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MAPPING EU CITIZENS IN THE UK: A CHANGING PROFILE?

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Executive Summary

- At the time of the Brexit referendum, EU-born UK residents, who overall accounted for 5% of the UK population, comprised between 0.7% and 25.8% of the resident population in local areas, with geographical distribution concentrated around London, the South East, and the East.
- Over forty years of EU membership have transformed the makeup of the United Kingdom. EU nationals made the 1.8% of the UK population in 1981. At the time of the EU referendum they were just over 5%. In this brief, we use official statistics to provide a historical overview of EU nationals in the UK since the early 1980s until the period around the EU Referendum in June 2016, focussing on the national picture as well as lower geographical areas.
- A historical perspective on the evolution of EU nationals' presence in the UK highlights the presence of long established communities who may be in their second and third generation in the UK. The legacy of this presence, even when descendants may have a British passport (see Brief 2), highlight a wider section of British population directly affected by Brexit, especially with regard to rights of residence and mobility and existential issues about identity and belonging. We show that, from 1981 to 2001, the share of EC/EU nationals within the population and their geographical location remained relatively stable, with about a third living in/around London.
- The major change to the importance and distribution of EU nationals in the UK came after the 2004 Accession of New Member States (e.g. Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia, Cyprus, and Malta), a topic that has been heavily mediatised, especially during the EU Referendum campaign.
- This was also associated to a change in the main origins of EU nationals, as well as a shift in their demographic, and geographical profile.
- This allows us to see where broad changes may have occurred and potentially identify where larger shares of individuals may be affected, whether EU nationals or not.

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ONS estimates

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Introduction

According to immigration estimates, at the time of the EU Referendum, there were over 3 million EU nationals living in the UK. This represented just over 5% of the total estimated UK population at the time (Office for National Statistics, 2017b), with the largest groups of EU nationals, based on country of birth, being from Poland, Ireland, Germany, Romania, and Italy (Office for National Statistics, 2018a– see Table 2). These figures are often compared to prior estimates, which show that, since the early 2000s, the number of EU nationals in the UK has increased, mostly via a rise in A8 nationals living in the UK (Vargas-Silva and Markaki, 2017).

This can be shown in Figure 1, which presents the number of EU nationals (based on country of citizenship) in the UK since 2004, where we can see a steady increase in their numbers, especially in comparison with the number of non-EU nationals in the country and with regard to the estimated numbers of EU8 and EU2 nationals. In 2013 EU nationals eventually outnumbered non-EU nationals. If we look at their distribution in the UK at the time of the referendum, the largest numbers congregated around big urban centres, such as London, Birmingham, Manchester, Leicester, or Leeds. In fact, these estimates indicate that London was home to about a third of all EU nationals in the UK (Office for National Statistics, 2018a).

Historical estimates of net migration of EU nationals to the UK (see Figure 2), defined as the difference between non-UK EU nationals in-migrating and out-migrating, show that it had been, at least until the time of the referendum on an increasing trend. Officials estimates of the presence of UK working-age individuals (15-64) in other EU countries (Eurostat, 2018), show that the number of UK citizens living in EU countries has increased and then slightly decreased in recent years.

These figures have often been used for narratives around immigration and EU freedom of movement. This was especially in the run-up to, and since, the referendum, from both sides of the debate. From a Remain perspective, the UK looked either to encapsulate the dream of creating a 'European' identity via Freedom of Movement, with sizeable communities from almost every Member State living in the UK. From a Leave perspective, this increase, especially since the 2004 enlargement, was perceived as a problem, especially in areas experiencing rapid population change (Moore and Ramsay, 2017; Portes, 2017).

Yet, aside from these gross figures (and some individual narratives), very little is known about the circumstances of EU nationals in the UK, especially with regard to their geographical distribution or the historical evolution of their presence in the UK¹.

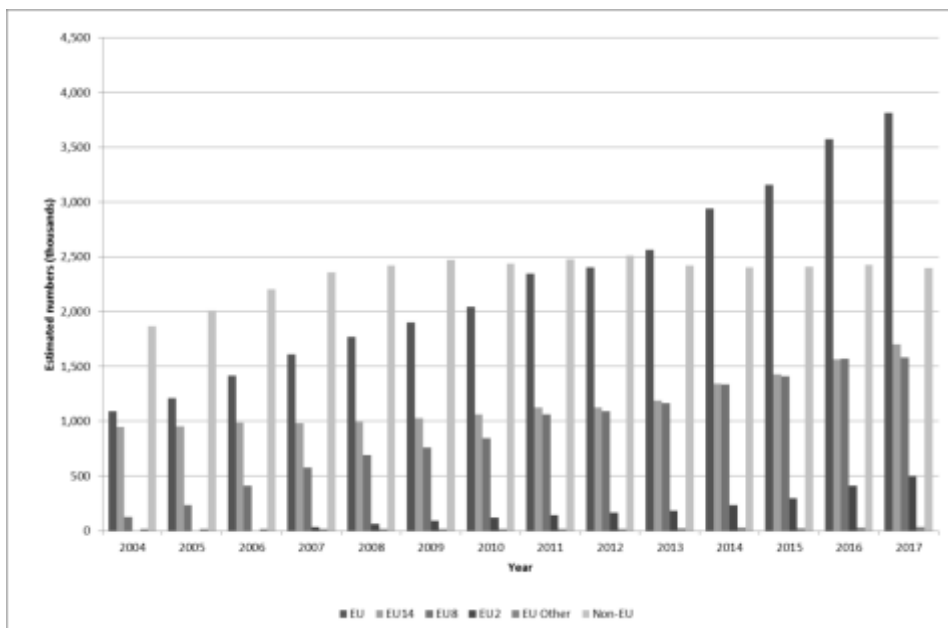


Figure 1 Estimates of UK population by country of citizenship, 2004-2017.

Source: ONS (2018a)

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¹One known exception is the work by Sabater (2015)

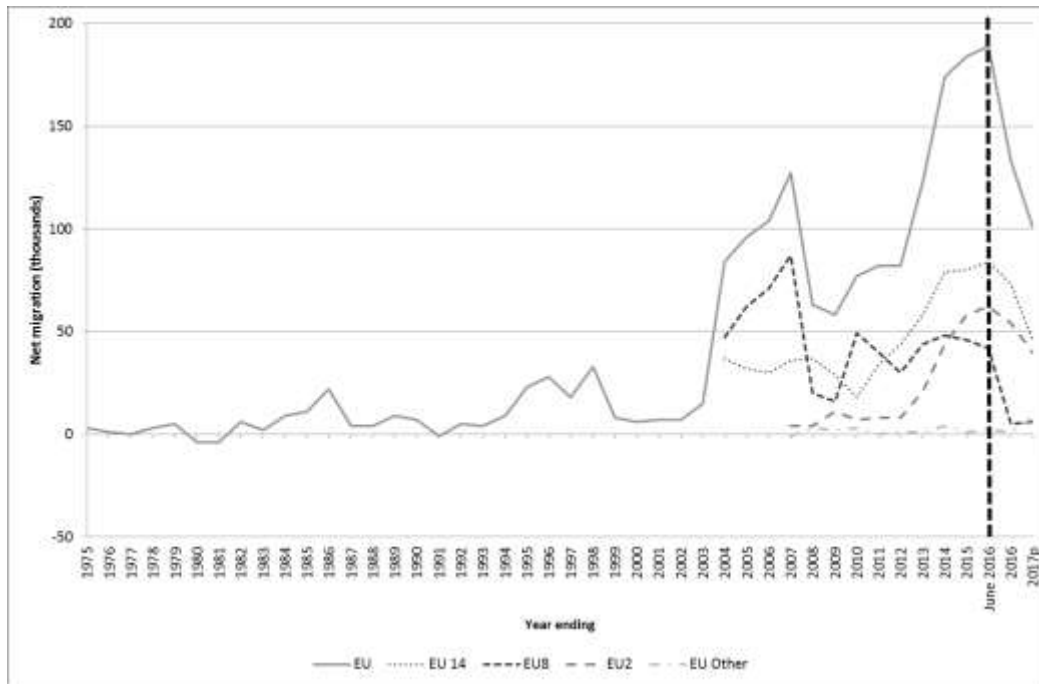


Figure 2 Long-term migration flow estimates of EU nationals in the UK. Net migration, by citizenship, excluding British nationals.

Source: ONS (2017a, 2018b).

Notes: December yearly estimates (except June). Dotted line: time of EU Referendum. Net migration estimates for 2017 are provisional. See statement at beginning of document for copyright statements.

In this brief, we use official statistics to provide a historical overview of EU nationals in the UK since the early 1980s, offering a pre- and post-free movement picture of the geographical locations of EU nationals in the UK. We attempt to move beyond the macro, national-level, picture to focus on smaller geographical areas. This is done in order to document the circumstances of a population that, up until the referendum, and with the exception of EU8 and EU2 nationals, whose fortunes have been more widely documented, had mostly been ignored from debates about migration and mobility. Its future, however, will be, and already has been, affected by the vote to leave the EU, especially with regard to rights of residence and mobility and existential issues about identity and belonging, among others.

The data

The data used in this brief come from various years of the Census (1981/1991/2001/2011) as well as official estimates from the ONS. This allows us to look at migrant 'stock' in (population) and 'flows' into (movement) the UK. The Census of the population is considered as providing a more 'complete' picture of the population at a given point in time, but is not without its limitations (see, for example, the discussion in Krausova and Vargas-Silva, 2014: 13). The estimates provided by the ONS come from different sources of data (International Passenger Survey for movement and Annual Population Survey for population), which measure different aspects of migration in the UK and have their advantages and limitations, and include degrees of uncertainty around the numbers provided (see Office for National Statistics (2016) for more information). There are, of course, other ways in which to estimate population and movement (National Insurance Number and GP registrations, for example), which also have their strengths and weaknesses (Office for National Statistics, 2016), but are not used here.

Most data is available at the Local Authority level, or their historical equivalents, for all four constituent countries. When this data is not available, this is indicated in the text.

Identifying EU nationals

There are different ways in which we can identify EU nationals in the data: via country of birth and nationality/citizenship. Country of birth allows to identify individuals born outside of the UK, but who could, for various reasons, not be classified as international migrants. Nationality, on the other hand, allows identifying individuals who potentially have different rights to live in the UK, but, within the official published estimates by ONS, does not allow looking at multiple nationalities. For issues of historical continuity, we tend to focus on using country of birth rather than nationality, as the former has only been available in the Census since 2011.

Note that there have been changes in EU membership in the time period covered in this brief (see Table 1 for a list of EU countries and their year of accession). This means that, across time periods, who is counted as a EU national will vary depending on their country of origin's membership, which will also have an impact on the figures shown over time.

Another important aspect that has an impact on the numbers being presented is the fact that Ireland is an EU Member State but has, to say the least, a linked history to the UK (the details of which are too complex to get into here), especially with regard to migration. This especially relevant with regard to understanding the figures for Northern Ireland, the only nation sharing a land border with Ireland. Here, we include Ireland in the figures, but discuss figures excluding Ireland when worthy of mention. Cyprus and Malta are also a specific case, as they were part of the Commonwealth until very recently but are now EU Member States and have been counted as such in official statistics.

Table 1 EU countries, dates of accession, and associated terminology.

Source: European Parliament (N.D.)

| Countries | Date of accession | Terminology | | | |
|---|-------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands | Founding members (1958) | EU27 | EU14 | | |
| Denmark, Ireland, [United Kingdom] | 1973 | | | | |
| Greece | 1981 | | | | |
| Spain, Portugal | 1986 | | | | |
| Austria, Finland, Sweden | 1995 | | | | |
| Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia | 2004 | | Census data: Accession countries | IPS/APS data: EU10 | IPS/APS data: EU8 |
| Cyprus, Malta | 2004 | | | EU Other | |
| Bulgaria, Romania | 2007 [^] | | | EU 10 | EU2 |
| Croatia | 2013 [^] | NA | EU Other | | |

[^] Restrictions to the freedom of movement of Bulgarian and Romanian nationals were lifted on January 2014 (*BBC News*, 2014) and were lifted for Croatian nationals at the end of June 2018 (*GOV.UK*, 2018).

Disaggregating the presence of EU nationals in the UK over time

In this section, we focus on showing the geographical location of EU nationals over a longer period of time than is usually focussed on in current political debates on 'EU migration'. This is in order to provide a more in-depth historical overview to the presence of EU nationals since the UK joining the European Community in 1973 and highlight the intergenerational dimension of such presence. Historical comparisons are not without their challenges, however. This can be due to changes in availability of data, including geographical boundaries, and changes in the definition of our population of interest, EU nationals, in relation to the accession of new Members States in the time period (see Table 1). For these reasons, we focus on three specific periods: 1981-1991 – pre-Maastricht Treaty, before freedom of movement was established; 2001-2011 – post-Maastricht Treaty and EU enlargement; and 2011-2016 – the period leading to the EU Referendum on 28 June 2016.

1981-1991: Nationals from the European Community in the pre-Maastricht Treaty era

Prior to the Maastricht Treaty, the European Union was referred for as the European Community (EC). Do note that this period also includes the addition in 1986 of two new Member States, Spain and Portugal, which represented just over 5% of the EC-born Great Britain in the 1991 Census and about 0.11% of the overall population, compared to 0.10% in the 1981 Census (Office for National Statistics, 1991; Office of Population Censuses and Survey and Registrar General for Scotland, 2000).

Table 2 shows information about the share of EC-born in the population, the top countries of birth and the age breakdown for Great Britain as a whole, but also for England, Wales, and Scotland separately in that time period.² In the 1981 Census, approximately 1.83% of all residents in Great Britain were EC-born, a percentage that varies from under 1% in Wales and Scotland, to just under 2% in England. Across all countries, the vast majority of EC nationals were born in Ireland, Germany, and Italy.

² Data for Northern Ireland is excluded because of data availability issues.

With regard to age profiling, just over a third of residents born in the EC were of prime working age (25-44), another third over 45 of working age but under pensionable age, and 7.54% were under age 16. The age profile of EC residents was similar in England, but slightly different in Wales and Scotland, with more younger EC-born residents in both countries, and a slightly higher share of older residents in Scotland (Great Britain Office of Population Censuses and Surveys and Great Britain General Register Office (Scotland), 1983; Office of Population Censuses and Survey and Registrar General for Scotland, 2000). In the 1991 Census, the country of birth and age breakdowns were quite similar to 1981 figures, with the share of EC-born in the resident population increasing by 0.2-1.6% (Office of Population Censuses and Surveys et al., 1997).

We are going to look at the geographical distribution of EC residents in more detail. Figures 2 and 3, which compare the share of individuals born in the EC out of all local area residents in 1981 and 1991. As mentioned earlier, darker shades indicate higher shares of EC nationals in the resident population. According to the data, EC nationals comprised between 0.3 and 9.6% of residents of local areas in the 1981 Census (0.2-4.6% if we exclude Ireland from the calculations – see website), and between 0.3 and 12.3% in the 1991 Census (0.2-9.1% if we exclude Ireland). The areas with the highest percentage of EC-born residents tended to be concentrated in the London/South East of Great Britain, with districts of Scotland increasing their share of EC-born nationals in the 10-year period. In fact, in 1981, 50.5% of EC nationals lived in the South East, with 29.6% in the greater London area. The corresponding figures for 1991 are 52.9% and 32.3%.

The picture changes somewhat if we look at Figures 4 and 5, which show the share of EC-born among the non-UK born residents in the same areas. The share of EC-born among the non-UK born remained relatively constant throughout the period, where they comprised between 7.5 and 69.1% of non-UK born residents in 1981, and between 8.8 and 68.2% in 1991. Their geographical location, however, did change. Whereas the previous maps showed us that higher shares of the EC-born tended to be found in the South-East of the country, they did not necessarily comprised higher shares of the 'migrant' population within these districts. In fact, higher shares of the EC-born among the non-UK born tended to be more spread out across the

Table 2 EC nationals in the 1981 and 1991 Census years.

Source: 1981 Census and 1991 Census (Great Britain Office of Population Censuses and Surveys and Great Britain General Register Office (Scotland), 1983; Office of Population Censuses and Surveys et al., 1997)

| | Year | Share of EC-born in population | Top countries of birth | Age breakdown |
|---------------|------|--------------------------------|---|---|
| Great Britain | 1981 | 1.8% | Ireland (61.9%) Germany (18.0%) Italy (10.0%) | 0-15: 7.5% 16-24: 7.9% 25-44: 33.5% 45-pensionable age: 33.3% Pensionable age: 17.7% |
| | 1991 | 2.0% | Ireland (54.5%) Germany (19.8%) Italy (8.4%) | 0-15: 8.1% 16-24: 9.7% 25-44: 29.9% 45-64: 33.6% 65+: 18.8% |
| England | 1981 | 2.0% | Ireland (62.5%) Germany (17.5%) Italy (9.8%) | 0-15: 7.3% 16-24: 7.9% 25-44: 33.9% 45-pensionable age: 33.4% Pensionable age: 17.5% |
| | 1991 | 2.1% | Ireland (55.2%) Germany (19.2%) Italy (8.3%) | 0-15: 7.8% 16-24: 9.7% 25-44: 30.1% 45-64: 33.9% 65+: 18.6% |
| Wales | 1981 | 1.0% | Ireland (50.7%) Germany (23.4%) Italy (15.0%) | 0-15: 9.9% 16-24: 8.1% 25-44: 30.2% 45-pensionable age: 34.8% Pensionable age: 17.0% |
| | 1991 | 1.0% | Ireland (45.5%) Germany (28.1%) Italy (11.3%) | 0-15: 10.7% 16-24: 8.6% 25-44: 27.4% 45-64: 32.6% 65+: 20.7% |
| Scotland | 1981 | 1.0% | Ireland (56.5%) Germany (23.1%) Italy (10.0%) | 0-15: 11.6% 16-24: 8.5% 25-44: 27.2% 45-pensionable age: 30.8% Pensionable age: 21.9% |
| | 1991 | 1.0% | Ireland (47.0%) Germany (28.7%) Italy (8.1%) | 0-15: 12.2% 16-24: 10.5% 25-44: 27.7% 45-64: 27.6% 65+: 21.9% |

Note that rounding may lead to percentages adding to over 100%. Note that percentages for country of birth calculated out of all EU-born. In 1981, the counts for Germany include the Federal Republic and Germany (part not stated).

country (if we look at the maps without the inclusion of Irish nationals, the geographical clustering is similar, if not a bit more concentrated), and were a relatively low percentage of the non-UK born in the South East (areas with larger share of non-UK born residents from outside the EC).

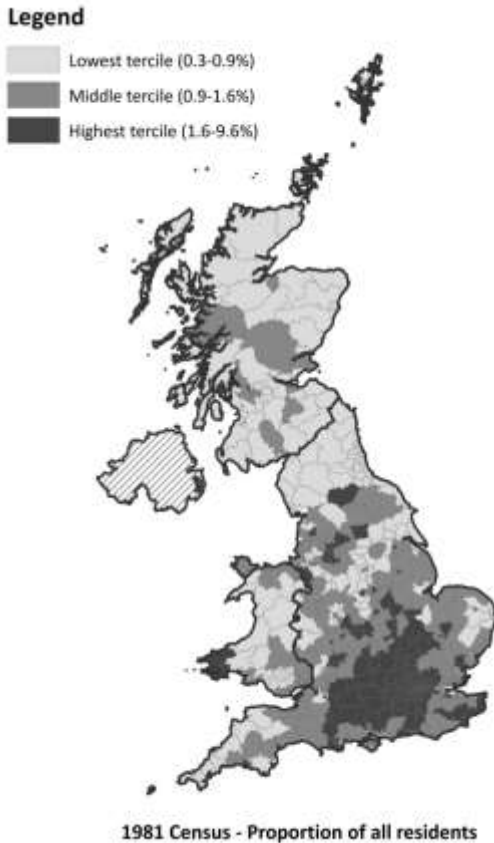


Figure 3 Share of EC-born, including Ireland, among all district residents in Great Britain, 1981 Census.
 Source: 1981 Census: Digitised Boundary Data (England and Wales, Scotland); 1981 Census data; 2011 Census boundary data (Department of the Environment, n.d.; Office for National Statistics et al., n.d.); Office of Population Censuses and Survey and Registrar General for Scotland, 2000; Scottish Development Department, n.d.).

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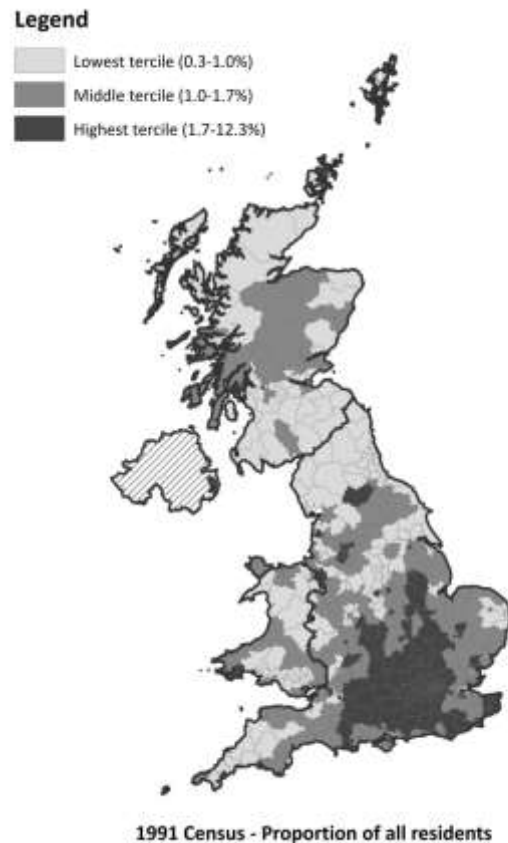


Figure 4 Share of EC-born, including Ireland, among all district residents in Great Britain, 1991 Census.
 Source: 1991 Census: Digitised Boundary Data (England and Wales, Scotland); 1991 Census data; 2011 Census boundary data (Ed-Line Consortium, n.d.; General Register Office (Scotland), n.d.; Office for National Statistics et al., n.d.); Office of Population Censuses and Surveys et al., 1997).

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Navigating the maps

The maps disaggregate the geographical location of EU nationals at the Local Authority District (or its historical or national equivalents) across various years. In most maps, we differentiate between presenting the percentage of EU nationals as a share of all residents in a given area and percentage of EU nationals as a share of the non-UK born in a given area. This gives us a different picture of the importance of EU nationals within two specific populations, either as their importance among all residents, or foreign-born residents. For ease of interpretation, we have grouped the percentages produced into tertiles. This is a way to order and classify data into three equivalently-sized groups. The data is thus where they are divided into three categories: low third, middle third, and high third. This allows comparing which areas, at the national level, had higher or lower percentages of EU nationals across years. It is important to note, however, that this classification will not be influenced by the range of values, which are mentioned in the text. On the maps, the darker the colouring of the area, the higher percentage of EU nationals in a given area.

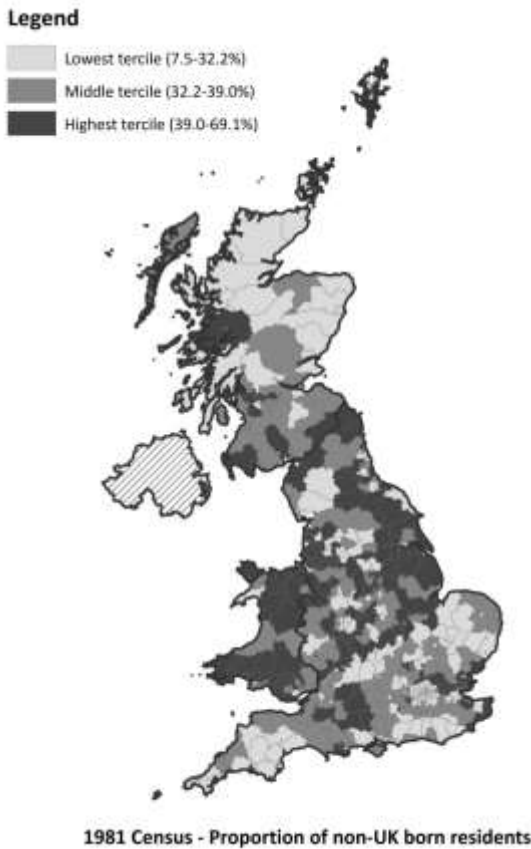


Figure 5 Share of EC-born, including Ireland, among non-UK born district residents in Great Britain, 1981 Census.

Source: 1981 Census: Digitised Boundary Data (England and Wales and Scotland); 1981 Census data; 2011 Census boundary data (Department of the Environment, n.d.; Office for National Statistics et al., n.d.; Office of Population Censuses and Survey and Registrar General for Scotland, 2000; Scottish Development Department, n.d.).

If we examine the figures for London, where numbers of EC nationals were high as a share of the resident population, but low as a share of the non-UK born resident population, we see that, in 1981, the largest concentrations of EC nationals were in Brent (7.61% of the EC nationals living in London), Barnet (5.71%), Ealing (5.49%), City of Westminster (5.34%), and Camden (5.32%). In 1991, the largest concentrations were in Brent (7.39%), City of Westminster (5.64%), Ealing (5.44%), Barnet (5.41%), Kensington and Chelsea (4.86%), Lambeth (4.85%), and Camden (4.85%).

The picture for the 1981-1991 period shows us that EC nationals comprised a small share of the resident population in areas of Great Britain, with a concentration in the South East region, especially in London, when we look at the share of the overall resident population.



Figure 6 Share of EC-born, including Ireland, among non-UK born district residents in Great Britain, 1991 Census.

Source: 1991 Census: Digitised Boundary Data (England and Wales, Scotland); 1991 Census data; 2011 Census boundary data (Ed-Line Consortium, n.d.; General Register Office (Scotland), n.d.; Office for National Statistics et al., n.d.; Office of Population Censuses and Surveys et al., 1997).

There is more geographical dispersion with regard to EC nationals as the share of non-UK born resident population, suggesting that areas with larger number of EC nationals were also areas with larger shares of non-UK born residents. In both instances, there appears to be a stability in the geographical location of the areas with larger shares of EC nationals over that time period, even including the two new Member States.

2001-2011: EU nationals in the UK in the post-Maastricht Treaty and Accession period

We now move to the distribution of EU nationals in the UK (including Northern Ireland) in the 2001-2011 period, which has been characterised by important changes to EU membership³. In 2004, 10 additional

³ Prior to 2001, however, other important changes occurred. In 1993, the Maastricht Treaty came into force, which established the European Union, as well as freedom of movement and residence of EU citizens, rather than workers, in EU Member

countries joined (including the Commonwealth countries of Cyprus and Malta, which have been included in official migration statistics in a different category than the other countries joining at the same time; see Table 1), including EU8 countries, whose accession to the EU was heavily debated and mediatised (Consterdine, 2016). In 2007, Bulgaria and Romania joined, with limitations on their freedom of movement until 2014. Their nationals are, however, included in the EU classification in the 2011 Census (Office for National Statistics, 2013b). These changes have had many important impacts, including on data about EU nationals in the UK during that period, which we explore below.

Let's first look at the profile (demographic importance, countries of origin, and age profiles) of EU nationals in all countries, as shown in Table 3. The first thing to mention is the fact that, despite the inclusion of Northern Ireland in the data and the addition of new Member States, the share of EU-born in the UK's population remained quite close to that from 1991. It is in the 2001 to 2011 period that the share of EU nationals has more or less doubled in all areas covered in the table. The period also saw a change in the top countries of birth, as previously shown (Office for National Statistics, 2013a), with Poland becoming the most occurring country of birth among the EU-born and Ireland showing a decline in its share, especially if we compare with the earlier period. Note that, in 2001, the number of Polish nationals was a bit larger than the number or Spanish nationals in England and Wales and that there was a tenfold increase in their number during that period. Despite the difficulty in comparing the age distributions, it is possible to see that in 2011 the age distribution of EU nationals appeared to be younger than in previous years; this is especially due to the younger age distribution of EU nationals from Accession countries, where over two thirds were under 35 years of age.

If we look at the distribution of EU nationals in the 2001 Census (Figure 7), we see a distribution that is more or less similar to that of 1991, with similar range of percentages (0.4-13.5% of all residents in local areas) even more so if we exclude Irish nationals from the picture. We also see, for Northern Ireland, that the concentration of EU nationals is along the border with Ireland, but that is due to the inclusion of Irish nationals in the data

(see website). When looking at the share of EU nationals out of the non-UK born (not shown here), we see a similar pattern than in 1981-1991 in 2001.

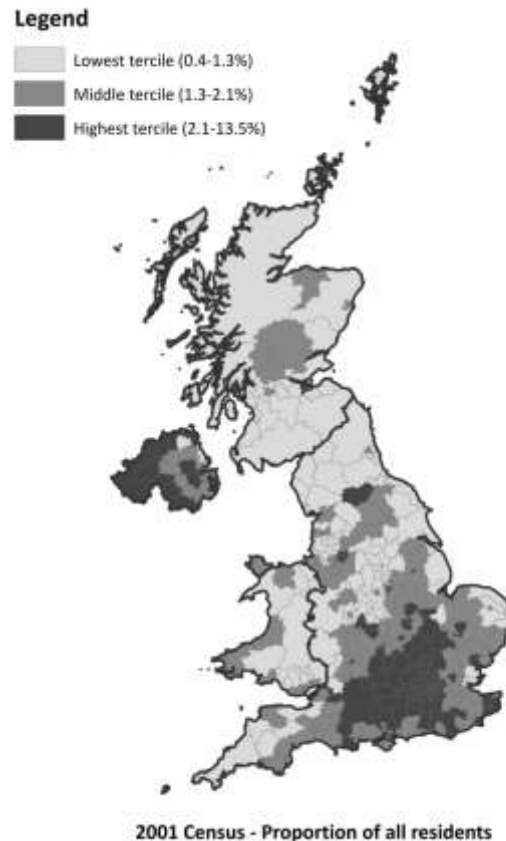


Figure 7 EU-born as share of all residents in Local Authority District, 2001 Census, including Ireland.

Source: 2001 Census, Output Area Boundaries; 2001 Census; 2011 Census boundary data. (General Register Office for Scotland, n.d.; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, n.d.; Office for National Statistics, 2011, n.d.; Office for National Statistics et al., n.d.).

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States (European Central Bank, 2017). In 1995, three countries joined the EU: Austria, Finland, and Sweden.

Table 3 EU nationals in the 2001 & 2011 Census years.

Source: 2001 Census and 2011 Census (Office for National Statistics, 2011; Office for National Statistics et al., 2016).

| | Year | Share of EU-born in population | Top EU countries of birth | Age breakdown |
|------------------|------|--------------------------------|---|---|
| United Kingdom | 2001 | 2.2% | Ireland (42.4%) Germany (21.0%) Italy (8.5%) | 0-15: 7.3% 16-pensionable age [^] : 66.3% > Pensionable age: 26.4% |
| | 2011 | 4.3% | Poland (24.4%) Ireland (17.4%) Germany (11.2%) | 0-15: 9.6% 16-34: 41.8% 35-64: 34.5% 65+: 14.2% |
| England | 2001 | 2.3% | Ireland (41.1%) Germany (20.8%) Italy (8.8%) | 0-15: 7.1% 16-pensionable age: 66.2% > Pensionable age: 26.5% |
| | 2011 | 4.5% | Poland (23.6%) Ireland (16.6%) Germany (11.2%) | 0-15: 9.5% 16-34: 41.4% 35-64: 34.6% 65+: 14.5% |
| Wales | 2001 | 1.2% | Ireland (37.1%) Germany (29.5%) Italy (9.5%) | 0-15: 9.0% 16-pensionable age: 63.3% > Pensionable age: 27.7% |
| | 2011 | 2.2% | Poland (26.7%) Ireland (18.0%) Germany (16.6%) | 0-15: 9.7% 16-34: 39.8% 35-64: 35.2% 65+: 15.4% |
| Scotland | 2001 | 1.3% | Ireland (34.3%) Germany (29.4%) Italy (7.8%) France (7.6%) | 0-15: 9.2% 16-pensionable age: 68.6% > Pensionable age: 22.2% |
| | 2011 | 3.0% | Poland (35.0%) Ireland (14.5%) Germany (14.1%) | 0-15: 9.5% 16-34: 51.0% 35-64: 30.8% 65+: 8.7% |
| Northern Ireland | 2001 | 2.9% | Ireland (86.8%) Germany (8.0%) France (1.5%) | 0-15: 9.5% 16-pensionable age: 62.9% > Pensionable age: 27.6% |
| | 2011 | 4.6% | Ireland (45.6%) Poland (23.7%) Lithuania (8.8%) | 0-15: 11.3% 16-34: 38.2% 35-64: 36.0% 65+: 14.4% |

[^]Pensionable age is 65 for men, and 60 for women. Note that percentages for country of birth calculated out of all EU-born.

Comparing the geographical distribution of EU14 nationals in 2011 (Figure 8), which includes those who would have been counted as EU nationals in 2001, also does not show major changes in the geographical distribution of EU nationals (aside from areas in Scotland). The range of the share of EU nationals in local authority districts increased slightly (0.9-16.3%). Again, the largest shares of EU14 nationals in the UK were in the South and, of course, Northern Ireland if we include Irish nationals. In 2011, however, the East and the South West regions have larger shares of EU14 nationals among their non-UK born resident population.

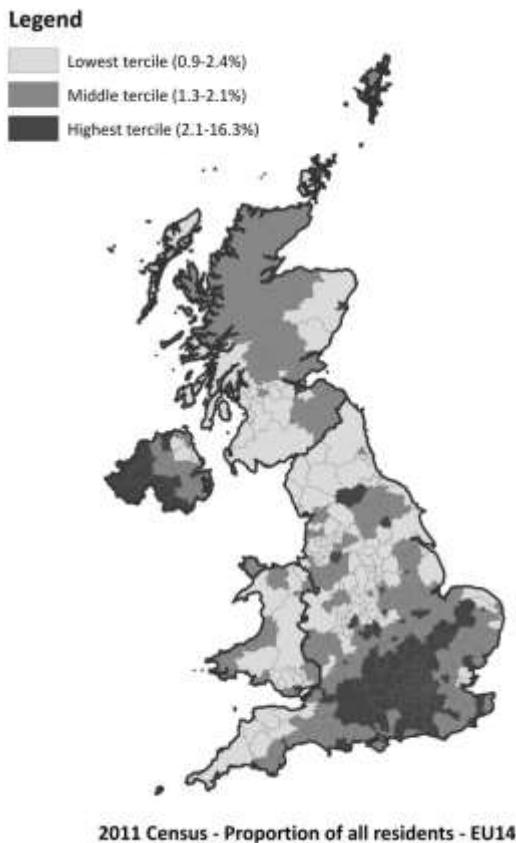


Figure 8 EU14-born as share of all residents in Local Authority District, 2011 Census, including Ireland.
 Source: 2011 Census boundary data; 2011 Census (National Records of Scotland, n.d.; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, n.d.; Office for National Statistics et al., 2016, n.d.; Office for National Statistics, n.d.).

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Looking at the geographical distributions of nationals from Accession countries in the 2011 Census (Figure 9), however, shows a different picture. They comprised between 0.2 and 10.6% of all residents in local authority districts, and between 4.4 and 69.8% of the non-UK born residents. Their geographical distribution was different from the EU14: whereas London still held large shares of

Accession nationals, areas in the East of England, Scotland, and Northern Ireland also did.

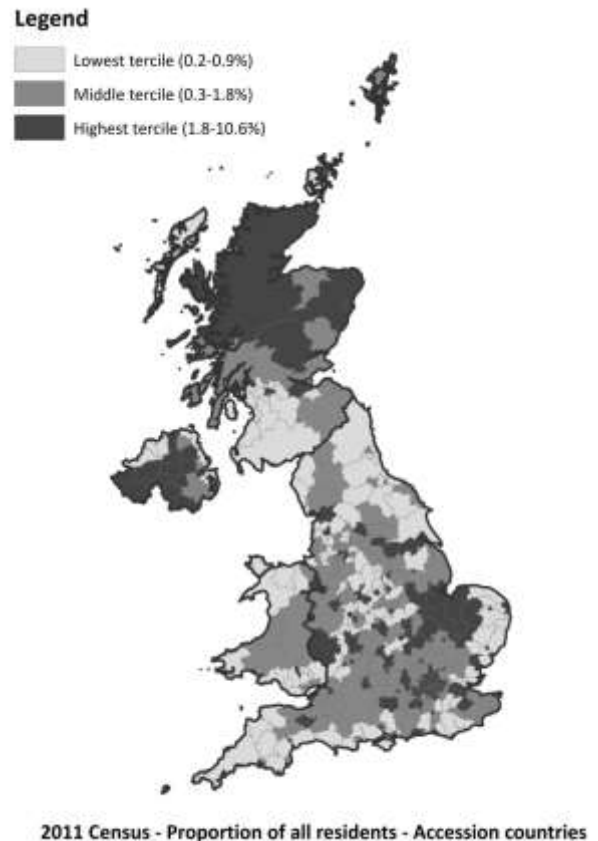


Figure 9 Accession-born as share of all residents in Local Authority District, 2011 Census.
 Source: 2011 Census boundary data; 2011 Census (National Records of Scotland, n.d.; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, n.d.; Office for National Statistics et al., 2016, n.d.; Office for National Statistics, n.d.).

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In the Midlands, Wales, Yorkshire, Scotland, the North West, Northern Ireland, and some areas of the South West, Accession nationals comprised larger shares of the non-UK born resident population, in a pattern slightly different than for the EU14. This is especially salient for Scotland and Northern Ireland and the areas in the East with larger shares of Accession nationals in their overall population. Combined with numbers for all EU nationals, this shows quite a different picture of the presence of EU nationals in the UK in the 2011 Census, as shown in Figure 10.



Figure 10 All EU-born as share of all residents in Local Authority District, 2011 Census.

Source: 2011 Census boundary data; 2011 Census (National Records of Scotland, n.d.; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, n.d.; Office for National Statistics, n.d.; Office for National Statistics et al., 2016, n.d.).

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EU nationals in London comprised just over 29% of all EU nationals in 2001, and %31.3 in 2011 (30.1% of Accession and 32.4% of EU14). In 2001, the largest shares of EU nationals were in Brent (5.92%), Kensington and Chelsea (5.80%), Westminster (5.68%), Ealing (5.09%), Lambeth (5.08%), and Barnet (5.02%). In 2011, they were Ealing (5.7%), Brent (5.3%), Barnet (5.1%), and Haringey (5.1%) if we count all EU nationals together. If we separate between the EU14 and the Accession nationals, the pattern is slightly different. For the EU14, the top areas were Westminster and City of London (6.3%), Lambeth (5.8%), Kensington and Chelsea (5.5%), and Wandsworth (5.0%). For the Accession nationals, the top areas were Ealing (7.7%), Newham (6.7%), Haringey (6.7%), Barnet (6.5%), Enfield (6.4%), and Waltham Forest (6.3%). Thus the geographical distribution within the London boroughs differed for EU14 and Accession nationals, with the patterns for the EU14 remaining more or less stable.

The 2001-2011 period is one where most changes have occurred with regard to EU nationals in the UK, especially in terms of the presence and geographical distribution of Accession nationals. For the EU14, the picture remains more or less the same as for earlier periods, with some indication of change in their importance in various areas of the UK. Whereas the case of the Accession nationals, especially from the EU8, has been well documented and discussed elsewhere, this has often been done in broad pictures; our mapping allows us to see in more detail where they comprised a greater share of residents.

2016: EU nationals at the time of the referendum

It is possible to examine EU nationals at the time of the referendum using estimates of populations from June 2016 rather than Census figures. In the time period between 2011 and 2016, the restrictions on free movement for nationals from Bulgaria and Romania were lifted on 1st January 2014, but nationals from these countries were already included in Census figures. These affect direct comparisons with the 2011 picture provided by the Census, but can nonetheless give us an indication of the EU-born population at the time of the EU Referendum.

Table 4 EU nationals in the 2016 official estimates.

Source: ONS estimates of international migration (Office for National Statistics, 2017b, 2018a).

| | Share of EU-born in population | Top countries of birth |
|------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| UK | 5.3% | Poland (26.1%) Ireland (11.6%) Germany (8.84%) |
| England | 5.5% | Poland (25.6%) Ireland (10.8%) Germany (8.8%) |
| Wales | 2.6% | Poland (29.5%) Germany (15.4%) Ireland (14.1%) |
| Scotland | 3.9% | Poland (35.8%) Ireland (11.6%) Germany (9.7%) |
| Northern Ireland | 5.6% | Ireland (34.4%) Poland (20.8%) Lithuania (16.7%) |

We first examine the demographic distribution of EU nationals in June 2016 (see Table 4; note that detailed age breakdown is not available in this data). At the time, the share of EU-born in the UK was estimated at 5.3% of all residents, with Wales having the lowest share of EU-born in its population (2.6%) and Northern Ireland the largest (5.6% - including the Irish). In most nations, the largest group of EU-born was, again, from Poland.



Figure 11 EU-born as share of all residents in Local Authority, including Scotland areas, 2016 estimates.

Source: 2016 Estimates; 2011 Census boundary data (Office for National Statistics, 2017b; Office for National Statistics et al., n.d.)

Note: Some areas do not have information because of low numbers (missing estimates or estimates to 0); numbers for Northern Ireland are only available at the country level.

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We now turn to the geographical distribution of EU nationals in the UK in June 2016 (Figure 11). As mentioned, the estimates from certain areas are not available. Moreover, we are unable to disaggregate the picture for Northern Ireland. This affects our area classifications and makes it difficult to directly compare with earlier years. What we do see, however, is that the EU-born comprised between 0.7% and 25.8% of the resident population in local areas, with geographical distribution concentrated

around London, the South East, and the East. When looking at EU nationals as a share of the non-UK born (Figure 12), we see that they are largest away from London and the South East, especially in the East, East Midlands, and Wales.



Figure 12 EU-born as share of non-UK born residents in Local Authority, including Scotland areas, 2016 estimates.

Source: 2016 Estimates; 2011 Census boundary data (Office for National Statistics, 2017b; Office for National Statistics et al., n.d.)

Note: Some areas do not have information because of low numbers (missing estimates or estimates too small), or very high percentages because of rounding; numbers for Northern Ireland are only available at the country level.

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We also look at the breakdown by broad country of birth groupings. Because of lack of data availability, we are unable to disaggregate the picture for Scotland, so we use the estimates for the nation as a whole. We also tend to have high levels of missing information because of the rounding up of estimates. We are not showing the maps for these reasons but the figures show us, again, that the geographical distribution of the EU-born is concentrated in specific areas of the country, and that it differs for those born in EU14 and EU8 countries. For the EU14, higher shares are found in London, the Southeast and some areas in the East, with areas outside of London having higher shares of

EU14 nationals as part of the non-UK born resident population. The East and the East Midlands were the regions with higher shares of EU8 nationals as part of their overall populations in the June 2016 estimates. There were higher shares of EU8 nationals as part of the non-UK born in those regions, as well as some areas north of those.

As mentioned at the beginning of this report, about a third of EU nationals resident in the UK at the time of the referendum lived in London. The boroughs with the higher percentages of EU nationals were Newham, Barnet, and Ealing when looking at all groups together; Westminster (and City of London), Wandsworth, Barnet, Kensington and Chelsea, Camden and Lambeth for the EU14, and Ealing, Waltham Forest, and Newham for the EU8. There is, again, a variability in the locations of the different EU sub-groups within London, with some areas with large differences in the share of EU14 vs. EU8.

Conclusion

The aim of this brief was to give a historical overview of the presence of EU nationals in the UK, to show their growing importance among the UK's population, from 1.8% of the overall population in 1981 to just over 5% in 2016. Whilst a large part of this increase is due to the enlargement of the EU, we also see that EU14 nationals have been present in the UK for a long time, especially certain nationalities (e.g., Irish, German, Italian). Attention to the duration of this presence enables us to consider how the makeup of the British population has changed as result of the arrival and settlement of EU citizens over the last four decades. In the next Research Brief we will consider issues such as intermarriage and second and third generation 'Eurochildren' in Britain.

What we have also seen is that the demographic composition of EU nationals in the UK over this period has also changed, with younger individuals coming to the UK in larger shares and potentially settling in with their families but also older individuals who already have settled in the UK. The impact of Brexit on these individuals, with regard to, for example, acquiring settled status, may well be important.

Yet, these figures need to be disaggregated at lower geographical scales to see where EU nationals have settled over time. The data presented here shows us that whilst the geographical distribution of EU

nationals has changed over time, it has done so especially in the last decade or so, mainly because of the settlement patterns of EU8 nationals rather than those of the EU14. In fact, the geographical locations of EU14 nationals do not appear to have changed much during this time period. Whilst this is not in itself a surprising result, it does allow us to see where broad changes may have occurred and potentially identify where larger shares of individuals may be affected, whether EU nationals or not. This is likely to occur in main urban areas and especially London, where about a third of EU nationals are residing (with varying patterns according to country groupings). The way in which these individuals, their significant others, neighbours, and localities will be, and have been, affected by Brexit remains to be seen.

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ABOUT THE PROJECT

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