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Population and social conditions **3/2002/E/n° 17**

ANALYSIS & FORECASTING OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION BY MAJOR GROUPS

PART III

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PREFACE

As part of Eurostat's 'Demographic Projections' scenarios on international migration for European countries have to be defined. To arrive at a soundly founded method to formulate meaningful migration assumptions the project 'Analysis and Forecasting of International Migration by Major Groups' was initiated. The present report is the third in row. The overall objective of these three parts of the study is to improve international migration assumptions in demographic forecasts. In March 1995, part I was carried out by John Salt and Ann Singleton of the Migration Research Unit of the University College London (UCL). Part II which was done by Nicole van der Gaag and Leo van Wissen of the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) and was completed in 1998.

The present report of part III is the result of jointed efforts of the Migration Research Unit and the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute. The project has been completed in April 2001. As completion of this project series an expert meeting has been held at NIDI November 27, 2000. The comments of this meeting are included in this final report. We would like to thank all participants of this meeting for their enthusiastic and fruitful attendance. In addition, we would like to thank Harri Cruijsen who supervised the project. A special word of condolence to Mr. Georges Tapinos who passed away a week before the workshop took place.

The Hague / London, April 2001

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1 Introduction

1.1 CONTEXT OF THE PROJECT

Three basic demographic processes determine population changes: birth, death and migration. Natural growth, i.e. the difference between the number of births and deaths, shows a continuously decline in countries of the European Union. Nowadays, natural growth is very small and in some countries a natural decrease is observed. In this light, the importance of international migration for population growth in countries of the European Union is indisputable. Especially concerning population projections, assumptions on international migration are of great consequence for future population size and structure. Therefore, Eurostat launched the research programme 'International Migration by Major Groups' to improve the assumptions on international migration. The final purpose of this programme is to support the forecasting of the population of the countries of the European Economic Area by the provision of migration scenarios. The terms of reference for this research programme are as follows:

- Harmonisation of national population forecasts for the countries of the European Economic Area.
- International analysis of international migration trends by gender, age / generation and major groups for the countries of the European Economic Area.
- Development and improvement of methods to forecast international migration.

In order to achieve these objectives, the research programme started with part I which was carried out by the Migration Research Unit of University College London (UCL) in 1994-1995 by John Salt and Ann Singleton (Salt and Singleton, 1995). In part I the most relevant groups of migration flows were listed and a comprehensive conceptual model was presented which served as starting point for structured analyses. The application of the conceptual model to a selection of countries stood central in part II of the programme. The analyses should give a quantitative foundation of the major migration groups and their assumed relationship with explanatory factors like economic information or policy measures. The purposes of part III is to complete the systematic analyses of part II by applying the conceptual model to an additional number of countries and to obtain synthesis of the previous two parts resulting in recommendations to improve forecasting methodology and assumptions. Given the importance of the results and conclusions of part I and II for this third part, a brief summary of the first two parts will be given first. Next, the outline of the report of part III will be presented.

1.2 SUMMARY PART I

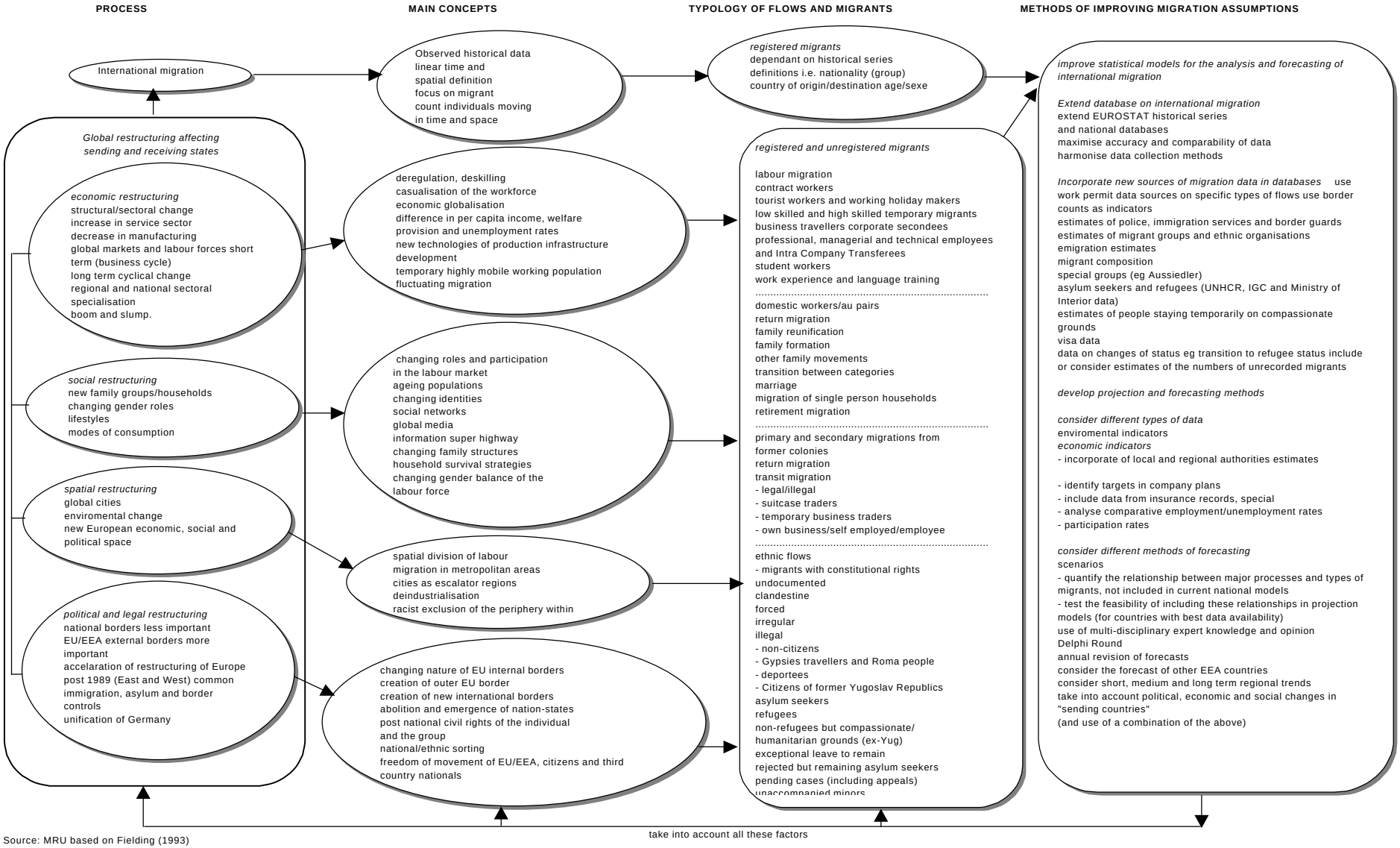
Part I was concerned with devising ways to improve the migration assumptions in forecasting models and scenario building. It proposed a new approach going beyond the standard modelling approach to incorporate more complex migration characteristics and diverse sources of information. This conceptual model is shown in Figure 1.1. This comprehensive conceptual model provides a framework for the identification and analysis of international migration flows.

The first column in the model identifies four major restructuring processes that affect existing flows and generate new types of flows. These are presented as interrelated processes of global restructuring and provide a means of identifying change at an international level. The second column indicates some of the main concepts which are needed in the analysis of current patterns. The processes and concepts are linked in Figure 1.1 by arrows which indicate broad causal links but should not be taken to exclude other interrelationships between the two columns. The third column presents a detailed typology of migrants which includes new types of flows and new types of migrants. Many of them are not usually included in existing databases, forecasts and scenarios, but must ideally be taken into account in any attempt to forecast future patterns. The final column suggests four main elements which may be considered as part of a pragmatic approach to improving statistical models for the analysis and forecasting of international migration. This column is linked back within the model to the previous three columns, to emphasise the need for continual reassessment and development of theoretical approaches, concepts, typologies and the methods suggested here for improving migration assumptions.

The partiality of statistics, and the fact that data sources are not generally robust enough to allow for quantifying processes, means that it is unlikely to be possible to include some of them directly within migration forecasting models. Consequently Part I suggested that a method of improving migration assumptions should be adopted that combines a review of the literature on the processes identified with the use of available statistical data to model particular relationships.

The conclusion was that it would seem sensible that this approach is initially adopted for those countries with the best data on all those aspects of migration identified in the model. It may then be possible to make inferences for other countries on the basis of the results gained. At the least, it should then be possible to inform scenario builders about the likely direction of future migration trends, so that more realistic assumptions about migration behaviour might be made.

Figure 1.1 Model for the analysis of international migration flows and for improving the migration assumptions.



Source: MRU based on Fielding (1993)

1.3 SUMMARY PART II

The conceptual model developed by UCL provides a comprehensive framework for the identification and analysis of international migration flows. In principle, this model could be used as a point of departure for the empirical analysis. Nevertheless, empirical specification and validation of the conceptual model is hampered by several constraints, of which data availability and quality is probably the most serious one. For the near future it seems impossible to satisfy the full needs of the UCL-model. It is possible, however, to assess some parts of the model, despite the restrictions imposed by the data. In particular, the following analyses were conducted within the framework of the overall model.

1. The relationship between economic indicators and immigration was studied
2. The impact of the size of the migration stock upon the size of immigration flows was taken into account as well, in addition to the effects of the economic indicators
3. The importance of elderly migration in international migration was empirically evaluated, and some future trends sketched briefly
4. The impact of the extension of the European Union with Spain and Portugal in 1986 on migration flows within Europe was examined
5. The relationship between asylum applications and immigration statistics was dealt with.

By taking into account international migration flows in various member states of the European Union, an attempt has been made to discern general EU migration patterns from country-specific trends. Analyses have been carried out for a subset of countries, covering the dimensions northern/southern, 'big'/'small' and data rich/poor: Germany, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. In some specific analyses other countries have been taken into account as well. Below we will highlight the main findings of each analysis.

The main conclusions and recommendations of part II are:

- Some relationships between economic variables and migration exist. Economic indicators are, however, only effective predictors of migration in some countries (the Netherlands, Germany and the United Kingdom). Generally, unemployment turned out to be a key indicator although GDP per capita or compensation per worker dropped in as well or instead. The analysis for other countries (Sweden, Portugal) did not have appropriate results. Recommended is to extend the analyses with time series of other countries and update current time series.
- The analysis concerning immigration distinguished by nationality showed that nationals and immigrants from EU-countries are generally less affected by economic indicators, although not totally insensitive.

- The existence of networks, which may be indicated by the size of the foreign population in the country of destination, is another factor behind international migration flows. The addition of size of the foreign populations to the economic models produced mixed results. In some countries the variable could be interpreted as one of the factors behind the observed linear trend in migration.
- Comparison between statistics on asylum applicants and immigrants have shown that there is a close correspondence between the number of applicants and the number of immigrants for at least some countries (the Netherlands and Germany).

1.4 OUTLINE OF THE REPORT

The main purpose of part III is to provide an improved methodology to support the migration assumptions of the population forecasts. The conceptual model of part I, combined with the empirical approach of part II determine the structure of part III. The overall structure of the report is as follows. The report is split up in two main parts. In Part A, a migration framework is developed which allows analyzing migration flows and which should result in a pathway towards forecasting of international migration. The findings of part I and II are taken as starting point for part A. First, a brief overview is given of the methodology, context and the data. Next, immigration flows are described and analyzed in line with the analyses of part II. The foci are on three major groups of migration motives namely: 1) economically-induced immigration, in which the labour flows are distinguished, 2) asylum and 3) a residual category, which includes irregular migration. In addition to migration motive, nationality will be used as classification. Besides these immigration flows, emigration is explicitly taken into account. Emigration flows will be related to the size of stocks, economic variables and nationality.

The migration analyses applied to the case studies of part II (Germany, Portugal, Sweden, United Kingdom and the Netherlands) are updated with the most recent years and are extended to the countries Finland, Italy and France. The most important outcomes and findings of these analyses are summarized and used to define a framework for migration forecasting. An Expert Meeting has been held to review these outcomes thoroughly. Ten experts of various countries participated in this one-day meeting. The meeting was structured making use of a questionnaire which was sent in advance to the participants. The responses to this questionnaire are briefly summarized and followed by the conclusions and recommendations of the experts. The Conclusions and Recommendations chapter concludes the report.

The second part of the report, Part B, consists of a comprehensive description of country-specific international migration trends for the selected countries. This section gives the context of the various migration flows as described and analyzed in part A. All the countries selected as case studies are described in detail.

PART A

ANALYSIS OF

MAIN MIGRATION GROUPS

2 Methodology, Context and Data

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This section contains the description and development of the proposed methodology to be used to analyze international migration flows. The methodology presented here results in a well-founded basis for forecasting. In part I, the comprehensive conceptual model was presented. This conceptual model has been used as a starting point for the analyses of part II. In these analyses, migration trends were analyzed for 5 countries: The Netherlands, Germany, Sweden United Kingdom and Portugal. The foci were on i) immigration related to economic indicators like unemployment and income, ii) the effect of the stock on migration flows iii) migration by sex and age (e.g. elderly migration) and iv) the effect of asylum on migration.

In line with the conclusions and recommendations of part I and II the content of part III was decided. There are three additions to the previous parts. First, the number of case studies was extended with three countries (Finland, France and Italy) to get a broader data set for the analyses. Secondly, the outcomes of the analyses of economic indicators in part II were not that strong but gave a lead for further, more detailed analyses. Therefore in part III, immigration flows are distinguished by motive. One of the leading motives is labour immigration which might have a stronger relationship with economic variables. The other major immigration groups to be distinguished are asylum and a residual category (consisting of irregular immigration). The third addition in part III is the explicit analysis of emigration.

2.2 METHODOLOGY

As mentioned above, international migration will be described as a composite of emigration and immigration flows instead of net migration numbers or net migration rates previously used in Eurostat's population projections. The methodology to analyze immigration and emigration varies regarding several aspects. For example, immigration is usually expressed in total numbers while it is more common to use rates for emigration. Another difference is the underlying motive to migrate: seeking asylum is restricted to immigration flows (although return migration might be a relevant issue concerning asylum migrants). On the other hand, immigration and emigration also have several aspects in common. Firstly, nationality might be of influence on both flows. Secondly, the economic situation in a country is another aspect that can serve both as a pull factor or a push factor and influence one's intentions to migrate. It should be noted that only the economic situation in the selected European countries will be included in the analyses although the economic situation of sending countries can also be of importance (Schoorl et al., 2000).

2.2.1 IMMIGRATION

Immigration will be described using motive as the main characteristic. Several aspects are distilled from the conceptual model as motive for immigration. In line with part III we will focus here on the following three motives: economically-induced, Asylum-related and other factors. The economically related or induced immigration has been extensively analyzed in part II. The impact of economic variables, like unemployment and income on immigration flows has measured starting with a so-called reference model. In this reference model a general trend is included to describe the general increase of international mobility because of factors like travel opportunities and communication networks; autonomous aspects that have a positive effect on immigration irrespective of policies and economic effects. In addition, policy and dummy variables are included. These variables represent special events or policy actions which caused historical irregularities or interrupt a possible trend. The analyses should indicate if and to what extent the economic variables can be used to explain this trend. The analyses for a selection of European countries confirm the influence of unemployment on immigration (Van der Gaag and Van Wissen, 1999, De Jong and Visser, 1996). The effect of income, expressed as per capita gross domestic product of a country, was also found to be of importance in part II and will be used as a second economic variable. In addition to the economic variables, the size of the stock (i.e. the number of foreigners in a country) will be included. The inclusion of the size of the stock implicitly reckons with family reunification as a motive and family will therefore not be distinguished separately. In first instance, total immigration will be looked at. Secondly, we will look at labour as a specific motive which might have a strong relationship with the economic situation in a country. The second motive, asylum seeking, will be described for all countries of the European Union in order to get an overall picture and to be able to compare the various countries. The last motive consists of the irregular or undocumented immigration. This comprises a qualitative description how to estimate the size and relevance of this flow and how to include it in forecasts.

Nationality is a dimension which can be of importance concerning immigration. Nationals, for example, are generally not much affected by economic variables as concluded in part II. Immigrants from outside the EU might be more susceptible for economic circumstances. The total immigration flows are therefore distinguished by Nationals and Foreigners, which is further divided into EU foreigners and Non-EU foreigners. Asylum on the other hand depends mostly on the situation in a particular (sending) country and will be described in more detail concerning nationality.

2.2.2 EMIGRATION

The analytical exploration of emigration flows is one of the new aspects of part III. The methodology to follow is similar to that of total immigration. The use of a reference model is presumed to be less relevant. Although travel opportunities increased undeniably, which is represented for the immigration methodology by the above mentioned trend variable, it can be questioned if it affected emigration flows. The effect of economic variables and the

size of the stock will be included as explanatory variables. In addition, policy/dummy variables might be necessary to explain historical irregularities.

Nationality will be distinguished by the same broad groups as total immigration. Emigration can be expressed in total numbers or in rates i.e. emigrants per 1000 foreigners. This is according the methodology used for emigration forecasting in the Netherlands (De Beer 1999) in which future emigration is calculated for specific groups of nationalities. In this report emigration will be analyzed for both numbers and rates using the broad categories of nationality (Nationals, EU foreigners, Non-EU foreigners).

2.2.3 NET MIGRATION

The methodology to analyze immigration and emigration flows can obviously only be applied if there are good quality data available which cover a substantial period. This is not the case for all countries. Some countries have only data on immigration (France) where others only cover a limited historical period. In these cases we have to fall back on the estimation of net migration. The data on net migration are mostly available from 1960 onwards since these data are the (calculated) result of population changes in combination with the number of births and deaths. These time series are available for all countries. The analyses of net migration will be performed using total numbers. Net migration lacks any further detailed specification and aspects like nationality and the age structure are not included in the analyses.

2.3 CONTEXT

The context of migration consists of the above mentioned factors. These factors have been clustered in four main categories of variables namely: Economic (unemployment and Gross Domestic Product per capita), Demographic (the population distinguished by nationality), Policy and Other variables (dummies). The latter includes some miscellaneous variables (such as mass communication, travel opportunities) and country-specific variables mainly used for explanation of historical singularities (like the unification of Germany, changes in former colonies e.g. Surinam).

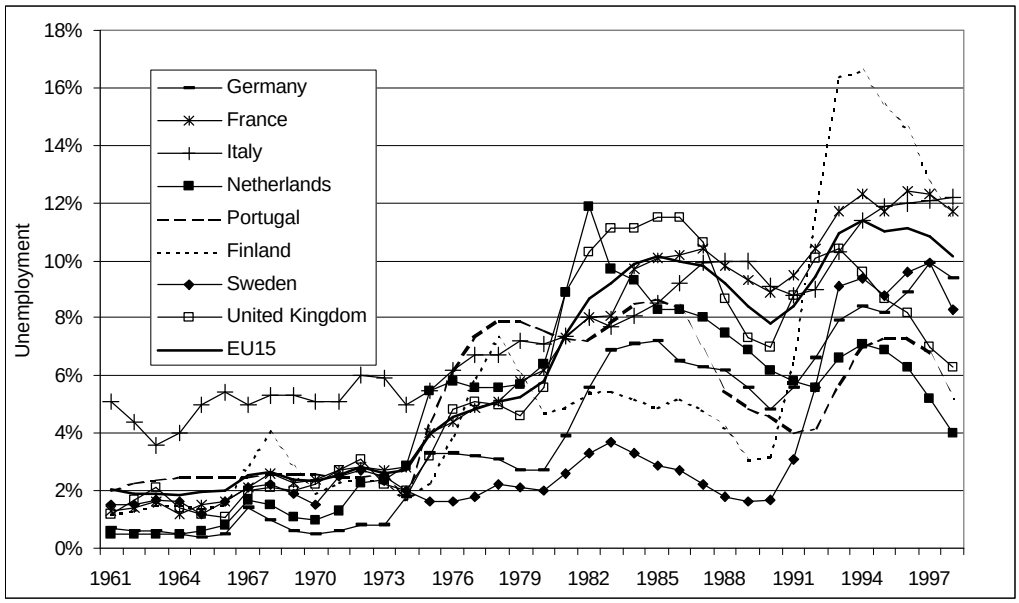
Table 2.1 Context variables of the migration system.

Economic	Demographic/Social	Policy and Other
Unemployment	Sex and Age structure	TREND(representing Mass communication Travel opportunities)
Income (GDP per capita)	Stocks (Nationals/Non-nationals)	EU integration-SURINAM-UNIFICATION

Economic context

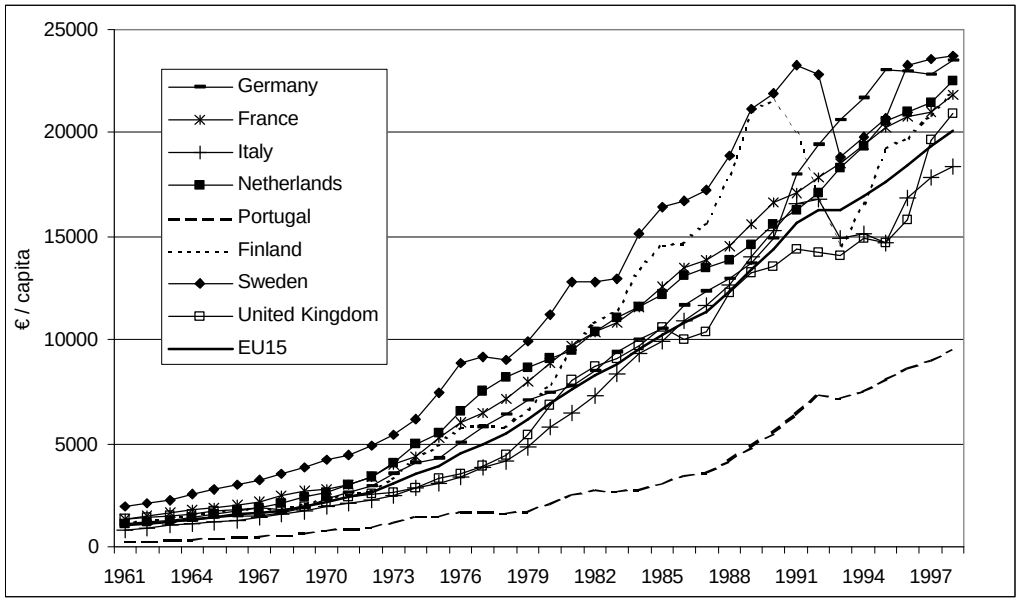
The definition of unemployment is not unambiguous. The definition used can differ among the countries but also over time. The extensive time series are obtained from the Eurostat database New Cronos. The unemployment rate in the selected countries shows a gradual increase over the period 1960-2000 although specific periods of economic growth and recession are clearly shown (see Figure 2.1). In the 1960s unemployment was at relatively low levels, below 3 per cent, for all countries. Italy was the only country where unemployment was higher, 4-6 per cent. In the period 1970-1980, unemployment gradually increased and peaked in the 1980s, indicating the economic recession. After a steep fall at the end of the 1980s, unemployment started to increase once more at the beginning of 1990s. Especially in the Nordic countries, an enormous increase in unemployment rates was observed with more than 16 percent unemployment in Finland as highest. The downward trend of unemployment over the last 5 years, however, might indicate a structural shift to lower levels.

Figure 2.1 Unemployment rates of selected European countries, 1961-2000.



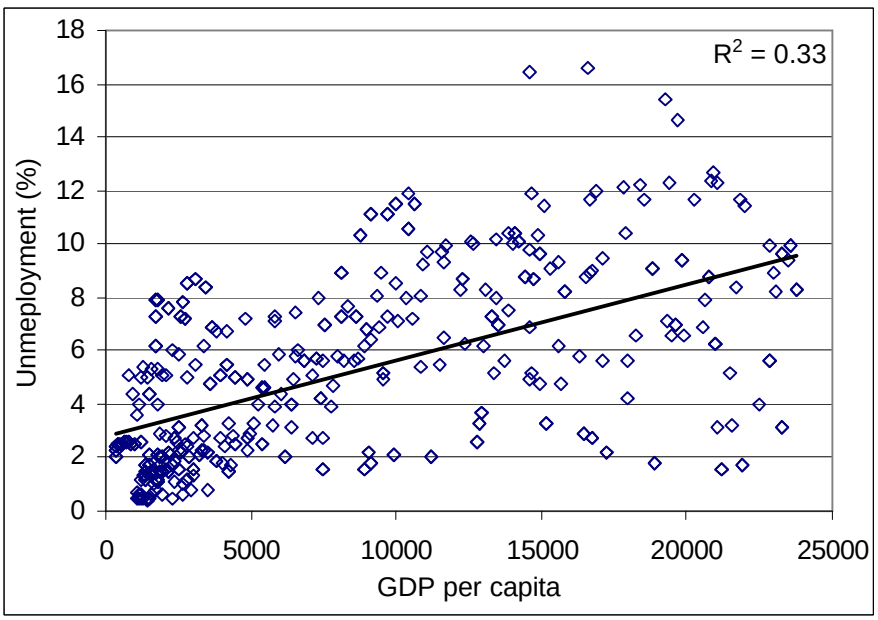
The variations in unemployment are also reflected in the time path of the per capita gross domestic product although the GDP shows a less volatile course than that of unemployment. Figure 2.2 shows the per capita GDP over the period 1961-1998.

Figure 2.2 Gross domestic product (GDP) per capita for selected European countries, 1961-1998 (Source Eurostat New Cronos).



The above presented economic variables, unemployment and GDP per capita will be used as explanatory variables for migration trends. However, the economic nature of variables might include unintended redundancies in the analyses. Figure 2.3 shows that for pooled data of the countries selected for part II and III only a weak relationship is observed (R^2=0.33 for a linear fit and R^2 = 0.37 for a quadratic fit). Individual countries show a higher linear correlation between income and unemployment (R^2 for France is 0.82, Finland 0.49, Italy 0.85, the Netherlands 0.28, UK 0.47 and Sweden 0.46).

Figure 2.3 Gross domestic product (GDP) per capita related to Unemployment rates for selected European countries.

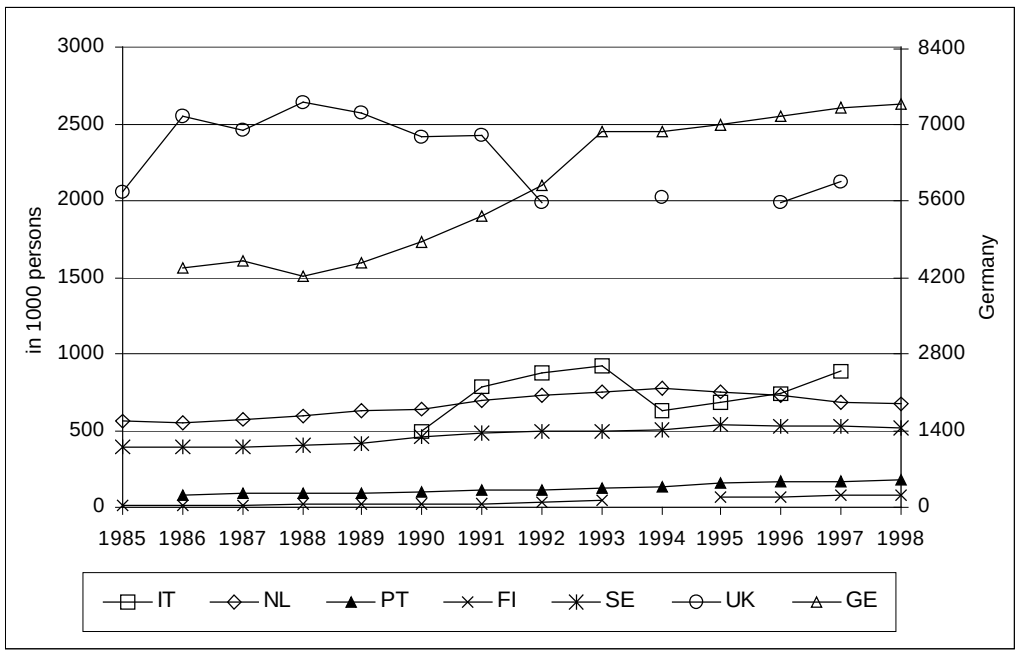


Demographic/Social context

One of the variables of the Demographic/Social category is the distribution of the population. As well immigration as emigration are influenced by aspects like nationalities, ethnicity and country of birth. However, the data availability and quality regarding these population characteristics is rather limited. For most countries migration by nationality is available and this will be used in the analyses.

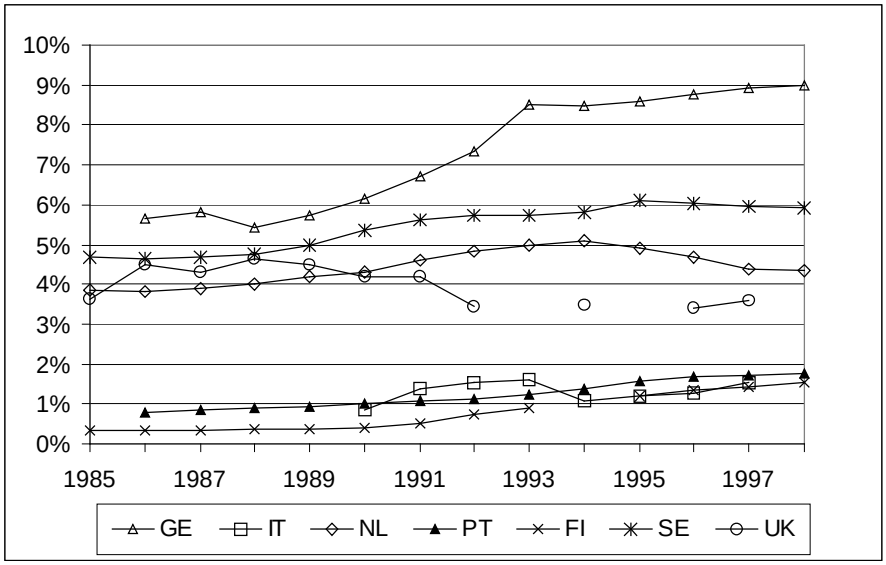
The results of the analyses of part II, in which the size of foreign populations was taken into account to explain immigration and net migration patterns, were mixed. In part III the analyses will be extended for additional countries but also the effect of the size of the stocks on emigration will be examined. In these analyses a primary distinction is made between the nationals and foreigners. In Figure 2.4 an overview is given of the total numbers of foreigners in the selected countries. Foreigners in Germany (more than 7 million in 1998) outnumber foreigners in the other countries by a factor two or more and are therefore displayed on the secondary Y-axis. Most countries show a slight increase until the beginning of the 1990s and seem to have stabilized afterwards with the exception of the UK where a reverse trend is observed.

Figure 2.4 Total number of foreigners in selected number of countries, 1985-1998.



Weighting these figures of by population size (see Figure 2.5) results in a rather different picture. Germany still has the leading position with 9% of foreigners in the population in 1998. However, in Sweden and the Netherlands also a high percentage of foreigners is observed. The slight decrease of the percentage in the most recent years in the Netherlands might be due to naturalization of foreigners.

Figure 2.5 Foreigners as percentage of the population in selected number of countries, 1985-1998.



Policy and Other context

The last aspect to be considered is the policy and other context. Most policies and dummy variables can only be looked at in a country-specific way and are extensively described in part B of this report. However, some of the overall trends in policies can be put in a European perspective. One of the common characteristics is the influence of the former colonies on migration patterns. For example, the independence of Surinam in 1975 had not only a direct effect on the size of immigration flows in the Netherlands, but also the post-colonial relationship is still of influence on the migration flows from and to Surinam. Comparable relationships exist between France and Algeria, and between Portugal and Angola. Another general is the harmonization and activation of European-wide treaties and policies regarding international migration. The most important policies are briefly summarized.

Starting with the 1951 Treaty at the Geneva Convention, Europe has worked towards a uniform method on issues of strategic policy in regard to international migration, the acceptance of refugees and asylum-seekers. In all OECD countries, the procedure for granting refugee status is regulated by the Geneva Convention and by the New York Protocol of 1967. This protocol defines criteria for determining the validity of asylum requests and granting refugee status. The results of both the Schengen (1985) and the Dublin (1990) agreements were the first concrete steps towards a European international migration policy. They set guidelines for determining who was responsible for the treatment of the refugee request, a harmonization of visa agreements, and introduced the concept of "carrier liability", or sanctions against i.e. airlines that transport incorrectly or undocumented passengers. The implementation of the Schengen Agreement also introduced the concepts of safe countries of origin and safe third countries. Safe countries of origin are countries, which are assessed as such that no persecution need be feared. In order to prevent "refugee-

shopping", the term safe third country of acceptance was introduced. This means that in theory, the first (safe) country the refugee enters, becomes responsible for the handling of the application for refugee status. Agreements, whether at global, EEA, EU or bilateral level are mostly concerning definitions of refugee and asylum seekers and controls of borders. Labour migration is by and large a country-specific policy issue as well as rules concerning regular migrants wishing to stay for more than three months. Many of the European OECD countries struggled with high unemployment levels in the nineties. This generated a need for protection of the national labour market, resulting in stricter limits on immigration flows while still allowing family reunion and refugee flows, this in accordance with the Schengen Agreements and, for certain countries, the EU. The Schengen Zone has grown from the original seven countries (Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain) with the addition of Austria, Greece and Italy in 1997 to a total of ten countries. Foreigners in possession of a temporary permit for one of the Schengen countries are free to travel for a three-month period in the entire Schengen area. Policy at national level is generally one of harmonization with the other EU countries. Country-specific policy tends to reflect border-specific problems. Many bilateral agreements have been made in order to ensure better co-operation with neighbouring countries, especially in regard to the trafficking of aliens.

2.4 DATA

In order to have a thorough analysis of the major groups of migration, a good set of data is indispensable. A good data set implies that the data cover a substantial period, are detailed and are reliable. Eurostat's database New Cronos is a comprehensive data source for international migration and meets most of the above mentioned requirements. The (calculated) net migration is available from 1961 up till 1999 alike the availability of the economic information such as GDP per capita and unemployment. The availability concerning total emigration and immigration flows differs among countries. Some countries cover the last four decades (e.g. Scandinavian countries) while others have observations of only a few years or less. The data situation becomes even more restrictive if a further distinction is to be made by nationality or if the data on asylum seekers and decisions is concerned. Nevertheless, the data regarding most selected countries are sufficient to use them for analysis purposes.

A comprehensive overview of migration data availability in New Cronos is presented in part II (van der Gaag and van Wissen, p.87-98). In Table 2.2 an update is given of the most relevant time series used in part III. New Cronos has been the main data source for this study and almost all data listed in the table below originate from it. However, New Cronos is updated continuously and the table may not reflect its actual status.

Table 2.2 Overview of the available time series of countries (Source: Eurostat New Cronos, additional source: NSO-s).

Country	Net migration	Immigration	Emigration	Labour	Asylum applicants	Nationals / Foreigners	STOCKS	Economic (Unemployment, GDP)
AT	1961-98	1996-97	1996		1985-99		1991,95-97	1961-98
BE	1961-98	1961-96	1961-96		1985-99	1985-96	1989-93,95-98	1961-98
DK	1961-98	1961-98	1961-96		1985-99	1985-96	1985-98	1961-98
FI	1961-98	1961-98	1961-96		1985-99	1985-96	1985-93,95-98	1961-98
FR	1961-98	1991-98	1995-96	1985-97	1985-99	1985-97	1990	1961-98
GE	1990-98	1961-96	1961-96	1985-97	1985-99	1985-96	1986-98	1961-98
GR	1961-98	1968-76,85-96	1961-76		1985-99	1985-93	1985-93,95-97	1961-98
IE	1961-98	1987-97	1987-97		1987-99	1991-93,96	1985-93,96	1961-98
IT	1961-98	1985-95	1985-95		1985-99	1985-96	1990-97	1961-98
LU	1961-98	1965-96	1993-95		1985-99	1987-96	1987-92,94,97,98	1961-98
NL	1961-98	1961-98	1961-98	1996-98	1983-99	1985-96	1961-98	1961-98
PT	1961-98	1992-96	1992,93,95,96		1985-99	1992,93,96	1986-98	1961-98
ES	1961-98	1961-96	1961-90,95		1985-99	1985-96	1987-93,95-98	1961-98
SE	1961-98	1961-97	1961-96	1979-97	1985-99	1985-97	1985-94,96-98	1961-98
UK	1961-97	1975-97	1975-96	1986-97	1985-99	1981-96	1985-93,96,97	1961-98

3 Immigration

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the methodology is applied as described in the previous chapter. This description consists of a brief qualitative review and a quantitative analysis of immigration trends. The purpose of the immigration analyses is to examine what the influence is of economic indicators on immigration patterns and how these relationships can be used in forecasting. The results of part II show that for some countries (the Netherlands, Germany and the UK) economic indicators can be used to explain immigration although remarkable differences between countries exist. One of the recommendations was to update the time series of part II and extend the analyses with time series for other countries: Finland, France and Italy. A comprehensive description of the migration trends of these countries is given in part B of this report. The results of the analyses of part III are then compared to those of the countries analyzed in Part II. For the latter countries, Germany, The Netherlands, Sweden, United Kingdom and Portugal, the analyses are updated with the data for the most recent years (i.e. in most cases the data of 1996-1998 are added). A second recommendation was to study immigration flows in more detail, to understand the reasons behind the differences between the countries. Labour migration is one of the possible specifications which might have a more univocal relationship with economic indicators than total immigration. The third group distinguished is asylum seekers. In part II there was a close correspondence found between asylum and immigration for some countries and in part III asylum described in more detail for all EU countries, focussing on origin and destination of asylum applicants. The chapter is concluded with a consideration of irregular migration.

3.2 TOTAL IMMIGRATION

The analyses are performed making use of a reference model for each country. The reference models for part III are constructed similar to those in part II in order to be able to compare the results. It should be kept in mind that the results of part III are based on updated and extended time series and therefore might not be fully comparable to those in part II. The variables and hypotheses used for the reference model are:

- A linear trend (TREND) representing 'an autonomous and linear change in the level of immigration across time, irrespective of policy and economic effects' (Van der Gaag and Van Wissen, 1999, p. 4). The hypothesis is that TREND has a positive relationship.
- Policy and other dummy variables. These are included to take into account all kinds of events and irregularities in the migration history. In part II, the inclusion of SURINAM to reflect the effect of the independence of Surinam in 1975 is an example of a dummy variable. The sign of the effect of these variables depends on the underlying nature.

In addition to the variables in the reference model, economic information of the receiving countries and the size of stock are used to explain the remaining of migration flows.

- Economic variables Unemployment rate (UNEMP) and Income represented by Gross Domestic Product per capita (GDPPC). UNEMP is assumed to have a negative relationship with immigration while GDPPC should have a positive effect.
- Stock variable. The percentage of foreigners in a population (STOCK) is assumed to have a positive effect on migration.

3.2.1 FINLAND

Data on total immigration flows are available for the period 1960-1998 (see Figure 3.1). Information on nationality is only available from 1980 onwards. In 1991, the inflow of migrants from the former Soviet Union, mainly consisting of ethnic Finns, more than tripled to a level of almost 6500 persons. The increase of asylum seekers was another important factor; in 1991 more than 1400 Somali migrated to Finland for asylum reasons compared to only 34 in 1990. This is taken into account by the inclusion of the DUMMY91 variable in the reference model. These immigration patterns are clearly shown in Figure 3.2 in which the flows are broken down by broad categories of citizenship. Before 1990, the nationals formed the largest immigration group. From then on, the Non-EU15 foreigners have become more important and accounted for two-third of the total immigration flow.

Figure 3.1 Net migration, immigration, emigration and unemployment rate, Finland.

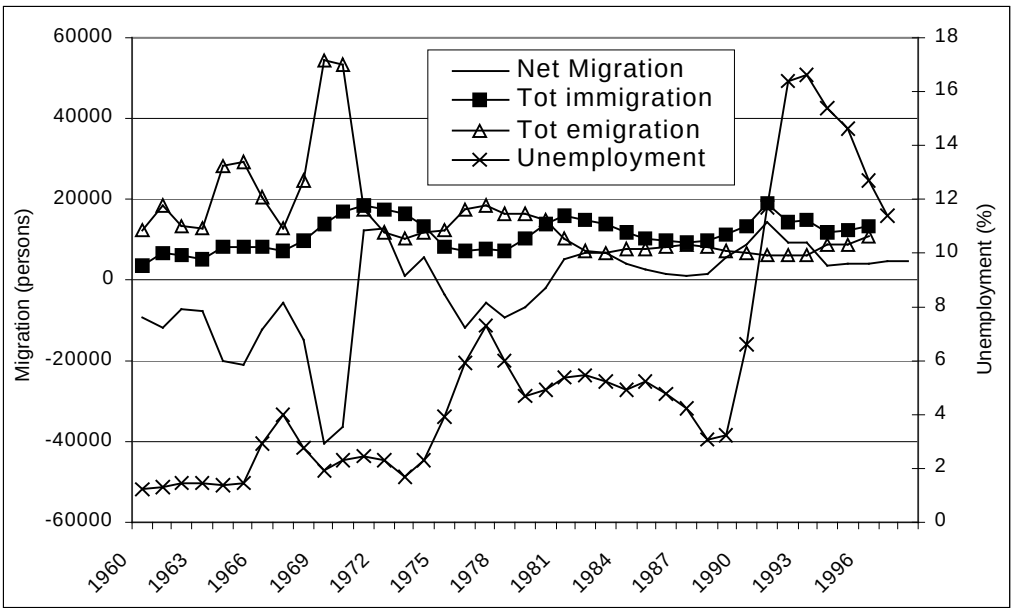


Figure 3.2 Immigration by broad group of citizenship, Finland.

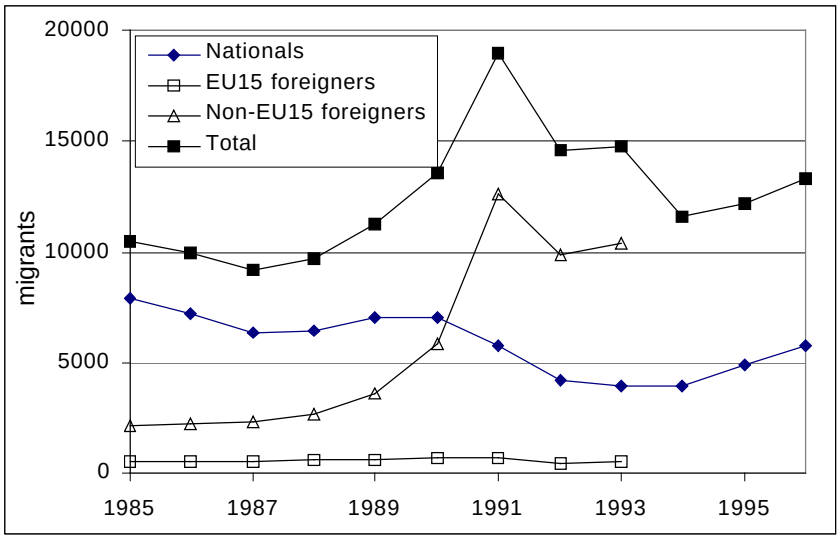


Table 3.1 shows the results of the reference model. The R^2 of the reference model vary for the different immigration flows. For Foreigners and Non-EU foreigners the fit is high, where the other groups do not have the correct sign or a low R^2.

Table 3.1 Reference Model Finland.

	R^2	TREND	DUMMY91
Total	0.24	121	6114
Nationals	0.78	-485 ~	X
Foreigners	0.81	476	6910
EU Foreigners	0.22	129	X
NONEU foreigners	0.79	504	6587

~ sign not correct

As Figure 3.1 already reveals, the unemployment rate shows a remarkable change. Was unemployment before 1990 at a level below 5%, with the exception of the years at the end of the 1970s, in the 1990s unemployment rose sharply to above 16% in 1993 and 1994. The unemployment peak coincided with the peak in immigration. These processes are assumed to be opposite. The use of GDP and Unemployment as explanatory variables for immigration does not result in correct results (see Table 3.2). In all cases the sign is contrary the hypotheses. The inclusion of STOCK as explanatory variable increases the R^2 to 0.82 but the sign is opposite to its expectation. Only for EU-foreigners the sign is correct but the R^2 is relatively low.

Table 3.2 Immigration results of the R^2 for Finland.

Group	R^2 Reference	R^2 if variable added		
		GDPPC	UNEMP	STOCK
Total	0.24	0.34~	0.25~	0.82#~
Nationals	0.78	0.87~	0.88~	0.72# ~
Foreigners	0.81	0.86~	0.86~	0.78#~
EU Foreigners	0.22	0.24~	0.31~	0.36#
NONEU foreigners	0.79	0.86~	0.89~	0.76#~

Observations dropped

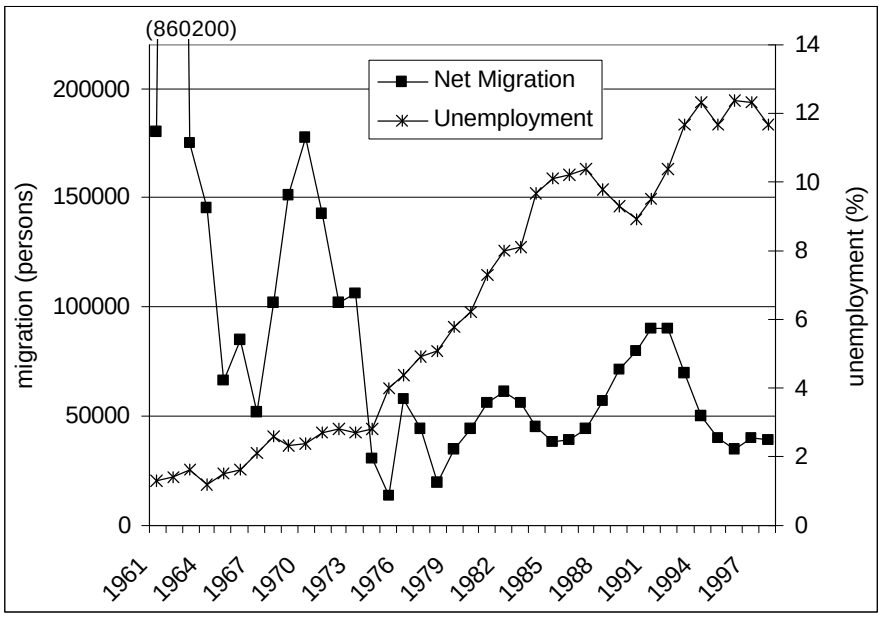
~ Sign is not correct

The main conclusion for the analyses of Finland is that the reference model shows already a good fit for Foreigners and NONEU foreigners. The use of economic indicators and the STOCK variable has no or hardly an additional value concerning these groups. For the Nationals the sign of the TREND variable was not correct in the reference model and adding variables still does not have an adequate result.

3.2.2 FRANCE

In the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s a relative large number of immigrants entered France. First there was similar to other West European countries, an increasing inflow of foreign workers to solve the shortage of labour. In France however, contrary to other West European countries these workers came not only from Southern Europe (in the case of France mostly from Portugal) but also from the Maghreb area. Second an increasing immigration of French citizens from the overseas departments existed. The political turmoil accompanying the Algerian independence caused a very high peak in 1962. In addition to increasing labour migration, in the period 1960-1973 there was also an increasing inflow of family members of foreign nationals in France (from about 15 thousand in 1960 to about 80 thousand in the early 1970s) (Costa-Lascoux, 1989 in Ogden, 1993). In 1973 immigration decreased because Algeria ended organised labour migration to France after racist attacks on Algerian citizens in France (Muus & Van Dam, 1998). After the economic recession in 1973 the number of labour immigrants decreased fast and stayed rather constant between 20 and 30 thousand. Only in 1981, after Mitterand's election immigration was higher. About 150 thousand 'clandestins' were given a legal status (Ogden, 1993).

Figure 3.3 Unemployment and Net migration, France.



Since 1980 the inflow of total foreign population to France has peaked twice, once in the early 1980s at around 144.4 thousand and again in 1993 at approximately 166 thousand persons (see Figure 3.3.). Preceding the 1982 peak there was a steady rise from 59.4 thousand persons, while after the 1993 peak there was a steady fall to 68 thousand in 1995. The interim years were characterised by a trough that, at its lowest, reached 38.3 thousand in 1986. In the 1980s and 1990s family reunification and asylum migration took account for the largest part of the inflow.

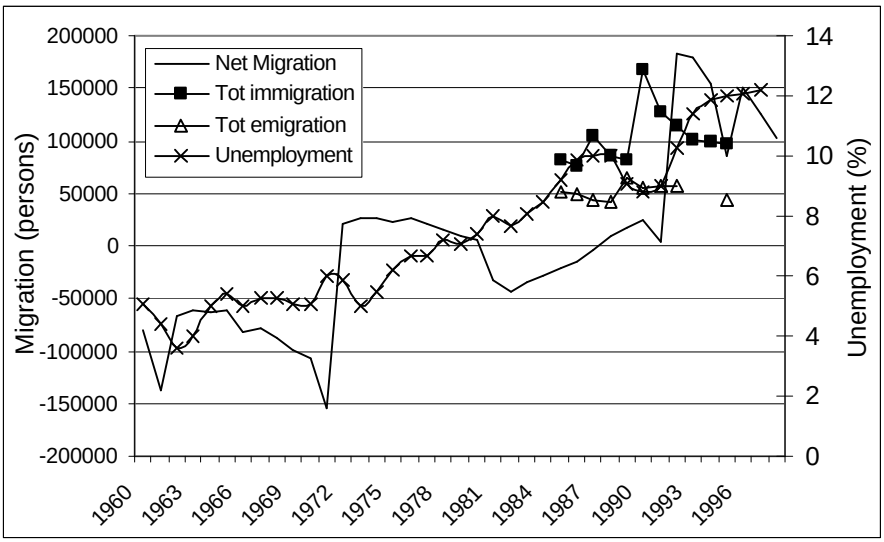
The lack of data causes serious restrictions in analyzing the immigration flows in France. There is no information on total immigration flows but only on the inflow of foreigners over the period 1985-1997. The linear trend can not explain any part of this flow (R^2=0.003). The addition of GDPPC does not have a much better result (R^2=0.04) while for France UNEMP can explain somewhat more (R^2 0.29). STOCK could not be included due to the limited number of observations.

3.2.3 ITALY

In 1972, Italy was the first South European country to become an immigration country (Martin, 1994). An increasing number of immigrants from developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America started entering Italy since the early 1970s. In the 1980s asylum and illegal immigration increased. In 1987 asylum migration reached a peak of 11 thousand (dependent children excluded) (Eurostat, 1997). In February 1990 the 'Martelli Law' (see also Martin, 1994) was introduced as an attempt to close borders and to improve the status of foreigners living in Italy. This law backfired, because foreigners rushed into Italy before the law went into effect. Immigration into Italy has more than doubld, from 81 thousand in 1989 to 167 thousand in 1990. After 1990 immigration decreased again but remained at a higher level than before 1990 (Eurostat, 1997). In the 1990s immigration from Albania be-

came a very important component of the inflow into Italy. In the 1990s more than 60 thousand (registered) Albanians went to Italy, whereby Albanians became the second largest foreign nationality in Italy (after Moroccans) (OECD, 1998). In the figure below the most important migration patterns are shown.

Figure 3.4 Net migration, total immigration, total emigration, and unemployment, Italy.



Fortunately the data availability for Italy is better than for France. Nevertheless, there are some data problems concerning total immigration flows. For the 1985-1988 the emigration and immigration flows are exactly similar in New Cronos which indicate an erroneous reporting. These years are therefore left out of the analysis. For the reference model, a policy variable is included to correct for the 1990 peak corresponding with the effect of the Martelli act. The results are presented in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Reference Model Italy.

	R^2	TREND	POLICY90
Total	0.52	6561	72611
Nationals	0.83	-4225~	12580
Foreigners	0.55	10786	60031
EU Foreigners	0.39	481	1316
NONEU foreigners	0.54	10305	58714

~ Sign is not correct

The extension of the reference model with additional variables results in rather high R^2 For Italy, GDPPC turns out the most important factor regarding immigration flows. The explanation of the EU foreigners does not have satisfactory results. The additional value of the STOCK variable is limited. In the table below the results are shown.

Table 3.4 Immigration results for Italy, addition of economic and stock variables.

Group	R^2 reference	R^2 if variable added		
		GDPPC	UNEMP	STOCK
Total	0.52	0.86	0.61	0.41 #
Nationals	0.83	0.88*	0.89*	X
Foreigners	0.55	0.79	0.58	0.42 #
EU Foreigners	0.39	0.41~	0.44~	0.46 #~
NONEU foreigners	0.54	0.80	0.57	0.40 #

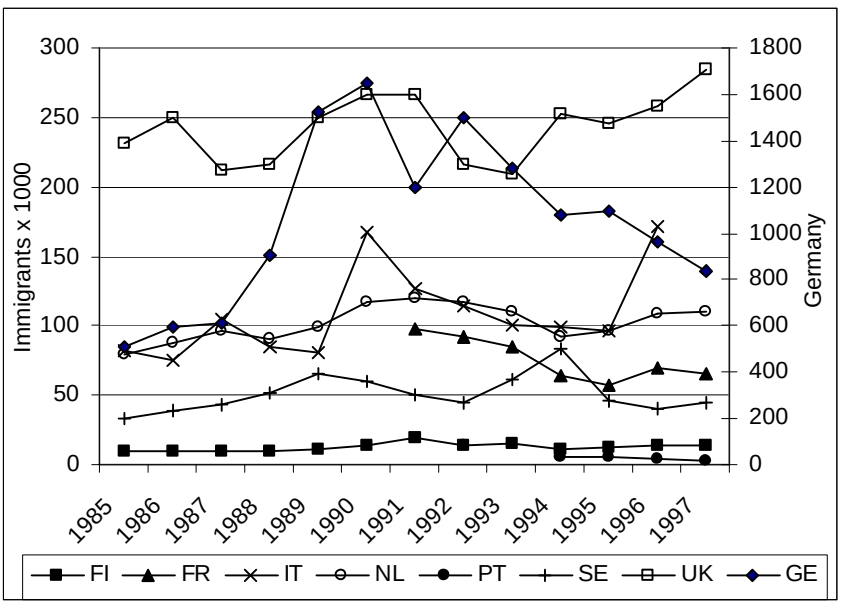
~ Sign is not correct * Sign of TREND is not correct # Observations dropped

The analyses show that economic information could be included in the explanation of immigration patterns in Italy. Especially GDPPC turns out to be an indicator for three groups: Total, Foreigners and NONEU foreigners. The reference model has already a high fit for the Nationals and additional variables do have satisfactory results. STOCK variable is of no importance.

3.2.4 ALL COUNTRIES

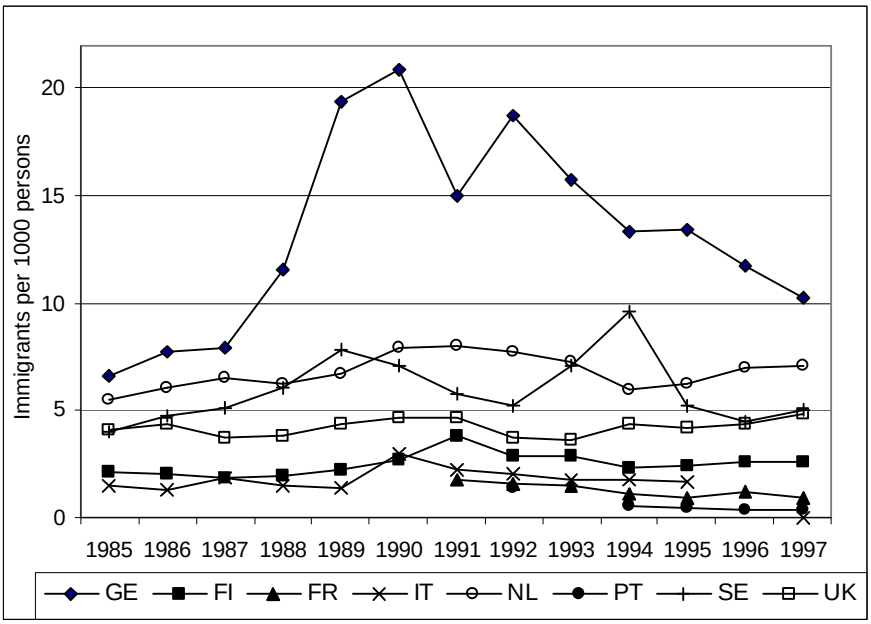
One of the purposes of this project is to support Eurostat's migration forecasting for all EU-countries. Therefore, all countries of part II and part III are included in the overall analyses in order to obtain generic patterns. In the figure below, the immigration flows for the period 1985-1997 are displayed for all the countries included in the analyses. The differences in size, especially regarding the inflow in Germany, impel the use of a secondary Y-axis.

Figure 3.5 Immigration flows (in thousands) of selected European countries, 1985-1997.



The differences between the countries are reduced if the migration is expressed in rates i.e. number of migrants per 1000 persons. In Figure 3.6 these rates are presented.

Figure 3.6 Immigration rates for selected European countries, 1985-1997.



For the analyses of immigration the total number of immigrants is used, as argued previously. The analyses of part II, which cover mainly a period till 1995, are updated with the most recent years. The reported results can therefore deviate from those reported in part II. The analyses are build up in the same way as the country-specific analyses: first a reference model is constructed and applied for the broad groups of nationality. The R^2 of the reference model is given between parentheses in the first column. These reference models include the linear trend and the following country-specific variables:

- Netherlands: SURINAM and POL representing the effect of the independence of Surinam and the restrictive policy from 1994 onwards
- France: ALGERIA correcting for the peak associated with the Algerian independence
- Germany: UNIFICATION and POL for the restrictive policy starting in 1994
- Italy: POL90 to correct for the peak preceding Martelli's act in 1991.
- Finland: Dumm91 to correct for the peak of ethnic Fins in 1991.
- Sweden: DUM1/2/3 three dummies to correct for the peaks in 1969-70 (labour migration from Nordic countries), 1989-90 and 1993-94 (asylum).

The analyses are then extended according to the following model.

Immigration = Function(Constant, GDP per capita, Unemployment, Stock, Dummy, Policy)

In Table 3.5 the overview is given for all countries. In this table the regression coefficients of the best fitting model are presented. Between parentheses the R^2 of the reference model is given.

Table 3.5 Overview of immigration analyses results, by country.

Netherlands	**R^2**	**GDPPC**	**UNEMP**	**STOCK**	**TREND**	**SURINAM**	**POL**
Total (0.63)	0.84	X	-4931	X	2643	34757	-21576
Nationals (0.70)	0.72	X	-528	X	-26	38457	X
Foreigners (0.71)	0.87	X	-3977	X	2496	25878	-16485
EU Foreigners (0.05)	0.38	X	-877	X	131	X	X
NONEU for. (0.82)	0.92	X	-3030	X	2318	25000	-16069
Germany	**R^2**	**GDPPC**	**UNEMP**	**STOCK**	**TREND**	**UNIFICAT**	**POL**
Total (R^2 0.71)	0.83	X	-118894	X	23882	747399	-216250
Nationals (0.58)	0.64	X	-42548	X	12650	249597	X
Foreigners (0.05)	0.60	103523	-102312	(R^2=0.87)	-41314	X	-162097
EU Foreigners (0.53)	0.72	24296	-24104	X	-19644	X	X
NONEU for. (0.73)	0.81	X	-2727	X	2280	X	-17125
UK	**R^2**	**GDPPC**	**UNEMP**	**STOCK**	**TREND**		
Total (R^2 0.64)	0.69	7036	-2504	X	95		
Nationals (0.28)	0.28	X	X	X	793		
Foreigners (0.63)	0.76	X	-3558	X	3268		
EU Foreigners (0.55)	0.71	3319	-1648	X	-607		
NONEU for. (0.45)	0.72	4384	-2807	X	-908		
Sweden	**R^2**	**GDPPC**	**UNEMP**	**STOCK**	**TREND**	**DUM1/2/3**	
Total (RM R^2 0.74)	0.75	563	-713	X	19		
Nationals (0.76)	0.76	X	X	X	325	X	
Foreigners (0.27)	0.27	X	X	X	779	X	
EU Foreigners (0.46)	0.46	X	X	X	149	1580 (2)	
NONEU for. (0.25)	0.25	X	X	X	492	4655 (2)	
Finland	**R^2**	**GDPPC**	**UNEMP**	**STOCK**	**TREND**	**Dummy91**	
Total (R^2 0.24)	0.25	X	-110	X	158	5802	
Nationals (0.78)	0.78	X	X	X	-486	X	
Foreigners (0.81)	0.81	X	X	X	476	6909	
EU Foreigners (0.22)	0.22	X	X	X	129	X	
NONEU for. (0.79)	0.79	X	X	X	504	6587	
Italy	**R^2**	**GDPPC**	**UNEMP**	**STOCK**	**TREND**	**POLICY90**	
Total (R^2 0.52)	0.92	25276	X	0.018	8178	95795	
Nationals (0.83)	0.87	2544	X	X	-4593	12234	
Foreigners (0.55)	0.90	25225	X	0.015	14295	90176	
EU Foreigners (0.39)	0.39	X	X	X	481	1316	
NONEU for. (0.54)	0.90	25162	X	0.017	13686	89080	
France	**R^2**	**GDPPC**	**UNEMP**	**STOCK**	**TREND**		
Total							
Nationals							
Foreigners (R^2 0.003)	0.30	11376	-16379	X	-4703		
EU Foreigners							
NONEU for.							

RM = Reference model

The outcomes of explaining the trends in immigration flows are rather ambiguous. The countries selected as case study in part II show in general a stronger effect of unemployment whereas the role of GDP is stronger in Italy. Finland and France do not show prom-

ising results. The use of stocks expressed in total foreigners as independent variable has varying outcomes. One of the problems is that including the STOCK as explanatory variable strongly reduces the number of available observations for almost all countries. This causes difficulties in comparing the results.

In order to see to what extent various groups can be explained by the economic indicators, the outcomes of the analyses are sorted by group. This overview is shown in the table below and is restricted to the coefficients of GDPPC, UNEMP and TREND.

Table 3.6 Overview of immigration analyses results, clustered by nationality.

	R^2 reference model	R2	GDPPC	UNEMP	TREND
EU Foreigners					
FI	0.22	0.22	X	X	129
GE	0.53	0.72	24296	-24104	-19644
IT	0.39	0.39	X	X	481
NL	0.05	0.38	X	-877	131
SE	0.46	0.46	X	X	149
UK	0.55	0.71	3319	-1648	-607
Foreigners					
FI	0.81	0.81	X	X	476
FR	0.003	0.30	11376	-16379	-4703
GE	0.05	0.60	103523	-102312	-41314
IT	0.55	0.90	25225	X	14295
NL	0.71	0.87	X	-3977	2496
SE	0.27	0.27	X	X	779
UK	0.63	0.76	X	-3558	3268
Nationals					
FI	0.78	0.78	X	X	-486
GE	0.58	0.64	X	-42548	12650
IT	0.83	0.87	2544	X	-4593
NL	0.70	0.72	X	-528	-26
SE	0.76	0.76	X	X	325
UK	0.28	0.28	X	X	793
FI	0.79	0.79	X	X	504
GE	0.73	0.81	X	-2727	2280
IT	0.54	0.90	25162	X	13686
NL	0.82	0.92	X	-3030	2318
SE	0.25	0.25	X	X	492
UK	0.45	0.72	4384	-2807	-908
Total					
FI	0.24	0.25	X	-110	158
GE	0.71	0.83	X	-118894	23882
IT	0.52	0.92	25276	X	8178
NL	0.63	0.84	X	-4931	2643
SE	0.74	0.75	563	-713	19
UK	0.64	0.69	7036	-2504	95

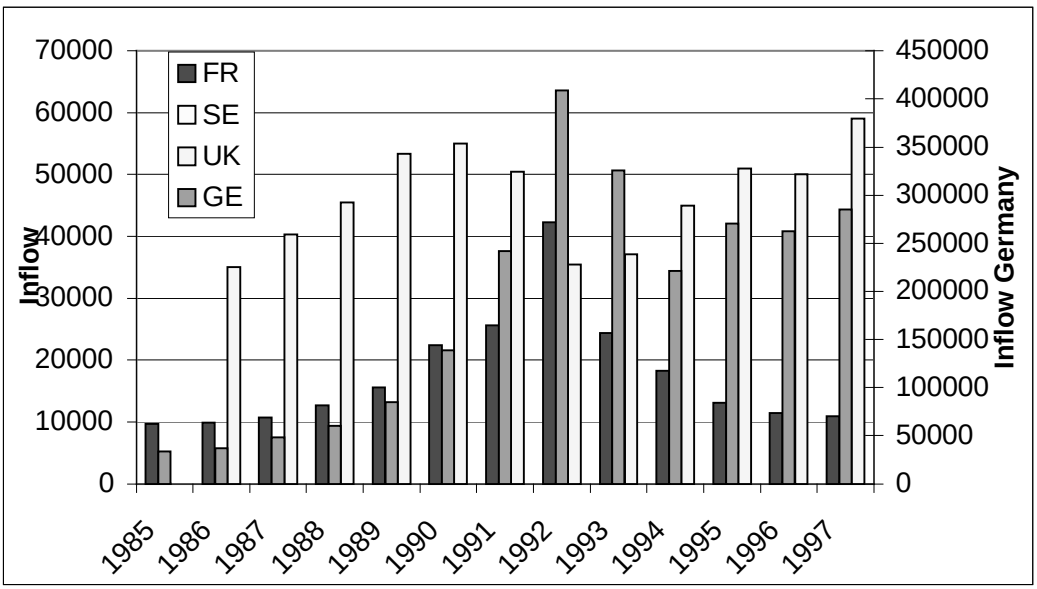
In general, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- For the total immigration flow the reference model has already a high explanatory value. The inclusion of economic variable UNEMP results in a substantial increase of the R^2 for NL, GE and UK. GDPPC is relevant in Italy and the UK.
- The addition of the economic variables regarding the nationals does not have a surplus value compared to the reference model. Only in Germany UNEMP has some effect.
- The explanation of pattern of foreigners seems mainly to be determined by the Non-EU foreigners shown by the similar increase of the R^2 and relevant variables.
- The immigration flows of the two Scandinavian countries Finland and Sweden causes serious problems in linking them to economic variables. The economic recession with its rapid increase of unemployment, in combination with an increase of asylum-related migration might be responsible for this.

3.3 LABOUR IMMIGRATION

One of the possible causes of the ambiguous results of the analyses of economic determinants is that not all immigration is economically motivated. A more relevant category in this respect is therefore labour migration. Seeking a job in another country might be affected by the economic situation in the receiving country. On the basis of available data four countries are selected for analyzing the relation between the labour flows and economic variables. The labour migration flow of these four countries in shown in Figure 3.7.

Figure 3.7 Labour flows for France (FR), Sweden (SE), United Kingdom (UK) and Germany (GE), 1985-1997 (Source Sopemi).



Sweden labour flows range from 127 till 433 and can hardly be seen in the figure.

In the following section, the labour migration patterns will be described in more detail for Germany, France, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands.

3.3.1 GERMANY

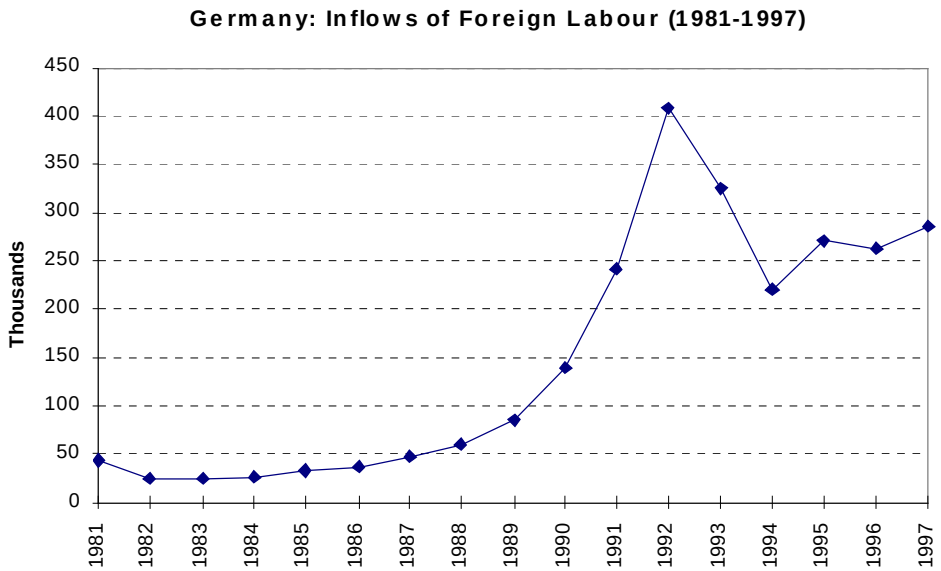
Over the period 1981 to 1997 Germany experienced a rising trend in the inflow of foreign workers. The years 1991-1994 saw a large peak in foreign worker inflow to Germany (Figure 3.8). Unfortunately no reliable data for outflows are available and therefore net flows cannot be calculated.

Foreign workers coming into Germany in 1981 reached 43,900, between then and 1988 this inflow rose gradually and after a temporary dip to 24,200, reached 60,000. This represented a 1981 to 1988 change of +16,500. This section of the time series has the most 'stable' inflow and in relation to the years that follow contributes least to the total inflow.

Subsequent to unification, foreign migrant labour to Germany increased exponentially until 1992. Indeed this rise was the most significant of the time series peaking at 408,900. This was largely attributable to Polish (160,000) and Yugoslavian (111,000) immigrants (OECD, 1995) collectively making up 66 per cent of the inflow for that year. From 1992 to 1994 the numbers then dropped to 221,200 foreign workers. Over the 1994-1997 period there was a rising trend that exhibited only small fluctuations in relation to those of the previous 3 years, the increase of foreign workers was 64,100.

Overall, the data set reveals a relatively smooth rising trend that is perturbed by the unification aftermath of 1991, 1992 and 1993. The wave of foreign workers during these years included a great number of seasonal and sub-contracted workers (OECD 1995) including approximately 80 per cent in 1993.

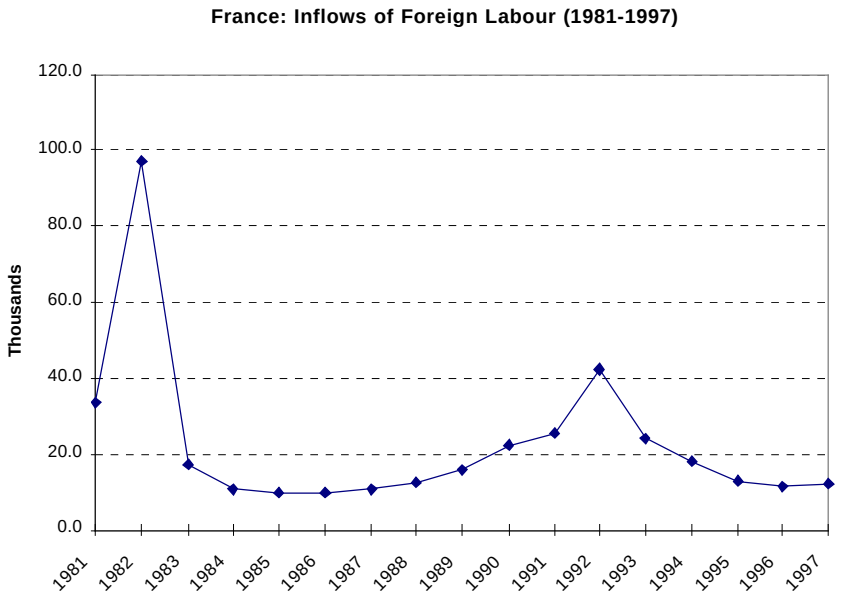
Figure 3.8 Foreign labour inflow in Germany, 1981-1997.



3.3.2 FRANCE

Inflows of foreign labour to France have followed a similar trend to that of total immigration. However, unlike the general inflow data the peak in foreign labour migrants in 1982 (97 thousand) was considerably larger than that of the early 1990s (42.3 thousand in 1992) (see Figure 3.9). In between of these two peaks, and following the last one the number of foreign immigrant workers was relatively stable - particularly in the 1984-1988 and 1995-1997 periods when numbers remained around 10 thousand. The years in between were part of a rising or falling limb of the two peaks.

Figure 3.9 Labour immigration in France, 1981-1997.



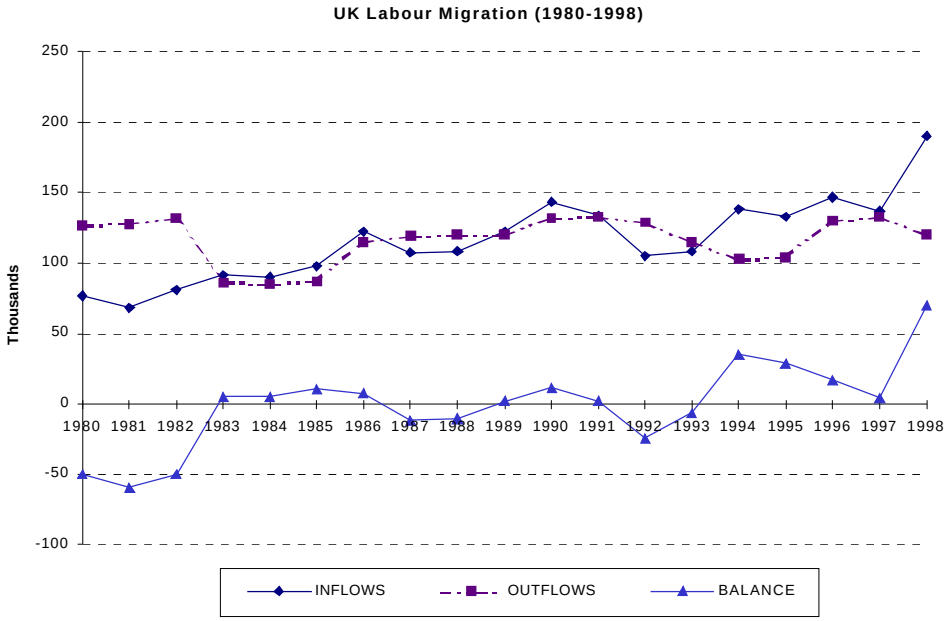
3.3.3 UNITED KINGDOM

For the UK, data are available for both the inflow as outflow of labour migrants. From 1980 to 1983 the United Kingdom experienced a net loss of workers reaching 59,200 in 1981 (see Figure 3.10). The largest outflow for any year was in 1982; however, this was offset by a growing trend in inflows of workers. From 1983 until 1991 the net flow fluctuated close to the break-even point, variations ranging from +12,000 to -11,600 during this time. Subsequently, the 1991 to 1993 period saw a net outflow of workers, a trough of -24,100 occurring in 1992. After that the situation changed again and from 1993-97 there was a growing trend in inflows of workers the net effect of which was mollified by a rise in outflows from 1995 to 1997.

Most recently, 1998 saw a net flow of +70,600 workers. This is the highest net figure of the entire time series and reflects the correspondence of a large inflow of workers with a synchronous but less dramatic, decline in outflows. Thus, the general trend over the 1980-98 period was one of an increasing inflow of labour migrants. In fact, over the period as a whole inflows have exceeded outflows in 12 out of the 19 years. The large increases in in-

flows in more recent years may well be a reflection of shorter term labour 'movements' as opposed to longer more permanent labour migrations, particularly of the highly skilled.

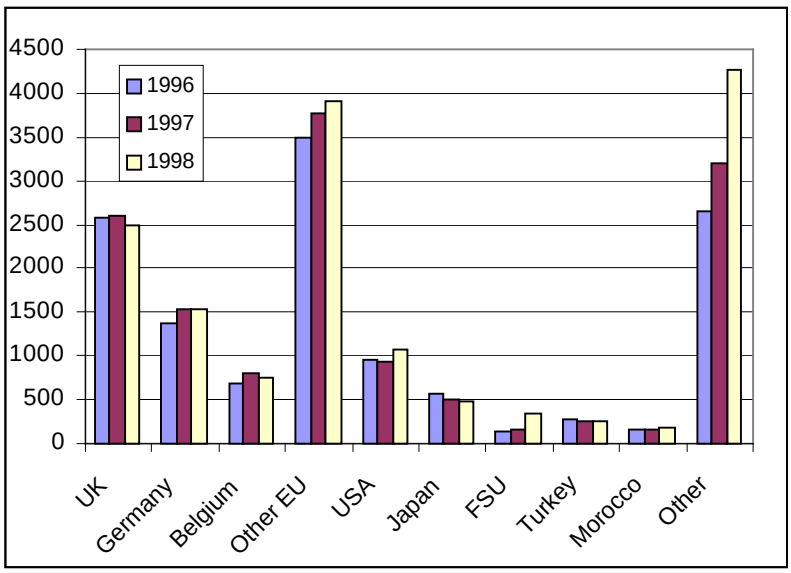
Figure 3.10 Labour migration in the UK, 1980-1998.



3.3.4 THE NETHERLANDS

In the Netherlands migration is not registered by motive. However, estimations have been made about the number of foreign labourers mainly from Mediterranean countries like Morocco, Spain, Italy and Turkey in the 1960s and early 1970s. The number of migrants from these countries peaked in 1970-71 at a level of just above 30 thousand. In 1973, a law was introduced to stop the recruitment in the Mediterranean countries which resulted in a decline to a level of around 20 thousand. More precise figures are available for the 1990s but the series are still too limited to analyze. In the figure below labour migration is presented by country of birth. The majority of labour workers arrives from the UK but is declining. The most rapid increase, however, comes from the other category and the Former Soviet Union (FSU), although the latter is still small in absolute numbers.

Figure 3.11 Labour flows by country in the Netherlands, 1996-1998 (source CBS).



3.3.5 RESULTS

In the analyses of the labour flows only the economic variables GDPPC and UNEMP are included. The hypothesis is that the coefficient of GDPPC should have a positive sign while UNEMP is supposed to have a negative sign. The results are shown in Table 3.7. The data for the Netherlands and Sweden are insufficient in length to include them in the analyses. For Germany and the UK the R^2 is high and the coefficients have the correct sign (the GDPPC coefficient for the UK is very low). The result of the R^2 for France is very low.

Table 3.7 Results labour flows.

		Coefficient	
	R^2	GDPPC	UNEMP
France	0.29	2384	-5530
Germany	0.80	28426	-25500
UK	0.89	219	-4889

3.4 ASYLUM MIGRATION IN EUROPE

3.4.1 INTRODUCTION

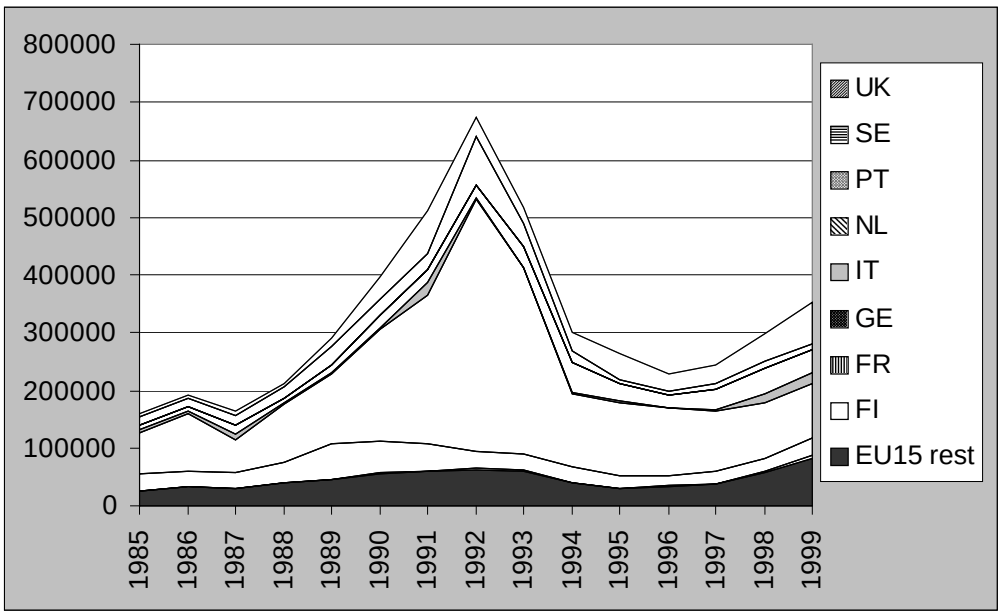
The share of asylum migration has become more and more important in the last decades. Especially in the beginning of the 1990s, asylum expanded enormously. Although a asylum seeker is not an immigrant, there is unmistakable a relationship between asylum seekers and migration as concluded in part II. The inclusion of asylum in forecasting causes difficulties since the underlying factors of asylum flows vary and are hard to forecast. Nevertheless, asylum can hardly be left out to describe future migration patterns. In the light of

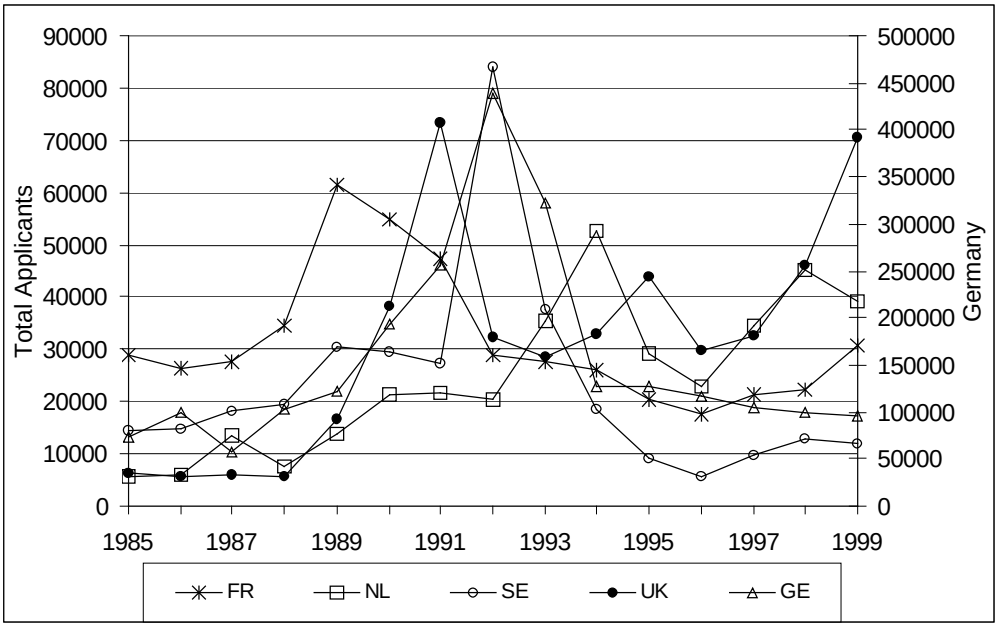
these considerations, this section will be more descriptive than analytical. Asylum will be captured looking at two aspects: First, we will focus on the destination of asylum. How is the distribution of asylum seekers within the EU and how to compare these figures? Secondly, we will try to find out if there might be a pattern in the nationality or origin of asylum seekers. The data requirements for this second aspect are much higher. Given the poor quality and restricted availability of the data, this will be done in a more qualitative way, for a selection of countries.

3.4.2 ASYLUM SEEKERS DESTINATION EUROPE

In the 1980s non-communist Europe got to deal with a new type of international mass migration. Political turmoil resulting in ethnical conflicts, oppression of certain population groups or war, continued population growth and improved transport facilities (i.e. cheap and frequent flight connections) were the main causes of this new type of mass migration. The countries in Western and Northern Europe were the main destination countries of asylum seekers (e.g. see Figure 3.12 and Figure 3.13).

Figure 3.12 Total number of asylum applicants in the European Union, 1985-1999.





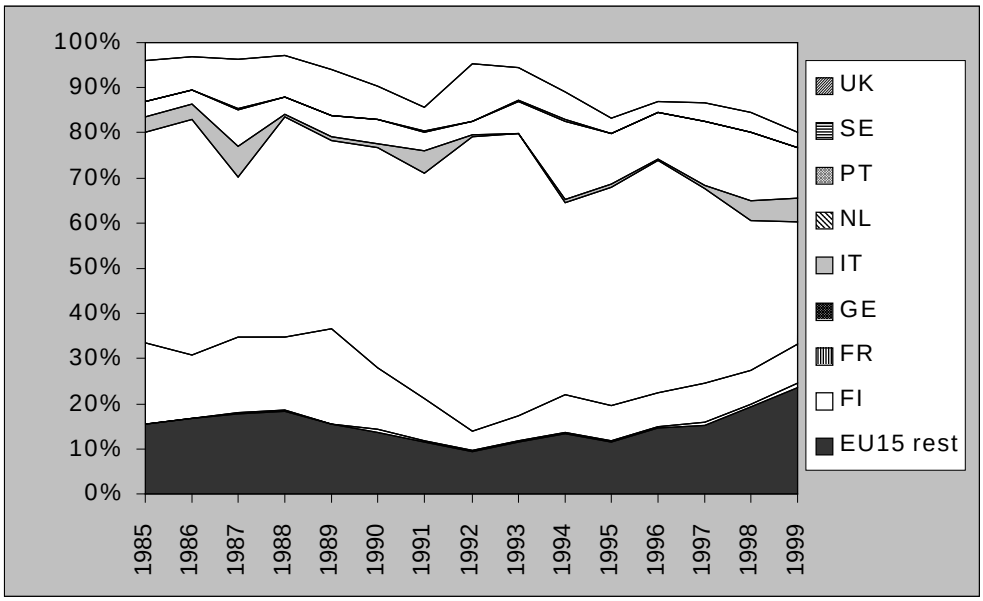
The dispersion of asylum seekers across the European countries was rather disproportionate. In Europe the FRG had by far the biggest inflow of asylum seekers in the 1980s (Eurostat, 1997). Sweden, France and Austria also received more asylum seekers than the European average in the 1980s. Sweden, Switzerland, Germany and Austria were the leading countries if we rank the European countries based on a comparison of asylum applications and total national population (UHNCR, 1998). Comparing other states the FRG had a tolerant right of asylum (Fijalkovski, 1993; Kurthen, 1995; Wendt, 1997). Apart from asylum policies the stocks of already present migrants also plays a significant role in the dispersion of asylum seekers. These stocks, in which migrant networks may be formed, do not necessarily have to be the result of earlier asylum flows. They can also be caused by former labour or (post) colonial migration flows. An example of a migrant stock that is formed by labour migration and afterwards served as a network for asylum migrants is the Turkish community in Germany. Political turmoil in Turkey, ending with a military coup d'état in 1980, caused a large flow of asylum seekers and family migration from Turkey to Germany in the late 1970s and 1980 (Muus & Van Dam, 1998).

Havinga & Böcker (1998) state that the colonial past accounts for the relative high number of Africans in France, the UK, Portugal and Belgium, the relative high number of Asians in France and the relative high number of Latin Americans in Spain. Most asylum seekers that sought refugee in Europe in the 1980s originated from Asia followed by (Eastern) Europe and Africa. The inflow of Asian and European asylum seekers followed a fickle course in comparison with the inflow of African asylum seekers (UHNCR, 1998). European inflow of asylum seekers peaked in 1981 (almost 50 thousand applications). In this year Austria received 34.5 thousand mainly Polish asylum seekers (Te Brake, 1993). Asylum migration from Asia peaked in the middle of the 1980s. Armed conflicts in Sri Lanka, Afghanistan and Lebanon and the war between Iran and Iraq caused a large flow of refugees.

In addition, many Indians, Pakistani and Vietnamese lodged an asylum application in Europe.

In the second half of the 1980s less restrictive emigration policies caused increasing (asylum) emigration from communist countries. Asylum migration in Western Europe got an additional dimension. First, asylum migration mainly involved South-to-North migration. By now asylum migration also included East-to-West migration. FRG immigration figures substantially increased in the second half of the 1980s. This rising number of immigrants was due to an increasing inflow of asylum seekers and Aussiedler from Central and Eastern Europe. By the end of the 1980s communism collapsed in Eastern Europe. The period 1989-92 was very turbulent. Several countries, which did not exist in the previous period, were formed. The USSR, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic had ceased to exist. The war in former Yugoslavia and the unstable situation in the former Soviet Union caused a large inflow of European asylum seekers. Meanwhile, an ongoing flow of refugees from Asia and Africa sought asylum in Western Europe. In the period 1988-92 Germany still received most asylum applications in Europe (49.4%) followed by France (10.1%) and Sweden (8.5%) (see Figure 3.13). If the number of asylum applicants is related to the population size, Switzerland is by far the leading country (see Figure 3.14) followed by Sweden and Germany (UHNCR, 1998).

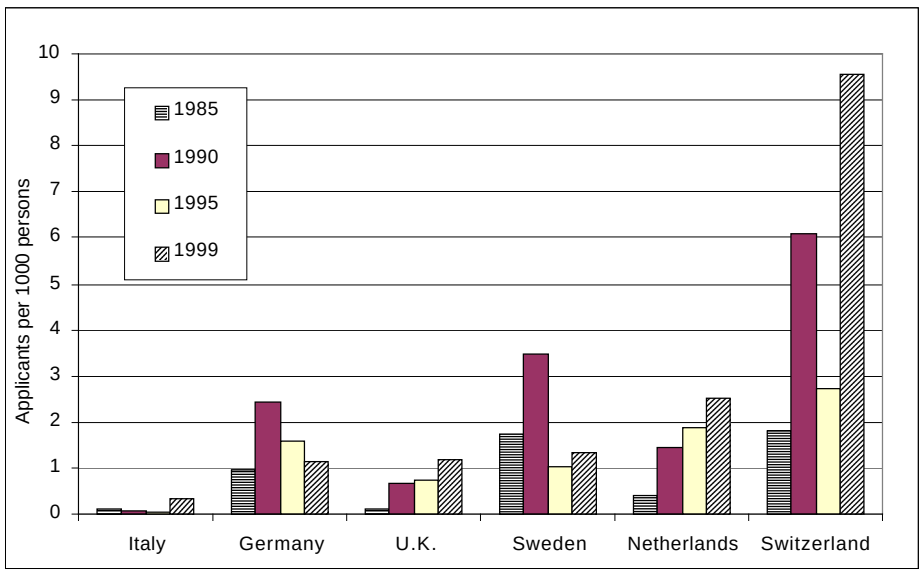
Figure 3.13 Distribution of asylum applicants in the European Union, 1985-1999.



In the second half of the 1990s asylum migration to Western Europe did not reach the level of the previous period. Stricter asylum policies and the end of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina were the main causes of this decrease (Van Selm-Thornburn, 1998; OECD, 1999). The amount of asylum applications in a certain country is not only determined by the migration policy of the country itself, but also by the migration policy of surrounding countries. In the Netherlands, for instance, a strong increase in the number of new asylum

requests occurred in 1993 and 1994, while the total number of asylum requests in Europe declined. The number of new requests in the Netherlands reached a peak in 1994. This increase was caused by the war in former Yugoslavia and Somalia and by the conflicts in the former Soviet Union. In addition, this peak can be attributed to stricter asylum policies in surrounding countries (especially Germany). In 1995 and 1996 the number of new request decreased again to about the level of 1992. This decrease was caused by tightening the terms for application for asylum in 1994 and by the Dayton peace-treaty (Nicolaas, 1997). In the period 1992-1997, Germany (49.7%), the UK (11%) and the Netherlands (9.4%) were the most important European destination countries for asylum migrants. However, the last observations show an unmistakable shift in the distribution and the UK seems to gain up on Germany.

Figure 3.14 Asylum applicants per 1000 inhabitants for selected European countries.



So far we only considered asylum applicants. Considering the proportion of asylum applications, which is granted, we observe that Denmark (85.6%), Sweden (59.7%), Finland (58.4%), France (53.4%) and Norway (35.0%) have a high proportion of granted asylum requests in comparison with the other European countries (See Table 3.8). However, in France the high percentage is the result of a pre-selection procedure. Actually, the percentages mentioned are not completely correct, as a lag exists between lodging an asylum application and the refugee status being granted. In 1989, for instance, the average processing time for asylum applications in Western Europe was approximately 10 months. Investments on staff, legal reforms and computerisation decreased this time to about 7.5 months in 1994 (Wirtén, 1994). If we compare the granted asylum requests to the total population size we see that Sweden has by far the highest number of granted asylum requests per 1000 persons. (UHNCR, 1998).

Table 3.8 Annual asylum migration: applicants and decisions, annual average, 1985-1996.

Country	Applications	Granted	% Granted	Granted per 1000 persons
AT	13417	1662	12.4%	0.212
BE	11930	850	7.1%	0.085
DK	7147	6116	85.6%	1.180
FI	1106	646	58.4%	0.128
FR	33422	17859	53.4%	0.313
GE	173527	10091	5.8%	0.126
GR	3681	117	3.2%	0.011
IE	89	11	12.1%	0.003
IT	5637	228	4.0%	0.004
LU	122	27	22.4%	0.069
NL	20801	7011	33.7%	0.464
PT	416	13	3.0%	0.001
ES	6603	281	4.3%	0.007
SE	29415	17572	59.7%	2.038
UK	26593	5672	21.3%	0.098
NO	5322	1861	35.0%	0.490
CH	27396	1354	4.9%	0.227
EU15	366624	71371	19.5%	0.186

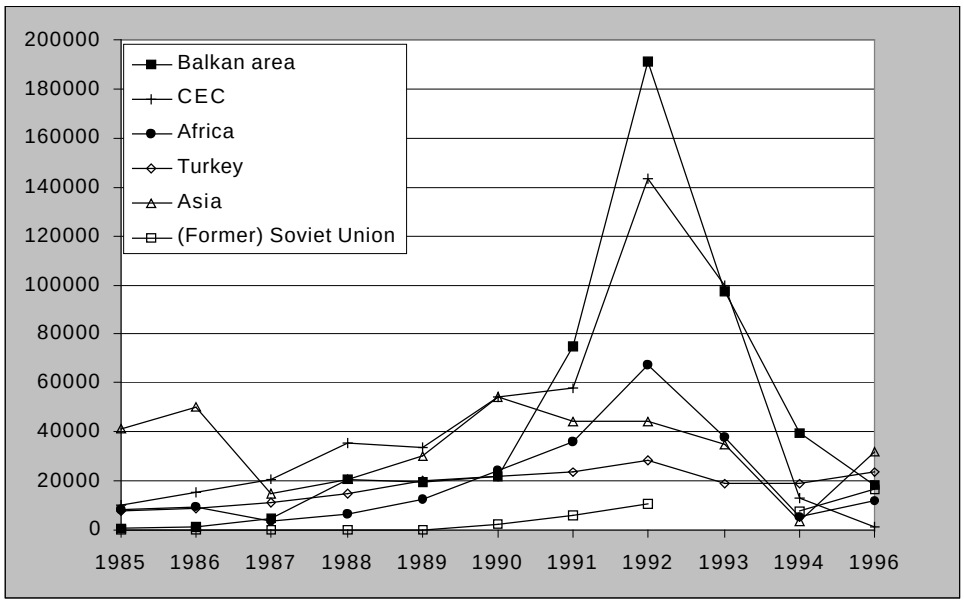
The aspects and measurements to compare asylum applicants among EU countries show various outcomes. The peak in the beginning of the 1990s was followed by a sharp decrease. A structural or generic pattern can hardly be derived from these figures and even the distribution over the EU countries shows no stable pattern. Germany had a leading position in applicants, both expressed in number as in rates, but the recent trends might indicate a structural change e.g. towards the UK. In the next sections, we will try to give a more detailed description by looking at the nationality or origin of asylum applicants. As stated before data availability is rather limited and therefore only the country-specific situation for Germany, the UK and Italy is described.

3.4.3 GERMANY

In Europe Germany received by far most asylum applications in the period 1980-99. This large number of asylum applications had two main causes: a tolerant right of asylum and a large stock of Turks and Yugoslavs which originated from the large inflows of labour migration in the 1960s and first years of the 1970s. Political turmoil in Turkey, ending with a military coup d'état in 1980, caused a large flow of asylum seekers from Turkey to Germany in the late 1970s and 1980s (Muus & Van Dam, 1998). In the second half of the 1980s the inflow of asylum seekers sharply increased. Asylum migration reached a very high peak of 800 thousand in 1992. Hereafter the number of asylum applications decreased in the period 1992-94 as a consequence of tightening asylum policies (Wendt, 1997). In the second half of the 1990s this number stabilised at a level of about 100 thousand applications a year (See Figure 3.12). Important countries of which asylum seekers in Germany originated were: (former) Yugoslavia, Romania, Turkey, Poland, Bulgaria and Iran (see

Figure 3.15 and Table 3.9). In the period 1985-96 more than 1.9 million asylum applications were lodged in Germany. In this period, taking into account the missing data for three years, 91 thousand of these applications were granted, an average of 10 thousands per year (see Table 3.8). The fact that many opportunistic (economic) migrants attempted to enter Germany by lodging an asylum application may explain the low percentage of granted asylum applications despite the tolerant right of asylum.

Figure 3.15 Asylum applicants in Germany by major group of origin, 1985-1996.

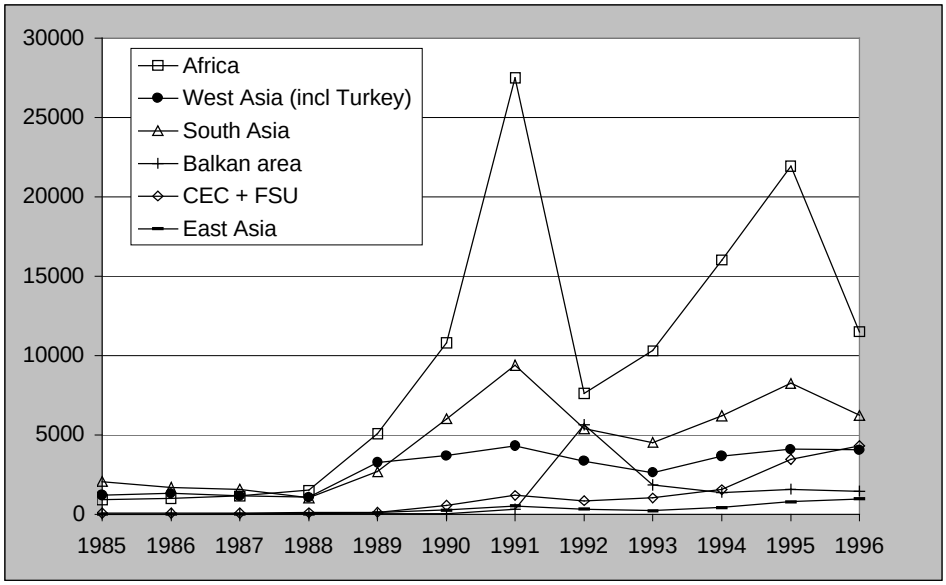


3.4.4 UK

Since the second half of the 1970s, the immigrants that entered the UK, started to be more heterogeneous (Thomas-Hope, 1994). Refugees from different parts of the world started to take account for a larger part of the inflow. The number of asylum seekers increased very strong since the late 1980s. In 1988 for example the number of asylum seekers that entered the UK was about 6 thousand, in 1991 asylum migration reached a peak of 73 thousand. After 1991 the number of asylum applications decreased because of the introduction of screening measures to inhibit multiple applications. However, the number of asylum applications remained at a level that was about five or six times as high as in 1988 (Wirtén, 1994). In the late 1990s figures started to increase sharply again and reached the same level as in 1999 (see Figure 3.12). Important countries of which asylum seekers in the UK originated in the period 1985-96 were: Sri Lanka, Somalia, Pakistan, Turkey, India and Nigeria (see Figure 3.16 and Table 3.9). All these countries except Turkey are former colonies. This verifies Havinga and Böcker's (1999) statement that colonial ties have an impact upon the choice of a potential asylum seeker for a particular country.

In the period 1985-96 about 319 thousand asylum applications were lodged in the UK. In this period 62 thousand of these applications were granted. This implies an annual average of 21.3% of all applications is granted (Table 3.8).

Figure 3.16 Asylum applicants in the UK by major group of origin, 1985-1996.

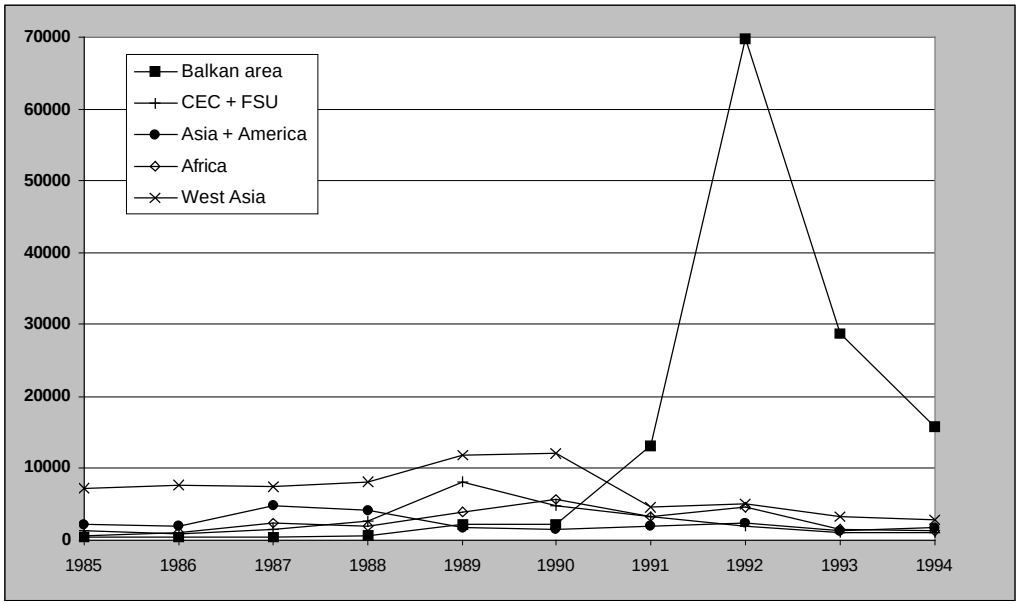


3.4.5 SWEDEN

Non-Nordic immigration into Sweden increased by family reunification (especially in the first half of the 1970s) and asylum migration (especially after 1975) (Wirtén, 1994). From the second half of the 1970s to the 1980s most asylum migrants came from Iran, Turkey, Bulgaria (ethnic Turks), Lebanon, Chile and Ethiopia. In the 1990s asylum migrants from former Yugoslavia were by far the largest group of asylum migrants entering Sweden. Other important countries of which asylum seekers originated in the first half of the 1990s were Iran, Iraq, Sri Lanka and Somalia (see Figure 3.17 and Table 3.9).

From 1985 to 1991 the number of asylum applications in Sweden increased from 12 thousand to more than 26 thousand (see Figure 3.12). In 1992 asylum migration into Sweden peaked when more than 80 thousand asylum applications were lodged in, of which 83% from former Yugoslavia. After 1992 asylum migration decreased again as a consequence of tightening asylum policies (Wirtén, 1994). In the period 1985-94 about 294 thousand asylum applications were lodged in Sweden. In this period (bearing in mind two missing observations in 1987 and 1994) 140.5 thousand of these applications were granted.

Figure 3.17 Asylum applicants in Sweden by major group of origin, 1985-1994.

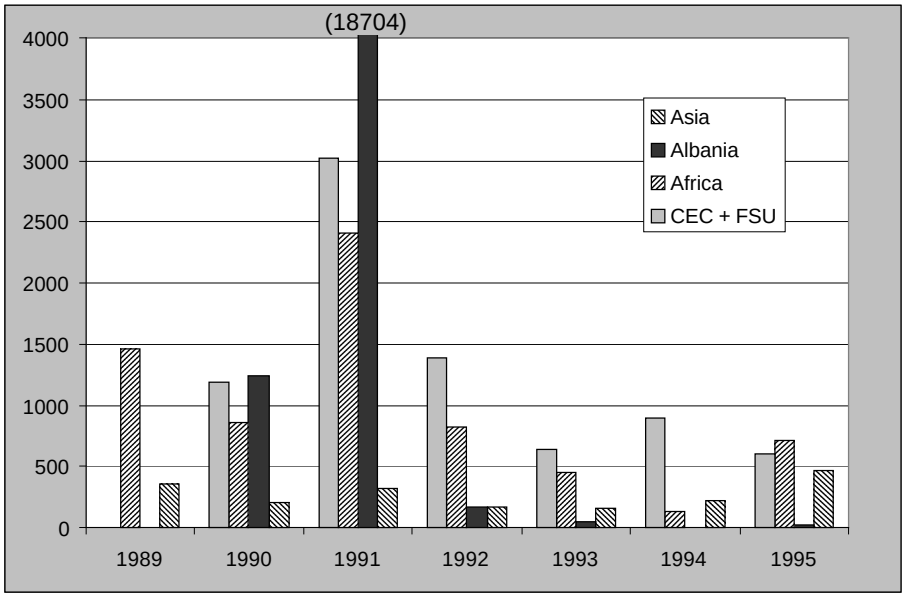


3.4.6 ITALY

In the 1980s asylum migration to Italy increased reaching the highest level of 11 thousand in 1987 (dependent children excluded) (Eurostat, 1997). As mentioned before, the introduction of the 'Martelli Law' in February 1990 was an attempt to close borders and to improve the status of foreigners living in Italy. The effect of this law was opposite its intention since potential (asylum) migrants rushed into Italy before the law went into effect (Martin, 1994). In 1991 asylum migration reached a record level of 24.5 thousand. After 1991 asylum migration decreased to about the same level as in the previous period (Eurostat, 1997). In this year more than 18.5 thousand Albanians lodged an asylum application (Table 3.9).

Asylum migration in the period 1990-97 was mainly determined by the more than 60 thousand Albanians who went to Italy. Albanians and make up the second largest foreign population after Moroccans (OECD, 1998). Other important countries of which asylum seekers originated in the first half of the 1990s were Romania, Somalia, Ethiopia and Bulgaria (Table 3.9). Between 1985 and 1996, 62 thousand asylum applications were lodged in Italy. In 1993 and 1994 only 456 of these applications were registered as granted (Table 3.8)

Figure 3.18 Asylum applicants in Italy by major group of origin, 1989-1995.



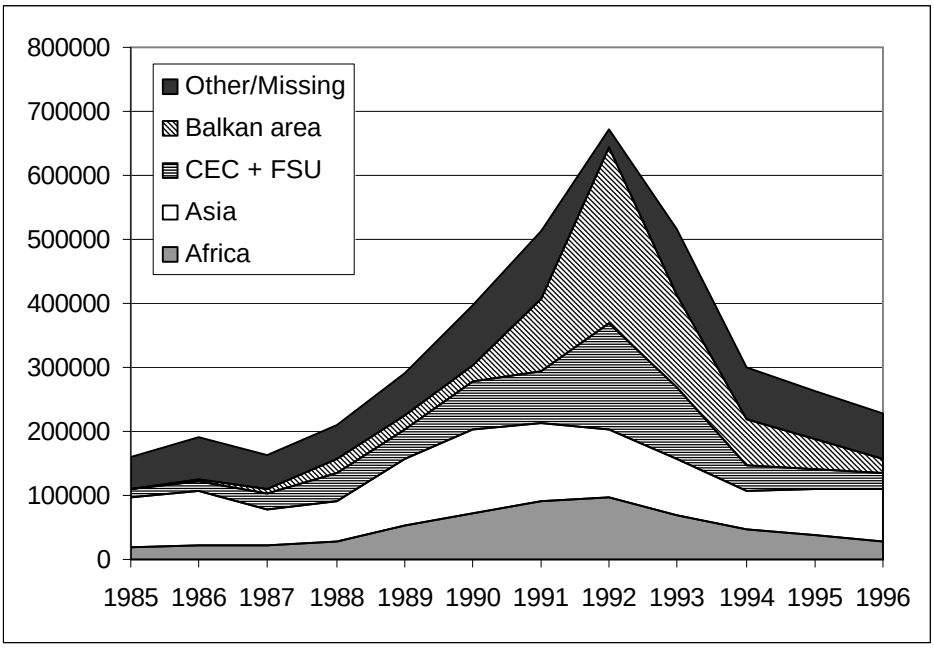
3.4.7 EUROPEAN UNION

The description of the asylum flows to the specific countries shows a large diversity in countries/regions of origin. Nevertheless, some generic patterns might be observed. For example, the peak in 1992 of asylum seekers out of the Balkan area is clearly visible in almost all countries. A distinction by broad region of origin for the EU-wide asylum seekers can reveal if the total flows can be divided into a structural, base level and a more incidental, peak level. Therefore, we aggregated asylum flows by broad group of origin for all EU countries which have detailed data available and are relevant regarding the number of asylum seekers. We are well aware of the data limitations and omissions concerning asylum registrations, especially considering nationalities. Nonetheless, to provide migration scenarios the asylum can not be ignored. It should be kept in mind, however, that these assumptions impel a high degree of uncertainty.

In the figures below, asylum seekers are clustered by broad groups of origin (Central European Countries, Former Soviet Union, Asia, Africa, Balkan area and Other/Missing).

Figure 3.19 shows that the total numbers of applications increased steadily to a peak of around 700000 in 1992. This peak is mainly caused by asylum seekers from the Balkan area, although CEC/FSU and Africa peaked as well. Africa and to less extent Asia, show a reasonable smooth time pattern ranging from 100,000-200,000 applicants per year.

Figure 3.19 Asylum applicants by broad group of origin in European Union, 1985-1996.



The distribution over these broad groups of origin, as presented in Figure 3.20, shows the previously mentioned Balkan peak in 1992. Before 1992, Asia was the most important origin although the share of Asia declined from almost 50% in 1985 to 15% in 1991. The Central European Countries (CEC) and the (former) Soviet Union (FSU) showed a gradual increase over this period. The most recent years show an increase of Asia as origin. Africa seems to be rather stable with a share of 10-15% of the total flow.

Although it's difficult to obtain a definite pattern out of Figure 3.19 and Figure 3.20, they clearly show some trends. A tentative distinction of a structural level, formed by the Africa and Asia clusters, in combination with fluctuating levels of the three other clusters can be useful for the projection purposes.

Figure 3.20 Distribution of asylum applicants by broad group of origin in European Union, 1985-1996.

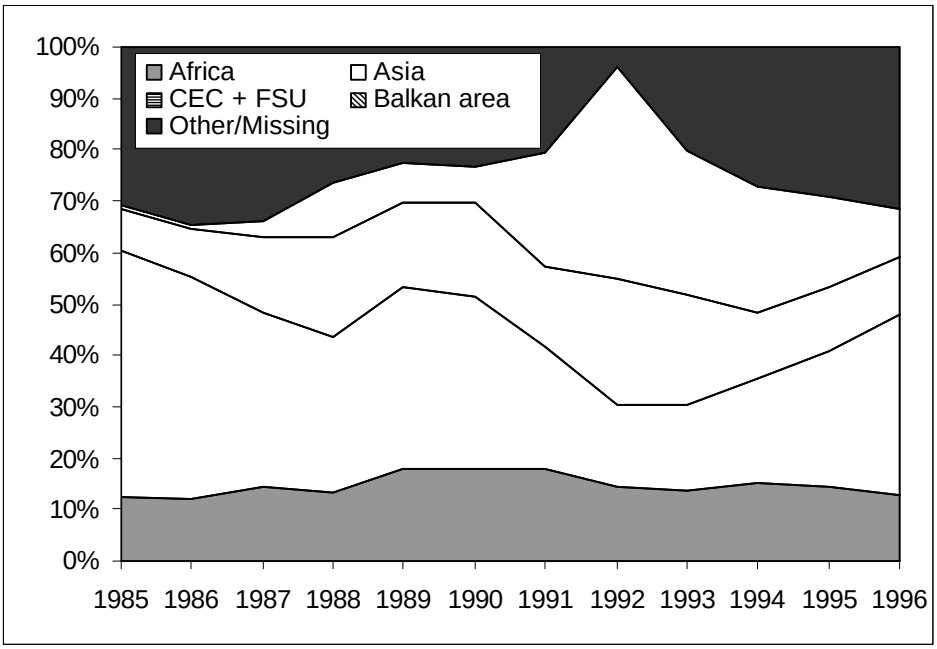


Table 3.9 Ranking of asylum applicants by citizenship for selected countries, available years are between parentheses.

GERMANY (1985-94,96)		NL (1985-96)		SWEDEN (1985-94)		UK (1985-96)		FRANCE (1985-95)		ITALY (1989-95)	
Country	Persons	Country	Persons	Country	Persons	Country	Persons	Country	Persons	Country	Persons
F. Yugoslavia	401488	Somalia	25893	F. Yugoslavia	128150	Sri Lanka	23140	Turkey	62544	Albania	20186
Romania	274447	Iran	20613	Iran	32841	Somalia	16739	Zaire	39571	Romania	5814
Turkey	198862	F. Yugoslavia	19838	Iraq	16616	Pakistan	15469	Sri Lanka	27607	Somalia	3397
Poland	106447	Sri Lanka	16279	Chile	11301	Turkey	14985	Romania	21905	Ethiopia	2274
Africa – Others	103418	Iraq	15416	Lebanon	10350	India	14929	Africa - Others	21325	Bulgaria	1126
Bulgaria	78785	Afghanistan	11141	Somalia	9141	Nigeria	14192	Vietnam	18899	Iran	447
Iran	77934	Romania	9923	Ethiopia	8750	Zaire	13415	Mali	17144	Iraq	381
Slovenia	67408	Turkey	9712	Romania	7301	F. Yugoslavia	11295	Angola	14232	Sri Lanka	356
Sri Lanka	58333	Bosnia & Herz.	8635	Bulgaria	5932	Ghana	10719	China excl. HK	11593	F. Yugoslavia	337
Lebanon	56524	Zaire	8360	Turkey	5582	Africa - Others	10370	Ghana	11226	F. Soviet Union	327
Vietnam	45937	F. Soviet Union	7107	Africa - Others	5414	Angola	9369	Pakistan	10677	Lebanon	243
Afghanistan	44590	Yugoslavia	6459	Croatia	5394	Ethiopia	7841	Cambodia	8735	Sudan	240
India	40337	Ethiopia	6075	Poland	4897	Uganda	7443	F. Yugoslavia	7817	Angola	177
F. Soviet Union	35467	Ghana	6047	F. Soviet Union	4394	Iran	6535	India	7798	Pakistan	171
Ghana	32622	China excl. HK	5030	Syrian	3969	Iraq	6495	Haiti	7089	Zaire	164
ANNUAL AV-ERAGE	173527		20801		29415		26592		33422		5636

F. Yugoslavia = Former Yugoslavia (before 1992); Yugoslavia = Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro); Africa - Others = Not further specified; F Soviet Union = Former Soviet Union; HK= Hong Kong; Herz = Herzegovina

3.5 IRREGULAR IMMIGRATION

3.5.1 INTRODUCTION

Almost by definition, migration models are based on recorded data. However, in most European countries today there are substantial unrecorded migrant populations. Forecasts and scenarios should take the undocumented migration into account, at least as far as possible. The main questions to address are therefore: "is the size of unrecorded migration of such extent that it should be included in the forecasts and scenarios? " and if so, "in what way can unrecorded migration be included? ".

It is a nigh on impossible task to come up with figures that are accurate. The best that can be attempted is to produce a figure that may be regarded as indicative. Measuring or, more precisely, estimating the numbers of irregular migrations and migrants in a country, or the EU as a whole, is a task made extremely difficult by the unrecorded nature of the phenomena, by the problems of the migration data that are recorded, by the disparities between different definitions, data sources and collection methods, and by the legislative differences between the member countries of the EU.

One of the main sources used as an indicator of numbers of irregular in a country is an amnesty to foreign nationals clandestinely residing or working, allowing them to regularise their status. Where regularisation programmes have been undertaken, even if they were able to include all migrants with an irregular status, once the process is complete new irregular migrants are likely to replace them, especially to fill gaps in the informal labour market. Thus whilst regularisation programmes do give numbers and information on conditions of irregular migrants, they by no means offer a total number, always providing a figure much less than the true figure and certainly far lower than the unrealistic estimates that are often circulated (Garson, 1999).

3.5.2 ESTIMATIONS OF IRREGULAR IMMIGRATION

According to International Labour Office estimates, in 1991 there were an estimated 2.6 million non-nationals in Europe in an irregular or undocumented situation, the figure including seasonal workers and those asylum seekers whose applications have been turned down but have not left. In the last few years many countries have recorded increases in illegal immigration and working. Using data from border control authorities on apprehensions, illegal trespassing, detentions etc., the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) estimated that in 1993 illegal inflows in Western Europe totalled around 350,000 (Widgren, 1994). This still remains the most widely quoted estimate.

It should be noted for comparison that these figures are set in the context of the corresponding recorded “legal” migration figures that report around 20 million foreign nationals (including EU and EFTA foreign nationals) resident in Western Europe in 1997, with inflows of around 1.3 million per annum for the period 1996/97. Roughly speaking, using the ILO’s calculation, irregular foreign stock would be between 10 and 15 per cent of the size

of the officially recorded resident foreign population, whilst Widgren's calculations place the scale of illegal immigration at around 20 to 30 per cent of the scale of the legal inflow.

Similar techniques have been used more recently to estimate numbers moving illegally between the Eastern and Central European (ECE) countries and Western Europe (IOM/ICMPD, 1999, 42). Based on border apprehensions and the assumption that at most one in three migrants who attempt to cross ECE borders illegally is ever caught, an estimate of 100-300,000 migrants entering Western Europe illegally from ECE countries was arrived at; of these perhaps 25-75,000 were estimated to have been smuggled by traffickers.

Some but not all EU countries produce data on illegal migration, normally based on apprehensions at the border. Thus, in 1998, 40,201 were apprehended after illegally entering Germany (Fröhlich, 1999); 9,700 during the period January-May 1999 in Austria (Biffl, 1999); and 16,500 in the UK in 1998 (Salt, 1999b). Other countries make estimates in other ways: for example, Sweden records numbers of "wanted aliens" (5,500 in 1998), people who have been refused entry or have expulsion orders against them (Ornbrandt, 1998). Elsewhere data are based on regularisation programmes.

3.6 CONCLUSIONS

3.6.1 TOTAL IMMIGRATION

The three countries selected for more detailed analyses in part III (Finland, France, Italy) have similar results as the results of the countries in part II.

The reference models, consisting of the linear trend and if necessary dummy variables, show already a rather good fit for some immigration groups by nationality. Economic information has an additional value in explaining immigration patterns although the results are mixed. Concerning Italy, GDP per capita turns out to be an indicator for immigration by nationality. In Finland, the additional value is limited. This can be partly assigned to the high fit of the reference model, which leaves less explanatory space for the economic variables, and partly to the extent of the economic recession in the 1980s. The total immigration data for France are lacking and France could not be included in the analyses.

In part III the (updated) time series of the countries selected in part II (Germany, UK, Sweden, The Netherlands and Portugal) are analyzed. The inclusion of the most recent years does not affect the conclusion drawn in part II. Economic information, and then especially unemployment, has a surplus value for Germany, the UK and the Netherlands for most groups of nationality although the additional value is the highest for the 'foreigner' groups and, to a lesser degree, the 'total' group.

3.6.2 LABOUR

A further specification of total immigration flows is made by the distinction of the labour flows. Due to the limited availability of labour flow data only three countries could be included in the analysis (France, Germany and the UK). For two out of three countries the

results indicate a strong relation of labour flows with economic variables. Both gross domestic product per capita (GDPPC) and Unemployment turn out to be relevant in explaining labour flows in Germany and the UK. The analysis for France does not have a satisfactory result.

3.6.3 ASYLUM

The main question concerning asylum seekers is how to include them in migration forecasts. The underlying factors causing asylum are too difficult to forecast. Nevertheless, the relevance of asylum and its relation with immigration (see part II), impel the inclusion of asylum in migration assumptions. The key question to address is: 'is there a structural pattern in the destination and/or origin of asylum flows?'. Analyzing the destination of asylum seekers shows no clear-cut distribution over the countries. Although no European wide distribution is found, a distinct relation of restrictive policies with asylum seekers could be observed. On the other hand the peaks in number of applicants can be observed in the various countries with different timing. This might indicate a cross-country relationship. The second dimension, the origin of asylum seekers, has been dealt with by the distinction of broad groups of origin to see whether a structural and an irregular level can be found. Although for some countries, specific groups show a more or less steady pattern, such as the Turks in Germany, fluctuations cause difficulties. Besides the limited data, both in length as in quality, restrict sound analyses. The EU-wide consideration of asylum seekers by broad group of origin resulted in a tentative distinction of a structural level of 100,000-200,000 applicants formed by the Africa and Asia clusters. The number of applicants of the other clusters shows a more fluctuating pattern.

4 Emigration

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous reports the main point of the analyses was the explanation of the immigration process. The forecasting of migration in which not only net migration is considered requires similar analyses concerning emigration. Therefore, in part III emigration is explicitly included in the analyses and forecasting. First, an overview is given of the emigration flows in Europe and how these figures can be compared between the various countries. Then, in line with the immigration analysis, economic information (unemployment, per capita GDP and stocks) will be included in the analyses trying to explain emigration patterns. The emigration analyses comprise both the total number as well as rates.

4.2 OVERVIEW

Although European emigration flows are outnumbered by the immigration flows, emigration is still a considerable component. In some European countries a doubling of the emigration flows is observed (e.g. in Germany between 1987 and 1993) while emigration in other countries is characterized by a smaller increase (e.g. Sweden) or a more or less constant course (e.g. Finland). In Figure 4.1 the emigration flows are presented for the eight countries. The emigration flow out of Germany impels once again the use of a secondary Y-axis.

Figure 4.1 Total number of emigrants of selected European countries (in thousand persons), 1985-1997.

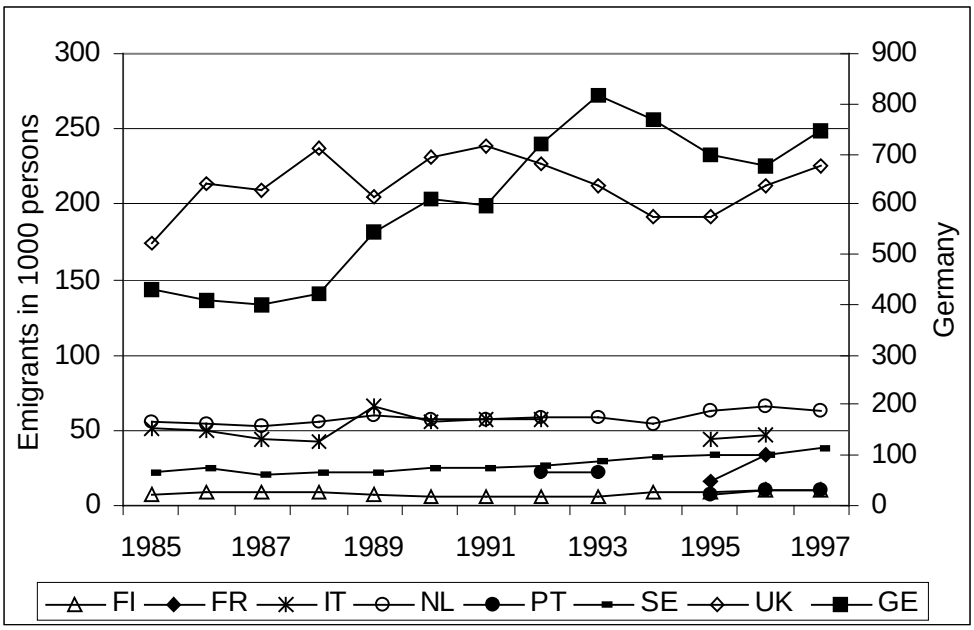
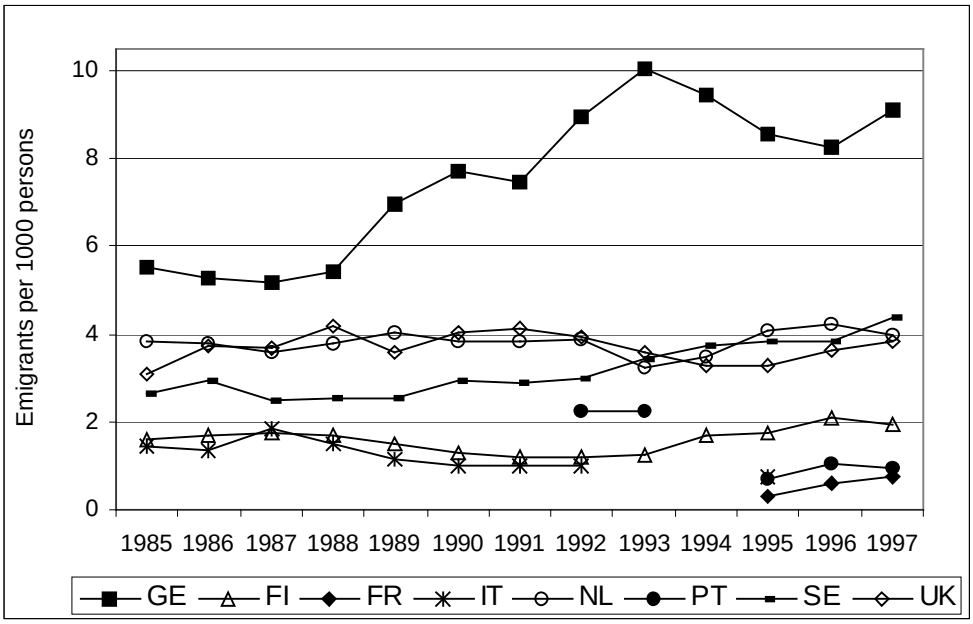
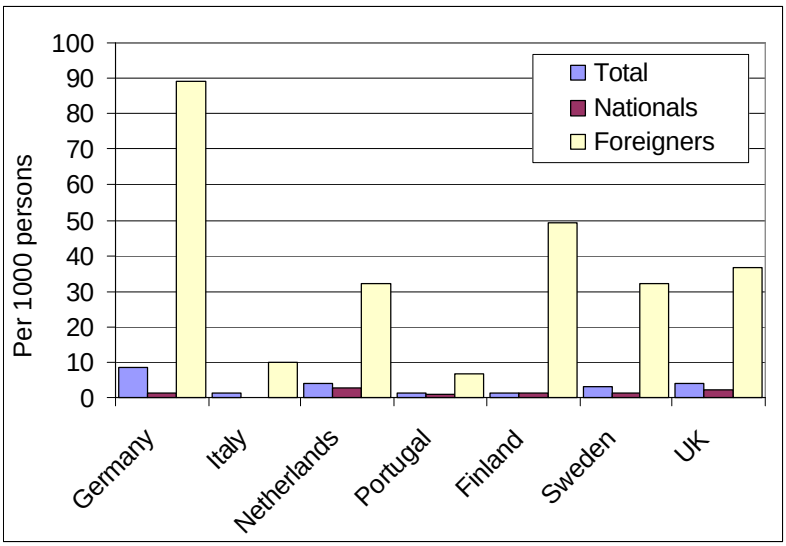


Figure 4.2 Emigration rates of selected European countries, 1985-1997.



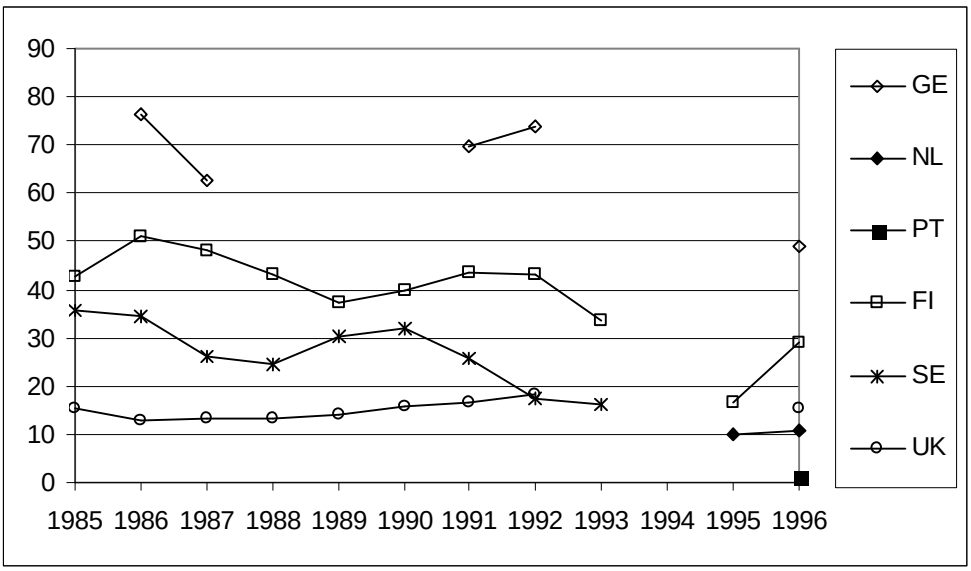
The correction of the emigration for the size of the total population, emigration expressed in emigrants per 1000 persons (see Figure 4.2) partly levels out the differences. Similar to immigration, emigration can be further broken down in major groups. One of the most important dimensions to distinguish is the aspect of nationality or country of birth. The relevance of this distinction has been pointed out above. Although country of birth would be sound representing this dimension, the limited availability of data impels to use nationality as proximate. Figure 4.3 shows the comparison of emigration rates by nationality. These rates are calculated by comparing the groups of emigrants with the associated stocks. The emigration rates are shown for nationals, non-nationals and total population.

Figure 4.3 Average emigration rates (1985-1997) by nationality (total, nationals and foreigners).



Remarkable are the substantial differences between the emigration rates. In Figure 4.4, the ratio of the national and foreigner emigration rates is presented. The ratio for Germany is by far the highest for the available years. Foreigner emigration rates are around 70 times the emigration rate of nationals while the Netherlands and Portugal show much lower ratios (respectively 10-20 and 1.2).

Figure 4.4 Ratio between nationals and foreigners emigration rates.



4.3 ANALYSES OF ECONOMIC VARIABLES AND STOCKS

The construction of the reference model to analyze the effect of economic variables on emigration differs from the immigration analyses. The linear trend that represents an increased mobility might be more applicable for immigrants than emigrants since European inhabitants have known fewer restrictions for example concerning travel opportunities. The analyses show that the inclusion of a linear trend only results in a limited increase of the R^2 for Finland and Sweden (R^2 increases with 0.14 and 0.19 respectively). For all other countries TREND has no or hardly an additional value. Therefore, the analysis will be restricted to the economic variables unemployment rate (UNEMP) and income (GDP). Unemployment is supposed to have a positive sign for its coefficient: the higher the unemployment the more people would like to emigrate. For the GDP a negative sign is assumed. The number of foreigners in a population (STOCK) is the third explanatory variable. This will be done in a separate regression model, given the limited number of available observations for the STOCK. STOCK is included in two ways: the total number of foreigners, as explanatory variable for total emigration, and rate or proportion of foreigners in a population. The sign of STOCK: is assumed to be positive for the total numbers: the more foreign people in a country the higher the total number of emigrants. The STOCK as rates is as-

sumed to have a negative sign: the higher the proportion of foreign people in a country the lower the tendency to emigrate. STOCK is irrelevant for the emigration flow of nationals. In addition, the following dummy variables are included:

- Portugal: Dummy65-70, to cover for the emigration peak in the period 1965-1970;
- Finland: Dummy69-70, to cover for the emigration peak in years 1969 and 1970;
- Germany: Unification similar to the one in the immigration analysis.

As mentioned before emigration will be analyzed by looking at total numbers and rates, expressed in number of migrants as ratio of the total foreign population. Therefore, the following three regression models are applied.

1. Emigration = Function(Constant, GDP per capita, Unemployment, Dummy)
2. Emigration = Function(Constant, STOCK, Dummy)
3. LOG(Emigration/Stock) = Function(Constant, GDP per capita, Unemployment, Stocks, Dummy)

The outcomes of the regression results for model 1 show mixed results (see Table 4.1). Both UNEMP and GDPPC are more or less equal important in possible explanations of the patterns except in Germany where UNEMP seems to be the most relevant. Germany has also the best results given the relatively high R2. Finland is also one of the countries that shows good results.

Table 4.1 Overview of the economic analyses of emigration by nationality (model 1).

Netherlands	R^2	GDPPC	UNEMP	
Total	0.06	-32	416	
Nationals	X	X	X	
Foreigners	0.36	-221	1074	
EU Foreigners	0.72	-88	1039	
NONEU foreigners	0.12	-133	34	
Germany	R^2	GDPPC	UNEMP	UNIFICAT
Total	0.48	X	X	193441
Nationals	0.82	X	X	249597
Foreigners	0.32	X	47654	X
EU Foreigners	0.17	X	35693	X
NONEU foreigners	0.77	X	13593	X
UK	R^2	GDPPC	UNEMP	
Total	X	X	X	
Nationals	0.08	-2126	X	
Foreigners	X	X	X	
EU Foreigners	0.03	X	1148	
NONEU foreigners	X	X	X	

Sweden	R^2	GDPPC	UNEMP	
Total	0.28	X	1454	
Nationals	0.86	X	1413	
Foreigners	0.15	X	184	
EU Foreigners	0.02	-66	X	
NONEU foreigners	0.57	X	355	
Finland	R^2	GDPPC	UNEMP	Dummy69-70
Total	0.86	-584	X	36475
Nationals	0	X	15	X
Foreigners	0.49	X	77	X
EU Foreigners	0.79	-19	28	X
NONEU foreigners	0.31	X	18	X
Italy	R^2	GDPPC	UNEMP	
Total	0.06	-1605	X	
Nationals	0.06	-1831	X	
Foreigners	0.65	X	618	
EU Foreigners	0.67	X	528	
NONEU foreigners	0.27	-49	85	
Portugal	R^2	GDPPC	UNEMP	Dummy65-70
Total	0.8	-3434	X	55416
Nationals	X	X	X	X
Foreigners	X	X	X	X
EU Foreigners	X	X	X	X
NONEU foreigners	X	X	X	X

The next step consists of the analyses of STOCK as explanatory variable. The results of model 2, using the stocks (expressed in total number of foreigners), are presented in Table 4.2. One of the remarkable outcomes is that the R^2 for Germany is high for all four groups of nationalities. The two Scandinavian countries can be pointed as second best while the usage of STOCK has hardly an additional value for the rest of the countries.

Table 4.2 Overview analyses results (R^2) of model 2: emigration by nationality using STOCK expressed in total numbers of foreigners.

	R^2						
	NL	**GE**	**UK**	**SE**	**FI**	**IT**	**PT**
Total	0.03	0.91	0.16	0.74	0.42	0.01	0
Foreigners	0.11	0.84	0.08	0.21	0.56	X	X
EU Foreigners	0.4	0.76	0.03	0	0.2	X	X
NONEU foreigners	X	0.61	0.01	0.51	0.77	X	X

STOCK is not relevant for nationals and is left out of the analyses.

In the last model emigration is analyzed in rates instead of absolute numbers. One of the questions to address is whether the emigration rates, expressed in emigrants as ratio of the

foreign population, change under varying size of the stock. The hypotheses as formulated above are that the rates will decrease with an increasing stock. The hypotheses for variables are similar to that of model 1. As shown in Table 4.3, the STOCK has in general the correct sign, and is also the most important variable.

Table 4.3 Overview of the economic analyses of emigration rates by nationality (model 3).

Netherlands	R^2	GDPPC	UNEMP	STOCK in mln
Total	0.96	X	X	-2.68
Nationals	X	X	X	X
Foreigners	0.94	-20	X	-2.35
EU Foreigners	0.83	-63	0.026	X
NONEU foreigners	0.93	X	X	-3.02
Germany	R^2	GDPPC	UNEMP	STOCK
Total (R^2 0.43)	0.74	-19	X	-0.01
Nationals (0.32)	X	-5.6	X	X
Foreigners	X	X	X	X
EU Foreigners	0.44	X	X	-0.115
NONEU foreigners	0.54	X	0.098	-0.142
UK	R^2	GDPPC	UNEMP	STOCK
Total	0.41	X	X	-0.287
Nationals	X	X	X	X
Foreigners	0.27	X	X	-0.292
EU Foreigners	0.36	X	X	-0.342
NONEU foreigners	0.02	X	X	-0.264
Sweden	R^2	GDPPC	UNEMP	STOCK
Total	0.65	X	0.040	-0.112
Nationals	X	X	X	X
Foreigners	0.31	-7.8	X	-0.9
EU Foreigners	0.51	-10.8	X	-1.82
NONEU foreigners	0.22	X	0.036	X
Finland	R^2	GDPPC	UNEMP	STOCK
Total (R^2 0.71)	0.78	X	X	-20.7
Nationals	X	X	X	X
Foreigners	0.73	-29	X	-13.6
EU Foreigners	0.97	-39	X	-21.9
NONEU foreigners	0.35	-17	X	-9.59
Italy	R^2	GDPPC	UNEMP	STOCK
Total	0.67	X	X	-1.42
Nationals	X	X	X	X
Foreigners	0.98	X	0.070	-1.68
EU Foreigners	0.98	X	0.097	-1.51
NONEU foreigners	0.67	-73	X	-1.64

Portugal	R^2	GDPPC	UNEMP	STOCK
Total	0.23	X	X	-7.88
Nationals	X	X	X	X
Foreigners	X	X	X	X
EU Foreigners	X	X	X	X
NONEU foreigners	X	X	X	X

4.4 CONCLUSIONS

In this report emigration has been subjected to systematic analyses. Of the three models used in the analyses, model 3 in which the logarithm of the emigrations rates is used as dependent variable shows the best results. STOCK proves to be the most important variable while the additional value of the economic variables is rather limited.

Only the flow of EU Foreigners shows some sensitivity for economic changes for most of the countries. Especially the use of per capita GDP has an explanatory value, although the R squared of the best fit varies strongly among the countries. The comparison of emigration rates using nationality also shows the heterogeneity of the emigration group. The ratio of emigration rates for foreigners and nationals ranges from 10 to 80, indicating a much higher tendency to emigrate among foreigners than nationals.

5 Net migration

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The approaches for immigration and emigration can only be applied if detailed data are available. However, some countries do not have these detailed data or only have data over a short period. In addition, the analyses of immigration and emigration flows do not always show clear cut results. In these cases, the approach in which net migration is used can be applied. Although the use of net migration implies a more limited description of migration patterns since it is result of immigration and emigration flows and specific underlying migration patterns might not be visible- it also has some advantages. First, net migration data are available for all countries for a longer period and secondly, the use of net migration does not restrict the purpose of supporting the population projections by the provision of migration scenarios. The use of net migration can therefore be seen as substitution of or in addition to the more detailed analyses of immigration and emigration.

5.2 ANALYSIS RESULTS

Long term net migration data can be obtained out of Eurostat's database New Cronos. For the period 1960-1998, country-specific corrected net migration figures are published. Unemployment rates and per capita GDP are used as representatives of the economic variables. These data are also obtained out of Eurostat's New Cronos and cover the period 1961-1998. The country-specific analyses were restricted to absolute numbers of migrants.

Table 5.1 Overview of the analyses of net migration by nationality.

	R^2	GDPPC	UNEMP	STOCK	TREND	DUMMY	POL
Netherlands (RM R^2 0.49)	0.76	X	-4651	X	2203	37610	-30313
Germany (RM R^2=0.46)	0.63	611130	-14004	X	1093	213953	-407599
UK (RM R^2 0.31)	0.56	21147	X	X	-7085		
Sweden (RM R^2 0.59)	0.72	3254	-2030	X	1832		(1,2,3)
Finland (RM R^2 0.39)	0.41	X	-608	X	861	7659	
Italy (RM R^2 0.63)	0.63	X	X	X	5996		-40908
France* (RM R^2 0.92)	0.94	14284	X	X	-11257	702390	
Portugal (RM R^2 0.69)	0.69	X	X	X	3775	326132	

RM = Reference model, DUMMY represents Surinam for the Netherlands, Unification for Germany, the 1991 peak for Finland, Algeria for France, Revol for Portugal

* The result (R^2 0.94) of France is highly determined by the enormous peak of Algerians in 1962 represented by the dummy 'Algeria'. If this observation is left out of the analysis the R^2 decreases to 0.40

5.3 CONCLUSIONS

If the availability of adequate data is lacking or the analyses of the specific in- and out-migration do not have satisfactory results, the methodology of net migration can be applied. This is especially the case for France and Portugal. The results of net migration analysis show a good fit and might be a good substitute for the detailed forecasting. For the other countries the results are mixed. The economic variables have varying effects on net migration patterns but for all countries there is no improvement in results compared to the results of immigration and emigration flows.

The analyses are restricted to the total numbers of migrants. An extension of the analysis in which net migration rates are included might have better results (Jennissen, 2001).

6 Expert Meeting

6.1 INTRODUCTION

As concluding part of the project an expert meeting was be held at NIDI, The Hague, 27 November 2000. At this meeting the outcomes of part I, II and III were discussed with migration experts of various countries. The purpose of this meeting is 'to have a critical review of the methodology and the country-specific assumptions, discussion of the results and to get feedback on how future research on migration analysis and forecasting can be improved'. In Table 6.1 the participants of the workshop are listed.

Table 6.1 List of participants.

Person	Country	Organization
A. Golini	Italy	Università La Sapienza Dipartemento di Scienze Demografiche
O. Kultalahti	Finland	Department of Regional Studies University of Tampere
S. Öberg	Sweden	Uppsala University Dept of Social and Economic Geography
P. Muus	The Netherlands	University Utrecht European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations
P. Rees	United Kingdom	The University of Leeds School of Geography
A Sprangers	The Netherlands	Statistics Netherlands (CBS)
R. van der Erf	The Netherlands	Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI)
R. Münz *	Germany	Humbolt Univerität Berlin Bevolkerungswisschenschaft
D. Coleman*	United Kingdom	University of Oxford Department of Applied Social Studies and Social Research
H Cruijsen	The Netherlands	Statistics Netherlands (CBS)
J. Salt	United Kingdom	Migration Research Unit (MRU)
L. Van Wissen	The Netherlands	NIDI
N. van der Gaag	The Netherlands	NIDI
R. Jennissen	The Netherlands	NIDI
H. Hilderink	The Netherlands	NIDI

* Due to illness or other obligations these persons could not attend the workshop but served as peer experts

6.2 CONTENTS OF THE EXPERT MEETING

The meeting started by a brief presentation of the results and conclusions of all three parts: the conceptual model of part I, the outcomes of the analysis of part II and the final outcomes described in part III. These presentations were followed by a plenary discussion. The discussion was prepared and structured by a questionnaire, which has been sent to each participant in advance. The participants were asked to contribute using the questionnaire. The set-up of the questionnaire was twofold. First, the proposed approach and methodology were the subject of the questions and an assessment was made of the most important trends and future changes for all countries to be considered. Secondly, possible country-specific situations and changes were listed. In the appendix, the complete questionnaire is presented. The responses to the country-specific situations (the 'B-questions') are also included in the appendix.

6.3 OUTCOMES OF THE EXPERT MEETING

For all ten questions an inventory is made of the range of responses. These responses were plenary discussed at the meeting. The outcomes and conclusions of these discussions are summarized for each question. The section is concluded with general conclusions of the expert meeting.

A1) Do you think it is advisable to break up international migration assumptions into several groups?

Conclusions:

Major groups of migration should be distinguished where possible. Four classifications are the most important:

1) Sex. Should be handled through simple deconsolidation using trends or kept constant.
2) Age. The age-structure of migration flows will be handled similar to the sex-dimension. The age structure of the population might play a role concerning labour flows and/or return migration and should be taken into account.
3) Motive. Three classes of motive are the most important (labour, asylum, family/other). A fourth group, undocumented migrants, might be added to this classification (for discussion see question A5). The sex- and age distribution will be specified taking into account the restricted availability of good quality data.
4) Citizenship or/and Country of birth. There is no clear indication which of these two is the best. Although NSO of the Netherlands base their forecasts on country of birth, most countries only register citizenship (including the Eurostat's New Cronos database). The distinction of Country of birth implies that naturalizations should also be taken into account.

Responses:

- It is advisable but impossible: too many varying factors of influence (policies, push factors, age gender, marital status, skills, religion, etc…)
- A distinction should be made between policy-related (labour, asylum, family) and policy-neutral (age, gender) classifications.
- The quality and availability of migration statistics restrict the breakdown in too many groups.
- Make a selection based on age, gender, clustering country of birth and migration motive.
- Sex and broad age groups (0-17, 18-59, 60+) constant or trends, Three types of motive (Labour, family and asylum / visitors switchers / clandestine migrants), Distinction of Origins (own country citizens, other developed countries, rest of world)
- Age structure of the total population in a country should also be taken into account because of possible effect of an ageing population on labour immigration.
- Ethnic factors can be important given their relation with return migration.

A2) In what way can asylum be included in the forecasts?

Conclusions

- Asylum is too important to leave it out of the forecasts although there are large differences between countries.
- The distinction between a structural, base level and peaks is important but it is difficult to forecast the underlying causes/events that lead to peaks of movement. Asylum should therefore be included in a way which encompasses both forms. A possible approach would be to calculate the average annual number of asylum seekers resulting from "peak" events over a long period and use that as a basis for inclusion.
- Policies should be looked at in an EU-context since patterns of asylum flows act as communicating vessels.
- The relationship between asylum and migration can be represented by country-specific ratios, taking into account a possible time lag.
- Return migration of asylum migrants might become more important in the future.

Responses:

- Is not possible to forecast.
- Only short term (5 years) inclusion, No major policy change are to be foreseen in this period.
- Country wise different ratios must be used to estimate asylum related migration.
- Causes of migration will not change greatly, the forecasting of the causes is very difficult.
- In the Netherlands' forecasts asylum is included based on restrictive policy measures and policy to extend capacity. The number of asylum applicants then tends to a structural level. Next, a ratio is used to obtain the number of asylum migrants.
- Finland uses a rather strict quota system (at the moment 1000 persons with a small flexibility of a few hundreds). This will change if there is harmonization of policies within the EU.

- Breakdown into Trends based on recent years and Surprises / Events. Alternative scenarios would need to be developed, analogous to the scenarios developed by NIDI/CBS for the 1990 European Population Conference.
- In Sweden, there seems to be an interlinkage between asylum and labour migration.
- To include asylum requires a clear definition of asylum applicants, decisions and recognition.

A3) Is economic information useful in projections?

Conclusions:

- Economic variables are the main ones affecting both in- and out-migration. Quantitative economic information has to be interlinked with qualitative description which includes factors like life style, globalization and other country-specific factors. These have to be incorporated through some form of scenario building.
- Labour market developments, as a function of labour demand and supply, will be key issues, especially as countries compete more actively for skills.
- Participation rates of women and/or elderly should be related to the labour supply.
- Economic information should be included in the interplay between asylum and labour flows.

Responses:

- Very useful for both origin as destination, both at micro and macro level. In no case for *projecting* but only to *design* policies and scenarios.
- Probably the most useful one. Additional variables might be vacancies, participation rates, labour market needs by skill level-profession-sector.
- Migrants of European countries are clearly dependent on the business cycle.
- Labour flows might be related to labour market demand and supply, which in turn are related to the ageing of the population.
- The use of economic variables to forecast migration require models to forecast these.
- Hidden economy can have a significant effect (e.g. Italy) on migration.
- Participation rates of different populations (e.g. women) should be included in labour market supply.

A4) Are the stocks of foreigners useful in projections?

Conclusions

- At micro level stocks play an important role regarding chain migration.
- At macro level the inclusion of size of stocks as indication for migration forecast is difficult but necessary if emigration is calculated based on rates instead of total numbers.
- A proper definition of stocks is required. The use of country of birth as indicator might be easier compared to citizenship, but also brings along other problems (e.g. lack of registration). The process of naturalization has to be taken into account if citizenship is used as distinction, especially in those countries where the rate is high.

Responses:

- Future immigration flows are functions of existing immigration population, through reunification and migratory chains. Should not be included in projecting but in scenario design.
- Very useful but only in conjunction with information of migration histories of citizenship/country of birth. For example the former colonies are important concerning migration histories.
- Yes, require the specification of nationality (e.g. Turkish and Moroccan family migration)
- Useful for foreigners migration flows (family, return migration labour) but unlikely to be useful for labour or family migration of country citizens
- Lagged historic flows are likely to be predictors for the stocks.
- Stocks are important with respect to the age structure of the population and, more important, social networks of foreigners already in a country.

A5) Should undocumented migration be included in the assumptions?

Conclusions

- Undocumented migration should be included if possible to get a better understanding of the size of this issue. But, it should be handled with care given all uncertainties attached.
- The most simple and reliable way to include undocumented migration in the projections is as a fraction of regular flows.
- The level of detail depends on the aim of the upcoming official Eurostat's projections.

Responses:

- This issue is probably growing in importance but is extremely difficult to estimate the number of undocumented migrants.
- Yes, the most simple and reliable way is as quota of regular flows
- Yes, depart from regularizations by country
- We should but probably can't.
- Ask NSOs and Interior Ministries for best guesses. Comparison of the official roll-forward estimates and census results
- Distinction should be made between persons who are documented when entering a country and become undocumented and persons who are undocumented from the beginning.

A6) How to deal with data restrictions in relation to quantitative assumptions?

Conclusion:

- A similar (conceptual) modelling framework can be used in which various migration groups are distinguished. In this framework, the assumptions have to be country-specific.

Responses:

- It is only possibility to make quantitative assumption by scenario design
- Very short-term (2-3 years) differs from medium / long-term projections
- Do not harmonize away in one model the very specific migration patterns. Subgroups of countries which have shown high similarities might be distinguished.
- Make only assumptions for individual countries or groups of countries
- Need series of models for the different migration groups (by motive and origin) that combine the important factors at work.
- The current approaches as described in the reports are a proper way to do it. In addition additional information on for example labour market, age structure might be helpful.
- Grouping of countries based on criteria as data availability and homogenous migration patterns is useful.

6.4 CONCLUSIONS

The main purpose of the meeting was to have a critical review of the proposed methodology and to get recommendations for further refinements or improvements. The response to the specific issues of the questionnaire resulted in a useful assessment of recent and future developments. The conclusions concerning the specific issues are listed below the associated question in the previous section. Only some general conclusions are presented here.

The main conclusion that can be drawn is that a distinction between immigration and emigration flows is a step forward from the net migration previously used in Eurostat's population projections. A qualitative description of these two components is essential. Data availability and quality determine what method can be used or in what detail these flows can be described and analyzed in a quantitative way.

The particular situation in individual countries requires a country-specific custom-made approach. An overall framework, based on systematic analyses of immigration and emigration flows, serves only as guidance to structure and position the various migration facets. The (mostly soft) knowledge of migration experts and forecasters should be revealed using a Delphi-panel approach, since there is evidence that the use of such panels improves the assumptions made about future migration levels.

7 Conclusions and recommendations

7.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the objectives of the research programme 'Analysis and Forecasting of Migration by major groups' is the development and improvement of methods to support population forecasting by the provision of international migration assumptions and scenarios. In order to achieve the objectives, the research programme started with part I in which the most relevant groups of migration flows were listed and a comprehensive conceptual model was developed. In part II, the conceptual model was applied to a selection of five countries using statistical analysis. The analyses gave a quantitative foundation of the major migration groups and their assumed relationship with explanatory factors like economic information or policy measures. The purpose of part III is to complete the systematic analyses of part II by applying the conceptual model to an additional number of countries and to obtain synthesis of the previous two parts resulting in recommendations for a methodology to improve forecasting methodology and assumptions. Applying this methodology to all countries would harmonize the national population forecast of the European Economic Area, which is another objective of the research programme.

In this final chapter of part A of the report, a summary is given of the main findings and conclusions of all three parts. The conclusions and findings have been reviewed and discussed in an Expert Meeting, which took place in November 2000. The result of this study, in combination with the recommendations of the Expert Meeting, is a framework for the formulation of migration forecasts assumptions. This framework is described in the concluding section of this chapter.

7.2 MAIN FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The proposed approach has proven to be valuable as framework to analyze international migration flows. In this approach, a methodology is given which can be used for a systematic description of migration flows. This methodology can be summarized as follows: Instead of net migration, which was previously used in Eurostat's population forecasts, immigration and emigration will be used explicitly. Motive (e.g. labour, asylum) was taken as the main dimension of immigration while emigration is primarily related to the size of stocks. This approach can obviously only be applied within the boundaries of adequate data availability.

The lack of good quality data, which cover a longer period, causes difficulties in analyzing the relationships between economic and demographic indicators at the one hand and the various migration flows on the other hand. The extension of the five countries, which were extensively analyzed in part II, with Finland, Italy and France resulted in restricted ap-

plication, given the limited data availability. Nevertheless, the analyses of the five countries selected in part II combined with these three additional countries resulted in several useful findings. An overview of the conclusions for the various migration flows is given below.

Immigration

Immigration patterns have been analyzed using motive as main dimension. We distinguished total immigration, labour immigration and asylum as major groups of immigration. In addition, nationality was included as a second dimension using the following broad groups: Nationals, total foreigners consisting of EU foreigners and Non-EU foreigners. First we have constructed a reference model consisting of a linear trend, representing an overall increase of mobility, and additional other/policy variables, correcting for significant discontinuities which are less relevant for forecasting purposes (e.g. unification of East and West Germany, various restrictive policy measures). With this reference model a structural level of immigration can be indicated. Next, we examined to what extent fluctuations in immigration patterns can be explained by economic variables (income and unemployment) and social/demographic variables (stocks of foreigners).

The use of the reference model had rather good results concerning the total immigration flows, for almost all countries and groups of nationalities. The use of additional economic variables resulted in a further explanation of patterns for some countries, but not all. The effect of both income and unemployment is substantial for some countries, although mostly one of these two variables turned out to be dominant in a specific country. The use of the stock had hardly satisfying results, mainly due to a very limited number of available observations.

The second motive, labour immigration, was selected to study the effect of economic variables on this specific group of immigration. For three countries the effect has been analyzed. The conclusion that can be drawn is that for Germany and the UK there seems to be a strong relationship between per capita GDP and unemployment on prediction, and labour migration. In France this relationship is rather weak.

The main conclusion is that a trend model is a rather good option to describe a structural future level of immigration. The results concerning economic information are mixed but can be helpful to formulate assumptions on future country-specific trends.

Asylum applicants are of growing importance. The relationship between asylum and migration has been shown in part II. However, forecasting of asylum seekers causes difficulties given the complexity and unpredictability of underlying factors causing asylum. We have focussed on both destination and the origin of asylum flows. Regarding destination of asylum an important shift can be observed from Germany towards other EU countries. Especially the UK becomes one of the major destinations. The underlying causes for these changes in destination patterns are only partially understood. Clearly, policy interventions

are important, but other mechanisms are at work as well. This remains problematic for migration projections.

The origin of asylum for several countries and the EU in total was analyzed to find out if a structural, basic level and irregular peaks could be observed. Africa and to less extent Asia, Central-Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union show a reasonable smooth time pattern, which can be useful for projections. The peak in 1992 can be unmistakably ascribed to the unstable situation in the Balkan area.

Emigration

Emigration patterns show less variation over time than immigration patterns. Emigration has been analyzed using total numbers and rates. The latter has resulted in the best fitting model, although the results are rather mixed. Some countries (the Netherlands, Italy) have satisfying results for all groups of nationalities, others only for some of groups (Sweden, Finland) while the outcomes for the UK are hardly satisfying. For all countries the relationship between stocks and emigration seems to be more important than the economic variables.

Using the stock variable for the comparison of emigration rates between nationals and foreigners indicates a significant heterogeneity among emigrants. The emigration rates for foreigners are 10 to 80 times higher compares to nationals. A more detailed distinction of the foreigners group can be useful although the limited data availability implies again restricted application.

Net migration

The use of net migration, instead of the specific immigration and emigration flows, can be regarded as a fall back option. If data are too limited, concerning time coverage or quality, assumptions and scenarios can be formulated in terms of net migration. This is, for example, the case for France and Portugal. For these countries, the good results of the analysis of (calculated) net migration can be helpful to forecast future developments. Since emigration is rather stable, net migration has a high correlation with immigration in many countries.

7.3 TOWARDS A FRAMEWORK FOR MIGRATION FORECASTING

All the findings and conclusions described above have been discussed and critically reviewed by a group of migration experts. This Expert Meeting took place in November 2000 at the NIDI. As other result of this fruitful meeting recommendations were formulated to arrive at a comprehensive framework to provide migration scenarios. In this section all relevant aspects of the framework, like methodology and assumptions, will be described.

1) The first recommendation, which is widely subscribed, is that the distinction between immigration and emigration flows is an essential step forward from the previously

used net migration. A qualitative description of these two components is necessary. Data availability and quality determine what method can be used or in what detail these flows can be described and analyzed in a quantitative way.

2) One generic framework[1] is recommended which can be used to describe the most important immigration and emigration groups. The overall framework serves as a benchmark to structure and position the various assumptions concerning migration flows. This framework should be used as a steppingstone or reference approach. The level of data availability determines to what extent all aspects of the framework can be filled in. A distinction between data-rich and data-poor countries is therefore necessary. The findings of applying the framework for data-rich countries can be used for the data--poor countries.

3) The framework for immigration forecasting is presented in Table 7.1. The two main classifications of immigration groups to distinguish are:

   A. Motive: Labour, Asylum and Other (including family);

   B. Citizenship: Nationals, EU, Candidate countries, Other developed and Rest of World.

Table 7.1 Framework for immigration forecasting.

Citizenship / Motive	Nationals	EU	Candidate Countries	Other Developed	Rest of World	**Total**
Labour	X	X	X	X	X	å
Asylum	-	-	-	-	X	å
Other (Family)	X	X	X	X	X	å
Total documented	å	å	å	å	å	å
Undocumented	-	-	X	X	X	å
Total	å	å	å	å	å	å

X = relevant, - = Not Relevant, Σ = (sub) total

[1] Following up on the recommendation expressed by Phil Rees

- In general, immigration will be expressed in total numbers for each of the cells given in the table above. If detailed data are lacking, total documented flows of immigration can be used as startingpoint. The forecasting model for total immigration can be regarded as a trend model describing a structural level, in combination with economic information to determine the additional variations.
- Labour flows can be best related to economic information. Variables as income expressed in gross domestic product per capita and unemployment rates are recommended to use.
- There are basically two options for the asylum modelling approach. In the first option, a bottom-up approach, asylum trends are considered for each country separately taking into account the historical patterns of countries of origin. In this approach asylum patterns are considered to be independent of asylum patterns and policies in other countries, which might be incorrectly. The second option, which takes into account mutual relationships between countries, is a top-down approach in which asylum applicants are determined at the overall EU level and then further split up between the countries. The disadvantage of this method is loss of valuable country-specific information. A adequate choice between these option can not be made without further research. For either two options immigration determined by asylum has to be calculated. This can be done making use of a country-specific fraction of the total number of asylum applicants.
- To determine the Other category a simple trend model can be used. Information on the size of the stock could also be used to estimate family immigration although this requires an extensive data availability given the distinguished groups of citizenship.
- Undocumented immigration can be included using an additional fraction of the documented flow.
- For each of groups of motives and citizenship a sex and age distribution will be specified where possible. A limited number of broad age groups are recommended in order to get an age profile of immigrants. Since population forecasts make use of one-year age groups these data can be used to obtain model migration schedules for further disaggregation of the broad age groups. The distinction between data-rich and data-poor countries implies that for some countries each of the above mentioned cells can be specified while for other countries only total numbers are available and additional assumptions are required. For instance, by using model migration schedules pertaining to clusters of countries (e.g. north, south, east and central). Detailed research is necessary in order to obtain these schedules.

4) Emigration will be described, in line with immigration, using the dimension Citizenship (Nationals, EU, Candidate countries, Other developed and Rest of World).

Table 7.2 Framework for emigration forecasting.

Citizenship:	Nationals	EU	Candidate countries	Other Developed	Rest of World	**Total**
Documented	X	X	X	X	X	å
Undocumented	X	X	X	X	X	å
Total	å	å	å	å	å	å

X = relevant, - = Not Relevant, Σ = (sub) total

- Emigration can be described best using rates. However, with the use of rates, Stock information is required, which is a major obstacle for using this approach for projection purposes. Therefore, rates should be used in trend analysis whenever possible while numbers will be used in projections.
- Age and sex distribution will be handled as in immigration, using a limited number of broad categories for each country. The distribution over one-year age groups will be taken care of using model migration schedules, which are estimated on the basis of available data. Again, additional research is necessary.
- Undocumented emigration represents the commonly used administrative corrections being the discrepancy between registered and the real level of emigration. This will be included as a multiplier (• 1), similar to immigration. Undocumented emigration is relevant for all groups of citizenship and might be different for these groups. The level of this multiplier can be different for the groups of citizenship should be obtained from additional country-specific analyses.

5) The particular situation in individual countries requires a country-specific custom-made approach. The overall framework serves as a benchmark to structure and position the various assumptions concerning migration flows. The (mostly soft) knowledge of migration experts and forecasters should be revealed using a Delphi-panel approach, since there is evidence that the use of such panels improves the assumptions made about future migration levels. The framework will also serve to structure the information to be extracted from the Delphi rounds.

PART B

COUNTRY-SPECIFIC INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION TRENDS

8 Country-specific international migration trends

In part II, the five countries, Portugal, the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden and the United Kingdom, were used for analyzing the relationship between migration trends and explanatory variables such as economic indicators. In part III, this selection is extended with the countries Finland, France and Italy. In this part of the report, the international migration trends will be described in detail for all eight countries with an additional emphasis on immigration policy and how this either initiates or responds to migration trends. The goal of this section is to present a detailed and comprehensive picture of the international migration patterns, trends and irregularities. This section serves to provide a more qualitative description of the country-specific immigration situation as analyzed in part A.

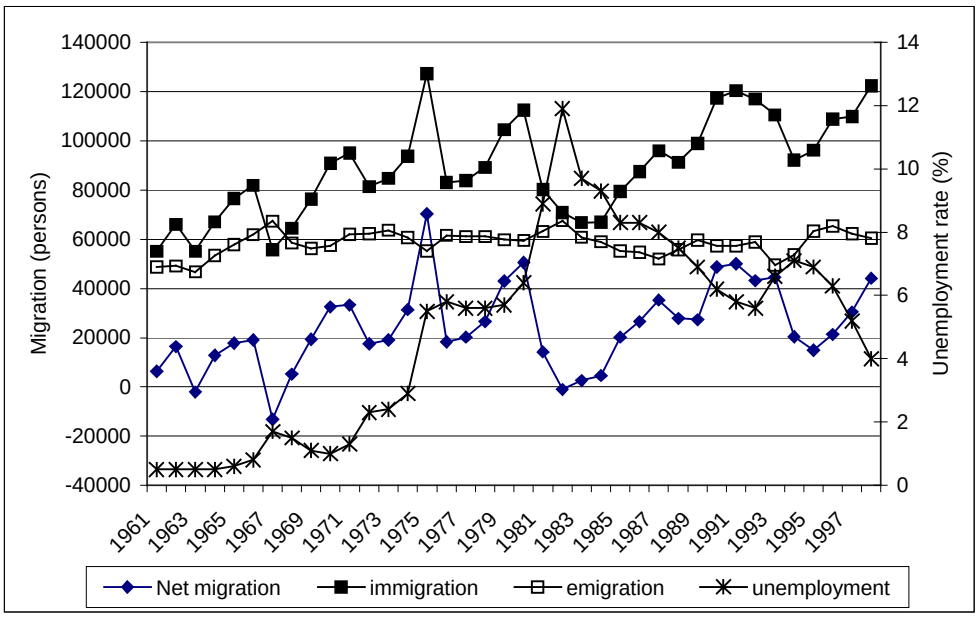
8.1 THE NETHERLANDS

8.1.1 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION TRENDS IN THE NETHERLANDS 1960-1998

The Netherlands has seen a positive net migration throughout the period 1960-1998 with the exception of 1963, 1967 and 1982. The negative unemployment rate of the 1960s and early 1970s necessitated the use of migrant labour forces. In the early 1960s, the Netherlands turned to Southern European countries for her migrant labour force. By the end of the 1960s and throughout the 1970s, Turkey and Morocco were added to the supplying countries of a migrant labour force. Return migration under this last group is relatively small. Turks and Moroccans have opted for family reunification and, since the 1980s, family formation (migration through marriage). Muus (1985) calls this secondary reunification. The unemployment rate in the Netherlands reached a peak in 1982. The same year showed a marked decrease in immigration.

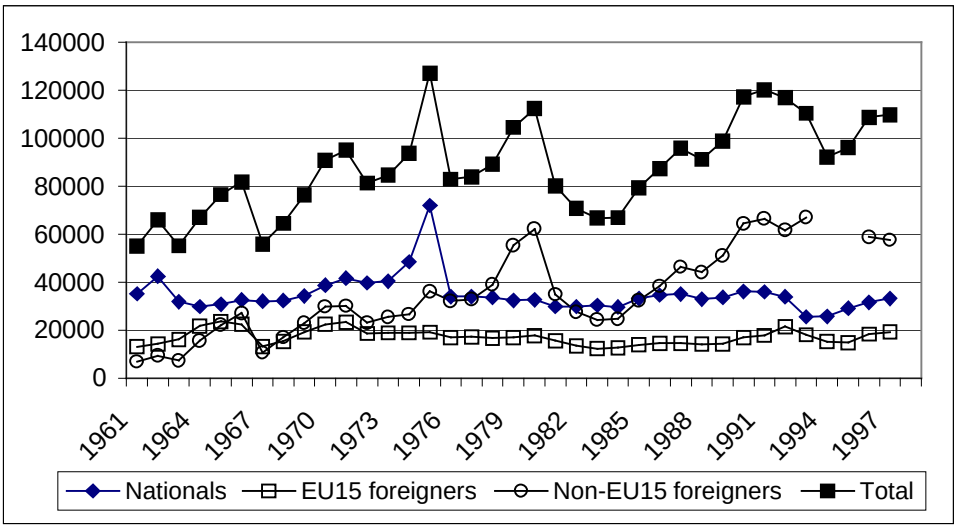
Since the second half of the 1980s, asylum seekers are responsible for most of the increase in immigration. The number of asylum requests doubled during the years 1990-1992 in comparison with the number of new requests in the second half of the 1980s. A strong increase can also be seen for the years 1993 and 1994 when it reached its peak. The increase was caused by the unstable situation in former Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union and Somalia. (Nicolaas, 1997).

Figure 8.1 Net migration, immigration, emigration and unemployment, the Netherlands.



Immigration of Dutch nationals has remained constant with the exception of a peak in 1962 and again in 1975. The peak in 1962 is the result of the independence of the former Dutch colony of New Guinea. The Dutch colony of Suriname gained her independence in 1975, which initiated a flow of Dutch national immigrants. The Netherlands elected to allow a five-year period following the independence during which Surinamese were allowed to choose for either Dutch or Surinamese citizenship. Near the end of the five-year period, another increase in the flow of Surinamese migrants, this time registered as Non-EU15 foreigners was seen (1979 and 1980). The immigration of EU15 foreigners is relatively stable for the entire period.

Figure 8.2 Immigration by broad group of citizenship, the Netherlands.



8.1.2 IMMIGRATION POLICY IN THE NETHERLANDS

The State Secretary of the Justice Department is responsible for immigration policy. The rules for admittance to the Netherlands as well as mandatory departure are stated in the Aliens Act (1992). The last major revision of this law was in 1994 and since that time, the implementation is in the hands of the Immigration and Naturalization service. Policy developments include the recognition of dual nationality (1991), a revision of the Aliens Act (1992), new rules for family reunion (1993) and a new Act regulating the employment of foreigners (1995). A restrictive admittance policy has been implemented in the Netherlands since 1973, when, in reaction to the oil crisis, the Dutch government, made an end to labour migration from the countries around the Mediterranean sea (De Beer, 1998).

Refugees and asylum seekers

Persons wishing to apply for refugee status in the Netherlands are required to report to one of the three Refugee Reception Centres where their request can be processed. The three centres are the only places where this request for refugee status or a request for admittance on humanitarian grounds can be made. The request is judged on the likelihood of acceptance. Likely candidates go on to Refugee centre. Less likely candidates go through an accelerated procedure of 48 hours in the Reception Centre.

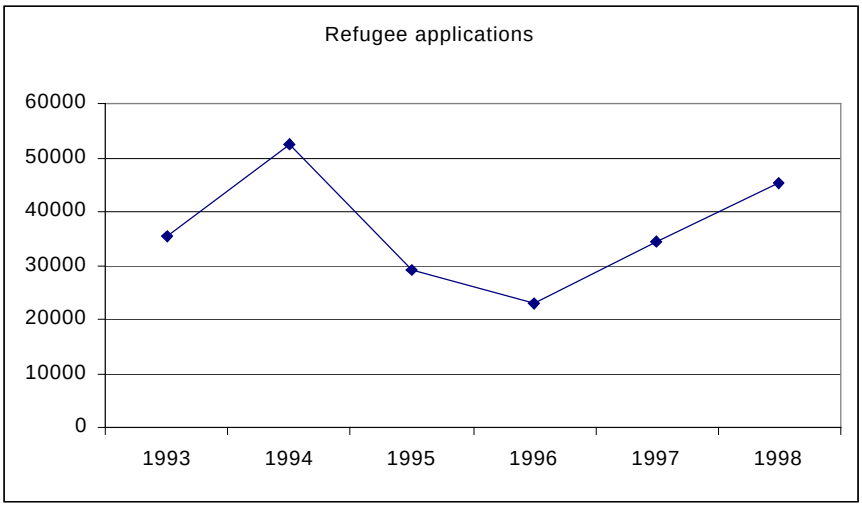
The applicant refugee is interviewed in the presence of a lawyer and, if necessary he or she can be assisted by a translator. On the basis of this interviewer, the Immigration and Naturalization Service will take a decision on the refugee request. If the foreigner receives a negative decision he must leave the Netherlands. It is possible to file an objection. In theory, there are three types of departures:

1) control of address by police after departure by own means;
2) departure by own means under surveillance by police;
3) physical expulsion.

Exact numbers of how many rejected applicants for asylum disappear into an illegal circuit are not available.

Applicant refugees, who may temporarily stay in the Netherlands, move to Refugee centres where they are prepared for participation in the Dutch society and given, among others, courses in the Dutch language and culture. Afterwards, those receiving the refugee status move on to one or another Dutch city or town where they are registered as a legal immigrant. At town or city level the (now) legal immigrant is further helped in the process of integration with language and cultural courses, housing and in finding suitable employment.

Figure 8.3 Refugee applications in the Netherlands 1993-1998.



Although the Netherlands have enforced restrictive measures to deter the flow of refugees, the total number of applications has again been on the rise since 1996.

Immigration

Foreigners, who do not have the Dutch nationality and want to come to the Netherlands for an extended period of time, must meet certain conditions. In some cases, these conditions must be met even for shorter visits and vacations. The independence of the Dutch colony of Suriname in 1975 resulted in a treaty stating that for up to five years after this independence, Surinamese had the right to choose for the Dutch nationality. Requirements for persons coming from EU member states are different than for persons from other

countries[2]. Subjects of the EU and EEA countries may stay in the Netherlands without needing a visa of permit. If one wishes to stay longer, it is necessary to apply for a temporary residence permit. This permit is usually valid for five years. Member of EU countries who are not working may stay in the Netherlands as long as they can support themselves and do not request financial aid. In this case however, they are required to apply for a temporary residence permit.

Labour migration

Persons from both EU and EEA countries have the right to reside and work in the Netherlands. Since 1995 the Act regulating the employment of foreigners has stipulated under which conditions a work permit may be granted for persons coming from outside the EU. As stated above, the need for migrant labourers was abruptly halted due to the oil crisis of 1973. While many Spaniards and Italians returned to their native countries, most of the Turks and Moroccans chose to remain and have their families join them in the Netherlands (De Beer, 1998).

A new type of labour migration appeared at the end of the nineties. In 1998 a total of almost nine thousand Europeans immigrated for work to the Netherlands. Of these immigrants, there were approximately 2500 from the UK and 1500 from Germany. But maybe even more surprising, was the large number of highly educated labour immigrants from outside the European Union. Some 1000 American 'managers', technicians and IT (Information Technology) specialists made their entries. Japan also made its contribution of managers and technicians (Nicolaas and Sprangers, 1998).

Prevention of trafficking and illegal immigrants

The Netherlands has incorporated a closer co-operation with other EU member-states to restrict flows of illegal immigrants. Embassies receiving large numbers of queries and requests for asylum have been assigned and equipped with special staff. A special task force was created to deal with illegal trafficking of persons. To expedite identity checks, an increased use of fingerprinting has been implemented as well as an intensification of controls, especially with regard to air travel.

8.2 PORTUGAL

8.2.1 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION TRENDS IN PORTUGAL 1960-1998

Portugal has traditionally been a country of emigration, linking her to her colonies in South America and Africa. The 'Carnation Revolution' and Portugal's subsequent return to a democracy are according to Solé (1995) 'at the root of Portugal's present immigratory phenomenon.' Portugal's fight to retain her colonies during the 1960's and early 70's was

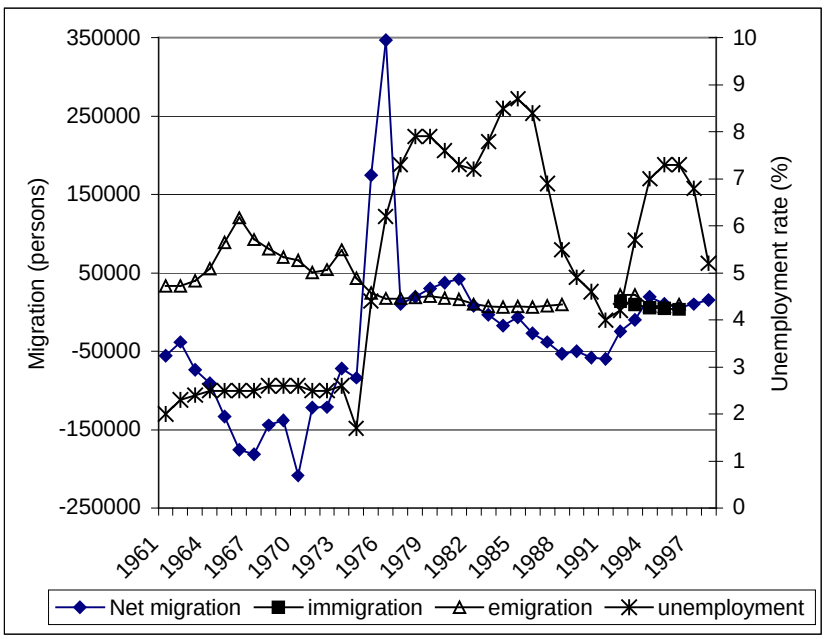
[2] The Treaty of Maastricht (EU) allows for the free passage and establishment of EU subjects.

draining her economically. Solé states that the economic problems at home caused by a number of expensive overseas military engagements, the revolution which overthrew the dictatorship of Salazar's successor Caetano, and its resulting decolonization process triggered three different reverses in the migratory flows characteristic of the years of the Salazar dictatorship. The first reverse was a return of emigrants from the USA, Canada and Latin America to an industrialized Europe. The second reverse was the start of immigrants from Third World countries with historic colonial and language ties with Portugal. The extreme peak in 1975 illustrates the return of Portuguese nationals due to the departure of the Portuguese administration in Angola, followed by the outbreak of civil war even before Angola's independence was official. And the last flow was the repatriation of Portuguese emigrants from former colonies (Solé, 1995). These trends are visible in the net migration shown in figure 1.1.

The majority of Portugal's immigrants come from the PALOP (Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa) countries: Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Principe. In 1997 approximately 175000 foreigners were legally resident in Portugal, or 1.8% of the total population (OECD, 1999). In numerical order by nationality, Cape Verde (40000), Brazilians (20000), and Angolans (16300) were the largest groups.

Portugal has had a minor role in the European Union in regard to the acceptance of refugees. While much of the rest of Europe was busy accommodating refugees from the war in Bosnia during the period 1992-1996, Portugal received a rather large number of Romanians seeking asylum in 1993. They accounted for about two-thirds of the total 2000 applications that year. Since that time, the number of applications for refugee status has dropped steadily until the current rate of approximately 200 a year.

Figure 8.4 Net migration, immigration, emigration and unemployment rate, Portugal.



8.2.2 IMMIGRATION POLICY IN PORTUGAL

Migration policy in Portugal is aimed at protecting the rights of Portuguese nationals abroad as well as immigrants in Portugal. Portugal keeps close contact with her national emigrants including direct representation by elected members of Parliament. Policy towards Portuguese nationals abroad is directed towards integration in the host country while retaining their national identity. Aid is offered through financial, legal, economic and social services, including special credit schemes for savings and loans.

Immigration

The Act of 3 March 1993 describes conditions for the entry, residence, departure and expulsion of foreigners, with the goal of making all procedures clearer and more effective. In May 1996 Parliament unanimously passed a law providing for an amnesty for illegal immigrants. The initial condition to be met to qualify for regularization was the date of entry and residence in Portugal. Applicants who were nationals of Portuguese-speaking countries had to have entered Portugal before 31 December 1995 and to have resided there since that time. Other non-EU foreign nationals had to have entered Portugal before 25 March 1995, when the Schengen Agreement came into force. Portuguese law has allowed dual nationality since 1981.

Labour migration

Employment of foreign labourers was governed by the Decree-Law (1974) which stated that the number of foreign workers in companies numbering five or more employees may not exceed 10 per cent of the total work force. This rule did not apply to subject of the EEA, nor to countries having bilateral agreements with Portugal (Brazil and Cape Verde). Since 1998, Portugal adopted a new Employment of Foreigners Act, which allows legal foreigners to work in Portugal without quota restrictions.

Prevention of trafficking and illegal immigrants

Portugal has implemented a stricter policy through better border control, a strengthening of the police force and a more systematic detection of false documentation. The Act of March 1993 provides a description for entry, residence, departure and expulsion of foreigners in an attempt to make procedures clear and more effective. There are also plans to install temporary centres for foreigners who have entered Portugal illegally. In May 1996 a general amnesty was granted for illegal immigrants.

Integration policy

Foreign residents may be granted political rights. Portuguese nationality can be obtained through marriage, full adoption by a Portuguese national or naturalization (without renouncing original nationality) after at least six years residence in Portugal. In 1996 the post of High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities was installed to co-ordinate

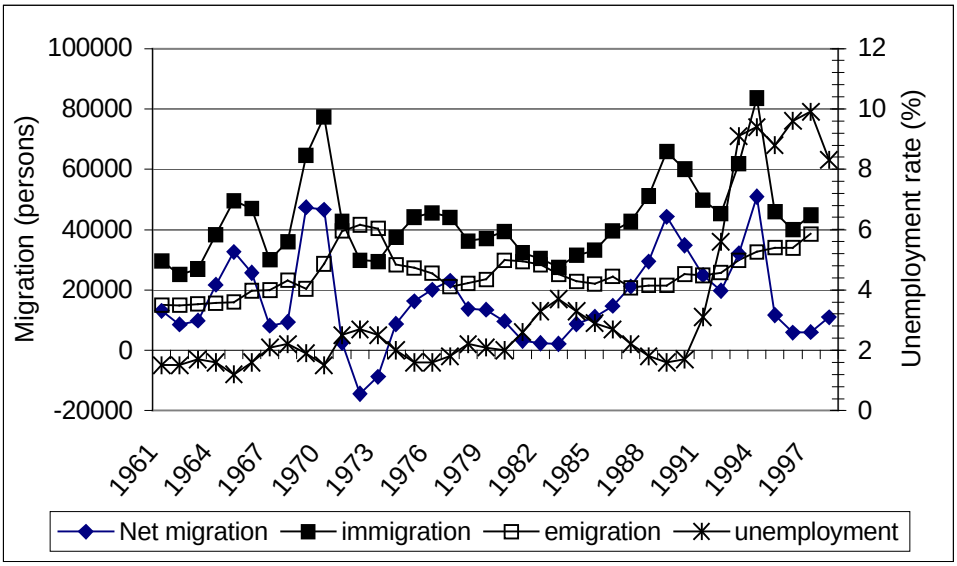
support for immigrant integration. Many measures have been taken to ensure access to education, social services and housing. Extra attention has been given to combating racism.

8.3 SWEDEN

8.3.1 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION TRENDS IN SWEDEN 1960-1998

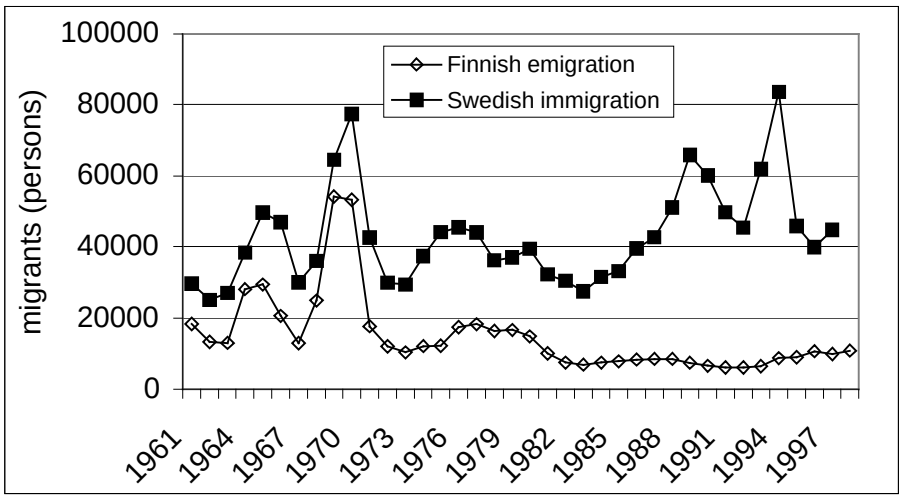
Sweden's emigration showed a peak from 1971 to 1974 of more than 40 thousand emigrants yearly (see Figure 8.5). Return migration (mainly to Finland, former Yugoslavian countries and Greece) accounted for a majority of this increase. Since 1980, emigration has been relatively stable. Immigration has, however shown multiple peaks. Sweden's labour market demands surpassed her national labour supply and the need for labour migration attracted a large number of Nordic migrants (mostly from Finland). During the 1960s labour immigrants from Yugoslavia and Greece added to labour migration. Immigrant flows in the early 1990s experienced a sharp increase in 1994, during a period of high unemployment in Sweden. These increases in immigration were for the most part due to the arrivals of nationals from former Yugoslavia. Net migration remains positive, although there has been a sharp decline since 1994 which follows the trend in immigration.

Figure 8.5 Net migration, immigration, emigration and unemployment, Sweden.



Legislation against free labour immigration from non-Nordic countries was introduced in 1968. Sweden then turned to her neighbour Finland for labour migration. Finnish migrants account for the largest percentage of foreigners in Sweden. The number of immigrants from Finland started to decrease in the 1970s (see figure 1.3) for two reasons: increasing demand for labour in Finland and a diminishing gap in the standard of living between Finland and Sweden (Bevelander & Scott, 1996).

Figure 8.6 Relation Swedish immigration, Finnish emigration.



8.3.2 IMMIGRATION POLICY IN SWEDEN

In 1996, Sweden divided her migration services between two ministries. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responsible for migration policy. Integration policy now falls under the Ministry of the Interior. Sweden ratified the United Nations Convention on Children's Rights and has incorporated it into Swedish legislation. One of the provisions requires that the health, development and interest of the child be considered. This has had consequences for Sweden's policy for granting residence permits on humanitarian grounds. A family, failing to meet the requirements for the status of refugee according to the Geneva Convention will more likely be granted refugee on humanitarian grounds than applicants without children (SOPEMI, 1998).

Immigrants

Foreigners, other than Nordic country nationals must have a residence permit in order to stay in Sweden. Immigration of relatives is restricted to married couples, cohabitants and unmarried children under the age of 18. All persons with the right to permanent residence in Sweden must have equal rights and opportunities, no matter whether they have immigrated to Sweden or were born in Sweden. Sweden signed a co-operation agreement with the Schengen countries in December 1996. Naturalization is relatively easy and is officially encouraged.

Labour migration

Immigration of non-Nordic citizens to specifically enter the labour market in Sweden is restricted. Immigrants applying for permanent status for reasons of employment are restricted to highly skilled individuals recruited in industry, some self-employed workers and liberal professions. Short-term permits are mainly granted to seasonal workers, but also to meet needs in areas where there are temporary shortages of qualified labour.

Refugees and asylum seekers

In 1997 an amendment to the Aliens Act regarding refugees came into force, making the definition of refugee status more flexible than the 1951 Geneva Convention. An individual may still apply for the refugee status if his country is not on the "unsafe" list. Refugees are foreigners who are outside the country of their nationality and are afraid of being persecuted in their country because of their race, nationality, membership of a social or religious group or political opinions. Asylum-seekers are allowed to work without a permit if the waiting period for a decision on their application is likely to be at least four months.

After the large number of incoming refugees during the Bosnian war, Sweden was unable to provide adequate separate facilities for refugees and has since this time allowed asylum seekers to arrange for their own housing and receive government financial support. This reform aimed to make reception of asylum seekers and refugees more flexible and less expensive.

Prevention of trafficking and illegal immigrants

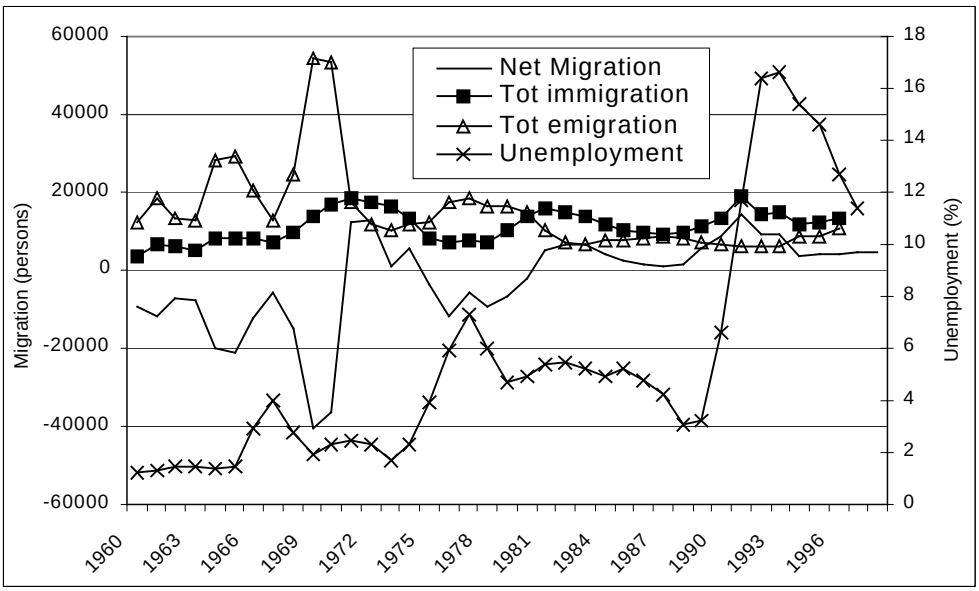
In 1993, Parliament adopted a bill on stricter measures to combat refugee smuggling. Bilateral agreements were made with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to allow young people entrance to Sweden for temporary employment.

8.4 FINLAND

8.4.1 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION TRENDS IN FINLAND 1960-1998

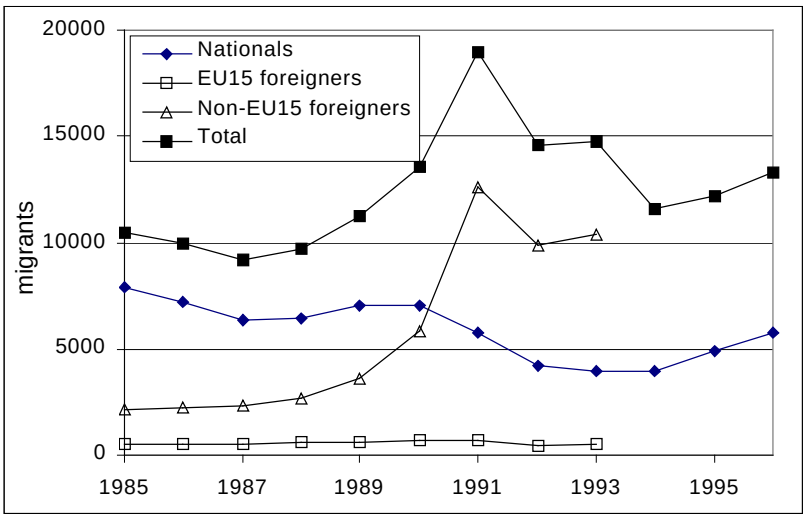
From 1960 till 1980 Finland was an emigration country with the exception of the beginning of the 1970s when positive net migration figures were observed. Especially at the end of the 1960s, net migration peaked at a low level of -40000 persons per year. The last two decades, immigrants outnumbered the emigrants. After a peak in 1991 of more than 14000, net migration seems to have stabilized at a level of around 4000.

Figure 8.7 Net migration, immigration, emigration and unemployment rate, Finland.



Data on immigration and emigration flows are only available for the period 1985-1996. In this period, emigration levels show only some small fluctuations although the last observations might indicate an increasing trend. As Figure 8.7 shows, the above mentioned net migration peak in 1991 is caused mainly by immigration although there was a decrease in emigration in the early 1990s. In 1991, the inflow of migrants from the former Soviet Union mainly consisting of ethnic Finn more than tripled to a level almost 6500 persons. The increase of asylum seekers was another important factor; in 1991 more than 1400 Somali migrated to Finland for asylum reasons compared to only 34 in 1990. These immigration patterns are clearly shown in Figure 8.8 in which the flows are broken down by broad categories of citizenship. Before 1990, the nationals formed the largest immigration group. From then on, the Non EU15 foreigners have become more important and accounted for two-third of the total immigration flow.

Figure 8.8 Immigration by broad group of citizenship, Finland.



8.4.2 IMMIGRATION POLICY IN FINLAND

Refugees and asylum seekers

The Finnish Parliament establishes a quota every year for the number of persons that may attain refugee status. An amendment to the Aliens Act in 1993 provided for the rejection of applications from asylum seekers originating from safe countries. The list of safe countries comprises the EU and EFTA countries, Poland, the Slovak Republic, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia and Hungary. Asylum seekers, especially from Somalia, tend to stay in Finland even if their application has been rejected (OECD, 1998).

Immigration

In 1996 an amendment of the Aliens Act was approved by Parliament granting residence permits for ethnic Finns returning from the former Soviet Union. Residence permits are also granted to the spouses/cohabitants and children. A four-year project (1995-1999) financed by the European Social Fund was run to improve the integration of foreigners in Finland. The Criminal Code was amended in 1995 making it a criminal offence to practise discrimination on the basis of race, nationality, ethnic origin, language, sex, age, family ties, religion or political opinion.

Labour migration

Working permits are not required for Nordic citizens and ethnic Finns. Since March 1994, an amendment to the Aliens Act has involved employers in the procedure for issuing work permits. The local labour market situation must now be taken into account when issuing work permits. Employers must consult with the local employment office before either employing foreign workers or applying for their work permits to be extended. This is necessary because of the high unemployment rate among the already resident foreign population.

Prevention of trafficking and illegal migrants

Finland reached an agreement with Lithuania and Estonia on the deportation of illegal foreigners. If an illegal foreigner coming from or through these countries is found in Finland, he can now be sent back to the originating country. In addition, regional co-operation between Nordic countries and the Baltic States is being reinforced in order to establish effective measures to prevent trafficking in illegal migrants.

Integration policy

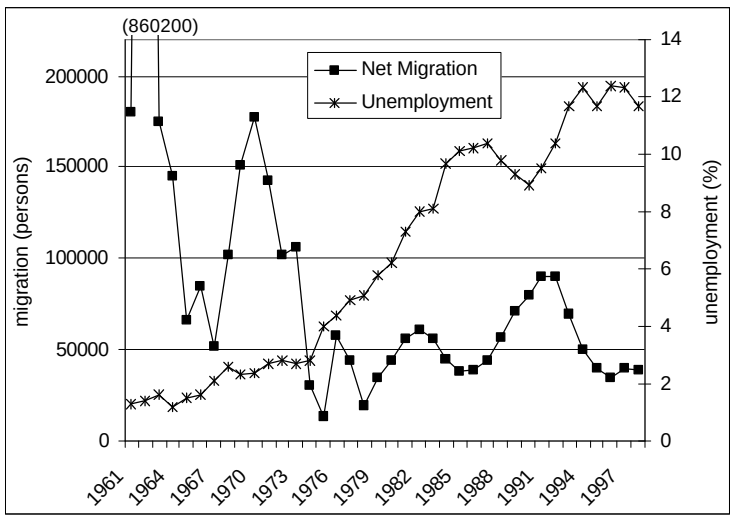
To improve the integration of foreigners already in Finland, the Government launched a four-year (1995-1999) project financed by the European Social Fund. The project promoted access to employment for the socially excluded. A pilot project to improve the employment situation of immigrants by means of a human capital database was launched in the Helsinki region in 1995. The database, containing information on the education background and vocational and language skills of immigrants, was designed to help recruit immigrants with special skills.

8.5 FRANCE

8.5.1 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION TRENDS IN FRANCE 1960-1998

The net migration of France has been positive the entire period 1960-1998. Within this period there is an absolute peak in 1962 (independence of Algeria) and a lowest point (14 thousand) in 1975, as a result of the economic recession that caused a decrease of labour immigration and a considerable return migration of labour immigrants.

Figure 8.9 Unemployment and Net migration, France.

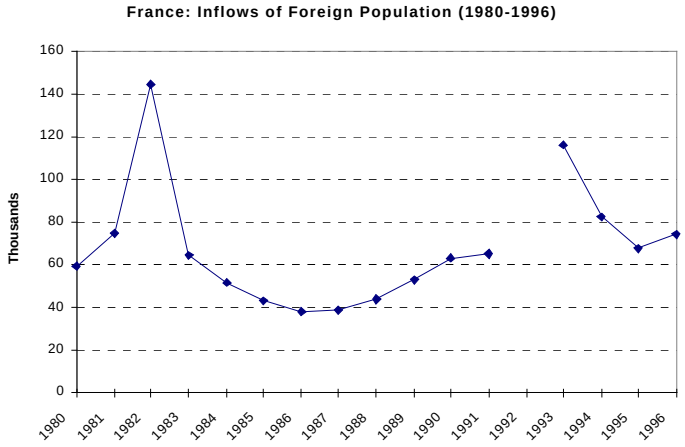


Immigration

In the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s a relatively large number of immigrants entered France. First there was, like in other West European countries, an increasing inflow of foreign workers to solve the shortage of labour. In France however these workers came contrary to other West European countries not only from Southern Europe (in the case of France mostly from Portugal) but also from the Maghreb area. Second an increasing immigration of French citizens from the overseas departments existed. The political turmoil accompanying the Algerian independence caused a very high peak in 1962. The total net migration in 1962 was 863 thousand, in both 1961 and 1963 the total net migration was about 180 thousand (Eurostat, 1997). In addition to increasing labour migration there was in the period 1960-1973 also an increasing inflow of family members of foreign nationals in France (from about 15 thousand in 1960 to about 80 thousand in the early 1970s) (Costa-Lascoux, 1989 in Ogden, 1993). In 1973 immigration decreased because Algeria ended organised labour migration to France after racist attacks on Algerian citizens in France (Muus & Van Dam, 1998). After the economic recession in 1973 the number of labour immigrants decreased fast and stayed rather constant between 20 and 30 thousand. Only in 1981, after Mitterand's election immigration is higher. About 150 thousand 'clandestins' were given a legal status (Ogden, 1993).

Since 1980 the inflow of total foreign population to France has peaked twice, once in the early 1980s at around 144.4 thousand and again in 1993 at approximately 166 thousand persons (see Figure 8.10). Preceding the 1982 peak there was a steady rise from 59.4 thousand persons, while after the 1993 peak there was a steady fall to 68 thousand in 1995. The interim years were characterised by a trough that, at its lowest, reached 38.3 thousand in 1986. In the 1980s and 1990s family reunification and asylum migration take account for the largest part of the inflow. According to Martin (1994) about three out of four immigrants entering France joined families already residing in France. According to Eurostat (1997) the number of asylum seekers increased in the second half of the 1980s from 29 thousand in 1985 to a peak of about 61 thousand in 1989. In the 1990s the number of asylum seekers decreased to a level of about 21 thousand in 1996 (OECD, 1999). The above mentioned asylum figures for France exclude children and some accompanying adults. Measuring emigration from France is very difficult because France does not keep population registers. The only emigration figures that are available are expulsions and assisted departures (OECD, 1999).

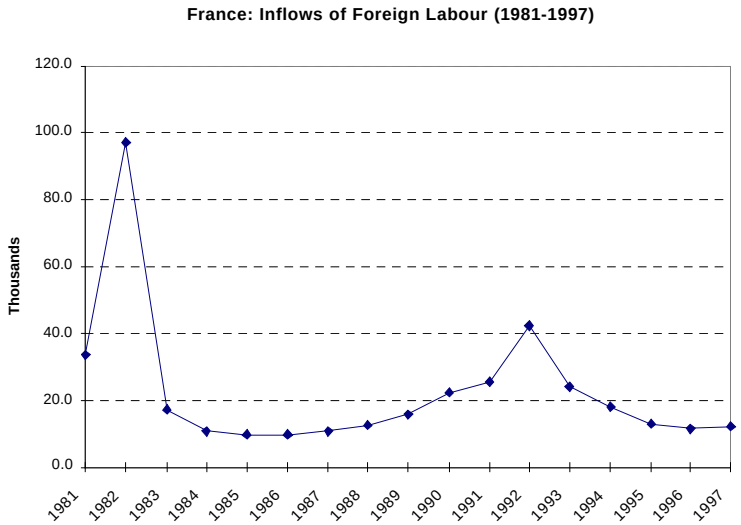
Figure 8.10 Inflow of foreigners, 1980-1996.



Labour Migration

Inflows of foreign labour to France have followed a similar trend to that of total immigration as described above. However, unlike the general inflow data the peak in foreign labour migrants in 1982 (97 thousand) was considerably larger than that of the early 1990s (42.3 thousand in 1992) (see Figure 8.11). Either side of these two peaks the number of foreign immigrant workers was relatively stable - particularly in the 1984-1988 and 1995-1997 periods when numbers remained around 10 thousand. The years in between were part of a rising or falling limb of the two peaks.

Figure 8.11 Labour immigration in France, 1981-1997.



8.5.2 IMMIGRATION POLICY IN FRANCE

The main policy changes are outlined in Table 8.1 below and give an indication of how each change affected the different avenues of entry. The regularisation programme that took place in 1982 was instrumental in producing the massive rise in inflows in that year. The rise that occurred over the 1992-1993 period may be associated with the substantial changes that were due to be made through the Nationality Act of 1993, the implementation of which began in 1993 but continued into 1994 (OECD 1995). The threat of the Act and its passing may have been instrumental in increasing numbers of immigrants acting in anticipation of the rule changes it implied. The Act in Immigration Control (1993) may also have played a role through its tougher rules for residence permits and family reunification. While these changes had some influence upon immigration numbers the exact impact is hard to quantify. Nevertheless, the early 1990s also saw considerable perturbations in 'origin' countries and the peak seen in Figure 8.10 and Figure 8.11 may be indicative of this. It is likely that a combination of origin and destination country factors were responsible for the rises in the early 1990s.

A further regularisation programme began in June 1997 and saw 140,000 persons applying for the amnesty, of whom approximately 80,000 were granted residency, the majority on the basis of family reunification (OECD, 1999). These amnesties are likely to be the most influential factors in dictating the largest rises and falls of the 1980-1997 time period. The exception to this trend was in the early 1990s whereby planned policy change and origin country conflict such as that occurring in the former Yugoslavia took precedence.

Table 8.1 Policies in France, 1982-1995.

Year	Policy Change	Implementations
1982	Regularisation Programme	Approximately 140,000 out of 150,000 unauthorised applicants were granted legal status. (Papademetriou and Hamilton, 1996)
1991	Act of 31 December	The admission, residence and employment of foreigners were reassessed in order to reduce illegality.
1993	Act on Immigration Control	Imposed tougher conditions for acquiring residence permits and family reunification. This decreased illegal residence/employment and eased the deportation process. New police identity checks.
1993	Nationality Act	Amends acquisition principles - including rules of entry through marriage, birth and access from ex-colonies (not implemented in 1993, but over 1994 onward)
1995	Regularisation Programme	Certain foreigners remaining illegally, who are the parents of French children, are entitled to residence permits (mostly those from sub-Saharan Africa and Algeria) (OECD, 1997)

1996	Work Permit amendment	Employees of a foreign company setting up in France are exempt from normal restrictions. Also includes researchers, teachers, assemblers, technicians and performing artists (OECD 1998)
1997	Regularisation Programme	Of approx. 140,000 applications, 80,000 residence permits were issued (most in family system) (OECD 1999).
1998	Law of 11 May (Immigration)	Amends entry conditions, especially family reunion that is extended. Introduces different types of temporary residence permit. Simplifies detention and removals procedures.
1998	Law of 11 May (Asylum)	Extends refusal on 'safe' country grounds. Promotes two new asylum categories; constitutional and territorial.
1998	Nationality Act (March)	Principle of *jus soli* is reinstated. The rules are amended for foreigners who obtain citizenship through marriage, the rules for minors are changed.

8.6 ITALY

8.6.1 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION TRENDS IN ITALY 1960-1998

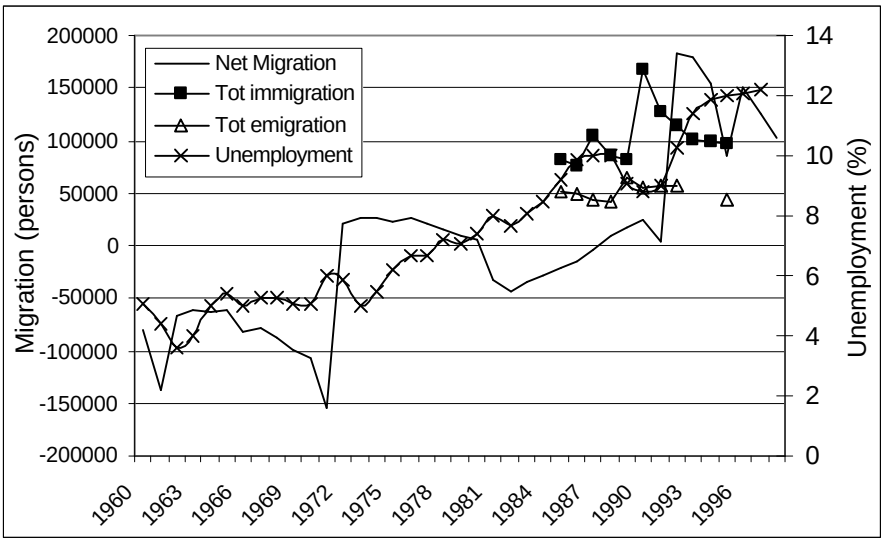
After the Second World War most emigrants from Italy had an overseas destination. After 1958 European destinations became predominated. South European workers solved the labour shortages in Northwest Europe. At least two out of three Italian emigrants went to Northwest Europe (mainly France, Germany and the Benelux) (King & Rybaczuk, 1993). In the peak period, 1960-62, an average of 380 thousand Italians emigrated per year (Source: SOPEMI in: King & Rybaczuk, 1993). The number of emigrants decreased to a level of about 50-60 thousand in de second half of the 1980s and in the 1990s (Eurostat, 1997).

In 1972, Italy was the first South European country to become an immigration country (Martin, 1994). The transformation from an emigration country to an immigration country was the result of two important migration flows (Penninx, 1986 in: Montanari & Cortese, 1993). First a considerable return migration from Northwest Europe came into existence. Also increasing numbers of immigrants from developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America started entering Italy since the early 1970s. In the 1980s asylum and illegal immigration increased. In 1987 asylum migration reached a peak of 11 thousand (dependent children excluded) (Eurostat, 1997). In February 1990 the 'Martelli Law' (see also Martin, 1994) was introduced as an attempt to close borders and to improve the status of foreigners living in Italy. This law backfired, because foreigners rushed into Italy before the law went into effect (Martin, 1994). Immigration into Italy has more than doubled, from 81 thousand in 1989 to 167 thousand in 1990. After 1990 immigration decreased again but remained at a higher level than before 1990 (Eurostat, 1997). In the 1990s immigration from Albania be-

came a very important component of the inflow into Italy. In the 1990s more than 60 thousand (registered) Albanians went to Italy, whereby Albanians became the second largest foreign nationality in Italy (after Moroccans) (OECD, 1998).

Total net migration in Italy has been negative in the period 1960-71 as a result of large labour migration to Northwest Europe. In the period 1972-80 net migration has been positive mainly as a result of return migration. The middle of the 1980s was a period of migration losses again. From 1988 total net migration is positive again and reached a peak of 182 thousand in 1992 (Eurostat, 1997). Figure 8.12 gives an overview of the various migration flows as well as the unemployment rate. This figure also clearly reveals the erroneous data; the years 1985-89 are for emigration exactly the same as for immigration while these should be lower reckoning the Council of Europe data.

Figure 8.12 Net migration, total immigration, total emigration, and unemployment, Italy.



The sex structure of the immigration flows is remarkable, at least for the available years (see Figure 8.13). In 1990-91, more than 60% of all immigrants were male.

Figure 8.13 Immigration by sex, Italy.

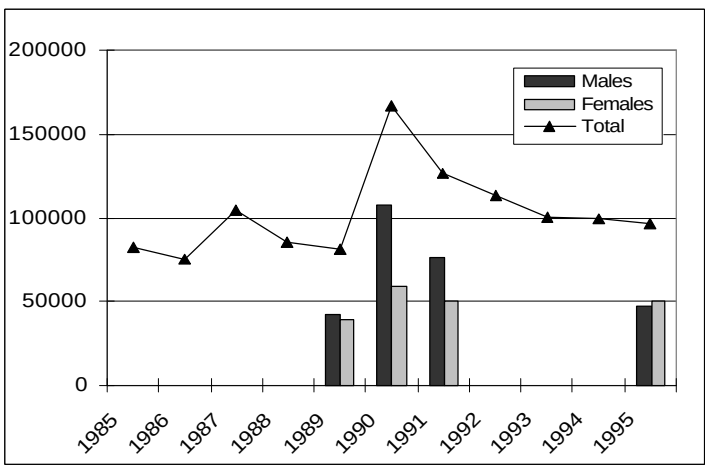


Figure 8.14 Immigration by age, Italy.

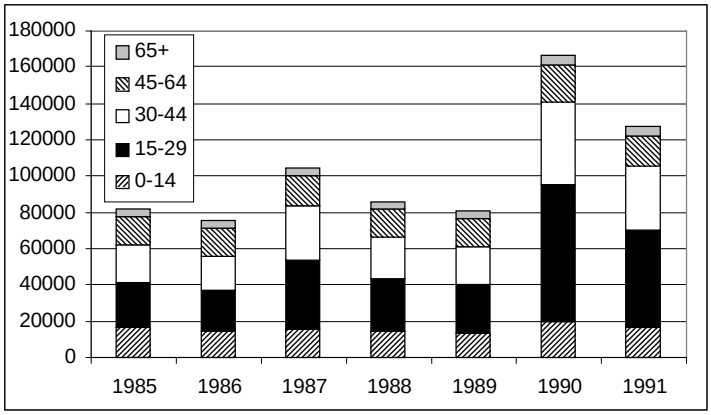
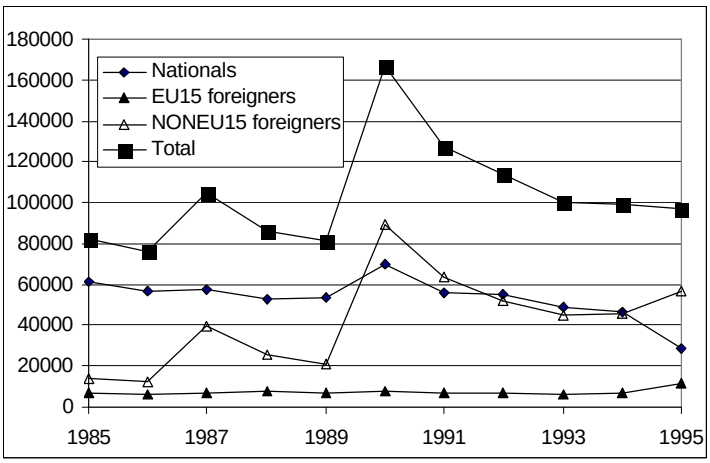


Figure 8.15 Immigration by citizenship, Italy.



8.6.2 IMMIGRATION POLICY IN ITALY

Total immigration to Italy over the period 1985-1995 rose to a peak of 166,754 in 1990 and then declined steadily to reach a plateau of approximately 100,000 at the end of the period. The dominance of inflows is a relatively new phenomenon in a country that has traditionally been one of emigration. The Italian trait of relatively short-lived government terms has propagated an atmosphere of legislative inconsistency and contradiction (Zincone 1999). Furthermore, "the lack of border controls … compared with those of other EU countries and the economic boom Italy enjoyed in the 1980's" (Orsini-Jones and Gattullo 2000:127) led to both a real and perceived ease of entry, which is crucial to the ebb and flow of migrants. The persistence of economic and political turbulence in 'origin' countries has done much to determine the course of policy change over the time period.

Entry Systems

The 4 systems of legal entry into Italy are; work related, asylum, student (and other) and family settlement. The degree to which policy affects each is an interrelated and complex affair, one that has both positive and negative impacts upon inflows of migrants. Similarly, policy change may also affect those moving illegally and also place migrants in irregular positions.

The main changes to immigration policy will be discussed here and the main points are laid down in Table 3.2. Alongside these, an examination of the Italian programme of amnesties or regularizations will be made.

regularizations

Policy making in Italy "swings between persistency and emergency" that is initiated "through the inertia of old attitudes and a flash reaction to impressive events on the other." (Bolaffi, 1996 in Zincone 1999:45). The growing political volatility surrounding the issue of irregular migrants in Italy in the 1980s led to a regularisation programme in 1986. Subsequently, programmes have followed in 1990, 1995 and 1998, the number of those applying are shown in Table 3.1. By making these regularizations regular the government has instilled an atmosphere of liberality toward irregular migrants. Indeed the Martelli Law, that simplified the regularisation procedure, "can in fact be considered as the strongest message that illegal entry to Italy and subsequent legalisation is the easiest way to immigrate to Europe" (Zincone 1999:53).

Just as policy has an effect on immigration flows via the relaxation or tightening of certain criteria, the perception of the ease of entry and access to work is also very important. Hearsay or actual experience of these factors will filter through to communities within origin countries and as such may influence the decision to migrate. The Italian case points to the success of illegal migration and then subsequent regularisation even after the Martelli Law. Table 8.2 shows the large increase in the number applying for the 1998 amnesty. To continue these amnesties as national policy is not instantaneous in impact but is instead cumulative in its ideological potency: illegal is best. It is likely that undocumented migration and employment has become increasingly significant in recent years, denuding the validity of the model.

Table 8.2 Number of persons applying for amnesty, in thousands:

	1986	**1990**	**1996**	**1998**
North	47.2	89.2	115.3	205.1
Centre	37.8	75.9	75.8	127.0
South	19	30.6	48.2	51.3
Islands	14.4	39.1	19.4	17.2
Total	**118.3**	**234.8**	**258.8**	**400.6**

Source: OECD (1999) Trends in International Migration, Annual Report 1999

Main Changes

The most significant policy change over the time period in terms of the impact on the 1985-95 data set has been the Martelli Law of 1990. This law delivered firmer border controls, expanded visa requirements and simplified an ongoing amnesty for irregular immigrants. The inflow numbers rose in anticipation of the Martelli law implementation and was thus considered to have backfired (Martin, 1994). This policy change represented the first real motion by the Italian government to act upon rising immigrant numbers. It was also a

move in the direction of synchronisation with European Union accords significant, as Italy has been seen as the "gaping hole in 'Fortress Europe'" (Hooper 1998).

Table 8.3 Policies in the Italy, 1990-1995.

Year	Policy Change	Implementation
1986	First Regularisation Programme	• Amnesty whereby those in irregular situations are granted legal residence.
1990	Martelli Act (Law 39)	• Expanded visa requirements. • Increased Border Controls and extended the possibility of asylum to those outside of Europe (as had not signed 1967 Protocol).
1990	Second Regularisation Programme (part of Martelli Act)	• Amnesty whereby those in irregular situations are granted a legal residence.
1991	Albanian Repatriation	• Albanian Crisis leads to asylum seekers crossing the Adriatic to Italy: first wave in March - *acceptance*, second wave in August - *repatriation*. • Rome-Tirana negotiations leads to Albania effectively becoming a 'safe' country of origin in that year.
1992	Italian Nationality Act	• Facilitated emigration for Italian's by allowing dual Nationality i.e. emigrants would not lose their Italian nationality.
1992	Boniver Decree And Act no. 390 24/4	• Rules for expulsion of Immigrants and asylum seekers lacking proper documentation, allowing immediate expulsion (without court hearing) by the police. • New status for asylum seekers, specifically for those from the FYR.
1993	Work Permit amendment	• Seasonal work and its link to workers remaining illegally led to the issuing of Six-month work permits. Two consecutive renewals entitles the worker to a one-year permit.
1995	Third Regularisation Programme	• Amnesty whereby those in irregular situations are granted legal residence
1998	Napolitano-Turco Law - (Law 40)	• Annual Quotas for entrant numbers. Firmer action against illegal entry. • Emphasis on integration of foreigners residing in Italy. Firmer Border controls (in accordance with Schengen Agreements).

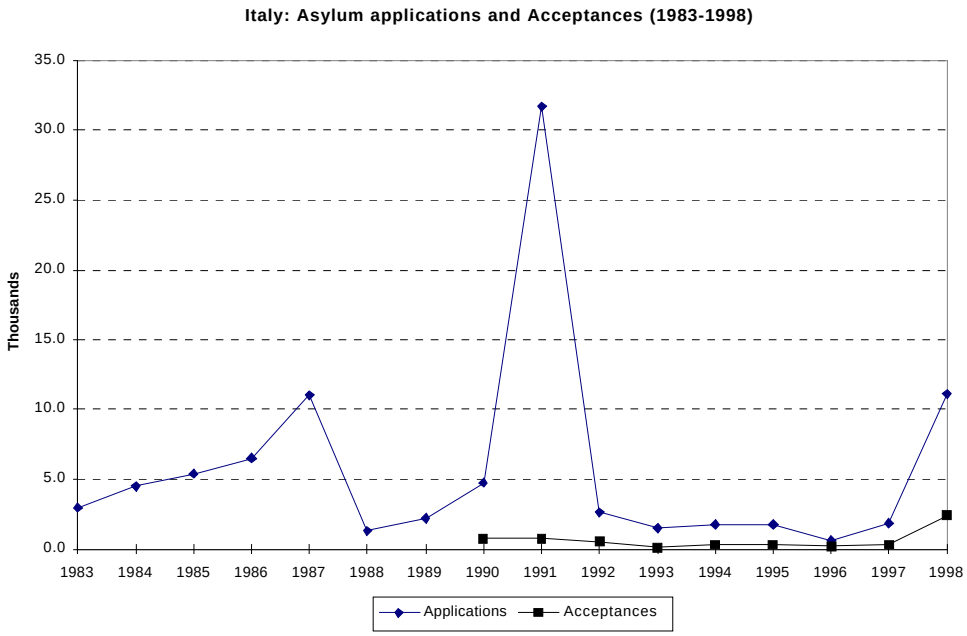
The Albanian refugee crisis of 1991 highlighted weaknesses in the Italian management of border and crisis 'controls'. The 40,000 Albanians who crossed the Adriatic to Southern Italy led to an emergency policy change. The majority of the first waves of Albanians were accepted, while the second wave of refugees was mostly repatriated. At the time there was concern that the second movement was largely a profiteering scam run by criminals (Perlmutter, 1998). Whether trafficking of this type is based upon economic (see Salt and Stein, 1997; Salt and Hogarth, 2000), criminal (see Ruggiero, 1997) or humanitarian rationale (see Morrison 2000) is subject to theoretical debate (Salt, 2000). Nevertheless, Rome-Tirana negotiations soon led to a guarantee that there would be no more mass exoduses, smoothed over by US $150 million in bilateral Aid. The Albanian crisis forced the govern-

ment to review its 'front line' abilities and did much to encourage firmer policy controls and border controls (including the use of Navy and Army personnel for patrols). In other words the Albanian crisis was a prompt – a wake up call for firmer immigration control in Italy.

Asylum

Asylum seeking is less of an issue in Italy in comparison to the United Kingdom or Germany, due to comparatively limited welfare benefits and a high rejection ratio of those who apply. Figure 8.16 demonstrates the large rise in applications that occurred in 1991 due to the Albania crisis but it also shows that the acceptance rate changed little compared to 1990 or 1993. The 1998 rise in applications was largely due to the arrival of more Kosovars, Iraqi's and Turkish Kurds arriving in Italy, mainly in response to more stringent controls throughout the rest of the EU (Chalof et al., 1999). Large rises in 1999 have been reported and the annual figure is likely to be in excess of 35,000, although accurate data are not yet available. This estimate is much larger than the figure for the previous year and reflects the large number of people displaced from the conflict in Kosovo.

Figure 8.16 Asylum applications and acceptances in Italy, 1983-1998.



The awakening that followed the Albanian crisis was followed up with the Boniver Decree 1992 that aimed at making Italy appear less attractive as a destination for improperly documented migrants. The decree empowered police authorities to expel these illegal migrants without court hearing. Further moves to stabilise illegal migration, particularly those coming for seasonal work, led to changes in work permit issuing. Thus, work permit amendments in 1993 were introduced to manage the problem of overstayers. Those who renewed two consecutive six-month permits were entitled to a one-year permit, encouraging persons not to fall into an irregular situation. Two years later in 1995, in response to rising fear of the role of organised crime in the movement of migrants, penalties for traffickers

were increased. However, for many traffickers it is likely that the gains made from this illegal business far outweigh the penalties involved. Furthermore, the increasingly sophisticated nature of this business and its vast international network of 'agents' is liable to make the likelihood of being caught and, more importantly, prosecuted an even slimmer possibility.

Act number 40 in 1998 placed annual quotas on annual entries into Italy and firmer border controls were a move in the direction of Schengen accordance. Also a firmer stance was adopted on fighting illegal entry and on integrating those foreigners residing in Italy. Of these pillars, only the one aimed at combating illegal movement was realised effectively. Thus, in the nineties the Italian government has emphasised tighter entrance procedures and focused upon internal policy, although the delay between the Act that lays down such changes and its implementation does seem large.

8.6.3 THE ECONOMY

Italy has experienced an improvement in its economic performance since the 1980s. Nevertheless, the recession of 1992-3 was a considerable set back and was unique in that employment losses were experienced in all major sectors of the economy (OECD, 1995). Indeed, there were approximately 1 million jobs lost between mid-1992 and mid-1994 although recorded unemployment appeared not to demonstrate this. The OECD (1995) highlights several reasons for this discrepancy. Firstly, labour force withdrawals took place in the face of a recession i.e. they were 'discouraged workers'. Secondly, those who lost their jobs were recipients of a wage supplementation fund, initially for 50,000 persons but extended subsequently. These people were counted as employed persons in the Labour Force Survey. Thirdly, early retirement schemes dictated that large numbers of workers were not unemployed but had taken part in this scheme and left the labour market. Subsequent to the recession, the economy picked up and the upswing continued, although unemployment rose through 1996, 1997 and 1998 to record highs (OECD 1999). Indeed, Italy has one of the highest unemployment rates in Europe and yet still attracts vast numbers of immigrants every year.

Thus, the considerable growth of the economy in the 1980s attracted a steadily increasing number of migrants while the recession in 1992-3, whose aftermath continued into 1995, had a great effect on the later half of the data set. In particular the 1992-3 recession seemed to propagate a trend of rising unemployment one that continued to rise into the late 1990's. The impact of this trend upon labour inflows is likely to be large. Considering the vast regional disparities that are apparent in Italy, an examination of unemployment rate and immigrant 'inflow' regionally may prove to be a closer match for the forecasting model. Nevertheless the national inflow reaches 100,000 from 1993 onward, suggesting that both policy and the economy have decreased the number of those immigrating to Italy.

In so far as we can describe economies as 'formal' and 'informal', Baldwin-Edwards (1999) characterises the Southern European system as having an informal sector that can absorb large numbers of individuals. This has become particularly significant in the period of North European restrictionism, forcing Italy in particular to become a 'buffer zone' (Chell 2000) from 'push' events such as the Albanian crisis and demographic expansion in

the Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa. The latter, in particular, is intertwined with colonial contact (Somalia, Eritrea) as well as geographical proximity (Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria). Baldwin-Edwards (1999:3) emphasises the role of the informal labour market as a gravitational factor in migration; "the most important factor without doubt is the large underground economies capable of supporting - even requiring - the employment of immigrant labour". Indigenous 'unemployment', exacerbated by the 'discouraged worker effect' of recession, relays a labour demand that can filled by immigrant labour - legally or illegally.

The Southern European system has switched from one of mostly emigration to immigration, King et al. (1997) point out that this process began through various preconditions that have evolved in the post-W.W.II era. For example, in Italy the sudden decline of rural depopulation in the 1970's left a gap in indigenous labour supply, propagating a requirement for immigrant labour. This phenomenon is not limited to Italy and it is important to bear in mind that a substantial number of immigrants are moving within the Southern European 'system'. This internal dynamism is linked closely to the condition of the labour markets in all of these nations (King et al., 1997). So the economic climate of the region, as well as Italy individually, is important.

There are limitations to the explanatory power of this 'economic determinism' (Chell, 2000) which implicates movement as "generated by the engines of industry and regulated by the valves of state policies" (Papastergiadis, 2000:17). Nevertheless, specific labour niches do exist within Italy as well as other destination countries, indicating that economic motivation for migration acts alongside many other factors. Chell (2000:109) suggests that for women "'facilitating conditions' in Italy... and a 'culture of migration' within certain groups" may explain why immigration continues even when there is no labour demand; such factors might include religious or personal linkages. The movement of women in some situations is fuelled by occupational demand based on demographic progression, whereby an ageing population profile has revealed a requirement for migrant labour in the care sector (ibid.). There is some evidence that migrant labour flows in general are becoming increasingly feminized (debated in Zlotnik 1995; Phizacklea, 1998), occurring well beyond what 'gender blind' migration theories would term as 'dependant' migration or family reunification (Anthias, 2000).

Overall

An examination of policy change points toward the Martelli Act 1990 as the most significant 'storm' event in disturbing the flow of migrants into Italy. Similarly, the review of economic literature reveals the boom of the 1980's followed by the bust of 1992 to be the 'events' that held most weight upon the flux of inflow figures. The subsequent rise in unemployment throughout the remainder of the 1990's is highly likely to be the instrumental factor in the simultaneous depression of inflow numbers. Any significant disparity between economic variables and inflows may relate to the shift from 'pull'-orientated to sporadic 'push'-orientated flows - especially from Yugoslavia and Albania (Bonifazi and Gesano (1999). This has occurred in response to an unfortunate trend of a growing number of in-

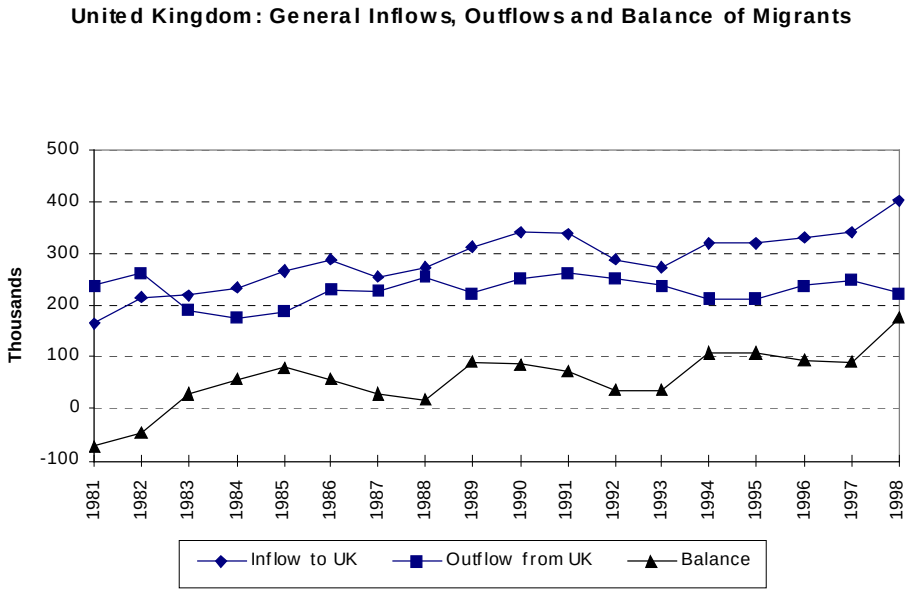
trastate conflicts, the severity and duration of which, relates to who, how many and when people leave (Perlmutter, 1998). The size and vector of such flows fluctuate in response to major policy changes in Italy and in other EU destinations.

8.7 THE UNITED KINGDOM

8.7.1 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION TRENDS IN UNITED KINGDOM 1980-1998

Since 1983 the net adjusted flow of migrants for the United Kingdom has been positive (Figure 8.17) and the UK has changed from a nation of emigration to one of immigration. There have been three major fluctuations on an overall rising trend with the most recent indicating a further substantial rise. The steepest annual rises occurred in 1988-9, 1993-4 and 1997-8, the last being the largest at +85,800. These 'jumps' are soon followed by a decline until the next increase occurs, a form of dynamic equilibrium. Both inflows and outflows have contributed to these net changes. However, while outflows have remained relatively steady over the time series, inflows have tended to increase steadily on a smooth gradient from 164,500 in 1981 to 401,500 in 1998.

Figure 8.17 Net migration, immigration, emigration in the UK, 1985-1998.



Labour Migration

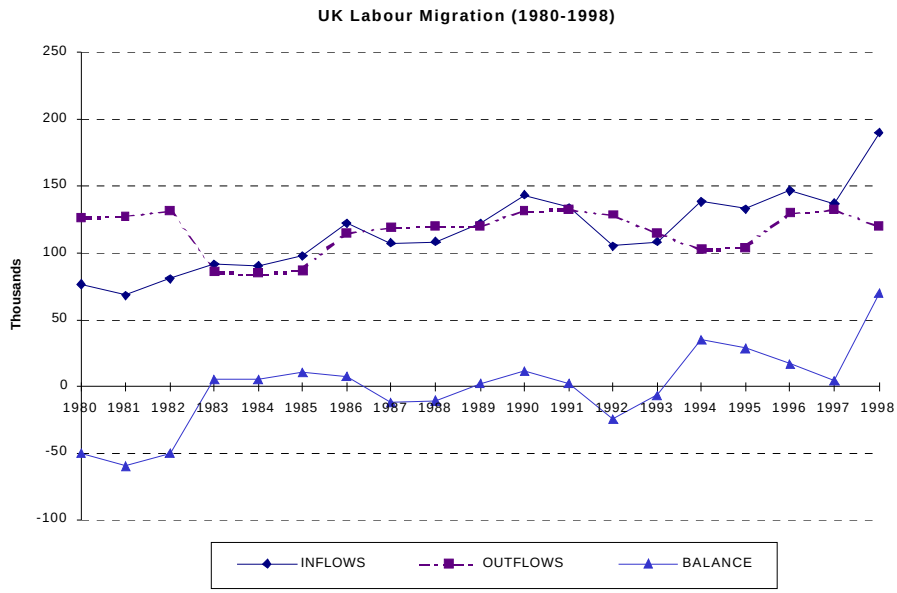
Labour migration cannot be adjusted for category switchers[3], unlike the total flows discussed above. In this first section total flows (British and non-British) are discussed. The

[3] Data from the International Passenger Survey are now adjusted to take account of 'category switchers'. IPS data are based on intentions and so it is likely that they exclude persons seeking asylum after entering the country and other persons admitted as short term visitors who are subsequently granted an extension of stay

period from 1980 to 1983 saw the United Kingdom experience a net loss of workers reaching 59,200 in 1981 (see Figure 8.18). The largest outflow for any year was in 1982; however, this was offset by a growing trend in inflows of workers. From 1983 until 1991 the net flow fluctuated close to the break-even point, variations ranging from +12,000 to -11,600 during this time. Subsequently, the 1991 to 1993 period saw a net outflow of workers, a trough of -24,100 occurring in 1992. After that the situation changed again and from 1993-97 there was a growing trend in inflows of workers the net effect of which was mollified by a rise in outflows from 1995 to 1997. Most recently, 1998 saw a net flow of +70,600 workers. This is the highest net figure of the entire time series and reflects the correspondence of a large inflow of workers with a synchronous but less dramatic, decline in outflows.

Thus, the general trend over the 1980-98 period was one of an increasing inflow of labour migrants. In fact, over the period as a whole inflows have exceeded outflows in 12 out of the 19 years. The large increases in inflows in more recent years may well be a reflection of shorter term labour 'movements' as opposed to longer more permanent labour migrations, particularly of the highly skilled.

Figure 8.18 Labour migration in the UK, 1980-1998.



British and Non-British Workers

The breakdown of labour migration into British and non-British nationals reveals large changes in the nature of labour migration in the later part of the period 1980-98 (see Figure 8.19). Net flow of non-British workers is positive throughout and is characterised by a rising trend with increasingly large fluctuations, particularly during the 1996-98 period. The

for a year or longer, for example as students or after marriage. In 1998 the overall adjusted net gain from migration to the UK was 179,000 compared with unadjusted gain of 133,000.

rise of the non-British net flow to 71,400 in 1998 reflects a stable outflow but a large increase in the inflow of foreign workers.

Labour migration by the British was characterised by a net outflow throughout the time series, with the exception of 1994 when a positive net flow of 4,500 occurred. The early 1980s saw a large outflow of British workers (Figure 8.19), decreasing rapidly in 1983. The outflow stabilised in 1986 and remained so, with the exception of small oscillations, for the remainder of the period. Meanwhile, inflows of British workers (mainly returning from employment overseas) have risen slowly and, with the exception of the 1994 peak, have experienced relatively minor oscillations. Thus, while British and non British inflows were relatively similar until 1994, afterwards these flows deviate, characterised by rising numbers of non-British nationals.

Figure 8.19 Net flow of Brits/Non-Brits workers, 1980-1998.

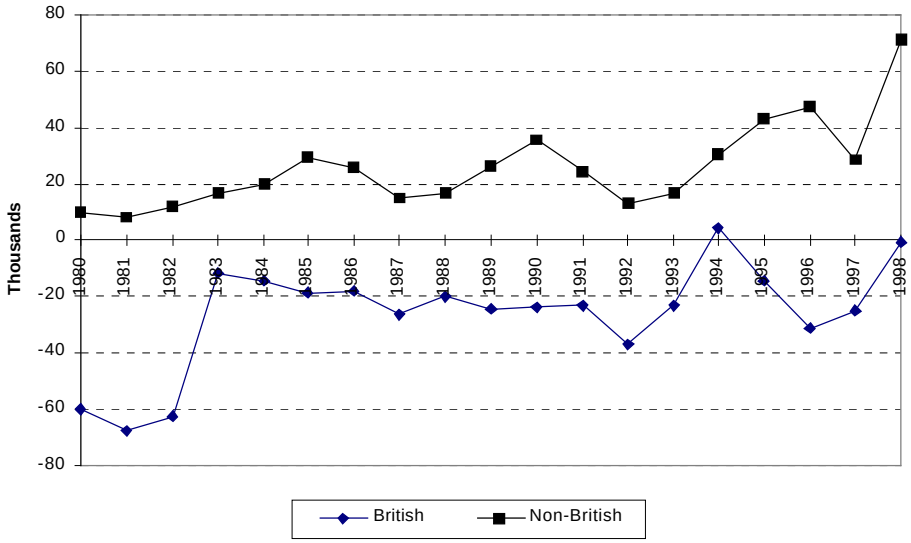


Figure 8.20 Outflow of Brits/Non-Brits workers, 1980-1998.

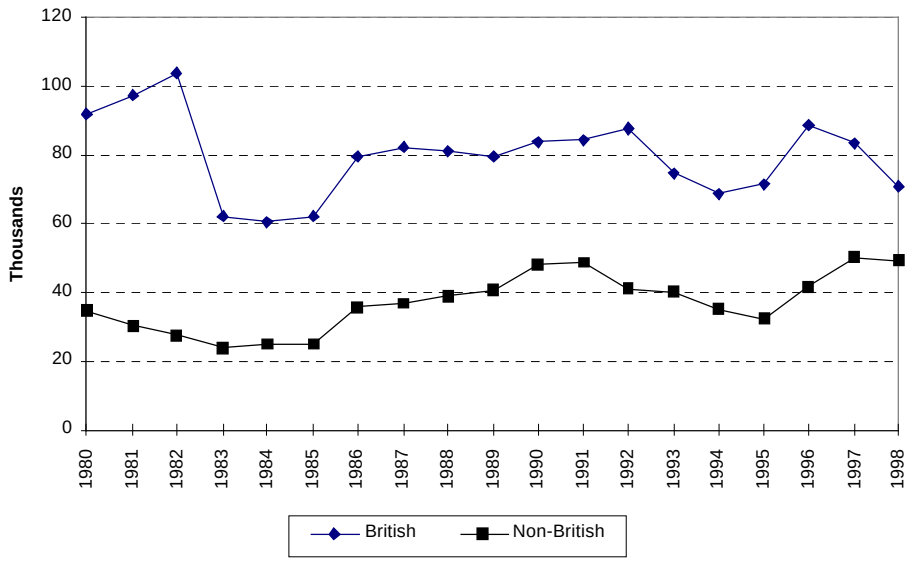
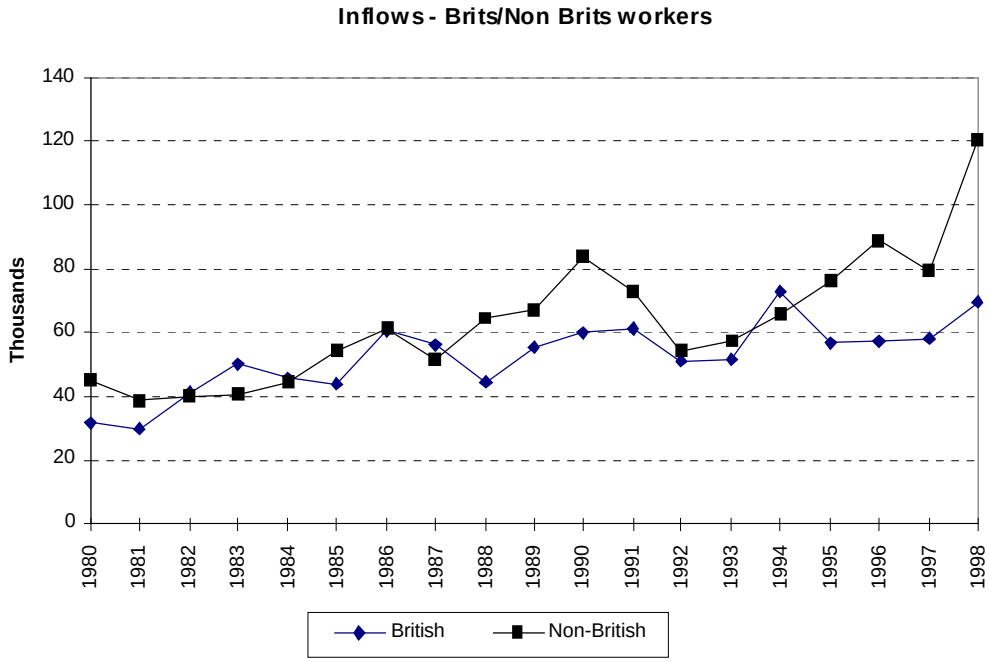


Figure 8.21 Inflow of Brits/Non-Brits workers, 1980-1998.



8.7.2 IMMIGRATION POLICY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

In part II of this forecasting study total immigration to the United Kingdom over the period 1985 to 1996 (Short Term) and 1964-1992 (Longer Term) was found to exhibit a relationship with economic indicators - particularly unemployment. This relationship, however, was found to be "modest at best" (van der Gaag and van Wissen 1999:34) in terms of predictive power. The complexity of the immigration process and the interplay of its various 'systems' is the likely explanation for this.

Entry Systems

There are four principal legal avenues of entry to the United Kingdom: Work related, student and 'others', asylum and family settlement. Each of these is controlled by a complex mesh of economic, political and socio-cultural factors in both the United Kingdom and the origin countries. What is certain is that these systems are influenced by immigration policy and any changes made to it. Furthermore, as these systems are interrelated the impact upon the overall inflow through legislative change will vary. It is possible that each successive legislative change may have both intended and unintended effects thus compromising the power of the unemployment variable. This means that policy measures designed to impact upon one entry avenue may well have consequences for the others. On a European scale the lack of multilateral policy may mean that changes by individual nations to their immigration legislation may deflect flows to neighbouring states.

Policy Changes

The most significant legislative changes from 1987-98 are tabulated in Table 1.1 below. These include; immigration and asylum acts, immigration rule changes, visa regime implementation and carriers liability. Clearly complexity delimits the degree to which we can quantify the role of policy but investigation may reveal some discrepancies not explained by labour market variables alone.

Table 8.4 Policies in the UK, 1987-1995.

Year	Policy Change	Implementations
1987	Immigration (Carriers) Act	• Penalties for carriers that are found transporting improperly documented aliens into the United Kingdom.
1988	Immigration Act	• Reinforces 1971 Act, restricts family reunification and appeal rights. • 'Overstaying' is brought forward as a major issue of concern.
1989	Immigration Rules amendment	• Restricts those abusing Student 'system'. • Visas are required for nationals of Turkey and Haiti..
1990	British Nationality Act (Hong Kong)	• 50,000 Hong Kong residents allowed UK Citizenship as well as widows of British Citizens in Hong Kong. • Transit visas for Somalis are required.
1991	Visa Regime amendment	• Identity checks stepped up. Ugandans require a Visa • Carrier liability fines are doubled to £2000 in July of this year,
1992	Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act	• Restricts asylum appeal, speeds up the asylum process 'system' • Transit Visas are amended for numerous nations (see UK Sopemi 1993:9). • Yugoslav refugees returned to safe 'third country'.
1994	Immigration Rules amendment	• Wealthy foreign nationals can reside in the UK if prepared to invest £750,000. • Visas required for Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast nationals.
1995	Immigration Rules amendment	• Related to failure to provide evidence to support asylum claim within a certain time period. • Transit visas for Nationals of China, Ghana and Nigeria.
1996	Asylum and Immigration Act	• Designates 'safe origin' nations for asylum claims, implements 'fast-track' asylum decisions and appeals, withdraws benefits for those not 'claiming' at ports. • Visas required for 14 nations designated by the EU and also Tanzanian and Kenyan nationals.
1997	Immigration Rules amendment	• End of the Primary purpose rule -relating to marriages of convenience - and implemented new rules to replace the old • Implementation of asylum procedure that speeded up the decisions for those that were abusing the 'system'.
1998	Asylum and Immigration Act	• Increases the speed with which asylum applications and their backlog are dealt with. Substitutes vouchers for monetary benefits. • Visas required for Turkish Cypriots, and Carriers liability is extended to Brussels-London Eurostar route (not Paris).

The next section reviews the main factors affecting each of the entry systems highlighting any relevant policy measures. Unlike France and Germany however, the United King-

dom has not made any major alterations to immigration policy during the 1990s. The most significant changes have been made to the asylum system. Nevertheless there are examples of policy effects in the other avenues of entry.

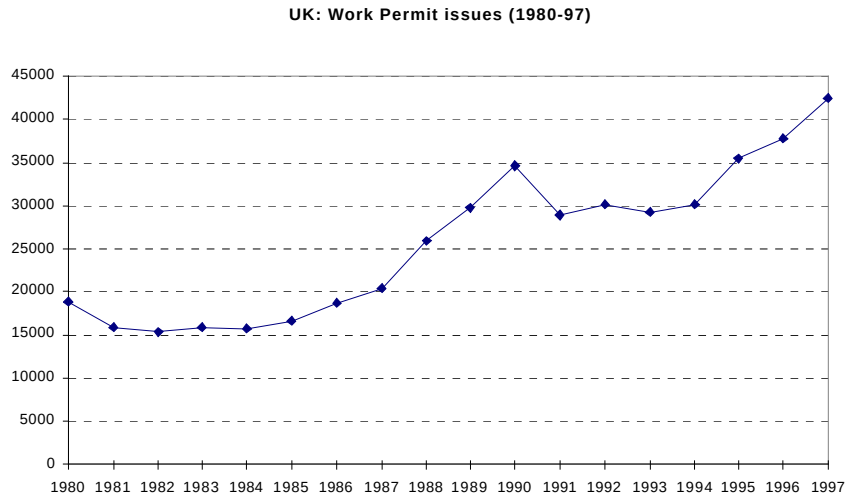
Work, Family and Student systems

The overall aim of the legislative changes has been to 'manage' immigration numbers. For the most part these have been to narrow asylum entry routes, provide for labour requirements (Coyle, 2000) through adjustments to the work permit system and to allow a degree of family reunification that is tied to historical immigration flows of a more liberal era (Papademetriou and Hamilton 1996). The impact of these major changes has been to alter the flow patterns from certain origins.

The division of immigration flows to the UK by income level in the country of origin shows that in 1985 63.1 per cent of immigration came from high-income countries, rising to 77.2 per cent in 1996 (Salt et al. 2000). The significance of this change lies in the labour market and broader economic importance of those from high-income nations (who are generally highly skilled) and the limited governmental interest in those from low-income countries unless they too, are highly skilled.

The work permit system in the UK continues to favour the highly skilled (van Amersfoort, 1998) and a series of procedural changes in the 1990s has gradually relaxed controls (see Figure 8.22). In 1991 a two tier system was introduced where the "overall thrust of the changes was... to simplify entry for highly skilled and senior people" (Salt and Singleton, 1995:19) while keeping a second tier for 'others' that required more extensive documentation. Thus, the work permit system is geared to ease corporate relocation, something that will impact little upon inflows to the UK but will do much to ensure a higher skill level of those entering. Similarly the streamlining of the work permit system allows the government to recruit specific groups when indigenous workers do not fulfil labour requirements. More fundamental changes in 2000 are set to make the work permit system much more flexible.

Figure 8.22 Work permits in the UK, 1980-1997.

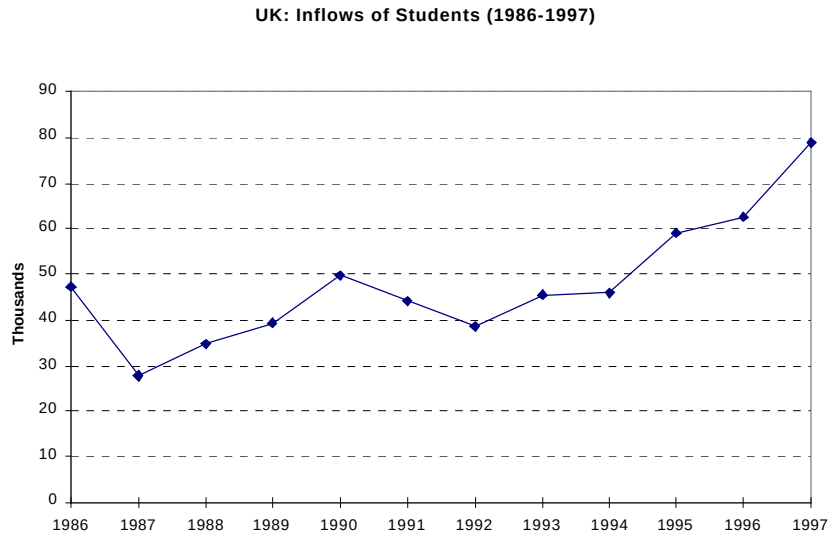


The movement of the highly skilled is related more to the globalisation process and 'internal labour markets' than the employment environment in the United Kingdom. Thus, as van Amersfoort (1998) points out, the global status of English as a business language and the position of London in the financial world holds more influence in gravitating the highly skilled than the employment opportunities present there. Indeed the relationship between the movement of the highly skilled and 'the global city' has been found to be mutually creative (Beaverstock, 1992; Findlay et al., 1996; Gordon, 1995; Koser and Salt, 1997; Sassen 1994). Particularly in the case of London, which takes about 60 per cent of the foreign workers in the UK, this symbiotic relationship may work independently of economic predictors and thus clouds the clarity of the model.

Similarly, the validity of labour market variables will be enfeebled by the informal labour market. Unlike the 'hidden labour force' - a pool of labour out of work through 'choice' during economic deterioration (Fuchs and Schmidt 2000) - the informal labour market "continues to absorb and attract immigrant labour even when the official labour market shows high unemployment figures" (van Amersfoort 1998:133). Thus, in periods of economic decline immigration continues. This paradox is similar to the phenomenon of the movement of the highly skilled that exhibits a similar discordance with traditional economic rationale.

The family settlement and student systems have been affected by legislative changes although for most of the period not to any great extent. Examples include the abolition of the 'primary purpose' rule in 1997, making it easier to bring in marriage partners. Increased stringency upon student entry in 1989 has been more than compensated for by subsequent governmental encouragement for Universities to increase their number of foreign students (see Figure 8.23). By and large though, these measures have been introduced in response to perceived abuses of each system and their overall impact on flows has probably been small.

Figure 8.23 Inflow of students in the UK, 1986-1997.

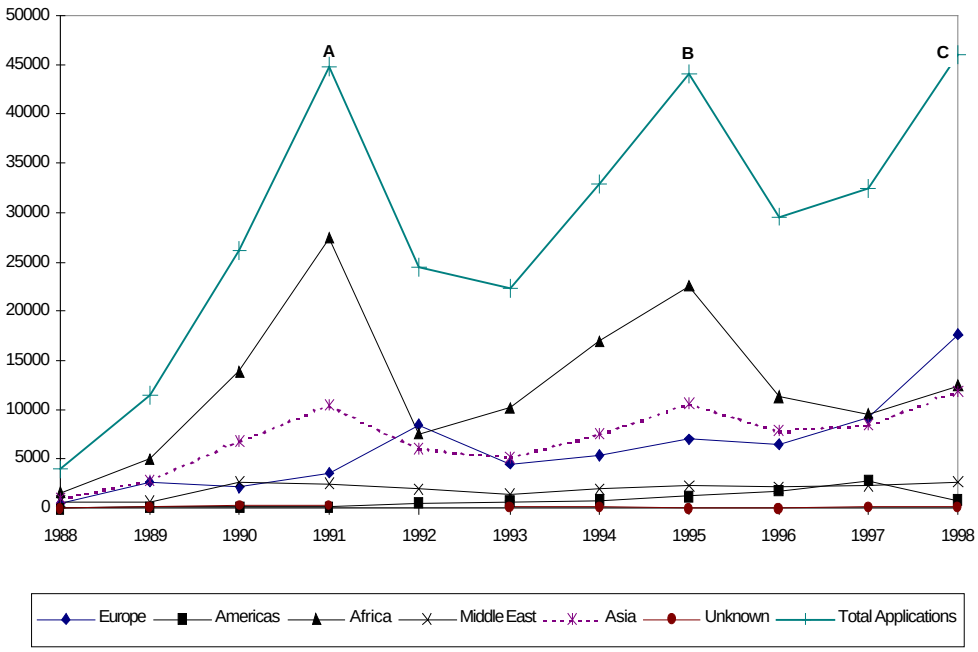


Asylum system

The most significant policy changes since the 1990s have been aimed at the asylum system, targeted with major policy changes in 1992, 1996, and 1998. The growing numbers of asylum seekers since the middle 1980s has led to this trend of restrictionism. The role that these policy changes have played is often significant in reducing asylum seekers from particular origins. Nevertheless, this reduction is often only apparent temporarily until a return to higher numbers resumes.

Policy change in 1991 introduced a more thorough identity check on all applicants arriving in the UK. This policy shift was largely aimed at reducing applications from sub-Saharan Africa, which fell from 27,500 in 1991 to 7,630 in 1992. This change had a major impact on the application numbers (Figure 8.24). It could be argued that the decline observed from 1991-1992 was due to declining politico-military tension in specific countries. However, out of the 15 main African applicant countries, 11 of them exhibited a decline over this period. More significantly however, the impact of the policy was short-lived as numbers soon began to rise until in 1995 (point b) the total rose to 43,965 soon followed by a marked decline. The increase may well have been in anticipation of the changes to be introduced by the forthcoming Act of 1996 - in much the same way as the Martelli Act (1991) in Italy saw a large increase in inflows before implementation, then equally large declines in the aftermath. After 1996 numbers rose again and following a brief lull reached 46,015 in 1998. The cycle appears to be: large increases in asylum seekers, ad hoc policy change, a temporary decline in asylum seekers and then a return to large rises in numbers.

Figure 8.24 Asylum application by origin the UK, 1988-1998 (excluding dependants).



Those asylum seekers who arrive in the UK and are refused refuge both through initial court hearing and then the appeal process, are likely never to leave. Clearly this is not the case for all asylum seekers, however, and while data in this area are limited those that are available reveal that deportations do not match the number that are refused asylum or ELR status. Table 8.5 below details this discrepancy and shows initial decisions, appeals and deportations by year. Unfortunately the time delay of the process between initial refusal and appeal means that there is overlap between the years for an unknown number of persons. Furthermore, there are complications in the appeals data because those 'dismissed' can apply for further hearings with higher appeal authorities. Despite this, the figures do indicate that a large number of those who enter the UK as asylum seekers stay, regardless of the decision on their case.

Table 8.5 Asylum: Initial decisions, appeals and departures, 1994-1998.

	Initial Decision		Asylum Appeals		Departures
	Refused	Withdrawn	dismissed	Withdrawn	In country
1994	16500	2390	1935	260	262
1995	21300	2565	5565	1035	515
1996	31670	2925	10785	2360	953
1997	28945	2065	18,145	1,725	1362
1998	22315	1470	21195	1770	1506

* Further appeals can be lodged if given 'leave to appeal' to the Tribunal or Judicial Review

** -Removals and voluntary departures, excluding dependants

Includes those who depart following initial decisions and also appeal decisions

Although there are no data to support such a claim, it is assumed that those persons who are denied asylum status then gain access to the 'informal' labour market. This process may well involve existing migrant networks or, the role of an illegal 'agency' that helps in the insertion process (Salt and Stein, 1997).

Perturbations in the origin countries

We can simplify asylum seeking flows into those of 'base-flow' and 'peak-flow', whereby the former is interrupted by the latter through 'push' events in origin countries or perhaps policy change anticipation. The peak-flow shows up as a steep rise in the asylum data, while the base-flow is a steady number that deviates little. Restrictive policies in the UK have attempted to manage asylum seeking numbers that have deviated erratically from the base-flow of the 1980s, and from a 'tolerated' number in the 1990s.

We can apply a similar peak-trough analogy to immigration flows more generally in that the ebb and flow of migrants is controlled by a great many factors that produce resultant falls and rises in the migration statistics. Conditions in an origin country must be considered in an analysis of why people immigrate and yet this has not been extensively researched. This is despite the fact that fluctuation from a 'base-flow' will relate to conditions in both the destination and the origin country. If we view this process through a general push-pull lens it can become clearer. The 'events' in source regions and nations are likely to have a

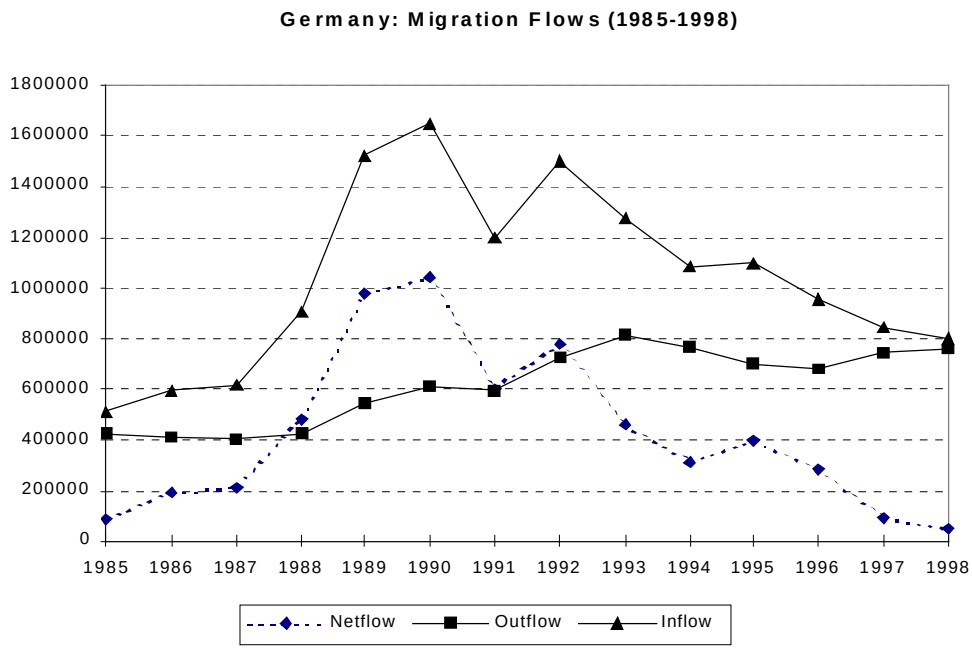
bearing on the numbers moving to the UK - especially in relation to lower-income countries. For example, such events as German unification (over 1989-90) or anticipatory emigration in those countries on the brink of conflict, will denude the significance of labour market variables in the UK. In a similar way economic downturn in a sending nation might encourage emigration, regardless of how the UK economy was performing.

8.8 GERMANY

8.8.1 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION TRENDS IN GERMANY 1981-1998

Germany's migration flows are large in comparison with those of other EU countries. The net flow of migrants has been positive over the 1985-1998 period (Figure 8.25). The years 1985-87 and 1994-8 represent a 'base-flow' of net migration, where inflows and outflows are almost matched in number and there is little annual change in the net flow. In the intermediate years inflows have fluctuated, while outflows have risen steadily. Thus, there has been a large peak and subsequent fall in the net flow reaching +1,040,998 in 1990. A second rise in the net flow in 1992 of +782,071 was followed by a decline over the next two years, the start of a falling trend that eventually reaches base-flow in the late 1990s.

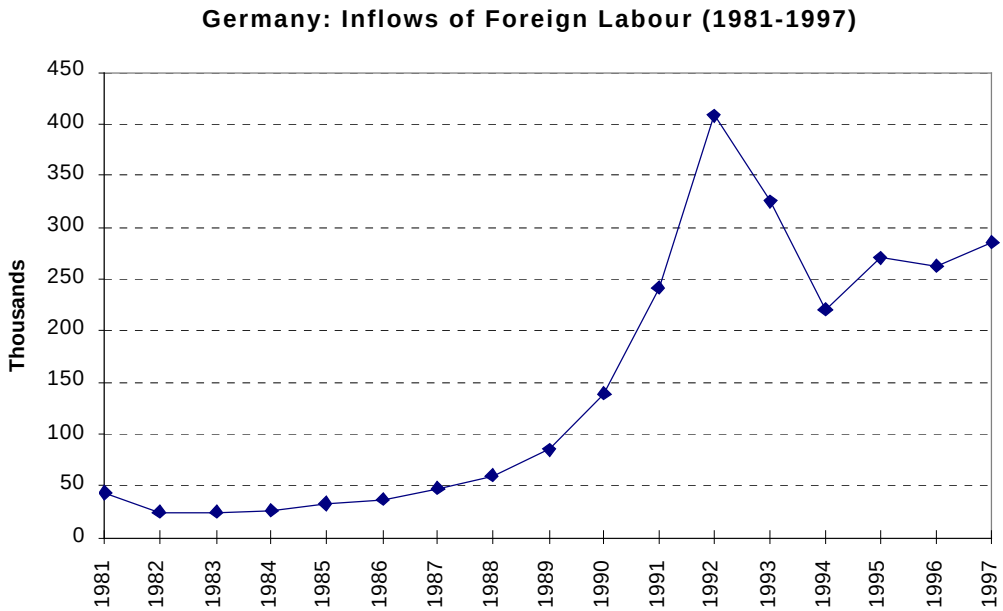
Figure 8.25 Migration flows in Germany, 1985-1998.



Labour Migration

Over the period 1981 to 1997 Germany experienced a rising trend in the inflow of foreign workers. The years 1991-1994 saw a large peak in foreign worker inflow to Germany (Figure 8.26). Unfortunately no reliable data for outflows are available and therefore net flows cannot be calculated.

Figure 8.26 Foreign labour inflow in Germany, 1981-1997.



Foreign workers coming into Germany in 1981 reached 43,900, between then and 1988 this inflow rose gradually and after an initial dip to 24,200, reached 60,000. This represented a 1981 to 1988 net change of +16,500. This section of the time series has the most 'stable' inflow and in relation to the years that follow contributes least to the total inflow.

Subsequent to unification, foreign migrant labour to Germany increased exponentially until 1992. Indeed this rise was the most significant of the time series peaking at 408,900. This was largely attributable to Polish (160,000) and Yugoslavian (111,000) immigrants (OECD, 1995) collectively making up 66 per cent of the inflow for that year. From 1992 to 1994 the numbers then fell away to 221,200 foreign workers. Over the 1994-1997 period there was a rising trend that exhibited only small fluctuations in relation to those of the previous 3 years, the increase of foreign workers was 64,100.

Overall, the data set reveals a relatively smooth rising trend that is perturbed by the unification aftermath of 1991, 1992 and 1993. The wave of foreign workers during these years included a great number of seasonal and sub-contracted workers (OECD 1995) including approximately 80 per cent in 1993[4].

8.8.2 IMMIGRATION POLICY IN GERMANY

Immigration to Germany over the periods 1966-1993 and 1985-1996 exhibited a relationship with economic indicators as discussed in Part II. This was especially apparent for the long-term analysis with regard to the unemployment rate and the annual variation in real compensation per worker. In the short-term analysis, economic indicators had an impact upon immigration flows but some difference between the long and short-term models specifications were noted. The strength of economic indicators was surprising in the light of

[4] Source: Bundesanstalt fur Arbeit in OECD (1995)

Germany's erratic immigration flows. In addition, stock was found to be unimportant in explaining immigration to Germany.

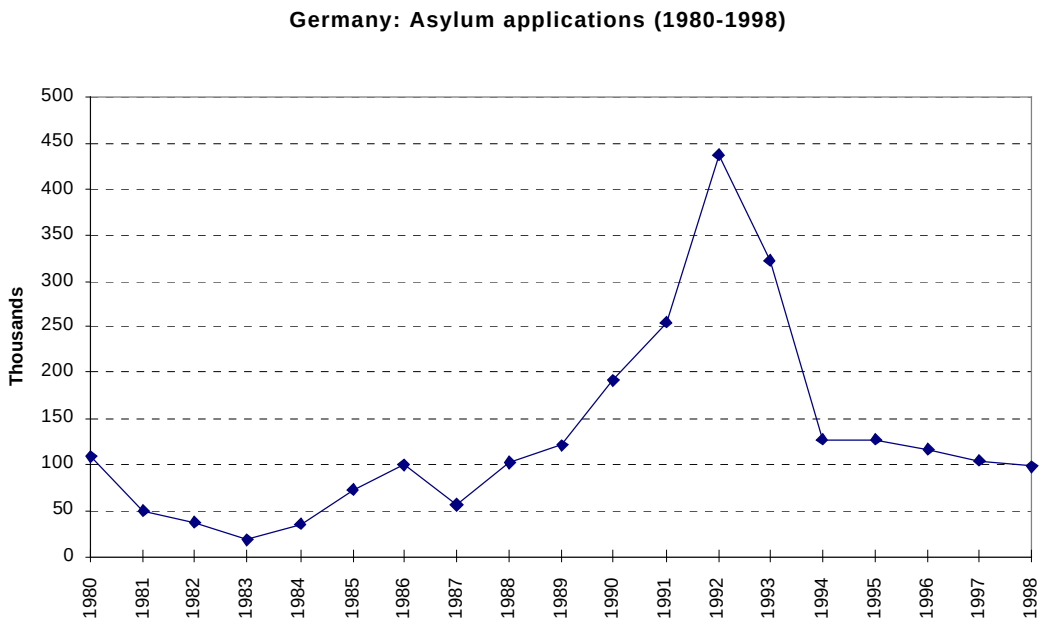
Entry Systems

The four systems of entry to Germany, work related, student (and other), family settlement and asylum, have been somewhat dominated, particularly in the early 1990's, by the flow of Aussiedler, Übersiedler (see Table 8.6) and of asylum seekers (Asylbewerber). While anti-immigration has not been a common policy in Germany - the more liberal policy stance of the early nineties has faded.

Aussiedler

The flows of ethnic Germans (Aussiedler) increased greatly in response to unification and the collapse of the Communist regime. The majority of these Aussiedler have come from Romania, Poland and the former Soviet Union. The numbers arriving over 1981-86 were relatively stable but thereafter Aussiedler inflows were much greater, peaking in 1990 at 397,073. This was mostly due to large rises in those coming from Poland in 1989 (250,340) but also from the former Soviet Union (133,872) and Romania (111,150) in 1990 (See Table 8.6 and Figure 8.27). A sharp decline to 221,995 in 1991 indicated the start of a steady period followed by slowly declining inflows. Since 1991, the total flow were dominated by those from the former Soviet Union representing 98.5 per cent of those arriving in 1998.

Figure 8.27 Asylum applications in Germany, 1980-1998.



Policy changes to decrease the number of Aussiedler arriving in Germany were made in 1991 (Frey and Mammey 1996). They involved a proviso that Aussiedler applications were made in the country of origin. This was the most significant change made to the Aussiedler

legislation and is synchronous with the largest fall of the time series - over 1990-1. The legislation laid down by the Consequences of War Regulations Act, 1992 (see Table 8.7) aimed to limit the entrance of Aussiedler to 200,000 per annum. Furthermore, a stipulation was made that Aussiedler applying for residency must demonstrate a certain proficiency in the German language. Following the 1992 Act, the inflow of Aussiedler reached a steady flow of just over 200,000 between 1992-1995, subsequently the numbers then fall to 103,080 in 1998.

Table 8.6 Aussiedler and Übersiedler in Germany, 1980-1998.

Year	Aussiedler Total*	Including: Poland	Former SU	Romania	Übersiedler Total**
1980	52071	26637	6954	15767	15774
1981	69455	50983	3773	12031	18253
1982	48170	30355	2071	12972	15544
1983	37925	19122	1447	15501	13400
1984	36459	17455	913	16553	42316
1985	38968	22075	460	14924	28439
1986	42788	27188	753	13130	29459
1987	78523	48419	14488	13990	22838
1988	202673	140226	47572	12902	43314
1989	377055	250340	98134	23387	388396
1990	397073	133872	147950	111150	395343
1991	221995	40129	147320	32178	249743
1992	230565	17742	195576	16146	
1993	218888	5431	207347	5811	
1994	222591	2440	213214	6615	
1995	217898	1677	209409	6519	
1996	177751	1175	172181	4284	
1997	134419	687	131895	1777	
1998	103080	488	101550	1005	

* Source: SOPEMI 1993 (for 1980-1992) SOPEMI 1998 (for 1993-1997) Source: SOPEMI 1999 (for 1998)
** Source: Frey, M., and Mammey, U (1996) 'Germany' in Kosinski, L.A., (Ed.) Impact of Migration in the Receiving Countries, Geneva: IOM.

Übersiedler-

Approximately 4 million people moved from East to West Germany from 1950 until the Berlin Wall's construction in 1961 (Honekopp, 1997). Prior to unification these movements were recorded as an inflow even though those moving were 'German'. Since unification these movements have been considered internal to Germany and not recorded as immigration. The 1989-90 period demonstrates that these Übersiedler movements were indeed significant, 1989 alone saw 388,396 persons migrate. The switch from immigration to internal movement must be taken into account if an examination of the data for Germany is made over the 1980-1998, especially in light of the magnitude of the Übersiedler phenomenon.

The post-war Übersiedler will have done much to determine the vector of later migration flows, especially due to family reunification.

Main Policy Changes

Inflows of migrants and their passage through the four legal avenues of entry have been influenced by immigration policy and the changes made to it (as detailed in Table 8.7). Germany has seen significant changes in policy, made mostly to the Aussiedler and asylum systems in the early 1990s. The policy-response interplay within these systems is a complex one that involves a great number of interrelationships between economic, political and socio-cultural factors. This complexity is likely to increase as globalisation continues (Rotte 2000). By and large, however, immigration and asylum policy changes have been made in order to regulate east-west migration in a post-Iron Curtain era, an attempt to keep levels of immigration as close to a steady 'base-flow' as possible. Strategies include alterations to national policy but also the implementation of bilateral agreements - most notably with Poland. Such control policies limit access to legal entry or work and attempt to prevent illegal immigration and employment (Vogel 2000).

Table 8.7 Policies in Germany, 1990-1995.

Year	Policy Change	Implementation
1990	Reunification	• Reunification in October led to large internal (East to West Germany) and external migrations. • Large numbers (400,000) of Aussiedler entered Germany (OECD 1992).
1990	Immigration Amendment Bilateral Agreements	• Naturalizations process eased. • Prerequisites for Aussiedler and the announcement that applications must be made in the Origin nation. • Work schemes for Polish and some East European residents allowing temporary work in Germany
1991	Foreigners Act	• Encouraged those who had grown up in Germany but then left, to return. • Altered residence legislation especially for young foreigners. Amended the legal basis of the work permit system
1992	Consequences of War Regulations Act[5]	• Immigration contingents of 200,000 Aussiedler per year, more thorough testing of applicant roots. • Fingerprinting of Asylum seekers to reduce 'asylum shopping' (Rotte, 2000).
1993	Basic Law Amendment Aliens Act amendment	• Aimed at reducing Asylum seekers numbers through new; Airport rules, temporary admission, Safe 3rd Countries and Safe Origins • Aimed to reduce non-EU immigration and encourage foreign workers to return home. • Aliens act: eases naturalizations for foreign residents of Germany, who have resided there for 15 years (8 for young people)

[5] or Kriegsfolgenbereinigugsgesetz

1995	Gastarbeiter programme	• Training programmes for foreign workers who return to their origin nation at the end of the scheme. • This is a programme between Hungary, the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic and Germany.
1995	Return Programmes	• Programmes set-up for some foreigners who wish to return to their country of Origin (mostly Turkish).

In 1990 Unification and amendments to the naturalization process had measured effects upon immigration flows - the former considerably more than the latter. Unification eased East-West movements and saw large increases in Aussiedler inflows. Bilateral agreements with some East European neighbours allowed temporary work for some, this was an attempt to manage numbers arriving in Germany and to appease a perceived problem with illegal migrants and workers. The Foreigners Act (1991) amended the work permit system and also encouraged those who had grown up in, but then left Germany, to return and resume residence. The quantitative effect of this change is likely to have been minimal on inflows in that year.

Massive rises in the number seeking asylum to Germany in the early 1990s were due in part to a "liberal reputation and generosity in granting refugee status" (Jones and Wild 1992:2). Other factors include cultural, physical and historical 'proximity' to those in origin nations. It seems legislation has altered the attractiveness of Germany since then. Rotte (2000:362) highlights the political balance between national sovereignty and global human rights responsibilities as a delicate one, warning that latent xenophobia is present and "easily mobilised in periods of economic crisis". Thus, even though the benefits of both immigration (Bauer and Zimmermann 1997a, 1997b) and asylum are apparent the political considerations of public feeling seem more important. Therefore, in the 1990's restrictions have been imposed to reduce immigration and concentrate on internal control and integration.

Policy developments in 1993 saw changes being made to the Basic Law. These amendments were implemented to reduce the numbers of asylum seekers arriving in Germany, especially those with manifestly unfounded cases. Additional, though less significant, policy changes in 1993 included the fingerprinting of asylum seekers in order to reduce multiple and fraudulent applications. Although many persons arriving in the early 1990s had come from the former Yugoslavia, a great number also took advantage of Germany's comparatively liberal stance at that time. Indeed, the designation of safe third countries and safe countries of origin in 1993 led to dramatic declines as it meant that many East and Central European residents could no longer seek asylum in Germany.

The Basic law (1993) led to a "clear decrease of the number of asylum applications" (Frey and Mammey 1996:20, OECD, 1997) that was implemented on the basis that unfounded asylum seeking is effectively illegal immigration. While the change in policy in 1993 was significant, the role of easing politico-military tension in origin countries must also be considered as a contributory factor to the decline of asylum applicant numbers. However, the degree to which we can quantify the role of policy or origin perturbation is limited due to the complexity of determining a 'root' cause for asylum movement (Zolberg et al., 1989).

In 1995 Gastarbeiter programmes were implemented that placed an emphasis on seasonal work schemes with a quota of 200,000 temporary migrants. This policy change was again an attempt to manage the problem of illegal workers, in particular those who were remaining after the termination of their permitted work period. Thus, the 1995 policy included a firmer stance on the return of workers at the end of the allocated work season. Such policies move the emphasis from migration – with connotations of permanency - to one of short-term movement that is more malleable to labour market requirements.

Thus, policy has changed in order to regulate east-west migration in a post-Iron Curtain era in an attempt to keep levels of immigration as close to a steady 'base-flow' as possible, while the wider migration strategy for Germany has moved to one of internal control (Vogel 2000).

8.8.3 ECONOMIC FACTORS

In part II the unemployment rate in Germany was found to be a strong indicator of immigration flows. However, this variable may have become less significant in recent years, especially in the light of anecdotal evidence that illegal movements are on the increase. Thus, while economic cycles still control the attraction of migrants to Germany, illegal movements are increasing in magnitude and thus will contribute to unaccounted discrepancies in the model. Apprehensions of illegal migrants at borders rose from 27,000 to 35,200 over 1996-7 (OECD 1999). While increased policing levels may have added to this it is likely that the number of illegal movements are also on the increase. The proximity of Germany to the Eastern 'source' regions and position in the trafficking route makes such movements more significant in Germany than in the UK or France.

The informal labour market in Germany and its links to illegal migration holds an attractive and absorbent force on those migrating. The *unpredictive* power of STOCK on net migration for Germany may relate to the differences between 'real' and 'official' numbers. Thus, if illegal movements continue or increase they will further mar the strength of the unemployment variable.

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10 Appendix

10.1 SUMMARY PART I

Part I was concerned with devising ways to improve the migration assumptions in forecasting models and scenario building. It proposed a new approach going beyond the standard modelling approach to incorporate more complex migration characteristics and diverse sources of information.

The first column in the model identifies four major restructuring processes that affect existing flows and generate new types of flows. These are presented as interrelated processes of global restructuring and provide a means of identifying change at an international level. The second column indicates some of the main concepts which are needed in the analysis of current patterns. The processes and concepts are linked in Figure 1.1 by arrows which indicate broad causal links but should not be taken to exclude other interrelationships between the two columns. The third column presents a detailed typology of migrants which includes new types of flows and new types of migrants. Many of them are not usually included in existing databases, forecasts and scenarios, but must be taken into account in any attempt to forecast future patterns.

The model as a whole provides a framework for the identification and analysis of international migration flows. The final column suggests four main elements which may be considered as part of a pragmatic approach to improving statistical models for the analysis and forecasting of international migration. This column is linked back within the model to the previous three columns, to emphasise the need for continual reassessment and development of theoretical approaches, concepts, typologies and the methods suggested her for improving migration assumptions.

The partiality of statistics, and the fact that data sources are not generally robust enough to allow for quantifying processes, means that it is unlikely to be possible to include some (most?) of them directly within migration forecasting models. Consequently Part I suggested that a method of improving migration assumptions should be adopted that combines a review of the literature on the processes identified with the use of available statistical data to model particular relationships.

The conclusion was that it would seem sensible that this approach is initially adopted for those countries with the best data on all those aspects of migration identified in the model. It may then be possible to make inferences for other countries on the basis of the results gained. At the least, it should then be possible to inform scenario builders about the likely direction of future migration trends, so that more realistic assumptions about migration behaviour might be made.

10.2 SUMMARY PART II

The conceptual model developed by UCL provides a comprehensive framework for the identification and analysis of international migration flows. In principle, this model could be used as a point of departure for the empirical analysis. Nevertheless, empirical specification and validation of the conceptual model is hampered by several constraints, of which data availability and quality is probably the most serious one. For the near future it seems impossible to satisfy the full needs of the UCL-model. It is possible, however, to assess some parts of the model, despite the restrictions imposed by the data. In particular, the following analyses were conducted within the framework of the overall model.

- The relationship between a number of economic indicators and immigration was studied
- The impact of the size of the migration stock upon the size of immigration flows was taken into account as well, in addition to the effects of the economic indicators
- The importance of elderly migration in international migration was empirically evaluated, and some future trends sketched briefly
- The impact of the extension of the European Union with Spain and Portugal in 1986 on migration flows within Europe was examined
- The relationship between applications for asylum and immigration statistics was dealt with.

By taking into account international migration flows in various member states of the European Union, an attempt has been made to discern general EU migration patterns from country-specific trends. Analyses have been carried out for a subset of countries, covering the dimensions northern/southern, 'big'/'small' and data rich/poor: Germany, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. In some specific analyses other countries have been taken into account as well. Below we will highlight the main findings of each analysis.

Economic indicators

One of the most important factors underlying demographic processes is economic growth. This applies especially to migration: Migrants are often attracted to regions of rapid economic growth whereas, less prosperous regions tend to receive few immigrants. In addition, some, although not all of these latter types of regions tend to experience relatively large emigration flows. Population trends do not simply respond to economic developments, however. Both trends are interrelated. Whereas economic changes may trigger demographic trends, population changes themselves may have an impact on economic developments. Although the relationship between migration and economic indicators is generally covered by demo-economic models, which take into account this two-sided relation-

ship, for demographic forecasting these complex relationships are usually not taken into account. Therefore, in this study, attention was focussed on the influence of economic indicators upon international immigration and net migration and not *vice versa*.

The main question in this demo-economic analysis was: 'What is the correspondence between the economic business cycle and international migration patterns?' We have tried to establish robust relationships over time between economic indicators on the one hand and immigration flows or net migration patterns on the other. We investigated whether we could confirm the negative relationship between unemployment and immigration and the positive relationships between migration and annual variation in compensation (income) per worker or overall levels and annual change in gross domestic product per capita, respectively. Furthermore we tried to find out which of these economic indicators are the most effective in predicting migration behaviour. We also examined whether identical relationships were found in different countries.

The results of the analyses show the following results:

1. Some relationships between economic variables and migration do exist. Economic indicators are, however, only effective predictors of migration in some countries (the Netherlands, Germany and the United Kingdom), but not in others (Sweden and Portugal). The assumption is not valid for all EU countries
2. The nature of the relationships found differed between countries. Generally, unemployment turned out to be the key economic indicator in the Netherlands, the UK and Germany, but in a number of cases other variables, such as the relative level of GDP per capita, or compensation per worker, dropped in as well or instead. Therefore, a uniform robust relationship across countries was not feasible.
3. Immigration groups (segmented by nationality) react differently in their sensibility for economic indicators. Nationals and immigrants from EU-countries are generally less affected by economic indicators, although not totally insensitive. Tentatively, one may conclude that the lower the degree of economic development in the country of origin, the more susceptible one is for economic circumstances. Even within groups of immigrants from developing countries, however, there are large variations in the impact of economic indicators.
4. The elasticity of the most robust economic indicator, unemployment shows a large variation across countries and across nationalities of immigrant groups within one country. Based on the long term analysis a best guess of an elasticity, defined as the percentage change in immigration as a result of a one per cent point change in unemployment would be -4 for the Netherlands and Germany, and -2 for the United Kingdom. However, the short term results are too unreliable to substantiate this conclusion.
5. The effect of unemployment on net migration is much less pronounced. Net migration is the result of two largely different processes: immigration, which is quite sensitive to

unemployment in a number of countries, and emigration, which has, according to the literature, a much more complex relationship with unemployment.

Although a number of relationships between immigration and economic indicators do exist, some qualifications have to be made.

1. The effect of a linear increasing trend in migration -a frequently used covariate in time series analysis, comparable to the use of an intercept in linear cross-sectional regression- turned out to be important in a number of countries and for a number of nationalities within countries.
2. As this variable captures every cause that develops linearly over time, such as improved communication networks and travel opportunities, a greater global awareness and a general increase in the world population, especially in the developing countries, this effect is difficult to interpret in a direct way.
3. The influence of dummy variables relating to policy interventions appeared to be of prime importance. The larger shifts in immigration were often the result of policy interventions and consequently policy variables have to be taken into account as well in order to isolate the effects of economic indicators.
4. Models without policy variables or -whenever important-a linear trend variable may produce biased results for economic indicators. Because of these qualifications it is difficult to use economic information unconditionally in projecting international migration. The model should always reflect the country-specific developments.

Networks: the size of the migrant stock

Economic reasons are not the only trigger for international migration. Since after the oil crisis of 1972/73 the importance of labour migration declined, other reasons for migration, among which family reunification and formation, gained significance. Many of these other reasons are linked with social networks: the linkages between migrant populations in the country of destination with the population in the country of origin. At the macro level, the existence of networks, which may be indicated by the size of the migrant population in the country of destination, is another important factor behind international migration flows. Therefore, it was examined whether the size of the migrant population in the country of destination could add some valuable information to the economic variables in explaining international migration trends.

The addition of the size of foreign populations to the economic models produced mixed results. In some countries the variable could be interpreted as one of the factors behind the observed linear trend in migration. In the Netherlands, for instance, the size of the stock of foreign population turned out to be an alternative for the linear trend in migration included in the economic models. The autonomous increase in immigration in the Netherlands could

therefore be interpreted as the result of the pull effect of the foreign population in the Netherlands. In Germany, on the other hand, addition of the size of foreign populations added something to the linear trend. In the other countries no relationship was found.

Again a qualification has to be made as the models pertain to the total foreign population stock and migration flows. The net migration models pertain even to total net migration, including nationals. Therefore, a finer breakdown into smaller (groups of) nationalities might change these results. At present, however, this type of analysis could not be carried out as the current time series on migrant stocks in the Eurostat database are too short to give reliable results.

Elderly migration

Over the last twenty years, the age structure of the European Union has changed substantially. Europe is ageing. People aged 60 years and older have seen their numbers rising as a result of the coming of age of larger cohorts. This process will continue with increased intensity after 2010, when the baby-boom generation born between 1946 and 1965 will reach retirement age. Not only the number of the elderly will increase, but the share of the elderly is also set to rise considerably. Traditionally, the role of elderly migration in international migration flows has been limited, though as elderly people used to migrate within the country in which they reside. In recent years, however, a new trend has emerged of international elderly migration. In particular the relatively sparsely populated regions with a pleasant climate and residential environment seem to be interesting regions for foreign retirees. Relevant questions to be asked, as well as the answers found in the analysis, are:

1. What share of international migration flows is attributable to the elderly?

In the last decade, the share of elderly migration in the total immigration flows was still very moderate, in the range of two to five percent at most.

2. How has this share developed in the last 15 years?

This share has not increased in recent years, but since the volume of immigration has increased substantially in the 1990s compared to the 1980s, the size of elderly immigration flows in absolute terms has grown substantially.

3. What was the development of the migration rate of the elderly in recent years?

Emigration rates have not increased either and are in the order of 1 per 1000 inhabitants. Therefore we may conclude that at present elderly migration in the European Union is still not especially important.

A final question of relevance related to the future. What can be expected for the coming years?

Although the present trends give no indication of increased motivations for emigration, given the economic prospects of the elderly, in combination with spatial and environmental developments, it is not unlikely that migration behaviour of the elderly may change in the near future. Moreover, elderly migration will become more important, if only due to the ageing of the population. Simple projections of emigration, using time-invariant and age-specific migration probabilities, show that in the year 2025 the share of the elderly in the emigration has risen significantly in the Netherlands (from 5 to 9 percent), and Finland (from 3 to 6 percent). The size of foreign populations is increasing substantially in various countries and cohorts of migrant populations are ageing. This might have consequences for the migration pattern of the elderly, especially with respect to return migration. Some evidence was found that return migration is indeed an important component of elderly immigration. On the other hand, no support was found for more than average return migration for elderly non-nationals in the countries analysed. As presently the size of the elderly non-national populations is very small in most European countries, developments in elderly migration patterns are difficult to detect. In the next decades the ageing process will result in substantial larger categories of non-national elderly populations, which may be accompanied by new forms of elderly migration behaviour.

EU integration and migration

One of the main integrating elements of the European Union is the establishment of a European Common Market with free movement of capital, goods, and labour between all member states of the EU. As there are, in principle, no legal barriers for a EU citizen to move and live in another country within the Union, migration considerations have played, and will play, a role in discussions about enlargement of the EU. The EU started in 1958 with only six countries. Since then several countries have joined the EU to the total of 15 countries of today. For the future further enlargements are expected, as by now several Central and Eastern European countries are preparing to enter the Union. Although the establishment of a Common Market may have stimulated intra-EU migration from and to the (new) EU countries, in the earlier years of the EU this did not happen. At least not in terms of mass migration from manual workers from the rural low-income regions in the South to the urban industrial high-income regions in the North-West. Most mass migration in the 1960's and the 1970's originated from countries outside the EU (Fielding, 1993). Spain and Portugal entered the Union in 1986. An important question in this respect is whether intra-EU migration flows to and from these countries increased or remained stable after obtaining EU membership? Migration restrictions between Portugal and Spain on the one hand, and other EU-countries on the other were not lifted in 1986, but only in 1991. Therefore, if substantial effects were expected, they should become visible after 1991.

With respect to Spain some effects of emigration of Spanish nationals to other EU countries was observed, especially to Germany, but also to other EU countries. Migration into Spain from other EU countries, -which is primarily motivated for leisure and retirement reasons- has not increased markedly. However, some qualifications to these results are in order here. First, immigration into Germany of Spanish nationals has been rising steadily already since 1985, but since 1991 the rate of increase has gone up. Second, increased immigration to other EU countries is mainly (but not totally) caused by immigration to the UK, a finding which is based on very unreliable UK data. Third, increased immigration into the EU may also be viewed as substitution of migrants from Switzerland to EU-countries. Immigration of Spanish nationals into Switzerland decreased sharply after 1990, by almost the same amount as the increase into EU countries after 1991, as a result of stricter immigration policy.

In the case of Portugal a substantial increase in emigration (from 10 thousand in 1992 to 30 thousand in 1995) of Portugese nationals to Germany was observed after 1992. Immigration to other EU-countries (excluding Spain, which is traditionally a large migration country of Portugal) increased substantially in 1993 and 1994 (from 5 to 11 thousand), but dropped thereafter to previous levels. Similar to the Spanish results, part of this increase into EU countries may be viewed as substitution from Switzerland to Germany, but not all. Emigration to Switzerland amounted to 20 thousand in 1990 and dropped to 10 thousand in 1995, whereas the increase observed in the numbers for Germany is about twice as large. Some increase in the size of immigration into Portugal after 1991 was observed as well, but this was not as large as for emigration. This result may also be explained with reference to the relatively underdeveloped status of Portugal: economic motivations will stimulate net out-migration to more developed countries, whereas immigration is primarily motivated by leisure and retirement reasons.

In conclusion we could state that the enlargement of the EU had positive effect upon intra-European migration with the countries involved, especially on emigration of Portugese and Spanish nationals to other EU countries. The effects found are flattered by the reduction in migration from the Iberian countries to Switzerland, but especially in the Portugese case, the increase in migration into the EU outweighs the decrease to Switzerland substantially.

Asylum applicants

The number of people seeking asylum in the EU member states grew steadily in the early 1990's. The relationship between asylum and immigration, however, is rather complex. Asylum seekers are not immigrants at the time of application, but they may, and often do, become immigrants at a later point in time. The procedures for an asylum applicant to become an immigrant vary widely between countries, due to different migration statistics, the

existence of a population census or a register, legislation, and so on. Moreover, procedures may change in time, which makes comparisons over time and between countries difficult to make. Nevertheless, it is obvious that in the last decade, the large scale movements of refugees have become a major component of migration in various member states of the EU. Therefore, it is important to find out to what extent statistics on asylum seekers can be used for projections on migration.

Comparisons between statistics on asylum applications and immigrations have shown that there is a close correspondence between the number of applications and the number of immigrants for at least some countries (the Netherlands and Germany). The optimal relation between applications and immigration seems to be contemporaneous. Only for the Netherlands in a few instances a lagged relationship of one year was apparent. The use of application statistics for immigration projection purposes for longer time periods is therefore only limited. For now casts, on the other hand, the number of applications may be useful. In contrast to the Netherlands and Germany, in Sweden, the associations between both statistics were generally low or absent. Data for the UK and Portugal did not allow a detailed analysis.

10.3 QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

Expert Meeting 27 November 2000

This questionnaire serves as guidance for the discussion at the Expert Meeting on Analysis and Forecasting of International Migration. Could you please fill in this questionnaire and send your answers and remarks, 20 November at the latest, to: hilderink@nidi.nl

A) Proposed approach and methodology

1. Do you think it is advisable to break up international migration assumptions into several groups? If a number of groups are distinguished, different classifications could be applied, for instance: age/gender, labour/asylum/family or citizenship/country of birth/country of previous residence. What is, in general, your opinion about this?
2. Asylum is a component of migration that has become more and more important in the last 15 years. The driving forces of asylum migration, however, are hard to foresee. Nevertheless, it is a very important element. In what way can asylum be included in migration forecasts?
3. Do you think that economic information may be useful in projecting international migration?
4. Do you think that information on stocks of foreigners may be useful in projecting international migration?
5. Should we include undocumented migration in the assumptions? If yes, what is in your view the most promising method to deal with this group?
6. Taken into account the current data situation, what would in your opinion be the most appropriate way of making quantitative international migration assumptions?

B) Country-specific issues

6. What are the most important major groups concerning future immigration in your country?
7. What are the most important major groups concerning future emigration in your country?
8. Is there a specific process/situation in your country that requires further elaboration or an alternative approach?

The responses and conclusions of question A1 to A6 are described in Chapter 6. The responses to the B-question are, obviously, only applicable a specific situation in a country. These response are less relevant to include them in them in the description of the proposed methodology but are too useful to leave them out of the report. An overview of the responses is given below.

B1 Country-specific issues: what are the most important future immigration groups?

Responses:

Italy	Family reunification
	Labour
NL	Family (+/-)
	Asylum (- and +/-)
	Labour (++)
	NL (+) Other EEA (+/-) Asia (+) CEC/FSU (+)
UK	Labour (Nat / EEA/Other developed/Rest of World)
	Family (Nat / EEA/other developed / Rest of World)
	Asylum (Rest of World)
Finland	Russians and Estonians
Sweden	Family reunion (+)
	Asylum (-)
	Labour (+ in the long run, from non-EU countries)

B2 Country-specific issues: what are the most important future emigration groups?

Responses:

Italy	Hard to say
NL	NL (+) Other EEA (+/-)
	Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean return migrants
UK	Labour (Nationals / Other developed/Rest of World)
	Family (Nationals / Other developed/Rest of World)
	Asylum (Rest of the World)
Finland	Migrants to Sweden (although migration to and from Sweden is decreasing)
	Skilled workers (e.g.) to Norway, UK, Germany, and some other countries
	Temporary migration of skilled experts (e.g. information technology)
Sweden	Effect of globalization / changing life styles on young people

B3 Country-specific issues: Are there other relevant processes/situations?

Responses:

Italy	Multiplicity of ethnic groups present in Italy Strong sex unbalances among ethnic groups
NL	Arrival of Dutch Antilleans; return of naturalised immigrants Consequences of ageing
Finland	Programs launched by the state for integration of immigrants and decreasing racism. Effectiveness of these programs will probably of importance.