217	38	0	0	1.7	1.8	2.9	1.1	0.0	0.0
Philippines	133	288	465	220	0	0	1.7	1.7	6.3	6.1	0.0	0.0
China	33	254	48	61	1	0	0.4	1.5	0.6	1.7	0.1	0.0
Brazil	76	122	38	26	0	0	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.7	0.0	0.0
South Africa	21	94	102	7	0	0	0.3	0.6	1.4	0.2	0.0	0.0
Slovakia	620	92	0	0	0	0	7.9	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Thailand	62	80	125	5	0	0	0.8	0.5	1.7	0.1	0.0	0.0
Lithuania	337	74	0	0	0	0	4.3	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Latvia	287	59	7	0	0	0	3.7	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Czech Republic	461	15	0	0	0	0	5.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Rest of World	57	147	93	0	0	0	0.7	0.9	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0

When the Scheme was first introduced a wide range of countries was represented. Eastern Europe was the main recruiting ground, Ukraine and Poland the largest suppliers (Table 12). However, several other countries were tapped, including Bangladesh, Pakistan, India and the Philippines. From 2007, the SBS was reserved for citizens of Bulgaria and Romania.

6.6 Workers Registration Scheme (2004-11)

The UK was one of three countries, with Ireland and Sweden, which allowed citizens of the acceding countries to the EU in May 2004 free access to its labour market. To monitor the flow a Workers Registration Scheme was introduced. Citizens of the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia or Slovenia (A8) who wanted to work for one month or more for a United Kingdom employer had to register under the WRS and pay a small fee. Although registration was compulsory in theory, in practice many workers did not register. Once they had been working legally in the United Kingdom for 12 months without a break they had full rights of free movement and no longer needed to register on the WRS. They were then able to get a registration certificate confirming their right to live and work in the United Kingdom. Self-employed workers were exempted under the right of establishment provisions of the EU Treaties. Hence, although WRS data provide an important indication of the trend in recruitment from the A8 countries, they do not provide a definitive account of numbers. Poland was the leading supplier, accounting for about two-thirds of the total (Table 13).

Table 13 – Nationality of approved applicants for the Worker Registration Scheme, May 2004 – March 2009

	Numbers	Per cent
Czech Rep	42135	4.4
Estonia	7995	0.8
Hungary	38605	4.1
Latvia	46165	4.9
Lithuania	87330	9.2
Poland	626595	66.0
Slovakia	99390	10.5
Slovenia	930	0.1
Total	949145	100.0

Most took up less skilled jobs, such as process operatives in factories, warehouse operatives, kitchen and catering assistants and cleaners (Table 14).

There is evidence from studies in both the UK and sending countries that many were over-qualified in terms of skill and educational levels for the jobs taken up, an echo of the situation of EVWs in the late 1940s (see, for example, Anderson et al., 2006; Kaczmarczyk and Okolski, 2008).

Table 14 – Worker Registration Scheme for top 20 occupations in which registered workers were employed, May 2004 – March 2009

Sector	Numbers	Per cent
Process operative (other Factory worker)	253130	33.4
Warehouse Operative	76580	10.1
Packer	53860	7.1
Kitchen & catering assistant	52765	7.0
Cleaner, domestic staff	51110	6.7
Farm worker/Farm hand	39680	5.2
Waiter, waitress	32110	4.2
Maid/Room attendant (hotel)	32050	4.2
Sales & retail assistants	25705	3.4
Labourer, building	24930	3.3
Care assistants & home carers	23655	3.1
Crop harvester	15155	2.0
Bar staff	11530	1.5
Not stated	11190	1.5
Food processing operative (fruit/veg)	10900	1.4
Food processing operative (meat)	10645	1.4
Chef, other	10240	1.4
Administrator, general	7585	1.0
Fruit picker (farming)	7440	1.0
Driver, HGV (Heavy Goods Vehicle)	7020	0.9
Total in the top 20 occupations	757265	100.0
Other/Not stated	153045	

6.7 Highly Skilled Migrants Programme (HSMP) (2002-08)

This was launched in January 2002 as a new initiative to allow individuals with exceptional skills and experience to come to the UK to seek and take up work or self-employment. The assumption was that the migrants would enter occupations with skill levels commensurate with their qualifications. Unlike the main work permit scheme, no prior offer of employment was necessary, permission being granted to the individual worker and not tied to a post offered by an employer. It was therefore novel in not being directly related to a perception of labour shortage. Furthermore, for the first time, a UK scheme used a point score system similar to those in Australia and Canada. To make a successful application, individuals needed to demonstrate that they would be able to continue their chosen career in the UK and also provide evidence that they scored 75

points or more in five areas: educational qualifications; work experience; past earnings; achievement in the chosen field; and HSMP priority applications (mainly qualified GPs). In the new points-based main managed migration system, HSMP was replaced by Tier 1 in February 2008.

Table 15 – Highly Skilled Migrant Programme applications approved, by nationality, 2003 – 2008

	Numbers				Per cent			
	2003	2005	2007	2008	2003	2005	2007	2008
India	837	6716	10502	6396	17.1	38.1	37.4	36.0
Australia	327	1518	3216	1814	6.7	8.6	11.4	10.2
Pakistan	309	2080	2360	2332	6.3	11.8	8.4	13.1
Nigeria	215	93	2180	1734	4.4	0.5	7.8	9.8
New Zealand	140	847	1647	979	2.9	4.8	5.9	5.5
South Africa	438	861	1460	1015	9.0	4.9	5.2	5.7
USA	848	619	936	505	17.3	3.5	3.3	2.8
China	171	49	839	398	3.5	0.3	3.0	2.2
Sri Lanka	46	269	652	329	0.9	1.5	2.3	1.9
Malaysia	40	174	492	179	0.8	1.0	1.8	1.0
Russian Federation	137	279	342	200	2.8	1.6	1.2	1.1
Canada	146	178	334	198	3.0	1.0	1.2	1.1
Bangladesh	58	245	222	170	1.2	1.4	0.8	1.0
Turkey	63	88	198	169	1.3	0.5	0.7	1.0
Nepal	16	111	163	115	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.6
Kenya	39	59	159	77	0.8	0.3	0.6	0.4
Zimbabwe	101	105	149	62	2.1	0.6	0.5	0.3
Ghana	30	70	147	63	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.4
Iran	43	91	120	78	0.9	0.5	0.4	0.4
Ukraine	36	91	120	97	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.5
Singapore	37	48	118	47	0.8	0.3	0.4	0.3
Egypt	50	135	116	31	1.0	0.8	0.4	0.2
Rest of World	208	2251	221	235	4.3	12.8	0.8	1.3
Total	4891	17631	28090	17760	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Over the period of the scheme 68,372 applications were approved and citizens of 74 countries made use of the scheme. The Indian sub-continent was the main source of supply, 24,451 (36 per cent) were Indians, easily the largest group, 7,081 (10.4 per cent) Pakistanis. Australia and South Africa were other major providers, along with Nigeria (Table 15).

A major problem with the scheme was that little follow up was made into the jobs entered so no statistics were kept on which occupations and sectors benefitted. It is therefore impossible to say how far the scheme lived up to the government’s expectations. Later evidence from the Scheme’s successor (Tier 1) suggested that many applicants for that were employed in jobs not requiring high skill levels: a small sample survey found that 29 per cent of Tier 1 visa holders were employed in unskilled roles and a second small

sample survey of Tier 1 applicants found that 30 per cent of applicants were in low-skilled employment or unemployed at the time of the survey (UK Border Agency, 2010).

6.8 Science and Engineering Graduates Scheme (SEGS) (2004-08)

The Science and Engineering Graduate Scheme was launched in 2004. It allowed non-EEA nationals who had graduated from UK higher or further education establishments in certain mathematics, physical sciences and engineering subjects with a 2.2 degree or higher to remain in the UK for 12 months after their studies in order to pursue a career. An amendment to the scheme in 2006 allowed all international students with a higher degree gained from a recognized UK higher education institution to be eligible for SEGS if they commenced their study on or after 1st May 2006.

In 2008, 16,171 students were approved for the scheme. Indians were the largest group with just over a quarter of the total, with Pakistan and China the other two major nationalities.

The Fresh Talent – Working in Scotland Scheme (FTWiSS) was a related UK immigration scheme launched to deal with problems of population decline and skill shortages in Scotland. It ended on 29 June 2008, when it was replaced by Tier 1 (Post Study Work). FTWiSS allowed non-EEA nationals who successfully completed a relevant Scottish degree or postgraduate qualification to work or set up a business in the UK for 24 months without needing a work permit. The principle of the scheme was to retain skilled and educated graduates as part of the UK labour force, who would switch into a longer-term work scheme such as the work permit scheme or Tier 1 (General), formerly the Highly Skilled Migrant Programme.

In March 2007, SEGS was replaced by the International Graduates Scheme (IGS). SEGS allowed only graduates in certain scientific disciplines to stay in the UK after graduation. Under the new scheme, any pass degree class (grade) was eligible; and those with post-graduate certificates and diplomas, such as a Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE), were eligible to apply. IGS was meant to be a transitional route from studying in the UK to skilled employment. To stay in the UK after the 12 month IGS period, migrants needed to apply for and meet the criteria of another immigration scheme, such as HSMP, work permits, innovator, or persons seeking to establish themselves in a business. In 2008, IGS was replaced by the Post-Study work category under Tier 1 of the PBS.

7. REVIEW

In summary: the pre-war work permit system was supplemented by the European Voluntary Worker scheme; the Commonwealth vouchers scheme was added then dropped; free movement after 1973 brought new flows in succession as more countries joined the EEC; the work permit system was split into several categories, each with its own rules and conditions and from 2000 a series of new schemes was introduced such as the Sectors Based Scheme and Highly Skilled Migrants Programme; after 2004 new procedures for Eastern Europeans were introduced including the Workers Registration Scheme; the Points Based System replaced the work permit system in 2008; from 2010 management was target driven. Throughout all this time the Irish came and went.

After 2010 government policy was numerically target driven with the number of visas annually capped. Policy was also to ensure that temporary flows were time limited. However, visa extensions for those already in the country meant that the number of work migrants remained high despite the cap: for example, in 2018 total work extensions were 49,556, with Tier 2 accounting for 38,014 of them. In most cases extensions reflect employer needs when work patterns, projects and costs of recruitment make them preferable to continuing turnover.

After WWII the main work permit scheme continued, its principles relatively unchanged: employer led, a resident labour market test, no undercutting of local pay rates, separate arrangements for trainees and young people. From the 1980s minor changes resulted from a series of reviews. The main shift was the introduction of a PBS from 2008 onwards which produced a new structure. Even then, Tier 3 never fully came into operation.

Despite this largely ad hoc approach, it is possible to identify some overall lessons which bear upon any future policy. Two sets of these are summarised below: the underlying geography and the occupational and sectoral evolution.

7.1 Geography

Sources have become global

During the period under consideration the sources of recruitment mobilised through the labour management system have steadily broadened. From an early focus on predominantly western Europe in the early post-war years, the range of source countries expanded with the most recent data showing a global reach. Before 1960 north-west Europe dominated but already Mediterranean sources (notably Spain and Italy) were growing in importance. During the 1960s and early 1970s a similar pattern prevailed, with Portugal joining the flow from the south. New sources were becoming apparent, particularly the US, Japan and South Africa as international “skill exchanges” assumed greater importance. The presence of Czechoslovakia in 1968, a consequence of the ‘Prague Spring’ heralded the possibility of eastern European sources if/when Communism was relaxed. Meanwhile, the voucher system for the first time brought Commonwealth countries into the managed system, including particularly India, Pakistan, West Indies and also the Old Commonwealth, the last mainly for more skilled occupations. Previously

they had unfettered access to the UK labour market.

From the mid-1970s, partly consequent upon the UK joining the EC, partly owing to the 1971 Immigration Act which extended entry controls to all Commonwealth countries, the work permit system entered a period of globalisation with the major sources being more economically developed countries, including the US, Hong Kong, Japan, Canada and Australia. The trend to globalisation has continued to the present, with the US, Canada, Australia and several Asian countries including India, China, Philippines, Japan and Pakistan becoming dominant. The same countries were represented in the HSMP. In addition to these, a large number of other countries featured, individual numbers being relatively small but collectively substantial.

Parallel to the globalisation trend in skilled worker recruitment, from the 1990s various schemes tapped into the emerging eastern European labour market for workers mainly in less skilled jobs. SAWS, SBS and WRS brought in substantial numbers particularly from Poland, Lithuania Slovakia and later Bulgaria and Romania, as well as from former USSR states, notably Ukraine, Russia and Moldova. In many ways these movements echoed those of the late 1940s and early 1950s, then coming mainly from western Europe.

Western Europe has played a continuing role

Since WWII labour migration from western Europe has been an integral part of the UK labour market. In the early years northwest Europe was a major source within the work permit system, followed by the Mediterranean countries. For the first few decades after WWII the region was a source of workers predominantly for less skilled occupations. Subsequently the emphasis shifted to more skilled workers: in 2019 60 per cent were highly skilled (professional, managers, administrators) compared with 47 per cent of all foreign workers.

After 1973 administrative data were no longer available for flows from EC states. Data from the LFS show a steady rise in the stock of workers from the EU(15) countries from around 130,000 in the late 1980s to almost 828,000 (excluding Irish) today. NINO statistics show that in most years of the current century EU workers were commonly over half of all registrations, reaching three-quarters at peak times.

Eastern Europe is a resurgent major source

Early flows from eastern Europe largely died from c.1950 but were strongly resuscitated after the fall of Communism. Most of these flows were not recorded through the work permit system. In the early post-WWII years sources were tapped through special schemes and were very much a hangover from the war. Jobs were mainly lower skilled. They included countries which became part of the USSR (Ukraine, Baltic states) as well as Poland and Yugoslavia. Most workers became integrated into the UK labour market as the schemes were wound down. After the fall of Communism some entered through the work permit system although numbers were small. With free movement

after 2003 moves were charted through the new Workers Registration Scheme which provides an incomplete but acceptable source of data on the scale and nature of flows. Self-employed people did not have to register. Although Poland was again the main source, all the other A8 member states were represented in the flows. The introduction of a transitional period before free movement for Bulgaria and Romania meant that flows from there continued to be recorded. As with the post-war migrants the jobs taken up were predominantly lower skilled, although many workers were well educated and had previously done skilled work.

The rise and rise of India is a major feature

The salient feature of the labour management system over the last 30-40 years has been the continuing rise of India as a major source of (predominantly skilled) workers. In the early 1970s it was not in the top twenty source countries, although it was a major beneficiary of the voucher scheme. A swift rise in the work permit hierarchy followed, to seventh in 1976, fourth by 1992 and second four years later. After 2003 it was the main source country for work permits and Tier 2, remaining there to the present and displacing the US which had held the top spot for two decades. By 2017 it was responsible for 23 per cent of CoS entrants via the RLMT route, 31 per cent by the shortage route and 70 per cent of ICTs. India was also the top source for applications approved under the HSMP with over a third of the total and was the largest source of students for the SEGS with over a quarter. Further, it was the top source country for Tier 1 visas, the successor to HSMP, with between a quarter and a third of the total each year from 2009 to 2015, until toppled by China in 2016-17.

Old Commonwealth and other seconomically advanced countries continue to play a major role

Links with the Old Commonwealth through labour management have been continuous. Before the 1970s their citizens had free entry to the UK so they fell outside the managed system. Subsequently young Commonwealth citizens entered as working holidaymakers or under the Trainee and Work Experience scheme. From the mid-1970s Australians, Canadians, South Africans and (to a lesser extent) New Zealanders entered the work permit system and became important sources which remained so. South Africans became less numerous after 2003, when direct recruitment of health and care workers from there slowed down. To these sources should be added those from the US and Japan in particular but also other advanced economies. Those involved were mostly highly skilled, engaged in 'brain exchanges'. Often the driver was intra-corporate transfer, with staff sent to (and from) the UK in response to the development of corporate global internal labour markets. In other cases overseas recruitment and mobility were responses to the international competition for high level skills.

7.2 Occupations and industry

Competition for high level skills is now the norm

The work permit system has always existed to recruit skilled and highly skilled workers

in response to specific shortages. In recent decades this has been the *raison d'être* of the system. Some vacancies are in niche areas; others, like doctors and nurses, more general. Overall, the most common entrants have been in professional and managerial occupations. What has evolved is a system designed to bring in those high level skills most conducive to national economic development. In particular, the dominant occupations are now in business services and IT technology professionals, following a period from the late-1990s when public services (mainly medical and educational) were predominant. These changes are reflected in the shifting balance by industry, away from hospitality, domestics, construction and manufacturing towards information and communications and professional, scientific and technical services and health.

Government labour management and the mobility policies of large organisations are strongly interrelated

The various reviews of the work permit system and the change to PBS have all pointed to the interrelationship between the operation of the system and the business requirements of large employers. Normally, only big companies have the resources to cover the costs of overseas recruitment, including finding new staff, labour market testing and government bureaucracy. The role of large organisations is particularly apparent in intra-company transfers which have consistently been a major part of labour management. As business has become more international, over the last half century a more international approach to the recruitment and allocation of labour resources has emerged. For national economic reasons all governments have sought to promote policies which attract and allow the smooth entry of high level skills. There has thus been a symbiosis between the ways in which international employers organise their internal labour markets and the role of government in easing labour mobility. As large international employers have become more dominant in IT and the main business services, a government labour management system which makes their service provision to clients in other sectors more efficient has become essential.

Despite the emphasis on the highly skilled, recruiting the low skilled is a constant

The recruitment of low skilled labour has been part of UK labour management throughout the period. During the late 1940s and 50s most work permits went to unskilled and semi-skilled workers, mainly in service industries, although the number in industry and commerce was growing by the mid-1950s. European Voluntary Workers in the late 1940s were initially in low skilled occupations, although latterly more were employed in coal mining and textile manufacturing. This pattern continued during the 1960s but there was a shift towards more skilled occupations. After 1973 work permits became more focused on skills, many of the less skilled jobs being taken by EC workers, predominantly from Ireland and the Mediterranean. The requirement for less skilled workers was filled in part by SAWS and the WHMS. These were supplemented after 1990 by labour from the former Communist countries and others recruited through the SBS, WRS and, later, by Bulgarians and Romanians.

8. SUMMARY

The evolution of the UK government labour management system point to three major conclusions which have a resonance for future labour immigration policy, particularly in light of Brexit. First, past evidence is that the UK economy has been unable to manage without substantial labour immigration, from both the EU and elsewhere. This suggests that unless there is a major collapse of the UK economy, immigrant workers will still be required in similar numbers. The alternatives are unlikely. The UK is and will continue to be competing in a global skills market and a major training effort for domestic workers would take years to produce the skills required. Greater capital investment and increased productivity might reduce labour demand throughout the skills spectrum but at the earliest they are medium term solutions. Furthermore, the domestic labour force shows little inclination for those lower skilled, lower paid and often temporary jobs currently performed largely by migrants. Even when government policy was to 'reduce immigration to the irreducible minimum' migrant labour still came in substantial numbers: the number of work permits was low but free movement from Irish and EEC sources was unhindered. At both ends of the skill spectrum the geographically proximate European spring has provided a readily available labour source allowing employers to make more flexible responses to economic and social conditions.

Second, a one-size-fits-all approach does not work; in consequence management needs to be pragmatic and nimble. In theory a points based system ought to be flexible, changing as conditions change. In reality reviews occur only periodically, largely for bureaucratic and political reasons, so system adaptation is slow. Throughout the period covered here the emphasis in work permits and the PBS has been on the link between skills and the competitive position of the UK economy. Over the years the nature of skills recruited from overseas has shifted in response to the changing economy. Fewer now enter manufacturing, knowledge intensive business services have grown in importance, government investment in public services has resulted in a roller coaster effect with periodic phases of recruitment into health and education. Furthermore, the UK system does not act in isolation but within an international competitive environment. All 'western' economies have policies designed to attract skills. Often these involve 'brain exchanges' between countries with reciprocal flows. Other moves are in response to perceptions by mobile workers of relative attractions in the form of pay, conditions and lifestyle. Increasingly skills have been drawn from hitherto developing economies, in the UK case notably from India, more recently China. Withdrawal of EEA labour since 2016 has increasingly opened the UK labour market to non-EEA skill sources.

Furthermore, it is clear that throughout there have been vacancies for low skilled workers. This is partly owing to the temporary nature of, especially seasonal, jobs and partly to the unwillingness of the domestic population to fill low skilled roles, especially in richer areas such as London and other major cities. The relative immobility of domestic workers, particularly when the prospect is moving from lower to higher cost housing areas, makes it more difficult to satisfy labour demands and types in one location by supply from elsewhere. Hence, part of the UK story since 1945 is of an availability of foreign workers willing to take these jobs, including western Europeans post-war, ethnic

minority immigrants, Mediterranean citizens and recently eastern Europeans. There is research evidence that, for example, some employers in hospitality and agriculture have found it easier to recruit from overseas in a chain effect, with regulars coming year after year, often to live in employer-provided accommodation.

Finally, a continuing symbiosis between labour management by the government and by business is essential. With globalisation and international competition any immigration management system must take into account the needs of employers. At the same time employers must operate within the policy framework set out by government. History shows that the UK political system has developed in co-operation with (mainly large) employers. This is particularly seen in respect of intra-company transfers which over many years have been one of the mainstays of the work permit and PBS systems. An industry has developed, consisting of relocation agencies, specialist lawyers, travel and estate agents and removal companies which is designed to ease the paths of corporate employees assigned internationally. Small and medium sized companies often lack the administrative skills and knowledge of overseas sources necessary to navigate the bureaucracy of overseas recruitment, particularly when numbers needed are low. For them the availability of European labour has reduced bureaucracy. A new post-Leave system is likely to increase bureaucracy for all employers with the burden being particularly hard for SMEs. If bureaucracy is too onerous skilled workers will go elsewhere.

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ANNEX 1

Nationality, 1948 – 2018

	1948	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972	1976	1979	1980	1984	1988	1992(2)
Australia (3)								342	425	403	342	620	1.1
Austria	3293	2058	2184	1930	1998	1349	773	78					
Belgium	474	294	296	305	416	440	423						
Bangladesh								23					
Brazil													
Canada								226	214	222	271	392	0.5
China											42	207	0.4
Czechoslovakia (4)	397				430	1793	341						
Denmark	1174	1698	2195	1808	1560	1385	769						
Egypt													
Estonia													
Finland	735	715	510	750	1400	1563	1571				91	137	
France	2674	3491	3380	3429	4232	5175	4135						
Germany (1)	3117	7421	10021	9911	7712	5845	3968						
Greece		111	152	359	702	786							
Hong Kong					661	1195	680	618	425	180	429	495	0.2
Hungary	585												
India								284	320	222	250	541	0.9
Iran											118	74	
Italy	3028	4410	9686	10688	8207	6509	2801						
Japan					306	489	1080	601	680	741	1028	2053	2.1
Latvia													
Luxembourg					13	20	21						
Malaysia								749	757	420	35	531	0.3
Morocco					106	519	203						
Netherlands	1993	2614	2401	2364	2336	2514	1483						
Nepal													
New Zealand								85		116	94	220	
Nigeria											48	131	
Norway	803	805	951	930	1183	1167	672				127	146	
Pakistan											96	112	
Philippines					50	252	2677	1855					
Poland	447												
Portugal		103	307	544	1395	1333	1623	491					
Russia													
Singapore								57			63	138	
South Africa					1391	1641	1485		216		134	288	0.4
South Korea											72	174	
Spain	212	820	3811	6694	10434	8944	6025	489			118	189	
Sri Lanka								193	256	129			
Sweden	1214	1106	1193	1417	1650	1816	1418	158		142	283	418	
Switzerland	5158	4416	4994	4684	4429	4495	2711	270			161	360	
Turkey					235	479	358						
United States	749	1064	1305	1572	3851	6210	6356	1935	1910	1996	2493	3432	4.1
Yugoslavia			362	355	618	2020	950						
Zimbabwe													
Other Nationalities	1802	739	1956	2351	4025	5114	5477			1852			4.4
Statless		267	233	264									
Total	28460	32632	46117	50355	58338	62267	48000	22620	8344	6423	15691	25974	14.4

Notes:

1. From 1964 West Germany numbers
2. From 1992 onwards it's a long term permits only and numbers for 1992 are rounded up to the nearest hundred
3. 1992 Australia number includes New Zealand
4. From 1993 Czech Republic

Data in italics are taken from Department of Employment Gazette

ANNEX 1 (contin.)

Nationality, 1948 – 2018 (continued)

	1996	2000	2003	2007	2009	2012	2014	2016	2017	2018
Australia (3)	1894	5669	6803	5427	2190	1255	2788	2196	3482	3429
Austria										
Belgium										
Bangladesh						406	1037			
Brazil					369	409	611	746	723	934
Canada	1109	1921	1949	2083	1213	1502	1893	2156	2077	2046
China	688	1541	4077	4578	2173	2952	4041	4355	4414	4929
Czechoslovakia (4)	169	429								
Denmark										
Egypt					346	490	671	844	1057	1409
Estonia										
Finland										
France										
Germany (1)										
Greece										
Hong Kong										
Hungary										
India	2679	12292	19964	36254	25245	33773	42130	42026	38867	41453
Iran								623	638	660
Italy										
Japan	2593	2645	2371	2186	1637	2246	2477	2517	2287	2138
Latvia										
Luxembourg										
Malaysia	373	866	2217	1375	804	982	1125	1560	1496	1637
Morocco										
Netherlands										
Nepal					330	510	745			
New Zealand					683	572	727	917	957	875
Nigeria			1032	1004	795	1262	1589	1781	2076	2866
Norway										
Pakistan			2785	2223	1156	1702	2651	2195	2198	2494
Philippines	76	6772	5921	1844	1740	1725	2102	2952	3549	4718
Poland	342	687								
Portugal										
Russia	642	1054	831	1182	503	876	1314	1533	1496	1623
Singapore								652	689	770
South Africa	883	4437	6267	2883	1515	946	1074	1372	1293	1410
South Korea					357	488	756	789	693	723
Spain										
Sri Lanka					439	528	856	694	688	659
Sweden										
Switzerland										
Turkey						441	569	790	921	956
United States	8673	12654	8550	11126	6193	7824	9115	8681	8451	8630
Yugoslavia										
Zimbabwe										
Other Nationalities										
Statless										
Total	26432	64571	85786	87968	54152	68114	87386	89167	86685	94088

ANNEX 2 (contin.)

Certificates of sponsorship by occupation and routes of entry, Tier 2, 2009, 2012, 2015 - 2016, 2018 (continued)

	2009		2012		2014		2015		2016		2018	
	num	%	num	%	num	%	num	%	num	%	num	%
614 Caring Personal Services	0	0.0	0	0.0	458	0.5	323	0.4	2	0.0	2	0.0
62 Leisure and other personal service occupations	25	0.0	7	0.0	2	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0
621 Leisure and travel service occupations	13	0.0	4	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
622 Hairdressers and related occupations	12	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0
623 Housekeeping and Related Services	0	0.0	1	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
629 Personal services occupations n.e.c.	0	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	19	0.0	0	0.0
7 Sales and Customer Service Occupations	49	0.1	19	0.0	76	0.1	54	0.1	2	0.0	9	0.0
71 Sales occupations	29	0.1	6	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
711 Sales assistants and retail cashiers	3	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
712 Sales related occupations	26	0.0	6	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
713 Sales Supervisors	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	2	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
72 Customer service occupations	20	0.0	13	0.0	76	0.1	52	0.1	17	0.0	9	0.0
721 Customer service occupations	20	0.0	13	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
722 Customer Service Managers and Supervisors	0	0.0	0	0.0	76	0.1	52	0.1	17	0.0	9	0.0
8 Process, Plant and Machine Operatives	68	0.1	17	0.0	7	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
81 Process, plant and machine operatives	57	0.1	8	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
811 Process operatives	38	0.1	8	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
812 Plant and Machine Operatives	14	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
813 Assemblers and routine operatives	5	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
82 Transport and mobile machine drivers and operatives	11	0.0	9	0.0	6	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
821 Transport drivers and operatives	11	0.0	9	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
823 Other Drivers and Transport Operatives	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
9 Elementary Occupations	870	1.6	71	0.1	29	0.0	22	0.0	10	0.0	9	0.0
91 Elementary trades, plant and storage relate occupations	40	0.1	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
911 Elementary agricultural occupations	35	0.1	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
912 Elementary construction occupations	4	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
913 Elementary process plant occupations	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
92 Elementary administration and service occupations	162	0.3	69	0.1	29	0.0	22	0.0	10	0.0	9	0.0
922 Elementary personal services occupations	161	0.3	69	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
923 Elementary cleaning occupations	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
927 Other Elementary Services Occupations	0	0.0	0	0.0	29	0.0	22	0.0	10	0.0	9	0.0
99 Not stated	668	1.2	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
999 Not stated	668	1.2	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

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