# When Non-Natives Compete for Top Schools: Displacement and Attainment in Primary Education*

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**Abstract**

We study how immigration affects natives' access to public schools by examining competition for primary-school places in England after the 2004 EU enlargement. The post-enlargement inflow was large and concentrated among Polish migrants, who were disproportionately likely to satisfy faith-based admissions criteria and therefore intensified competition for high-performing, state-funded Catholic schools. To address endogenous migrant location choices, we construct an instrument for post-2004 Polish settlement patterns using the location and capacity of post-World War II Polish resettlement camps digitized from archival records. Combining this historical variation with administrative data on the universe of pupils in public primary schools, we estimate the causal effects of local exposure to non-native pupils at school entry. We find that higher non-native exposure displaces native pupils from Catholic schools toward non-faith schools and toward closer schools with slightly weaker baseline performance and a less advantaged pupil intake. It also reduces natives' test scores at the end of primary school. Using sibling-priority rules and within-school designs with family fixed effects, we show that these attainment effects are driven primarily by displacement across schools rather than adverse within-school interactions.

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# 1 Introduction

Across advanced democracies, immigration has become one of the most contested issues in public debate. Yet, the recent empirical literature generally finds limited adverse effects of immigration on natives' labor market outcomes (Dustmann et al., 2016; Dustmann and Schönberg, 2025). This gap suggests that opposition to immigration may be shaped, at least in part, by other margins, such as pressure on locally congested public services, where access is often rationed by capacity constraints and administrative allocation rather than prices. Schools are a prominent example. While families care deeply about school choice, supply adjusts slowly, so migration-driven demand shocks may affect not only classroom composition but also which native pupils gain access to higher-quality schools.

In this paper, we study this margin by examining how foreign migration, through increased demand for primary school places, affects native pupils' school allocation and educational outcomes in public primary schools in England. We focus on the large and sudden migration shock triggered by the 2004 EU enlargement. Between 2004 and 2014, approximately 1.1 million migrants arrived in the UK from the new EU member states, with Polish nationals representing the largest group. Over the same period, the share of primary school pupils in England who were non-native speakers rose from 12% in 2004 to 22% in 2019. The rapid increase in the number of non-native pupils, reinforced by rising births to foreign-born mothers, increased demand for school places and fueled concerns about access to school seats.[1]

We leverage a distinctive feature of the English state school system to study migration-induced displacement of native pupils across schools. The interaction between migrant religious affiliation and English school admission rules creates a sharp margin of competition for access to high-quality schools. Catholic primary schools account for around 10% of schools in England, are state-funded and free to attend, and are among the best-performing schools on average. When oversubscribed, they may prioritize applicants on the basis of Catholic faith, whereas non-faith schools typically allocate places primarily by residential proximity. Because Poland is one of the most Catholic countries in Europe, Polish children were disproportionately likely to satisfy faith-based admissions criteria. As a result, post-enlargement inflows plausibly intensified competition for places in Catholic schools and displaced native pupils toward other schools.

We address the endogeneity of migrants' residential choices by adopting an instrumental variable approach that leverages historical variation from an earlier wave of Polish settlement. Following World War II, a government dispersal policy assigned roughly 200,000 Polish citizens to resettlement camps located in pre-existing military sites across the UK (Biegus and Biegus, 2013). We digitize archival records from the 1940s to recover each

[1]For some media coverage see: https://www.migrationwatchuk.org/briefing-paper/250 and https://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/2016/04/17/one-in-four-primary-schools-is-full/.

camp's location and capacity, and use this information to predict the post-2004 distribution of Polish arrivals across English local areas. This predicted distribution, interacted with the large and sudden migration shock generated by the 2004 EU enlargement, provides an instrument for local exposure to non-native pupils. Because camp locations were determined by military infrastructure rather than local schooling conditions, the resulting variation is plausibly orthogonal to contemporaneous trends in local school markets. The instrument is strongly predictive of local exposure to non-native pupils: a one standard deviation increase in the instrument raises the local non-native share at school entry by 6.4 percentage points, relative to a baseline of 7.8%.

We combine this source of variation with administrative records covering the universe of pupils enrolled in England's public primary schools. Our data cover roughly 10.5 million children from 2001-2018 entry cohorts and include detailed pupil demographic characteristics on residential location, and the religious denomination of the school attended. For the 2001–2012 entry cohorts, we additionally observe nationally standardized Key Stage 2 (KS2) test scores in Reading and math at the end of primary school.

A key empirical challenge is to define the relevant local school market in a setting where effective catchment areas are endogenously shaped by school demand and supply. We address this by using fine-grained geographic identifiers for pupils' residences and schools to construct local school markets and measure exposure to non-native pupils at the time of primary-school entry. We use area-level exposure to estimate how migration-induced demand shocks affect natives' school allocation at entry and attainment at the end of primary school. We complement this with a within-school exposure design to study peer interactions conditional on school assignment. This allows us to bring together two empirical approaches that have largely evolved in parallel in the literature.

We provide three main sets of results. First, we document displacement effects by examining how natives' enrollment shifts across school types in response to a migration-induced shock. Higher non-native inflows reduce natives' enrollment in Catholic primary schools. IV estimates imply that a 10 percentage point increase in the local non-native share reduces native enrollment in Catholic schools by about 1 percentage point, relative to a baseline of around 10%. This displacement is primarily absorbed by non-faith schools,where native enrollment rises by about 1 percentage point from a baseline of around 70%. We find no evidence that these patterns reflect voluntary "native flight": residential mobility and school switching do not increase disproportionately in areas receiving higher numbers of non-native pupils. Nor do we detect meaningful changes in school supply following the arrival of Polish migrants.

Second, following displacement, natives in more exposed areas attend schools with slightly weaker baseline performance and a less-advantaged peer intake pre-EU enlargement, but located closer to home. These effects are modest in magnitude. A 10 percentage point increase in the local non-native share leads natives to enroll in schools whose

baseline performance is 0.008 standard deviations lower in English and 0.009 standard deviations lower in math, while reducing distance traveled by roughly 0.06 km.

Third, we find that higher non-native presence upon school entry is associated with lower test scores among natives at the end of primary school: a 10 percentage point increase in the local non-native share reduces final test scores by 1.6% of the baseline in Reading and by 0.29% in math. These reduced-form attainment effects conflate two channels: the displacement of natives toward lower-performing schools and within-school compositional changes induced by immigrant inflows, which may affect both displaced and non-displaced pupils.

To disentangle these mechanisms, we implement two complementary strategies. First, we exploit sibling priority in school admissions. Because younger siblings have priority over both faith and distance criteria when applying to the school attended by an older sibling, they are thus plausibly insulated from displacement induced by increased competition for places. Consistent with this, we find no evidence of displacement or poorer attainment for pupils whose older siblings are enrolled in Catholic schools, indicating that the negative attainment effects in the full sample are driven primarily by reallocation toward lower-performing schools. Second, we investigate the consequences of within-school exposure to non-natives using specifications with school and family fixed effects, following recent work on migrant peers (e.g., Figlio et al., 2024). Once sorting into schools is accounted for, the effect of contemporaneous within-school exposure to non-natives is zero or even positive. Taken together, these results suggest that immigration affected natives' achievement mainly through displacement across schools rather than through adverse within-school interactions.

A large literature studies the effects of immigrant peers on natives' educational outcomes using variation in immigrant shares across cohorts within the same school, typically conditioning on school fixed effects and school-level controls (e.g., Schneeweis, 2015; Ballatore et al., 2018; Frattini and Meschi, 2019; Bossavie, 2020). Closest to our setting, Geay et al. (2013) study the post-enlargement period in the UK primarily through within-school variation. This approach is well suited to identifying within-school peer effects under the assumption that, conditional on school-level unobservables, variation in migrant exposure across cohorts or grades is quasi-random. Recent work has strengthened this design further by exploiting sibling comparisons, which help account for family selection into schools (Figlio et al., 2024). Yet, because these designs take school assignment as given, they are less informative about a distinct channel, that is whether immigration changes natives' access to schools by increasing competition for places and inducing displacement across schools.

Our first contribution is to identify displacement channels in a setting where institutional rules generate a sharp margin of competition for school places. We do so using an area-level design that measures exposure to non-native pupils at the time of primary-

school entry in finely defined local school markets. Existing area-level studies typically use fixed effect estimators, or on a instrumental variable approach based on past migration networks à la Card (2001), to study natives' outcomes in secondary or tertiary education (Betts, 1998; McHenry, 2015; Hunt, 2017; Bachli and Tsankova, 2023), or "native flight" towards private schools or areas with lower migrant shares (Betts and Fairlie, 2003; Farre et al., 2018; Cascio and Lewis, 2012).[2] We contribute to this literature by combining the natural experiment of the 2004 EU enlargement with a granular definition of school competition areas and an instrumental variable strategy based on historical Polish settlement patterns. This design allows us to estimate how migration-induced demand shocks affect natives' sorting across school types, the baseline characteristics of attended schools, and achievement at the end of primary school.

Our second contribution is to bring together area-level displacement designs and within-school peer-effects designs in a unified empirical setting. This allows us to distinguish between two channels that are often conflated in the literature: reassignment across schools and changes in peer composition within schools. The distinction is important because area-level exposure may alter school assignment, while the educational consequences of that reassignment depend both on the types of schools to which native pupils are displaced and on interactions within destination schools. By shedding light on both margins, our analysis helps explain the mixed evidence on immigrant exposure in schools and provides a clearer framework for interpreting how immigration affects natives' human capital accumulation.[3]

The remainder of the paper is as follows. In section 2, we describe the institutional background, discussing key features of primary education in England (section 2.1) and Polish migration to the UK (section 2.2). In section 3, we present our data sources and some descriptive statistics. We discuss our empirical approach and identification strategy in section 4. Section 5 reports our main results on natives' school enrollment, school characteristics, and educational attainment. Section 6 investigates mechanisms, focusing on within-school interactions using sibship information and measures of within-school exposure to non-native pupils. Section 7 concludes and discusses policy implications.

[2]Related work links immigration-induced competition to natives human-capital investments in Switzerland (Bachli and Tsankova, 2023) and in the US (Llull, 2018).

[3]Across within-school designs, estimates range from positive (McHenry, 2015; Hunt, 2017; Figlio et al., 2024), to zero (Geay et al., 2013; Schneeweis, 2015; Figlio and Özek, 2019), to negative (Ballatore et al., 2018; Frattini and Meschi, 2019). Studies adopting area-level exposure find evidence of native flight and increased natives' investment in higher education (Hunt, 2017; Bachli and Tsankova, 2023).

# 2 Institutional Context

## 2.1 Primary Education in England

Primary education in England lasts seven years. Pupils start Reception (kindergarten, or grade 0) in the school year in which they turn five and complete primary school at the end of grade 6, when they are 10-11 years old. Pupils are internally assessed at the end of grade 2 (Key Stage 1, or KS1) and externally at the end of year 6 (Key Stage 2, or KS2). KS2 test scores standardized at the national level, and they are widely used for school accountability.

The vast majority of primary schools in England are public, namely they are state funded and free to attend. Approximately 95% of children are enrolled in public schools, which can be either secular or have a religious designation. The most common religious denominations are Church of England (CofE) and Roman Catholic. Although they all operate within the state sector and abide to the national curriculum, schools differ in the degree of autonomy they retain as a result of historical arrangements governing the incorporation of faith schools into the state system.

These arrangements created two administrative categories for faith schools: Voluntary Aided (VA) and Voluntary Controlled (VC) – a distinction that is relevant for admission criteria. VA schools (about 35 % of all schools in England), which include all Catholic schools and around 43% of CofE schools, act as their own admission authority. This means that, when oversubscribed, they may prioritize applicants based on evidence of religious affiliation. Catholic schools typically give priority to Catholic applicants, documented with proofs of religiosity (e.g. baptism, letter by priests or church attendance), followed by other Christian applicants, before allocating any remaining places by distance. CofE VA schools apply similar rules, prioritizing practicing CofE students. By contrast, admissions to VC schools, which represent about 15% of all schools and 56% of CofE schools, are administered by Local Authorities, which allocate places primarily according to proximity when schools are oversubscribed. Secular schools fall into a third category, Community schools, which constitute 62% of all schools. These are also fully administered by Local Authorities and follow proximity-based admission criteria.[4] Across all school types, statutory priority is given to pupils with special educational needs, children in foster care, and younger siblings of incumbent students.

Faith schools typically exhibit higher average attainment than non-faith schools, both in raw test scores and in value added between KS1 and KS2 (see Figure A.1). Evidence from Gibbons and Silva (2011) suggests that most of this performance advantage reflects

[4]Beyond VA, VC and Community schools, there is a fourth administrative category – Foundation schools – which mostly include secular schools with some admission autonomy. Since their number among primary schools is negligible over our study period, we exclude them from our empirical analysis. See Gibbons and Silva, 2011 for further details.

pupil sorting on pre-determined characteristics rather than differences in school effectiveness. Nonetheless, faith-school status is often valued by parents as a school attribute in its own right Burgess et al. (2015). Consistent with this, high demand for seats in Catholic schools may reflect a combination of religious preferences, more affluent student intakes, and academic performance. Further institutional detail on faith schools and school choice in England is provided in Appendix B.2.

## 2.2 Polish Migration to the UK

**EU Enlargement.** The 2004 enlargement of the European Union marked a sharp acceleration in the growth of the foreign-born population in the UK. The UK was one of only three countries—alongside Ireland and Sweden—that granted immediate labor market access to citizens of the new EU member states upon enlargement. This policy generated a record increase in migration inflows, with around 1.1 million people arriving in the UK from the New Member States (NMS) between 2004 and 2014.[5] As Figure A.3 shows, the number of Eastern European nationals (EU8) in the UK grew rapidly after 2004, while the number of migrants from pre-existing EU member states (EU14) stagnated. Poles were the largest group among EU8 migrants: their presence in the UK increased almost tenfold, from about 66,000 in 2001 to 654,000 in 2011, and by 2015 Poland had become the most common country of origin among migrants to the UK. The inflow of Polish workers after 2004 was accompanied by a sharp increase in the number of Polish-born children in the UK. According to the Census, the number of Polish nationals aged 0–15 in England and Wales grew from around 2,000 in 2001 to over 60,000 in 2011, the fastest increase among the largest migrant groups (see Figure A.4). Meanwhile, births to Polish-born women rose sharply, in contrast to broadly stable birth numbers among other large migrant groups (see Figure A.5).

**Polish Immigration after WWII.** While Polish presence was limited upon EU enlargement, the UK had experienced a large inflow of Poles during and after WWII. Following the evacuation of the Polish Government-in-Exile to the UK in 1940, the arrival of Polish troops continued throughout the war. At the end of the conflict, during which the Polish armed forces made significant contributions to the Allied forces, Poland Eastern territories were incorporated into the Soviet Union and a communist government was established in the remainder of the country. Dissatisfied with the post-war settlement, many Polish soldiers decided not to return, and were joined by their families as well as previously deported civilians (Winder 2004), bringing the total estimated number of

[5]The 2004 EU enlargement extended EU membership and free-movement rights to ten New Member States (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia), while allowing for transitional restrictions to labor mobility, which most incumbent members implemented for up to seven years.

Poles in the UK to over 250,000 in 1945 (Blaszczyk 2020). The 1947 Polish Resettlement Act finally granted settlers British naturalization and government support. While official estimates for the immediate post-war period are scant, the 1951 Census records 162,339 Polish-born residents in the UK, up from 44,642 in 1931 (Burrell, 2002). To avoid concentration in London and the South East, the government introduced a dispersal policy that assigned most Polish migrants to approximately 200 resettlement camps, largely former military sites vacated at the end of the war and mostly located in rural areas (see Figure A.2). Settlers gradually moved out of camps in search of better employment opportunities and accommodation, and by the mid-1960s all but a handful had been closed (Biegus and Biegus, 2013). See Appendix C for additional details on Polish camps. As we discuss in Section 4.2, we leverage this early settlement pattern for our identification strategy to predict the residential distribution of Polish migrants following the 2004 EU enlargement.

**Catholicism in Poland.** A distinctive feature of the Polish population – compared with most Western EU and other EU8 nationals – is its relatively high religiosity, with the vast majority adhering to Catholicism. Figure A.6 illustrates this point using European Social Survey data from 2002 (pre-enlargement), relating measures of religiosity to the share of respondents identifying as Catholic across countries. Poland stands out along all dimensions: almost 84% of respondents report high religiosity, about 56% attend religious services at least once a week, and the share identifying as Catholic is close to 100%, similar to Italy, Ireland, Portugal and Spain. By contrast, in the UK the shares of highly religious respondents and weekly attendance are 54% and 13%, respectively, and fewer than 20% identify as Catholic. These differences provide a comparative advantage to Polish pupils in meeting the faith-based admission criteria for Catholic schools in England. This advantage – potentially compounded by parental preference for Catholic education among Poles – is reflected in enrollment patterns: following EU enlargement, the share of non-native pupils in Catholic schools rises steeply, from 7% in 2001 to around 25% in 2014, outpacing the contemporaneous increases in non-faith schools (13% to 21% over the same period) and in CofE schools (6% to 12%)[6]. The disproportionate growth in Catholic schools underscores that Polish migration did not simply raise foreign enrollment uniformly across the system, but shifted it specifically toward schools where Polish pupils held a comparative advantage in admissions.

# 3 Data and Descriptive Statistics

**National Pupil Database.** Our main data source is the National Pupil Database (NPD), containing administrative records for the universe of pupils enrolled in state-

[6]See Figure A.7

funded schools in England (around 95% of school-age children) . Our sample includes all pupils who enter primary education between 2001 and 2018, corresponding to approximately 10.5 million individuals. The dataset contains information on pupil characteristics and attainment, including gender, ethnicity, eligibility for free school meals (FSM), main language spoken at home, LSOA of residence[7], school attended, distance to school, and test scores.

We focus our analysis of pupil attainment on standardized scores at the end of primary school (KS2), based on externally graded tests in English (reading and writing), math and Science. As our sample ends in 2018, KS2 test scores are available for entry cohorts 2001–2012, which are observed from grade 0 to 6. We use KS2 test scores in Reading and math as our primary measures of achievement.[8] Reading scores are reported on a 0–50 scale. math scores are reported on a 0–100 scale prior to 2015 and on a 0–110 scale from 2016 onward. To facilitate comparisons across years, we standardize test scores to have mean 0 and standard deviation 1 within each year. Table A.1 reports summary statistics for pupil characteristics as well as the original (non-standardized) score scales.

The NPD does not provide information on citizenship or country of birth. We therefore proxy non-native status using information on language spoken at home, classifying as non-native all pupils who do not report English as their main home language. In the NPD, a pupil is recorded as having English as an additional language if they are exposed at home to a language other than English. This definition has the disadvantage of misclassifying as natives immigrants from English-speaking countries. On the other hand, it has the advantage of capturing UK-born children of foreign-born parents who do not speak English at home, and who contribute to rising demand for school places during periods of increasing migration.[9]

**School Censuses.** We link individual pupil data from the NPD with school-level information from the School Censuses, including the school location at the full postcode level, religious denomination (if any), and administrative status. At baseline, 10% of schools are Catholic, 25% are CofE, and 65% are non-faith (Table A.2).

**Polish Resettlement Camps.** Based on information from original documents held at the UK National Archives, we identified and geolocated 260 camps in the UK, including 235 in England. For 165 of these we can retrieve information on their capacity. Figure A.11 shows examples of typical entries: the one on the left provides the location of four

[7]Lower Super Output Areas (LSOAs) are small, relatively homogeneous geographic units developed by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) for statistical purposes, with a target population of about 700 households. According to the 2001 Census, there are 33,654 LSOAs in England.

[8]Information on test scores in other subjects is not uniformly available for our whole sample period.

[9]Other studies have used language spoken at home to identify migrant pupils (e.g. Friesen and Krauth, 2011).

camps, though without information on their size; the one on the right provides information on both the location and the maximum capacity. The geographic distribution of camps is shown in Figure A.2. The average distance between an LSOA in our sample and the nearest camp is 13 kilometers, ranging from less than 2 km to over 100 km. Camps in England had a mean capacity of 348 and a median capacity of 150.

# 4 Empirical Strategy

To estimate the impact of foreign migration on the school allocation and attainment of native pupils we estimate the following specification:

$$y_{iat} = \alpha + \beta\ m_{at} + \boldsymbol{x_{iat}\zeta} + \psi_a + \psi_t + \varepsilon_{iat}, \tag{1}$$

where $y_{iat}$ denotes an outcome for a native pupil $i$ entering primary school in year $t = 2001 - 2018$ and living in area (LSOA) $a$, $m_{at}$ denotes the local share of non-native pupils starting school in the same year, $\boldsymbol{x_{iat}}$ is a vector or individual characteristics, and $\psi_a$ and $\psi_t$ denote area and time fixed-effects, respectively. The non-native share $m_{at}$ is obtained as the number of non-native pupils starting school in year $t$, divided by the school entry cohort in 2001 in area $a$.[10] The parameter $\beta$ represents the impact on native outcomes of stronger non-native presence in their local area. We will consider three main educational outcomes: enrollment by school religious affiliation (Catholic, CofE, Non-Faith; see section 5.2); the characteristics and composition of the schools they attend (section 5.3); and educational attainment at the end of primary school (section 5.4).

There are two main challenges to identifying the coefficient of interest $\beta$ in specification (1). The first issue concerns the definition of effective "schooling markets" that would best approximate the set of potential competitors for school places, faced by pupils in a certain residential location $a$. The second issue refers to the residential choices of non-natives, which are potentially endogenous to local schooling outcomes. In the next two sub-sections, we discuss how we deal with these empirical issues.

## 4.1 Defining Effective School Markets

The English school system does not impose predefined catchment areas around schools. In secular schools, applications are ranked by distance to school, and catchment areas arise endogenously depending on school capacity and the local distribution of applicants. In faith schools, the local distribution of applicants only matters for admissions whenever the number of faith-based applications is below school capacity. For example, the average travel distance to school in our sample is 0.65 km for non faith schools, up to 0.90 km for

[10] We hold the denominator constant at baseline to exploit variation induced by changes in migrant presence, rather than changes in the local population size.

Catholic schools, respectively, for pupils attending faith schools, and the 95th percentile is 2.3 and 2.7 for non-faith and Catholic schools, respectively, while the average size of LSOAs is 4 square km.

We therefore define the effective competition zone (or "catchment area") for pupils resident in LSOA $a$ as the set of LSOAs whose centroid is within 3km from the centroid of area $a$ and within the same Local Authority.[11] The resulting competition zones have on average 13.4 primary schools, of which 2 Catholic and 2.2 CofE schools. We therefore estimate a slightly modified version of specification (1):

$$y_{iat} = \alpha + \beta m_{\tilde{a}t} + \boldsymbol{x_{iat}\zeta} + \psi_a + \psi_t + \varepsilon_{iat}, \tag{2}$$

where $m_{\tilde{a}t}$ is a spatial moving average of $m_{at}$, i.e. it measures the share of non-native pupils residing in LSOAs whose centroid is within 3km of the centroid of $a$.[12] We cluster standard errors at the Local Authority level (323 clusters), to allow for correlated error terms across LSOAs within LAs. This is especially relevant because catchment areas $\tilde{a}$ have an overlapping structure within (but not across) LAs.

## 4.2 Migrants' Residential Choices

If migrants tend to settle in areas where schools capacity is growing due to trending unobservables, OLS estimates of equation (2) would underestimate the extent of competition for schools between natives and migrants and its potential consequences for native schooling outcomes. Conversely, if migrants settle in areas where competition for schools is rising, OLS estimates would overestimate the effects of pressure on school places exerted by migrants. To deal with the potential endogeneity of migrants' location choices, we build an instrument that relies on the tendency of migrants to move into areas where fellow nationals settled in the past (e.g. Altonji and Card, 1991; Card, 2009, among others). Given the dominant share of Poles in post-2004 migration to the UK, we leverage variation generated by the post-WWII dispersal policy that allocated Polish soldiers and their families to military camps vacated at the end of the war. Early Polish settlements engendered communities of Polish descent, often organized in parishes, which survived to the dismantling of camps and may have provided an attractive set of local amenities for later cohorts of Polish migrants.

Specifically, our instrument apportions the aggregate number of Polish migrants to

[11] Local Authorities (hereafter, LAs) are the local government units that in England are responsible for the provision of local public services, including waste collection, social housing, and education. There are 323 LAs in England.

[12] We test the robustness of our results with respect to alternative cutoffs of 1, 2, 4 and 5 km in Appendix Tables A.10 and A.11. Note that, in defining competition areas $\tilde{a}$, we exclude LSOAs that, while falling within 3km of the reference LSOA, belong to a different LA. While in principle pupils cannot be prevented from applying to primary schools located outside the LA of residence, the number of such cases is negligible (Gibbons et al., 2013).

LSOAs according to a gravity model based on the location and original capacity of WWII camps, according to the following expression:

$$IV(\hat{P}_{at}) = \sum_{c} cap_c \, d_{ac}^{-1} \cdot P_t \tag{3}$$

where (the inverse of) the distance from the centroid of each area $a$ to each camp $c$, $d_{ac}$, is weighted by the camp's capacity, $cap_c$, and $P_t$ denotes the stock of Polish-born residents in England in year $t$. The instrument obtained is akin to a shift-share instrument, with one aggregate shift $P_t$ and exogenous baseline exposure to the shift, $\sum_c cap_c \, d_{ac}^{-1}$ (see the discussion by Borusyak et al., 2025).[13] The assumption that baseline factors are unrelated to schooling trends is justified by the use cross-sectional variation that predates our window of observation by more than six decades, and was originally driven by military motives, whereby the destinations for Polish soldiers and their families were determined by the availability of under-utilized military barracks. We average the instrument (3) at the catchment area level as we do for the non-native share $m_{\tilde{a}t}$ and, to ease the interpretation of first-stage estimates, we standardize it at the year level. In Section 5.1 we assess the validity of the instrument by including testing for pre-trends in the share of non-native pupils entering primary schools, and controlling for pre-migration area characteristics.

# 5 Main results

## 5.1 First Stage Estimates

Table 1 reports first-stage estimates at the catchment area level, obtained by regressing the non-native pupil share starting primary school who live within 3km of the centroid of LSOA $a$ on the instrument $IV(\hat{P}_{\tilde{a}t})$. Observations are weighted by the number of pupils residing in each LSOA. The specification in column (1) controls for year and LSOA fixed-effects only. Column (2) additionally controls for LSOA-level average pupil characteristics: local shares by gender, socio-economic status, ethnicity, and special education needs. This is in line with our second-stage specification, which is estimated at the pupil level, with the addition of individual controls. We cluster standard errors at the Local Authority level (323 clusters).[14] In both Columns (1) and (2), the IV strongly predicts non-native presence at the catchment area level, with an F-statistic around 50. According to our preferred specification in Column (2), an increase of one standard deviation in the instrument increases the share of local non-native pupils by 6.4 percentage points, relative to a baseline of 7.8%.

[13] As our context only has one aggregate shift, one needs not to impose that the baseline exposure factors add up to 1 across areas.

[14] In Appendix Table A.3 we use a clustering structure based on a 12x12km grid. The statistical significance or our FS estimates is preserved under this alternative clustering.

**Table 1: First Stage Regressions**

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Non-native share ($m_{\tilde{a}t}$)** | | | |
| IV ($\hat{P}_{\tilde{a}t}$) | 0.067*** | 0.064*** | 0.064*** | 0.061*** |
| | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.009) |
| Observations | 535,429 | 535,429 | 533,718 | 533,718 |
| R-squared | 0.914 | 0.916 | 0.917 | 0.919 |
| Mean dep. var. | 0.078 | 0.078 | 0.078 | 0.078 |
| F-stat | 51.19 | 49.68 | 51.43 | 49.98 |
| Year & LSOA FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pupil Controls | | ✓ | | ✓ |
| LSOA controls × $t$ | | | ✓ | ✓ |

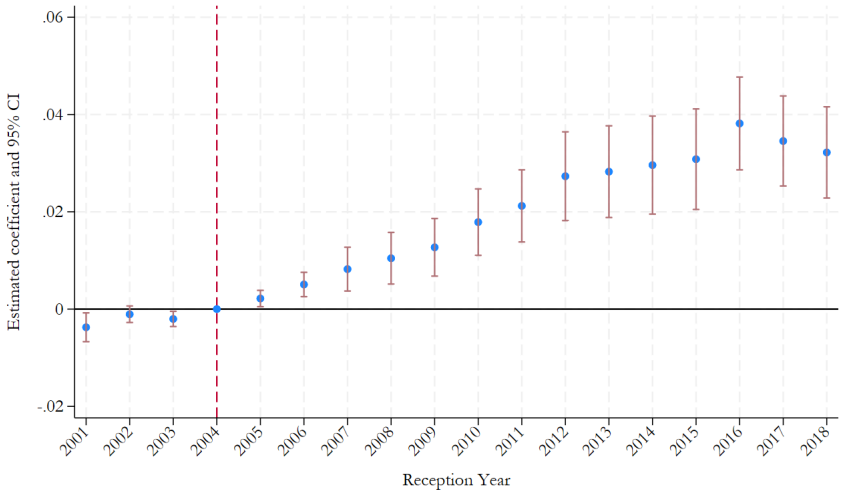
Notes. *The Table reports First Stage estimates of the local non-native pupil share in reception year on the instrument IV($\hat{P}_{\tilde{a}t}$). All regressions are estimated at the catchment area level ($\tilde{a}$) and include year and LSOA fixed effects. Cols. 2 and 4 include controls for the local, time-varying shares of reception year pupils who are female, white, black, Asian, and FSM. Cols. 3 and 4 include controls for LSOA characteristics in 2001 (unemployment rate, population density, share low skilled, share of FSM), interacted with a linear time trend. Standard errors are clustered at the LA level (323 clusters). Significance: * = 0.1; ** = 0.05; *** = 0.01.*

A potential concern with our IV strategy is that the wave of migration following the 2004 EU Enlargement may have generated other local general-equilibrium effects. If these effects were common across areas, they would be absorbed by year fixed effects; however, they may vary systematically across LSOAs and induce differential local trends. Rather than controlling for time-varying area characteristics – which may themselves respond to immigrant inflows and are therefore potentially endogenous – we flexibly absorb differential local trends using baseline LSOA characteristics (unemployment rate, population density, share of low-skilled workers, share of FSM kids) interacted with a linear time trend. The resulting estimates are reported in Columns (3) and (4) of Table 1. Reassuringly, both the first-stage coefficients and the corresponding F-statistics remain remarkably stable across specifications, suggesting that differential local trends correlated with initial area characteristics are unlikely to be driving the predictive power of our instrument.

To further probe the validity of our IV strategy, Figure 1 reports estimates from a dynamic version of the first-stage specification, in which the local share of non-native pupils $m_{\tilde{a}t}$ is regressed on the cross-sectional component of the instrument, $\sum_c cap_c d_{ac}^{-1}$, interacted with year dummies. The specification also includes year and LSOA fixed effects and individual controls averaged at the local level. The figure clearly shows that the geography of camps does not predict non-native presence before the 2004 EU en-

largement, while it starts predicting thereafter, with an effect that strengthens over time as the migrant stock grows. This dynamic specification provides a useful test for the exclusion restriction of our instrument. In particular, following Danieli et al. (2023), we assess whether the instrument could affect outcomes through channels other than the treatment.[15] If the geographic distribution of Polish Resettlement camps were correlated with unobserved shocks affecting outcomes directly, such correlations would be expected to appear already in the pre-enlargement period. Consistent with instrument validity, the pre-2004 interaction coefficients are small and statistically indistinguishable from zero.

**Figure 1: Dynamic First-Stage Estimates**




Notes. *The Figure plots coefficients and 95% confidence intervals from a regression of the non-native share $m_{\tilde{a}t}$ on the cross-sectional component of the instrument, $\sum_c cap_c\, d_{ac}^{-1}$, interacted with year dummies. The specification also includes year and LSOA fixed effects and individual controls averaged at the local level. Standard errors are clustered at the LA level (323 clusters).*

## 5.2 Natives' Enrollment: School Religious Affiliation

Table 2 examines how exposure to non-native peers affects natives' school enrollment choices. We estimate equation (2) by school religious affiliation: Catholic (columns 1-2), CofE (Cols. 3-4) or non-faith (Cols. 5-6).[16] Odd-numbered columns report OLS estimates and even-numbered columns report IV estimates. The OLS estimate in column (1) implies that an increase of 10 percentage points in the non-native share reduces native enrollment in Catholic schools by 0.36 percentage points, relative to a baseline of about

[15] Danieli et al. (2023) discuss the concern that an instrument may affect outcomes through channels other than the treatment (which they term "alternative path instruments"). They propose testing for such channels using "negative control instruments": variables that should have no effect on the outcome if the IV assumption (independence and exclusion) hold. In our setting, interaction terms between the cross-sectional component of the instrument ($\sum_c cap_c d_{ac}^{-1}$) and pre-2004 year dummies serve as natural negative controls.

[16] Our CofE category also includes a tiny fraction (approximately 1%) of schools with generic "Christian" denominations and specific denominations such as Free Church, Methodist, United Reformed Church.

10%. The corresponding IV estimate in Column (2) is larger in magnitude, implying a decline of just under 1 percentage point. This pattern is consistent with OLS being attenuated by endogenous residential sorting – specifically, with stronger local immigrant inflows in areas where Catholic enrollment is rising on average. Natives are also less likely to enroll in CofE schools (Columns 3-4), although the IV estimate is imprecisely estimated and not statistically significant. Finally, enrollment in non-faith schools (Columns 5-6) increases with non-native exposure in both OLS and IV, with a larger effect under IV. Taken together, these results point to a displacement of natives away from Catholic schools – and, to a lesser extent, from CofE schools – which is absorbed by non-faith schools.

**Table 2: Impact of Non-Native Pupils on Natives' School Enrollment by School Religious Affiliation**

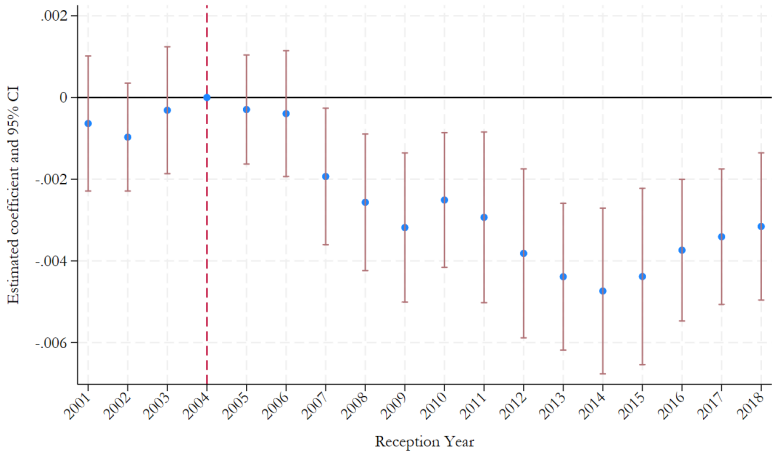
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Catholic** | | **Church of England** | | **Non Faith** | |
| | **OLS** | **IV** | **OLS** | **IV** | **OLS** | **IV** |
| Non-Native Share | -0.036*** | -0.097*** | -0.019** | -0.037 | 0.045*** | 0.104*** |
| | (0.011) | (0.024) | (0.008) | (0.032) | (0.012) | (0.040) |
| Observations | 7,402,714 | 7,402,714 | 7,402,714 | 7,402,714 | 7,402,714 | 7,402,714 |
| F-stat | - | 51.149 | - | 51.149 | - | 51.149 |
| Mean dep. var. | 0.103 | 0.103 | 0.194 | 0.194 | 0.701 | 0.701 |
| R-squared | 0.121 | 0.005 | 0.407 | 0.001 | 0.332 | 0.006 |
| Year & LSOA FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Individual Controls | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

Notes. *The Table reports estimates of equation* (2)*. Odd-numbered columns show results from OLS estimates; even-numbered columns show results from IV estimates, where the IV is defined in equation* (3)*. All regressions include year and LSOA fixed effects and individual controls (dummies for gender, ethnicity, and FSM status). Standard errors are clustered at the LA level (323 clusters). Significance: * = 0.1; ** = 0.05; *** = 0.01.*

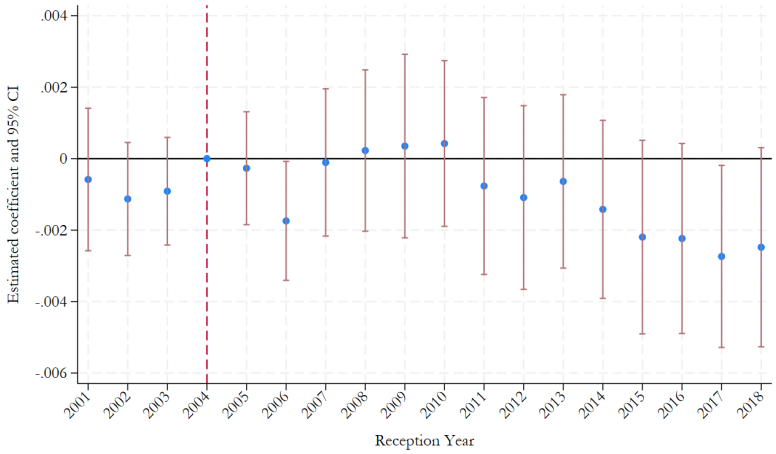
To explore how the effects reported in Table 2 evolved over time, we estimate a dynamic, reduced-form specification, in which natives' enrollment by school religious affiliation is regressed on the cross-sectional component of the instrument interacted with year dummies. Estimates are reported in Figure 2 and fully confirm the expected patterns. As for the dynamic first-stage of Figure 1, the instrument only starts to predict the displacement of natives from Catholic (Panel (a)) to non-faith schools (Panel (c)) *after* the 2004 EU enlargement – further supporting the exclusion restriction underlying our IV strategy – and the magnitude of the effects gradually grows over time. The estimates for CofE schools (Panel (b)) are mostly statistically insignificant, but they become

**Figure 2: Impact of Non-Native Pupils on Natives' School enrollment, by School Religious Affiliation: Dynamic Reduced-Form Estimates**

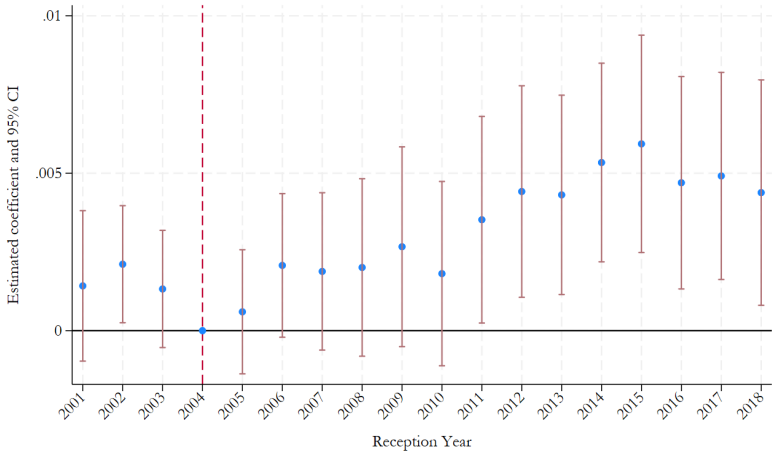
**(a) Catholic Schools**




**(b) Church of England Schools**




**(c) Non-Faith Schools**



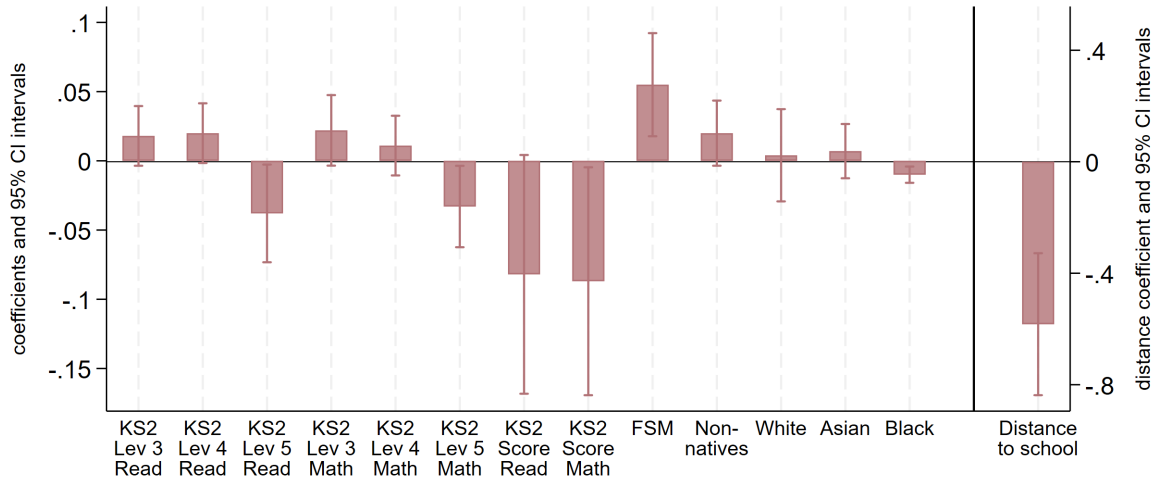

Notes. *The Figure plots coefficients and 95% confidence intervals from a regression of native enrollment in Catholic (panel (a)), CofE (panel (b)), and non-faith schools (panel (c)) on the cross-sectional component of the instrument,* $\sum_c cap_c\, d_{ac}^{-1}$*, interacted with year dummies. The specification also includes year and LSOA fixed effects and individual controls. Standard errors are clustered at the LA level (323 clusters).*

systematically negative towards the end of our study period.

## 5.3 Natives' Enrollment: Baseline School Characteristics

After showing that native pupils are displaced away from Catholic schools and towards non-faith schools by increased competition from non-native pupils, we assess the extent to which this affects characteristics of attended schools other than their religious affiliation. We do so by focusing on *baseline* school characteristics to avoid conflating displacement effects with contemporaneous changes in school composition induced by migrant inflows. We define the baseline year as 2001; for schools created after 2001, the baseline is the first year the school appears in the data. Specifically, we examine three sets of outcomes: (i) school quality; (ii) student intake composition (shares eligible for FSM, non-native pupils, and different ethnic groups); and (iii) distance from pupils' homes. We proxy academic quality at the end of primary school using two Key Stage 2 measures: the share of pupils attaining Levels 3, 4, or 5 in Reading and math – where Level 4 is the expected standard – and standardized reading and math test scores (see Section 2.1 for details about KS2).

**Figure 3: Impact of Non-Native Pupils on Natives' School enrollment: Baseline School Characteristics (IV Estimates)**




Notes. *The figure plots IV coefficients (with 95% confidence intervals) for the effect of the local non-native pupil share on the characteristics of school attended by natives (listed on the horizontal axis), based on equation* (2)*. The instrument is defined in equation* (3)*. All regressions include individual controls and year and LSOA fixed effects (as in equation* (2)*). All outcomes are measured in 2001 (or, for schools created after 2001, in the first year the school appears in the data). Coefficient magnitudes are reported on the left-hand vertical axis for all outcomes except distance to school, which is reported on the right-hand vertical axis. Standard errors are clustered at the local-authority level (323 clusters).*

Figure 3 reports IV estimates (with 95% confidence intervals) of the impact of local non-native share on different school characteristics, following equation (2). The attain-

ment measures suggest that natives enroll, on average, in lower-performing schools when exposed to a higher local non-native share. Notably, the estimated effects on the reading and math components of Key Stage 2 are very similar in magnitude. These school-quality losses, however, are small and not always statistically significant. In particular, a 10 percentage point increase in the local non-native share leads natives to enroll in primary schools where average English and math attainment is 0.008 and 0.009 standard deviations lower, respectively. We also observe significant changes in peer composition: natives in more exposed areas are more likely to attend schools with higher shares of low-SES pupils (proxied by eligibility for free school meals) and non-native pupils, but lower shares of Black pupils. Finally, natives attend schools closer to their homes (by about 0.06 km for a 10 percentage point increase in the non-native share), consistent with reallocation towards non-faith schools, which typically admit pupils primarily on the basis of geographic proximity.

## 5.4 Natives' Educational Attainment

We now examine the effect of increased competition from non-native pupils at entry into primary education on the educational attainment of native pupils at the end of the cycle. We do so by estimating equation (2) with the local share of non-native pupils measured at reception year – exactly as we do for the previous results on enrollment – and, as outcomes, the standardized test scores in Reading and math at Key Stage 2, a test which is taken at the end of the primary-education cycle. As explained in Section 3, we can perform this analysis on the subset of pupils whom we are able to follow from entry to Key Stage 2 in our sample (i.e. entry cohorts from 2001 to 2012).The overall effect we estimate here conflates two distinct channels through which non-native pupils may affect natives' outcomes. First, the *displacement effect* at entry documented in the previous sections, which alters the type of school native pupils attend relative to the counterfactual without the local migration shock. Second, *compositional effects* arising from exposure to non-native peers in schools and classes, and interactions with native pupils (and teachers) throughout the entire primary-education cycle. This second channel potentially impacts all native pupils, irrespective of their displacement status. Whereas the *displacement effect* is expected to be negative – since we documented that natives are displaced towards marginally less performing schools – the sign of the compositional effect is theoretically ambiguous (and the existing evidence is mixed). The estimates presented in this section, however, cannot disentangle the two channels. We therefore perform two complementary analyses – first focusing on the subset of pupils who have an older sibling already in primary education (Section 6.1) and then estimating the impact of contemporaneous exposure to non-native schoolmates (Section 6.2) – aimed at shutting down the displacement margin and, therefore, identifying the compositional effect.

**Table 3: Impact of Non-Native Pupils on Natives' Educational Attainment at Key Stage 2 (IV Estimates)**

| | (1) **Reading Std Test Score** | (2) **math Std Test Score** |
|---|---|---|
| Non-Native Share | -0.565*** | -0.556** |
| | (0.198) | (0.220) |
| Observations | 4,257,106 | 4,260,616 |
| F-stat | 35.014 | 35.120 |
| Mean Dep. Var. | 0.045 | 0.022 |
| Year & LSOA FE | ✓ | ✓ |
| Individual Controls | ✓ | ✓ |

Notes. *The Table reports IV estimates of specification* (2)*, where the IV is defined in equation* (3)*. Dependent variables are national test scores in Reading (column 1) and math (column 2). Test scores are standardized by year to account for changes in test scale over time. The sample includes entry cohorts from 2001 to 2012, observed from Reception (grade 0) through Year 6. All regressions include year and LSOA fixed effects. Individual controls include fixed-effects for gender, ethnicity, and FSM status. Standard errors are clustered at the LA level (323 clusters). Significance: * = 0.1; ** = 0.05; *** = 0.01.*

Table 3 reports IV estimates of the impact of the local share of non-native pupils in Reception year on native pupils' performance in Key Stage 2 tests. We detect negative and statistically significant effects of the non-native share on attainment in both subjects. For Reading, a 10 percentage points increase in the local non-native share reduces test scores by 0.057 standard deviations (Col. (1)), which corresponds to 0.5 score points on a scale from 1 to 50 (i.e. 1.6% of the baseline mean of 31 marks). For math, the effect is virtually identical (Col. (2)), corresponding to about 0.2 score points on a scale from 0 to 100, or 0.29% relative to an average of about 70.While precisely estimated, these effects are economically small: native pupils who were exposed to larger shares of non-native pupils when they enrolled in primary education display marginally lower test scores at the end of the primary-education cycle.

## 5.5 Further Results and Robustness Checks

**School Administrative Status.** Appendix Table A.4 presents the same enrollment response documented in Table 2, but groups schools by administrative status – Voluntary Aided (VA), Voluntary Controlled (VC) and Community – rather than by religious affiliation.[17] As discussed in Section 2.1, Catholic schools have all chosen VA status, CofE schools are roughly evenly split between VA and VC, while non-faith schools are

[17]We exclude the fourth category, Foundation school, because they only account for 2% of all schools in our study period.

all Community schools. A key institutional distinction is that VA schools can prioritize admission based on religiosity, whereas VC and Community schools rely primarily on geographical proximity. If increased competition from Catholic Polish pupils displaces native pupils, the effect should therefore be most pronounced for VA schools, where religious criteria shape admission. Consistent with this mechanism, Columns (1)-(3) of Appendix Table A.4 indicate a significant reallocation of native pupils away from VA schools and towards Community schools, with a smaller (and statistically insignificant) increase for VC schools. Notably, when we estimate the effect in CofE schools separately for those with VA and VC status (Columns (4) and (5), respectively), the point estimates are negative for the former group and positive for the latter, albeit neither is statistically significant at conventional levels.

**Displacement or *Native Flight*?** The reallocation of pupils from Catholic to non-faith schools in areas with higher non-native presence could, in principle, reflect both *involuntary displacement* – if natives' applications to Catholic schools are increasingly crowded out by non-natives' applications – and *voluntary mobility*, if parents perceive Catholic schools as less attractive due to the inflow of non-native pupils and therefore apply elsewhere. This distinction matters for the interpretation of our findings. Although we do not observe school applications over the period of interest, we can nevertheless test for behaviors consistent with "*native flight*" by focusing on observed residential and school mobility choices.[18] Using mobility indicators as outcomes in estimating equation (2), Appendix Table A.5 reports IV estimates of mobility responses to the local non-native pupil share. Specifically, we construct indicator variables equal to one if a pupil, at any point between Years 1 and 6 of primary school (after being observed in the Reception year), changes residential address (Column (1)), changes school (Columns 2-5), or exits the state school system (Columns 6-9). Over the primary-school cycle, about 37% of pupils move residential location, 42% move to a different primary school, and 5% exit the NPD sample altogether – capturing pupils who switch to private education (as well as those who leave the country and cases of serious illness or death). Importantly, these patterns differ markedly by school type, providing indirect evidence that parents attach greater value to Catholic schools than to CofE schools, and even more relative to non-faith schools. Indeed, only about 2.3% of pupils enrolled in Catholic schools eventually changes school, compared with a share that is three times larger for pupils in CofE school and that reaches almost 34% for those enrolled in non-faith schools; the same ranking holds for those leaving the NPD sample, although the levels are an order of magnitude smaller. In Column (1), we detect a near-zero and statistically insignificant

[18] Applications data are available from the NPD only from 2014 onward (see, for instance, Ovidi (2025)), i.e. ten years after EU enlargement, preventing us from analyzing changes in parental preferences in response to migrant inflows.

impact of the non-native share on the probability to move across LSOAs. If anything, the probability of changing school (columns 2-5) and of leaving the state school system (Columns 6-9) declines with local non-native presence, although the estimates are mostly imprecise. While our analysis is restricted to the primary school years and may not capture pre-Reception responses, none of the mobility outcomes in Table A.5 supports an interpretation of our school enrollment results in line with a *native flight* in response to higher non-native presence.[19] We therefore conclude that the reduced enrollment of natives in Catholic schools mostly reflects involuntary displacement following increased competition from non-natives.

**School supply.** We next examine whether higher non-native presence was accompanied by changes in the supply of school places, either at the extensive margin (the opening of new schools), or at the intensive margin (higher within-school enrollment). The elasticity of school supply to increased demand shapes the magnitude of the displacement effects we observe. To assess supply responses, we build a yearly panel at the catchment-area level measuring (i) the number of primary schools operating in the area and (ii) the number of pupils enrolled in Reception year. Over our study period, the total number of primary schools remains essentially stable, if anything declining slightly from 18,276 in 2001 to 17,980 in 2018, with Catholic schools falling by about 4%, Church of England schools roughly flat, and non-faith schools declining by about 2% (Appendix Figure A.8). We then regress these outcomes on the local non-native share using our IV strategy. Appendix Table A.6 reports our estimates, disaggregated by school religious denomination. We find a small – and typically imprecise – increase in the number of schools (Columns 1-3), but large and significant increases in the number of pupils across all school types (Columns 4-6). Overall, the evidence suggests that increased demand associated with non-native inflows was absorbed primarily through higher enrollment in existing schools rather than through school openings. If capacity constraints bind, the displacement effects documented above may therefore understate the full extent of reallocation across school types.

**Heterogeneous Effects by Socio-Economic Status.** From a policy perspective, it is important to assess whether displacement effects associated with higher non-native presence disproportionately affect children from more deprived areas or less advantaged backgrounds. We examine heterogeneity along these dimensions in two ways. First, we split areas by baseline deprivation, measured using the Income Deprivation Affecting Children Index (IDACI) in 2001, and estimate separate regressions for above- and below-median areas. The IV estimates in Appendix Table A.7 indicate that displacement from

[19] We will return to the distinction between voluntary mobility and displacement in Section 6.1, where we show evidence on the enrollment patterns of younger siblings, who have admission priority in the schools attended by older siblings.

Catholic schools is similar in more and less deprived areas, although some heterogeneity emerges in the reallocation towards CofE versus non-faith schools. Second, we test whether increased competition from non-native pupils disproportionately affects children from disadvantaged backgrounds by splitting the sample by free school meal (FSM) eligibility. The IV estimates in Appendix Table A.8 show very similar enrollment responses for FSM pupils (odd columns) and non-FSM pupils (even columns). Likewise, Appendix Table A.9 provides no clear evidence of differential effects on Key Stage 2 attainment across the two groups.

**Robustness.** To further assess the robustness of our estimates on enrollment and educational attainment, we perform the following tests. First, we use alternative definitions of effective schooling markets/ competition areas. Since our main results are based on a 3 km radius (see section 4.1), Appendix Tables A.10 and A.11 show that our estimates are insensitive to changes in radius between 1 and 5 km. Second, we assess the robustness of our estimates to changes in the set of included LSOA controls and to conditioning on the interaction of LSOA controls with linear trends (as we did for our FS estimates - see Table 1. We therefore include each of the four LSOA controls (unemployment rate, population density, share of low-skilled workers, share of FSM kids) individually and then jointly in the specification, in all cases interacting them with linear trends. Our estimates for both natives' school enrollment (Appendix Table A.12) and educational attainment (Appendix Table A.13) are remarkably stable across specifications. Finally, in Appendix Table A.14 we test the robustness of our first stage (Col. 1) and second stage estimates (Cols. 2-4 for school enrollment; Cols. 5-6 for Educational Attainment) to an alternative construction of the instrument which uses all existing camps, irrespective of whether the camp capacity is observed. This alternative instrument, only leverages distance to camps: $IV_{at}^{dist} = \sum_c dist_{ac}^{-1} \cdot Poles_t$. We obtain very similar estimates to our main results presented above.

# 6 Mechanisms: Within-school effects

The estimates in Section 5.4 combine two channels through which immigration can affect natives' achievement: displacement across schools at entry and changes in peer composition within schools. This section separates the two by isolating within-school effects. We first use sibling-priority rules to shut down the displacement margin for a subset of pupils (section 6.1), and then we estimate within-school contemporaneous exposure to non-native pupils, progressively adding school and family fixed effects to address families' sorting into schools (section 6.2).

## 6.1 Evidence from siblings

As discussed above (see Section 5.4), the observed effects of non-native presence on natives' educational attainment may be determined by two main channels. First, we have shown that natives tend to be displaced towards lower-performing schools in areas experiencing larger migrant inflows (see Figure 3). Second, regardless of individual displacement status, the peer composition of all schools changes as the local non-native share rises. This section attempts to disentangle these channels by focusing on a subpopulation that is expected to be shielded from displacement: pupils with an older sibling already enrolled in the state primary school system. Because siblings of current pupils receive admission priority into state primary schools, their opportunity to attend the same school as their older sibling should be largely unaffected by local competition for places.[20]

In particular, we estimate whether increased competition from non-native pupils has a differential effect on enrollment and attainment for pupils who, at Reception, have an older sibling already enrolled in a Catholic primary school and whose access to a Catholic school is not contested by the arrival of Polish pupils in the area. To do so, we augment our baseline estimating equation (2) by interacting the local non-native share with an indicator for having an older sibling in a Catholic school, $S_{\text{Cath},i}$. We also include as controls both $S_{\text{Cath},i}$ and an indicator for having an older sibling in any primary school, $S_i$. The coefficient on the interaction term captures the additional effect of non-native inflows for pupils who are insulated from involuntary displacement out of Catholic schools. We instrument the local non-native share using our main instrument (equation (3)) and instrument the interaction term using the corresponding interaction between the instrument and $S_{\text{Cath},i}$. To implement this analysis, we use sibship information from the NPD, which is recorded only in the 2007, 2012 and 2015 waves. We therefore assess enrollment effects for the three entry cohorts in those years (approximately 1.2 million observations). Around 30% of pupils in this sample have an older sibling who is also in primary education. To analyze attainment at the end of primary school, we further restrict the sample to the 2007 and 2012 entry cohorts (approximately 720 thousand pupils), since the 2015 cohort would complete primary school in 2022, after the end of our sample period.

Table 4 reports IV estimates of natives' enrollment by school religious affiliation. For reference, columns (1), (3) and (5) report estimates of the baseline specification (2) in this subsample, closely replicating the displacement pattern from Catholic to non-faith schools observed in the full sample (Table 2). Columns (2), (4) and (6) report estimates from the augmented specification. The main displacement effects for pupils without an older sibling in Catholic education (row 1) remain close to the baseline effects. By contrast,

[20] Children with special educational needs and those in foster care also receive admission priority. Both groups represent a small share of pupils, and the latter is not observed in the data.

the coefficients on the interaction term (row 2) indicate that displacement out of Catholic schools is fully offset for pupils with an older sibling in a Catholic school (column (2)), consistent with sibling admission priority. We find no statistically significant differential effects on enrollment in CofE or non-faith schools (columns (4) and (6)). Finally, the sibling indicators behave as expected: pupils with an older sibling in a Catholic school (row 3) are substantially more likely to enroll in a Catholic school than in CofE or non-faith schools, while the coefficient on the "older sibling in any primary school" indicator (row 4) suggests that Catholic schools draw pupils from slightly smaller households.

Interestingly, these results speak against a "native flight" interpretation of the enrollment effects we observe, reinforcing the conclusions drawn from the full-sample evidence in Section 5.5. Indeed, the fact that pupils with protected priority for admission into Catholic schools continue to take up that priority *despite* increased non-native presence suggests that the enrollment patterns observed in the overall population are driven primarily by congestion and displacement, rather than voluntary avoidance of schools with higher non-native shares.

**Table 4: Impact of Non-Native Pupils on Natives' Enrollment – by Presence of Siblings (IV Estimates)**

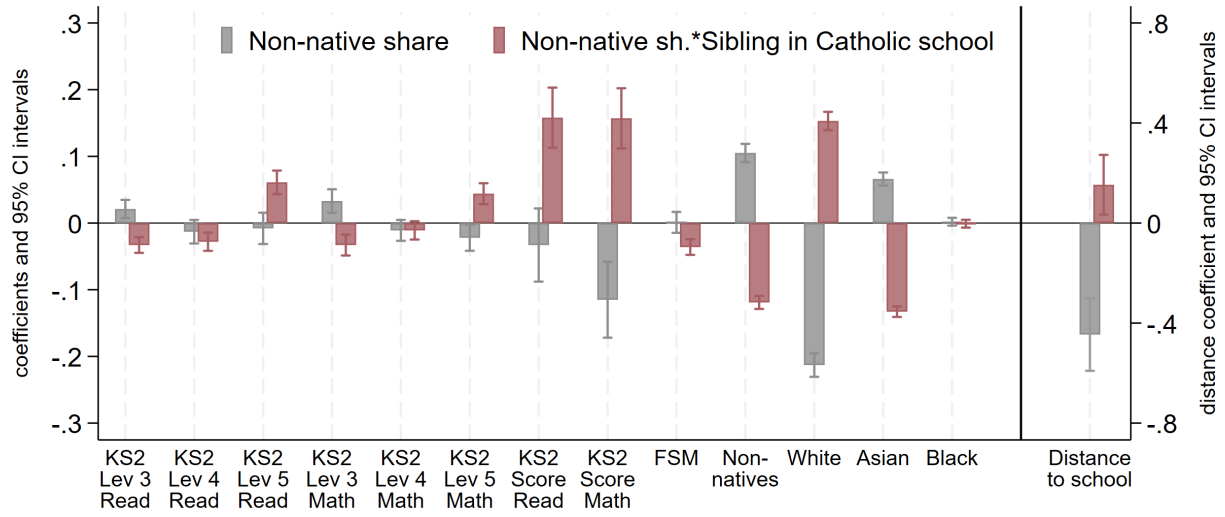
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Catholic** | | **CofE** | | **Non-Faith** | |
| | **Baseline** | **Siblings** | **Baseline** | **Siblings** | **Baseline** | **Siblings** |
| Non-Native Share | -0.102*** | -0.098*** | -0.059** | -0.060** | 0.139*** | 0.135*** |
| | (0.024) | (0.020) | (0.027) | (0.027) | (0.033) | (0.031) |
| Non-Native Share × $S_{Cath_i}$ | | 0.120*** | | -0.006 | | -0.097*** |
| | | (0.017) | | (0.022) | | (0.026) |
| $S_{Cath_i}$ | | 0.819*** | | -0.177*** | | -0.642*** |
| | | (0.003) | | (0.004) | | (0.005) |
| Observations | 1,228,663 | 1,228,663 | 1,228,663 | 1,228,663 | 1,228,663 | 1,228,663 |
| Mean Dep. Var. | 0.102 | 0.102 | 0.209 | 0.209 | 0.685 | 0.685 |
| Year & LSOA FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Individual Controls | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Test equality of coefficients (*p-values*) | | 0.3985 | | 0.0576 | | 0.3881 |

Notes. *The Table reports IV estimates of an augmented version of equation* (2) *which includes an interaction of the non-native share with an indicator for having an older sibling in a Catholic school* ($Non-NativeShare \times S_{Cath_i}$)*, and further conditions on* $S_{Cath_i}$*. We instrument the non-native share using the IV defined in equation* (3) *and instrument the interaction term using the corresponding interaction between the IV and* $S_{Cath,i}$*. The sample includes pupils who were in Reception year in 2007, 2012 and 2015, for which information on siblings is available in the NPD records. All regressions include year and LSOA fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the LA level (323 clusters). Significance: * = 0.1; ** = 0.05; *** = 0.01.*

Since pupils with an older sibling in Catholic education are plausibly shielded from displacement induced by non-native competition, we should observe little systematic change in the characteristics of the schools they attend. We test this conjecture by replicating the analysis underlying Figure 3, but estimating the augmented version of equation (2)

used above. Figure 4 reports the estimated coefficients (with 95% confidence intervals) for the main effect of the local non-native share (dark bars) and for the differential effect for pupils with an older sibling in Catholic education (the interaction term; light bars).[21] For most characteristics, we cannot reject that the sum of the main effect and the interaction term is zero.[22] This pattern is consistent with sibling priority largely shutting down displacement, so that the characteristics of schools attended by these pupils are approximately invariant to non-native inflows.

**Figure 4: Impact of Non-Native Pupils on Natives' School enrollment: Baseline School Characteristics – by Presence of Siblings (IV Estimates)**




Notes. *The figure plots IV coefficients (with 95% confidence intervals) for the effect of the local non-native pupil share on the characteristics of school attended by natives (listed on the horizontal axis). These estimates are based on an augmented version of equation* (2) *which includes an interaction of the non-native share with an indicator for having an older sibling in a Catholic school* ($Non-NativeShare \times S_i$)*, and further conditions on* ($S_{Cath,i}$) *and an indicator for having an older sibling in any primary school* ($S_i$)*. We instrument the non-native share using the IV defined in equation* (3) *and instrument the interaction term using the corresponding interaction between the IV and* $S_{Cath,i}$*. Darker bars in the Figure display estimated coefficients on the non-native share and lighter bars on the interaction term. All outcomes are measured in 2001 (or, for schools created after 2001, in the first year the school appears in the data). Coefficient magnitudes are reported on the left-hand vertical axis for all outcomes except distance to school, which is reported on the right-hand vertical axis. All regressions include year and LSOA fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the local-authority level (323 clusters).*

Finally, we assess impacts on Key Stage 2 test scores by estimating IV regressions of the augmented version of equation (2). For pupils with an older sibling in Catholic education, any effect on attainment should primarily reflect compositional effects within

[21] For brevity, we do not report the baseline estimates in this subsample; the main effects of the non-native share are very similar to those shown in Figure 3.

[22] We test equality between the coefficient on the non-native share and its interaction term. We cannot reject the the null for the share of Black pupils and KS2 Level-4 outcomes, where both coefficients are close to zero. For the non-native share and KS2 Level-3 outcomes, the interaction term has the opposite sign of the main effect, as expected.

schools, since we have shown that the displacement channel is largely shut down for this group. Table 5 reports our estimates. For reference, columns (1) and (3) report estimates from the baseline specification (2) in this subsample: the effects on reading and math are negative – as in the full sample (Table 3) – but smaller in magnitude and statistically insignificant. This likely reflects the reduced sample size and, potentially, weaker negative effects in the more recent cohorts for which sibship information is observed. Importantly, Columns (2) and (4) show that any negative attainment effects are offset for pupils with an older sibling in Catholic education. The main coefficient and the interaction term are very similar in absolute value, implying that the sum is close to zero. This suggests that native pupils who are not subject to displacement do not experience detectable losses in Key Stage 2 performance from higher non-native exposure at entry. Taken together, these results indicate that the negative effects in Table 3 are likely driven primarily by displacement rather than by adverse compositional effects in schools. We further investigate this interpretation in the following section.

**Table 5: Impact of Non-Native Pupils on Natives' Educational Attainment at Key Stage 2 – by Presence of Siblings (IV Estimates)**

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Reading Std test score** | | **Maths Std test score** | |
| | **Baseline** | **Siblings** | **Baseline** | **Siblings** |
| Non-Native Share | -0.163 | -0.174 | -0.022 | -0.030 |
| | (0.113) | (0.114) | (0.114) | (0.115) |
| Non-Native Share $\times S_{Cath_i}$ | | 0.355*** | | 0.287*** |
| | | (0.079) | | (0.080) |
| $S_{Cath_i}$ | | 0.002 | | 0.050*** |
| | | (0.015) | | (0.015) |
| Observations | 737,038 | 737,038 | 737,354 | 737,354 |
| Mean Dep. Var. | -0.024 | -0.024 | 0.003 | 0.003 |
| Year & LSOA FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Individual Controls | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Test equality of coefficients (*p-values*) | | 0.1749 | | 0.0557 |

Notes. *The Table reports IV estimates of an augmented version of equation* (2) *which includes an interaction of the non-native share with an indicator for having an older sibling in a Catholic school* ($Non-NativeShare \times S_{Cath_i}$)*, and further conditions on* $S_{Cath_i}$*. We instrument the non-native share using the IV defined in equation* (3) *and instrument the interaction term using the corresponding interaction between the IV and* $S_{Cath_i}$*. The sample includes pupils who were in Reception year in 2007 and 2012, for which information on siblings and on KS2 score is available in the NPD records. All regressions include year and LSOA fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the LA level (323 clusters). Significance: * = 0.1; ** = 0.05; *** = 0.01.*

## 6.2 School-Level Exposure to Non-Native Pupils

The estimates presented in the previous sections, based on our *area-level exposure* approach, indicate that higher non-native presence in the area of residence in the Reception

year is associated with a small negative effect on test scores at the end of primary school. The evidence suggests that this effect is driven primarily by displacement away from Catholic schools and towards lower-performing (non-faith) schools, rather than by adverse peer-composition effects from having more non-native pupils in school.

In this section, we move beyond the area-level perspective to examine more directly the effects of *within-school exposure* to non-native pupils on natives' test scores. This shift also changes the timing of exposure: whereas the area-level approach identified the effect of exposure at entry on attainment at the end of the primary-school cycle, here we relate natives' Key Stage 2 test scores to contemporaneous exposure to non-native pupils within their school and grade. Specifically, we estimate the following equation:

$$y_{ist} = \gamma + \delta m_{st} + \boldsymbol{x_{ist}}\boldsymbol{\zeta} + \phi_t + \phi_a + \eta_{ist} \tag{4}$$

where $y_{ist}$ represents Reading or math test scores for native pupil $i$, enrolled in the last grade of primary school $s$ in year $t$, $m_{st}$ is the share of non-native pupils in the same grade and school, $\boldsymbol{x_{ist}}$ is a vector of individual controls (gender, ethnicity and FSM status), and $\phi_t$, and $\phi_a$ are fixed-effects for calendar time and LSOA of residence.[23]

Shifting from area-level to school-level exposure requires a different empirical strategy. While we can rely on a plausibly valid instrument for neighborhood-level exposure, we lack an analogous instrument for exposure at the school level. Moreover, we have shown that the type of school attended by native pupils is endogenous to non-native presence in the neighborhood. To identify the causal effects of interest, we proceed in three steps. First, we compare test scores of native pupils from different cohorts within the same school by including school fixed effects $\phi_s$ in equation 4, thereby controlling for permanent differences between schools attended by natives and non-natives. This is a standard approach in the literature on migrant peers and educational outcomes, which exploits variation in exposure to foreign pupils within schools and across cohorts, conditioning on school fixed effects to account for sorting across schools (Gould et al., 2009; Geay et al., 2013; Schneeweis, 2015; Ballatore et al., 2018; Figlio and Özek, 2019; Frattini and Meschi, 2019; Bossavie, 2020; Özek, 2023). However, this specification does not address non-random displacement of natives away from schools that attract non-native pupils, nor the possibility that native parents select schools based on anticipated non-native presence (although we find no evidence consistent with "native flight" in our setting). In a second step, we thus restrict the sample to the sibling subset (see Section 6.1 and compare outcomes across siblings by including family fixed effects $\phi_{f(i)}$ in equation 4: siblings typically attend the same school in different years and are therefore exposed to different non-native shares. In particular, Section 6.1 showed that the presence of an older sibling mutes displacement effects arising from the presence of non-natives,

[23]Note that in the NPD data we have information about grades but not on classes. The average grade cohort size is about 30 pupils.

owing to sibling-priority rules in school admissions. This approach mimics the empirical strategy in Figlio et al. (2024) – the most recent contribution to this field – in leveraging sibship information to estimate specifications with family fixed effects. Finally, even with admission priority, younger siblings may still enroll in a different school from their older siblings in response to local non-native presence. Our third specification therefore uses exposure to non-native pupils in older siblings' schools as a regressor in younger siblings' test-score equations, in the spirit of an intention-to-treat design.

**Table 6: Impact of Within-School Exposure to Non-Natives on Natives' Educational Attainment at Key Stage 2 (OLS Estimates)**

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Panel A. Reading (Std. Test Score)** | | | | | | |
| Non-Native Share, own school | -0.075*** | 0.095*** | -0.086*** | 0.113** | 0.130*** | | |
| | (0.012) | (0.016) | (0.013) | (0.019) | (0.029) | | |
| Non-Native Share, older sibling's school | | | | | | -0.109*** | 0.104*** |
| | | | | | | (0.011) | (0.022) |
| Observations | 4,212,103 | 4,211,996 | 2,132,540 | 2,132,334 | 1,812,557 | 990,295 | 989,728 |
| | **Panel B. math (Std. Test Score)** | | | | | | |
| Non-Native Share, own school | -0.011 | 0.101*** | -0.022 | 0.112*** | 0.096*** | | |
| | (0.014) | (0.017) | (0.014) | (0.018) | (0.027) | | |
| Non-Native Share, older sibling's school | | | | | | -0.079*** | 0.125*** |
| | | | | | | (0.011) | (0.022) |
| Observations | 4,215,521 | 4,215,404 | 2,135,157 | 2,134,919 | 1,815,316 | 992,230 | 991,668 |
| Sample | all | all | all siblings | all siblings | all siblings | younger siblings | younger siblings |
| Year & LSOA FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| School FE | | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ |
| Family FE | | | | | ✓ | | |

Notes. *The table reports OLS estimates of equation* (4). *The non-native share refers to Grade 6 in the pupil's own school (columns (1)–(5)) or, for columns (6)–(7), to Grade 6 in the school attended by the next older sibling (in which case school fixed effects refer to the sibling's school). If a pupil has older twins, one twin is selected at random. All regressions include year and LSOA fixed effects. School fixed effects are included in columns (2), (4), (5) and (7); family fixed effects are included in column (5). In columns (1)–(2), the sample includes all native pupils starting primary school between 2001 and 2012 for whom we observe Key Stage 2 results by the end of the sample period (2018). Columns (3)–(5) include all sibling sets identified using family identifiers available in the NPD waves of 2007, 2012 and 2015. Columns (6)–(7) include all pupils with an older sibling. Standard errors are clustered at the local-authority level (323 clusters). Significance: * = 0.1; ** = 0.05; *** = 0.01.*

The results are reported in Table 6: Panels A and B refer to Reading and math test scores, respectively. Column (1) estimates the baseline specification (4) by OLS on the full sample. We find that higher non-native presence is associated with a significant deterioration in natives' Reading scores (Panel A). As also noted by Figlio et al.

(2024), this negative correlation is consistent with non-natives selecting into relatively lower-performing schools.[24] The effect on math scores is also negative, albeit smaller in magnitude and statistically insignificant. The inclusion of school fixed effects in column (2), however, makes both coefficients positive and statistically significant. When endogenous sorting into school is controlled for, a 10 percentage point increase in the non-native share is associated with improvements of around 0.01 standard deviations in both Reading and math. Columns (3) and (4) replicate, on the sibling subsample, the specifications estimated in columns (1) and (2), respectively. The results are very similar: once school fixed effects are included, the negative association between the non-native share and test scores turns positive and statistically significant. Column (5) additionally includes family fixed effects, exploiting variation in exposure across siblings within the same family: the estimated impact of non-native exposure remains positive and statistically significant, becoming slightly larger for Reading and slightly smaller for math relative to column (2).

Finally, columns (6) and (7) are estimated on the subsample of younger siblings, using the non-native share in the school attended by the next older sibling as an intention-to-treat measure of exposure. The same pattern emerges: when we exploit across-school variation, higher non-native presence is associated with lower Reading and math scores among natives (column (6)); once we focus on within-school comparisons via school fixed effects, the estimates turn positive and statistically significant (column (7)).

# 7 Conclusions

Schools seem to be an ideal setting in which *contact theory* would predict the formation of cohesive attitudes among natives towards immigrants. Not only do native and immigrant pupils interact, but they do so on equal footing, towards common goals, in a cooperative environment and within a clear institutional framework (i.e. the education system), thus satisfying the conditions identified by Allport (1954) under which intergroup contact is more likely to reduce prejudice than to foster hostility. With rising shares of immigrant pupils in many host countries – and with native and non-native children developing skills as well as a sense of belonging and citizenship together in the classroom – one might therefore be optimistic about future voters' attitudes towards immigration. Yet integration may also generate tensions, especially when inflows coincide with scarce resources and intensify competition for school places or depress educational quality for native pupils. Whether real or perceived, these concerns are likely to affect parents' attitudes – today's voters – and can translate into political support for more restrictive migration policies. Understanding how immigrant pupil inflows affect natives'

[24]Note the difference between this specification, based on OLS and capturing the effects of *all* non-natives present in a school, and the specifications in Section 5, which rely on an IV whose compliers tend to enroll in relatively high-performing schools.

educational outcomes is therefore central to designing policies that sustain social integration while preserving educational opportunities for natives.

Our paper speaks to this political debate by providing a detailed analysis of the impact of migration inflows following the 2004 EU Enlargement on primary education in the UK. We exploit variation in local exposure to non-native pupils and study a range of native pupils' outcomes: displacement across schools by religious affiliation, the baseline performance and peer-composition characteristics of attended schools, and educational attainment at the end of primary school. We provide three sets of results. First, higher non-native inflows reduce natives' enrollment in Catholic primary schools and increase enrollment in non-faith schools, with little evidence that these patterns reflect voluntary "native flight". Second, natives in more exposed areas attend schools with slightly weaker baseline performance and a less advantaged peer intake, but travel shorter distances to school. Third, higher local non-native exposure at entry is associated with slightly lower Key Stage 2 test scores among natives in both Reading and math.

These attainment effects conflate two channels: displacement of natives towards lower-performing schools and compositional changes within schools induced by immigrant inflows. To disentangle these mechanisms, we implement two complementary strategies. First, exploiting sibling-priority rules in school admissions, we show that pupils insulated from displacement experience no reduction in attainment. Second, we move from area-level to within-school exposure and estimate specifications with school and family fixed effects: once sorting into schools is accounted for, the effect of contemporaneous within-school exposure is zero or even positive. Taken together, these results suggest that, in this setting, immigration affected natives' achievement primarily through displacement across schools rather than through adverse within-school interactions.

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# ONLINE APPENDIX

## When Non-Natives Compete for Top Schools: Displacement and Attainment in Primary Education

Elisa Facchetti, Francesco Fasani, Elisabetta Pasini, Barbara Petrongolo

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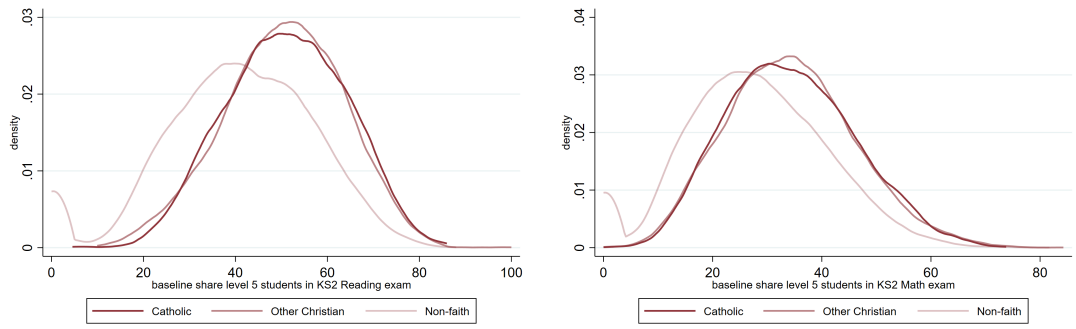
# A Appendix Figures and Tables

## A.1 Appendix Figures

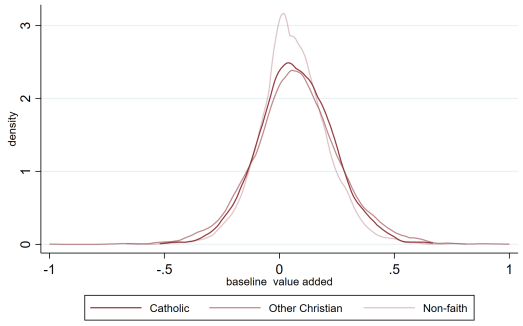
**Figure A.1:** School Quality at Baseline (2001): Catholic, CofE and Non-Faith Schools

**(a)** KS2 Reading Exam: Share of pupils reaching level 5

**(b)** KS2 math Exam: Share of pupils reaching level 5

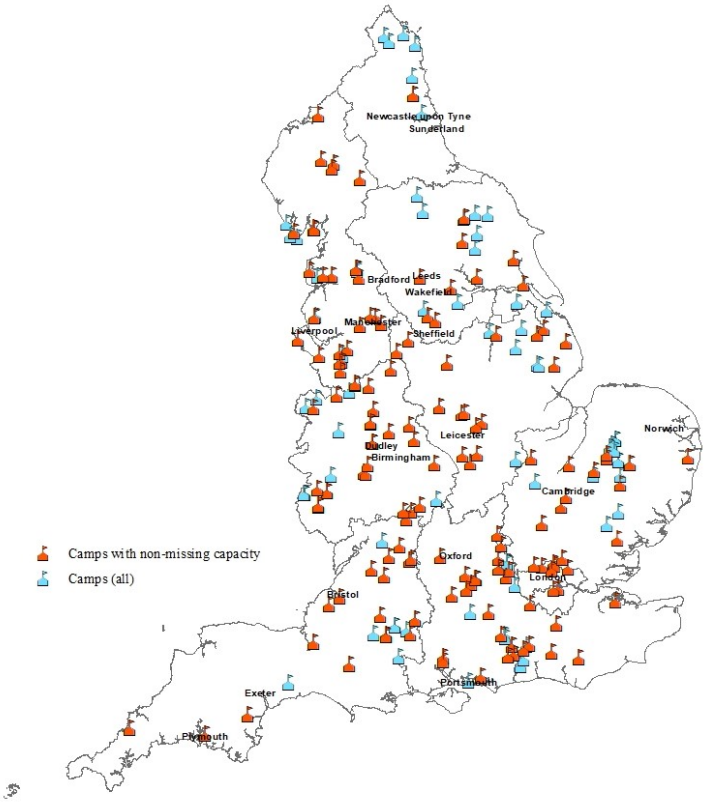



**(c)** Distribution of value added



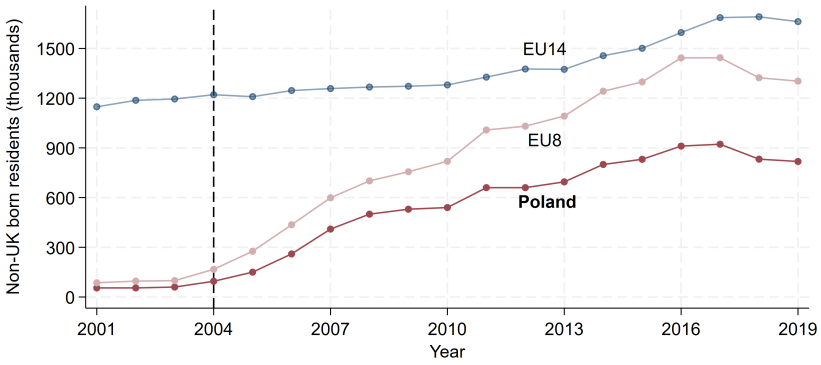

Notes. *Panels A.1a and A.1b report the share of pupils reaching level 5 (i.e. the highest level) in Key-Stage 2 exams in reading and math, respectively. Panel A.1c reports the distribution of value added. Value added is computed as the difference between the school-level share of kids who achieved the highest level in KS2 and KS1 in year 2001; this difference varies between -1 and +1. All educational outcomes are measured in 2001.*

**Figure A.2:** Map of Polish resettlement camps



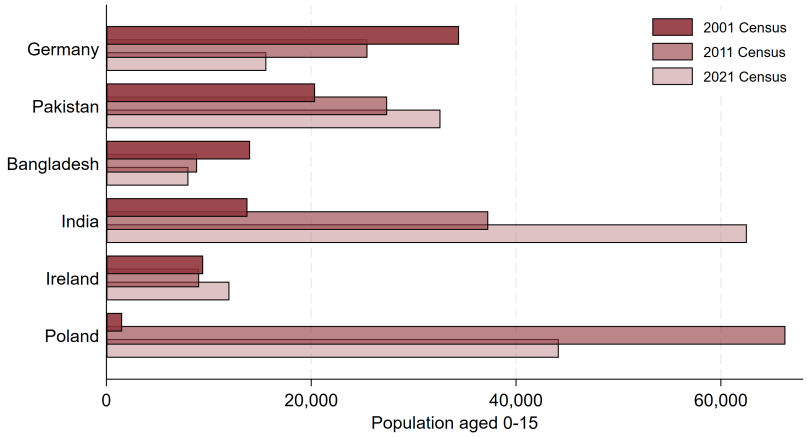

Notes. *The map reports the distribution of Polish resettlement camps across England after WWII. Source: The UK National Archives.*

**Figure A.3:** EU born residents in UK: 2001-2019



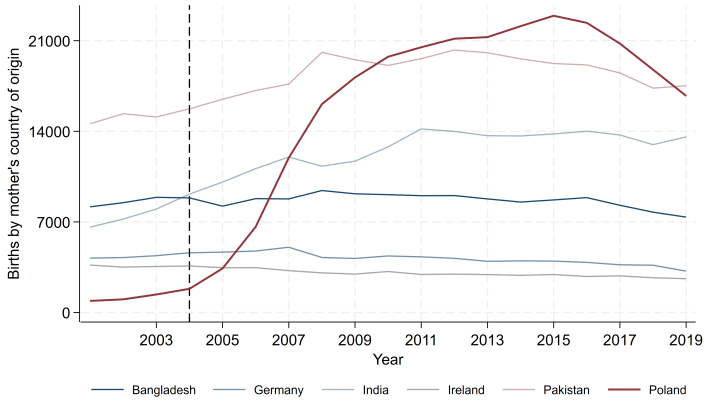

Notes. *The figure reports the number of residents by country of birth (in thousands). EU8 includes: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia. EU14 includes: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden. Source: Office for National Statistics, 'Population of the United Kingdom by country of birth and nationality' dataset (July 2020 - June 2021 edition).*

**Figure A.4:** Foreign-born residents aged 0-15, by country of birth




Notes. The figure reports the number of residents in England and Wales aged 0-15 for the six largest migrant groups (according to the 2011 Census). We chose the four largest source countries over the period 2001-2018 (India, Pakistan, Poland, and Bangladesh), as well as Germany, the largest EU country of birth excluding Poland, and Ireland, the largest Catholic country of birth excluding Poland. Source: UK Census 2001 and 2011.

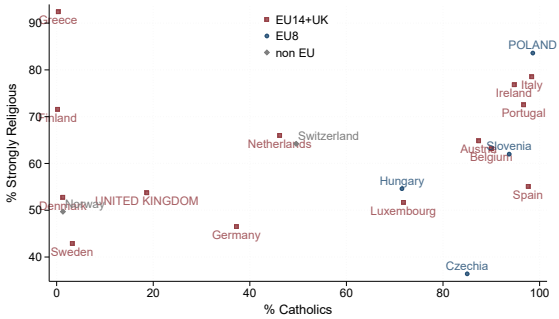
**Figure A.5:** Live births by mother's country of birth



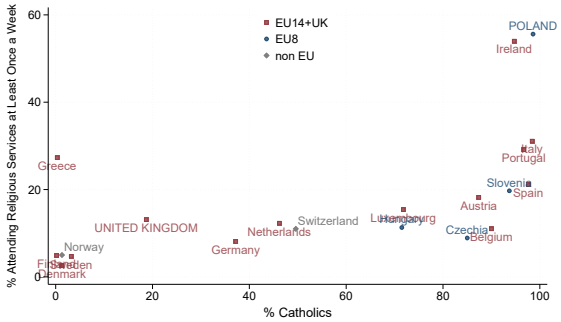

Notes. *The figure reports the number of live births in England and Wales by mother's country of birth. We plot births to mothers born in the four largest source countries over the period 2001-2018 (India, Pakistan, Poland, and Bangladesh), as well as Germany, the largest EU country of birth excluding Poland, and Ireland, the largest Catholic country of birth excluding Poland. Source: Office for National Statistics, Parents' country of birth dataset.*

**Figure A.6:** Religiosity and Share of Catholics across European Countries (ESS-2002 data)

**(a)** Degree of Religiosity

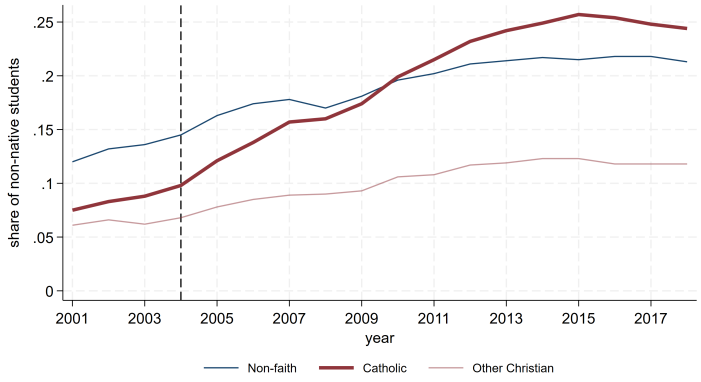



**(b)** Religious Participation



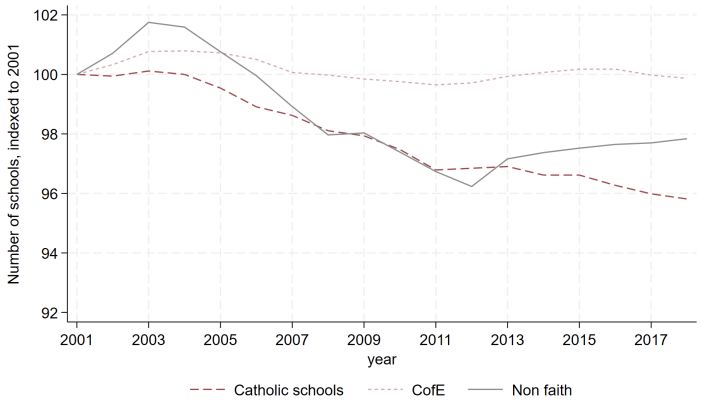

Notes. *Panel A.6a reports a scatter plot of the share of respondents who report to be strongly religious (vertical axis) versus the share reporting to be Catholic (horizontal axis). Strongly religious is defined as reporting a value of 5 or more on a scale from zero ("Not religious at all") to ten ("Very religious"). Panel A.6b reports a scatter plot of the share of respondents who report attending religious services at least once a week (vertical axis) versus the share reporting to be Catholic (horizontal axis). Source: authors' elaboration on data from European Social Survey - Round 1 (collected in 2002).*

**Figure A.7:** Share of non-native students by schools' religion affiliation




Notes. *The figure reports the share of non-native kids enrolled in Reception year from 2001 to 2018 by school religious affiliation.*

**Figure A.8:** Number of primary schools by religious affiliation




Notes. *The figure plots the number of state-funded primary schools in England observed in the National Pupil Database (NPD), by religious affiliation (Catholic, Church of England, and non-faith), from 2001 to 2018.*

## A.2 Appendix Tables

**Table A.1: Descriptive Statistics: Pupils Characteristics**

| Variable | Mean | SD | N |
|---|---|---|---|
| Female | 0.49 | 0.50 | 10,503,912 |
| Free school meal | 0.16 | 0.37 | 10,503,906 |
| White | 0.78 | 0.41 | 9,978,468 |
| Black | 0.05 | 0.22 | 9,978,468 |
| Asian | 0.10 | 0.29 | 9,978,468 |
| Native | 0.83 | 0.38 | 9,801,687 |
| Distance to school | 0.74 | 1.54 | 10,501,466 |
| Level 3 in KS2 final reading exam | 0.07 | 0.25 | 5,752,221 |
| Level 4 in KS2 final reading exam | 0.41 | 0.49 | 5,752,221 |
| Level 5+ in KS2 final reading exam | 0.52 | 0.50 | 5,752,221 |
| Level 3 in KS2 final math exam | 0.11 | 0.32 | 5,796,020 |
| Level 4 in KS2 final math exam | 0.47 | 0.50 | 5,796,020 |
| Level 5+ in KS2 final math exam | 0.42 | 0.49 | 5,796,020 |
| Test scores in marks [0,50] KS2 reading exam | 30.99 | 9.51 | 5,932,492 |
| Test scores in marks [0,110] KS2 math exam (exam year $\geq$ 2016) | 75.36 | 24.08 | 2,201,392 |
| Test scores in marks [0,100] KS2 math exam (exam year $\leq$ 2015) | 68.69 | 20.55 | 3,735,291 |
| Std test scores in KS2 reading exam | 0.02 | 0.99 | 5,932,492 |
| Std test scores in KS2 math exam | 0.01 | 0.99 | 5,936,683 |
| Observations | 10,503,912 | | |

Notes. *The table reports descriptive statistics for pupil characteristics in our main analysis sample. The sample includes all pupils enrolled in Reception Year (grade 0) between 2001 and 2018 in state-funded primary schools in England, as observed in the National Pupil Database (NPD). Non-native status is proxied by English as an additional language (EAL), defined as having a main home language other than English. Free school meals (FSM) indicates eligibility for means-tested meal support. Where reported, Key Stage 2 (KS2) Reading and math scores are standardized within year to have mean 0 and standard deviation 1.*

**Table A.2:**

Descriptive Statistics: School Characteristics by Religious Affiliation (in 2001)

| | Catholic Schools | Christian Schools | Non-faith Schools | Other Schools |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| School size | 219.84 | 166.30 | 234.78 | 258.10 |
| % Male | 50.33 | 50.94 | 52.36 | 52.13 |
| % White | 89.00 | 91.55 | 85.96 | 79.66 |
| % Black | 5.10 | 2.27 | 3.45 | 0.43 |
| % Asian | 1.43 | 2.28 | 5.88 | 8.26 |
| % Native English speakers | 93.96 | 95.49 | 90.80 | 85.03 |
| % Free school Meal (FSM) | 16.35 | 10.09 | 19.75 | 5.67 |
| % Reaching level 5 in Math | 9.83 | 10.13 | 8.66 | 16.68 |
| % Reaching level 5 in Reading | 15.35 | 15.44 | 13.22 | 22.30 |
| Average KS2 Reading (std) | 0.16 | 0.14 | -0.09 | 0.47 |
| Average KS2 Math (std) | 0.12 | 0.10 | -0.09 | 0.48 |
| Value added (level 5) | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.06 | 0.11 |
| Number of schools | 1744 | 4554 | 11947 | 31 |

Notes. *Baseline characteristics for schools existing in 2001. Religious affiliation is built using information from School Censuses. "Christian Schools" mostly includes Church of England (99%). Among the remaining CofE schools, 1 school is a Free Church, 27 schools are Methodist, 2 schools are affiliated with the United Reform Church.*

**Table A.3: First Stage Regressions - Alternative Clustering: 12x12km grid**

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Non-Native Share ($m_{\tilde{a}t}$)** | | | |
| IV ($\hat{P}_{at}$) | 0.067*** | 0.064*** | 0.064*** | 0.061*** |
| | (0.009) | (0.008) | (0.008) | (0.007) |
| Observations | 535,429 | 535,429 | 533,718 | 533,718 |
| R-squared | 0.914 | 0.916 | 0.917 | 0.919 |
| Mean dep. var. | 0.078 | 0.078 | 0.078 | 0.078 |
| F-stat | 60.50 | 59.33 | 66.25 | 65.21 |
| Year & LSOA FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pupil Controls | | ✓ | | ✓ |
| LSOA controls $\times$ $t$ | | | ✓ | ✓ |

Notes. *The Table reports First Stage estimates of the local non-native pupil share in reception year on the instrument IV($\hat{P}_{\tilde{a}t}$). All regressions are run at the catchment area level ($\tilde{a}$) and include year and LSOA fixed effects. Cols. 2 and 4 include controls for the local, time-varying shares of Reception year pupils who are female, white, black, Asian, and FSM. Cols. 3 and 4 include controls area level characteristics in 2001 (unemployment rate, population density, share low skilled, share of FSM), interacted with a linear time trend. Standard errors are clustered on a 12 x 12km grid and reported in brackets. Significance: * = 0.1; ** = 0.05; *** = 0.01.*

## Table A.4: Impact of Non-Native Pupils on Natives' School enrollment, by School Administrative Category (IV Estimates)

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Voluntary Aided (VA)** | **Voluntary Controlled (VC)** | **Community** | **CofE** | |
| | | | | **VA** | **VC** |
| Non-Native Share | -0.149*** | 0.020 | 0.129** | -0.034 | 0.020 |
| | (0.041) | (0.026) | (0.052) | (0.023) | (0.026) |
| Observations | 6,721,577 | 6,721,577 | 6,721,577 | 6,721,577 | 6,721,577 |
| F-stat | 51.464 | 51.464 | 51.464 | 51.464 | 51.464 |
| Mean Dep. Var. | 0.195 | 0.105 | 0.676 | 0.090 | 0.105 |
| Year & LSOA FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Individual Controls | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

Notes. *The Table reports IV estimates of equation* (2)*, where the IV is defined in* (3)*. All regressions include year and LSOA fixed effects, and individual controls (dummies for gender, ethnicity, FSM status). Standard errors are clustered at the LA level (323 clusters). Significance: * = 0.1; ** = 0.05; *** = 0.01.*

## Table A.5: Impact of Non-Native Pupils on Natives' Residential and School Mobility (IV Estimates)

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Home movers** | **School movers** | | | | **Leaving State school system** | | | |
| | | **Any** | **Catholic** | **CofE** | **Non-faith** | **Any** | **Catholic** | **CofE** | **Non-faith** |
| Non-native Share | 0.068 | -0.387 | -0.028 | -0.012 | -0.346* | -0.190*** | -0.150* | -0.065 | -0.022 |
| | (0.075) | (0.236) | (0.034) | (0.081) | (0.207) | (0.040) | (0.082) | (0.143) | (0.152) |
| Observations | 7,402,714 | 7,402,714 | 7,402,714 | 7,402,714 | 7,402,714 | 7,402,714 | 7,402,714 | 7,402,714 | 7,402,714 |
| F-stat | 51.149 | 51.149 | 51.149 | 51.149 | 51.149 | 51.149 | 51.149 | 51.149 | 51.149 |
| Mean Dep. Var. | 0.373 | 0.424 | 0.023 | 0.064 | 0.337 | 0.049 | 0.005 | 0.013 | 0.031 |
| Year & LSOA FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Individual Controls | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

Notes. *The Table reports IV estimates of specification* (2)*, where the IV is defined in* (3)*. All regressions include year and LSOA fixed effects, and individual controls (dummies for gender, ethnicity, FSM status). Outcomes are indicator variables equal to one if the pupil, at any point between Years 1 and 6 of primary school after being observed in the Reception year, changes residential address (column 1), changes school (column 2-5), or exits the state school system (column 6-9). Standard errors are clustered at the LA level (323 clusters). Significance: * = 0.1; ** = 0.05; *** = 0.01.*

## Table A.6: Impact of Non-Native Pupils on Educational Supply (IV Estimates)

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Number of Primary Schools** | | | **Number of Pupils Enrolled in Reception Year** | | |
| | **Catholic** | **CofE** | **Non-faith** | **Catholic** | **CofE** | **Non-faith** |
| Non-Native Share | 0.102 | 0.627* | 2.693 | 483.590*** | 298.284* | 6,007.910*** |
| | (0.287) | (0.350) | (1.869) | (102.651) | (163.425) | (1,050.787) |
| Observations | 533,136 | 533,136 | 533,136 | 533,136 | 533,136 | 533,136 |
| F-stat | 38.069 | 38.069 | 38.069 | 38.069 | 38.069 | 38.069 |
| Mean Dep. Var. | 2.026 | 2.210 | 11.201 | 489.953 | 498.860 | 3,014.434 |
| Year & LSOA FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Individual Controls | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

Notes. *The Table reports IV estimates of specification* (2)*, where the IV is defined in* (3)*. Outcomes are: (i) number of primary schools (Columns 1-3), and (ii) number of pupils enrolled in Reception year (Columns 4-6). Both outcomes are measured at the catchment-area level and are disaggregated by religious denomination. All regressions include year and LSOA fixed effects, and individual controls (dummies for gender, ethnicity, FSM status). Standard errors are clustered at the LA level (323 clusters). Significance: * = 0.1; ** = 0.05; *** = 0.01.*

## Table A.7: Impact of Non-Native Pupils on Natives' School enrollment, by School Religious Affiliation – Heterogeneity by Area Deprivation (IV Estimates)

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Catholic** | | **CofE** | | **Non-Faith** | |
| Non-Native Share | -0.097*** | -0.083** | -0.043 | 0.043 | 0.108** | 0.023 |
| | (0.028) | (0.040) | (0.029) | (0.067) | (0.043) | (0.071) |
| Observations | 4,782,780 | 2,619,917 | 4,782,780 | 2,619,917 | 4,782,780 | 2,619,917 |
| Fstat | 51.124 | 37.447 | 51.124 | 37.447 | 51.124 | 37.447 |
| Mean dep variable | 0.116 | 0.088 | 0.141 | 0.253 | 0.742 | 0.656 |
| Deprived Areas | ✓ | | ✓ | | ✓ | |
| Year & LSOA FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Individual Controls | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

Notes. *The Table reports estimates of specification* (2)*. Odd-numbered columns show IV results for deprived areas; even-numbered columns show IV results for non-deprived areas, where the IV is defined in* (3)*. "CofE" mostly includes Church of England (99%), while the remaining 1% include residual Christian denominations (Free Church, Methodist, United Reformed Church). Local deprivation is defined using the 2001 IDACI index at the LSOA level, which measures the proportion of children living in income-deprived households. Standard errors are clustered at the LA level (323 clusters). Significance: * = 0.1; ** = 0.05; *** = 0.01.*

## Table A.8: Impact of Non-Native Pupils on Natives' School enrollment, by School Religious Affiliation – Heterogeneity by FSM status (IV Estimates)

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Catholic** | | **CofE** | | **Non-Faith** | |
| Non-Native Share | -0.063* | -0.094*** | -0.024 | -0.041 | 0.073 | 0.102** |
| | (0.037) | (0.024) | (0.037) | (0.035) | (0.056) | (0.042) |
| Observations | 1,177,251 | 6,224,917 | 1,177,251 | 6,224,917 | 1,177,251 | 6,224,917 |
| Fstat | 37.453 | 52.521 | 37.453 | 52.521 | 37.453 | 52.521 |
| Mean dep variable | 0.098 | 0.104 | 0.123 | 0.207 | 0.779 | 0.687 |
| FSM pupils | ✓ | | ✓ | | ✓ | |
| Year & LSOA FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Individual Controls | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

Notes. *The Table reports estimates of specification* (2)*. Odd-numbered columns show IV results for FSM pupils; even-numbered columns show IV results for non-FSM pupils, where the IV is defined in* (3)*. "CofE" mostly includes Church of England (99%), while the remaining 1% include residual Christian denominations (Free Church, Methodist, United Reformed Church). Standard errors are clustered at the LA level (323 clusters). Significance: * = 0.1; ** = 0.05; *** = 0.01.*

## Table A.9: Impact of Non-Native Pupils on Natives' Educational Attainment at KS2 – Heterogeneity by FSM status (IV Estimates)

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Key Stage 2** | | | |
| | **Reading** | | **math** | |
| | **Std Test Score** | | **Std Test Score** | |
| Non-Native Share | -0.363 | -0.534*** | -0.476* | -0.516** |
| | (0.249) | (0.183) | (0.260) | (0.211) |
| Observations | 669,269 | 3,586,436 | 672,511 | 3,586,715 |
| Fstat | 23.101 | 37.538 | 23.234 | 37.641 |
| Mean dep variable | -0.440 | 0.130 | -0.438 | 0.103 |
| FSM pupils | ✓ | | ✓ | |
| Year & LSOA FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Individual Controls | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

Notes. *The Table reports estimates of specification* (2). *Odd-numbered columns show IV results for FSM pupils; even-numbered columns show IV results for non-FSM pupils, where the IV is defined in* (3). *Standard errors are clustered at the LA level (323 clusters). Significance: * = 0.1; ** = 0.05; *** = 0.01.*

## Table A.10: Impact of Non-Native Pupils on Natives' School enrollment, by School Religious Affiliation – Alternative Definitions of Catchment Areas (IV Estimates)

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Catholic** | | | | **CofE** | | | | **Non-Faith** | | | |
| Non-Native Share (radius: 1 km) | -0.099*** | | | | -0.038 | | | | 0.107*** | | | |
| | (0.024) | | | | (0.032) | | | | (0.040) | | | |
| Non-Native Share (radius: 2 km) | | -0.099*** | | | | -0.038 | | | | 0.107*** | | |
| | | (0.024) | | | | (0.032) | | | | (0.040) | | |
| Non-Native Share (radius: 4 km) | | | -0.098*** | | | | -0.037 | | | | 0.105*** | |
| | | | (0.024) | | | | (0.032) | | | | (0.040) | |
| Non-Native Share (radius: 5 km) | | | | -0.099*** | | | | -0.038 | | | | 0.106*** |
| | | | | (0.025) | | | | (0.032) | | | | (0.041) |
| Observations | 7,324,035 | 7,324,035 | 7,324,035 | 7,324,035 | 7,324,035 | 7,324,035 | 7,324,035 | 7,324,035 | 7,324,035 | 7,324,035 | 7,324,035 | 7,324,035 |
| Fstat | 53.558 | 52.657 | 48.567 | 47.164 | 53.558 | 52.657 | 48.567 | 47.164 | 53.558 | 52.657 | 48.567 | 47.164 |
| Mean dep variable | 0.103 | 0.103 | 0.103 | 0.103 | 0.195 | 0.195 | 0.195 | 0.195 | 0.700 | 0.700 | 0.700 | 0.700 |
| Year & LSOA FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Individual Controls | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

Notes. *The Table reports IV estimates of specification* (2) *– where the IV is defined in* (3) *– for alternative definitions of the catchment areas (with a radius varying from 1 to 5 km, excluding 3 km which is our baseline measure; see section 4.1). Standard errors are clustered at the LA level (323 clusters). Significance: * = 0.1; ** = 0.05; *** = 0.01.*

**Table A.11:** Impact of Non-Native Pupils on Natives' Educational Attainment at KS2 – Alternative Definitions of Catchment Areas (IV Estimates)

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Key Stage 2** | | | | | | | |
| | **Reading Std Test Score** | | | | **math Std Test Score** | | | |
| Non-Native Share (radius: 1 km) | -0.585*** | | | | -0.565** | | | |
| | (0.200) | | | | (0.221) | | | |
| Non-Native Share (radius: 2 km) | | -0.583*** | | | | -0.563** | | |
| | | (0.201) | | | | (0.221) | | |
| Non-Native Share (radius: 4 km) | | | -0.578*** | | | | -0.557** | |
| | | | (0.204) | | | | (0.223) | |
| Non-Native Share (radius: 5 km) | | | | -0.588*** | | | | -0.567** |
| | | | | (0.211) | | | | (0.230) |
| Observations | 4,212,022 | 4,212,022 | 4,212,022 | 4,212,022 | 4,215,406 | 4,215,406 | 4,215,406 | 4,215,406 |
| Fstat | 38.651 | 37.111 | 31.337 | 28.873 | 38.739 | 37.205 | 31.449 | 28.983 |
| Mean dep variable | 0.045 | 0.045 | 0.045 | 0.045 | 0.022 | 0.022 | 0.022 | 0.022 |
| Year & LSOA FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Individual Controls | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

Notes. *The Table reports IV estimates of specification* (2)*. IV is defined in* (3)*. Standard errors are clustered at the LA level (323 clusters). Significance: * = 0.1; ** = 0.05; *** = 0.01.*

**Table A.12:** Natives' School enrollment and Exposure to Non-Native Pupils: Including LSOA controls Interacted with Linear Trends

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Panel A: Enrollment in a Catholic school** | | | | |
| Non-native Share | -0.106*** | -0.109*** | -0.091*** | -0.104*** | -0.111*** |
| | (0.026) | (0.027) | (0.026) | (0.027) | (0.026) |
| | **Panel B: Enrollment in a CofE school** | | | | |
| Non-native Share | -0.040 | -0.045 | -0.032 | -0.039 | -0.043 |
| | (0.030) | (0.034) | (0.030) | (0.030) | (0.031) |
| | **Panel C: enrollment in a Non-faith school** | | | | |
| Non-native Share | 0.115*** | 0.123*** | 0.092** | 0.113*** | 0.124*** |
| | (0.041) | (0.044) | (0.040) | (0.041) | (0.041) |
| Observations | 7,533,199 | 7,533,199 | 7,533,199 | 7,523,910 | 7,533,199 |
| Fstat | 53.108 | 50.350 | 54.684 | 53.735 | 51.196 |
| Year & LSOA FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Individual controls | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| LSOA control X LT | unempl.rate | pop density | sh. low educ. | sh. FSM | ALL |

Notes. *The table reports IV estimates of specification* (2)*, including controls for LSOA characteristics in 2001 (unemployment rate, population density, share low skilled, share of FSM), interacted with a linear time trend. IV is defined in* (3)*. Standard errors are clustered at the LA level (323 clusters). Significance: * = 0.1; ** = 0.05; *** = 0.01.*

**Table A.13:** Natives' Educational Attainment at KS2 and Exposure to Non-Native Pupils: Including LSOA Controls Interacted with Linear Trends

| | **Reading Std. Test Score** | | | | | **Math Std. Test Score** | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |
| Migrant Share | -0.293* | -0.667*** | -0.219 | -0.328** | -0.477** | -0.250 | -0.643*** | -0.168 | -0.290* | -0.437** |
| | (0.155) | (0.209) | (0.154) | (0.156) | (0.187) | (0.167) | (0.220) | (0.166) | (0.162) | (0.208) |
| Observations | 4,342,097 | 4,342,097 | 4,342,097 | 4,337,502 | 4,342,097 | 4,345,785 | 4,345,785 | 4,345,785 | 4,341,188 | 4,345,785 |
| Fstat | 35.213 | 33.410 | 35.303 | 36.140 | 35.065 | 35.328 | 33.525 | 35.420 | 36.253 | 35.172 |
| Mean dep variable | 0.045 | 0.045 | 0.045 | 0.045 | 0.045 | 0.022 | 0.022 | 0.022 | 0.022 | 0.022 |
| LSOA control X LT | unempl.rate | pop density | sh. low educ. | sh. FSM | ALL | unempl.rate | pop density | sh. low educ. | sh. FSM | ALL |
| Year & LSOA FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Individual Controls | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

Notes. *The Table reports IV estimates of specification* (2) *, including controls for LSOA characteristics in 2001 (unemployment rate, population density, share low skilled, share of FSM), interacted with a linear time trend. The IV is defined in* (3)*. Standard errors are clustered at the LA level (323 clusters).*

**Table A.14:** Impact of non-native presence on the school enrollment and educational attainment of natives - Alternative IV (IV distance)

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **First Stage** | **School enrollment** | | | **Educational Attainment** | |
| | **Non-Native Share** | **Catholic** | **CofE** | **Non-Faith** | **KS2 Reading (Stand. Test Score)** | **KS2 Math (Stand. Test Score)** |
| Non-Native Share | | -0.120*** | -0.038 | 0.123*** | -0.648*** | -0.545** |
| | | (0.022) | (0.035) | (0.041) | (0.206) | (0.220) |
| IV distance | 0.056*** | | | | | |
| | (0.015) | | | | | |
| Observations | 7,402,714 | 7,402,714 | 7,402,714 | 7,402,714 | 4,257,106 | 4,260,616 |
| Fstat | 49.452 | 49.452 | 49.452 | 49.452 | 38.669 | 38.714 |
| Mean dep variable | 0.056 | 0.103 | 0.194 | 0.701 | 0.045 | 0.022 |
| Year & LSOA FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Individual Controls | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

Notes. *The Table reports estimates of specification* (2)*. Odd-numbered columns show results from OLS estimates; even-numbered columns show results from IV estimates, with alternative distance IV. "CofE" mostly includes Church of England (99%), while the remaining 1% include residual Christian denominations (Free Church, Methodist, United Reformed Church). All regressions include year and LSOA fixed effects, and individual controls (dummies for gender, ethnicity, FSM status). Standard errors are clustered at the LA level (323 clusters). Significance: * = 0.1; ** = 0.05; *** = 0.01.*

# B Institutional Details on English School System

## B.1 Governance and School Types

Primary schools in England fall into four categories - Community, Foundation, Voluntary Aided, and Voluntary Controlled - that differ in terms of governance, hiring rules, building ownership and pupils admissions. State schools receive all their funding from central government, through Local Authorities (LAs) that are in charge of schools within their geographical boundaries. Community schools are secular state schools, while the other three types are linked to a religious congregation or a local charitable organization. Each school is run a by governing bodies composed by members appointed by the LA and by the community, members nominated by the Faith or by the charitable organization (if any) that owns the school premises and members elected from among staff and parents. Differences in the type of schools are reflected in the composition of governing body and, in particular, in the relative weight that LAs and Faith/charitable foundations have in appointing members (see Gibbons and Silva (2011)).

We use EduBase (School Census) data to define religious affiliation of schools and their type/status (community / VC / VA and foundation).

Using the variable *denom* we define four groups according to the following definitions:

1. Non Faith
2. Roman Catholic
3. Church of England
4. Other Religious Affiliation

The variable *toedesc* identifies the four types of State schools in England.

## B.2 Historical Origins of Faith Education

Religious education has historically played a dominant role in the British schooling system, as the Church of England (CofE) was the key provider well before the state started funding education under the 1870 Elementary Education Act. The creation of Catholic schools started in the late 1840s, spurred by a major inflow of Irish migrants during the Great Famine. The Catholic Church consolidated its presence in British education throughout the 20th century, with the intent of maintaining an independent schooling network in countries where Catholicism was not the official state religion (West and Woessmann, 2010). Following the 1944 Education Act, the British government set up a system of universal, free and compulsory education was set up. Religious schools were given the options of choosing either “voluntary controlled” or “voluntary aided” status.

In the former case, the state would take day-to-day control of the schools, deciding on hiring and admission and fully funding the school. In the latter case, the church would retain control of the school and was expected to make a 50% capital contribution to the school (this figure was reduced to 25% in 1959 and is currently at 10%; (Allen and West, 2011)). Voluntary aided status resulted in the church having majority representation on the governing body and thus retaining control over the employment of staff, buildings and repairs and school admissions. All Roman Catholic (and Jewish) schools opted for voluntary aided status, while a large fraction of the CofE schools opted for controlled status. To date, the near universe of faith schools are affiliated to either the CofE or the Catholic Church and enjoy higher autonomy from (local) government than non-faith schools.

Allen and Vignoles (2016) discuss the relationship between the history of religious education and its current geographical distribution. Historical patterns of religious affiliation naturally determined the presence of religious schools in particular areas. This applies more to the Catholic than the CofE schools because the Catholic population was heavily concentrated in relatively few areas until the first half of the XX century (see Allen and Vignoles (2016)). In the final decades of the twentieth century there was very little change in the supply of faith schools in England due to financial constraints and the requirement for schools to apply for permission to change capacity numbers. Similarly, few faith schools closed over this period, because current (and almost all capital) school expenditure were covered by the State since the 1944 Education Act. This implies that current levels of faith schooling provision are largely unrelated to local religious affiliation, church attendance levels and the capacity of congregations to raise funds.

## B.3 School Choice System

In England, parents can express preferences for the school they would like their child to attend. They do so by submitting an application form to their school district / local authority (LA) in which they can nominate up to three schools. The assignment is then centrally performed by the LA, taking into account these preferences, school admission criteria and availability of places. Within LAs there are different types of school which may follow different admission criteria. In Community schools and Voluntary- Controlled schools (which account for the vast majority of schools; 61% and 15%, respectively) admission is controlled by the school district, whereas Voluntary-Aided (mainly, religious and faith) set their own admission criteria. According to standard admission criteria, priority is first given to particularly groups of pupils (i.e. those with special education needs, those looked after by the state and those with siblings already enrolled in the school) and then assigned according to proximity to schools. Voluntary-Aided schools can depart from these criteria by having, for instance, faith-based oversubscription criteria.

According to the British School Admission Code, it is unlawful for maintained and independent schools to discriminate against a child on the grounds of the child's religion or belief in school admissions. However, faith schools are exempt and are permitted to use faith-based oversubscription criteria in order to give higher priority in admissions to children who are members of, or who practice, their faith or denomination. This only applies if a school is oversubscribed Long and Danechi (2019).[1]. Therefore, while non-faith schools admit pupils based on proximity whenever they are oversubscribed, admission to oversubscribed faith schools is based on religious affiliation (Allen, 2007; Allen and West, 2011). More specifically, Catholic schools give priority to Catholic applicants (as certified by Baptism), often followed by CofE applicants, and offer remaining places to non-Christian applicants based on distance.[2] Similarly, CofE schools give priority to CofE applicants, followed by CofE applicants and lastly non-Christian applicants according to distance.

It has been often suggested that the possibility of screening pupils on the basis of religiosity allows faith schools to engage in covert selection of parents and children's characteristics that are positively correlated with future educational outcome. Allen and West (2009) focus on secondary schools in London and show that faith schools select pupils on the basis of particular religions (in their data, CofE schools have 73% of Christian pupils while RC schools have 96% of Christians) and who comes from more affluent background and have higher levels of prior attainment.

**The Demand for Catholic Schools** There is a demand for Catholic (and religious) education that it not simply determined by religious affiliation. The fact that Catholic (and CofE) schools have a reputation for being high quality school creates a demand for places in faith schools among non-Catholic and even non-religious parents. Relative to the U.S. context, in which enrollment in a Catholic school entails paying private tuition fees, in England pupils admitted to a Faith school do not incur higher expenses than those in a non-Faith school (conditional on place of residence). The only additional cost is the effort of demonstrating religiosity, a cost which is naturally higher for parents with a weak or non-existent religious background. Allen and Vignoles (2016) point at two key determinants of the likelihood of both valuing a religious education and of securing a place in faith school: parents' religious affiliation and the number of Catholic (or

[1]The School Admissions Code: 1.36 "As with other maintained schools, these schools are required to offer every child who applies, whether of the faith, another faith or no faith, a place at the school if there are places available. Schools designated by the Secretary of State as having a religious character (commonly known as faith schools) may use faith-based oversubscription criteria and allocate places by reference to faith where the school is oversubscribed"

[2]If baptized applicants exceed school capacity, priority is given to those with a certificate of Catholic practice, signed by the applicant's parish priest, confirming that at least one parent regularly attends Mass on Sundays and Catholic holidays, see: https://catholiceducation.org.uk/guidance-for-schools/admissions

Anglicans/Christians) living in the area. As far as the religious affiliation is concerned, Catholic parents will typically value a Catholic education for their kids more than any non-Catholic parent (ceteris paribus). At the same time, they will be more likely to secure a place because it is easier for them to meet the oversubscription faith-based criteria. In this context, preferences and probability to secure a place are perfectly aligned. Parents that are not Catholic may be attracted by the quality of the school and of the potential peers it offers, and thus decide to actively try to secure a place. Notably, the religious background is irrelevant for the probability of acceptance as long as the school is not oversubscribed, which leads us to the second key determinant of parental choices, namely the share of Catholic (Christian) residents in the area. Indeed, as long as a Catholic school is undersubscribed, applicants from any religious background will have equal chances to be accepted. If instead the applications exceed the available places, individuals with a "stronger" catholic background will have more chances to get in.[3] Parents without a Catholic (or Christian) background would face very high costs (or, which is equivalent, very low probability) to have their kid admitted in a Catholic school in areas with a large Catholic population. The opposite is true in areas that historically had a large Catholic population (and, hence, have many Catholic schools today ) but currently have a low share of Catholics: in these areas, there is plenty of places in Catholic schools available and relatively few competitors with a strong Catholic background. The features just described suggest that the propensity of households to actively choose between faith and secular schools will depend on both the parents' religious background and the supply of faith school places in an area relative to demand.

The notion that faith and non-faith schools are viable alternatives for both religious and non-religious families is clearly supported by the evidence of a substantial presence of pupils in faith schools whose parent are either non-religious or belong to a different confession. Using the National Longitudinal Survey of Young People in England (LSYPE), Allen and West (2011) show the following distribution for the stated religion of parents of pupils attending Catholic secondary schools: 66.7% Roman Catholic, 19.1% CofE, 6.3% non-religious, 5.4% CofE and 2.5% other religion. Remarkably, kids with non-religious parents account for 25,9% of pupil in non-faith schools and 11.5% in CofE schools. (Here we have yearly data by diocese on share of Catholic pupils).

[3]The Catholic Education Service set clear rules on how to measure the strength of Catholic background. They first ascertain it using baptism certificates and, in case baptized applicants exceed school capacity, priority is given to those with a certificate of Catholic practice, signed by the applicant's parish priest, confirming that at least one parent regularly attends Mass on Sundays and Catholic holidays, see: https://catholiceducation.org.uk/guidance-for-schools/admissions

## B.4 Review of Evidence on Catholic Schools

Most the existing literature on faith schools - and Catholic schools in particular - has focused on the U.S., where faith schools are all private. This literature has consistently found that pupils attending faith schools outperform pupils enrolled in secular schools both in educational achievements and labor market outcomes. A key empirical challenge is to establish whether the observed performance gap between Faith and Secular schools is driven by better schooling in the former sector or by "better" . Articles in this literature have used Family religion, distance to a Catholic school, share of Catholic residents in the area and/or their interaction to instrument the choice of Catholic education (e.g. Neal (1997). More recently, Altonji et al. (2005b,a) have shown that those instruments are generally invalid since family religion correlates with other family background characteristics and parents choose where to live for reasons often related to the perceived quality of the social environment and the proximity of schools that they wish their kids to attend Black (1999); Gibbons and Machin (2006); Gibbons et al. (2013). Once self-selection is taken into account, the catholic school advantage tend to vanish in both primary (Elder and Jepsen (2014)) and secondary schools (Altonji et al. (2005b)).

A notable exception in this U.S.-based literature is Card et al. (2010), which focuses on Ontario. Here the government funds two parallel school system, one secular and the other Catholic. Since the former are restricted to pupils with Catholic background, the authors argue that Catholic families can choose between the two systems while for not-Catholic families the school system is characterized by single monopoly provider. A simple models of competition between the two systems hence predicts that school managers' effort will be more responsive in areas where more families can choose, that is, in areas with larger Catholic populations. The authors' findings are compatible with higher competitive pressure leading to higher test scores.

Relative to the U.S. context, the fact that Britain has a longstanding tradition of incorporating religious education into state-funded education allows to disentangle the effects of attending faith schools from those of attending private schools. Gibbons and Silva (2011) directly address the question of whether the success of Faith School is driven by better schools or better students. They do so by using NPD data and trying to carefully control for possible determinants of the propensity to enroll in a Faith school. Further, they exploit the selection into religious education at both primary an secondary schools, and control for future enrollment in religious secondary education while looking at outcomes at the end of primary education. Overall, their findings suggest that all of the advantage of Faith schooling can be explained by differences between pupils who attend Faith schools and those who do not. Using the 1970 British Cohort Study (BCS70), Sullivan et al. (2018) are able to simultaneously control for attendance of faith schools and religious upbringing in the family of origin, showing that the seeming advantage

associated to the former tend to vanish once one controls for the latter (especially so for attending a Catholic school and having a catholic background).

# C Historical Background: Polish Resettlement Camps

After the invasion of Poland in September 1939 by the Nazi army from the west and the Soviet Union from the east, a Polish government-in-exile was first established in Paris and then in London, once the Nazi forces occupied France in June 1940. Throughout WWII, Polish armed forces that had fled Poland after its invasion joined the Allied forces, serving mostly under British Command. At the end of the war, Poland maintained its status as an independent country but its eastern territories were incorporated into the Soviet Union which also determined the formation of a satellite government in the western part of Poland that did not recognize the government-in-exile based in London. Discontented with this settlement, the majority of Polish soldiers decided not to return to their home country, and were joined by their families and previously deported civilians (Winder 2004), bringing the total estimated number of Poles in the UK to over 250,000 in 1945 (Blaszczyk 2020). In 1946, the British government created the Polish Resettlement Corps to reunite all members of the Polish Armed Forces who had fought under British command and did not intend to return to Poland. In 1947, the UK enacted the Polish Resettlement Act, Britain's first main immigration law, which granted British naturalization and government support to an estimated 200 thousand Polish settlers. While official estimates for the postwar period are scant, the 1951 Census counts approximately 162 thousand Polish-born people in the UK, up from 44 thousand in 1931 (Burrell, 2002). Polish immigrants were allocated by the government across the country, mainly using the military camps that hosted the Polish Resettlement Corps, which had previously been military camps of the British, American or Canadian army during the war. Based on the most accurate records, there were 108 of these camps in England, 61 in Scotland and 10 in Wales. The distribution of camps in England is reported in Appendix Figure A.2. These camps were typically placed in rural areas, often in the outskirts of major cities but also in more remote areas that were strategically positioned during WWII. Poles assigned to camps were not forced to stay there although the provision of accommodation, health and educational services played a crucial role in the persistence of these communities. Camps became real villages, with their own economic activities, shops, schools and churches (see original pictures in Figure A.9) and remained active for up to 15-20 years. As settlers gradually moved out in search for better work and accommodation, by the mid-1960s all but a handful of them had been closed (Biegus and Biegus, 2013). Figure A.10 provides an example of contemporary press coverage of the Polish presence in postwar Britain, reflecting the social and political climate in which the resettlement camps operated.

**Figure A.9:** Daily Life in Polish Resettlement Camps



Notes. *The above images are original pictures taken in Polish resettlement camps. Starting from the top, the left image shows the Daglingworth camp, located close to Daglingworth (Gloucestershire). The top right image shows the entrance of one of the houses in the camp located in Melton Mowbray (Leicestershire). The pictures at the bottom shows the life in the Springhill Lodges camp (Gloucestershire). From the left the pictures show a first communion celebration, a wedding, and a school. Source: Biegus and Biegus (2013).*

**Figure A.10:** Newspaper Coverage on Polish Resettlment Camps in Britain after WWII


DZIENNIK POLSKI I DZIENNIK ŻOŁNIERZA

DO THE POLES HERE REALLY WORK?

Kolejarze tracą pracę gdyż maleją wpływy w restauracjach

Why did the Poles decide to stay in this country?

How many remain to be resettled?

Conclusions

Polish Resettlement Corps: its formation and functions

Poles with higher professional qualifications

How the PRC is fulfilling its task

ORBIS

SPORTOWA

Czuwaj!

Kantyna w Fire Oaks

Hasła na dziś

Odpowiada Redaktor

Odeie w Londynie

DZIENNIK POLSKI

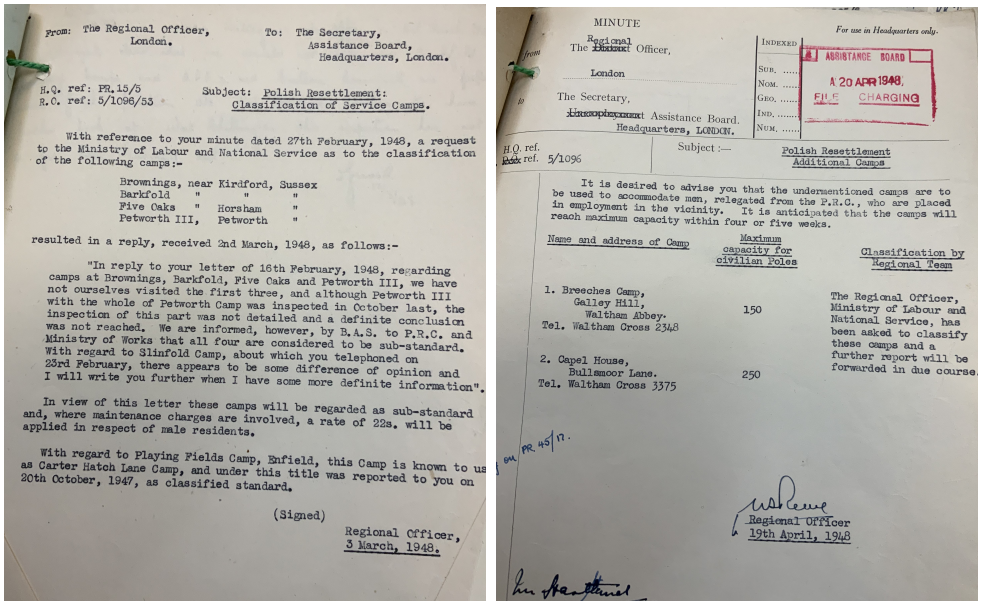
POZWANY „ŚWIADKA" PRZED SĄD

Notes. *Front page of "Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Zolnierza", the main Polish language newspaper published in the UK. The lead article ("Do the Poles Here Really Work?") responds to public debates about the labor market participation of Polish settlers in the late 1940s. This type of press coverage reflects the broader social and economic context in which the Polish Resettlement Corps operated.*

We collected information from original documents held at the UK National Archives.

Examples of these documents are reported in Appendix Figure A.11). Each record can be requested on the National Archives webpage https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk using the series and reference numbers provided. We gathered information on Polish Resettlement camps from the following records: AST 18 ("Polish Resettlement"), WO 315 ("Records concerning Polish Forces and Polish Resettlement Corps"), AST 7/1063 ("Maintenance of Poles") and AST 7/1255 ("Polish resettlement: ultimate permanent housing by local authorities").

**Figure A.11:** Records on Polish Camps from the National Archives



From: The Regional Officer, London.

To: The Secretary, Assistance Board, Headquarters, London.

H.Q. ref: PR.15/5
R.C. ref: 5/1096/53

Subject: Polish Resettlement: Classification of Service Camps.

With reference to your minute dated 27th February, 1948, a request to the Ministry of Labour and National Service as to the classification of the following camps:-

Brownings, near Kirdford, Sussex
Barkfold " " "
Five Oaks " Horsham "
Petworth III, Petworth "

resulted in a reply, received 2nd March, 1948, as follows:-

"In reply to your letter of 16th February, 1948, regarding camps at Brownings, Barkfold, Five Oaks and Petworth III, we have not ourselves visited the first three, and although Petworth III with the whole of Petworth Camp was inspected in October last, the inspection of this part was not detailed and a definite conclusion was not reached. We are informed, however, by H.A.S. to P.R.C. and Ministry of Works that all four are considered to be sub-standard. With regard to Slinfold Camp, about which you telephoned on 23rd February, there appears to be some difference of opinion and I will write you further when I have some more definite information".

In view of this letter these camps will be regarded as sub-standard and, where maintenance charges are involved, a rate of 22s. will be applied in respect of male residents.

With regard to Playing Fields Camp, Enfield, this Camp is known to us as Carter Hatch Lane Camp, and under this title was reported to you on 20th October, 1947, as classified standard.

(Signed)
Regional Officer,
3 March, 1948.

MINUTE

From: Regional Officer, London

To: The Secretary, Assistance Board, Headquarters, LONDON.

For use in Headquarters only.

INDEXED
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NUM.

ASSISTANCE BOARD
A 20 APR 1948
FILE CHARGING

H.Q. ref. 5/1096

Subject :— Polish Resettlement Additional Camps

It is desired to advise you that the undermentioned camps are to be used to accommodate men, relegated from the P.R.C., who are placed in employment in the vicinity. It is anticipated that the camps will reach maximum capacity within four or five weeks.

| Name and address of Camp | Maximum capacity for civilian Poles | Classification by Regional Team |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Breeches Camp, Galley Hill, Waltham Abbey. Tel. Waltham Cross 2348 | 150 | The Regional Officer, Ministry of Labour and National Service, has been asked to classify these camps and a further report will be forwarded in due course. |
| 2. Capel House, Bullsmoor Lane. Tel. Waltham Cross 3375 | 250 | |

PR. 45/17.

Regional Officer
19th April, 1948