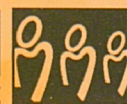


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








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









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Yves Franchet
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Patterns and Trends in International Migration in Western Europe

April 2000

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Note on Sources

The statistical data in this report come principally from Eurostat's New Cronos database. For various reasons, this contains gaps, particularly prior to the early 1990s. A fuller analysis of the general data problems is in Chapter 2. Where there have been gaps or a few known problems, data from other sources have been used to supplement the tables. The OECD's continuous reporting system on migration, *Système d'Observation Permanente des Migrations (SOPEMI)*, gathers reports of over 30 country Correspondents to produce its annual book *Trends in International Migration*. Both the book and the unpublished Correspondents' reports have been valuable in filling gaps. Also useful has been the Council of Europe's annual *Recent Demographic Developments in Europe* which provides detailed population and migration data on most countries in Europe. In Chapter 7, additional asylum data come from Inter-Governmental Consultations on Asylum and Immigration (IGC) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). In Chapters 3, 5 and 6, citizenship categories are divided amongst 4 income categories determined by the country of that citizenship's ranking in the World Bank's *World Development Report 1997*. For ease of referencing and to avoid excessive notes on tables and figures, the above sources have been referenced as follows: Eurostat; OECD; Council of Europe; IGC; UNHCR; and World Bank.

CHAPTER 1 - EUROPE'S MOBILE CENTURY

Migration flows between the countries of Europe have long occurred. Industrialising nations in the nineteenth century drew workers from neighbouring countries, with Irish moving to Britain, Italians to France, and Central Europeans to the German empire. But such embryonic economic flows were of small significance when compared with political migrations associated with the two World Wars in the present century and the labour migrations of the post-war years.

This chapter is intended to set the scene historically for the analysis of the contemporary situation presented in the body of the book. Given the constraints of space, it is neither possible nor appropriate to provide a detailed review of European international migrations since the First World War. Nevertheless, it is important at least to indicate the main elements of migration in what has been very much a 'global century' for Europe's people.

The aim of the chapter is to provide a context for assessing the scale and nature of movements in the 1990s. In particular it will help answer two questions. First, how far have migrations across Europe in the 1990s been at historically high levels? And second, are the geographical patterns of migration today significantly different from those earlier in the 20th century?

1.1 From the First to the Second World War

Kosinski (1970) has estimated that 7,700,000 people were involved in intra-European population movement associated with World War I. When German-occupied territories, such as Alsace-Lorraine and parts of Poland, were re-conquered, residents there were given the choice of taking the nationality of the conquering powers or migrating to Germany. Disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian Empires was followed by the creation of new states and was accompanied by considerable adjustments of population which were neither regulated by international treaties nor recorded in detail. In south-eastern Europe a succession of regional wars, in addition to World War I, produced flows of perhaps 200,000 Turks who were repatriated from the European continent. The Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 stimulated the movement of 1,000,000 Greeks from Asia Minor to Greece with about 300,000 Turks moving in the opposite direction. At the same time some 250,000 Greeks were returning from other parts of the Balkans. Such movements continued in the 1920s and 1930s. Hardening political realities in central Europe provoked outflows of Jews, especially from Poland, Spain, and Germany. Between 1927 and 1938 almost 200,000 Jews left Poland (with only 19,000 going to other European states, 74,000 to Palestine and 106,000 to non-European countries). Nazi legislation in 1933, and especially in 1935, produced the outflow of 400,000 refugees from the 'German lands' by May 1939. Only about 10 per cent of these were not Jewish. Some 283,000 fled from Germany, 95,000 from Austria, and 23,000 from the Sudetenland. A very large number of Czechs (perhaps 400,000) shifted from the Sudetenland into Bohemia following the Munich Pact in 1938. Elsewhere in Europe, political changes in Italy led to the emigration of 60,000 people after the establishment of the Fascist regime in 1924; and perhaps 300,000 Spaniards moved into France during and after the Spanish Civil War. At the same time the *Volksdeutsche* (ethnic Germans) were gathered back into Germany from the Baltic states in 1939-40 and from western parts of the USSR, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Yugoslavia. Israeli data register the flow of 365,000 immigrants to Palestine in the inter-war years, of whom 235,000 arrived between 1933 and 1939 with the great majority coming from Europe. The main migration flows during the 1920s and 1930s have been summarised by Kirk (1946).

The economic migrations that had preceded World War I continued afterwards. France, for example, with its distorted and truncated population pyramid, found itself short of both workers and eligible bachelors, and encouraged immigration. It had 2,800,000 foreign-born

in 1931, with Italians (900,000) and Poles (500,000) making up half that amount. Belgium's declining workforce was supplemented by Dutch, Poles, and Italians, particularly in the mining areas. England continued to receive Irish immigrants.

These inter-war labour flows were described by Kirk (1946, 242) as being "typically a movement from countries of lower levels of living and agrarian over-population to those of slower population growth and greater economic opportunities". Where natural increase was slow or even non-existent, as in France for certain years of the 1930s, migration inflows were decisive in maintaining or increasing population.

World War II was accompanied by massive shifts of population involving more than 25,000,000 people, mainly in east-central Europe. Many of these were temporary movements with complicated readjustments following. For example, 7,000,000 foreign workers were transported to work in war-time Germany, and these comprised 5,000,000 civilian workers and 2,000,000 POWs at the end of the war, when one fifth of workers in the German lands were made up of these groups (Clout & Salt, 1976).

1.2 Phases of Migration after the Second World War

Table 1.1 is an attempt to place the patterns and trends of Europe's post-war migration into a coherent framework. It has been developed from the perspective of the states of the EU. The phases identified should not be regarded as mutually exclusive: indeed they contain a strong element of overlap. However, they constitute a convenient way of ordering the sets of events that make up an evolving story. The migration period of the 1990s can be seen as only the latest in a series stretching back over half a century.

1.3 Post-war shifts - late 1940s

In the years following the cessation of hostilities Europe's population, especially in the centre and east of the continent, was in a state of turmoil. Much of the migration that ensued was politically inspired, although it is not always possible to separate political from economic motives. For example, many refugees who moved from East to West Germany were motivated by the latter's prosperity as well as for political reasons.

A major problem in assessing the direction and extent of the migrations consequent upon the conclusion of World War II is that the data are of limited accuracy. As had happened in the years after World War I, agreements for population exchange were made without a clear idea of how many were involved and the volume of some movements went unrecorded. What is certain is that numbers were large. Between 1945 and 1949, for example, 3,000,000 Germans were transferred from the redrawn boundaries of Poland following the Potsdam Agreement and 4,800,000 Poles, plus 1,000,000 Germans claiming Polish nationality, were resettled in the northern and western territories of the new Poland. Some 1,500,000 people moved back into areas in western Czechoslovakia vacated by the Germans, from other parts of the country and from abroad. Between 1944 and 1946 about 500,000 Lithuanians, White Russians, and Ukrainians were transferred from Poland to the USSR, and between 1946 and 1948 about 1,500,000 Poles and Jews were repatriated from former eastern Polish territories annexed by the Soviet Union. Many others are known to have been forcibly repatriated to the USSR in 1945-6 and subsequently disappeared. Other exchanges were between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the USSR, and Hungary and Yugoslavia. Later, the Greek Civil War caused the displacement of about 700,000 people. Between 1950 and 1951 150,000 of Turkish descent were expelled from Bulgaria and a further 600,000 Turks were estimated still to be there when Bulgaria closed its borders to further emigration in 1951.

Table 1.1 - Phases of Post-War European Migration

<p>1. Post-war shifts - late 1940s</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Political (displaced persons, refugees, exchanges of population)▪ Ethnic (shifts of borders) <p>2. Liberal immigration - 1950s</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Colonial immigration▪ Labour immigration <p>3. Guestworkers - 1960s-1973</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Italy, Iberia▪ Southern and Eastern rim▪ "Fraternal" migration in the east <p>4. Consolidation and early asylum - 1973-1989</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Family reunion▪ Family formation▪ Asylum▪ Southern EU immigration countries <p>5. High asylum phase - mid-1980s onwards</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Central and Eastern Europe▪ Former Yugoslavia▪ Third World <p>6. Opening of Central and Eastern Europe - from 1989</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Ethnic moves▪ Labour migration▪ Short-term movements▪ Transit migration▪ Brain drains, gains and exchanges <p>7. Irregular migration - 1990s</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Human trafficking
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The main migrations in Central and Eastern Europe during 1944—51 involved Germans, and among the countries of asylum after 1945, West Germany occupies an exceptional place. The absorption of refugees became its basic economic and social problem. At the end of the war the Allies organised the removal of ethnic Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, while at the same time hundreds of thousands more from other east and south-east European territories were forced to evacuate. By 1950 West Germany recorded 7,800,000 refugees and East Germany had about 3,500,000 more. But the movement was still not complete and between 1950 and 1955, the number of refugees in West Germany increased by 1,000,000, making them 17.4 per cent of the total population. Most of West Germany's refugees after 1950 came from East Germany; between 1950 and the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 an estimated 3,000,000 East Germans crossed to the West, mainly via Berlin. Only a very small number moved in the opposite direction (Rose, 1969). In 1956 West Germany and other Western European states received about 200,000 Hungarians, fleeing after the abortive uprising.

1.4 Liberal immigration - 1950s

Although the political migrations so far discussed involved exchanges of population within Europe, there were others involving European populations outside the continent. In the period since 1945 colonial powers, especially France, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Belgium and Portugal, have received back many of their former nationals who had either gone as administrators and settlers, or had been born and bred in colonial areas. As dictated by the political change of decolonisation, so the volume of this movement has varied; perhaps the most dramatic movement was that of almost 1,000,000 *pièdes noirs* from Algeria to France after the conclusion of the Treaty of Evian in 1962 (McDonald, 1965). The Netherlands repatriated about 38,000 Dutch from Indonesia in 1958 and another 20,000 in 1962 from West New Guinea (Rose, 1969). Power (1972) has estimated that in the post-war years no fewer than 300,000 Indonesian refugees were also absorbed in the Netherlands.

As post-war reconstruction occurred, labour shortages in Western Europe became more acute and a new phase of economic migration was entered. Those countries with economies undamaged by direct enemy action (Sweden and Switzerland) were the first to take advantage of surplus labour supplies elsewhere to satisfy burgeoning labour demand. They were rapidly followed by most of the rest of north west Europe. Initially Italy was the main source, soon to be joined by Spain, Portugal and Greece. Numbers of foreign workers in Switzerland reached 363,000 in 1958, and between 1951 and 1957 the UK, France and Belgium received an average annual inflow of 37,000, 45,000 and 42,000 permanent workers respectively (Hunter and Reid, 1970). With an estimated 8.5 million refugees to settle, West Germany at first needed no new foreign labour, but some came never the less. By 1954 there were 70,000 foreigners employed there. The German economic miracle proved to have a remarkable appetite for guestworkers: in 1958, 55,000 came; two years later they numbered a quarter of a million.

1.5 The Guestworker phase

With indigenous labour force growth during the 1960s failing to keep pace with burgeoning economic growth, it was natural for industrial north-west Europe to look elsewhere for labour supplies. To the south, around the Mediterranean and in Africa, were countries with different population/employment relationships. Not only were population growth rates higher than those in the north, but widespread unemployment and slow economic growth resulted in a reserve of labour only too willing to explore the *El Dorados* of Paris, Stuttgart, Geneva and elsewhere. What could be more natural than for the countries of labour shortage to co-operate with those of labour surplus in bringing about greater equilibrium in the European labour market?

As labour demand spread, affecting all countries in north west Europe, and labour shortages appeared across all sectors, people poured into the region. New source countries were added to the picture, notably Yugoslavia and Turkey. The Guestworker phase, building on the 1950s, saw a spatial evolution in Western Europe towards a migration pattern the hallmark of which was large-scale migration over long distances, with a broad spectrum of supply countries regularly dispatching workers to satisfy a wide spectrum of demand.

By the 1970s, recruitment of foreign workers had become a central plank for continued growth and prosperity in much of north west Europe. By 1973 it was estimated that the number of workers in the EEC, plus Austria, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland, was 7,500,000 (ILO, 1973). Gross annual migrations in the early 1970s to and from Europe were estimated at between two and three million. However, these numbers were recorded by statistical systems still in their relative infancy. Inherent problems in data collection were compounded by administrative procedures which in many cases encouraged irregular recruitment, entry and employment. Numbers of migrants at the end of the "high Guestworker" phase were almost certainly underestimated.

1.6 Consolidation, family reunion and the early asylum phase

Much changed after 1973. Even before then most Western European countries were trying to bring their immigration under more strict control. The oil crisis provided an excuse to act, and there was an almost universal embargo on new labour immigration. However, the migrants did not return home, as "buffer theory" proposed that they would. Nor, commendably, did host countries adopt policies of forced return.

New entries initially plummeted and there was some rise in returns which then levelled off. But from the late 1970s onwards the graphs of immigration resumed their upward climb thanks to large scale family reunion. Even in recession, life was better in the richer countries to which migrants had come than it was back home. Not only did the migrants stay, they brought their families to join them in even greater numbers, helped by predominantly liberal social policies designed to aid settlement and integration (Böhning, 1972; Mehrländer, 1975; Widgren, 1976; Wilpert, 1977). A new phase in family migration was family formation, as settled migrants looked homeward for marriage partners.

The closing of some of the doors to new immigration encouraged some potential migrants to explore other entrances. In particular, West Germany saw a steep rise in asylum applications from Turks around 1980, when Germany received 108,000 applications, a precursor of the increases to come later in the decade. Overall, in Western Europe in 1981 there were around 120,000 applications for asylum, rising to 167,000 in 1985.

Meanwhile, in Eastern Europe bilateral agreements within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) continued to regulate the movement of workers among the socialist countries. These were regarded as short-term migrations only. East Germany was the main labour-importing country in the area and in 1974 offered employment to 12,000 Hungarian and 2,000 Czech workers. To this number can be added a few thousand Russian specialists and a number of Romanians. Agreements between East Germany and Hungary initially envisaged the employment of young Hungarians in the engineering industry for the improvement of their skills, but were quickly put on to a firmer reciprocal basis. Also within the framework of the CMEA there was growing co-operation with the USSR. For example, in the early 1970s an estimated 12,000 Bulgarian workers were employed in forestry and construction there.

Around the mid-1980s several converging trends combined to suggest that a turning point had been reached in European international migration. After years of retrenchment, foreign labour recruitment in Western Europe began to recover. Around this time, too, it became

apparent that some of the traditional emigration countries in the Mediterranean, notably Italy and Spain, were emerging as foci of immigration. Partly this was due to net inflows of their own returning nationals, partly to becoming net receivers of the sun-seeking citizens of their northern neighbours, but mainly because their own growing economies offered opportunities for migrants from the southern and eastern Mediterranean rim and beyond. Their geographical location also made them stepping stones for emigrants from the South, especially Africa, on the trek into northern Europe. By 1980 Italy, Greece, Spain and Portugal between them hosted about three quarters of a million registered foreign nationals.

1.7 High asylum phase: mid-1980s onwards

There can little doubt that the policy agenda from the mid-1980s has been dominated by the issue of asylum. Between 1985 and 1997 annual numbers of asylum seekers in Western Europe totalled 4.468 million - Germany received 2.141 million, 48 per cent of the total. In Western Europe there was a peak of 696,000 in 1992. In 1997 the figure was 251,000. Data from the UNHCR on asylum applications in Europe for the period 1989-98 allow a breakdown by broad origin. Of just over 4 million, 43 per cent were from elsewhere in Europe, 35 per cent from Asia and 19 per cent from Africa.

There are several reasons for these large numbers. While many of those who claimed asylum were genuinely in need of protection, there is no doubt that for others the asylum route was simply a means of circumventing increasingly rigorous entry controls in Western Europe. What cannot be denied, however, is that instability and repression in many parts of the world provided a steady stream of asylum seekers from such places as Afghanistan, the Middle East, the Indian sub-continent and much of Africa. In recent years Turkey (mainly Kurds), former Yugoslavia, Iran, Iraq, Somalia and Sri Lanka have become the major countries of origin, all of them having sources of conflict likely to create populations in need of protection. The evidence from 1997 and 1998 indicates that the proportion of asylum seekers qualifying for protection has been rising.

As the Communist dominance in much of Central and Eastern Europe began to crumble, large numbers were able to exit through borders that had been tightly controlled. Between 1984 and 1992 numbers of asylum seekers from Central and Eastern Europe rose from 25,000 to 421,000. The wars in former Yugoslavia brought sudden and massive forced movements on a scale not seen since the Second World War. By the end of December 1993 they had led to an estimated 4.24 million migrants, including 819,000 refugees, 1.6 million internally displaced persons and 1.79 assisted war victims. By the end of 1996 837,000 citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina had received 'Temporary Protected' status elsewhere in Europe, though many of these have now returned. Kosovo was a further perturbation in 1999 with over a million people forced to leave their homes.

The former Soviet Union was also a source of large scale forced movement, totalling about 2.28 million, almost all of the movement being contained within its boundaries. By 1998 an estimated 1.556 million people from the CIS and Baltic states were in refugee-like situations and 1.79 million were internally displaced (IOM/ICMPD, 1999). However, for the most part forced migrations in this region have not spilled over into Western, Central and Eastern Europe.

1.8 Opening of Central and Eastern Europe and New Migrant Types

The advent of democracy in the former Communist states created fears in Western Europe of mass migration - migrations that have largely failed to materialise. There were inevitably substantial increases in flows but not more than could reasonably be expected between adjacent states. One estimate is that in the early 1990s the annual average number of officially recorded net migrations from Central and Eastern European countries to western

countries was around 850,000 (Garson, et al., 1997), compared with less than half this in the three preceding decades (Frejka, 1996; Okólski, 1998). Most emigration during the Communist period was ethnically based, mainly of Jews and ethnic Germans.

The political changes in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) have brought about a series of new migrations, within that region and between it and Western Europe. There has been a major upsurge in ethnically-based migrations, most notably those of the German *Aussiedler*, 1.87 million of whom "returned" to Germany between 1988 and 1994. Other ethnic migrants have been Pontian Greeks, Ingrian Finns, Romanian Magyars and Jews.

Another new type of movement is transit migration, of people entering the territory of a state in order to travel on to another. In the early 1990s most transit migrants in Europe were heading to the West; to a considerable extent this is still the case though now the more economically developed Eastern European states, notably Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, are becoming destinations in their own right. Numbers of transit migrants are hazy, because of definitional problems and the lack of appropriate legal and statistical collection systems, but estimates indicate that around 1992-3 there may have been up to half a million of them at any one time in the CEE region.

Superimposed on these patterns of migration is a complex mosaic of relatively short-term movements based on "labour tourism" and petty trading, and comprising a highly intensive shuttling back and forth across international borders in order to make a living. Traditionally not regarded as migration, such movements have forced themselves into the migration lexicon simply as a result of their volume, economic importance and novelty. Okólski (1997) has categorised many of these moves as "incomplete migration", the term describing a situation in which those involved make frequent, short-duration trips abroad to earn a living while maintaining a home in the origin country. "Incomplete migrants" are characterised by a 'loose' social status and/or flexible occupational position in the country of origin; irregularity of stay or work in the country of destination; while maintaining a steady residence and household links in the country of origin. Often distance of move is short, perhaps only cross-border. Although individual stays abroad may be measured in days rather than weeks, during the course of a year the majority of the migrant's time will be spent away from home in a foreign country.

The new political situation has also drawn attention to the growing brain drains, gains and exchanges between the CEE region and Western Europe. A brain drain began almost as soon as borders were opened and continues, though it is not clear if it has yet peaked. One estimate is that 12-14 per cent of post-1989 westbound migrants could be classed as highly skilled. They are predominantly young (aged under 35) managers of successful private businesses, service and production centres, including those owned by East-West joint ventures and TNCs. Others are scientists and researchers, including students, the numbers of whom are likely to increase as more of them come to the West to study, gain work experience and learn a language. Students have particularly been a feature among Polish emigrants (Morawska, 1999).

In general, emigration is selective, in that the better off move: the old adage that 'migrants move from positions of strength' seems to be applicable. However, the jobs taken in destination countries are frequently of a lower calibre than those left, with migrants going into construction, manufacturing and low skill service jobs, implying 'brain waste'.

There is also substantial eastwards migration by highly skilled west Europeans. Most of these work in the formal sector, often for transnational corporations, but many also work informally as consultants, managers, contacts for western markets and so on. In addition, for Poland alone, there are estimates of over 50,000 illegally employed westerners (Ornacka and Szczesna, 1998).

These developments have profoundly changed European migration space and the results of the fusion of what had been two distinct migration fields in Western and Eastern Europe are only gradually emerging. The process of integrating them is at the heart of discussions about the migration impacts of the next phase of EU enlargement - a discussion to which this book returns in Chapter Nine.

1.9 1990s - the decade of irregular migration?

Growing concern has been expressed in recent years about irregular migration and the related issues of migrant trafficking and smuggling. 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, including seasonal workers and those asylum seekers whose applications have been turned down but have not left (ILO, 1992). 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.

There is evidence to suggest that traffickers are behind a substantial proportion of irregular migration, though just how important they are can at best only be guessed (Salt and Hogarth, 2000). Where estimates of the extent of illegal border crossings organised by traffickers have been made, it is likely that they have undercounted the problem because of a reliance on statistics of border apprehensions. Widgren (1994) suggested that approximately 15-30 per cent of those managing to reach their destinations in Western European countries in 1993 used the services of traffickers during some part of their journey, the proportion being slightly higher for asylum seekers (20- 40 per cent), resulting in a trafficked total of 100,000 to 220,000 people (ibid). Evidence from Central and Eastern European states, in replies to anti-trafficking surveys, suggests similar proportions (Budapest Group, 1995).

The limited trend evidence presents mixed results on whether trafficking is growing, although studies consistently show the increasing importance of trafficking in flows of irregular migrants. Around 40 per cent of transit migrants interviewed in Turkey did not have a valid document and almost all of them arrived with the aid of traffickers. One-third of them, mainly Iranians, ethnic Turks from Iraq, and Africans, were planning to use traffickers to help them reach their final destinations (IOM, 1995a). Findings of the German Border Police suggest that more than 60 per cent of the foreigners who illegally entered Germany in 1995, most of them from and via Central and Eastern Europe, were guided by trafficking organisations (Ternes, 1996). An estimated 2,000 of the 19,000 - 25,000 foreigners currently working as prostitutes in Italy had used the services of traffickers (IOM, 1996b). A similar story applies to the case of Chinese irregular migration into Central and Eastern Europe (IOM, 1995b). There are few, if any, more up-to-date statistics.

Two trafficking issues have come to the fore in migration discussions in the last few years. The first is the trafficking of women (and children to a lesser extent) for purposes of sexual exploitation, with a focus on the human rights issues involved. The second is the role of criminal networks, often thought to be co-involved in other forms of smuggling. At the moment information on these, though increasing, is still largely anecdotal.

1.10 Summary and structure of the book

During the 20th century Europe has experienced three major periods of movement: around the time of the First and Second World Wars and in the last decade or so. Each of these has been associated with wars and the forced dislocation of population. There have been a few

smaller but also intense periods of movement, notably the labour migrations of the late-1960s and the refugees flows consequent upon the events in Hungary and Czechoslovakia in 1956 and 1968. Individual countries have also had their own migration events, such as the migration to France of *pieds noirs* in 1962, Ugandan Asians to the UK in 1972 and the return of Portuguese from Africa in the 1960s and 70s. Specific ethnic groups have, at certain times, been highly mobile, including Jews from Central Europe in the 1930s.

It is undoubtedly the case that the period since 1945 has been one of continuous international migration in Europe, ebbing and flowing but always occurring. Put into context there can be no doubt that the 1990s has been the most migratory decade for the continent since the Second World War. In that sense recent migration has been historically high. It is a period characterised by new migrations, particularly in the CEE region and in the CIS. But it is the wars in the Balkans which have dominated movements in the 1990s which have created a series of crises and imposed significant burdens on a migration system that was expanding anyway.

The analysis presented in this book is based on the statistics contained in the Eurostat international migration database, supplemented where possible by additional or alternative sources. The period of analysis is, broadly, from the early to mid 1980s to the present day. Chapter Two presents a brief review of the availability and accuracy of the migration statistics available. It indicates the main difficulties faced in their use and provides a statistical "health warning" for the rest of the analysis.

Chapter Three presents a detailed analysis of the stocks of foreign population by citizenship in the EU. It seeks to answer such basic questions as: How many? Who are they? When did they come? What are the trends? This approach is followed systematically in all of the chapters that follow. Chapter 4 uses the statistics on the foreign-born population to supplement the analysis of stocks in the preceding chapter. It provides a 'lifelong' dimension and presents an evaluation of the use of birthplace data. Chapter 5 looks at Europe's migration fields defined in terms of the immigration and emigration flows of the foreign population. Chapter 6 uses the data derived from Regulation 311/76 to present an overall analysis of the stocks of foreign labour, including the numbers and sectors in which they are to be found. Chapter 7 turns to protection and asylum, with an analysis designed to inform policy makers and others about the characteristics and mechanisms inherent in Europe's asylum regime. Acquisition of citizenship is a major issue both in discussions about integration and about EU citizenship as a whole and in Chapter 8 the trends and patterns are reviewed, again based on the Eurostat statistics.

The two final chapters look backwards and forwards. Chapter 9 reviews the evidence of whether past enlargements materially changed the volume and nature of migration in relation to the rest of the EU, with a focus on Greece, Spain and Portugal. Finally, Chapter 10 synthesises the major findings of the earlier chapters, pointing especially to those with implications for future developments.

CHAPTER 2 - TAKING ACCOUNT OF MIGRATION: DATA AVAILABILITY

2.1 Introduction

The main problem in assessing how many international migrants there are at any one time in Europe, where they are moving from and to, and who they are, is the lack of accurate - or in some cases any - data (Poulain *et al*, 1991; Poulain and Gisser, 1992; Salt *et al.*, 1994). This is a common problem with different causes across Europe. The number of potential statistical sources for the analysis of the causes of migration is legion. There is a multiplicity of sources of migration statistics themselves, to which may be added a vast array of data on the factors involved with migration and which may be incorporated into migration models.

Major analytical problems arise when the various types of migration data for a single country are brought together, and cross-national comparisons are attempted. The countries of Western Europe have not yet resolved problems of data compatibility while Eastern countries are in some cases only beginning to construct their statistical systems. New border control systems have been or are being set up in the CEE countries, in large measure to meet the requirements of those in the former group, to control a variety of transit and other migrations, and to satisfy the changing needs of emerging market economies. The new systems are either only recently, or not yet in place, and during the transitional period data may be produced in an *ad hoc* way from the remnants of the old administrative systems, often in a legislative vacuum. In the light of this situation, it is not surprising that the measurement of international migration is fraught with problems which affect the analysis of patterns and trends, identification of causes, and projection of future potential movements.

The provision of international data across Europe has undoubtedly improved in recent years, though large gaps and inconsistencies continue to exist. Eurostat produces annual volumes of *Migration Statistics* and *Demographic Statistics* and has extended its data collection exercise, in partnership with UNECE, to Central and Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean countries of Cyprus and Malta, using the same set of definitions as those used in Western Europe. It has also completed a major exercise of standardising data formatting for individual countries for entry into its ACUMEN and New Cronos databases, accompanied by the creation of metadata. The Council of Europe produces the publication *Recent Demographic Developments in Europe* (now available on the WWW) which contains summary statistics on flows for those countries that are able to provide them. It has the virtue of including some countries not yet incorporated within the Eurostat/UNECE system. From 2000, Eurostat and the Council of Europe will use a common questionnaire for 46 countries. The annual SOPEMI report of the OECD *Trends in International Migration* contains a set of standard comparative tables on most aspects of international migration, as well as tables specific to individual countries.

A growing problem is the complexity of migration. For the most part the concepts of migration used as the basis for collecting statistics do not reflect many of the realities of today's movements, characterised as they are by new forms and dynamics. Particularly difficult to capture are short-term movements and status changes as well as, most obviously, illegal migrations. The biggest potential source of inaccuracy in the data relates to those living and working illegally. Sometimes they are included in official figures, sometimes not. Numbers of illegal migrants published or circulated are often police estimates which may be based on numbers of deportations or of regularisations. These seriously underestimate total numbers in an illegal situation because of the reluctance of governments in most countries to find, identify and deport those without a right to be there (or even to admit that they exist). Numbers of women in irregular, domestic and service-sector jobs are likely to be under-estimated because they are 'hidden' in private accommodation, and employers do not reveal their presence. Where estimates of the illegal population are made, it is not always possible to discover how they are reached and these figures should be treated with caution. Even data from regularisation programmes (amnesties) underestimate the total illegal stock.

Since 1995, Eurostat and the UNECE have extended the Joint Questionnaire used in EU and EFTA member states to collect statistics from Central and Eastern Europe. This means that the process of harmonisation of statistics started in Western Europe has now been extended to the new democracies. The main rationale behind this process is the closer integration of states across the whole of Europe. This is manifest in various association agreements, but the exercise also draws potential new members of the EU and EEA into a more harmonised statistical system.

Despite such developments, considerable gaps still exist in data availability in both Western and Central and Eastern European countries, but especially in the latter. These mean, for example, that there are few meaningful statistics on emigration from Western Europe. The principal reasons are administrative and legal. In some of the countries no collection system exists for some or all of the statistics required. Partly this reflects the inadequacies of the old systems of data collection in the new political environment; but it is also due to conceptual and administrative difficulties in deciding on and implementing new statistical requirements. Further, in some countries the newly emerging legal frameworks for migration are not yet, or are only just, in place, and no data collection has yet been instituted. The consequence for users is a partial data series at present, but one which should improve in the next few years.

The statistics do begin to allow, for the first time, the monitoring of international migration within Central and Eastern Europe. The development of migration policies needs a solid statistical foundation which is now being laid. It is hoped that the data can be used to provide a more accurate assessment than has hitherto been possible of the migration realities of the 1990s. Such is the breadth of migration data sources, and the expertise required to interpret them, that their effective use requires continued evaluation and awareness of new and potential pitfalls which may occur.

2.2 Migration data sources in European receiving countries

The existing data pose a wide range of problems for the user, arising largely from incompatibility of sources, conceptual and definitional problems. Consequently, it is not possible, because of the lack of accurate - or in some cases any - data, to gain anything more than an informed estimate of the numbers and characteristics of international migrants in Europe. Most data have been collected to satisfy the internal administrative purposes of nation states with clearly defined borders. However, requests for data for research, or for incorporation in official databases, may not always be answered because, although technically possible, National Statistical Offices (NSOs) do not have spare capacity to provide this service. This is especially a problem in the reconstruction of past data sets. Frequently these exist only in hard copy, or are held on magnetic tape requiring software no longer in use. They may be in NSO archives, accessible only after special programmes have been written. Even if the technical difficulties of recovery can be overcome, NSOs usually lack the resources to reproduce the statistics. Not only does this mean that there are gaps in the data series, but also that it may be impossible to check any inaccuracies or queries that arise in the course of analysis. In the course of a series of projects to check and enhance the Eurostat database, an attempt was made to identify and fill these gaps. In most cases practical difficulties in recalling data for earlier years rendered the task impossible.

2.2.1 Problems of definition

A common, useable definition of an international migrant does not exist. This is because methods of measuring migration, variables, definitions and criteria differ between countries, and between government departments within countries. Further harmonisation of national statistical sources now seems remote. In an attempt to try to move theoretical practice (existing UN recommendations) closer to reality (what countries actually do), Eurostat and the UN have carried out a revision of the UN recommendations, so far without resolving the situation. It

seems inevitable that common and precise proposals to resolve these difficulties will take several years to formulate.

2.2.2 Counting/Measuring the time dimension

Current definitions are generally based on the declared length of time which a migrant intends to spend in a country, or on how long they have already been there. This basis of the definition may be becoming less applicable in measuring the movements of highly mobile workers and other short term migrants.

In some countries an immigrant is someone who intends being a resident there for more than three months (e.g. Belgium, Italy); elsewhere it is six months (Netherlands), or twelve (UK, Ireland), or there may be no defined period (Germany). This makes comparison of data between countries very difficult. Even where statistical offices attempt to influence data collection using standardised definitions such as those of the UN, the administrative needs of departments and ministries supplying the data often result in definitions which use different lengths of time. Sometimes intention to stay or leave is recorded, in other cases actual stay or time spent away is recorded historically. Only rarely is it possible to match the two types of data or to record those cases where the length of time spent away is the same as the previously stated intention.

The definition of migration is often based on a recorded change of residence. This is notoriously difficult to define as residence may be temporary or permanent or something in between (Poulain *et al*, 1991). This is especially relevant to migrant workers with limited or no citizenship or civil/residence rights such as North African workers in Spain, France and Italy. An individual may have more than one residence, or none. This problem is particularly highlighted by Okólski's (1998) suggestion that an increasing amount of movement in the CEE region may be described as 'incomplete migration', the term describing a situation in which those involved make frequent, short-duration trips abroad to earn a living while maintaining a home in the origin country.

2.2.3 Definitions of geographical regions

The definition of macro regions in statistical compilations is not always clear or consistent. The term 'Europe', for example, can be used to refer to countries belonging to the EU, the EEA, the EU and EFTA, or the Council of Europe. In some cases Turkey is included and in others not. Migrants from geographical regions in Asia may or may not be included in figures and estimates for emigration from the CIS. The disaggregation of stock data by nationality and/or country of origin/destination is, as for flow data, often by country groups or by continent. This is not necessarily helpful for the identification of networks and the lack of standardisation can make it difficult to compare the migration network of one country with another. Further detail on countries of origin is often available in hard copy form for countries without centralised/computerised population registers. Data from centralised and computerised population registers such as those in Iceland, Sweden, Norway and Finland often include detailed country and citizenship breakdown, although the full breakdown may not always be published. One consequence is that in the Eurostat database it has proved necessary to include a large number of residual 'other' categories. While this is helpful at the level of the individual country, it often results in incompatibilities when statistics for several countries are combined for analytical or comparative purposes.

2.2.4 Definitions of citizenship

The definition of citizenship and nationality also presents problems. Country of origin/nationality/citizenship are terms sometimes used as if interchangeable. This poses particular problems, especially in translation. Sometimes these different terms are applied to the same data. The legal definition of citizenship and nationality and procedures for processing applications, may change. This has happened in Western European countries with the introduction of tighter controls on immigration, and more recently in Eastern European

countries, partly for the same reasons. There is a general ignorance in Europe of the relevant legislation, concepts and definitions of African and other countries of the South. In census and other surveys, citizenship is often self-declared and may not coincide with the citizenship recorded in the passport. The reconstruction of national identities and the introduction of new laws on foreigners and citizenship (including the creation of new departments of immigration) presents another disruption in continuity. The last problem is particularly significant where there are long-established national minority populations, but it also applies to Russian (and other former USSR) passport holders in the Baltic states.

2.3 Data on stocks of foreign population

National stocks of foreign population are recorded through national population registers, censuses (and micro-censuses), residence permits and, in the case of the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland, the Labour Force Survey (LFS).

For administrative datasets such as those contained in population registers, residence registration forms, residence permits issued, or special registers of foreigners, the responsible authority is usually the Ministry of the Interior (or equivalent); for specific surveys, such as censuses, microcensuses or the LFS, NSOs are usually responsible. Frequently, raw data are produced from administrative sources such as government departments, local authorities or other agencies and sent to the NSO for analysis and subsequent publication. Some of the data are processed but remain unpublished, and may be available by special request (usually upon payment). Most of these data do not find their way into intergovernmental databases.

Data are generally available for most European countries for most years, for the total numbers of foreigners at least, with the notable exception of France for which published data on the foreign population are still derived from the 1990 census (the latest census was carried out only in 1999). Data are mostly compatible but there exists the subtle problem of when in the year the figure is recorded. Data are generally standardised to December 31 of any given year but Eurostat refers to January 1 (using the same data) and so the figures appear to be a year ahead when compared with other sources. Different countries may choose any point in the year (the UK often uses the Spring LFS data) or may give the figure as an annual average.

Statistics on foreign nationals by citizenship are more variable in availability and quality and those by region even more so. Again, long time-series datasets are difficult to construct and even after using a number of (reliable) sources to make corrections and fill gaps, there are still significant omissions.

2.3.1 Population registers

Register-based data tend to have a higher coverage of the total population, but they may be inconsistent or out of date, especially when there is little incentive for citizens of the country or foreign emigrants to de-register upon leaving, and when there is a time-lag in processing. This is now reckoned to result in over-estimations of the foreign resident population.

2.3.2 Censuses

Census data often miss large numbers of the foreign population or fail to identify movements across international borders because of the absence of a question on previous residence or citizenship and nationality. Methodological and technical reasons can result in unusable or unreliable data. The census may itself be unreliable: certain types of accommodation may be excluded, for example, the 1991 census in Portugal excluded large numbers of temporary and '*bidonville*' types of accommodation. Questions may not be asked in foreign languages; people may not trust the confidentiality of the information they give. These are factors which affect the response rates of foreign citizens, with a specific result of under-recording numbers of those who are present in the country in any kind of irregular or illegal basis. Censuses also have a

periodicity (usually every ten years) which means that for most of the time the material they contain is dated, often unacceptably so.

2.3.3 Labour Force Surveys

Labour Force Surveys (LFSs) are carried out at various points in the year and are based on a sample survey. This invariably leads to large margins of error and means that smaller figures given in a detailed breakdown will be very unreliable. An example of this is the UK LFS where, owing to the sample size, one person surveyed represents roughly 350 people in the final figures. The result is that any number under 10,000 is regarded too unreliable to be used in a disaggregated form. This prevents many groups of migrants, together with their characteristics, from being identified.

2.4 Flows of international migrants

Sources for flow data are sometimes the same as those for stocks (for example residence permits). In Germany and Austria both are calculated from a combination of primary sources which include registration forms and census (and/or microcensus) data, and are then checked against the next census.

Flow data are usually in greater demand from researchers, as they indicate the most recent movements of international migrants. The most comprehensive cross-national data set on international migration flows in the EU and EEA is derived from the Eurostat historical series. This is in the process of being extended to most of the rest of Europe. The best quality flow data are usually those on immigration by country of origin. This tends to reflect the legislative and administrative priorities in data requirements of the receiving countries.

Problems arise from the changing composition of the EC/EU/EEA and from the need to backdate the series to include countries which were not members at the time the data were collected. Each change of EU membership ideally should be accompanied by an historical revision of the whole series, backdated. In addition to the need to create new time series for the individual countries' international migration data, the tables for all members of each association change with the addition of each country. The Nordic countries had already changed some of their nationality groupings in tabulations to include EC/non-EC groupings (from 1987 onwards). For the most part, however, NSOs lack both the incentive and resources to backdate their statistical aggregations to take account of these developments. The groupings used for citizenship and country of origin/destination breakdowns can also differ between countries causing problems with comparison. For example, the groups of citizenship tabulated by Danmarks Statistik are: 'Danish'; 'citizens of the country of origin/destination'; 'others' (these are the citizens of countries other than the countries of origin/destination or of Denmark). This means that although we have the totals of nationals, it is not possible to calculate citizenship sub-totals for EC or EEA citizenships.

Flow data are often non-existent or problematic, especially in CEE countries because the administrative/political/statistical frameworks still do not exist to deal with both immigration and emigration, especially of citizens of other countries. In addition, even those countries with good quality data can have administrative problems. For example, the incorporation in the Eurostat historical series of international migration data for the regions of countries was found not yet to be a feasible option for a number of reasons. For some countries the data do not exist; for others sample sizes are too small; sometimes regional data are not collated centrally; even if raw data exist, NSOs frequently lack the resources to compile tables.

The characteristics of sex, age, occupation and country of origin and/or nationality are usually collected. Where the source is registration forms, regional distribution can also be obtained. Some types of flow data are better than others. In general, for foreign citizens the data on immigration are of better quality than those for emigration, because there is often no obvious

reason or benefit to individuals to record their departure. This problem applies less in the countries of the Nordic Council, because of the exchange of data between them, although even there a delay occurs in recording and processing the information on emigration. Emigration of the citizens of a country is generally better recorded than the emigration of citizens of other countries, especially in 'traditional' emigration countries like Portugal and Turkey, and especially for those citizens who benefit through programmes of assisted emigration. Emigration for employment of a country's own citizens through bilateral agreements and formal recruitment programmes also tends to be well recorded (for example, Turkey). Seasonal movements of workers are usually poorly recorded, if at all.

Other 'emigration' data are collected by analysing the immigration and consular data of the receiving countries. For those countries which have significant immigration and emigration flows, net international migration figures must be calculated from the two different types of data. Under the 'old' regimes in Eastern Europe, emigration data were produced from the numbers of international passports issued to citizens. These figures did not record actual movements, but a theoretical potential of future and present movements. Abolition of this form of passport has, in several countries, resulted in a break in continuity, even of this theoretical picture. The official figures also under-recorded potential numbers for political reasons. Numbers of people who left the eastern countries before 1989 were much higher than official records would suggest. It will not normally be possible to make any meaningful comparison with former periods when data begin to emerge from the new statistical systems in Eastern Europe.

In some cases the only means of identifying international movements (for example, Turkey) are 'headcounts' of those crossing the borders. These flow data from border controls can be selective, sporadic, and unevenly recorded. They do not record migration but can provide a snapshot impression of total numbers (including tourists and border/frontier workers) of border-crossings. Data from airports and seaports which are more effectively policed than land borders are less likely to include people entering and leaving on an irregular basis, although most 'illegals' enter legally then over-stay. Data from land border points may not differentiate between local traffic crossing back and forth for day-trips, tourist traffic, and longer-term labour migrants. In some cases border data are collected from all crossing points, and in others, only from selected points. They may be actual numbers, or the product of a sample survey.

2.5 Data on labour migration

One of the root causes of migration is labour demand in the destination countries. Information on the state of labour markets and the role in them of foreign workers is therefore essential. However, labour migration data are probably the most problematic. This largely reflects the greater complexity of what is being measured compared to flows and stocks of foreign nationals. Firstly, although statistics of flows of foreign labour exist, rarely are they available - certainly in any degree of breakdown. Eurostat, for example, does not collect any labour flows data.

Secondly, in foreign labour stocks data, there are difficulties with occupational and industrial breakdown definitions, especially when analysed longitudinally. Data are incomplete and between countries there is a lack of harmonisation. Individual countries have used their own classifications in the past and often these cannot be translated into the now standard NACE (General Industrial Classification of Economic Activities within the European Communities) breakdown. NACE itself causes difficulties since it was revised in 1993 (from NACE 70 to NACE Revision 1) as the old and new classifications are only transposable at the very detailed level - one which is rarely used in the migration data provided - resulting in there being only a broad comparability from one to the other. This creates a break in the series of an individual country at whatever point it changed from the old NACE to the new. Further, countries have made this change at different points and, for some countries, even the most recent data in the Eurostat database are presented in NACE 70.

Data from the main sources on labour - work permits, labour force surveys, insurance records - normally only record those in some form of regular employment. By their nature they are more likely to record skilled workers, those employed under bi-lateral agreements, and those with work permits. Where freedom of movement of labour occurs, as in the EEA, work permits are not required for the nationals of those countries. Within a single country different sources can give widely different information, depending on who is included and how the data are collected. For example, the four main sources for the UK give figures varying by a factor of more than three.

In the Eurostat database, data on stocks of foreign workers are collected under Regulation 311/76 (1976). This regulation gave countries the freedom to use whatever types of source thought appropriate (social security, registers, Labour Force Survey and so on). One consequence is a marked lack of harmonisation in the ensuing dataset.

The most important potential source of inaccuracy in employment data relates to those working illegally. Sometimes they are included in official figures, sometimes not (Delaunay and Tapinos, 1998).

2.6 Data on asylum-seekers and refugees

For many migrants today the root cause of movement is some *force majeure* at the origin. At first glance it might be assumed that European statistics on asylum seeking should be fairly accurate, based on simple counts of those requesting asylum. Reality is much more complicated.

Data on asylum-seekers and refugees in the EU and EFTA are the subject of two comprehensive reports by Rob van der Erf to Eurostat (1993) and the EFTA Secretariat in Luxembourg (1994). Stock and flow data on asylum seekers are often muddled together and there is an unclear relationship between migration and asylum statistics. Government sources, usually the Ministry of the Interior, are responsible for collecting data on asylum seekers and refugees. In recent years, major strides have been made in the collection and publication of these data through the efforts of IGC and Eurostat.

Sensitivity over procedures for processing asylum-seekers, resources problems, recognition rates, and identification of countries of origin combine to create difficulties in producing differentiated data. Published figures may be insufficiently detailed for statistical purposes, or collected in relatively sophisticated ways which include decisions and some characteristics of asylum-seekers. Citizenship and country of origin data are particularly sensitive when numbers are low.

Many governments do not have adequate means or the technical capability to collect, process and/or maintain reliable data. Inadequate procedures and statistical methods can result in over-recording of total numbers of applications. Sometimes all who have expressed an interest in possibly applying for asylum are recorded. The figures may not reflect a picture of how many are actually still in the country, or even if they ever arrived. They may include people who only stayed a week or so in transit to a third country, and people who left after a few days. This leads to muddling of stock and flow figures. Annual totals can include people who have been counted more than once, who have left the country, or who have never entered the country. Recognised refugees in camps are often the only accurate available figures.

In some countries, asylum-seekers are allowed to work whilst their applications are being processed, and in others not. In the former case whether or not they are included in labour statistics depends upon national practice. Children are included in some figures and not in others. People seeking asylum from the republics of former Yugoslavia may be classified as asylum-seekers, tourists or people who are allowed to stay for compassionate reasons.

2.7 Data for Central and Eastern Europe

It was only in 1995 that the first systematic attempt was made by Eurostat to collect international migration data on CEECs, plus Cyprus and Malta. The MRU was responsible for compiling the first tables. The data for Central and Eastern Europe are very partial. A detailed review of what is available, together with documentation on methods of collection, legal basis and definitions has recently been published in a Eurostat Working Paper (Clarke, et al., 1998). On the whole, there are no international migration data available for the region before 1990/91. The datasets that are available tend to have many gaps and little detail, rendering even more problematic the construction of a time-series to identify trends. Co-operation between the CEE countries and European international agencies on migration data is relatively recent, and there have been teething troubles in the process of collecting data, including making requests to the correct (or most reliable) authority in the CEE reporting country: in many cases this is not the national statistical office. As well as the Eurostat database on international migration in Central and Eastern Europe, the Council of Europe population statistics provide some additional data and the unpublished OECD SOPEMI national correspondents' annual reports are a valuable resource, especially in cases where there is an absence of official data. All of the problems that exist in Western European migration data are more prevalent in the CEE region as there has been little work on harmonisation of sources and definition. Further problems arise where a country has undergone significant recent political change such as the break-ups of Czechoslovakia and the former Yugoslavia.

2.8 Conclusions

Throughout all of the datasets, to varying degrees, the common problems are those of inconsistencies at all levels: between legislative and administrative procedures of reporting countries; between data sources and definitions used by countries; on the smaller level with a time series for a particular country where there are hidden and unexplained breaks in the series owing to a change in procedures and definitions. Compounding this are problems of understanding and interpretation that have been built in at every level of data collection and consolidation from the point of collection by the relevant local authorities, to the synthesis of national data at the NSOs and to their inclusion in database at international level.

Much work has been done to document and highlight all of these problems in all aspects of the existing data and to recommend improvements in collection and greater harmonisation. It is certainly the case that the situation with regard to a wide range of international migration statistics relating to European countries is considerably better now than a decade ago. Data are more comprehensive and more reliable. However, there is still much more work to be done and owing to the complexity and logistics of the exercise, many of the problems that have already been identified have still not been rectified and are not likely to be for some time. Thus in both analysing and interpreting the data, it is necessary to be aware of this statistical 'health warning' so that results and conclusions drawn and inferences made are informed of potential pitfalls.

CHAPTER 3 - EUROPE'S FOREIGN CITIZENS

3.1 Introduction

The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the communist regimes have resulted in the end of Europe's political division and the opening of borders between East and West. These geopolitical changes have raised expectations of large population movements from Central and Eastern Europe as well as from the states of the former Soviet Union. It is now generally agreed that movements occurred on nothing like the scale of the direst forebodings.

One of the main aims of this book is to identify the processes in operation in order to understand the migration implications of the opening of the borders between Eastern and Western Europe. The aim of the chapter is to compare the situation of the mid-1980s with the mid-1990s and specifically to examine the role of the period 1989 to 1991 for the development of new migration patterns in Europe. To what extent were signs of changes to migration patterns already visible during the 1980s, before the political changes in 1989? Did the extent of intra-EU movement increase or decline?

The chapter is structured in six main parts. The first two discuss the data on stocks of foreign population, looking first at the share of foreign citizens in European countries and second at the rate and direction of change in stocks. The third and fourth sections examine the foreign population by age and sex breakdown. The new migration triggered by the events of 1989 has been associated with changing migrant profiles and the general assumption in the literature has been that the proportion of young migrants as well as of female migrants has been increasing. The fifth section discusses changes in the composition of the foreign population by citizenship in the individual countries. This is complemented in the final section by an analysis of the foreign population in terms of the income levels of their origin countries and an examination of the proportion of foreign nationals from high and low income countries, in both cases comparing the situation in the mid-1980s with that in the mid-1990s.

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 present the main foreign stock data upon which this analysis is based and from which, in part, subsequent tables and figures are derived. When studying the stock data, it is important to bear in mind that many of the foreigners are Europeans living in countries other than the one of which they are a citizen, rather than non-European citizens who have migrated into western Europe. A second important factor to remember is the huge differences in total population size of different European countries. A foreign population of a given size may constitute a small part of the total population in one country but a substantial proportion in another. Those countries with the largest numbers of foreign residents are not necessarily the ones which have the largest proportion of foreign residents. Finally, national policies on citizenship acquisition influence the size of the foreign population and the stock data should be read in conjunction with Chapter 8 on acquisition of citizenship.

3.2 Trends in stocks of foreign population 1985 -1997

In Western Europe as a whole, stocks of foreign population have increased considerably in recent years. The total stock of foreign population living in the EU and EFTA states in 1996/97, using the latest available figure for all countries, was around 19.9 million people. In 1988, the figure for foreign nationals was 14.5 million. This constitutes an increase in the total foreign stock in Western Europe by a third between 1988 and 1996/97. The distribution of foreign population across Western Europe is uneven (Map 3.1).

Over the same period, the share of foreign population of the total population has increased in most Western European countries. The share of the foreign population in France declined during the 1980s but lack of data makes it impossible to confirm whether the downward trend has continued. In any case, the high rate of naturalisation makes a large increase of

the foreign population unlikely. A unique case is Greece where the share of the foreign population fell rapidly from 2.6 per cent in 1994 to 1.5 per cent in 1996. However, this could also be due to a problem in data compilation. Figures from the Council of Europe (1998, 199) are different and show steady growth since 1994. Belgium is the only country where the share of foreign citizens has not changed significantly. After a decline in the late 1980s, the share of resident foreign nationals was in 1991 back to the 1985 level of 9.1 per cent. Only in three countries has the share of the foreign population relative to the total population declined recently: in Belgium and Norway since 1995 and in the Netherlands since 1996. It is too early to say if this indicates a new trend. Changes in the proportion of foreigners may have occurred for a number of reasons, including rates of naturalisation and updating of statistics.

3.2.1 Distribution of foreign population - Where do they live?

In 1988 as well as in 1996, over 65 per cent of the foreign population in the EU and EFTA states¹ lived in Germany, France and the UK. In 1996, about 37 per cent of all foreigners lived in Germany, the largest single receiving country in Western Europe. France had a share of 18.4 per cent and the UK of 10.2 per cent. Other countries with noticeable shares of foreign residents relative to the total foreign population in the EU/EFTA were Switzerland with 6.8 per cent and Italy with 5.1 per cent. Spain, Sweden, Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands had shares ranging between 2.6 per cent and 4.6 per cent. In the remaining countries the foreign population formed around or less than one per cent of the total foreign population in the EU/EFTA.

The share of foreign populations relative to the total population varies considerably from country to country, although proportions have been rising generally. Declines in Belgium, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy and the Netherlands were less than one per cent. Only Liechtenstein experienced a stronger decrease of 4.2 per cent. Increases were small, too, generally under 1.5 per cent. The strongest increases occurred in Luxembourg with 6.7 per cent and in Austria with 5.5 per cent. Switzerland and Germany had increases of 3.9 and 3.4 per cent respectively. The total share of foreign residents relative to the total population in the EU/EFTA states increased from 3.9 per cent in 1988 to 5.1 per cent in 1996.

In 1996 the largest shares of foreigners relative to the total population were in Liechtenstein (38.2 per cent), Luxembourg (33.5 per cent) and Switzerland (18.8 per cent) (Figure 3.1). In three countries - Austria, Belgium and Germany - the share of foreign citizens was around nine per cent. France and Sweden had a share of around six per cent. In another group of countries - Ireland, the UK, Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands - the proportion of foreign residents ranged between 3.2 per cent and 4.7 per cent. In the remaining countries - Finland, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Portugal and Spain - foreign citizens constituted between 1.3 per cent and 1.9 per cent of the total population.

¹ "Totals" for EU/EFTA states in this chapter refer to the sum only for those states where data are available.

Table 3.1 - Foreign population in EU and EFTA countries, as of 1 January 1996 (or latest year available)

Absolute Figures (1)

Year	Thousands																						
	B	DK	D	EL	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK	IS	LI	NO	CH	EU 15	EFTA	EEA	EU & EFTA
	1996	1996	1996	1996	1996	1990	1996	1994	1992	1996	1991	1996	1996	1996	1996	1996	-	1996	1996	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Total	909.8	222.8	7173.9	155.5	499.0	3596.6	117.0	624.1	114.7	725.4	517.7	168.3	68.6	531.8	1991.8	5.1	-	396.6	1363.6	17416.9	1765.4	17818.7	19182.2
Europe	661.8	137.5	5950.7	92.1	254.9	1661.5	-	236.6	-	397.6	467.0	44.9	46.7	370.1	971.2	3.6	-	227.6	1239.2	11292.4	1470.4	11523.6	12762.8
EU 15 & EFTA	557.9	63.5	1857.2	46.1	244.9	1345.8	-	132.4	-	194.9	85.1	43.0	14.7	218.5	835.1	2.7	-	177.2	839.3	5639.1	1019.2	5819.0	6658.4
EU 15	554.5	46.5	1811.7	44.4	235.6	1321.5	-	120.1	-	191.1	79.4	41.5	13.7	179.0	817.9	2.4	-	170.2	836.2	5457.1	1008.7	5629.6	6465.8
EFTA	3.4	17.0	45.4	1.8	9.3	24.2	-	12.3	-	3.8	5.7	1.5	1.0	39.5	17.1	0.3	-	7.0	3.1	182.1	10.5	189.4	192.6
Central Europe	9.6	7.5	540.7	16.9	5.8	63.0	-	29.0	-	9.6	64.4	0.8	2.0	26.5	38.7	0.6	-	14.8	17.9	814.5	33.3	829.9	847.8
Other Europe (3)	94.2	66.5	3552.7	29.2	4.2	252.7	-	75.2	-	193.1	317.5	1.1	30.0	125.1	97.4	0.3	-	35.6	382.0	4838.8	417.9	4874.7	5256.7
Africa	179.5	15.7	291.2	13.4	95.7	1633.1	-	208.4	-	196.8	8.5	79.2	7.0	28.7	235.2	0.1	-	25.5	28.8	2992.5	54.4	3018.1	3046.9
Americas	20.9	9.1	183.0	20.2	108.9	72.8	-	68.8	-	40.1	9.5	36.7	3.1	33.8	231.9	0.7	-	49.3	38.6	838.7	88.6	888.7	927.3
Asia	25.4	48.9	672.6	27.1	38.2	227.0	-	105.8	-	71.4	25.7	6.7	9.7	83.1	437.0	0.7	-	92.1	54.7	1778.6	147.4	1871.3	1926.0
Oceania	0.6	1.0	9.2	1.2	0.9	2.3	-	3.1	-	2.5	0.7	0.5	0.4	1.9	88.6	0.1	-	2.1	2.0	112.8	4.2	115.0	117.0
Other (4)	21.6	10.5	67.2	1.4	0.3	0.0	-	1.5	-	17.0	6.2	0.3	1.8	14.3	28.0	0.0	-	0.0	0.4	170.2	0.4	170.2	170.5

Percentage of total foreign population of reporting country

Year	Per cent																						
	BE	DK	DE	GR	ES	FR	IE	IT	LU	NL	AT	PT	FI	SE	UK	IS	LI	NO	CH	EU 15	EFTA	EEA	EU & EFTA
	1996	1996	1996	1996	1996	1990	1996	1994	1992	1996	1991	1996	1996	1996	1996	1996	-	1996	1996	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Europe	72.7	61.7	82.9	59.2	51.1	46.2	-	37.9	-	54.8	90.2	26.7	68.1	69.6	48.8	70.6	-	57.4	90.9	64.8	83.3	64.7	66.5
EU 15 & EFTA	61.3	28.5	25.9	29.6	49.1	37.4	-	21.2	-	26.9	16.4	25.5	21.4	41.1	41.9	52.9	-	44.7	61.6	32.4	57.7	32.7	34.7
EU 15	60.9	20.9	25.3	28.6	47.2	36.7	-	19.2	-	26.3	15.3	24.7	20.0	33.7	41.1	47.1	-	42.9	61.3	31.3	57.1	31.6	33.7
EFTA	0.4	7.6	0.6	1.2	1.9	0.7	-	2.0	-	0.5	1.1	0.9	1.5	7.4	0.9	5.9	-	1.8	0.2	1.0	0.6	1.1	1.0
Central Europe	1.1	3.4	7.5	10.9	1.2	1.8	-	4.6	-	1.3	12.4	0.5	2.9	5.0	1.9	11.8	-	3.7	1.3	4.7	1.9	4.7	4.4
Other Europe (3)	10.4	29.8	49.5	18.8	0.8	7.0	-	12.0	-	26.6	61.3	0.7	43.7	23.5	4.9	5.9	-	9.0	28.0	27.8	23.7	27.4	27.4
Africa	19.7	7.0	4.1	8.6	19.2	45.4	-	33.4	-	27.1	1.6	47.1	10.2	5.4	11.8	2.0	-	6.4	2.1	17.2	3.1	16.9	15.9
Americas	2.3	4.1	2.6	13.0	21.8	2.0	-	11.0	-	5.5	1.8	21.8	4.5	6.4	11.6	13.7	-	12.4	2.8	4.8	5.0	5.0	4.8
Asia	2.8	21.9	9.4	17.4	7.7	6.3	-	17.0	-	9.8	5.0	4.0	14.1	15.6	21.9	13.7	-	23.2	4.0	10.2	8.3	10.5	10.0
Oceania	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.8	0.2	0.1	-	0.5	-	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.6	0.4	4.4	2.0	-	0.5	0.1	0.6	0.2	0.6	0.6
Other (4)	2.4	4.7	0.9	0.9	0.1	0.0	-	0.2	-	2.3	1.2	0.2	2.6	2.7	1.4	0.0	-	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.9

Percentage of total foreign citizenship in EU and EFTA countries

Year	Per cent																						
	BE	DK	DE	GR	ES	FR	IE	IT	LU	NL	AT	PT	FI	SE	UK	IS	LI	NO	CH	EU 15	EFTA	EEA	EU & EFTA
	1996	1996	1996	1996	1996	1990	1996	1994	1992	1996	1991	1996	1996	1996	1996	1996	-	1996	1996	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Total	4.7	1.2	37.4	0.8	2.6	18.7	0.6	3.3	0.6	3.8	2.7	0.9	0.4	2.8	10.4	0.0	-	2.1	7.1	90.8	9.2	92.9	100.0
Europe	5.2	1.1	46.6	0.7	2.0	13.0	-	1.9	-	3.1	3.7	0.4	0.4	2.9	7.6	0.0	-	1.8	9.7	88.5	11.5	90.3	100.0
EU 15 & EFTA	8.4	1.0	27.9	0.7	3.7	20.2	-	2.0	-	2.9	1.3	0.6	0.2	3.3	12.5	0.0	-	2.7	12.6	84.7	15.3	87.4	100.0
EU 15	8.6	0.7	28.0	0.7	3.6	20.4	-	1.9	-	3.0	1.2	0.6	0.2	2.8	12.6	0.0	-	2.6	12.9	84.4	15.6	87.1	100.0
EFTA	1.8	8.8	23.6	0.9	4.8	12.6	-	6.4	-	2.0	3.0	0.8	0.5	20.5	8.9	0.2	-	3.6	1.6	94.5	5.5	98.3	100.0
Central Europe	1.1	0.9	63.8	2.0	0.7	7.4	-	3.4	-	1.1	7.6	0.1	0.2	3.1	4.6	0.1	-	1.7	2.1	96.1	3.9	97.9	100.0
Other Europe (3)	1.8	1.3	67.6	0.6	0.1	4.8	-	1.4	-	3.7	6.0	0.0	0.6	2.4	1.9	0.0	-	0.7	7.3	92.1	7.9	92.7	100.0
Africa	5.9	0.5	9.6	0.4	3.1	53.6	-	6.8	-	6.5	0.3	2.6	0.2	0.9	7.7	0.0	-	0.8	0.9	98.2	1.8	99.1	100.0
Americas	2.3	1.0	19.7	2.2	11.7	7.9	-	7.4	-	4.3	1.0	4.0	0.3	3.6	25.0	0.1	-	5.3	4.2	90.4	9.6	95.8	100.0
Asia	1.3	2.5	34.9	1.4	2.0	11.8	-	5.5	-	3.7	1.3	0.3	0.5	4.3	22.7	0.0	-	4.8	2.8	92.3	7.7	97.2	100.0
Oceania	0.5	0.9	7.9	1.0	0.8	2.0	-	2.6	-	2.1	0.6	0.4	0.3	1.6	75.7	0.1	-	1.8	1.7	96.4	3.6	98.3	100.0
Other (4)	12.7	6.2	39.4	0.8	0.2	0.0	-	0.9	-	10.0	3.6	0.2	1.1	8.4	16.4	0.0	-	0.0	0.2	99.8	0.2	99.8	100.0

Table 3.1 - Foreign population in EU and EFTA countries, as of 1 January 1996 (or latest year available) (continued)

Source: Eurostat

Notes

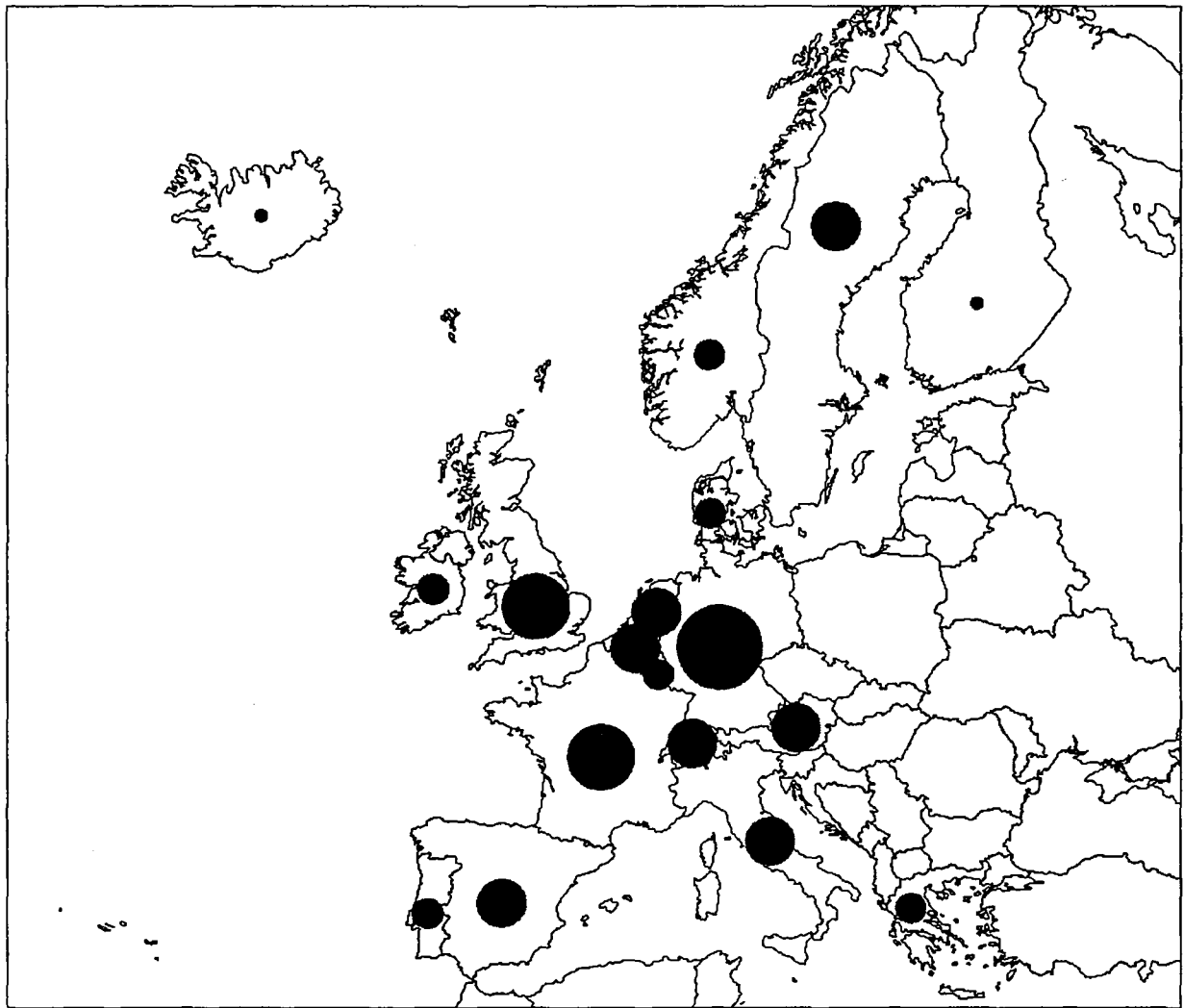
1. "-" refers to data which are unavailable.
2. These sub-totals have been constructed by summing relevant figures where available in the preceding columns. Therefore, owing to unavailable figures and data from different years, some of these figures are (under-)estimates.
3. Includes Former USSR and Former Yugoslavia.
4. Includes those not included in other categories, stateless and unknown.

Table 3.2 - Stocks of Foreign Population in EU and EFTA States, by Sex, 1985-1997

Total	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Austria	304.4	314.9	326.2	344.0	387.2	456.1	532.7	623.0	689.6	713.5	723.5	728.2	732.7
Belgium	897.6	846.5	853.2	862.5	868.8	880.8	904.5	922.5	909.3	897.4	922.3	909.8	911.9
Switzerland	932.4	939.7	956.0	978.7	1006.5	1040.3	1100.3	1163.2	1213.5	1260.3	1300.1	1330.6	1337.6
Germany	4363.7	4378.9	4512.7	4240.5	4489.1	4845.9	5342.5	5882.3	6495.8	6878.1	6990.5	7173.9	7314.0
Denmark	107.7	116.9	128.3	136.2	142.0	150.6	160.6	169.5	180.1	189.0	196.7	222.8	237.7
Spain	-	-	293.2	334.9	360.0	398.1	407.6	483.9	393.1	430.4	460.8	499.0	539.0
Finland	16.3	16.5	16.6	17.7	18.7	21.2	26.3	37.6	46.3	55.6	62.0	68.6	73.8
France	-	-	-	-	-	3596.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Greece	234.1	233.2	220.1	217.8	222.6	226.1	229.1	253.3	262.3	266.1	152.8	155.5	-
Ireland	80.7	78.8	79.4	83.6	79.2	80.8	88.0	94.7	89.9	91.1	96.1	117.0	-
Iceland	3.5	3.6	3.9	4.8	4.8	4.8	5.4	-	-	4.8	4.7	5.1	-
Italy	-	423.0	450.2	572.1	645.4	490.4	781.1	878.4	923.6	987.4	922.7	991.4	1095.6
Luxembourg	-	-	97.3	99.8	102.8	105.9	110.0	114.7	122.7	132.5	142.8	138.1	142.8
Netherlands	558.8	552.5	568.1	591.8	623.7	641.9	692.4	732.9	757.4	779.8	757.1	725.4	679.9
Norway	97.8	101.5	109.3	123.7	135.9	140.3	143.3	147.8	154.0	162.3	164.0	160.8	157.5
Portugal	-	79.6	87.0	89.8	94.5	101.0	107.8	110.8	121.5	131.6	157.1	168.3	172.9
Sweden	390.6	388.6	390.8	401.0	421.0	456.0	483.7	493.8	499.1	507.5	537.4	531.8	526.6
United Kingdom	1746.0	1843.0	1877.0	1842.0	1989.0	1916.0	1829.0	2034.0	2001.0	2037.0	1971.0	1985.0	2079.0
Females as Percentage of Total	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Austria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Belgium	45.7	45.7	45.8	45.9	46.0	46.1	46.2	46.2	46.1	46.3	46.6	47.0	47.4
Switzerland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44.9	45.3	45.7	46.0
Germany	42.7	42.8	42.9	44.8	45.0	45.0	43.6	43.2	42.7	43.0	43.6	43.9	44.6
Denmark	47.4	46.2	45.3	45.5	45.9	46.3	46.8	47.6	48.0	48.5	48.8	49.0	49.3
Spain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Finland	43.6	43.0	42.8	43.5	43.3	43.9	43.7	44.4	45.4	46.4	47.1	47.8	48.5
France	-	-	-	-	-	44.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Greece	47.4	47.3	47.8	47.8	47.8	47.7	48.1	47.7	48.0	48.9	51.5	52.0	-
Ireland	52.8	51.8	51.3	52.0	51.8	52.4	50.0	52.3	50.9	50.9	-	53.1	-
Iceland	57.1	55.6	56.4	56.3	56.3	56.3	57.4	-	-	60.4	59.6	58.8	-
Italy	-	-	-	-	-	-	42.8	42.1	42.8	44.2	-	-	-
Luxembourg	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.2	-	-	-
Netherlands	43.1	43.4	43.9	44.0	44.4	44.8	44.9	45.0	45.4	45.8	46.0	46.2	46.9
Norway	47.5	47.4	47.8	46.2	45.8	45.9	46.4	46.7	47.1	47.9	48.9	49.9	50.7
Portugal	-	-	43.2	43.2	43.2	43.2	43.1	-	42.6	45.6	41.4	41.5	41.6
Sweden	49.6	49.6	49.6	49.6	49.4	49.0	49.1	49.4	49.6	49.9	54.5	50.4	50.5
United Kingdom	51.3	50.9	51.5	50.9	52.2	52.0	52.3	52.2	53.5	53.7	53.0	52.9	53.5

Source: Eurostat, OECD, Council of Europe

Map 3.1 - Stocks of total foreign population in the EU and EFTA, 1996 (or latest year available)



Stocks of Foreign Population
(Nos. of People):

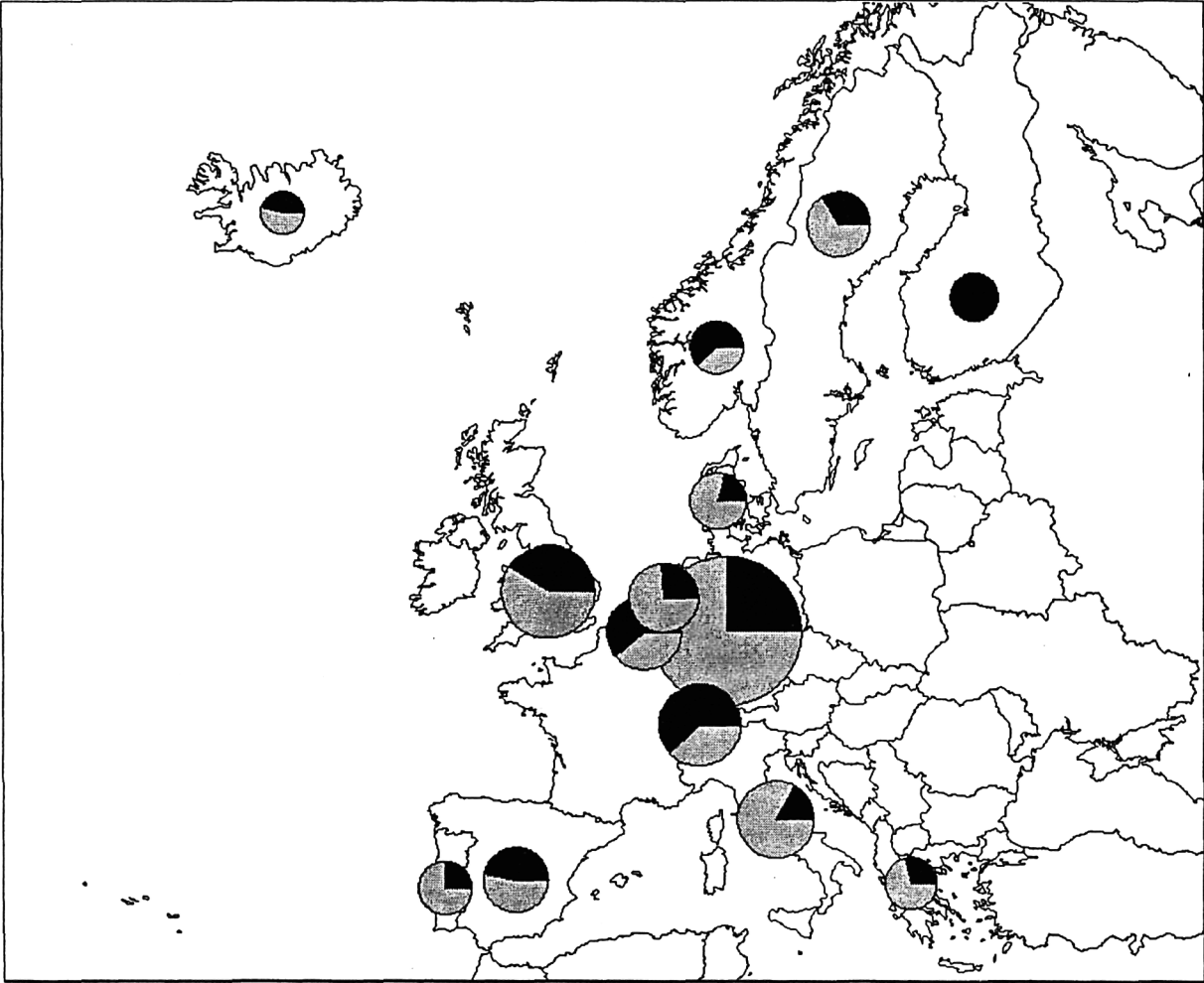
- 5,100 - 73,800
- 73,801 - 237,700
- 237,701 - 1,337,600
- 1,337,601 - 3,596,600
- 3,596,601 - 7,314,000



600 0 600 Miles

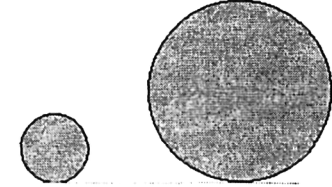
Source: Eurostat

Map 3.2 - EU and non-EU foreign nationals as a proportion of total foreign population in the EU and EFTA

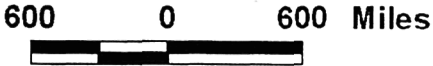


Foreign Population by Source:

● EU States ● Non EU States

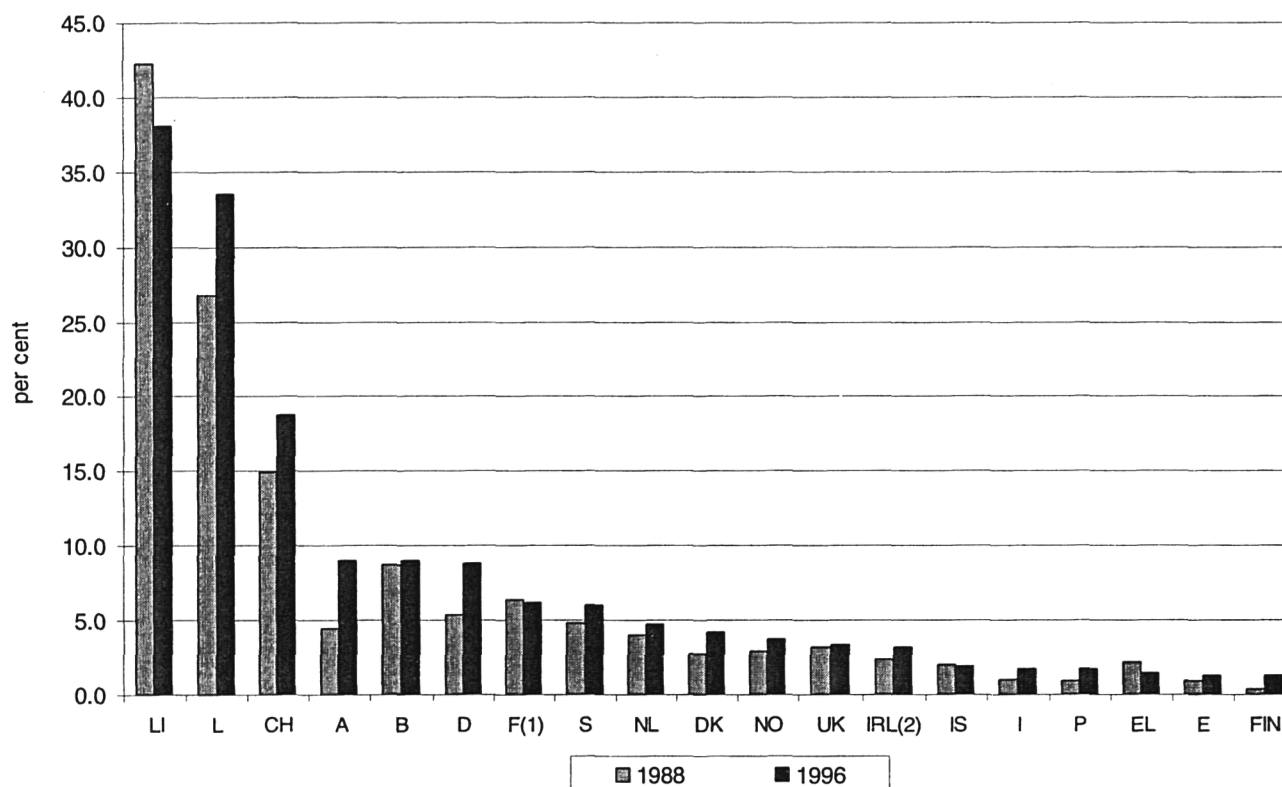


155,000 7,250,000
Numbers of people



Source: Eurostat

Figure 3.1 - Share of foreign population out of total population in 1988 and 1996



Source: Eurostat, OECD, Council of Europe

Notes

1. 1988 = 1982; 1996 = 1990 figure
2. 1988 = 1989 figure

In 1988, as in 1996, by far the largest proportion of foreigners relative to the total population were in Liechtenstein (42.3 per cent), Luxembourg (26.8 per cent) and Switzerland (14.9 per cent). They were followed by Belgium (8.7 per cent), France (6.4 per cent) and Germany (5.4 per cent). In another group of countries - Austria, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom the share of the foreign population ranged from 3.2 per cent to 4.8 per cent. In the nine remaining countries, the share of foreign citizens constituted less than three per cent, in four of them only one or less than one per cent (Finland, Italy, Portugal, Spain).

Those countries with the largest proportions of foreign residents are not necessarily the ones which have the largest numbers of foreign residents. In 1997, the largest foreign populations were in Germany (7,314,000), the UK (2,079,000), Switzerland (1,337,500) and Italy (1,095,000). The foreign population in Belgium fell short of the one million mark (911,900). Particularly striking is the discrepancy between large numbers of foreign residents but their low proportion of total population in Italy and the UK. Germany had by far the largest foreign population in absolute numbers but this was not reflected in a very high share of the foreign population. In contrast, Luxembourg, the country with the largest share of foreign residents was among the countries with the lowest number of foreign nationals (142,800), after Iceland, Finland and Ireland. The situation in 1988 was similar. The largest foreign populations were found in Germany (4,240,500), followed by the UK (1,842,000) and Switzerland (956,000). Again, discrepancies between large numbers and relative small proportions are noticeable in Germany and the UK whereas the share of the foreign population in Switzerland was almost double the size of the share of the much larger foreign population in Germany. In 1988 Luxembourg was also among the five countries with the

smallest foreign population despite its very high share relative to the total population. The comparison highlights first, the importance of Germany within the west European migration system - it has continuously been the largest single receiving country. Secondly, the emergence of Italy, with the fourth largest foreign population beside the traditional immigration countries, indicates changes in the pattern of migration flows into Western Europe.

3.2.2 When did they arrive?

The widespread assumption that the political events of 1989 led to an increase in immigration to Western Europe is not equally true for all countries. It is not always possible to establish a clear link between growth of foreign population and the changes triggered by the events of 1989. In one group of countries a noticeable increase in the stock of foreign population relative to the total population coincides with the changes of 1989/90, for another group it is not possible to establish this connection. The first group includes Austria, Germany, Italy, Finland, Greece, Ireland, the Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland (Table 3.3). However, the extent to which the growth rate of the foreign population can be linked to the events of 1989, is another question and needs further investigation. The breakdown of the stock of foreign population by citizenship below can partly help to answer this question.

The largest increase in the share of the foreign population in Western Europe can be seen in Austria, Luxembourg, Switzerland and, to a lesser extent, in Germany. In Austria, after low growth during the mid-1980s, the growth rate had picked up significantly by 1988. Austria experienced large annual increases in its share of foreign citizens until 1993 (from 4.5 per cent to 8.6 per cent) with the largest increases occurring between 1990 and 1992. After 1994, the share of the foreign population stabilised at about nine per cent. The development in Luxembourg shows a similar picture - significant annual increases from 1988 until 1997, representing the largest rate of growth of the stock of foreign population in a Western European country and also over the longest period. Annual increases were particularly strong in 1990 and in 1997. The large increase in the stock of foreign population in Luxembourg cannot solely be explained by the geopolitical changes of 1989 since this trend started in 1988. In contrast, the increase in immigration to Austria after 1988 can partly be explained by the opening of the Hungarian-Austrian border. In Switzerland, after a small but steady growth during the late 1980s, the increases in the share of the foreign population became significantly larger from 1990, a development continuing until 1996.

The share of foreign citizens in Germany dropped in 1989 after a steady growth in the previous years, then from 1989 to 1991 it rebounded significantly from 7.3 per cent to 8.2 per cent. In 1992, the share dropped down to 7.3 per cent due to the effect of unification.² Since 1993, the share of foreign citizens has been growing steadily. The share of foreign citizens in Ireland was below one per cent, until 1992 when it increased to 2.7 per cent. This was the largest annual increase in all of the countries covered in this study. The share of foreign population remained stable at this level and increased again to 3.2 per cent in 1996. After small but continuous increases during the 1980s, Italy experienced a drop in its share of foreign citizens in 1990. The share of foreign citizens rose from 0.9 per cent in 1990 to 1.4 per cent in 1991 and then continued to grow gradually. This can be associated with changes in origin of the main immigrant groups. However, further analysis is necessary in order to establish to what extent these changes are due to regularisation programmes or new immigration. The Netherlands had a relatively stable share of foreign citizens in the mid-1980s. It started to grow gradually after 1988 with larger increases between 1990 and 1993. After 1993, the proportion of the foreign population stayed at around five per cent. The figures for Sweden show a similar development. Since 1988, the share of its foreign population has been growing, with larger increases between 1989 and 1991. As in Austria and Luxembourg, a rising trend in the foreign population was already visible in 1988 and

² Since 1991, figures for unified Germany. 1992 figure refers to 1991 as data are as of 1 January.

seems to have been reinforced by the developments of 1989. Greece had a stable share of foreign population of 2.2 per cent from 1987 which increased in small steps from 1990 onwards. The proportion of the foreign population in Finland has been growing gradually with one larger annual increase in 1992.

Table 3.3 - Periods of strongest increase in share of foreign population

A	L	CH	D	S	NL	I	FIN	EL	IRL
'88-'93	'88-'97	'90-'96	'89-'91 '92-'94	'89-'91	'90-'93	1991	1992	1992	1992
NO	IS	P	DK	B	UK	E			
1987-89	1988	1994	1995-97	stable	gradual	gradual			

Source: Eurostat, OECD, Council of Europe

The second group of countries includes Belgium, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom. The share of foreign population did not change in Belgium over the years. Denmark and Norway experienced a steady increase with no unusual drops or peaks. Both countries had short periods with stronger increases than their average annual increase of one or two per cent, Denmark from 1995 to 1997 and Norway from 1987 to 1989. The proportion of foreign citizens in Iceland was relatively stable during the mid-1980s, increased in 1988 from 1.5 per cent to 1.9 per cent and then stayed around this figure. The share of foreign population in the United Kingdom grew gradually with a small drop in 1991, although a direct comparison before and after that date is not possible because of changes in data collection by the Labour Force Survey.

Both Portugal and Spain have had a low increase in their share of foreign citizens. Portugal only once experienced a larger increase, in 1994, when it grew from 1.2 per cent to 1.7 per cent and then stayed at this new level. As in the case of Italy, the extent to which this was a result of the 1993 regularisation programme or of new immigration needs further investigation. The two new immigrant groups among the main five national groups since 1995, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, were also among the largest groups in the regularisation programme. In Spain, the share of foreign citizens was around one per cent between 1988 and 1993, and then grew gradually to 1.4 per cent in 1997. This development is not surprising as these countries have only recently become countries of immigration and they are not the main countries of destination for migrants from Central and Eastern Europe or the former Soviet Union.

3.3 Rate of increase and direction of change in stocks

In the EU, the overall trend has been a steady increase in the stock of foreign population since the mid-1980s with noticeable increases between 1990 and 1992. The latest statistics indicate that total numbers of foreign residents are still growing in most west European states. There has been a slight decline during the last three to four years (1995-1997) in the numbers of the foreign population in Belgium (since 1993), the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden but the figures are still well above those of 1989. The UK has had the most irregular pattern. From 1988 to 1995 it experienced an annual decline of its foreign population on five occasions, but nevertheless shows a general increase over the period as a whole. However, the overall rate of increase has declined significantly since the early 1990s. Though rates of change at different points in time differed, most of the countries had a growing annual rate of increase in most years between 1988 and 1993.

Table 3.4 - Average rate of increase in percentage 1985-1989

high		medium		low		negative
I	15.4	FIN	3.5	NL	2.8	EL
E	10.9	UK	3.4	L	2.8	B
NO	8.6	D	3.2	CH	1.9	IRL
IS	8.6			S	1.9	
DK	7.2					
A	6.3					
P ¹	5.9					

Source: Eurostat, OECD, Council of Europe

Note

1. 1986-1989

Taking the average rate of increase for the periods of 1985 to 1989, 1989 to 1993 and 1993 to 1997, the EU countries can be divided into groups of high, medium and low growth to illustrates changes in migration patterns and to identify possible trends (Table 3.4). During the late 1980s, prior to the events of 1989, Norway, Denmark, Iceland and Austria exhibited the highest average rate of increase ranging between 8.6 per cent and 6.3 per cent. Figures for Italy (15.4 per cent), Spain (10.9 per cent) and Portugal (5.9 per cent) are also quite high but data for Italy and Portugal have only been available since 1986 and for Spain since 1987. In addition, the high figure for Italy can be partly attributed to the regularisation programme of 1987-88. The second group of countries, with medium growth rate between 3.1 per cent and 3.5 per cent, is the smallest, comprising only Finland, Germany and the United Kingdom. The Netherlands, Luxembourg, Switzerland and Sweden showed a low average rate of increase between 1.9 per cent and 2.8 per cent, while Greece, Belgium and Ireland had a negative average rate of increase for this period.

In most countries, the rate of increase and trend were upset during the years 1989 to 1993. Most countries recorded a drop in their annual rate of increase from 1993 to 1994. After 1993, the situation appears to have started to change again and new trends emerged for individual countries. By far the highest average (as well as annual) rate of increase occurred in Finland (25.9 per cent) and Austria (15.6 per cent) (Table 3.5). In both countries, however, a continuing high increase in the stock of foreign population had begun before 1989. The Netherlands, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Sweden, Greece, Italy (excluding the 1990 regularisation programme), Ireland, Spain and Norway form a group of countries with a medium rate of increase ranging from 3.2 per cent to 5.0 per cent (mid-low Italy, Ireland, Spain, Norway from 3.2 per cent to 3.7 per cent). Belgium had the lowest average rate of increase with 1.2 per cent (negative rate of increase in 1993). The United Kingdom had a negative average rate of increase despite its highest annual rate of increase of over 11 per cent in 1992.³ The number of foreign nationals in Iceland increased from 1990 to 1991 but there are no data for 1992 and 1993. By 1994, the next year for which data are available, the number of foreigners was back to pre-1990 figures.

³ This was a result of a change in the LFS surveying procedures whereby the previously large number of "Unknowns" was reduced. About 600,000 thousand people were thus properly allocated in 1992, adding around 200,000 to the foreign nationals total.

The analysis of the period from 1993 to 1997 (Table 3.5) shows that the development was different in every country. Those with the highest average rate of increase ranged between 12.5 per cent (Finland) and 7.1 per cent (Denmark). There were only a few countries with a medium average rate of increase ranging between 4.6 per cent (Italy) and 2.5 per cent (Switzerland). Austria, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Norway and Belgium had an average rate of increase below 1.5 per cent and figures for Greece and the Netherlands showed a negative rate of increase.

Table 3.5 - Average rate of increase in percentage 1989-1993

very high		high		medium		low / negative	
FIN	25.9	D	9.7	NL	5.0	B	1.2
A	15.6	P	6.5	CH	4.8	UK	-0.4
		DK	6.1	L	4.5		
				S	4.4		
				EL	4.3		
				I	3.7		
				IRL	3.4		
				E	3.2		
				NO	3.2		

Source: Eurostat, OECD, Council of Europe

Table 3.6 - Average rate of increase in percentage 1993-1997

high		medium		low		negative	
FIN	12.5	I	4.6	A	1.5	EL	-13.1
IRL	9.5	L	4	S	1.4	NL	-2.6
P	9.4	D	3	NO	0.6		
E	8.2	CH	2.5	UK	0.1		
DK	7.1			B	0.1		

Source: Eurostat, OECD, Council of Europe

The comparison of the different periods shows that in four countries - Denmark, Norway, Iceland, the United Kingdom - the average rate of increase has actually declined in 1989-1993 compared to the period 1985-1989. With reservations, as data are not available for all years, this development can also be seen in Italy and Spain. Whereas the average rate of increase grew in most countries for the period 1989-1993, only in Italy (excluding 'regularised' people), Portugal, Spain, Ireland and the United Kingdom did this trend continue after 1993. Comparing the period 1985 to 1989 with 1993 to 1997, the average rate of increase is roughly the same in Denmark and Germany for both periods. There was only a small increase in Switzerland, Belgium and Luxembourg of less than one per cent and a very large increase in Finland and Ireland. The average rate of increase 1993-97 has declined a little in Sweden (less than one per cent) and the United Kingdom compared to the average rate of increase pre-1989, and is substantially lower in Austria, Greece, the Netherlands and Norway; Greece and the Netherlands even had a negative average rate of increase. Due to lack of data, it is not possible to compare the period 1985 to 1989 with the period 1993-1997 for Iceland and Portugal.

Table 3.7 - Did the average rate of increase grow or decline after 1993 compared to the pre-1989 period?

Decline	no change	small increase	strong increase
NO EL NL A UK	DK D	CH B L	FIN IRL

Source: Eurostat, OECD, Council of Europe

Compared with the pre-1989 period, the period from 1989 to 1993 showed an increase of immigration in more countries. The number of countries in the 'medium group' was larger during this period compared to pre-1989, and then declined again after 1993. Similarly, there were only two countries during 1989-1993 with low growth or a negative rate of increase. This changed after 1993 when the situation looked similar to the pre-1989 period when more countries had a low or negative increase, and there were larger increases in stocks of foreign population concentrated in five countries. In general, compared to the pre-1989 period, the average rate of increase for the period 1993 to 1997 was higher in the 'high group' and lower in the 'low group', which indicates a concentration of growth in certain countries. The situation is summarised in Table 3.7.

It is essential to scrutinise the experience of individual countries to appreciate that there have been, and continue to be, marked differences between them. The grouping of countries into different regions within Western Europe is of only limited explanatory value. For example, the Scandinavian countries Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland showed a high average rate of increase for the period 1988-1997 of 46.7 per cent but this cannot be interpreted as Scandinavia as a whole being a region of growth or change. The increase in stock of foreign population occurred mainly in Finland, whereas Norway had much lower annual rates of increase after 1993 (even negative rates of increase since 1995) when compared to the late 1980s. A similar picture emerges for the Mediterranean countries, Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece, which are often treated as a homogenous group of 'new' immigration countries. The foreign population in Italy and Portugal almost doubled in size between 1988 and 1997 and in Spain the numbers of foreign residents increased by two thirds while the recorded foreign population in Greece declined by almost one third. Both Portugal and Spain experienced a high average rate of increase after 1993 while the stock of foreign population in Greece declined substantially. This emphasises again that in order to understand the processes underlying new or changing migration flows each country has to be examined individually in its historical and geopolitical context.

3.4 Stocks of foreign population by age breakdown

The available data on stock by age breakdown are very patchy. There are no data for Austria, Spain, France and Greece. Iceland, Italy, Norway and Portugal have data for some years only. There are some figures for the early 1990s for Finland, Iceland, Ireland, Italy and Spain. Statements on long term trends are only possible for seven countries - Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Greece, the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK. The age structure of migrants is predominantly within working age and the largest group in all countries is the age group 25 to 39 years. The share of this age group has been growing in all countries except in Sweden and Finland. The biggest group was in Germany where the numbers of foreign nationals in this age group grew from over 1.2 million in 1988 to over 2.2 million in 1996. Other large groups can be found in the UK - from 565,300 in 1988 to 796,200 in 1998 - and

in Switzerland - from 277,300 in 1988 to 429,100 in 1998. Two more countries had large numbers of foreign nationals in this age group: Italy in 1993 with over half a million and France in 1990 with just under 960,000.

The trends for the different age groups in the seven countries which provide data from 1985/86 show an overall decline in the proportion of the younger foreign population. The age group 0-14 years has been declining in all countries except in Switzerland where this group started to increase its share after 1991. Similarly, the proportion of the age group 15-24 years has been declining in most countries, though only since 1993 in Germany. It grew in the Netherlands until 1997 and dropped in 1998 by five per cent. The age group 25 to 39 years has been growing in all countries except in Sweden. The share of the 40 to 54 years group declined in the UK and has shown a declining trend in Germany since 1992, in Denmark from 1992 to 1993 and in Sweden since 1994. The proportion of the 55-64 years group declined in the UK and Greece and the share of migrants over 65 years declined in Greece as well.

3.4.1 What is the trend amongst young people?

A comparison of the 1988 figures with those from 1998 (or the latest date available) shows that in most countries the proportion of foreign children has declined (Figure 3.2). The Netherlands, Belgium and Greece experienced substantial decreases of between 6.5 per cent and 4.8 per cent in the share of the age group 0 to 14 years. Only Finland exhibited a substantial increase of 2.5 per cent. In 1998 (or latest date), Greece and Portugal had by far the smallest proportion of foreign children with around five per cent, followed by the UK with eleven per cent. In Ireland, Belgium, Iceland and Germany the children's share ranged between 14.4 per cent and 18.9 per cent. The proportion in Switzerland, Norway, Finland, the Netherlands, France and Sweden was around 20 to 22 per cent. The largest share of children in the foreign population was in Denmark with 24 per cent.

There has been a similar development for the age group 15 to 24 years (Figure 3.3). In most countries, the proportion of that age group has declined since 1988. The largest decline occurred in Greece (-3.4 per cent) and in Denmark (-3.0 per cent). Further decreases, ranging between -2 per cent and -2.7 per cent occurred in Norway, Belgium, Switzerland and the Netherlands. The only substantial increase in the share of this age group was in Sweden (3.4 per cent). Portugal had by far the largest share of 15-24 year old foreigners where they constituted over a third of the foreign resident population.

In summary, there is a very strong declining trend in the shares of the young foreign population in the age range 0-24 years. Only two countries, Sweden and Finland, experienced an increase. Particularly striking were large declines in the share of this group in Greece by 9.4 per cent, in Belgium by 9.2 per cent and in the Netherlands by 8.6 per cent. While there is a relative decline of foreign children and youth in all but two countries, an absolute decline in total numbers occurred only in Belgium and in Ireland since 1993 (only for the 15-24 years age group); in the Netherlands since 1995; in Norway (only for the 0-14 years age group since 1996) and in the UK for a brief period around 1993 to 1995.

3.4.2 Has the share of working age immigrants risen?

In 1998 (or the latest date available), Italy (55 per cent) and Greece (45 per cent) had by far the largest share of migrants in the 25-39 years group (Figure 3.4). In many countries - Finland, Iceland, Norway, United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Denmark - the proportion of that age group ranged between 34.3 per cent and 39.5 per cent. In Switzerland, Sweden, Germany and Belgium, this age group still formed over 30 per cent while it constituted less than a third in Ireland (29.6 per cent) and in France (26.7 per cent). Compared with the figures for 1988, most countries experienced an increase in the share of this age group, although there was a decline in Sweden (-0.7 per cent). Particularly noticeable are large increases of 7 per cent in Greece and close to 6 per cent in the Netherlands and just above

5 per cent in the United Kingdom. Belgium and Switzerland also experienced larger increases of 4.3 per cent and 3.7 per cent respectively. This means that in all countries with a low share of this migrant group in 1988, that share has grown considerably, except in Ireland where it only increased by one per cent. Possible explanations for this are an increase in temporary migrant workers and female migrants.

The trend in the 40-54 years group is unclear (Figure 3.5). Only Greece (4.6 per cent) and Belgium (2.4 per cent) experienced substantial increases in the share of this group. The largest decline occurred in the countries with the largest shares of this age group in 1988 - Switzerland (-4.6 per cent), the UK (-2.9 per cent) and Germany (-2.1 per cent). Changes since 1988 in the other countries were not very substantial which suggests that, on the whole, this age group may not have been very significant in recent migration movements. It represents the relatively small recruitment cohort from the 1970s and early 1980s. Apart from the low immigration rate during these years compared to the 1960s, return migration, naturalisation and a move into the next age bracket may have contributed to the relative decline (but small increase in absolute numbers).

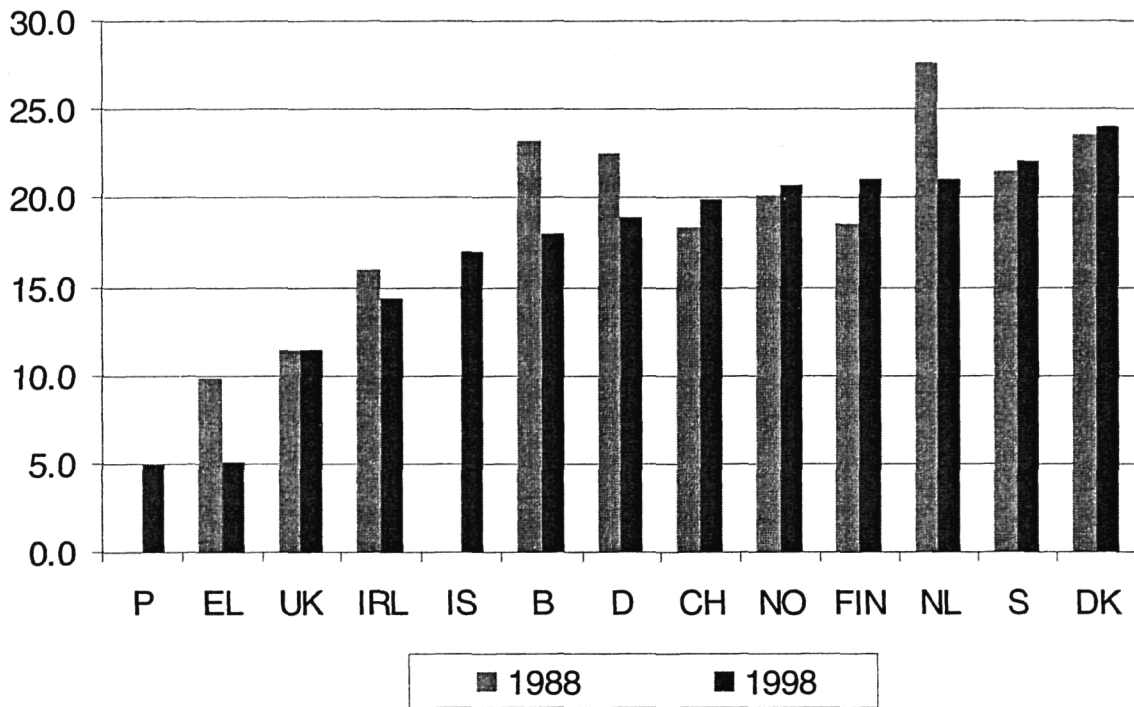
3.4.3 Is the immigrant population getting older?

The proportion of the 55-64 years group of foreign nationals has been growing in most countries (Figure 3.6). The comparison with 1988 shows that the strongest increase was in the Netherlands (3.4 per cent). Relatively large increases also took place in Belgium (1.6 per cent) and Switzerland (one per cent) whereas increases in the other countries were rather small, between 0.2 and 0.7 per cent. In three countries the share of this age group declined: in the UK by two per cent, in Greece by 1.1 per cent and in Ireland by 0.7 per cent. Figures for Italy and Portugal are only available for the period 1991 to 1993. In Italy the share of this age group declined slightly by 0.4 per cent and in Portugal it grew by the same amount. In terms of numbers, this age group has grown in all countries except in Greece, which had a declining trend between 1985 and 1990, and the United Kingdom, which had several annual declines between 1990 and 1998.

The development in the 65 years and over age group is similar (Figure 3.7). The shares have been increasing in most countries, albeit in small steps. The largest increase was in Belgium with 2.7 per cent, followed with 1.2 per cent in Denmark and Sweden. In the remaining countries, the increase from 1988 to the mid-1990s was between 0.3 and 0.9 per cent. The largest declines took place in Finland (-4.5 per cent) and in Greece (-1.5 per cent). Ireland and Norway experienced smaller decreases of about -0.5 per cent and -0.3 per cent respectively. In both Portugal and Italy the share of this age group declined, though in absolute numbers, it increased. As in the age group 55-64 years, only Greece had a declining trend between 1985 and 1990 and the UK had several annual declines between 1991 and 1995. Numbers were also declining in Portugal but the period for which data are available is too short to draw conclusions for a long term trend.

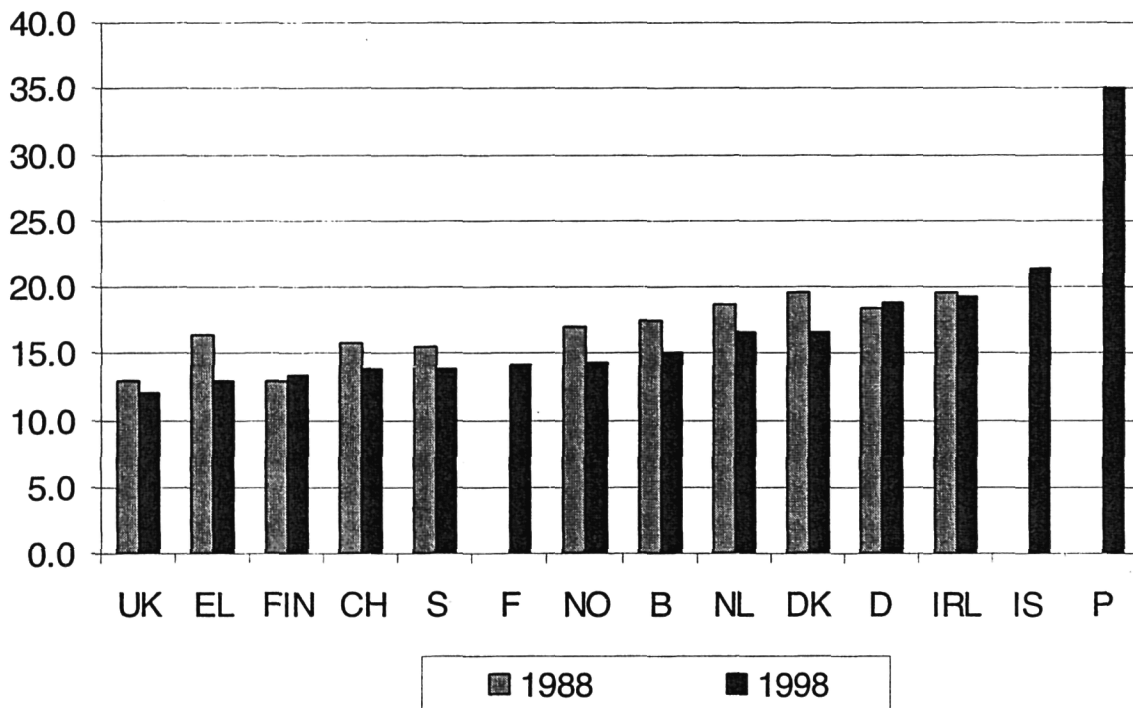
In general, there has been a fairly homogenous development across Europe although possible influencing factors on the age distribution of the foreign population which need to be examined more carefully are naturalisation, emigration and new inflows. The shares of the two younger age groups have been declining in most countries, and in fewer countries also in absolute numbers. The main working age group of 25-39 years is the largest in all countries and its share has increased in all except Sweden. The age groups of 55 years and over have been increasing in most countries and the decline is small. Larger decreases took place only in Finland, Greece, Ireland and the UK. Compared to the increase in the proportion of older foreign nationals (over 55 years), the shares of the younger age groups (0-24 years) have been declining much more strongly. Due to lack of data it is difficult to recognise differences between 'old' and 'new' countries of immigration. Of the new countries of immigration in southern European there are sufficient data only for Greece.

Figure 3.2 - Share of 0-14 years age group of foreign population (per cent)



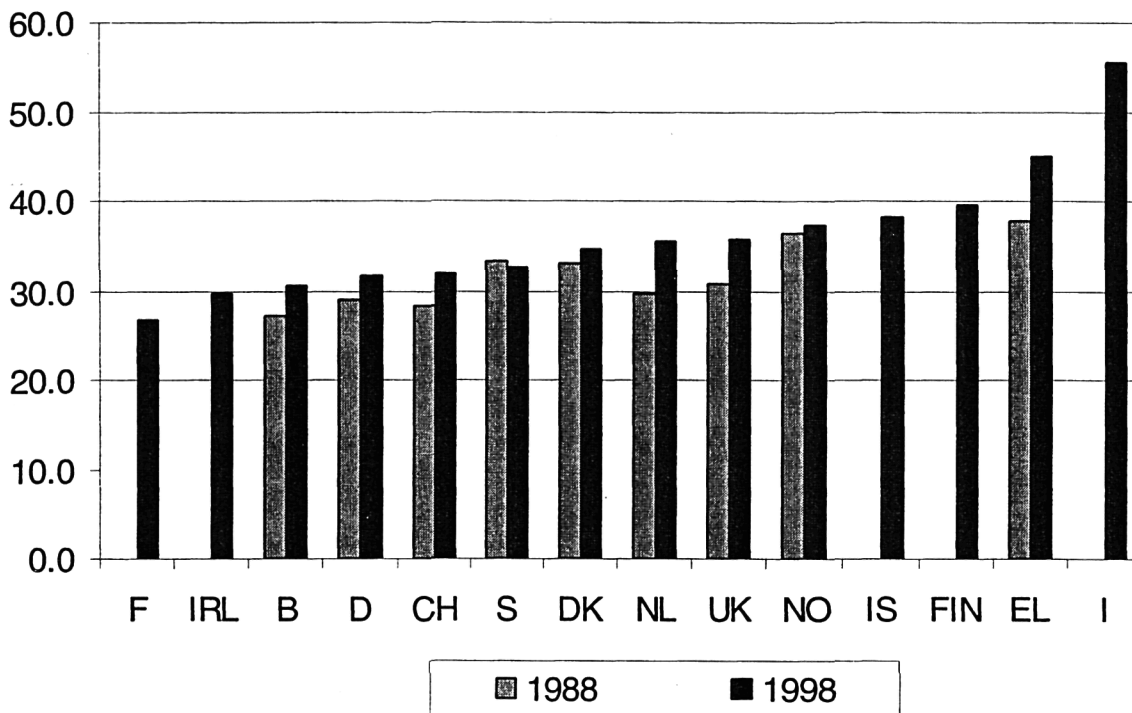
Source: Eurostat, OECD

Figure 3.3 - Share of 15-24 year age group of foreign population (per cent)



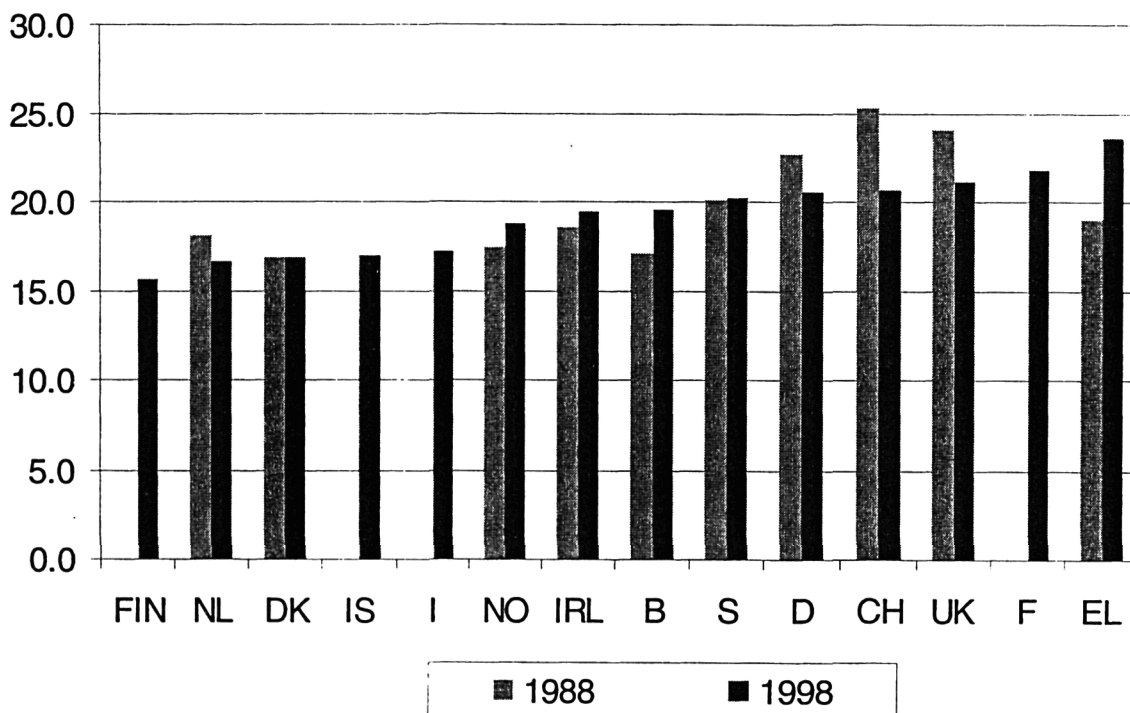
Source: Eurostat, OECD

Figure 3.4 - Share of 25-39 age group of foreign population (per cent)



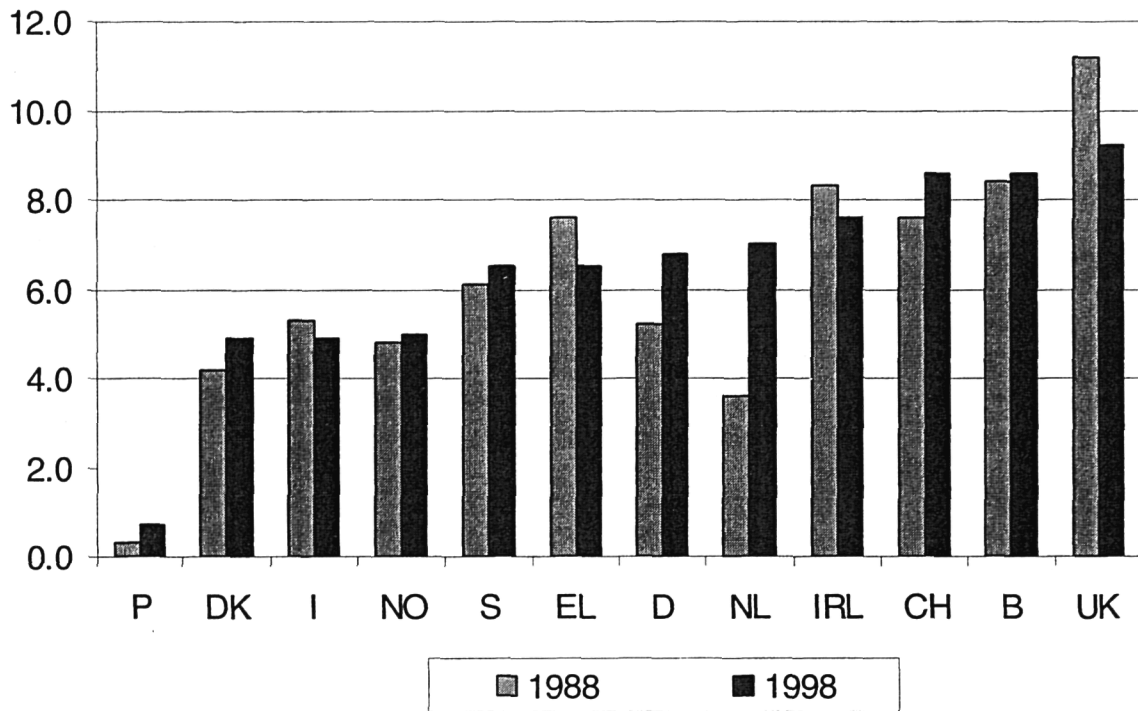
Source: Eurostat, OECD

Figure 3.5 - Share of 40-54 age group of foreign population (per cent)



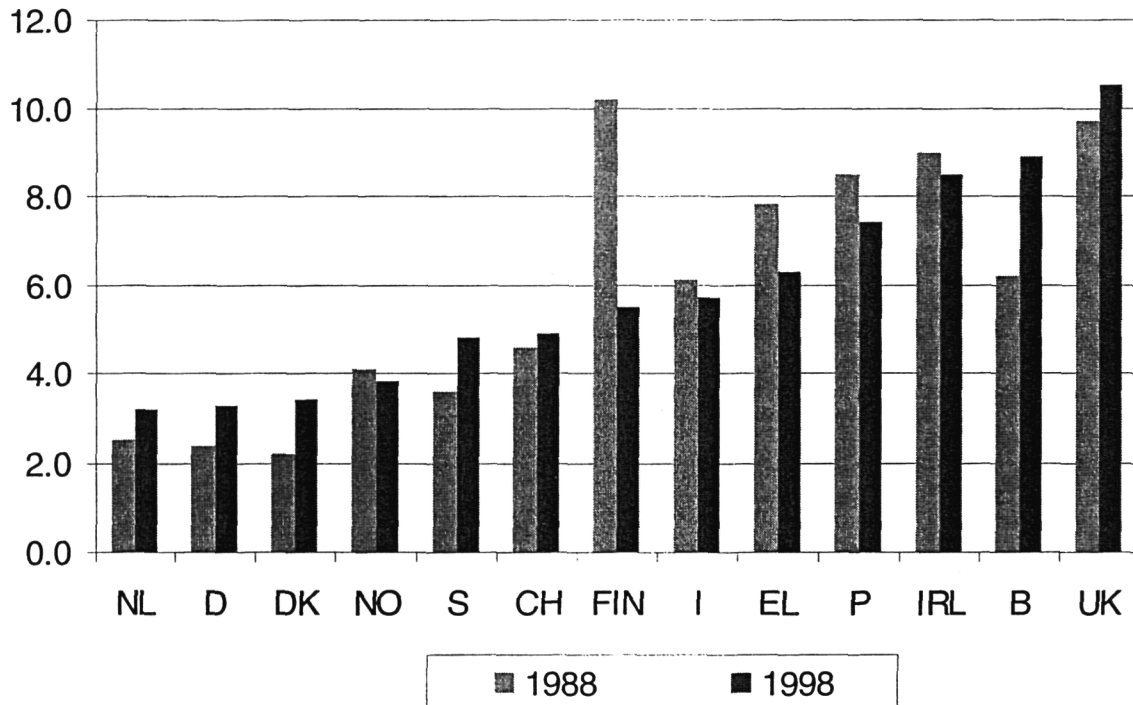
Source: Eurostat, OECD

Figure 3.6 - Share of 55-64 year age group of foreign population (per cent)



Source: Eurostat, OECD

Figure 3.7 - Share of 65 years and over age group of foreign population (per cent)



Source: Eurostat, OECD

Note

1. For Figures 3.6 and 3.7, numbers for Portugal and Italy are for 1991 and 1993 instead of 1988 and 1998.

3.5 Stocks of foreign population by sex

There is a general view that the tendency towards feminisation of migration flows is a significant feature of new migration after 1989. With their focus on legal migrants, however, it has been argued that migration statistics are gender biased. The data include only female migrants who enter Europe legally, usually as a spouse of a legally resident immigrant under the immigration rules regulating family reunification. Yet women are increasingly working outside their home countries, either legally or illegally, especially in the service sector.

Western Europe has experienced an overall increase in the stock of female migrants in absolute numbers. Yet in some countries the female foreign population has declined in recent years: in the Netherlands since 1995 and in Sweden since 1996. Several countries experienced annual declines after 1993 such as Belgium (1993, 1994, 1996), Iceland (1994, 1995), Norway (1996) and the UK (1995). While various countries experienced a decline of the numbers of female migrant stocks in some years between 1986 and 1988, all countries - except the UK (in 1990 and 1991) and Ireland (in 1989) - experienced an increase in the stock of female migrants in every year between 1989 and 1992. There is no breakdown of the stock data by sex available for Austria and Spain, and for only one year for France and Switzerland.

The data show an overall increase in the share of female migrants except in Portugal where the proportion of recorded female migrants declined by -1.6 per cent in the decade from 1987 to 1997. Iceland has also experienced a declining trend in recent years. Sweden and the UK had an annual decline in the share of female migrants in 1996 and 1995 respectively. In Iceland, Ireland and the UK the share of the female migrant population was over 50 per cent in all years; in Iceland it was around 60 per cent in the mid-1990s. The share in Sweden was continuously over 49 per cent and passed the 50 per cent mark in 1995. By the mid-1990s, females made up more than half of the foreign population in Greece and Norway, and in Denmark over 49 per cent. The lowest share of female migrants in 1997 was recorded in Portugal (41.6 per cent) and in Germany (44.6 per cent). In all other countries the proportion of female migrants was over 46 per cent.

The largest increases in the proportion of female migrants from 1985 to 1996/97 occurred in Finland (4.9 per cent), Greece (4.6), the Netherlands (3.2) and Norway (3.8). Finland and the Netherlands, together with Germany, had the lowest shares of female migrants in 1985 (42.7 to 43.6 per cent). The development of the share of female migrants in Finland during the period 1987-1992 alternated between annual declines and large increases in the following year; after 1995 the increases were continuously high. The Netherlands experienced two periods of stronger annual growth: once in the late 1980s (1987, 1989, 1990) and a second time in 1993-94; the highest annual increase happened in 1997. The share of female migrants in Greece wavered around 48 per cent from 1987, and then strongly increased after 1994. In Norway, the female migrant population was declining during the 1980s, recovered slightly after 1991 and experienced two strong annual increases in 1994 and 1997. Overall, the development of female migration in these countries was very different, but there seems to be one common development: stronger annual increases around 1994/95.

Another group of countries comprises Iceland, Belgium, Denmark, Germany and the United Kingdom, with more modest increases in the share of the female migrant population ranging between 1.7 per cent and 2.2 per cent. Again, no clear trends emerge. Iceland had its largest share of female migrants (over 60 per cent) in 1994, then numbers declined. Belgium experienced small, steady annual increases which became stronger after 1995. Denmark had a phase of stronger annual increases from 1989 to 1994 (very strong in 1992). The share of female migrants in Germany grew by almost two per cent in 1988 after small increases in the previous years. Between 1991 and 1993, the share of female migrants declined (but not in absolute figures), slowly picked up again after 1994, and then exhibited a

larger increase in 1997. The UK shows a pattern of alternating declining and increasing shares of female migrants, probably partly due to fluctuations in the Labour Force Survey, with particularly substantial increases in the stock of female migrants occurring in 1989 and 1993.

Ireland and Sweden experienced the smallest increase in the share of their female migrant population, only 0.3 and 0.9 per cent respectively. In Sweden, the share of female migrants was stable until 1988, declined in 1989 and 1990 (but not in absolute numbers) and then continually grew, in particular in 1995, before declining again (this time also in absolute numbers). Since 1987, Ireland showed what was a familiar pattern in Finland and the UK of alternating years of decline and growth. A substantial decline of over two per cent occurred in 1991, followed by an increase of over two per cent in 1992.

In sum, there has been an overall increase in the female foreign population but at different times. The share of the female migrant population has been increasing in all countries except in Portugal and comprised over 50 per cent of the total foreign stock in more countries in 1996/97 than in 1985. Stronger increases took place in the mid-1990s but it is not clear why. They may be related to structural-economic changes and economic recovery but this requires further country-by-country analysis with regard to changes in patterns of immigrant origin and breakdown of flows by sex and citizenship. A further important aspect is the effect of immigration from the former Yugoslavia after 1990/91.

3.6 Stock of foreign population by citizenship

The composition of the foreign population in Western Europe is a reflection of successive waves of post-war migration (Chapter 1). Labour migration during the 1950s and 1960s was followed by family migration as well as an increase in the numbers of refugees and asylum seekers in the mid-1980s. The dominant foreign groups within each country reflect the sources from which labour has been recruited, particular historical links and bilateral relations with former colonies and ease of access to a state (in terms of geography and policy) for refugees. This section examines, first, the changes in the composition of the foreign population in Western Europe. Of particular interest here is the movement of EU nationals within the EU and changes in the stock of EU nationals resident in EU countries other than their own. Secondly, it discusses the degree to which the main pattern of origin has changed from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s and the dynamic of new sending countries. In some countries, very few immigrant groups form a large proportion of the foreign population, while other countries have a much higher degree of diversification. For the purpose of this study, the countries have been subdivided into four groups - low, middle-low, middle-high and high degree of diversification.

3.6.1 Shares of total foreign population by citizenship

In 1997 within the EU and EFTA as a whole, there were 19.8 million foreigners of whom 12.76 million (66.5 per cent) were Europeans at the beginning of 1996. Africans numbered just over 3 million (15.9 per cent) and Asians 1.93 million (10.1 per cent). There were 17.4 million foreign citizens resident in EU member states, almost 5.5 million (31.1 per cent) were nationals of other member states. A complex set of migration histories, geographical locations and policies determines the composition of the foreign population in a country. The figures for early 1996 show that in Spain, the UK, France, Norway, Sweden and Iceland between one third and one half of the foreign population is from EU/EFTA states. Two thirds of Belgium's and Switzerland's foreign residents were EU/EFTA citizens. In Luxembourg and Ireland, over half of the foreign population was from other EU member states. For most countries, however, the majority of their foreign population came from outside the EU/EFTA. In the case of the UK, Ireland, France and Spain, proximity to fellow EU member states, together with a long history of population interchange, is clearly important. This is also the case for Sweden and Norway with large groups of nationals from other Scandinavian

countries, and to a lesser extent for Iceland. The situation in Belgium and Luxembourg reflects their geographical location, surrounded as they are by larger EU neighbours with open borders. Sweden always had a large proportion of Finnish, Norwegian and Danish immigrants, and Norway of Swedish and Danish citizens.

In 1996, Germany and France had, with 28.0 per cent and 20.4 per cent respectively, the largest share of immigrants from other EU member states, followed by the UK with 12.6 per cent. Germany is the main destination for migrants from Central and Eastern Europe as well as 'other Europe' (including former Yugoslavia), receiving over two-thirds of those nationals coming to the EU and EFTA states. Germany is also the main recipient of Asian immigrants, which include Vietnamese migrant workers recruited by the former GDR. The United Kingdom (22.7 per cent) and France (11.8 per cent) are the next main receiving countries of Asians. African nationals in Germany are comparatively few (9.6 per cent). France is by far the most important receiving country for African nationals (53.6 per cent), while the United Kingdom, despite its links with the continent, has a low proportion of Africans (7.7 per cent). The UK is, however, together with Germany, the main destination for nationals from the Americas, mainly from the US. They are followed - to a lesser extent - by Spain, France and Italy whose American nationals are mainly from South America. Not surprisingly, the UK receives about seven in ten of citizens from Oceania, mainly Australia.

The significance of other regions as sources of foreign migrants varies with destination country, often reflecting historical links. Africa is a particularly important source for France (45.4 per cent of total foreign population) and Portugal (47.1 per cent), reflecting earlier colonial links, and for Italy (33.4 per cent) and the Netherlands (27.1 per cent) to a lesser extent. Asia is a major source for Norway (23.2 per cent), Denmark (22.0 per cent), the UK (21.9 per cent) and Greece (17.5 per cent), although for different reasons and with emphasis on different parts of that large and diverse continent. The UK receives Asian immigrants mainly from the Indian sub-continent, largely for settlement purposes; Greece's Asian contingent comes from the proximate countries in the Middle East region; Denmark's and Norway's Asian populations are mainly refugees. America as a region of origin is important for Portugal (21.8 per cent) and Spain (21.8 per cent) - in both cases mainly South America, but also for Iceland (14.4 per cent), Norway (12.4 per cent), Greece (13.0 per cent) and the UK (11.6 per cent) - in these cases mainly the United States.

3.6.2 Role of EU national immigrants

Of particular significance is the number of EU and EEA citizens in member states since these groups have right of free movement and are not subject to the same immigration rules as non-EU/EEA nationals (Map 3.2). 5,457,068 EU nationals lived in member states other than their own in 1996. The largest numbers were to be found in Germany with over 1.8 million and France with over 1.3 million. The UK and Switzerland, although the latter is not an EEA country, followed with over 800,000 EU nationals, and Belgium with over half a million.

When considering intra-EU movement one must take into account the different dates at which countries joined the European Union, previously the European Community (EC). France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Italy were the original founding members from 1957 to 1973. The UK, Ireland and Denmark joined in 1973, Greece in 1981 and Spain and Portugal in 1986. Yet free movement for citizens of the three latter Mediterranean countries was only introduced in 1988 for Greece and in 1992 for Spain and Portugal (1993 in the case of Luxembourg). Austria, Sweden and Finland joined the European Union in 1995 with immediate free movement. In 1990, *circa* 16 million citizens of the German Democratic Republic became EC nationals upon the unification of the two German states.

In order to be able to compare immigration trends of EU citizens this section focuses on the ten member states of the European Community in 1985 - France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Italy, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark and Greece - and compares the stock of these EC nationals in 1987, 1990, 1994 and 1996. This allows, firstly, statements about long term immigration trends and the behaviour of different national groups. Secondly, it is possible to examine the extent to which the events of 1990 and the entry into force of the Maastricht Treaty in 1993 were relevant to changes in intra-EU movement. Data on stock of EC citizens in France are only available for 1990 and data on Ireland in 1994 and 1996 are incomplete.

The importance of the destination countries hardly changed between 1987 and 1996. Not surprisingly, Germany had by far the largest number of EC foreign national immigrants in all four years with over 1.136 million in 1987, increasing by only 2,000 persons during the period 1987 to 1996. Interestingly, numbers of EC foreign nationals in Germany declined between 1987 and 1994, reaching a low point of about 1.123 million persons in 1990. The United Kingdom was the second largest destination country with over 765,000 EC citizens in 1987, it experienced an increase of over 100,000 EC citizens in 1990. Subsequently, however, numbers fell to about 732,000 persons in 1996. The third most important destination country was Belgium where numbers of EC foreign nationals grew gradually from about 474,000 in 1987 to 476,000 in 1996. Germany, the United Kingdom and Belgium were followed by the Netherlands with around 134,000 EC foreign national residents in 1987 rising to 159,000 persons in 1996. The increase from 1987 to 1990 was small with around 4,000 persons. The main increase occurred after 1990 when EC foreign nationals numbered over 161,000 persons in 1994. France is most likely still an important destination for EC citizens with over 446,000 resident EC foreigners in 1990. The remaining EC foreign countries had less than 100,000 EC foreign nationals. Ireland and Luxembourg had, in 1987, between 50,000 and 61,000 EC nationals. In Denmark, Italy and Greece this immigrant group numbered between 26,000 and 39,000 persons.

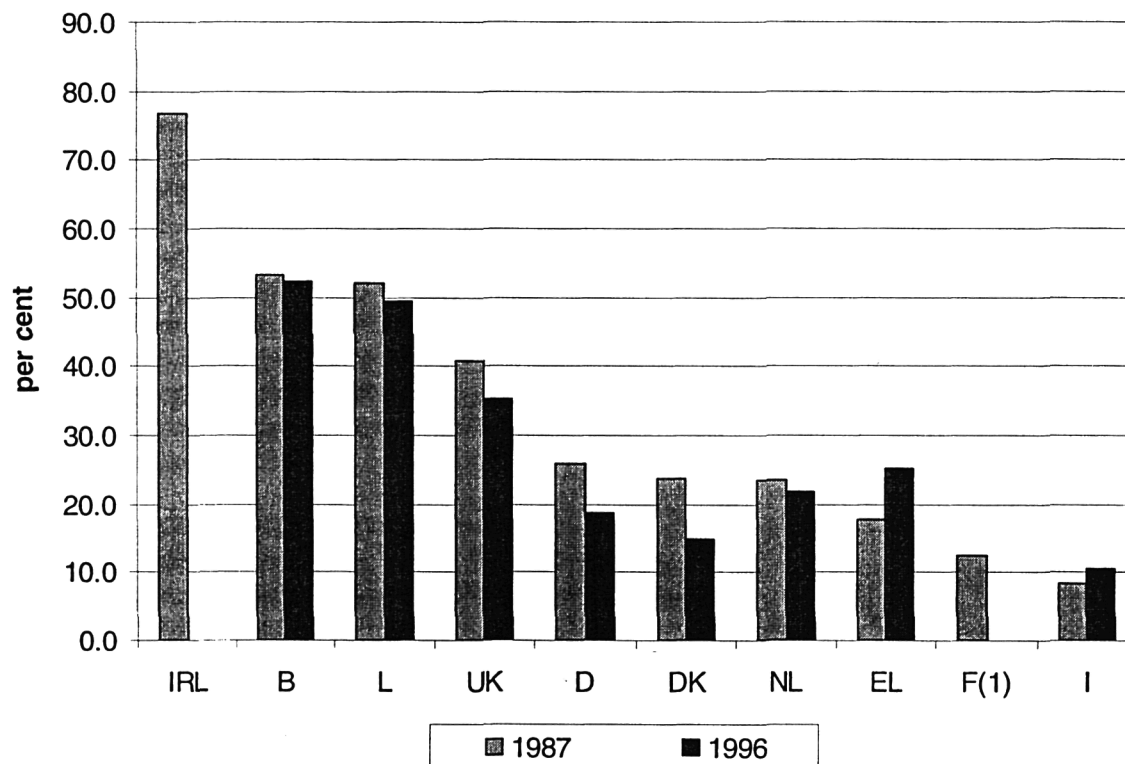
In general, absolute changes have been small. Between 1987 and 1996, the total number of EC/EU foreign nationals increased in all countries except the UK, which experienced a decline in the number of resident EC foreign nationals by 32,859 persons, a rate of decline of 4.3 per cent. Compared to 1987, numbers of EC foreign nationals rose only marginally in Belgium and Germany by around 2,000 persons, and in Greece by less than one thousand. The rate of increase in Denmark was considerable with 28.7 per cent, yet this constituted an increase of only 7,350 persons. Larger increases in the EC foreign population occurred in Luxembourg with a total increment of about 17,500, a rate of increase of 34.5 per cent, and in the Netherlands with over 24,800 persons, a total rate of increase of 18.5 per cent.

In Italy the number of EC foreign nationals rose from about 38,000 persons in 1987 to 114,000 in 1990, an increase of over 200 per cent. Absolute increases occurred in all national groups except for a decline in the number of UK nationals from 32,700 to 23,000 persons in 1990, leaving them in second place. The dramatic increase was mainly due to a substantial increase in the number of German citizens from around 1,800 to about 36,600 persons. Further substantial increases occurred among Greek nationals from 680 to over 19,000 persons and French nationals from about 1,700 to over 21,000 persons. Total numbers of EC foreign nationals in Italy declined after 1990 to 98,500 in 1994, followed by an increase to over 104,000 in 1996, putting Italy clearly among the main destination countries for them.

Most countries, except for a small decline in Belgium and larger one in Germany, experienced a rise in their EC foreign population between 1987 and 1990. Germany experienced a decline of 12,500, in relative terms this is a rate of decline of one per cent. Apart from Italy, increases have been more substantial in the UK with over 85,800 persons, a rate of increase of 11.2 per cent. Further increases ranged from around 10,000 EC foreign

citizens in Greece, 6,550 in Luxembourg and 3,250 in the Netherlands. The development between 1990 and 1994 was very varied. The UK experienced a substantial decline by about 134,000 EC foreign nationals (15.7 per cent) whereas smaller declines occurred in Italy and in Greece. Greece experienced a decline of 10,000 EC foreign citizens, mainly due to a fall in the numbers of the main national groups from Germany and the UK. Larger increases occurred only in Germany with over 170,000 EC foreign nationals (15.2 per cent), followed by the Netherlands with over 24,000 (17.5 per cent). Luxembourg and Denmark experienced smaller increases of over 7,500 (13.1 per cent) and 4,000 (15.7 per cent) respectively. Changes between 1994 and 1996 were small but positive, apart from a small decline in the Netherlands of 2,400 (-1.5 per cent). Larger increases occurred in Germany with over 41,400 (3.2 per cent) and in the UK with about 15,200 (2.1 per cent).

Figure 3.8 - Share of EC/EU foreign nationals relative to total foreign population



Source: Eurostat, OECD

Note

1. 1990 data.

Despite overall growing numbers of EU foreign nationals resident in countries other than their own, there has been a decline in their share relative to the foreign population in most countries (Figure 3.8). Only in Italy and Greece, the two countries with the smallest share of EC foreign nationals in 1987, has the proportion relative to the total foreign population been rising. Larger changes have occurred in Denmark, with a decline of 9.0 per cent, in Germany of 7.3 per cent and in the UK of 5.5 per cent.

The overall composition of the two or three main EC foreign national groups has not changed over the period 1987-1996 but their share of the total EC foreign national population declined in most cases. Relative changes were generally moderate, though in some countries the top national group experienced a stronger decline. This was the case in Belgium and in Luxembourg where the proportion of Italian nationals declined by 8.5 per

cent and 11.8 per cent. In the UK, the share of Irish nationals out of the EC foreign national population declined by 7.6 per cent. In Ireland, the proportion of UK nationals declined considerably from over 87 per cent in the late 1980s to around 61 per cent in the mid-1990s. Noticeable changes in the patterns of national origin occurred in Germany where the share of UK nationals increased after 1990. In Italy, the share of UK nationals declined dramatically between 1987 and 1990 from over 86 per cent to around 20 per cent. In turn, the shares of German, French and Greek nationals increased substantially. Luxembourg experienced a decline in the proportion of German nationals after 1990 and in the UK Dutch nationals became more significant.

In sum, it would appear that the relative importance of other EC/EU citizens in member states is declining although in absolute terms there appears to be an increasing trend in most countries. Patterns in the origin of the main EC foreign national immigrant groups have not been disturbed by either the geopolitical changes of 1989/90 or by developments in free movement provisions since 1987. However, the shares of the main EC foreign national groups relative to the total EC foreign national population show a declining trend, indicating increased diversification of intra-EC movement.

3.6.3 Diversity of foreign population

In order to reveal more specific changes and trends in diversification an analysis at the level of individual countries is necessary. The degree of diversification and changes in the pattern of origin of migrants can be determined by examining the distributional pattern of foreign stock in terms of the share of the top three and top five immigrant groups relative to total foreign population (Figure 3.9). The aim is to examine the degree to which this pattern has been changing from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s. The two guiding questions are (a) how stable is the stock of the foreign population in Europe and (b) to what extent have the migration patterns become more or less diversified. For this purpose, the EU and EFTA countries have been divided into four groups: countries with a low, middle-low, middle-high and high share of the top five immigrant groups in the mid 1980s.

3.6.4 Low-share of top three and five immigrant groups

The first group includes *Greece* and *Italy*. In *Greece*, the top three and five immigrant groups made up by far the lowest share of the total foreign population in western Europe. In 1985, their share was 16 per cent and 20.8 per cent respectively, rising to 29.2 and 39.9 per cent respectively by 1996. The increase was slightly stronger during the period 1986 to 1990. The pattern of origin of the top five immigrant groups was stable until 1989 when the first changes in the data are noticeable. Until 1989, the main immigrant groups were from the United States, the UK, Germany, Italy and Egypt. Subsequently, the share of the Italian population declined while increased numbers of Polish nationals made them the third strongest immigrant group in 1989. While American, British and German immigrant groups maintained their position among the top five, new immigrant groups have emerged since 1994 (there are no data available for 1992 and 1993), namely from the former Soviet Union and the Philippines.

Italy shows a different development. In 1986, the top three and five immigrant groups made up less than 30 per cent and 40 per cent respectively and by 1996, their share had declined to around 22 per cent for the top three groups and 31 per cent for the top five. The overall trend has been a reduction in the share of the top three and five immigrants groups. There were two larger drops, one from 1987 to 1988, and one from 1995 to 1996. The shares of the top three and five immigrant groups of total foreign population in Italy were at their lowest point in 1992/93. Since 1996, the share of the main immigrant groups increased slightly but it is too early to say if this constitutes a new trend. The pattern of origin was stable until 1990 when the first changes became visible. During the 1980s, the main immigrant groups were from the US, Germany, the UK, Greece and France. From 1990 onwards new immigrant groups became more important in numbers - first Moroccans, then Turkish and Philippine

nationals, followed by immigrants from the former Yugoslavia after 1993. In 1993, only US citizens remained from the previously established immigrant groups and their share has been declining constantly. Moroccans have been the largest immigrant group since 1991, followed by nationals from former Yugoslavia (peak in 1995) and by Albanians since 1997. The share of the new immigrant groups is either roughly the same or declining but in terms of numbers most of them are growing.

Greece and Italy have both experienced a more diversified immigration since 1989/90 and an increase in immigration from non-European countries. A new immigrant group which appeared in both countries as one of the largest groups in mid-1990s is from the Philippines.

3.6.5 Middle-low share of top three and five immigrant groups

The second group comprises *Spain, Norway, Denmark* and the *United Kingdom*. The overall trend during the period in all four countries has been a decline in the share of the main immigrant groups, though to varying degrees. The decline in the share of the top three immigrant groups was very low in Denmark, Spain and Norway, between one and two per cent, compared to a decline of 14 per cent in the UK. The share of the top five declined only by -1.3 per cent in Spain, in Denmark and Norway by -6.6 per cent and -8.0 per cent respectively, and by -16.6 per cent in the UK.

In 1985, the share of the top three immigrant groups in these countries ranged between 35 per cent and 38 per cent, and up to 46 per cent in the UK. The share of the top five immigrant groups was about 50 per cent for Denmark and Spain and about 56 per cent for Norway and the UK. The shares of the top three and five immigrant groups of the total foreign population in both Spain and Norway were at their lowest point in 1993, but thereafter have been steadily increasing. In Denmark, the lowest point was reached in 1995. The pattern of origin was very stable in all these countries throughout the second half of the 1980s and into the early 1990s.

Until 1992 about half of the foreign citizens resident in *Spain* came - ranked by size - from the UK, Germany, Portugal, France and the Netherlands (in 1991 only, Argentinean nationals formed the fifth largest group). In 1992, a new group of immigrants from Morocco emerged among the top five. From 1992 to 1993, the number of Moroccan nationals almost doubled and this immigrant group has remained the top one with numbers increasing from year to year. Also in 1992, the numbers and the share of British and German nationals dropped considerably. To a lesser extent this was also the case for Portuguese and French nationals. After 1993, the numbers of Portuguese and French were again increasing steadily. In terms of total numbers, the British and German population in Spain was growing until 1992; in terms of proportion of the foreign population, their shares declined after 1992.

In *Denmark*, the pattern of origin of the top five immigrant groups has hardly changed, what has is their share of the total foreign population. The main five countries of origin are Turkey, the UK, Norway, former Yugoslavia and Germany, and in 1991 and 1992 Iranians. The Turkish immigrant group has been increasing in numbers and it remains by far the largest group, though its share of the foreign population has been declining since 1993. The number of citizens from Yugoslavia (as it was then) has been growing slowly since 1987, but their share has been declining. Yet from 1995 to 1996, the number of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia rose from 11,300 to 28,000, and their share has been increasing ever since. This development is the main reason why the top three immigrant groups make up more than one third of the foreign population. The shares of the other immigrant groups from the UK, Norway and Germany have been declining since the mid-1980s.

The development in *Norway* has been very similar and shows a stable pattern of origin until 1994. Danish nationals formed the largest immigrant group until 1996, followed by British, Swedish, Pakistani and US citizens. In 1994, immigrants from former Yugoslavia appeared

among the top five groups and with around ten to eleven per cent formed the second largest immigrant group until 1996, overtaking the Swedish foreign population. In 1997, nationals from former Yugoslavia made up the largest group but their numbers declined in 1998. The Swedish population declined slightly between 1990 and 1992 but has been growing substantially since 1993 and formed the largest group in 1998. The Danish population declined slightly between 1990 and 1991 and again between 1996 and 1997, but picked up again in 1998 and formed the second largest group. The numbers and shares of Pakistani and UK nationals have been declining since 1991, and of US citizens since 1993.

The data for the *United Kingdom* show a relatively stable share for the top immigrant groups relative to the total foreign population until 1990. The main immigrant group is, not surprisingly, from Ireland, followed by India, the US, Italy and Pakistan. During the latter half of the 1980s, Jamaica was also found to be among the main immigrant groups. In 1991 and 1992, the share of Irish citizens declined considerably. This is also the main reason why in 1991 the share for the top three groups dropped by almost seven per cent down to 40.7 per cent. Meanwhile the share of the top five groups declined sharply between 1991 and 1992 by around five per cent each year. Thereafter, the proportion of the main immigrant groups of the foreign population has been declining despite a slight absolute increase in the years 1995 and 1996. The decline in 1997 was again relatively large, around four per cent for the top three and about five per cent for the top five groups.

These four countries are characterised by very stable patterns of origin of the main immigrant groups which do not appear to have been upset by the events of 1989. Immigrants from former Yugoslavia only appear among the top five immigrant groups in Norway in 1994, while there was already a substantial community in Denmark which increased in 1996. Spain has been the only country in this group to experience a noticeable increase in non-European immigration, particularly of Moroccans. Overall, however, the decline in the share of the top immigrant groups has not greatly affected the composition of the main immigrant groups. The large majority still comes from Western European, and mainly neighbouring, countries; as well as from traditional labour recruitment/sending countries. The immigration pattern into the UK is mainly determined by former colonial links and the special relationship with Ireland and the USA. All countries have experienced increased diversification, although only to a small extent in Spain. In Norway, Denmark and the UK the decline in the share of the top five immigrant groups indicates a higher degree of diversification of the immigrant population and/or other immigrant groups may have become more important.

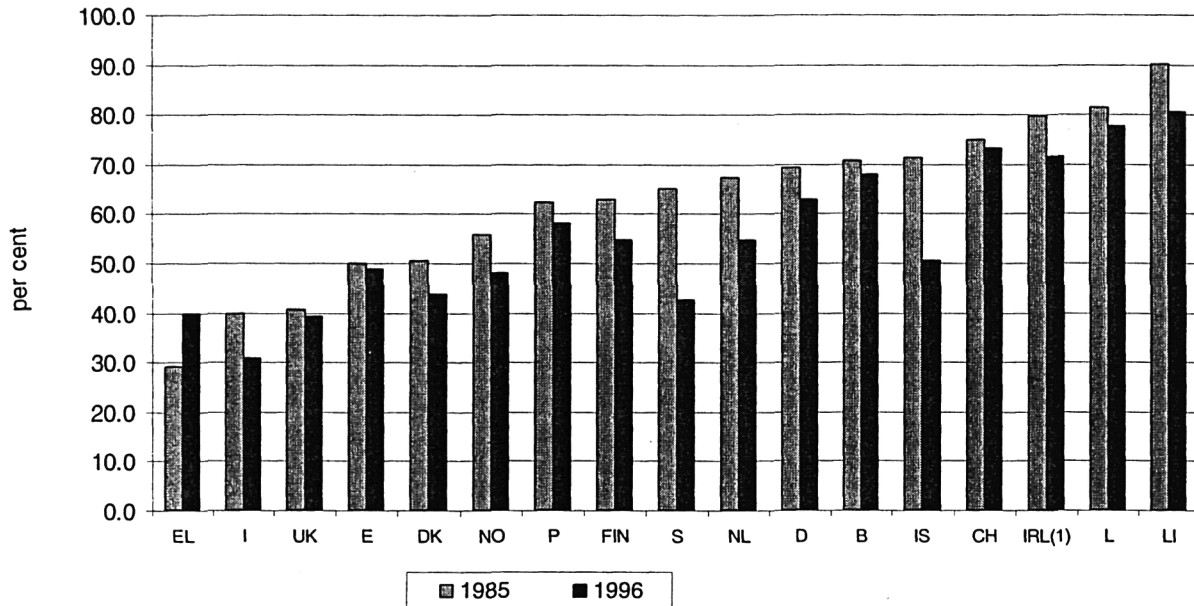
3.6.6 Middle-high share of top three and five immigrant groups

The largest group is formed by the countries of the 'middle-high group' consisting of Portugal, Finland, Sweden, Iceland, the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany. The proportion of the top three immigrant groups ranged in 1985 from 48 per cent to 59 per cent, and for the top five immigrant groups from around 62 per cent to over 71 per cent. In the Netherlands, Iceland and Sweden, the top three immigrant groups made up more than half of the foreign population.

The grouping of these countries into a single category belies different patterns of origin for the foreign populations and different developments in each. A further aspect to differentiate this group is the rate of decline of the top immigrant groups. On this basis, the Netherlands, Iceland and Sweden can be grouped together. These countries had the largest rates of decline of the top immigrant groups from 1985 to 1997/98 not only within this group but also in relation to all EU and EFTA states. The rate of decline in the Netherlands for the top three groups was close to eleven per cent and for the top five over twelve per cent. The changes were more dramatic in Iceland and Sweden, the countries with the largest rates of decline in Western Europe, where the share of the top three countries declined by -17.7 per cent and -20.8 per cent respectively and of the top five by -20.6 per cent and -22.6 per cent

respectively. The rates of decline of the top immigrant groups in the remaining countries - Portugal, Finland, Belgium and Germany ranged between -3 and -5.5 per cent for the top three immigrant groups and between -3.7 and -8 per cent for the top five immigrant groups.

Figure 3.9 - Share of top five immigrant groups relative to total foreign population in percentage in 1985 and 1996 (or latest year available)



Source: Eurostat, OECD

Note

1. Top 2 immigrant groups

The pattern of origin of the main immigrant groups in the Netherlands has been relatively stable and only changed with the increase in the number of immigrants from former Yugoslavia in 1994. Until then, the main groups were formed by nationals from Turkey, Morocco, Germany, the UK and Belgium. During the 1980s and early 1990s, the share of the top immigrant groups was constant, even increasing in 1990. The decline in the importance of the top immigrant groups started in 1993 and became stronger in 1994. In terms of numbers, the Turkish and Moroccan populations began to decline in 1993 and 1995 respectively. The share of the Moroccan population started declining in 1991. The importance of the Belgian community declined when it was overtaken by migrants from former Yugoslavia (predominantly refugee flows) in 1994. The number of people from former Yugoslavia has been declining since then. The German population has been continually growing while the British population declined slightly after 1995. The large decline in the share of the top five immigrant groups is mainly due to the strong fall in the share of Turkish nationals since 1995. Despite increases in numbers, the share of the German, Belgian and UK populations declined; the Yugoslavian proportion grew until 1997.

As in the Netherlands, the pattern of origin of the main immigrant groups in Iceland hardly changed, apart from the arrival of Polish citizens in 1991. The main nationalities are from Denmark, the US, the UK, Norway and Germany. The shares of the top two immigrant groups are much larger than those of the other groups. Generally, the numbers of all groups declined from 1991 to 1994, including those of the Polish immigrants. The German and Polish population was constant while the numbers from the other countries declined. The share of all immigrant groups has been declining since 1985, the top two countries Denmark

and the US, showing a stronger decline. As there are no data available for the years 1992 and 1993, it is difficult to assess the extent of change during this period.

Although the situation is similar in Sweden, there have been more changes. The main immigrant groups are from Finland, Yugoslavia (later former Yugoslavia), Norway and Denmark. The Finnish community has been by far the largest, despite its decline from over 36 percent in 1985 to 19.6 per cent in 1997. The rate of decline was stronger in 1989 and 1990. In 1989, the Turkish population was, despite its annual increases, overtaken by Iranian nationals whose numbers grew until 1993, and then declined. This indicates that volatility can occur when an immigrant group seems to appear suddenly among the five most important immigrant groups and emphasises the need to examine individual, national situations. The Norwegian population was stable during the 1980s, increased in 1990 and 1991, and then steadily declined. The share of Danish citizens has been continually declining since 1985. Scandinavian immigrants in general are declining in importance. There have not been any new, larger immigrant groups, but volatility can occur due to political events, as demonstrated by the influx of Iranians.

All three countries - the Netherlands, Sweden and Iceland - have a stable pattern of origin. The old patterns of local dominance have not changed much after 1989 and there has not been a clear replacement trend. New immigrant groups are emerging but patterns tend to be variable.

Finland, Portugal, Belgium and Germany have a similar share of their top five immigrant groups but do not seem to share many other characteristics. The share of the top three groups in 1985 constituted a little less than half of the foreign population in Finland and Portugal and well over 50 per cent in Belgium and Germany. The proportion of the top five groups was around 62 per cent in Finland and Portugal, and around 70 per cent in Belgium and Germany. The rate of decline for the top three groups was lowest in Finland (-3 per cent) and around -5 to -5.6 per cent in the other three countries. The rate of decline for the top five countries of origin shows a reverse picture. Finland had the largest decline (-8 per cent), followed by Germany (-6.7 per cent) and Portugal and Belgium with -4.3 per cent and -3.7 per cent respectively. This experience demonstrates that while the top three immigrant groups remain important, changes may be occurring within the less important groups. This needs to be monitored. All four countries have very stable pattern of origins. The composition of the top five immigrant groups has been virtually unchanged. Small changes have occurred in Portugal since 1995, in Finland since 1993 and in Germany since 1989.

The composition of the top five immigrant groups in Finland was stable until 1993. The main groups have been from Sweden, the former Soviet Union, Germany, the US and the UK. Swedish nationals formed the largest group until 1991, when they were overtaken by nationals from the former Soviet Union. In 1992, the share of the Swedish population dropped by almost ten per cent to 13.6 per cent while the share of immigrants from the former Soviet Union rose to 21 per cent. The Swedish share peaked in 1993 at 17.7 per cent, dropped the following year to 11 per cent and continued to decline slowly, though the population was still increasing in absolute numbers. The period of strongest growth for the former Soviet Union population was between 1991 and 1993 when it peaked at over 32 per cent before dropping in the following year to 23.8 per cent. Thereafter, their share of the foreign population wavered around 23 and 24 per cent but the increase in absolute numbers continued to be strong. The British, German and US shares of the foreign population showed a declining trend after 1985. They also declined slowly in numbers but picked up again in 1990. In 1993/94, three new immigrant groups - from Estonia, Somalia and the former Yugoslavia - replaced the old established groups from Germany, the US and the UK in the top five. While immigration from Estonia is a form of 'ethnic' migration, based on the historical relationship between Finland and Estonia, immigration from Somalia and the

former Yugoslavia is primarily refugee and asylum migration. They continued to grow in numbers but - with the exception of Somalia - their shares have declined slightly since 1995.

In Portugal, the pattern of origin was unchanged until 1994. The top immigrant group from Cap Verde was by far the largest, with a share of 31 per cent in 1985, down to just over 22 per cent in 1997. This decline is also mainly responsible for the decline in the share of the top five groups. However, in terms of absolute numbers, the Cap Verdian population grew by two thirds. The share of the second largest group, from Brazil, increased slowly from over 9 per cent to over 11 per cent but in terms of numbers its increase was much more dramatic and almost tripled. This indicates a large increase in immigration. The other three foreign groups have been from the UK, Spain and the US. The British share grew from six per cent to over seven per cent in 1993 and has been slowly declining since then, yet in terms of numbers the British population has more than doubled. The share of US and Spanish nationals slowly declined after 1987 and 1990 respectively but increased in total numbers. Since 1995, these two groups have been less important and were overtaken by immigrants from Angola and Guinea Bissau, forming now the third and fourth largest groups of foreign nationals. Their shares have continued to increase. This is an interesting development because it shows a clear increase in non-European immigration.

The composition of the main groups of foreign nationals in Belgium has been particularly stable between 1985 and 1996. The share of the top group of foreign nationals from Italy has been by far the largest throughout this period but has also experienced the largest decline both in its share and in terms of numbers. In 1985, Italians made up 30 per cent of the total foreign population, down to 23 per cent in 1996. The decline happened gradually over the years apart from a larger decrease in 1993. In the same year, the share of the top three and five immigrant groups was also at its lowest point. The shares of the other four immigrant groups - Moroccan, French, Turkish and Dutch nationals - have not experienced significant changes. The increase in terms of absolute numbers has been small for the four groups. The proportion of the second largest group, Moroccans, has been steadily increasing in small steps and has grown from over 13 per cent in 1985 to over 15 per cent in 1996. The French share has wavered around 11 per cent whereas the share of the Dutch population has been increasing slowly from 7.4 per cent to 8.5 per cent. The proportion of the Turkish population grew slowly from eight per cent to over nine per cent in 1993, and then declined to nine per cent by 1996.

Germany is another country where immigration has been dominated by a few countries. The composition of the main five groups of foreign nationals - Turkey, former Yugoslavia, Italy, Greece and Austria - was stable until 1989. In 1989, Polish immigrants gained in importance - they then comprised the fifth largest immigrant group. Numbers appear to have declined again in 1991/92, overtaken by Austrian nationals but from 1993 onwards Poles emerged as the fifth largest group. The share of the top three and five immigrant groups declined steadily until 1993 but experienced a stronger increase in 1994. Afterwards, the share of the main immigrant groups continued to increase very slightly until 1997. The most important group, the Turkish population, was easily the largest. It declined from 32.7 per cent in 1985 down to 28 per cent in 1997. In terms of numbers, however, the Turkish population grew by almost a third. The share of the second largest group, from Yugoslavia, declined slowly until 1991, and subsequently increased slowly. Only in 1994, was there a stronger increase of over three per cent. In 1997, the share of nationals from the former Yugoslavia was declining again. The proportion of Italian and Greek nationals gradually declined after 1985 but in numbers these two immigrant groups have been growing since 1989.

3.6.7 Large share of the top three and five immigrant groups

The countries with the largest share of the top five immigrant groups include Switzerland, Luxembourg, Ireland and Liechtenstein. They are characterised by a very high share of the main immigrant groups ranging in 1998 from 60 per cent to 65 per cent for the three main

national groups, and 73 per cent to 80 per cent for the top five groups. All countries experienced a decline in the share of the main immigrant groups, mainly due to a larger decline in the top immigrant group. Only in Luxembourg did the share of the top national group increase and the share of the second largest group decline. By 1998, the top two groups still formed at least 50 per cent of the foreign population. In Ireland, just two immigrant groups comprised 72 per cent of the foreign population.

Switzerland experienced a slight decline in the share of the top three and five immigrant groups, reaching its lowest point in 1992, then increasing slightly. The distributional pattern of the top five immigrant groups is fairly stable. Italians have formed the largest group, declining only slightly in terms of numbers but experiencing a strong decline of their share of the foreign population from about 42 per cent in 1985 down to about 25 per cent in 1998. This suggests a diversification of the immigrant population. Similarly, the German population was relatively stable in terms of numbers between 1985 and 1990, and then increased steadily after 1991. Its share of the foreign population, however, declined from over 8 per cent in 1985 to 7 per cent in 1998; a drop from the third largest group to the fifth largest. The Yugoslav population has increased strongly in terms of numbers and share of the foreign population (from 6.8 per cent to 23.4 per cent), particularly after 1988, and to a lesser extent after 1994. Since 1990, Yugoslavians have formed the second largest immigrant group in Switzerland. Spanish nationals formed the second largest group until 1989. The Spanish population increased steadily up to 1991, then subsequently declined, incorporating a larger drop from 1992 to 1993 in terms of relative and total numbers. From 1985 to 1990, its share of the foreign population wavered around 11 per cent, then declined to 7 per cent by 1998. Turkish immigrants formed the fifth largest group until 1988, and were then overtaken by Portuguese immigrants. The Portuguese population has been steadily increasing, particularly between 1990 and 1992. Since 1993, Portuguese nationals have formed the third largest immigrant groups, consolidating their share by about 10 per cent of the foreign population. In sum, after 1988, the Yugoslav and Portuguese immigrant groups have become stronger while the shares of Spanish and German immigrants of the foreign population have been declining, although the German population actually increased after 1990 and the decline of the Spanish population has been small. The large difference between the first and the second largest immigrant groups in 1985 has been steadily diminishing.

The share of the top three groups in Luxembourg is highly concentrated between 62 per cent and 64 per cent. A decline of four per cent has occurred in the share of the top five groups, mainly after 1992, but they still comprised over 75 per cent in 1997. In terms of absolute numbers, the largest group, Portuguese immigrants, has been increasing strongly, whereas the number of Italians, the second group, has been declining very slightly. The following immigrant groups - French, German and Belgian nationals - have also increased slightly in terms of numbers. However, their share of the foreign population has been declining. The difference between the first and second largest immigrant group has been widening over the years in terms of numbers and their share of the foreign population. The share of the Portuguese population has been increasing whereas that of the Italians has been declining strongly. In view of the general increase in the foreign population this development indicates a diversification of the foreign population.

Ireland shows a very stable immigration pattern; the top immigrant group from the UK made up over 72 per cent of the foreign population in 1985. This high share reflects historical links with the UK. The share of the UK population has steadily declined down to 61 per cent in 1996 but in terms of total numbers it has actually increased, peaking in 1996. The countries of origin of the other top four immigrant groups - Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and France - remained unchanged until 1990. In relative and absolute numbers they increased until 1992. From 1990 on, the US has been included as the second largest group, growing strongly, and, like the UK nationals, peaking in 1996.

Like the other three countries in the group, Liechtenstein shows a very stable immigration pattern. Clearly reflecting its geographical position, the top three immigrant groups are from the neighbouring German-speaking countries of Switzerland, Austria and Germany. The share of the top immigrant groups has been steadily declining but was still very high with almost 65 per cent for the top three and 80 per cent for the top five groups in 1998. The Swiss immigrants constituted by far the largest group with over 40 per cent until 1996; afterwards they declined in relative and total numbers. Austrian nationals followed with around 20 per cent. Their share of the foreign population was stable until 1994 and then declined slightly. The development of the German population has shown a similar trend. Its share wavered around 10 per cent until 1994 while it slightly increased in terms of numbers. The number of German nationals has been declining since 1997 but it is too early to say whether this constitutes a new trend. After a small increase in the numbers of Italian nationals between 1990 and 1993, their numbers declined gradually apart from a small peak in 1996. Their share of the immigrant population declined from 8.6 per cent in 1989 to 7.6 per cent in 1998. Only the Turkish population, though very small in numbers, has been growing constantly from about 300 in 1985 to over 700 in 1995. After 1995, Turkish immigrants have been overtaken by an only slightly larger group of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia.

These four countries, with a constantly high share of their main immigrant groups, are small countries with close historical and cultural links to their neighbours from where most immigrants come. The pattern of origin of the largest immigrant groups is stable, and has only been disturbed by increased immigration from the former Yugoslavia. Yugoslav immigrants became more important in Switzerland after 1990 and in Liechtenstein after 1996. The decline in traditional immigrant groups, combined with an increase in the total foreign population, indicates a diversification of immigration. Yet, as with the countries of the 'middle-high share' group, there has not been a clear replacement trend. There appear to be new migration patterns but there is no clarity with regard to the nature of the new migration movements, for example the extent to which they are predominantly labour or asylum migration. This demonstrates again the need to explain details of national situations in order to understand variations and differential trends in diversification. Despite the decline in the share of the traditional immigrant groups, the main regions of origin remain very clearly western and southern European orientated, with the exception of US immigrants in Ireland (probably many of Irish origin) and a small number of Turkish immigrants in Liechtenstein and Switzerland until 1988. The rate of decline has been relatively small in Switzerland, Luxembourg and Ireland but has been very high in Liechtenstein (over 13 per cent in the share of the top three groups), mainly because of the strong decline of its top three west-European immigrant groups from Switzerland, Austria and Germany.

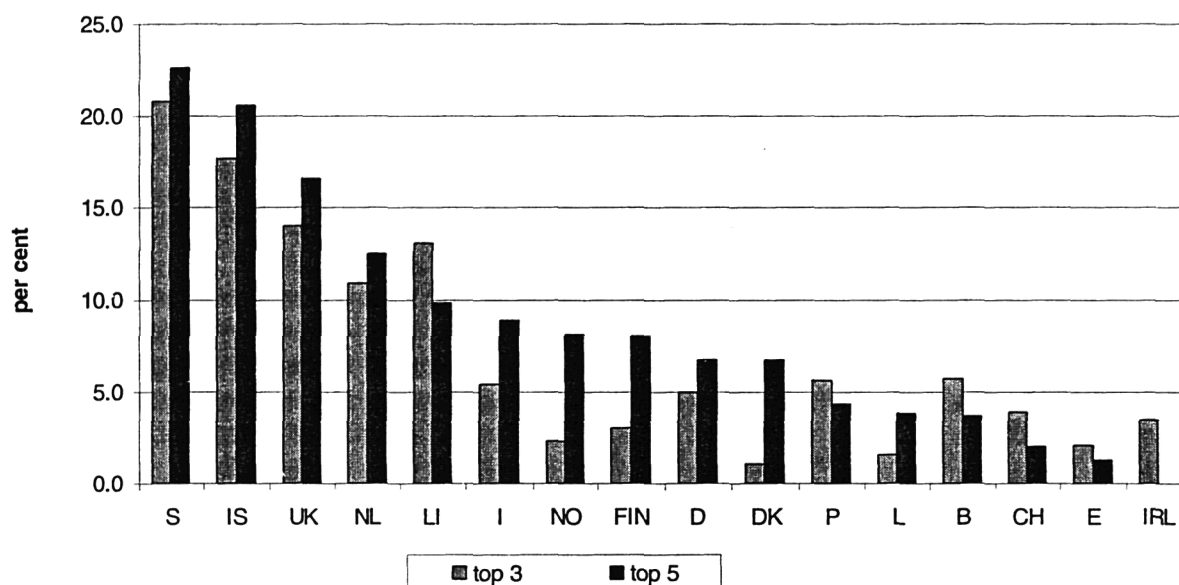
The decline in the share of the top three or five immigrant groups is mainly caused by a strong decline in the top two immigrant groups, in some countries it is primarily due to the declining share of the top most one. An overall diversification of the foreign population in the EU and EFTA states has occurred but at variable rates. The lowest diversifiers are Luxembourg, Spain and Switzerland. The countries with the fastest diversification are the Netherlands, the UK, Iceland and Sweden.

3.6.8 Summary

In almost all countries, the pattern of origin of the top five immigrant groups has hardly changed; in three countries - Belgium, Luxembourg and the UK - it has not changed at all. Italy, Greece, Finland have experienced the most substantial changes in the origin of their main immigrant groups. Only in Finland (Estonia) and Greece (Poland) can these changes be partly attributed to the events of 1989. Migrants from former Yugoslavia are the most frequent new group to be found among the top five immigrant groups: since 1993 in Italy; since 1994 in Finland, Norway, and the Netherlands; and since 1996 in Liechtenstein. The second most frequent group who moved up to the top five immigrant groups comprises

Poles in Germany (1989), Greece (1989) and Iceland (1991). Other groups have been Moroccan immigrants in Italy (1990) and Spain (1992); Iranians in Denmark (1991/92) and Sweden (1989); Filipinos in Greece (1994) and Italy (1991); Portuguese in Switzerland (1989); Somalis in Finland (1993); Turks in Italy (1991) and migrants from Angola and Guinea Bissau in Portugal since 1995. These immigrants have arrived at very different times and for different reasons (Table 3.8). Some groups have arrived mainly as a result of labour migration, such as Poles and Filipinos. Others are predominantly refugees, such as nationals from former Yugoslavia, Iran or Somalia. Some immigrant groups are effectively 'new', such as Polish nationals in Western European countries; while other 'new' arrivals, notably refugees from former Yugoslavia, joined already established immigrant communities in many Western European countries.

Figure 3.10 - Rate of decline in share of top three and five immigrant groups 1985-1997/8 by percentage



Source: Eurostat, OECD

There has been an overall decline in the share of the top three and top five immigrant groups from 1985 to 1997/8. In many countries, the shares have been growing again after a low point was reached, usually between 1992 and 1995. Nevertheless, the shares were still well below the mid-1980s figures and it is too early to say whether this trend will continue. A large part of the decline in the share of the top five immigrant groups relative to the total foreign population can often be explained by a much larger decline in the top one or top two immigrant groups compared to the following three. One of the top two countries of origin has been replaced by a new immigrant group only in Finland (1995), in Denmark (1992), Spain (1993), Norway (1992), Italy (1991) and Greece (1996). The decline in the share of the top five immigrant groups, while the stock of foreign population continues growing, indicates increased diversification of the foreign population, in other words that new migrant groups have arrived, and/or smaller, already settled immigrant groups have become more important. There is no clear trend in the degree of diversification discernible. The rate of decline from 1985 to 1997/8 can be as little as under two per cent and as high as twenty per cent for the top three immigrant groups. It ranges between just above one per cent to up to twenty-two per cent for the top five immigrant groups. There is no correlation between the share of the main immigrant groups relative to the total stock of foreign population and the rate of decline.

Table 3.8 - When did changes in the patterns of origin of the top five immigrant groups occur?

	year	new national group	reason/cause
Belgium	none		
Luxembourg	none		
United Kingdom	none		
Denmark	1987 1991/ 92	Yugoslavia Iran	labour migration refugees
Sweden	1989	Iran	labour
Switzerland	1989	Portugal	labour
Germany	1989	Poland	labour
Greece	1989 1994	Poland Former USSR, Philippines	labour
Ireland	1990	USA, Spain	ethnic and labour migration
Italy	1990 1991 1993 1997	Morocco Tunisia, Philippines former Yugoslavia Albania	labour labour refugees/labour refugees/labour
Iceland	1991	Poland	labour
Spain	1992	Morocco	labour
Finland	1993 1994	Estonia, Somalia former Yugoslavia	ethnic/labour, refugees labour/refugees
Norway	1994	former Yugoslavia	labour/refugees
Netherlands	1994	former Yugoslavia	labour/refugees
Portugal	(1992) 1995	(Chile, Canada) Angola, Guinea-Bissau	(labour) refugees/labour, labour
Liechtenstein	1996	former Yugoslavia	refugees/labour

The majority of immigrants in the EU and EFTA states still come from Western European countries; although since 1989, and more evidently since 1993, there is an increase in migrants from non-Western European countries. During the 1980s, in 11 of the EU and EFTA countries (there are no data for Austria) two of the top five immigrant groups were of non-Western European origin; only in three countries - Greece Portugal and the UK - were more than two immigrant groups of non-Western European origin. By 1994, nine EU and EFTA countries had more than two non-Western European immigrant groups among the top five immigrant groups. Only Luxembourg has had consistently throughout the 1980s and 1990s no non-Western European immigrant group; Switzerland has had only one immigrant group (former Yugoslavia) and Liechtenstein only since 1996 (former Yugoslavia) from outside Western Europe. Other countries with only one non-Western European immigrant

group are Iceland (Poles in 1991), Spain (Moroccans in 1992) and Ireland (US - data for top five national groups only available until 1992).

3.7 Foreign stock by type of origin

In addition to the changing distributional patterns of origin by nationality, another important issue has been whether more immigrants are coming from poorer or from richer countries to Western Europe. The World Bank's basic socio-economic development indicators offer an overview of how rich or poor countries are and for the purpose of this study its classification has been adopted. The World Bank's main criterion for classifying economies is gross national product (GNP) per capita. Countries are classified into four categories according to income: (1) low income countries (less than \$765 in 1995); (2) lower-middle income countries (\$766 - \$3.035); (3) upper-middle income countries (\$3.036 - \$9.385); and (4) high income countries (more than \$9.386) (World Bank, 1996:214-5). Most of the *low income countries* are to be found in Africa but this category also includes, for example, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Albania (the only European country). The *lower-middle income countries* comprise the Maghreb countries, Turkey, the Baltic states, the Russian Federation and many central and east European states, including Poland and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Czech Republic, Slovenia, Hungary and Croatia are part of the group of *upper-middle income countries*. The *high income countries* include all EU and EFTA states as well as the United States and Canada (World Bank, 1996:264-5).

In order to identify changes in the distributional patterns of origin by income, the countries of origin of the foreign population in the EU and EFTA states have been placed in to the above classification. The data for two years, 1985-86 and 1996-1998 are compared to see what kind of changes have occurred during the decade from the mid-1980s. Data for the early years are not available for all countries. There are no data for Austria, France, Greece and Luxembourg. Data for the early years for Italy and Liechtenstein are from 1990 and 1994 respectively. Most of the recent data are from the years 1996 to 1998. However, for a few countries - Austria (1991), France (1990), Italy (1994), and Liechtenstein (1995) - there have been no recent data available which makes a comparison of the situation in the mid-1980s with the mid-1990s difficult or impossible.

3.7.1 The mid-1980s: majority of foreign population from high income countries

For the sake of comparison, the countries in the categories middle-high income and high income have been grouped together as higher income countries and the countries in the categories middle-low income and low income have been grouped together as lower income countries. The data show that during the mid-1980s, the large majority of the foreign population in the EU and EFTA states came from high-income groups of countries (Figure 3.11)

Only in Germany (57.9 per cent), the Netherlands (64.6 per cent) and Portugal (56.5 per cent) was the majority of the foreign population from lower income countries (Table 3.9). In the case of Germany, over 53 per cent out of the 57.9 per cent came from middle-low income countries. This can be explained by the high proportion of Turkish immigrants. Similarly, in the Netherlands 58.9 per cent out of the 64.6 per cent came from middle-low income countries. Portugal is unique in that it had by far the largest share of foreign nationals (47.7 per cent) from lower income countries in 1986, reflecting its large proportion of immigrants from African countries.

In the other countries, the vast majority of the foreign nationals has come from higher income countries. This is not surprising given that in most countries the top two or more immigrant groups are from other EU or EFTA states and, as in the case of Ireland, from the United States. The share of immigrants from middle-high countries was very small, not

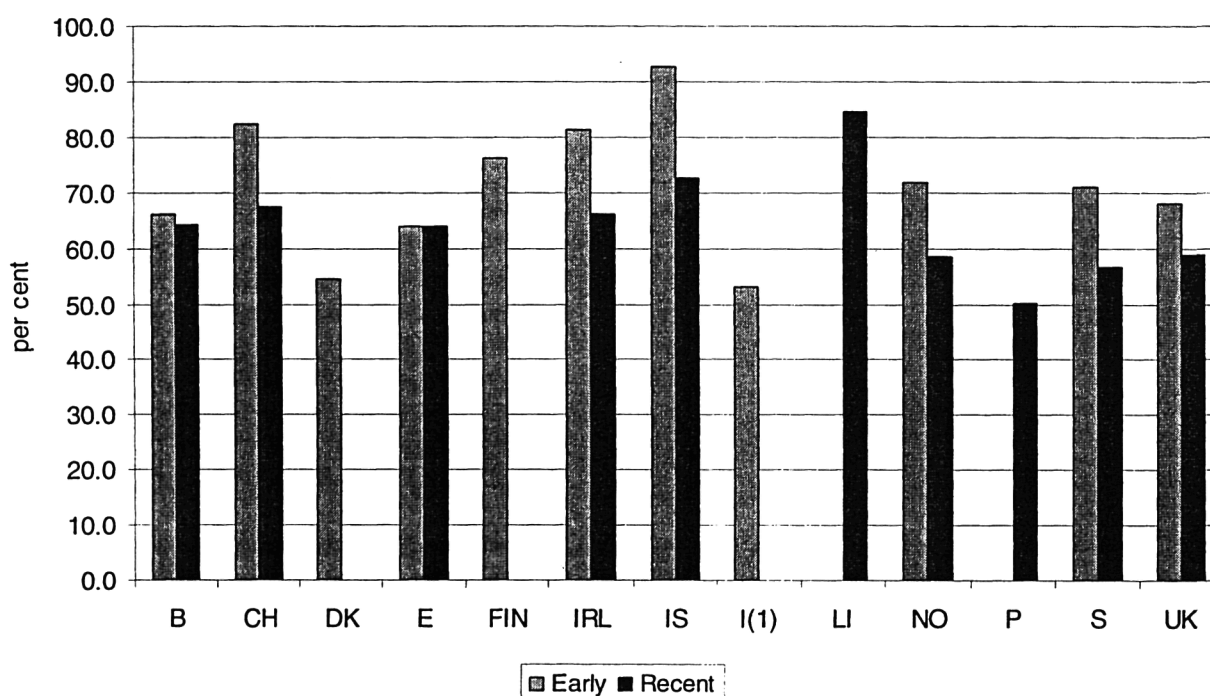
reaching more than 6.5 per cent. Only Portugal had a more substantial number of foreign nationals from middle-high income countries (14.1 per cent).

Table 3.9 - Countries in which the majority of the foreign population is from low income countries (per cent)

early		recent	
Portugal	53.5	Greece	51.0
Germany	57.9	Germany	53.8
Netherlands	64.6	Denmark	56.1
		Italy	59.0
		Netherlands	64.0
		Finland	65.6

Source: Eurostat, OECD, Council of Europe, World Bank

Figure 3.11 - Shares of foreign population from high-income group countries



Source: Eurostat, OECD, Council of Europe, World Bank

Note

1. Early = 1990

3.7.2 The mid-1990s: decline of foreign population from high income countries

All countries which received most of their foreign population in the mid-1980s from higher income countries experienced an increase in immigration from lower income countries; in other words, their share of foreign population from higher income countries has declined over the last decade (Figure 3.11). Yet only in Denmark and Italy did the share of immigrants from higher income countries fall below 50 per cent. Finland underwent by far the greatest change. Its share of higher income immigrants fell by over 44 per cent down to 31.6 per cent in the mid-1990s, probably because of immigration from Russia. Other countries with a larger decline of the share of their foreign population from higher income countries are

Iceland (-19.9 per cent), Ireland (-15.1 per cent), Denmark (-14.9 per cent), Switzerland (-14.8 per cent), Sweden (-14.3 per cent), Norway (-13.3 per cent) and Italy (-12.5 per cent). Belgium and Spain experienced only a marginal change with -1.7 per cent and -0.3 per cent respectively.

The large majority of these foreign populations came from middle-low income countries (category 2). Portugal was the only country with a large share (47.7 per cent) from low-income countries (category 1) in the mid-1980s. All the countries with a majority of the foreign population coming from low income countries in the mid-1980s increased their share of immigrants from high income countries but the larger part of the foreign population still came from low income countries in the mid-1990s. The share of foreign nationals from low income countries declined in Germany by 4.1 per cent and in the Netherlands by 0.6 per cent. After 1990 Italy experienced an increase in immigration from mid-low income countries such as Morocco, Tunisia and the Philippines. The share of immigrants from low-income countries was almost unchanged in Portugal from the mid-1990s (47.8 per cent), that is to say, that the changes, albeit small, occurred in the higher income groups.

There are no early data for Greece but the large proportion of foreign nationals from middle-low income countries was mainly due to immigrants from middle-low countries such as from the former Soviet Union and the Philippines. Nationals from these were among the top five nationalities since 1994. However, the group of foreign nationals from high-income countries was only marginally larger. This is not surprising as the US, the UK and Germany were among the top five immigrant groups.

As the analysis of foreign stock has shown, migration movements are not generated by the least developed countries, but rather by countries that have already attained a certain level of economic development. Some of the Central and Eastern European countries are typical examples. A more detailed analysis could provide empirical evidence for another hypothesis in the literature that the 'new' migration is characterised by an increasing polarity in migration flows which is manifested by a distribution according to income, in addition to skills and occupation. This is taken up in Chapter 6.

3.8 Summary and Conclusion

The analysis of changes in the stock of foreign population in the EU/EFTA region has shown clearly that each country needs to be treated individually. There is a strong differentiation in the migration experience across Western Europe. The significance of 1989 for the emergence of new migration patterns or an increase in migration in Europe is not as apparent as might have been expected. Changes in the composition of the top five immigrant groups have occurred in different countries in any year between 1987 and 1996. Likewise, phases of larger increases in the stock of foreign population occurred in some countries before 1989, in others during the early 1990s.

A more detailed analysis of changes in the foreign population is necessary in order to identify emerging new migration patterns. In combination with a more detailed breakdown of the foreign population by citizenship, the reasons for diversification need to be examined more closely in order to understand the reasons for the trends identified.

The main trends regarding the stock of foreign population in EU/EFTA states can be summarised as follows:

- overall increase of stock of foreign population in numbers
- overall decline of annual rate of increase
- rates of increase lower in mid-1990s than in latter half of 1980s

- overall increase of (recorded) female migrants
- largest share of foreign population in 25-39 years age group
- in most countries: younger age groups declining and older age groups growing
- overall decline in share of top three and top five immigrant groups relative to total foreign population
- decline in share of top five immigrant groups occurs mainly in top one or top two immigrant groups which usually form by far the largest groups
- share of resident foreign nationals from low income countries has been growing
- the relative importance of other EU citizens in member states appears to be declining except in the 'new' immigration countries of Italy and Greece.

CHAPTER 4 - EUROPE'S FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION

4.1 Introduction

Data on country of birth can be used to indicate the lifetime international migration of a population. Unlike country of citizenship, a person's country of birth cannot be changed unless territories have been redefined (Eurostat, 1998). However, birthplace on its own gives no indication of citizenship; someone living in Britain who was born in France may be neither British nor French. Additionally, some countries (notably Germany) do not collect birthplace data.

Birthplace information does have its uses though, particularly in identifying migration trends. For example, people have a tendency to move to nearby countries, to countries with colonial or historic ties and to countries which speak the same language as their native tongue. The effects of labour recruitment can also be seen from birthplace data.

This chapter takes the Eurostat publication *The Population of Selected European Countries by Country of Birth* (Statistics in Focus: Population and Social Conditions 1998: No. 10) as its starting point, together with other Eurostat statistics. It will first look at data availability, before identifying the main trends by size, origin, sex, age and time.

4.2 Availability of data

The Eurostat New Cronos database was constructed using the information listed in Table 4.1. Data from the population registers refer to 1 January 1994; the data for Sweden refer to 31 December 1993, but this has been taken as 1 January 1994 as well. Greece only supplied data relating to non-nationals and so it has been omitted as it cannot be compared with other countries. Limited data are available for Sweden, whilst UK data are unreliable as they are grossed up from a sample and should be used with caution.

Table 4.1 - Availability of data on the foreign-born population

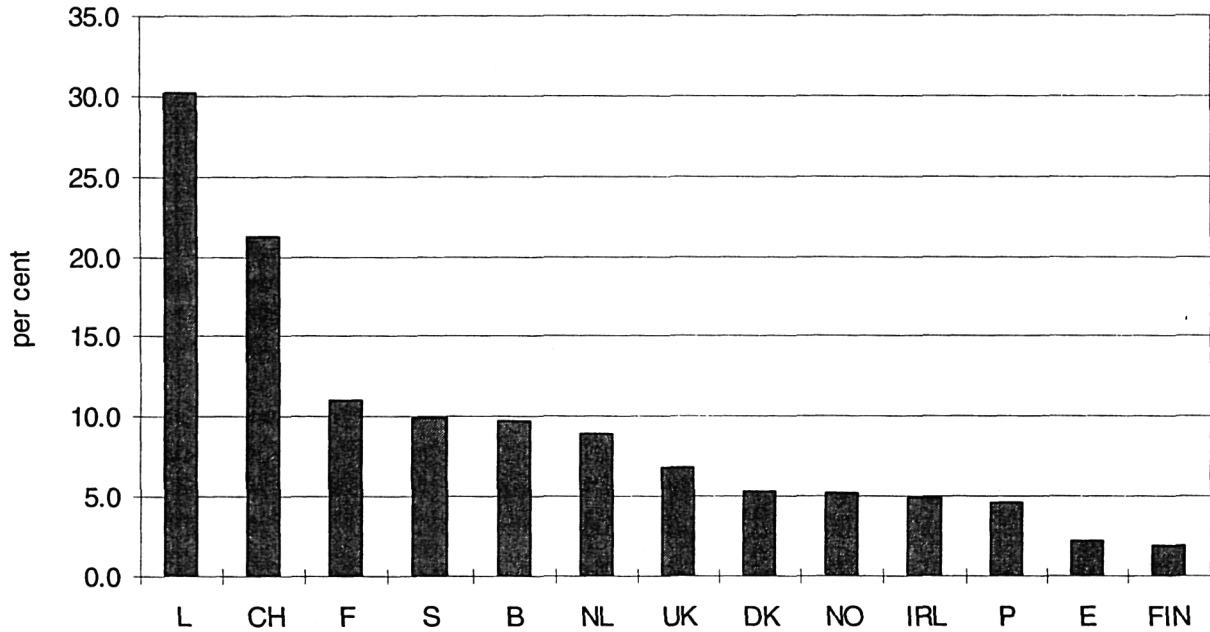
Country	Information by:			Source of Data	Transmitting Authority
	Year	Age	Sex		
Belgium	1994	Yes	Yes	National Register	INS
Denmark	1994	Yes	Yes	Central Population Register	Statistics Denmark
Finland	1994	Yes	Yes	Central Population Register	Statistics Finland
France	1990	Yes	Yes	Population Census	INSEE
Ireland	1991	Yes	Yes	Population Census	CSO
Luxembourg	1991	Yes	Yes	Population Census	STATEC
Netherlands	1994	Yes	Yes	Population Register	Statistics Netherlands
Norway	1994	Yes	Yes	Central Population Register	Statistics Norway
Portugal	1991	Yes	Yes	Population Census	INE
Spain	1991	No	Yes	Population Census	INE
Sweden	1994	No	No	Population Register	Statistics Sweden
Switzerland	1990	Yes	Yes	Population Census	Federal Statistical Office
UK	1994	Yes	Yes	Labour Force Survey	ONS

4.3 Relative size of the foreign-born population

Figure 4.1 represents the foreign-born population as a percentage of the total population. Luxembourg has the highest proportion with 30.2 per cent, followed by Switzerland with 21.3 per cent and France with 11.0 per cent. At the other end, Finland has the smallest proportion with just 1.9 per cent, followed by Spain with 2.2 per cent and Portugal with 4.6 per cent.

These figures help to identify the size and importance of international migration in the longer term.

Figure 4.1 - Foreign-born population as a percentage of the total population

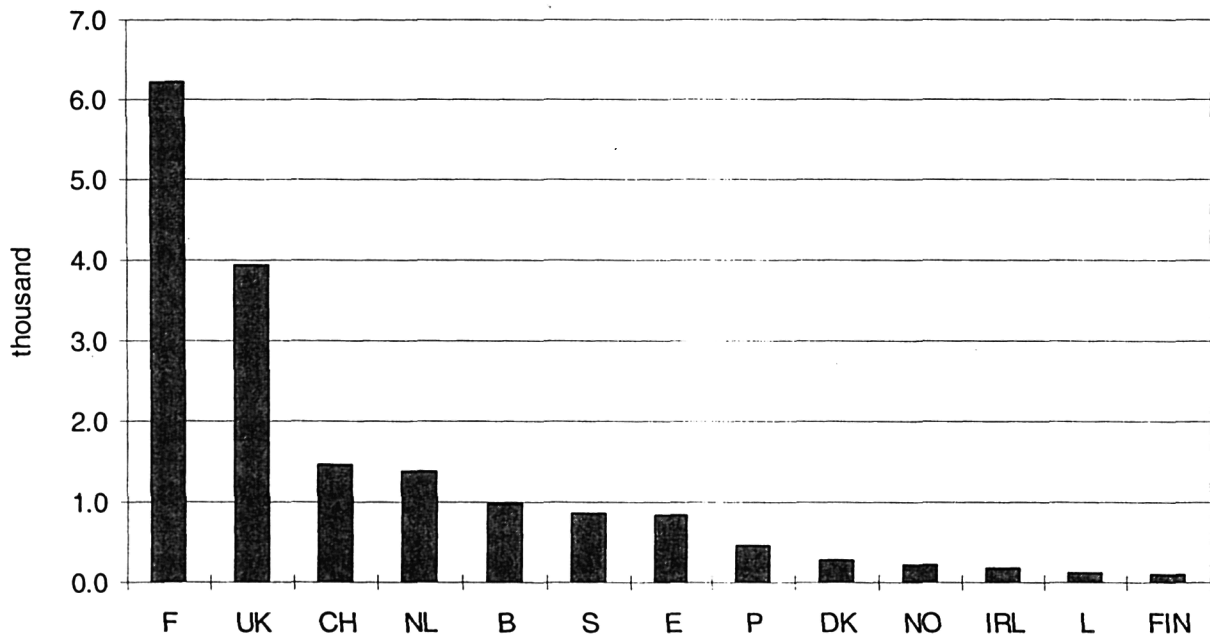


Source: Eurostat

4.4 Absolute size of the foreign-born population

Figure 4.2 shows the actual sizes of the foreign-born populations for each of the countries, and reveals that France has the highest number with 6.2 million, followed by the UK with 3.9 million. All the other countries have less than 2 million people born abroad, with only 100,000 in the case of Finland.

Figure 4.2 - Foreign-born population in absolute figures

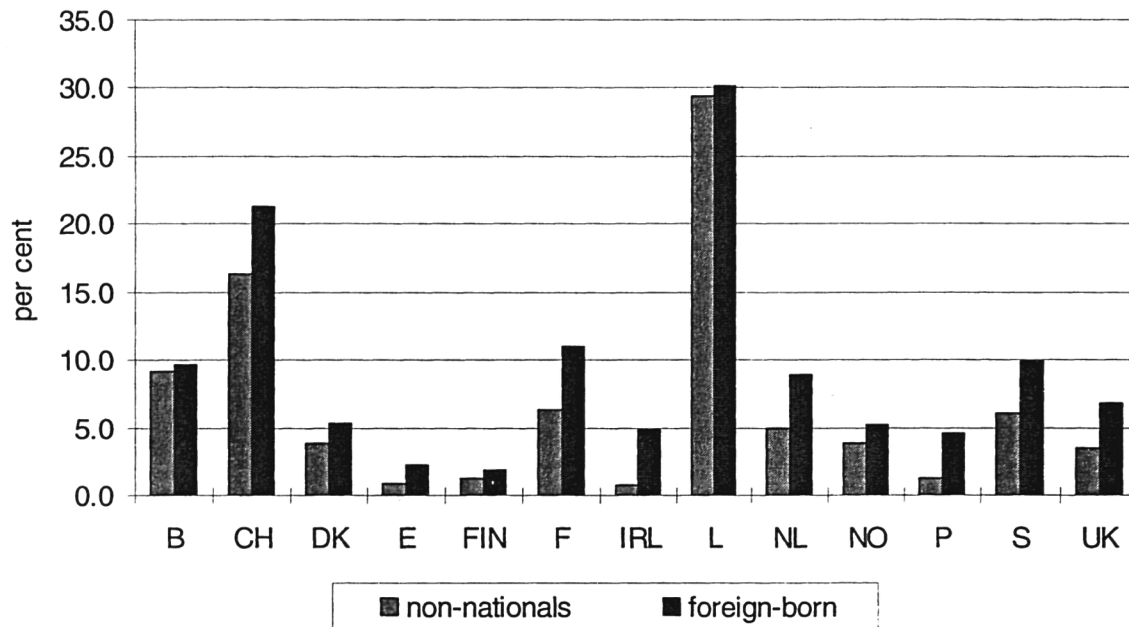


Source: Eurostat

4.5 Comparison of foreign-born and non-national population

A final way to assess the size of the foreign-born population is to compare it with the non-national population. Figure 4.3 shows both as a percentage of the total population, taking the non-national percentages from the *Council of Europe* report (Salt, 1997).

Figure 4.3 - Comparison of the foreign-born population with the non-national population



Source: Eurostat

It can be seen that the percentage of the foreign-born population exceeds that of the non-national population for all countries, mainly due to naturalisation. The biggest difference is in France, mainly owing to the large numbers of nationals born in North Africa.

4.6 Origins of the foreign-born population

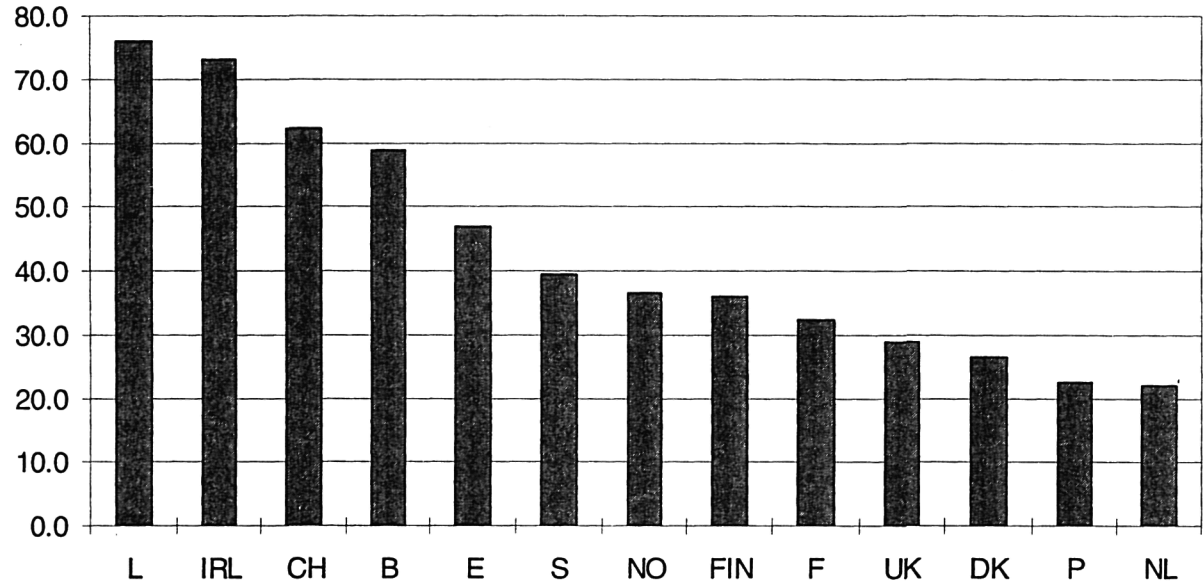
Analysis of the distribution by countries of origin shows that there are variations in the proportions of people who were born abroad, but within the EU-15, as shown in Figure 4.4.

The countries with the highest proportions are Luxembourg (75.9 per cent), Ireland (73.1 per cent) and Switzerland (62.2 per cent). This can largely be explained by that fact that none of these were ever colonisers. Additionally, Luxembourg and Switzerland are landlocked, preventing any traditional trade links by sea, whilst most of the foreign-born population in Ireland are from the UK.

Figure 4.5 and Table 4.2 shows the distribution of the foreign-born population by continent and demonstrates how colonialism, language and labour recruitment contribute to the pattern (Eurostat, 1998).

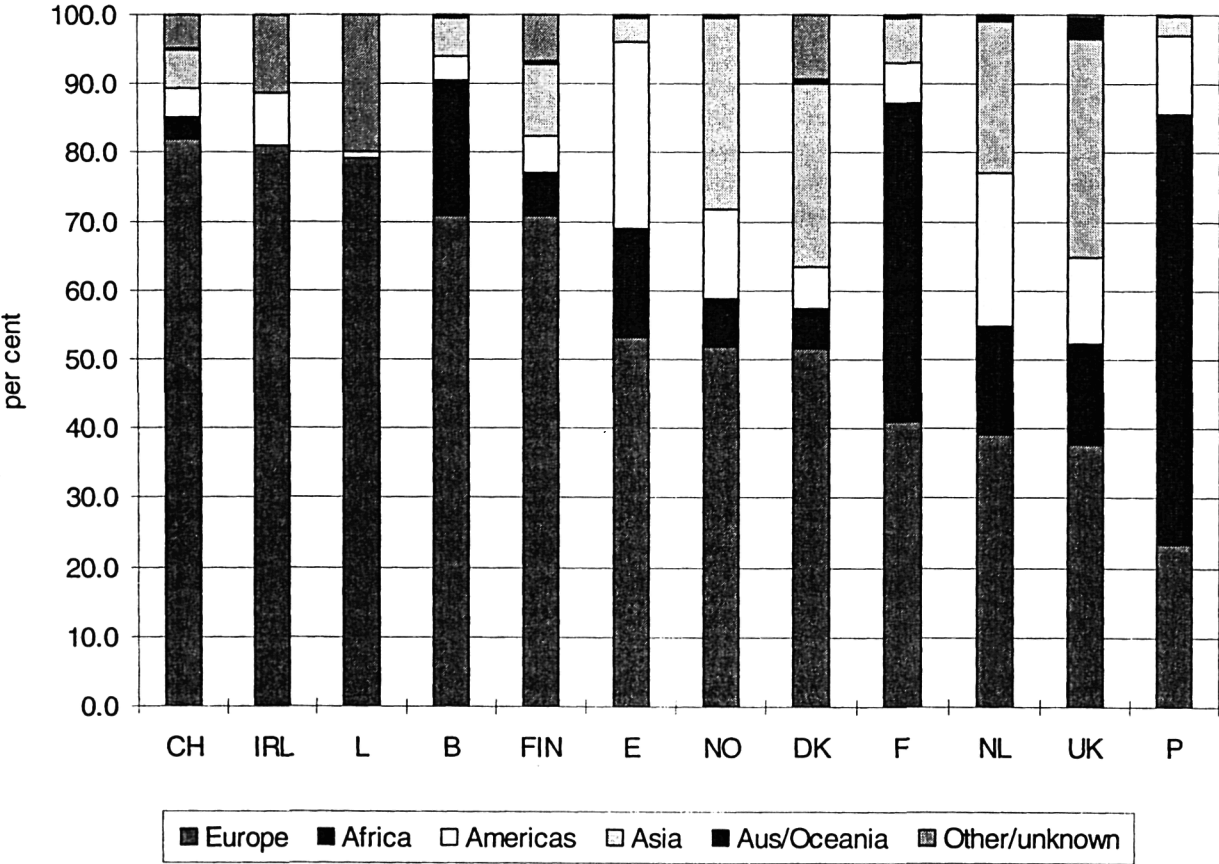
African countries of origin are particularly prominent in France and Portugal, whilst Asia is more important for Denmark, Norway and the UK. The Americas feature strongly in the breakdowns for Spain and the Netherlands. Table 4.2 shows how the foreign-born population for each continent is distributed between the twelve countries.

Figure 4.4 - Percentage of the foreign-born population born within the EU-15



Source: Eurostat

Figure 4.5 - Foreign-born population by continent of birth, per cent



Source: Eurostat

Table 4.2 - Foreign-born population by continent of birth (per cent)

Foreign-born population (%)		Continent of birth distributed by country (%)											
		B	CH	DK	E	FIN	F	IRL	L	NL	NO	P	UK
Total	100.0	6.1	9.1	1.7	5.2	0.6	38.5	1.1	0.7	8.5	1.4	2.8	24.3
Europe	46.9	9.2	15.8	1.9	5.9	0.9	33.6	1.9	1.2	7.1	1.5	1.4	19.6
Africa	27.1	4.4	1.1	0.4	3.1	0.1	66.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.4	6.4	13.3
Americas	9.8	2.1	3.9	1.0	14.4	0.3	22.3	0.8	0.1	19.3	1.9	3.3	30.6
Asia	14.1	2.4	3.5	3.2	1.3	0.4	17.7	0.0	0.0	13.2	2.7	0.5	54.8
Aus/Oceania	1.0	0.8	2.2	1.0	1.8	0.3	16.1	0.0	0.0	7.7	0.7	0.5	68.9
Other/unknown	1.0	1.4	43.1	15.4	0.0	3.8	0.0	11.9	13.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.5

Source: Eurostat

It highlights the tendency for people born in different continents to settle in certain countries. For example, two-thirds of those born in Africa are in France; this is particularly significant as the African-born make up almost 30 per cent of the total foreign-born population for the twelve countries listed. Around 70 per cent of those born in Australasia and Oceania can be found in the UK, but this group accounts for just 1 per cent of the total foreign born population. These patterns can be explained if we look at the top 10 countries of birth for each country. Firstly, Switzerland, Ireland and Luxembourg have similar patterns as shown in Table 4.3 below:

Table 4.3 - Top 10 countries of birth in Switzerland, Ireland and Luxembourg (per cent)

Luxembourg Top 10	% of all foreign-born	Ireland Top 10	% of all foreign-born	Switzerland Top 10	% of all foreign-born
Portugal	25.3	UK	78.4	Italy	20.5
France	11.9	USA	6.0	Germany	12.1
Germany	10.4	Germany	2.2	Fr Yugoslavia	11.0
Italy	10.3	Canada	1.1	Spain	7.2
Belgium	9.3	France	1.1	Portugal	6.9
Netherlands	2.6	Australia	1.0	France	6.5
UK	1.9	Netherlands	0.8	Turkey	4.3
Fr Yugoslavia	1.6	India	0.7	Austria	4.1
Spain	1.6	Italy	0.6	United Kingdom	1.5
Denmark	1.0	Spain	0.6	Fr Czechoslovakia	1.3

Source: Eurostat

Apart from the indirect colonial influence of the UK on Ireland, and the presence there of people from the US, all the top 10 countries of birth in each case are European, and mostly EU-15. Labour recruitment explains why a quarter of the foreign-born in Luxembourg are from Portugal, whilst the importance of the UK in Ireland (78.4 per cent) is mainly due to historic ties. The effects of locality and language can also be seen in all three countries.

At the other end of the scale, table 4.4 shows the effects of colonialism and labour recruitment on countries with the highest proportions of non-European born.

In the case of the Netherlands, over half of the foreign-born population were born in former colonies (Indonesia, Surinam, Antilles) or countries of labour recruitment (Turkey, Morocco). Similarly, 8 of the top 10 countries of birth for the UK have colonial or historic ties, the exceptions being Italy and Germany. Almost a third of the foreign-born population in Portugal were born in Angola, a former colony along with Mozambique, Cap Verde, Brazil and Guinea

Bissau. Again, the effects of language and location can be identified, along with the presence of refugees from former Yugoslavia in the Netherlands. Colonialism is also an important factor to consider for Spain, France and Belgium as shown in table 4.5.

Table 4.4 - Top 10 countries of birth in the Netherlands, United Kingdom and Portugal (per cent)

Netherlands Top 10	% of all foreign-born	UK Top 10	% of all foreign-born	Portugal Top 10	% of all foreign-born
Indonesia	13.4	Ireland	14.5	Angola	32.2
Surinam	13.3	India	10.3	Mozambique	17.0
Turkey	12.1	Pakistan	6.8	France	13.3
Morocco	10.1	Germany	5.5	Cape Verde	6.9
Germany	9.4	Jamaica	3.4	Brazil	5.4
NL Antilles	4.7	Kenya	3.0	Germany	3.6
UK	3.3	Bangladesh	3.0	Venezuela	3.4
Belgium	3.2	USA	2.7	Spain	2.5
Fr Yugoslavia	2.2	Italy	2.3	UK	1.6
Spain	1.3	South Africa	2.1	Guinea Bissau	1.5

Source: Eurostat

Table 4.5 - Top 10 countries of birth in Spain, France and Belgium (per cent)

Spain Top 10	% of all foreign-born	France Top 10	% of all foreign-born	Belgium Top 10	% of all foreign-born
France	15.8	Algeria	21.7	France	15.2
Morocco	12.8	Morocco	10.4	Italy	14.5
Germany	10.7	Portugal	9.7	Morocco	8.9
UK	7.8	Italy	8.3	Netherlands	8.4
Argentina	6.4	Spain	6.8	Germany	7.7
Venezuela	5.0	Tunisia	5.8	Turkey	5.7
Portugal	5.0	Germany	2.8	Zaire	5.6
Switzerland	4.8	Turkey	2.2	Spain	4.0
Cuba	2.8	Poland	2.0	UK	2.7
Belgium	2.2	Belgium	1.9	Portugal	1.9

Source: Eurostat

Although the former colonies of Spain (Venezuela, Argentina and Cuba) appear in its top 10, this is now more for linguistic reasons. Location and labour recruitment on the other hand explain the prominence of people born in France and Morocco. The position of the UK in the table for Spain is mainly due to expatriates living on the coast. Colonialism is a more important factor for France, as over a third of its foreign-born population are from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. It is less of a factor for Belgium, as those born in Zaire only account for 5.6 per cent of the foreign-born population. The prominence of Italians in both countries is accounted for by labour demands.

Finally, if we look at the Scandinavian countries in table 4.6, it can be seen that locality and refugee movements are more influential.

Former Yugoslavia appears as a top 10 country of birth in all four cases, whilst other prominent refugee countries include Pakistan, Iran, Somalia, Vietnam and Lebanon. Locality

is also significant amongst the Scandinavian group, explaining the large German-born population in Denmark and the Soviet influence on Finland.

Table 4.6 - Top 10 countries of birth in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark (per cent)

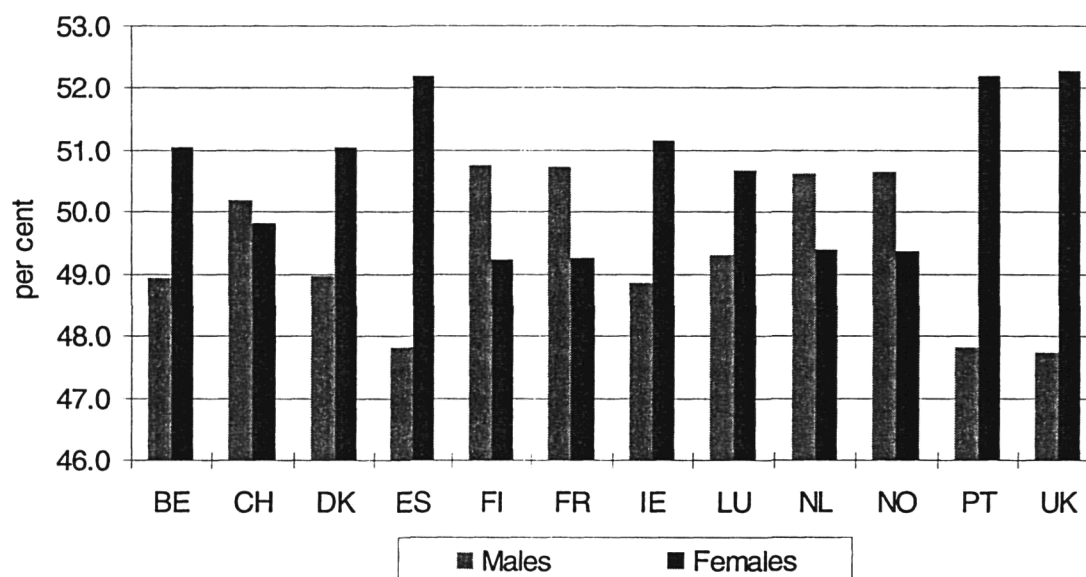
Norway Top 10	% of all foreign-born	Sweden Top 10	% of all foreign-born	Finland Top 10	% of all foreign-born	Denmark Top 10	% of all foreign-born
Sweden	9.9	Finland	24.1	Sweden	27.3	Germany	9.0
Denmark	9.4	Fr Yugoslavia	6.0	Fr Soviet Union	22.0	Turkey	8.8
USA	6.9	Iran	5.5	USA	2.8	Sweden	6.3
UK	6.1	Norway	5.4	Germany	2.8	Norway	5.1
Pakistan	5.0	Denmark	4.7	Somalia	2.7	UK	4.2
Vietnam	4.6	Poland	4.4	Fr Yugoslavia	2.5	Lebanon	4.0
Germany	4.0	Germany	4.1	Vietnam	2.3	Iran	3.6
Fr Yugoslavia	3.9	Turkey	3.3	UK	2.0	Poland	3.5
Iran	3.1	Chile	3.2	China	1.2	Fr Yugoslavia	3.4
Sri Lanka	2.7	Lebanon	2.4	Poland	1.2	Pakistan	3.0

Source: Eurostat

These basic groupings demonstrate that although similarities exist, different countries have different patterns, as demonstrated throughout the course of this book.

4.7 Male and female ratios

Figure 4.6 - Foreign-born population by sex (per cent)



Source: Eurostat

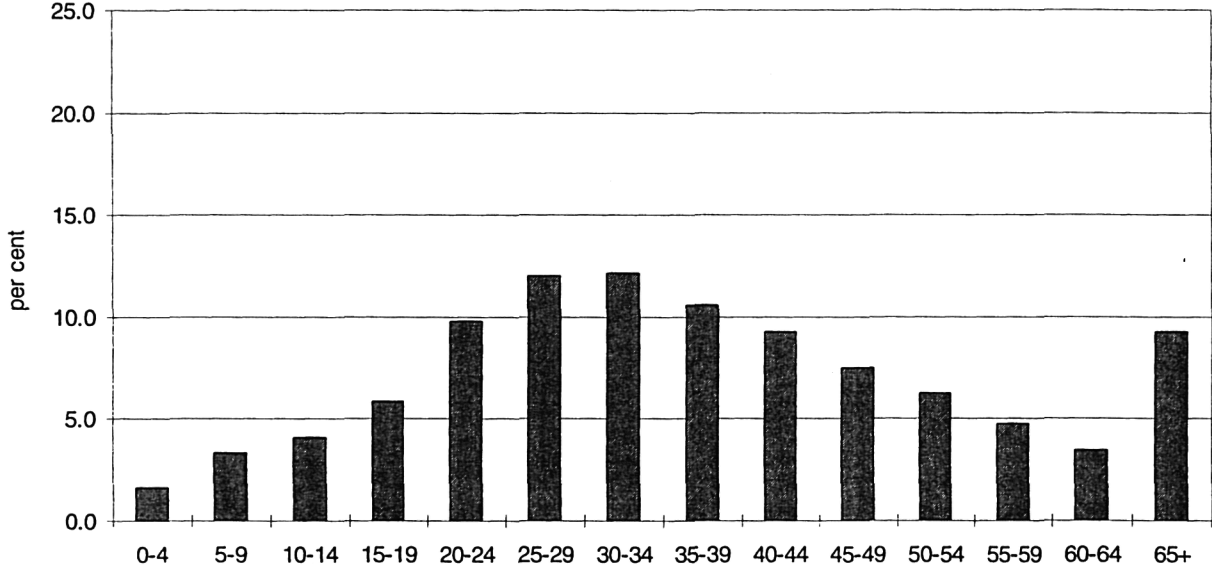
Examination of the breakdown of the foreign-born populations by sex, reveals that seven countries have more foreign-born females than males as shown in Figure 4.6. Belgium, Denmark, Ireland and Luxembourg have a difference of around 2 per cent, whilst Spain, Portugal and the UK have a difference of around 4 per cent. The other five countries have more males, but the difference is minimal for Switzerland.

4.8 Age breakdowns

If the ages of the foreign-born populations are examined, we see that most countries follow a similar pattern with a peak in the 25-29, 30-34 or 35-39 categories and a smooth distribution

on either side. This is demonstrated by the case of the Netherlands (Figure 4.7), where the trend is very similar to that in Denmark, Norway and Switzerland, in that most of the foreign-born population falls between the ages of 15 and 64 (Eurostat, 1998).

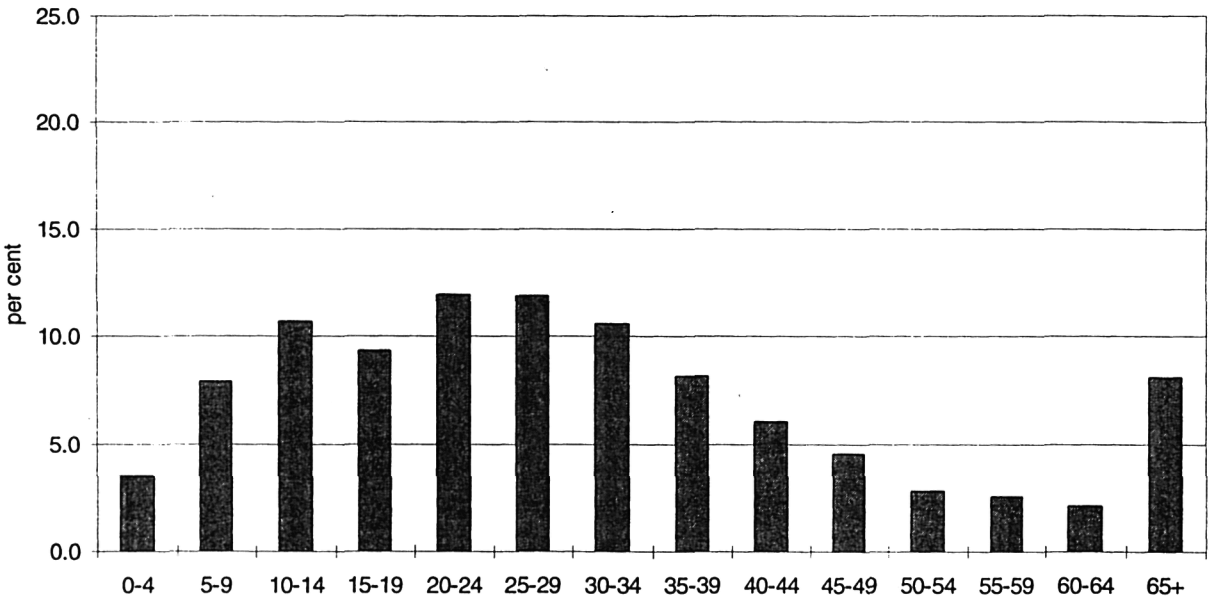
Figure 4.7 - Age distribution of the foreign-born population in the Netherlands



Source: Eurostat

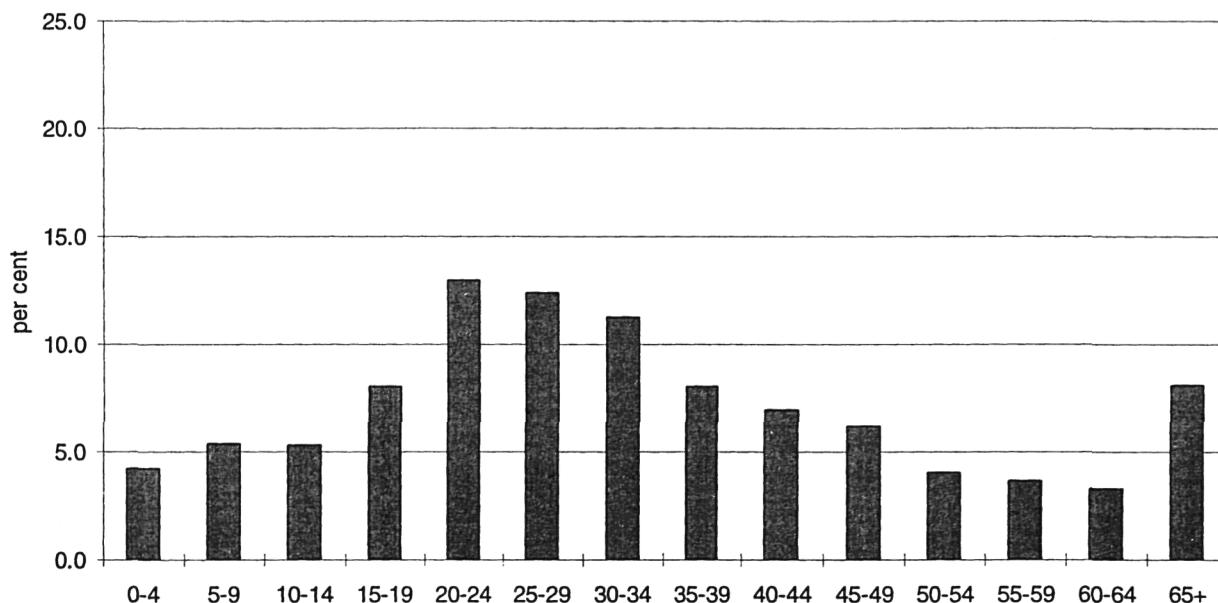
France and the UK have the oldest foreign-born populations, whilst Finland, Ireland and particularly Portugal all have much younger foreign-born populations as shown below (Figure 4.8 - 4.10).

Figure 4.8 - Age distribution of the foreign-born population in Finland



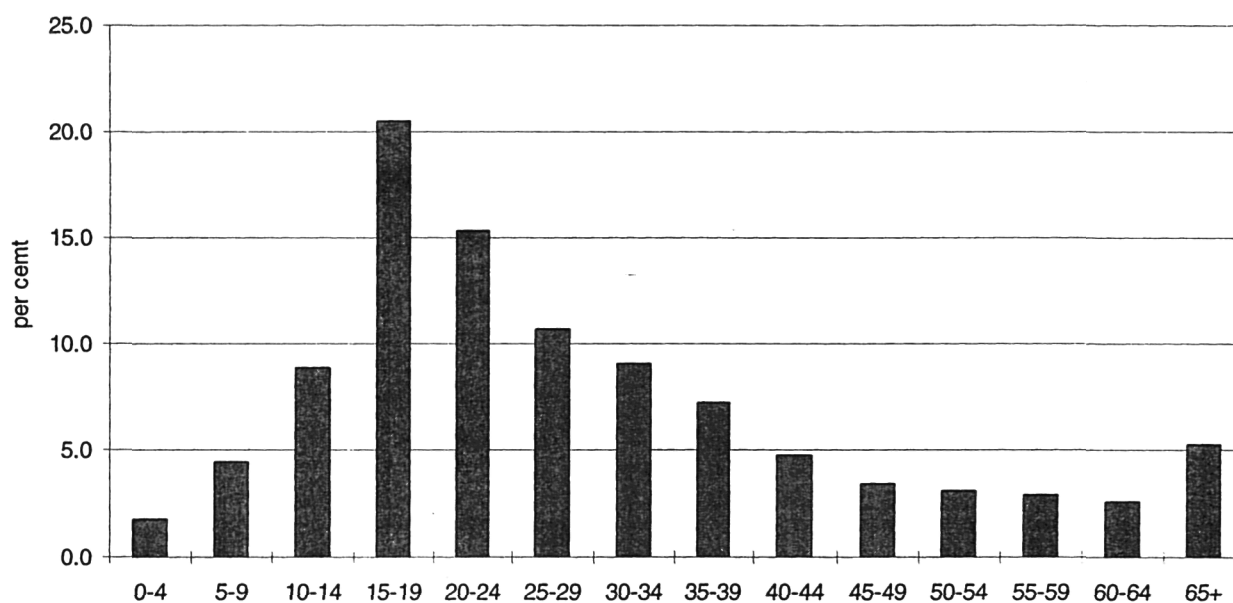
Source: Eurostat

Figure 4.9 - Age distribution of the foreign-born population in Ireland



Source: Eurostat

Figure 4.10 - Age distribution of the foreign-born population in Portugal



Source: Eurostat

4.9 Conclusion

In principle, country of birth can be a useful indicator of the size and patterns of international migration. The effects of distance, language, colonialism and labour recruitment can all be discerned in the data, the analysis of which can thus provide some insight into why movements have taken place. A more sophisticated insight should be possible when these data are further analysed longitudinally and on the basis of age, sex, continent and major countries.

However, analysis of country of birth is severely restricted by data limitations. The data are collated in only a limited number of EU countries, they are often out of date, and are plagued by gaps. Comparison between countries is further hindered by a series of more conceptual problems. For example, country of birth does not always indicate citizenship and so some of the people born abroad will in fact be nationals. In addition there are definitional quirks in different countries. For example, Norway takes country of birth as being the mother's usual place of residence, rather than where the individual migrant was actually born (Eurostat, 1998).

CHAPTER 5 - EUROPE'S MIGRATION FIELDS: IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION FLOWS

Around 1985 a clear change in the trend of inflows into Western Europe occurred, with most countries experiencing increases, predating both the free movement consequent upon the southern enlargement of the EU and the political changes in the Central and Eastern European countries. In the first half of the 1980s, inflows of foreign populations declined, with net losses indicated in some years for Germany, Luxembourg and Switzerland. Outflows fluctuated, varying from country to country, but were generally at a lower level than inflows, resulting in net migration gains.

It has been generally assumed that the impact of the political events of 1989 resulted in an increase in migration flows from Central and Eastern Europe, though the data suggest that this was not to the extent initially forecast. Further issues are the development of former colonial links and of flows established due to labour agreements in the 1950s and 1960s.

The chapter is divided into five main parts. The first discusses the flow data, looking first at trends in the migration behaviour of nationals in contrast to foreigners and second, at trends in the migration of EU/EFTA nationals within Western Europe in contrast to those of non-EU/EFTA nationals. The second and third parts examine immigration and emigration flows by sex, age and citizenship. Migration in the 1990s has been associated with changing migrant profiles (see Chapter 3). Are there signs of an increase in, for example, female migration and return migration? The fourth part discusses changes in the composition of migration flows by citizenship. A key issue is whether the events of 1989 led to the establishment of new migration patterns in Europe. This is complemented in the final part by an analysis of immigration by income level of origin country using the World Bank's socio-economic development indicators, and comparing the proportion of foreign immigrants from high and low income countries in the mid-1980s with the mid-1990s.

5.1 Trends of flows in Western Europe

Statistical information on immigration is in most countries well documented, that on emigration much less so; many countries do not collect these data and those that do tend towards underestimation (Salt et al. 1994). It is not easy to give an accurate picture as data are often lacking, fragmentary or unreliable. Numbers of total net inflows are probably underestimated, since for the most part they exclude asylum seekers, persons admitted under temporary protection schemes and some categories of temporary migrants, many of whom stay illegally. Furthermore, comparisons between countries are problematic due to differences in definitions of migrants and in data collection procedures. Differences in naturalisation procedures are important since most EU/EFTA countries record foreign population data by citizenship rather than birthplace (see Chapters 4 and 8). In countries where acquisition of citizenship is easier, or where some foreign-born persons are able to claim citizenship on entry as in Germany and France, the reduction of the stock of foreign population by naturalisation is more significant, offsetting to a greater extent the effect of migration flows.

Data on migration flows for the period 1985 to 1996 are available for most EU/EFTA countries. There are hardly any data available on flows of nationals aggregated for the 12 EU member states, thus data for the immigration of the nationals of the EU 15 countries are used to examine the movement of EC/EU nationals throughout the period covered in this study. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 present the main flow data upon which this analysis is based and from which, in part, subsequent tables and figures are derived. References to total inflows and outflows in this chapter refer only to those countries for which data are available. An analysis of the effects of EU enlargement and extension of free movement to Greece, Portugal and Spain is in Chapter 9.

Table 5.1 - In-, out- and net flows of foreign nationals to and from selected EU and EFTA countries, 1985-97 (thousands)

Inflow of Foreign Nationals													
	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	57.1	56.9
B	37.5	39.3	40.1	38.2	43.5	50.5	54.1	55.1	53.0	55.3	53.1	51.9	-
CH	72.4	79.7	83.9	96.0	99.4	122.8	133.1	131.9	122.5	107.7	91.0	74.4	-
D	429.5	509.6	473.1	648.6	770.8	842.4	925.3	1211.3	989.8	777.5	792.7	708.0	-
DK	20.2	22.5	20.1	18.4	19.2	19.7	22.1	21.5	20.5	21.0	39.1	31.5	-
E	6.2	4.3	5.3	9.7	14.4	13.7	10.6	18.2	15.4	18.6	19.5	16.7	-
FIN	2.6	2.7	2.8	3.2	4.2	6.5	13.2	10.4	10.9	7.6	7.3	7.5	8.1
F	53.8	46.1	46.2	50.8	105.2	94.9	102.1	25.5	94.2	64.1	50.4	46.7	-
EL	27.3	25.4	29.1	30.2	28.0	25.0	13.4	14.9	16.4	-	20.9	22.2	615.3
IRL	-	-	17.2	19.2	26.7	33.3	10.6	15.2	15.0	13.3	-	21.5	23.5
IS	0.5	0.7	1.0	1.8	1.0	1.1	1.7	1.0	0.9	0.9	-	1.3	-
I	20.5	18.8	46.8	33.2	27.3	96.7	70.9	59.1	51.1	52.7	68.2	-	-
L	6.6	7.4	7.2	8.2	8.4	9.3	10.0	9.8	8.9	9.1	9.6	9.2	-
NL	44.0	52.8	60.9	58.3	65.4	81.3	84.3	83.0	87.6	66.5	67.0	77.2	76.7
NO	14.9	16.5	23.8	23.0	18.4	15.7	16.1	17.2	22.3	17.9	16.5	17.2	22.0
P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13.7	9.9	5.7	5.0	3.6	-
S	27.9	34.0	37.1	44.5	58.9	53.3	43.9	39.5	54.8	74.7	36.1	29.3	33.0
UK	122.0	129.9	113.4	126.9	146.0	161.2	150.0	116.4	120.0	133.0	154.1	168.0	188.0

Outflow of Foreign Nationals													
	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	48.9	49.8
B	33.5	32.7	34.8	20.6	19.4	18.9	20.5	20.9	31.2	22.6	21.6	22.0	-
CH	58.9	57.6	57.8	61.4	66.3	65.7	73.4	86.4	77.5	69.7	69.4	71.9	-
D	370.1	350.7	334.1	359.1	438.3	466.0	497.5	615.0	710.7	629.3	567.4	559.1	637.1
DK	9.1	9.3	10.1	10.7	9.5	8.9	10.5	9.4	10.0	10.9	11.1	13.0	-
E	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.7	-	-
FIN	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.1	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	3.0	1.6
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
EL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IRL	-	-	40.2	61.1	70.6	56.3	35.3	38.9	41.0	-	33.9	-	-
IS	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.4	0.9	0.8	-	0.7	-
I	-	-	-	-	5.8	7.1	6.3	6.8	-	-	4.4	-	-
L	5.8	5.5	5.9	6.0	6.3	6.3	6.7	6.4	5.8	6.1	5.7	6.4	6.6
NL	23.7	23.6	20.9	21.4	21.5	20.6	21.3	22.7	22.2	17.9	21.7	22.4	-
NO	7.5	8.4	8.6	9.3	10.6	9.8	8.4	8.1	10.5	9.6	9.0	-	-
P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.1	1.1	-	-	0.2	-
S	14.0	15.4	11.6	11.8	13.1	16.2	15.0	13.1	14.8	15.7	15.4	14.5	15.1
UK	66.0	81.4	80.0	94.4	83.3	96.0	102.3	94.0	88.0	82.0	74.0	77.0	94.0

Net Flow of Foreign Nationals													
	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8.2	7.1
B	4.0	6.6	5.3	17.7	24.1	31.6	33.6	34.2	21.8	32.7	31.5	29.9	-
CH	13.5	22.1	26.1	34.5	33.0	57.1	59.7	45.5	44.9	38.0	21.6	2.4	-
D	59.3	158.9	139.0	289.5	332.5	376.3	427.8	596.4	279.2	148.2	225.3	148.9	-
DK	11.1	13.3	9.9	7.8	9.7	10.9	11.7	12.1	10.5	10.1	28.0	18.6	-
E	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18.8	-	-
FIN	1.6	1.5	1.6	2.1	3.3	5.6	12.1	8.9	9.4	6.1	5.8	4.5	6.5
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
EL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IRL	-	-	-23.0	-41.9	-43.9	-23.0	-24.7	-23.7	-26.0	-	-	-	-
IS	0.0	0.2	0.5	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.7	-0.5	0.1	0.1	-	0.6	-
I	-	-	-	-	21.6	89.6	64.7	52.3	-	-	63.8	-	-
L	0.8	1.9	1.3	2.2	2.1	3.0	3.3	3.4	3.1	3.0	3.9	2.8	-
NL	20.3	29.2	40.0	36.8	43.9	60.7	63.0	60.3	65.4	48.6	45.3	54.8	-
NO	7.4	8.1	15.2	13.7	7.8	5.9	7.7	9.1	11.8	8.3	7.5	-	-
P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.6	8.7	-	-	3.4	-
S	13.9	18.7	25.5	32.6	45.8	37.1	28.9	26.4	40.0	59.0	20.7	14.9	17.9
UK	56.0	48.5	33.4	32.4	62.7	65.2	47.7	22.4	32.0	51.0	80.1	91.0	94.0

Source: Eurostat, OECD, Council of Europe

Table 5.2 - In-, out- and net flows of foreign nationals to and from selected EU and EFTA countries by main citizenship groups, 1996 or latest year (thousands)

Country	A	B	CH	D	DK	E	FIN	F	EL	IRL	IS	I	LI	L	NL	NO	P	S	UK
Year	1996	1996	1995	1996	1996	1996	1996	-	1993	1996	1996	1995	-	1996	1996	1995	1996	1996	1996
Immigration																			
total	69.9	61.5	114.0	959.7	54.4	29.9	13.3	-	27.5	39.2	3.7	96.7	-	10.0	108.7	25.7	-	39.9	258.2
nat	12.8	9.6	23.0	251.7	22.9	13.2	5.8	-	11.1	17.7	2.4	28.5	-	0.8	31.6	9.2	-	10.6	98.6
for	57.1	51.9	91.0	708.0	31.5	16.7	7.5	-	16.4	21.5	1.3	68.2	-	9.2	77.2	16.5	3.6	29.3	159.6
eu	24.2	38.3	41.0	423.5	30.2	18.4	7.1	-	15.9	31.0	0.5	39.8	-	7.8	49.8	6.6	-	18.5	150.4
eu_for	11.4	28.7	41.0	171.8	7.3	5.2	1.3	-	4.9	13.3	0.5	11.3	-	7.0	18.3	6.6	2.0	7.9	51.8
efta	0.7	0.4	23.5	5.1	3.4	0.2	0.1	-	0.2	-	2.5	0.6	-	0.1	0.5	9.8	0.1	2.0	1.5
efta_for	0.7	0.4	0.5	5.1	3.4	0.2	0.1	-	0.2	-	0.1	0.6	-	0.1	0.5	0.6	0.1	2.0	1.5
other	45.0	22.7	49.4	531.1	20.8	11.3	6.1	-	11.3	8.2	0.7	56.4	-	2.2	58.4	9.3	1.6	19.4	106.3
Emigration																			
total	66.1	36.7	99.5	677.5	37.3	-	10.6	-	-	-	4.1	24.8	-	6.4	65.3	19.3	-	33.9	212.3
nat	17.1	14.7	30.2	118.4	24.4	-	7.6	-	-	-	3.4	20.4	-	0.8	42.9	10.3	-	19.4	137.2
for	48.9	22.0	69.4	559.1	13.0	-	3.0	-	-	-	0.7	4.4	-	5.6	22.4	9.0	-	14.5	75.1
eu	23.6	29.1	42.5	272.5	29.1	-	8.5	-	-	-	0.4	21.9	-	5.4	53.7	5.0	-	25.9	160.9
eu_for	6.5	14.4	42.5	154.0	4.7	-	0.9	-	-	-	0.4	1.5	-	4.6	10.8	5.0	-	6.5	23.7
efta	0.3	0.3	30.7	4.1	2.1	-	0.1	-	-	-	3.5	0.1	-	0.1	0.3	10.7	-	2.8	3.3
efta_for	0.3	0.3	0.6	4.1	2.1	-	0.1	-	-	-	0.1	0.1	-	0.1	0.3	0.4	-	2.8	3.3
other	42.1	7.3	26.3	400.9	6.2	-	1.9	-	-	-	0.2	2.8	-	0.9	11.3	3.6	-	5.2	48.2
Net Migration																			
total	3.9	24.8	14.5	282.2	17.1	-	2.7	-	-	-	-0.4	71.9	-	3.7	43.4	6.4	-	6.0	45.9
nat	-4.3	-5.0	-7.1	133.3	-1.4	-	-1.8	-	-	-	-1.0	8.0	-	0.0	-11.3	-1.1	-	-8.8	-38.6
for	8.2	29.9	21.6	148.9	18.6	-	4.5	-	-	-	0.6	63.8	-	3.7	54.8	7.5	-	14.9	84.5
eu	0.6	9.3	-1.5	151.1	1.2	-	-1.4	-	-	-	0.1	17.9	-	2.4	-3.8	1.6	-	-7.4	-10.5
eu_for	4.9	14.3	-1.5	17.8	2.6	-	0.4	-	-	-	0.1	9.8	-	2.4	7.5	1.6	-	1.4	28.2
efta	0.3	0.2	-7.2	1.0	1.3	-	0.0	-	-	-	-1.0	0.5	-	0.0	0.2	-0.9	-	-0.8	-1.8
efta_for	0.3	0.2	0.0	1.0	1.3	-	0.0	-	-	-	0.0	0.5	-	0.0	0.2	0.3	-	-0.8	-1.8
other	2.9	15.4	23.1	130.2	14.6	-	4.2	-	-	-	0.5	53.5	-	1.3	47.0	5.6	-	14.2	58.1

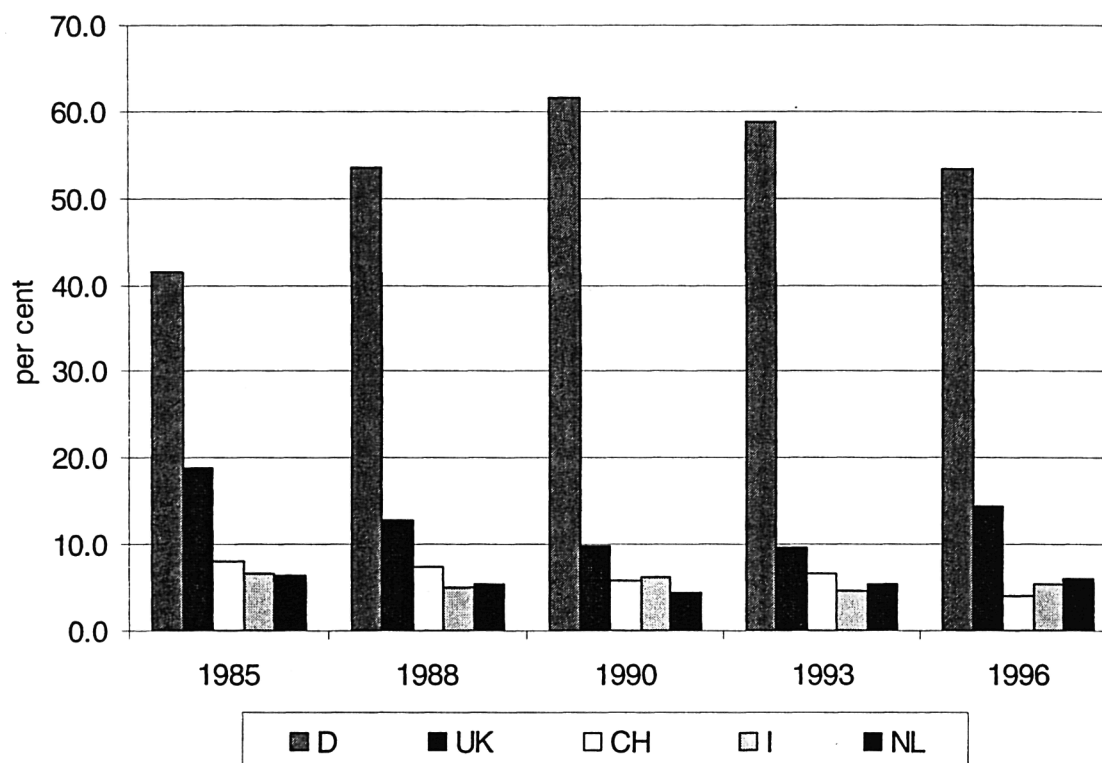
Source: Eurostat, OECD, Council of Europe

5.1.1 Trends in total immigration flows

After 1985, immigration movements show a general upward trend. Larger increases in total inflows occurred after 1988, peaking in 1990 with total immigration movements of around 2.68 million migrants in Western Europe (excluding Austria, France and Portugal). The number of immigrants dropped in 1991 to 2.18 million persons, declining steadily in subsequent years except for a small increase in 1992. By 1996, there were about 1.8 million immigrants (or over 1.87 including Austria). The overall immigration trend was positive, though Switzerland, Denmark and Greece received fewer immigrants in 1996 than in 1985 or 1988; Norway, Sweden and Iceland admitted fewer immigrants in 1996 than in 1988 but more than in 1985.

During the second half of the 1980s, most EU and EFTA countries had an increasing trend in total immigration; only Denmark, Finland and the UK experienced a slight decline by 1988. In the three years following 1989, most countries saw an increase, admitting their largest numbers of immigrants, Sweden being the only country to experience a substantial decline. Despite an overall increase in total immigration, due mainly to Germany, 1992 marked the beginning of a downward trend. The recent trend (1995-1996) was predominantly negative, although most countries still received more immigrants in 1996 than in 1988, the exceptions being Switzerland, Greece, Iceland, Norway and Sweden.

Figure 5.1 - Total inflows to selected EU and EFTA countries as a proportion of total inflows to the EU and EFTA countries



Source: Eurostat, OECD

Note

1. Total figures (i.e. 100%) exclude Austria, France and Portugal.

The main receiving country throughout the period 1985 to 1996 was Germany, followed by the UK. Flows of immigrants to Germany increased substantially from 512,000 in 1985 to about 904,000 in 1988, rising to over 1.5 million in 1990. Numbers declined after 1993 from around 1.28 million to 960,000 in 1996. After 1988, Germany's share of total immigration flows was over 50 per cent; in 1990 over two thirds of the immigrants to the EU/EFTA countries (based on available data) went to Germany. The UK's share of total immigration declined between 1985 and 1993 from 18.8 per cent to 9.6 per cent despite reaching its peak in 1990 and 1991. After a decline in total numbers in the early 1990s, immigration increased again and by 1996 the UK's share was 14.4 per cent (Figure 5.1). During the 1980s, Switzerland was the third most important destination country, followed by Italy and the Netherlands, these three continuing to be important destination countries in the 1990s. Belgium, Denmark and Sweden had shares of about 3 to 4 per cent, while in all other countries⁴ had less than three per cent out of total recorded immigration to Western Europe.

5.1.2 What is the immigration trend for non-EU foreign nationals?

Immigration of non-EU foreign nationals increased from over 831,000 in 1988 to a peak of around 1.5 million in 1992. This was mainly due to over one million non-EU foreign immigrants entering Germany. Switzerland and Spain were two other countries that received their largest numbers of non-EU foreign immigrants in 1992. In most other countries the number of these immigrants peaked earlier: in Italy and the UK in 1990; in Belgium, Finland

⁴ With the exception of Austria which had a share of 3.7 per cent in 1996. No data are available before 1996 and so Austria is not included in this part of the analysis.

and Iceland in 1991. The Netherlands received over 60,000 annually between 1990 and 1993. Greece admitted its largest number in 1988 and 1989. Several countries received the largest numbers of Non-EU foreigners after 1992; Switzerland, the Netherlands and Norway in 1993; Belgium and Sweden in 1994; Denmark, Spain and the UK in 1995. However, the overall trend after 1992 was downward. Only Denmark and the UK admitted more people in 1996 than in 1993, while Ireland experienced a significant increase in 1997.

In most countries the number of non-EU foreign immigrants was higher in 1996 than in 1988, but in Greece, Norway and Sweden it had fallen by over a third. The largest increases over this period occurred in Finland (214 per cent), Spain (145 per cent) and in Italy (129 per cent). The smallest proportionate increases happened in the UK and Germany where the number rose by only 8.5 per cent and 4.4 per cent respectively.

Throughout the period under consideration the main destination country in the EU/EFTA region for non-EU national immigrants was Germany, admitting more than half of all foreign immigrants since the mid-1980s. Other relevant destination countries were Switzerland and the Netherlands. While Sweden's importance as a receiving country declined, Italy emerged as a more significant destination after 1990. In all other countries the proportion of non-EU foreign inflows out of total inflows was less than 5 per cent, in most cases less than 1 per cent. In 1996, total foreign immigration to the EU/EFTA states was over 800,000. The importance of Germany as a destination remained undiminished. It took over half of all recorded EU immigration; the UK was a distant second with about 12 per cent.

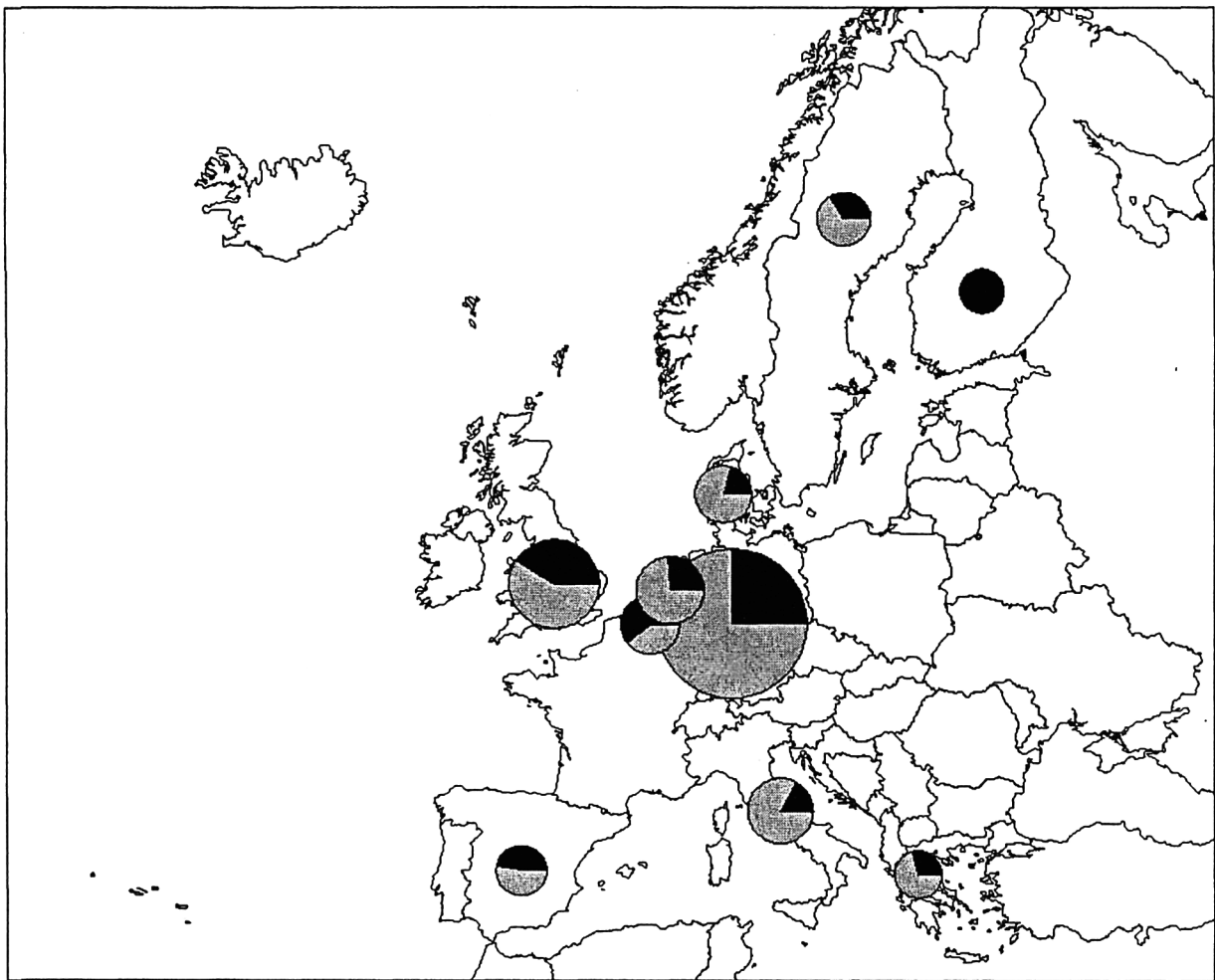
Proportions of total non-EU foreign immigration vary considerably from country to country (Map 5.1). Table 5.3 shows that, on the whole, non-EU foreign immigration as a share of total immigration increased until 1993, and subsequently declined between 1993 and 1996. In 1985, it accounted for more than half of all immigration to Germany and Sweden and in Greece, just under 50 per cent. Finland, Iceland and Italy had the lowest shares, constituting less than 17 per cent of total inflows. By 1990, the proportion had risen to over 50 per cent in Italy and Norway, and to over 70 per cent in Sweden, while Germany had experienced a decline by over 20 per cent. Between 1990 and 1993, the share of total inflow accounted for by non-EU foreign immigration increased in most countries and reached over 60 per cent in Germany and Finland and almost 80 per cent in Sweden. In Switzerland, Italy, Norway and the Netherlands the proportion was around or above 50 per cent. By 1996, Belgium and Germany had experienced a noticeable decline compared to 1985. The Netherlands, Norway and Switzerland showed an increase of over 20 per cent and Italy and Finland over 30 per cent.

Overall, total immigration of non-EU foreigners to Western Europe constituted just under 50 per cent in 1988, increasing to 57 per cent in 1993, declining to 45 per cent in 1996.

5.1.3 What is the immigration trend for EU foreign nationals?

In 1988, over 300,500 EU foreign nationals immigrated to an EU or EFTA state. The general trend until 1996 was positive, only Switzerland, Greece, Iceland and Sweden receiving fewer EU foreign nationals in 1996 than in 1988. Numbers increased after 1989, reaching 330,000 in 1991, declined to 295,000 in 1993, subsequently rising again to reach over 373,000 in 1996. Several countries experienced a small peak during 1989 and 1992 but more significant increases occurred after 1993 in Germany, Denmark, Ireland, Italy and the UK. Only Switzerland, Greece, Iceland and Sweden had fewer numbers of EU foreign nationals arriving in 1996 than in 1988.

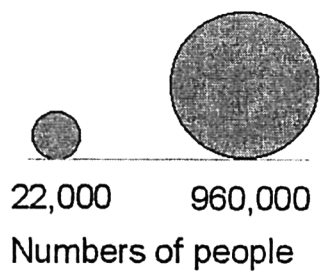
Map 5.1 - Inflows of EU and non-EU nationals as a proportion of total inflows to the EU, 1996 (or latest year)



Immigration by Source:

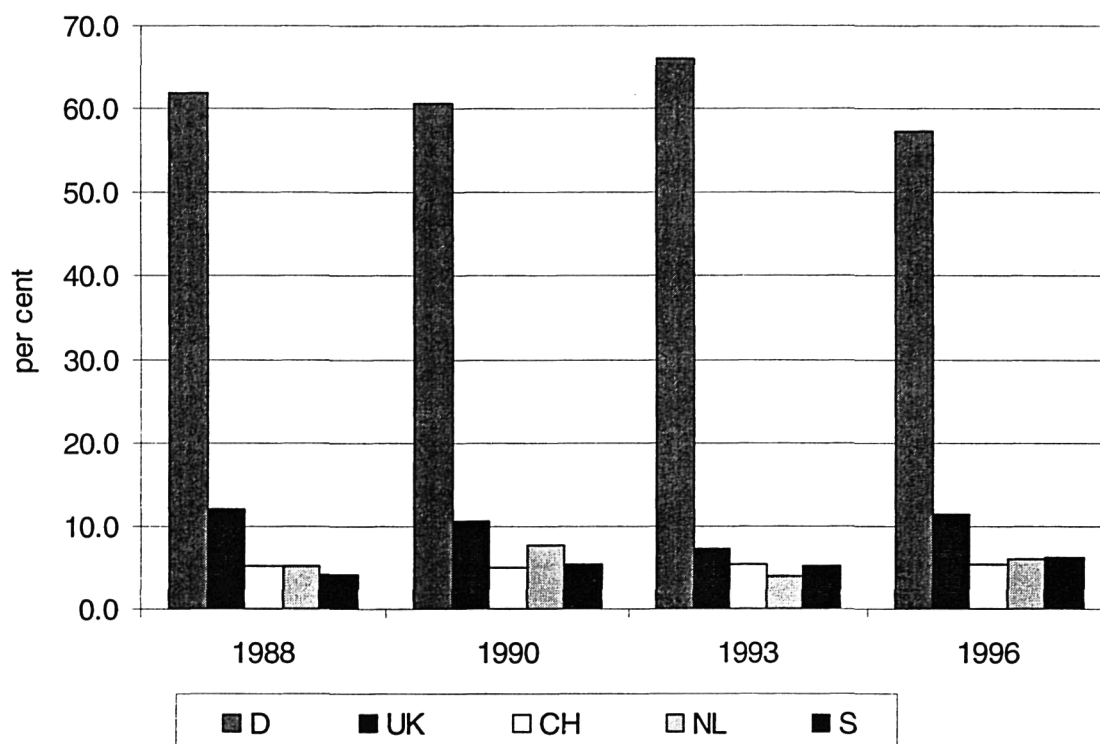
● EU States

● Non EU States



Source: Eurostat

Figure 5.2 - Inflows of non-EU foreign nationals to selected EU and EFTA countries as a proportion of total inflows of non-EU foreign nationals to the EU and EFTA countries



Source: Eurostat, OECD

Note

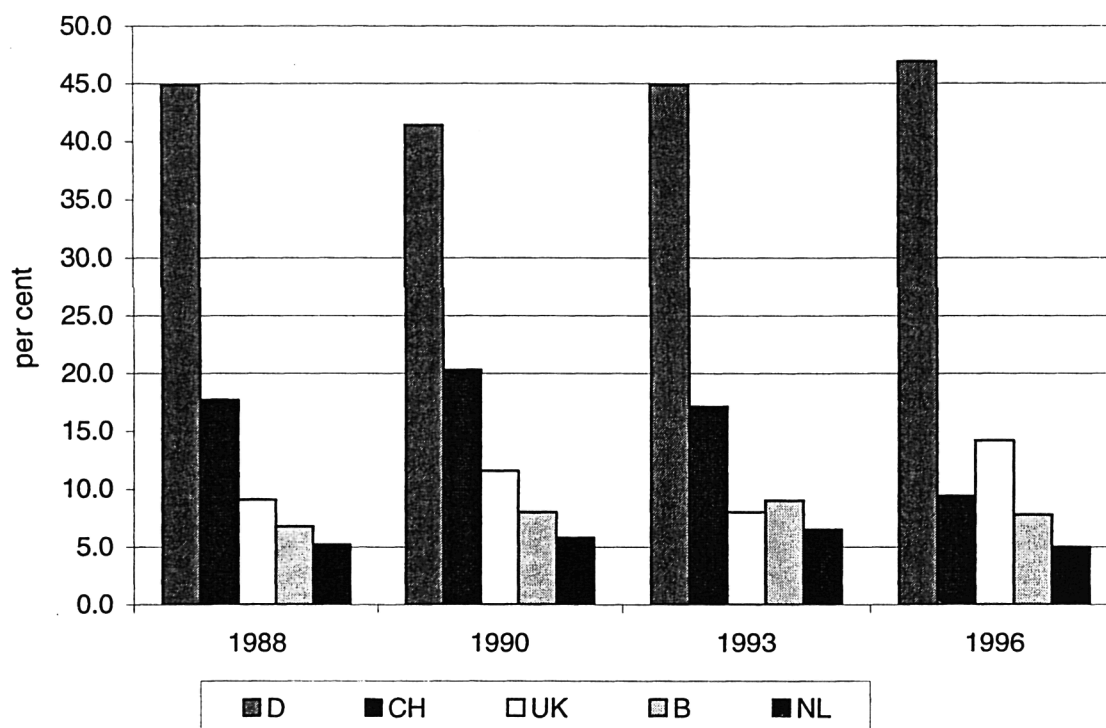
1. Total figures (i.e. 100%) exclude Austria, France, Luxembourg for all years and also Portugal in 1988 and 1990.

Figure 5.3 shows Germany's position as the main recipient with a share of over 40 per cent of the total EU foreign national immigration during the period 1988 to 1996. The geographical distribution of EU foreign national immigrants is strongly concentrated in five countries while the others receive generally less than 3 per cent. However, both Sweden and Greece had over three per cent in 1988, as did Italy, Austria and Ireland in 1996. After 1993, the UK's importance as a destination increased while Switzerland's declined.

Trends in the proportion of total inflows accounted for by EU foreign nationals vary between countries (Table 5.3). The proportion of EU foreign national immigration to Switzerland was around 45 per cent between 1985 to 1996, in Belgium increasing from 39 per cent to 47 per cent. In Norway and Greece, it constituted over one-third of total immigration flows in 1985, in Sweden a quarter; and in the remaining countries less than 20 per cent. After 1985, the overall trend was downward, the steepest falls experienced by Greece, Norway and Sweden. Only the UK and Ireland experienced an increase in the proportion of EU foreign national immigration after 1993. Data for 1996 show a very high proportion of EU foreign national immigration in Luxembourg (about 70 per cent), whilst the majority of countries had a share of less than 20 per cent.

In 1996, about 20 per cent of all foreign immigrants to EU states were fellow EU nationals compared to about 18 per cent in 1988, although, during the early 1990s the figure had fallen to 12 per cent.

Figure 5.3 - Inflows of EU foreign nationals to selected EU and EFTA countries as a proportion of total inflows of EU foreign nationals to the EU and EFTA countries



Source: Eurostat, OECD

Note

1. Total figures (i.e. 100%) exclude Austria, France for all years and also Portugal and Ireland in 1988 and 1990.

5.1.4 What is the immigration trend for nationals?

Immigration of nationals rose steadily during the second half of the 1980s from just under 400,000 in 1985 to over 530,000 in 1988. In 1989, numbers of national immigrants almost doubled to over one million, peaking in the following year at about 1.15 million before falling to 622,000 in 1992, and 465,000 in 1996. The data show an increasing trend in recent years in Finland, Ireland, Iceland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the UK. In 1996, large numbers of nationals were immigrating in Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the UK compared to 1988.

After 1988, Germany experienced the largest inflows on nationals in the EU/EFTA region. This can be largely attributed to two groups of migrants who had the constitutional right to settle in (West) Germany. In 1989, before the fall of the Berlin wall, 345,000 *Übersiedler* from the former GDR arrived in West Germany. The opening of the borders in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union led to a dramatic rise in the immigration of *Aussiedler* or so-called 'ethnic Germans'. These are persons who can prove that they are of German origin. Their numbers rose substantially from over 78,500 in 1987 to about 202,700 in 1988, peaking in 1990 at about 400,000. Thereafter, numbers of *Aussiedler* wavered between 220,000 and 230,000, dropping to around 177,700 in 1996 (Ausländerbeauftragte 1997: 232-3).

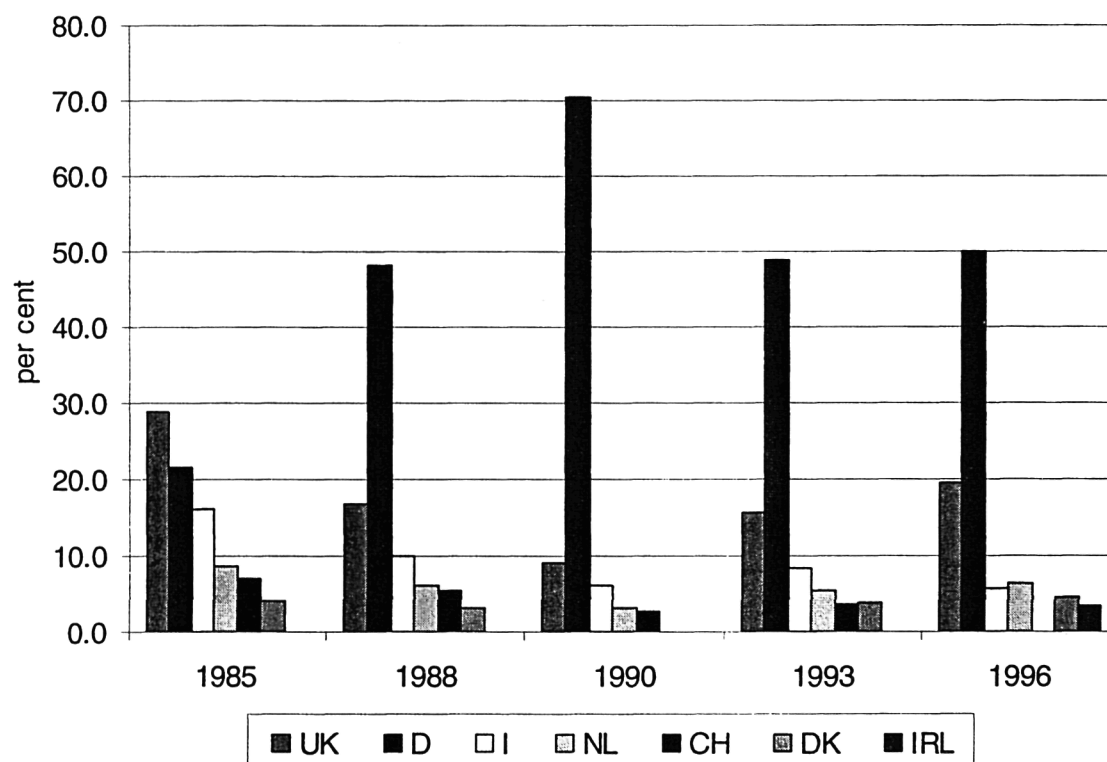
Table 5.3 - Non-EU foreign national, EU foreign national and national immigration as a proportion of total immigration flows to the EU and EFTA countries (per cent)

Country	1985			1988			1990			1993			1996 ¹		
	non-EU foreign national	EU foreign national	national	non-EU foreign national	EU foreign national	national	non-EU foreign national	EU foreign national	national	non-EU foreign national	EU foreign national	national	non-EU foreign national	EU foreign national	national
A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	65.4	16.3	18.3
B	41.1	38.7	20.2	36.9	41.9	21.1	39.2	41.3	19.5	40.4	42.8	16.8	37.7	46.7	15.7
CH	27.4	45.8	26.8	34.1	42.6	23.2	37.1	42.5	20.4	48.9	35.8	15.3	-	46.0	-
D	64.1	19.7	16.1	56.8	14.9	28.2	42.9	8.1	49.0	66.9	10.6	22.5	55.9	17.9	26.2
DK	42.5	13.2	44.2	40.2	12.4	47.4	37.4	11.0	51.6	34.2	13.0	52.8	44.5	13.5	42.1
E	30.7	-	69.3	19.3	20.3	60.4	23.9	16.6	59.6	33.6	12.9	53.5	38.6	17.2	44.2
FIN	11.7	13.1	75.3	20.3	13.1	66.6	37.4	10.4	52.1	67.2	6.3	26.5	46.6	10.1	43.3
EL	48.5	32.3	19.1	54.9	26.0	19.1	44.4	15.0	40.6	41.9	17.7	40.4	-	21.2	-
IRL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25.1	17.7	57.1	20.9	33.9	45.2
IS	13.0	16.6	70.3	16.1	26.2	57.7	19.7	15.4	64.9	17.0	18.2	64.8	21.3	13.0	65.7
I	16.4	8.5	75.1	29.0	9.7	61.3	53.1	4.9	42.0	50.9	-	49.1	58.9	11.7	29.4
L ²	-	-	-	90.9	-	9.1	90.6	-	9.4	90.7	-	9.3	22.5	69.6	7.9
NL	37.4	18.0	41.8	46.7	17.1	36.1	53.3	16.0	30.8	56.9	16.6	26.5	54.2	16.8	29.0
NO	33.1	35.1	31.8	48.4	28.5	23.1	43.0	18.6	38.4	51.5	18.8	29.7	38.6	25.6	35.8
S	59.4	24.8	15.8	66.2	20.8	13.0	71.7	17.1	11.2	79.2	9.4	11.4	53.6	19.9	26.5
UK	42.4	10.4	47.2	46.0	12.7	41.3	46.4	14.1	39.6	44.6	11.6	43.8	41.8	20.1	38.2

Source: Eurostat, OECD

1. Figures for Italy and Norway as of 1995
2. For 1988, 1990 and 1993, non-EU foreign nationals include EU nationals

Figure 5.4 - Inflows of nationals to selected EU and EFTA countries as a proportion of total inflows of nationals to the EU and EFTA countries



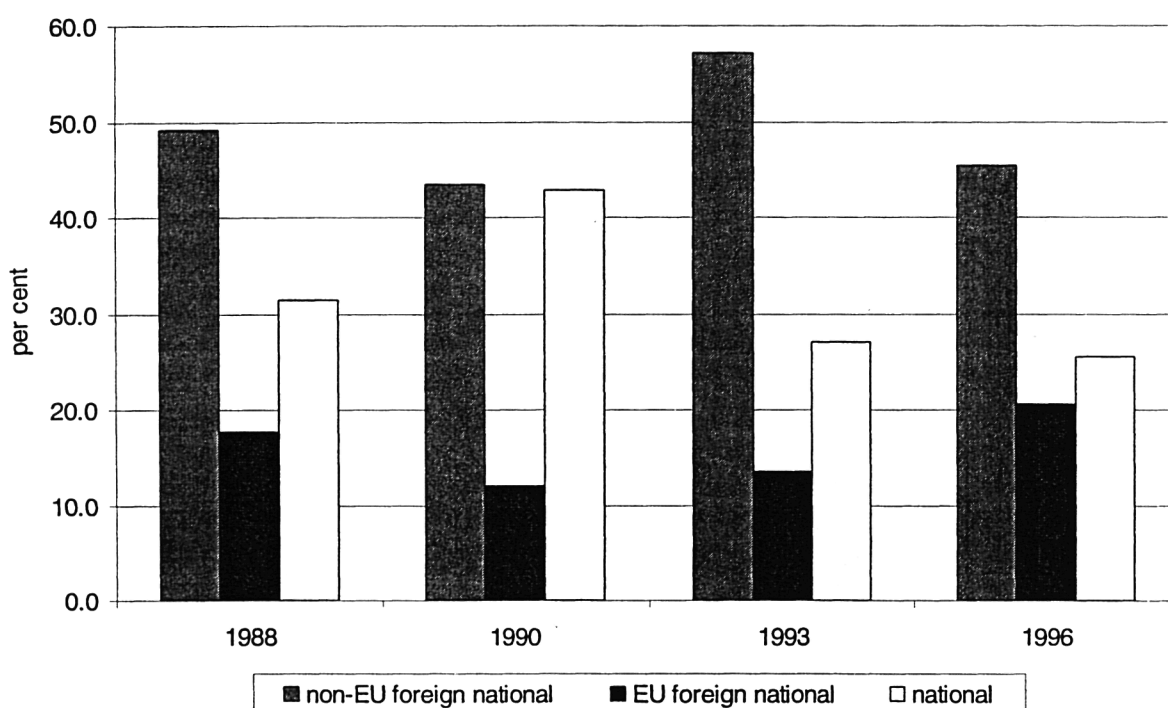
Source: Eurostat, OECD

Note

1. Total figures (i.e. 100%) exclude Austria, France and Portugal.

The proportion of nationals out of total inflows declined in most countries between 1985 and 1996. Particularly large decreases occurred in Italy, Spain and Finland, while Germany and Greece experienced increases around 1990 and Sweden in 1996 (Table 5.3). In 1985, national immigration formed about 70 per cent of total inflows in Spain, Finland, Iceland and Italy whereas Germany, Greece and Sweden had the lowest shares with less than 20 per cent. In 1996, Iceland was the only country where nationals formed the majority of inflows while Denmark, Spain, Finland and Ireland had a proportion of over 40 per cent. Over the whole period Luxembourg had the lowest incidence of national immigration at less than 10 per cent. National immigration formed over 30 per cent out of the total inflows to the EU/EFTA in 1988, rising to about 43 per cent in 1990. During the early 1990s national immigration showed a downward trend and its share of total inflows declined to about 26 per cent in 1996 (Figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5 - Immigration by citizenship group as a proportion of total immigration to the EU and EFTA countries



Source: Eurostat, OECD

5.1.5 Trends in total emigration flows

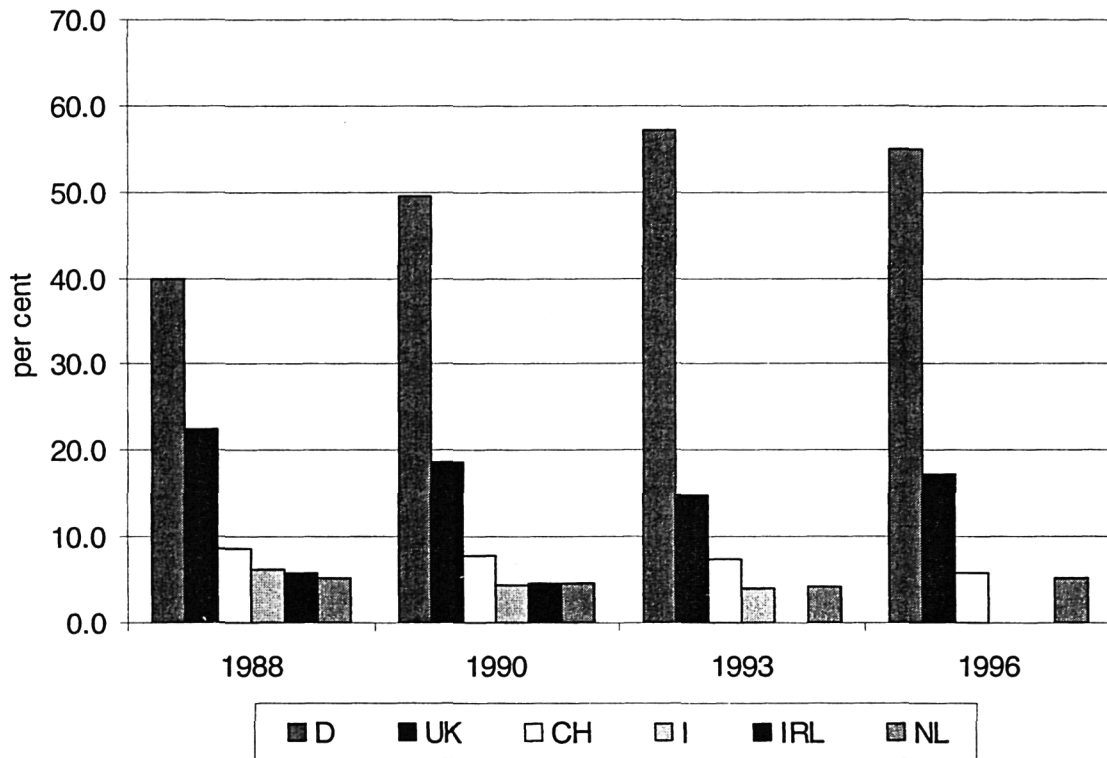
It should be noted that emigration percentages are based on the data available and should not be compared to those for immigration as the figures include different countries.

Despite the problems of data availability for the mid-1980s, the trend in total emigration flows appears to have been predominantly positive in the second half of the 1980s (Figure 5.6). Only Belgium and Sweden had a downward trend between 1985 and 1988. With the exception of a small decline in 1991, the total number of emigrants rose continually, from 990,000 in 1989 to 1.39 million in 1993. The rise in total emigration flows was due to a large increase in Germany and smaller ones in Switzerland, Sweden and the UK, despite strong declines in Ireland and Norway. After 1993, the trend in total numbers continued to decline to around 1.17 million in 1996, although Denmark, Iceland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Finland had small increases in most years. There were significant declines in Germany, Italy and Portugal. In 1996, most countries saw increases in emigration, although

Switzerland, Ireland, Italy and the UK had a lower total number of emigrants in 1995/96 than in 1988.

The largest emigration was from Germany, accounting for over half of the total outflows after 1988. Other countries with significant shares in total emigration were the UK, Switzerland and the Netherlands. Ireland's proportion of emigration declined after 1990, as did Italy's after 1993 in both cases to less than three per cent.

Figure 5.6 - Total outflows from selected EU and EFTA countries as a proportion of total outflows from the EU and EFTA countries



Source: Eurostat, OECD

Note

1. Total figures (i.e. 100%) exclude Austria, Spain, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Portugal.

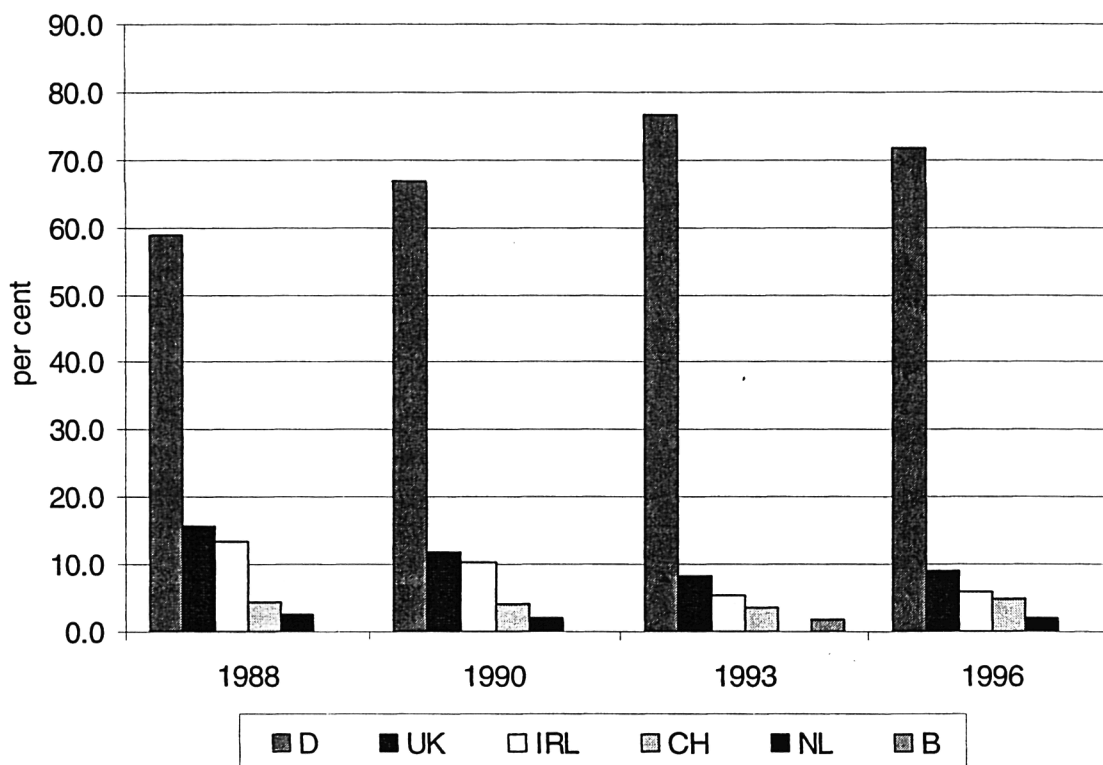
5.1.6 Trends in emigration by Non-EU foreign nationals

Emigration of non-EU foreign nationals increased steadily from 453,000 in 1988 to 777,000 in 1993, falling to 636,300 in 1994 and 523,000 in 1996. During the late 1980s, the overall trend was positive though most countries experienced a decline in 1987. Emigration patterns differed greatly from country to country. Between 1989 and 1993, Germany and Norway experienced an increase in non-EU foreign emigration in each year with the largest numbers leaving in 1993. Switzerland, Sweden, the UK and Belgium had increases in most years during this period while Finland saw an increasing trend after 1991. Data for Denmark and the Netherlands showed a decline for most years but on the whole outflows had a rising trend.

Germany had the largest share of non-EU foreign emigration with 58.8 per cent of total non-EU foreign outflows in 1988, rising to 76.7 per cent in 1993 (Figure 5.7). The UK and Ireland follow with 15.6 per cent and 13.5 per cent respectively in 1988 declining to 8.2 per cent and 5.3 per cent in 1993. The shares of Switzerland and the Netherlands, also fell. By 1996, the

proportion of non-EU foreign outflows from Germany had fallen to about 72 per cent, while numbers in the UK, Ireland, Switzerland and the Netherlands rose.

Figure 5.7 - Outflows of non-EU foreign nationals from selected EU and EFTA countries as a proportion of total outflows of non-EU foreign nationals from the EU and EFTA countries



Source: Eurostat, OECD

Note

1. Total figures (i.e. 100%) exclude Austria, Spain, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Portugal.

Germany was the only country where non-EU foreign emigration constituted more than half of the outflows between 1985 and 1996. Only Austria in 1996 had a higher share (see Table 5.4). Despite an absolute increase, most countries experienced a declining share between 1985 and 1988 (apart from Germany, Finland and Iceland). By 1990, the downward trend had continued in Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands and the UK and small declines also occurred in Finland and Germany. Between 1990 and 1993 the share of non-EU foreign emigrants increased in most countries, only Italy and the Netherlands experiencing any change. Subsequently, Belgium, Germany, Iceland and Norway saw a decline in 1994, as did the UK in 1996. Compared to 1988, the proportion of non-EU foreign emigration had increased substantially in Switzerland and Finland and to a lesser extent in Denmark, Italy, Norway and Sweden.

Total emigration of non-EU foreigners from those EU/EFTA states for which data are available formed a relatively large share of total emigration flows. During the second half of the 1980s the proportion was around 45 per cent, rising to 56 per cent in 1993, and falling back to 45 per cent in 1996.

5.1.7 Trends in emigration by EU foreign nationals

Until 1989, total emigration by EU foreign nationals declined, although an upward trend started for most countries in 1988. Emigration by EU foreign nationals from those countries having data increased from over 198,500 in 1988 to about 234,900 in 1993. This is the

opposite of total emigration figures which declined in 1991. After 1993, total numbers of EU foreign national emigrants fluctuated between 221,500 and 230,200, increasing to 270,000 in 1996. Only Iceland, Italy and Norway had fewer EU foreign national emigrants in 1996 than in 1988.

Table 5.4 - Non-EU foreign national, EU foreign national and national emigration as a proportion of total emigration flows from the EU and EFTA countries (per cent)

Country	1985			1988			1990			1993			1996		
	non-EU foreign national	EU foreign national	national	non-EU foreign national	EU foreign national	national	non-EU foreign national	EU foreign national	national	non-EU foreign national	EU foreign national	national	non-EU foreign national	EU foreign national	national
A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	64.3	9.8	25.9
B	26.5	35.6	37.9	22.6	36.4	41.0	20.5	37.6	41.9	30.7	38.9	30.4	20.8	39.2	40.0
CH	22.8	46.4	30.8	22.5	44.6	32.8	23.1	44.3	32.7	25.9	47.9	26.2	38.4	61.6	30.3 ¹
D	58.4	27.9	13.7	63.2	21.9	14.9	60.6	15.7	23.7	73.1	14.0	12.8	59.8	22.7	17.5
DK	19.3	14.6	66.1	18.7	12.1	69.2	17.2	10.1	72.7	19.9	11.0	69.1	22.1	12.6	65.3
FIN	5.2	7.3	87.6	6.5	6.9	86.6	6.0	8.5	85.5	13.4	10.3	76.3	19.5	8.9	71.6
IS	8.9	12.2	78.9	10.2	20.7	69.1	10.6	16.5	72.9	13.2	17.3	69.5	6.9	9.3	83.8
I ¹	-	-	-	4.9	3.9	91.2	7.2	5.4	87.4	7.1	4.8	88.1	11.7	5.9	82.3
L	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15.6	72.0	12.4
NL	24.9	18.0	56.2	22.0	16.4	61.7	20.3	15.6	64.1	20.8	16.7	62.5	17.8	16.5	65.7
NO ²	17.5	30.7	49.7	13.2	33.8	53.0	16.1	24.9	58.9	31.8	23.4	44.7	20.8	25.7	53.4
P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	95.0	-	97.9
S	21.9	41.7	37.3	20.1	35.1	44.8	27.7	36.7	35.5	29.5	20.2	50.3	23.5	19.2	57.3
UK	30.2	7.3	61.8	29.8	10.0	60.2	28.3	13.0	58.7	30.1	10.8	59.1	24.2	11.1	64.7

Source: Eurostat, OECD

Notes

1. 1988 = 1989 figure; 1993 = 1992 figure; 1996 = 1995 figure.
2. 1996 = 1995 figure.

The main countries affected by emigration of EU foreign nationals were Germany, Switzerland and the UK, though Belgium, the Netherlands and Sweden had significant shares (Figure 5.8). Corresponding with the rise of Germany's proportion of total outflows of EU foreign nationals, the shares in all other EU/EFTA states fell.

With respect to emigration by EU foreign nationals as a proportion of a country's total outflow, the largest shares in 1988 were those of Switzerland and Sweden with over 40 per cent (Table 5.4). Belgium and Norway had over 30 per cent and Germany 28 per cent. Finland and the UK had the smallest shares with just over seven per cent. The main trend in the late 1980s was downward. After 1990, while shares of EU foreign national emigrants declined further in Germany and Norway, the data show also a declining trend in Italy and the UK and a very strong decrease of over 16 per cent in Sweden. By 1996, however, shares of EU foreign national emigrants had risen in most countries, particularly in Switzerland and Germany, with smaller decreases in Finland, Sweden and Iceland.

On the whole, despite the very different individual country patterns, the importance of EU foreign national emigration has been declining. Compared to 1988, only Switzerland had a considerably larger share of EU national emigration in 1996; in Belgium, Finland and the UK, the proportion of total emigration accounted for by EU foreign nationals had increased to a much lesser extent.

Compared to other foreign emigration, EU foreign nationals formed a rather small proportion of total emigration in the EU/EFTA. In 1988, its share was about 20 per cent, falling in those countries for which data are available to 16.6 per cent in 1993, before rising to 23 per cent in 1996.

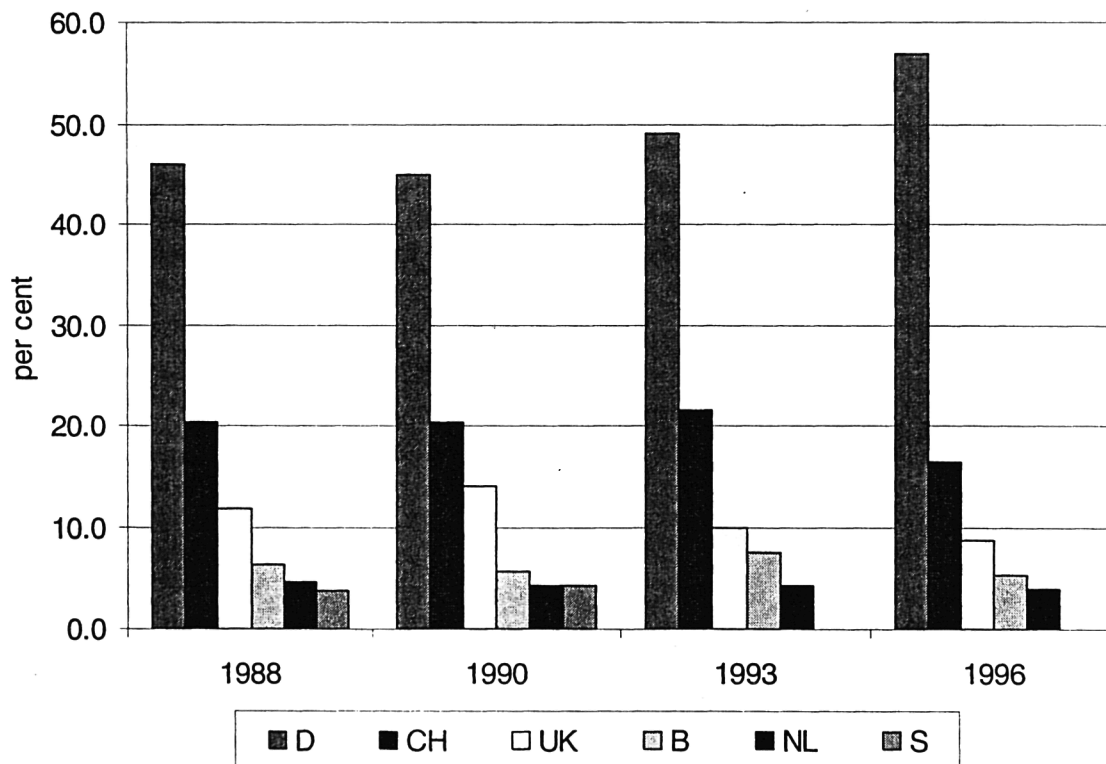
5.1.8 Trends in emigration by nationals

Total emigration of nationals in the EU/EFTA states increased from about 300,000 in 1985 to over 467,000 in 1990. Overall increases in 1989 and 1990 were mainly due to a rise in national emigration from Germany; most countries experienced a decline in 1990. Except for a small annual increase in 1992 and a larger one in 1995, total emigration of nationals declined after 1990 to about 378,700 in 1996.

The downward trend after 1992 was particularly strong in Italy (down from 50,000 in 1992 to 20,000 in 1995). Data for Spain (only available until 1993) show a downward trend except for an increase in 1992, while those for Portugal show a substantial increase to over 21,000 in 1992 and 1993, subsequently declining to around 6,900 in 1996. The result of these trends is that in most countries, numbers of national emigrants in 1996 were back to 1988 levels, with only the UK having fewer national emigrants in the mid-1990s than in 1988.

In 1985, national emigration was more important than foreign emigration (Table 5.4) in most countries. In Denmark, Finland, Iceland, the Netherlands and the UK, national emigrants formed the majority and in Norway their share of total emigration was just below 50 per cent. In contrast in 1988, migration by nationals constituted over 90 per cent in Italy and 13.7 per cent in Germany. In the remaining countries national emigrants formed over 30 per cent of total emigration.

Figure 5.8 - Outflows of EU foreign nationals from selected EU and EFTA countries as a proportion of total outflows of EU foreign nationals from the EU and EFTA countries



Source: Eurostat, OECD

Note

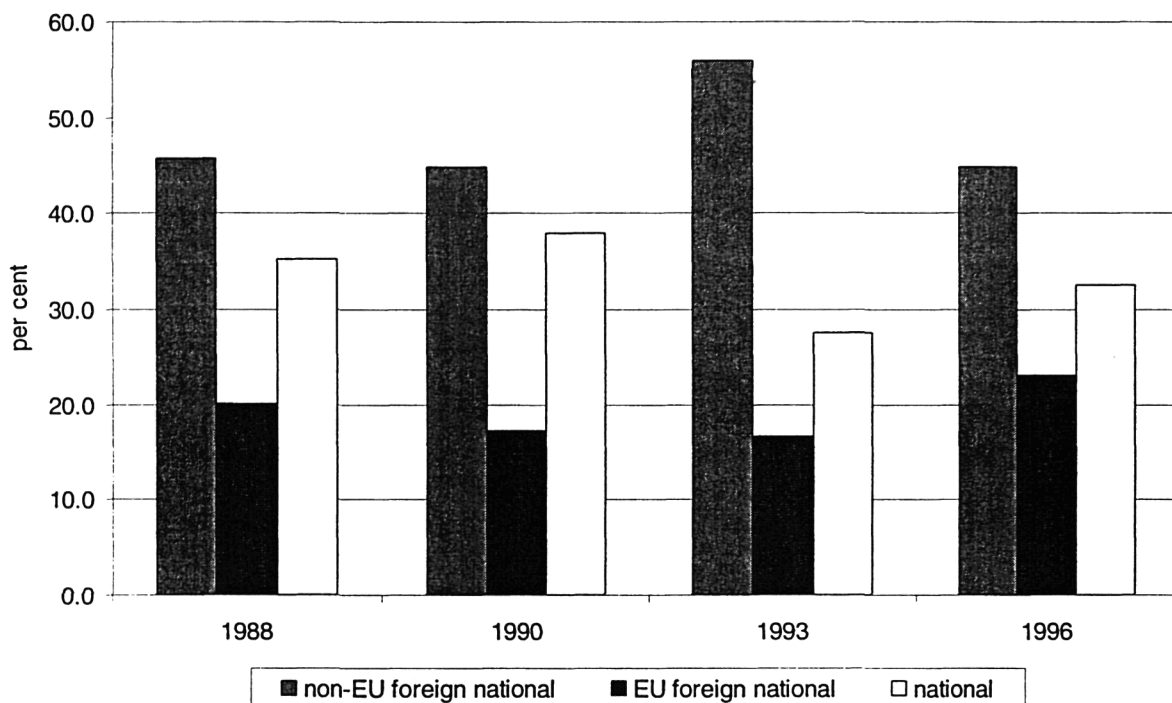
1. Total figures (i.e. 100%) exclude Austria, Spain, France, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Portugal.

After 1990, most countries experienced a downward trend in the proportions of total emigration accounted for by their own nationals. Particularly large declines occurred in Norway with over 14 per cent, in Belgium, Germany and Finland with around ten per cent and in Switzerland with 6.5 per cent. After 1993 there was an upward trend, with the exception of Denmark and Finland.

Changes in the proportionate share of emigration by nationals between 1988 and 1996 are not as noticeable as changes to EU and non-EU foreign emigration in individual countries (Figure 5.9). Differences between 1988 and 1996 occurred only in Finland, Iceland, Italy and Sweden.

The emigration movements of nationals constituted over 35 per cent of total outflows in the EU/EFTA region in 1988, rising to about 38 per cent in 1990. Between 1990 and 1993 nationals share of total emigration fell to about 27 per cent but rose again to over 32 per cent in 1996.

Figure 5.9 - Emigration by citizenship group as a proportion of total emigration from the EU and EFTA countries



Source: Eurostat, OECD

5.1.9 Are gains in net migration increasing?

Total net migration increased during the second half of the 1980s, with stronger increases in 1988 and 1989, reaching a peak of about 1.26 million in 1990. After 1990, total net migration declined, particularly in 1993, when numbers fell from about 988,000 in the previous year to 613,140. Total net migration continued to decline, apart from an increase in 1995, falling to 417,700 in 1996. Despite the total declining trend, most countries actually gained with only Switzerland, Germany, Norway and Sweden having less net migration in 1996 than in 1988.

From the mid-1980s, there have been net gains for most countries with the exception of Ireland, Iceland and Portugal, Belgium and the UK. Net migration in Germany rose dramatically after 1988, peaking at over one million in 1990. Further substantial increases in 1990 occurred in Italy and the Netherlands. Between 1989 and 1992, net migration

continued to rise in most countries. However, there was a decline in total net migration in EU/EFTA countries mainly owing to a large drop in Germany in 1991 to around 602,000. Sweden and the UK also experienced a downward trend during this period, leading even to negative net migration in the UK in 1992 and 1993. After 1993, most countries had declining annual net migration with larger decreases in Germany in 1993, Ireland in 1995 and Switzerland in 1996.

5.1.10 Trends in the net migration of Non-EU foreign nationals

Net migration of non-EU foreigners increased in line with total net migration during the 1980s but reached its peak of about 796,000 two years later in 1992 compared to just under 400,000 in 1988 and 183,000 in 1985. During the second half of the 1980s most countries had positive net migration of non-EU foreigners with increases in 1988 in Switzerland, Belgium and particularly in Germany. The Netherlands and Norway experienced increases in 1987 while Denmark and the UK showed a declining trend. After 1988, substantial increases occurred in 1989 in Sweden and the UK, followed by a strong decline until 1992. A small downwards trend during these years also occurred in Iceland and Norway, though most countries had considerable increases. A substantial rise in net migration occurred in Germany in 1992 and in Italy in 1990.

The period after 1993 is characterised by a clear downward trend though there are a few notable exceptions. Net migration of foreigners peaked in the Netherlands and Norway in 1993, Sweden in 1994, and in Denmark and the UK in 1995. Only in Switzerland, Germany and Sweden was net migration in 1996 lower than in 1988.

5.1.11 Trends in the net migration of EU foreign nationals

Total net migration of EU foreign nationals increased after 1985 from about 5,400 to about 56,600 in the following year. This was mainly due to large increases in Germany and the UK. Germany had a negative net migration of about 18,760 in 1985, rising to positive net gains of 11,250 in 1986. Net gains in the UK almost doubled in 1986 to around 22,500. Total net migration of EU foreign nationals continued to rise to 98,200 in 1990, and then declined to 47,100 in 1993 with a larger decrease in 1994. Total EU foreign national net migration increased again to over 91,300 in 1995 but experienced a considerable decline in 1996 to 67,200.

During the late 1980s, net migration by EU foreign nationals showed a general upward trend except in Denmark, Norway and the UK. Germany experienced a large increase, peaking in 1988 with about 42,400. Substantial declines occurred in Norway after 1987, with negative net migration in 1989 and 1990, and in the UK where there was a fall from 22,500 in 1986 to around 4,400 the following year.

The period after 1990 was one of variation between countries. Belgium, Denmark, Italy, the Netherlands and Norway had a predominantly positive trend, the latter two countries experiencing major increases in 1996 and 1997. In the UK, net gain of EU foreign nationals rose steeply from 8,000 in 1995 to over 28,100 in 1996. After 1988 Iceland saw negative net migration of EU foreign nationals, as did Sweden between 1991 and 1993. Substantial declines also occurred in Switzerland and Germany. After a peak of over 22,300 in 1990 in Switzerland, net migration fell to about 1,400 in 1992. Despite an increase to over 5,000 in 1994, by 1996 the data show a negative net migration of about 10,000. In Germany, after a period of stronger net migration between 1988 and 1990, net gain declined continually until 1993, followed by fluctuations in the succeeding years.

5.1.12 Trends in the net migration of nationals

In most countries for which data are available net migration of nationals was negative throughout the period 1985 to 1996. Switzerland and the Netherlands had positive net migration only between 1985 and 1987, Finland in 1985 and 1986 as well as between 1989

and to 1991. Denmark had positive net migration of nationals from 1993 to 1995 and the UK only in 1994. Germany, Italy and Spain had a contrary development and data show not only positive net migration but also an upward trend. In Spain and Italy, positive net migration of nationals may be an effect of return migration of older emigrants as well as of younger migrants working for a short period in another high-wage EU/EFTA country. Figures in Spain increased after 1987 to over 19,000 in 1990, fell to about 12,700 in 1991 but rose in the following year to over 18,600. There are however, no data for Spain for the mid-1990s. While Italy had a negative net migration of 6,000 nationals in 1989, numbers jumped to over 21,100 in 1990. During the early 1990s, national net migration was around 4,500, rising to about 8,000 in 1995. In contrast, Portugal had negative net migration of nationals throughout, from around 10,000 in the late 1980s to around 21,000 in 1992 and 1993, though by 1995/96, numbers were back to 1980s levels.

Germany experienced substantial increases in net migration of nationals in 1987 and 1988, then more dramatically from 192,500 in 1988 to over 644,700 in 1989 and 665,000 in 1990. The majority were immigrants from Eastern European countries and the former Soviet Union, the so-called *Aussiedler*, who are classified in the immigration statistics as nationals. In 1991, after the introduction of legal changes to the immigration of 'ethnic Germans', numbers dropped to around 175,000. In the following years, changes in national net migration in Germany were not very large, only declining noticeably in 1996 to 133,300.

5.2 Flows by age and citizenship group

As in the case of the data on stock of foreign population, available flows data by age are limited. There are no immigration data by age breakdown for France, while Austria, Luxembourg and Ireland provide data for individual years only. The data sets are incomplete for Belgium, Germany, Denmark and Portugal and the latest available data for Italy are from 1991. Statements on long term trends regarding the age structure of immigration flows in the EU/EFTA states are only possible for the remaining countries. However, Switzerland does not provide an age breakdown for EU and non-EU nationals, and for Iceland there is an age breakdown only for total immigration flows. The early data for Norway are from 1987 and for Spain from 1989. For Finland, Norway and the UK there is a citizenship breakdown only until 1993 but most countries provide data until 1996.

Most immigrants are of working age. The largest age group in all citizenship groups and in most countries was, in 1988 as well as in 1996, that aged 25-39 years, followed by the 15-24 years group for EU foreign nationals and non-EU foreign national immigrants. In Germany and Denmark the age group 15-24 years was the largest amongst all citizenship groups in 1988. By the mid-1990s, Germany was the only country where 15-24 year olds formed the largest age group for EU and non-EU foreign national immigrants.

With respect to the trends for total immigration flows by age in absolute figures, an increase in all age groups occurred in Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands. The UK experienced an increase in the total immigration flow but a declining trend in the youngest age group 0-14 years and in the oldest age group over 65 years. The remaining countries had a decrease in total inflows though Greece was the only country that experienced a decline in all age groups. Despite an overall decline, Norway and Sweden experienced increases in the age brackets over 40 years. Spain had an increase in the age group 25-39 years; Iceland in the age group 40-54 years; and Switzerland in the immigration of persons over 65 years old.

The second largest group in the immigration of nationals, after that aged 25-39 years, tended to be the age group 0-14. However, there are important exceptions. In 1988, the age group 40-54 years was the second largest in Spain and Greece, and in Italy was of equal size to that of 0-14 year olds. In the Netherlands and the UK the share of the age group 25-34 years was of similar size to that of 0-14 year olds. In Switzerland, the second largest age

group of national immigrants was also 15-24. By 1996, in the UK, Spain and Austria the largest age group of nationals was 40-54 years; in Greece, Switzerland and Denmark 15-24 years.

Norway, Sweden and Denmark experienced increases in every age group of national immigrants. The UK and Greece both increased their overall numbers of national immigrants, however, in the UK this increase was limited to the main working age groups 25-39 years and 40-54 years while in Greece the increase was much broader, in the range 0-54. Despite a negative trend in total immigration by nationals, an increase in the immigration of working age nationals between 25 and 54 years also occurred in the Netherlands. Switzerland experienced an increase in the older age range over 55 years and Spain in the age bracket over 65 years.

With regard to the immigration of EU foreign nationals, in the mid-1980s as well as in the mid-1990s the largest immigrant group was in the age range 25-39 years. In 1988, only in the UK, Germany and Denmark was the age range 15-24 years the largest. In most other countries, the second largest group was in the age range 15-24 years, except in Spain where it was the age group 40-54 years. The age structure of EU foreign immigrants had not changed very much by 1996. In absolute figures, immigration of EU foreign nationals showed a stronger declining trend than immigration of nationals and non-EU foreign nationals. Only Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands had an increase in absolute numbers in total EU foreign national immigration, although the Netherlands experienced a decline in the age group 0-14 years. Increases occurred in Norway and Finland in the age brackets over 40 years, and in Greece in those aged over 65 years. Spain experienced an increase in the immigration of EU foreign nationals of working age, between 25-39 years. The UK experienced an increase only in the age group 0-14 years.

The age structure of non-EU foreign national immigrants is not very different from that of EU foreign national immigrants. The largest group in the mid-1980s, as well as in the mid-1990s, was in the age range 25-39 years, with the exceptions of Germany and Denmark. The second largest age group tends to be that of 15-24 years. In 1988, the exceptions were Spain and Finland where the age group 0-14 years had the second largest share, and in Sweden where the age group 0-4 years was of similar size to that of 15-24 years. By 1996, the youngest age group took second place in Denmark and Norway and increased its share strongly in Finland. In absolute numbers, total immigration of non-EU foreign nationals increased in Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Spain and Norway. Spain, however, experienced a decline in the age group 55-64 years and Norway in the age range 15-39 years. Sweden, Greece and the UK had an overall declining trend but experienced increases in different age groups, Sweden in the older age groups, Greece and the UK in the working age range and that of children.

5.2.1 Are immigration flows getting younger?

A comparison of the 1988 figures with those for 1996 (or latest data available) shows a general declining trend in the share of the age group 0-14 years for total immigration as well as for the inflows of nationals and EU foreign nationals. Immigration of non-EU foreign nationals appears to show an increasing trend in this age group. In general, there was little fluctuation in this age group, the most significant changes occurring in the immigration of non-EU foreign nationals.

With regard to total immigration, Sweden, Finland, the Netherlands and Iceland had the largest shares of the 0-14 year age group in 1988, ranging between 23 per cent and 20 per cent (Table 5.5). Norway, Denmark, Spain, Italy, the UK and Switzerland had shares between 19.4 per cent and 15.8 per cent while Greece had by far the smallest share with 9.7 per cent.

Table 5.5 - Immigration by age: 0-14 years age group as a proportion of immigration of all age groups (per cent)

1988						1996 (or latest year)					
Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High	
EL	9.7	CH	15.8	IS	20.0	EL	12.6	DK	15.7	IS	22.7
		UK	17.1	NL	21.5			CH	17.4	S	23.3
		E	18.5	FIN	22.7			E	18.9	NL	23.4
		DK	18.9	S	23.0					UK	23.6
		NO	19.4							FIN	24.1
										NO	25.5

Source: Eurostat, OECD

Shares of immigration by nationals in the 0-14 age group ranged in 1988 from just below 13 per cent in Switzerland and Greece, to 16 per cent in Denmark and 19 per cent in Spain and Italy. The largest share of this age group with 25.5 per cent of national immigration was in Norway, followed by Sweden, the UK, Finland and the Netherlands with around 23 per cent. Relative changes between 1988 and 1996 were small.

Immigration flows of EU foreign nationals had a much lower share of 0-14 year olds than all other citizenship groups. In 1988 the largest shares were in Spain, Finland and Sweden ranging between 15.7 per cent and 14.5 per cent, followed by Norway and Denmark with over 11 per cent. In the UK and Greece the proportion of this age group was only 4 per cent. There was an overall declining trend in the immigration of this age group especially in the Netherlands and Finland. Apart from Switzerland with a rise in the share of this age group of 5.7 per cent, increases elsewhere were negligible.

Immigration flows of non-EU foreign nationals aged 0-14 are larger than those of EU foreign nationals. The shares in 1988 ranged from 20-24 per cent in Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, Finland, Spain and Norway to 11-15 per cent in Greece and the UK. There appears to be an increasing trend for this age group but more data are needed to confirm this. For example, by 1993, Norway and Finland had experienced increases of over 9 per cent and the UK 2 per cent.

The age group 15 to 24 years shows a distinct downward trend in all citizenship groups and in most countries (Table 5.6). Only the UK and Greece experienced an increase in the share of this age group. While in Greece the rise happened across all groups, in the UK the rise occurred only in the immigration flows of EU and non-EU foreign nationals. The largest decline in the total share of immigrants in this age group occurred in Norway (-6.9 per cent) and Sweden (-5.4 per cent).

As in the age group 0-14 years, shares of national immigrants between 15-24 years of age were smaller those of EU and non-EU foreign nationals, both in 1988 and in 1996. In 1988, Denmark had the largest share of nationals with 34.6 per cent. Switzerland, the UK, the Netherlands and Finland had shares ranging between 23.2 per cent and 21.2 per cent. Sweden, Norway and Greece followed with shares between 19.7 per cent and 16.9 per cent. The most significant declines between 1988 and 1996 occurred in Finland, the UK and Switzerland ranging between -5.9 per cent and -5 per cent. The only country with an increase in the immigration of nationals in this age group was Greece with 6.4 per cent.

The proportion of EU foreign national immigrants in this age group was particularly large in the UK where they accounted for 58.9 per cent of the total flow. Large shares were also found in Denmark (40.8 per cent) and in Norway (37.1 per cent). Spain received the smallest share of this age group which constituted only 12.5 per cent of the immigration flow of EU foreign nationals. In the remaining countries for which data are available the share of the 15-24 year olds ranged between 27.2 per cent and 19.2 per cent. Apart from the UK which

experienced a substantial increase (10.9 per cent), and Greece (3.1 per cent), there was a downward trend in immigration of this age group, usually declining at a faster rate than that of immigration of nationals.

Table 5.6 - Immigration by age: 15-24 years age group as a proportion of immigration of all age groups (per cent)

E	1988						1996 (or latest year)					
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
	13.6	EL	19.7	NO	29.7	E	13.2	S	19.1	IS	30.7	
		FIN	21.2	UK	30.1	FIN	17.8	NO	22.8	DK	31.9	
		S	24.5	IS	34.6			NL	22.9	UK	35.4	
		NL	26.8	DK	35.1			CH	23.3			
		CH	27.2					EL	24.7			

Source: Eurostat, OECD

With regard to the immigration of non-EU foreign nationals in the 15-24 age group, the largest shares in 1988 were in Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands and the UK, ranging between 34.5 per cent and 29.4 per cent. The proportion in Finland and Greece was around 21 per cent. Decreases in the share of this age group of non-EU foreign national immigration were strong in the same countries that experienced larger declines in the share of EU foreign national immigration. Denmark and Norway had declines of 10.5 per cent and 9.4 per cent respectively. Smaller declines occurred in Sweden (5.9 per cent) and the Netherlands (4.2 per cent). The UK and Greece, as in the case of EU foreign national immigration, were the only countries with an increase in the share of this age group.

In sum, there is an overall declining trend in the proportion of young persons from all citizenship groups immigrating. This is reflected by a similar declining trend in the share of young people in the resident foreign population.

5.2.2 Has the share of working age immigrants risen?

The age group 25-39 years was the largest group among both the stock of foreign population and the immigration flows. While the share of foreign stock of this age group has been growing in all countries except in Sweden and Finland the immigration trend is less clear. The overall development shows an increasing trend (Table 5.7), yet increases from 1988 to 1996 in total inflows have been small. Only Spain and the Netherlands experienced noticeable increases of 6.6 per cent and 4 per cent respectively. Decreases in the share of this age group occurred in Finland, Greece, Iceland and Norway, though only Finland had a substantial decline of 4.6 per cent.

Table 5.7 - Immigration by age: 25-39 years age group as a proportion of immigration of all age groups (per cent)

E	1988						1996 (or latest year)					
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
	29.8	IS	35.1	FIN	40.5	IS	34.2	E	36.4	NL	40.2	
DK	32.2	NL	36.2	CH	43.4	DK	34.4	NO	36.7	CH	44.4	
		S	36.3	EL	46.7	FIN	35.9	UK	36.8	EL	46.4	
		UK	37.5					S	36.9			
		NO	38.8									

Source: Eurostat, OECD

With regard to the immigration of nationals within the age range 25-39 years, the largest shares in 1995 were in Switzerland with 44.6 per cent, followed by Finland and Greece with over 36 per cent. Spain had by far the lowest share with around 25 per cent. In the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, the UK and Sweden the proportion of this age group ranged between 34.8 per cent and 30.7 per cent. In contrast to the total immigration flow in this age

group, the immigration trend of nationals was predominantly negative. Only Greece experienced a considerable increase between 1988 and 1995 by 7 per cent. In the Netherlands and Denmark the share of this age group rose slightly by 3.1 per cent and 2 per cent respectively. Decreases occurred in Switzerland (-4.8 per cent) and in the UK (-2.4 per cent).

The proportion of EU foreign nationals in the age group 25-39 years is much larger than those of nationals and non-EU foreign nationals. Only the UK had a small share of around 23 per cent in 1995. In Finland and Greece this age group formed over 50 per cent of the inflows of EU foreign nationals in both 1988 and 1995; in the Netherlands 49.2 per cent; and in Norway, Denmark and Spain between 41 per cent and 38 per cent. Except for the UK, all countries, especially Spain and Sweden, saw a rise in the share of this age group after 1988.

The immigration trend of non-EU foreign nationals aged between 25 and 39 years was predominantly negative. The only considerable increase in the share of this age group occurred in Spain, rising to over 51 per cent in 1995. Greece and the Netherlands also had large shares of this age group, with 40-44 per cent in 1995. In the UK this group formed 36.6 per cent; in Norway and Sweden over 33 per cent; and Denmark had the smallest share at 32.1 per cent. Rates of decline were much larger among immigration of non-EU foreign nationals than among total inflows or immigration of nationals. In Finland the proportion of this age group declined by 8.9 per cent, followed by Norway (-6.6 per cent), Greece (-6.0 per cent) and the UK (-5.7 per cent). A small decline of 2.6 per cent also occurred in Sweden.

The age group 40-54 years as a proportion of total immigration was much lower in all countries than the age group 25-39 years and of the two youngest age groups (Table 5.8). Changes in total immigration since 1988 of this group have indicated an increasing trend but have not been very substantial.

Table 5.8 - Immigration by age: 40-54 years age group as a proportion of immigration of all age groups (per cent)

	1988						1996 (or latest year)					
	Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High	
IS												
NO		7.1	DK	10.3	EL	14.3	DK	10.3	NL	12.0	FIN	15.2
		9.3	CH	10.5	E	19.4	IS	10.3	UK	12.1	E	16.4
			S	10.6			CH	10.7	NO	13.1	EL	17.1
			NL	10.7					S	13.6		
			FIN	11.0								
			UK	11.1								

Source: Eurostat, OECD

Immigration of nationals showed an overall increasing trend in this age group. Shares of nationals were much larger than the respective proportion of this age group in EU foreign national and non-EU foreign national immigration flows. The largest shares were in Sweden, Spain and Greece ranging between 20.7 per cent and 18.5 per cent in 1995. Changes were, in general, small.

Immigration of EU foreign nationals also showed a predominantly positive trend. The largest shares in the inflows of EU foreign nationals within the age range 40-54 years were in 1995 in Spain (20 per cent) and in Norway (16.8 per cent). Immigration flows to the UK had by far the lowest proportion of this age group with only four per cent. In the remaining countries this age group constituted between 14.8 per cent and 11.2 per cent.

Shares of non-EU foreign national immigration in this age group were, in most countries, smaller than those of EU foreign national immigration. In 1995, this immigrant group formed the largest share in Spain with 17.7 per cent, followed by Greece with 13.4 per cent and

around 11 per cent in Denmark and Sweden. In Finland, the Netherlands, the UK and Norway the group constituted less than 10 per cent of non-EU foreign national inflows. The general trend however was positive especially in Greece, Denmark and Norway, though there were small declines in Finland and the UK.

Generally, there was an upward trend in the main working age group 25-39 years, though shares of national and non-EU foreign national immigration have declined. The proportion of national immigrants in this age group was generally smaller than that of EU and non-EU foreign nationals. Greece was the only country with a substantial increase in immigration by nationals. However, in absolute numbers, the trend in most countries was positive, declining only in Switzerland, Spain and Finland. In 1988, Spain, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway and Finland received the largest shares of EU and non-EU foreign national immigrants in this age group. Despite relative increases, Greece, Norway and Finland saw an overall decline in the immigration of this age group as well as in total EU foreign national immigration. Another important destination country for EU foreign national immigrants in this age group was Sweden but less so for non-EU foreign national immigrants. In Finland and the UK the share of this age group declined considerably in non-EU foreign national immigration. Spain and the Netherlands experienced an increase and Greece a small decline. Overall, only the Netherlands, Finland, Spain and Denmark experienced an increase of non-EU national immigration. With regard to EU foreign national immigration, the proportion of this age group out of total EU foreign national immigration was in all countries larger than the respective shares of this age group in national and non-EU foreign national immigration. Furthermore, except for the UK, the share of this age group rose in all countries.

The immigration trend in the age group 40-54 years is characterised by small shares of the immigration flows as well as small relative changes between 1988 and 1995. In both Greece and Spain this age group formed the largest share in EU and non-EU foreign national immigration. Though the share of EU foreign national immigrants declined a little, non-EU foreign national immigration showed an increasing trend, particularly in Spain. Norway also had a larger share of this age group among EU foreign national immigrants but a very low share of non-EU foreign national immigrants. Overall, non-EU foreign national immigration was positive except in Sweden and the UK. This age group is more significant in the immigration flows of nationals.

There appears to be an increase in intra-EU movement in the age group 25-39 years and to a lesser extent also in the age group 40-54 years. The notable exception, though, is the UK with a declining share of both age groups. Increases in the age range 25-54 years were larger in Denmark, Spain, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden. The trend in the immigration of non-EU foreign nationals in this age range is mainly declining with the exceptions of Denmark and Spain. Greece and Norway experienced a rise in the share of the 40-54 years age group. However, there is a problem with the age breakdown. The age group 15-24 years includes family migration as well as labour migration but it is impossible to distinguish the two. The shares of this age group out of all immigration flows are larger than the shares of the age group 40-54 years, so they may include a substantial number of labour migrants.

5.2.3 Immigration trends of older migrants

Migrants within the age range 55-64 years and over 65 years constitute much lower shares of total immigration flows compared to their shares out of the resident foreign population. In both age groups, few changes have occurred between 1988 and 1996. The only countries with larger shares in both age groups were Greece and Spain. Changes in the total inflow of migrants in the age group 55-64 years were marginal by around one per cent from 1988 to 1995 (Table 5.9).

Table 5.9 - Immigration by age: 55-64 years age group as a proportion of immigration of all age groups (per cent)

1988						1996 (or latest year)					
Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High	
DK	1.2	FIN	2.5	EL	5.7	IS	1.4	CH	2.5	FIN	4.6
NO	1.6	NL	2.7	E	11.7	DK	1.6	NL	2.8	EL	4.9
IS	1.7	UK	2.9			UK	1.9	NO	3.1	S	5.1
CH	2.1	S	3.1							E	10.2

Source: Eurostat, OECD

In 1988, the proportion of nationals in the age group 55-64 formed a considerable share in Spain with 14.8 per cent and in Greece with 13.2 per cent. The UK and the Netherlands had shares of 5.2 and 4.9 per cent. Changes in the immigration of nationals in this age group since 1988 were less than two per cent in all countries. In Spain the share of this age group rose to 16.4 per cent, in Sweden to 5.6 per cent, but Greece experienced a decline of 6.9 per cent.

The proportion of EU foreign national immigrants in the age range 55-64 years was significant only in Spain with 10.9 per cent in 1988, rising to 11.7 per cent in 1995, and in Greece with 4 per cent in both years. Both were also the only countries with a decline in absolute numbers in this migrant group.

Non-EU foreign national immigrants constituted only a significant share only in Spain (4.7 per cent), Greece (4 per cent) and Sweden (3 per cent). By 1996, the shares of this group had increased in Sweden to 7.3 per cent and in Greece to 5.2 per cent. All countries experienced an increase in absolute terms except for the UK and Spain.

Trends in the age group over 65 years are similar to developments in the age group 55-64 years (Table 5.10). Differences in this age group as a proportion of total inflows were small, only Finland and Sweden experiencing an increase of about two per cent.

The proportion of over 65 year old national immigrants was significant only in Spain (8.2 per cent) and Greece (10.2 per cent). By 1996, their shares had risen in Spain to 11.3 per cent and fallen in Greece to 4.8 per cent. The UK experienced an increase from 1.9 per cent in 1988 to 5.6 per cent in 1995 and for Sweden equivalent figures were 3.7 per cent and 4.1 per cent.

The share of EU foreign national immigrants in the age range over 65 years was significant only in Spain with 7.8 per cent, rising to 8.1 per cent in 1995. However, Spain was the only country with a decline in absolute numbers in this group.

Table 5.10 - Immigration by age: 65 years and over age group as a proportion of immigration of all age groups (per cent)

1988						1996 (or latest year)					
Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High	
CH	1.1	FIN	2.0	EL	4.0	IS	0.7	NO	2.1	FIN	4.0
NO	1.1	NL	2.0	E	7.0	CH	1.7	UK	2.2	S	4.6
UK	1.3	DK	2.2			EL	1.9	DK	2.4	E	7.2
IS	1.5	S	2.6			NL	1.9				

Source: Eurostat, OECD

The proportion of this age group in the inflows of non-EU foreign nationals was very small. In 1988, Spain had the largest share (3.2 per cent) declining to 2 per cent in 1995.

In summary, most changes to the age structure of total immigration flows occurred in the age groups 15-24 years, followed by those of 25-39 years and 40-54 years. Changes in the youngest age group 0-14 years were significant only in Greece and the UK. In the older age range, over 55 years, significant changes occurred only in Finland and Sweden. Most changes occurred in the age structure of non-EU foreign immigration flows, mainly in the range 0-39 years. With regard to the immigration of EU foreign nationals and, to a lesser degree, nationals, most changes happened in the age bracket 15-54 years. Shares of the age group 0-14 years were small in EU foreign national inflows compared to its share in national and non-EU foreign national inflows. Immigration movements of EU foreign nationals had larger shares of the age group 25-39 years.

The trend in the immigration of 0-14 year old immigrants was mainly negative. A noticeable exception was Switzerland with a strong increase in immigration by nationals. Immigration of non-EU foreign nationals in this age range showed an increasing trend but more data would be needed to confirm this. Similarly, the age group 15-24 years showed a predominantly downward trend across all citizenship categories, with the exception of the UK and Greece. The age bracket 25-39 years had a general positive trend, in particular with regard to EU foreign national immigration, though larger declines occurred in the immigration of non-EU foreign nationals to Finland, Greece, Norway and the UK. There was also an overall increase in the share of the age group 40-54 years, where only the UK experienced a substantial decline in EU foreign national immigration. Changes in the age structure of immigration flows in the age brackets over 55 are very small, usually around or less than one per cent. Only Finland and Sweden (2 per cent) experienced a small increase in this age range. There was a strong decline in Greece in the share of national immigrants in the age group over 65 years and a stronger increase in Spain. Sweden experienced a stronger increase of non-EU foreign national immigrants in this age group.

5.2.4 Trends in emigration by age and citizenship group

Data availability for emigration by age breakdown is even more irregular than for immigration. There are no data available for Austria, France and Greece. In consequence the analysis of emigration by age and broad citizenship group is limited to Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the UK. Switzerland provided an age breakdown only for total flows and the emigration of nationals, Iceland only for total flows. Most countries provide data until 1995, Iceland and Norway only until 1993. Data on emigration of EU and non-EU foreign nationals in Finland, the Netherlands and the UK are available until 1993. There is no breakdown for the age groups 55-64 and over 65 years in Denmark.

The most mobile emigrant age group is in the range 25-39 years, forming the largest share of emigrants in all citizenship categories throughout the period 1988 to 1995. In Denmark the age group 15-24 years constituted the largest group in all categories in 1988, followed by the age group 25-39 years. In the case of non-EU foreign nationals, the shares of emigrants in these two age groups were of equal size. In Sweden, the second largest group of emigrants was in the age range 0-14 years except for the emigration of EU foreign nationals where the age group 40-54 years had the second largest share. The age group 0-14 was the second largest group for the flows of EU foreign nationals in Finland and the Netherlands, and for those of non-EU foreign nationals in the Netherlands and Sweden. Emigrants within the age group 40-54 years constituted the second largest group in Sweden among EU foreign nationals and in Finland among non-EU foreign nationals.

By 1995, changes had occurred mainly in the age structure of the emigration flows of EU and non-EU foreign nationals. The age group 25-39 years still had the largest share in all countries and most citizenship groups. The exception was the UK where the 15-24 group was the largest for EU foreign nationals. The proportion of emigrants in the age group 15-24 years and 25-39 years was of similar strength in Denmark with regard to the flows of nationals and in the UK with regard to the flows of non-EU foreign nationals. In the

Netherlands, Norway and Sweden the age group 0-14 years had gained in importance and constituted the second largest group in total emigration flows as well as nationals and non-EU foreign nationals. For EU foreign nationals, the age group 40-54 years came second in Finland, the Netherlands and Sweden.

Total emigration flows increased in the over 25 age groups. Large declines occurred over the period in the shares of the age group 15-24 years, except in the UK. The age group 0-14 years had an overall increase, and, apart from the UK, declines were small. In absolute numbers, from 1988 to 1995 (or latest available date) total emigration increased in all countries except in the UK. Norway and the UK experienced a declining trend in the emigration of nationals and EU foreign nationals but an increase in the emigration of non-EU foreign nationals. The Netherlands and Sweden in turn showed a declining trend with regard to the total emigration of non-EU foreign nationals. Apart from the UK, total emigration flows had generally increased in all age groups. The one exception was that of 15-24 years, where only Sweden and Denmark experienced an increasing trend. In Norway, the numbers of emigrants in the age bracket over 55 years declined while the UK experienced an increase in the emigration of persons in age ranges 40-54 and 55-64 years.

Shares of national emigrants declined in the age groups 15-24 years and amongst the over 55s. Clear increases occurred in the age group 0-14 years and in that of 25-54 years. The UK experienced an increase in the share of 25-39 year old national emigrants. Except for the age group 15-24 years there was an overall increasing trend in the emigration of nationals in absolute numbers. Only the Netherlands and Sweden experienced an increase in the total number of emigrants in the age group 15-24 years. Norway and the UK, in contrast to the other countries, showed a declining trend in the emigration flows of their nationals. Norway experienced an increase in emigration flows only in the age ranges 0-14 years and 25-39 years, indicating increased emigration of families. In the UK, emigration of persons in the age range 40-54 years increased, suggesting less family emigration but continued emigration of labour.

Emigration of EU foreign nationals showed an overall declining trend except in the age group 25-39 years but an increasing trend in absolute figures. Only Norway experienced a decline in total EU national emigration. The pattern in the UK was reversed: the share of the age group 15-24 years increased while the age group 25-39 years declined. Emigration increased in absolute numbers in all countries in the older age brackets 55-64 years (apart from Finland) and over 65 years, indicating possible return migration, while relative changes were small. Sweden and Denmark experienced an increase in absolute emigration of EU foreign nationals in all age groups, yet in most countries numbers of younger emigrants declined. In the UK, total numbers of EU foreign national emigrants in the age bracket 25-54 years declined; in Norway and the Netherlands emigration of the younger and working age range 0-54 years declined. Finland experienced a downward emigration trend of EU foreign nationals in the 0-14 years and 40-54 groups. The decline of emigration of EU foreign nationals in the main working age groups 25-39 years and 40-54 years in most countries is in contrast to the increase in total emigration flows in the same age range.

With regard to non-EU foreign national emigration, shares increased in the age group 25-39 years and tended to decline in the age group 15-24 years. Changes in the proportion of emigrants over 55 years were marginal and in the age group 0-14 years, only Denmark experienced a large increase and the UK a substantial decline. Emigration of non-EU foreign nationals declined in absolute numbers in the Netherlands and Sweden. The Netherlands had an overall negative trend with the exception of the age group over 65 years, while Sweden experienced increased emigration in the age range over 40 years. The UK experienced a total increase of emigration of non-EU foreign nationals but this was due to increased emigration in the age groups 15-24 years and 40-54 years. Denmark, Finland and Norway (except for the age group 40-54 years) experienced an increase in all age groups.

5.2.5 Relative changes in the age structure of emigration flows

Shares in the age group 0-14 years (Table 5.11) generally increased with the exception of EU national emigration. Changes in total emigration flows between 1988 and 1995 were small, around or below two per cent. Two countries stand out. Denmark had an increase of 6.6 per cent in total emigration, mainly due to a substantial increase of over 10 per cent in the share of non-EU foreign national emigration in this age group. The UK was the only country with a large decline (4.5 per cent) in total emigration, due to a decline of over five per cent in the shares of national and non-EU foreign national emigration.

Table 5.11 - Emigration by age: 0-14 years age group as a proportion of emigration of all age groups (per cent)

1988						1996 (or latest year)					
Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High	
CH	13.8	FIN	16.6	UK	19.4	UK	14.9	FIN	17.9	NO	20.0
DK	14.6	NO	18.5	NL	20.0	CH	15.1	NL	18.2	IS	20.9
				S	20.3					DK	21.2
				IS	21.8					S	22.0

Source: Eurostat, OECD

In 1988, the proportion of national emigrants in this age group ranged from about 12 per cent in Switzerland to between 19 per cent and 21 per cent in the Netherlands, Sweden, the UK and Norway. All countries experienced a small increase, apart from a marginal decline of less than 1 per cent in Norway and a more substantial decline of 5.4 per cent in the UK. Sweden and Norway had the largest increases, with 4 per cent and 3.3 per cent respectively. All countries except the UK had an increase in absolute terms.

Shares of EU foreign national emigrants were smaller than those in national or non-EU foreign national emigration flows. In 1988, the UK and Switzerland had the smallest shares of this age group with 6.4 per cent and 10.6 per cent respectively. The largest shares were in Finland (21.8 per cent), followed by the Netherlands (18.8 per cent), Sweden (16.6 per cent) and Norway (14.2 per cent). In contrast to national emigration flows, EU foreign national emigration declined gradually in most countries with Finland having the largest decrease (9 per cent).

Non-EU foreign national emigrants in the age group 0-14 formed larger shares of the total than in national and EU foreign national emigration flows. In 1988, this group constituted 23.8 per cent in the Netherlands, 21.7 per cent in Sweden and 18.4 per cent in Norway. In the UK, the proportion of non-EU foreign emigrants in this age group formed 20.8 per cent but declined by 5.5 per cent. Denmark experienced a very strong increase of over 10 per cent. Changes in the remaining countries were below two per cent. In absolute terms, numbers increased in Denmark, Finland and Norway.

In the age group 15-24 years (Table 5.12), the proportions of emigrants varied considerably across the different citizenship groups. The largest shares in all citizenship groups were in Denmark, Norway and the UK. This age group experienced a relative decline in all countries and citizenship groups except for an increasing trend in the UK.

Table 5.12 - Emigration by age: 15-24 years age group as a proportion of emigration of all age groups (per cent)

1988						1996 (or latest year)					
Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High	
NL	17.7	UK	25.9	FIN	31.9	S	12.7	FIN	18.6	UK	28.3
S	19.6	CH	26.3	IS	34.9	NL	15.5	NO	18.7	DK	28.5
		NO	26.3	DK	36.5			CH	20.4	IS	28.5

Source: Eurostat, OECD

Changes in total emigration of the 15-24 age group between 1988 and 1995 have been quite substantial. Finland experienced a large decline (-13.3 per cent), followed by Denmark (-8 per cent) and Norway (-7.6 per cent). In Sweden, Iceland and Switzerland the decline ranged between -6.9 per cent and -5.9 per cent. In absolute numbers, this age group declined in all countries (except in Denmark and Sweden) against a background of a general increasing trend of total emigration. The UK, having a negative emigration trend, was the only country where the proportion of this age group increased slightly, by 2.4 per cent from 1988 to 1995. Denmark and Sweden experienced a decline in the share of this age group by 8 per cent and around 7 per cent respectively despite an overall increase. In line with the general decline, the other countries experienced a decrease in the proportion of this age group, especially Finland, Norway, Iceland and Switzerland.

In 1988, shares of 15-24 year old national emigrants were high in Denmark (37 per cent), Finland (34.3 per cent) and in Norway and the UK (both around 25 per cent). The proportion of this age group declined in all countries and in absolute terms, it grew only in the Netherlands and Sweden. Finland experienced by far the largest decline (-14.7 per cent), large declines also occurring in Sweden (-5.8 per cent), Switzerland (-4.0 per cent) and in Norway (-4.6 per cent).

Larger shares of EU foreign national emigrants in the age groups 15-24 years were in Denmark (36.2 per cent), Norway (33.6 per cent) and the UK (30 per cent). In the remaining countries the group formed less than 20 per cent of EU foreign national emigration flows. Shares declined in almost all countries but a substantial decline occurred only in Norway (-11.6 per cent). The UK experienced a strong increase of over 38 per cent in the emigration of this age group. This reflects the large increase in EU foreign immigrants in this age group and the short term character of their migration movement. Apart from the UK, this emigrant group also increased in absolute numbers in Sweden and Denmark.

As in emigration by EU foreign nationals, larger shares of non-EU foreign national emigrants were found in 1988 in Denmark (35 per cent) and in the UK (25.8 per cent). The remaining countries had shares around or below 20 per cent. Overall, there was a declining trend apart from the UK which experienced an increase of 12 per cent. Substantial declines occurred in Denmark (-11 per cent), Sweden (-9.4 per cent) and Norway (-6.3 per cent). However, an absolute decline in this age group occurred only in the Netherlands and Sweden.

The age group 25-39 years (Table 5.13) formed with few exceptions the largest group in all countries and citizenship categories. There was a general increasing trend, except in EU and non-EU foreign national emigration flows in Denmark and the UK. In absolute figures, total emigration and national emigration of this age group increased in all countries except the UK. The emigration trend for EU and non-EU foreign nationals is less clear.

Table 5.13 - Emigration by age: 25-39 years age group as a proportion of emigration of all age groups (per cent)

1988						1996 (or latest year)					
Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High	
DK	34.5	IS	35.1	UK	37.0	DK	33.4	UK	39.0	NO	41.6
		FIN	35.3	NL	37.4			IS	39.3	FIN	41.7
		NO	36.4	S	38.6			CH	39.4	NL	41.9
				CH	38.7			S	39.6		

Source: Eurostat, OECD

Large increases in total emigration in the 25-39 age group occurred in Finland (6.4 per cent) and Norway (5.2 per cent), followed by Denmark, Iceland and the Netherlands (over 4 per cent). The share of national emigrants in this age group ranged from 45 per cent in Switzerland to just over 33 per cent in Denmark, Norway and the UK. Changes were positive

but small. Finland and the UK stood out with larger increases in share of 6.2 per cent and 5.1 per cent, though in absolute numbers this group declined in the UK.

Emigration of EU foreign nationals in this age group was very strong in 1988, constituting around 40 per cent in most countries. The UK had a larger share of 46 per cent and Norway a smaller share of 36 per cent. The trend was increasing but changes were generally small. Exceptions were Finland which experienced a strong increase in this age group of 15 per cent, and the UK which saw a substantial decline of over 23 per cent. Absolute declines occurred in the UK, Norway and the Netherlands.

The trend in the emigration of non-EU foreign nationals was similar. In 1988 they formed over 40 per cent of the emigration flows in Norway, Sweden and the UK and between 32 per cent and 37 per cent in the other three countries. Shares increased except in Denmark and the UK, where the proportion of this age group declined by over three per cent. In absolute terms, this group declined in the UK, the Netherlands and Sweden.

Proportions of the age group 40-54 years are much lower than in the younger ages and changes in total emigration flows were small (Table 5.14). This is mirrored by similar trends in immigration flows. On the whole, emigration of this age group increased in total and national emigration flows and to a lesser extent in non-EU foreign national emigration. Shares of EU foreign nationals in this age range were predominantly declining. In absolute figures this age group had a growing trend in total and national emigration flows. EU foreign national emigration showed a decreasing trend, except in Sweden and Denmark. Non-EU foreign national emigration increased in absolute numbers in Sweden, Denmark and the UK.

Table 5.14 - Emigration by age: 40-54 years age group as a proportion of emigration of all age groups (per cent)

1988						1996 (or latest year)					
Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High	
IS	5.8	CH	12.4	NO	13.5	IS	8.6	UK	11.6	CH	14.7
UK	9.1	FIN	12.5	S	14.0	DK	12.0	NO	15.0	FIN	15.5
		DK	11.5	NL	16.9			NL	16.5	S	17.8

Source: Eurostat, OECD

The share of national emigration ranged between 10 per cent in the UK and Switzerland and over 15 per cent in the Netherlands and Sweden. Noticeable increases occurred in Finland (3.8 per cent) and in Sweden (3.0 per cent). The UK experienced a decline of 3.8 per cent.

Finland, Sweden and the Netherlands had the largest shares of EU foreign nationals in this age group in 1988 ranging between 20 per cent and 17.6 per cent. In Norway and the UK the group accounted for just under 14 per cent, and in Denmark only 10 per cent. The trend in EU foreign national emigration seems to be one of decline, both absolutely and relatively in the UK (-4.5 per cent) and in Finland (-2.8 per cent). Despite a decline in absolute numbers Norway experienced an increase of 7.1 per cent.

In 1988, non-EU foreign national emigrants constituted large shares in Finland (22.8 per cent) and in the Netherlands (21.2 per cent). The UK had the smallest share with 6.3 per cent and in the remaining countries this age group formed between 10 and 12 per cent. The trend is not clear. Finland had a decline in the share of this group by 6.3 per cent and Sweden an increase by 4.6 per cent. The rate of decline in the Netherlands was only 1.9 per cent and increases in the other countries were under two per cent. In absolute terms, the proportion of this group declined in the Netherlands and in Norway.

5.2.6 Trends in the older age groups

Shares of emigrants in the age group 55-64 years (Table 5.15) remain below 7 per cent in all citizenship groups and in the age group over 65 years below 5 per cent. The trend in total emigration in this age range tends to be positive but changes were less than 1 per cent.

In the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK shares of national emigrants were between 5.0 per cent and 6.5 per cent, Norway and Switzerland had around 4 per cent and Finland only 1.9 per cent. Noticeable changes occurred only in Finland and Norway where shares increased by 2.2 per cent and 1.3 per cent respectively. In absolute terms, numbers declined in Norway and the UK.

Relatively Large shares of EU foreign national emigrants were in Sweden (4.9 per cent), Finland (4.3 per cent), and the Netherlands (4.0 per cent). Changes were small, less than 1.5 per cent, except for a decline of 2.8 per cent in Finland. The situation with regard to non-EU foreign national emigration was similar. The highest shares were in Sweden (3.4 per cent), the Netherlands (2.9 per cent) and Finland (2.4 per cent). Changes from 1988 to 1995 again were small.

Table 5.15 - Emigration by age: 55-64 years age group as a proportion of emigration of all age groups (per cent)

1988						1996 (or latest year)					
Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High	
IS	1.6	NO	3.3	UK	4.9	IS	1.9	FIN	4.2	UK	5.1
FIN	2.2	S	4.3	NL	5.2	NO	2.9	S	4.6	CH	6.9
				CH	5.7	DK	3.3	NL	4.9		

Source: Eurostat, OECD

The age group over 65 years as a proportion of total emigration hardly changed between 1988 and 1995 (Table 5.16). Only the UK experienced a significant decline (2.6 per cent).

Table 5.16 - Emigration by age: 65 years and over age group as a proportion of emigration of all age groups (per cent)

1988						1996 (or latest year)					
Low		Medium		High		Low		Medium		High	
IS	0.7	NL	2.9	UK	3.6	IS	0.8	DK	1.7	NL	3.0
FIN	1.6	CH	3.1			UK	1.0	NO	1.7	S	3.3
NO	1.9	S	3.3					FIN	2.0	CH	3.6

Source: Eurostat, OECD

Shares of national emigrants in most countries were larger than the proportion of this age group in EU and non-EU foreign national emigration. Except for the UK, changes in all countries and citizenship groups were less than 1 per cent. Sweden and the UK had the largest shares of national emigrants in the age group over 65 years with around 4.2 per cent and both countries experienced a decline by 1.4 and 3.0 per cent respectively. On the whole, there was a declining trend.

In 1988, EU foreign nationals in this age group constituted between 2.1 per cent and 2.7 per cent of the emigration flows in the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK, less than 1 per cent in the remaining countries. Shares increased in all countries in relative and absolute terms, though changes were not above one per cent.

Non-EU foreign nationals formed 3.3 per cent of the emigration flow in Finland and between 2.1 and 2.6 per cent in the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK. The trend in most countries

was positive in relative and absolute terms, though changes again were small. The UK stood out with a decline of 2.6 per cent.

5.3 Migration flows by sex breakdown

A recent phenomenon is the change of gender composition among migrants. An increasing proportion of migrants are young women, which potentially poses demographic and social imbalances both in the place of origin and the receiving society. Data on migration flows by sex are only available for total foreign flows; there is no breakdown into EU and non-EU foreign nationals. Complete data sets are only available for eleven of the EU/EFTA countries: the Benelux countries, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the UK and of the south European states only for Greece and Spain (from 1987). For Finland, Ireland, Iceland and Portugal, immigration data by sex breakdown are only available for the 1990s and thus do not allow a comparison with the situation pre-1989. Data for Italy are only available for the years 1989 to 1991 and for 1995. There are no data for Austria and France. For emigration by sex, in addition to Austria and France, there are no data available for Spain, Greece and Ireland, while Italy and Portugal only have data for two or three years.

5.3.1 Immigration trends

After a general increase in the total numbers of female immigrants during the second half of the 1980s, their numbers started to decline from 1989/90 in Spain, Greece, Norway, Sweden and the UK. In contrast, in most countries there was an increase in total numbers of female immigrants during the early 1990s. A more general declining trend started in 1993, except in the UK, Norway and Greece. During the last years for which data are available, 1995 and 1996/97, numbers of female immigrants fluctuated considerably so that it is difficult to draw any conclusions on emerging trends. Many countries experienced an annual increase in female migrants in 1995 only to see a decline in the following year. Greece and the UK are the only two countries with a consistent increase in the total number of female migrants since 1992 and 1993 respectively. Switzerland, Germany and Spain experienced a decline in all years after 1993. Despite the rise in the numbers of female immigrants during the early 1990s, only in Belgium, Denmark, Spain, the Netherlands and the UK were the numbers of female migrants in 1996/97 higher than in 1988.

With regard to female migrants as a share of the total immigration flow, the situation mirrors the development of the stock of female migrants as discussed in Chapter Three. Overall, the data show an increase in the share of female migrants immigrating to the EU/EFTA states. In 1985, the proportion of female immigrants ranged from 39.5 per cent in Denmark to 60.3 per cent in the UK. Other countries with a majority of female immigrants were Greece (52.2 per cent), Iceland (58.5 per cent) and Luxembourg (51.7 per cent). In all other countries the proportion of female migrants ranged between 43 per cent and 47 per cent. Most countries except for Germany, Luxembourg and the UK, experienced an increase in the share of female immigrants during the period 1985 to 1988. In these three countries, the share of female immigrants was smaller in 1996/97 than in 1985 and 1988.

The largest decline in the proportion of female immigrants from 1985 to 1997 occurred in the UK (11.3 per cent). Stronger annual declines occurred in 1988 and 1990 around a peak in the share of female immigrants of 56.3 per cent in 1990. But after an increase during 1991 and 1992, the share of female immigrants continued to decline with a larger drop of over four per cent in 1995. The rate of decline in Germany was 5.3 per cent. After a period of small annual increases from 1985 to 1988, the proportion of female immigrants in Germany declined continuously from 45.7 per cent in 1988 to 37.9 per cent. Luxembourg experienced a decline of 4.9 per cent from 51.7 per cent in 1985 to 46.8 per cent in 1997. After a decline during 1986 and 1987, the share of female immigrants peaked in 1988 at 55.8 per cent, followed by a drop of 10 per cent in 1989. Increases during 1991 to 1994 remained below the share of female immigrants during the mid-1980s and their share declined after 1994.

The largest increases from 1985 to 1996 occurred in Denmark (9.2 per cent) and in Norway (7.2 per cent). A substantial rise of 5.2 per cent in the share of female immigrants occurred in Denmark in 1987, followed by smaller annual increases of around 1 per cent. During 1992 to 1995 the share of female immigrants showed a slight declining trend but increased again in 1996 by 1.2 per cent to 49.3 per cent. In Norway, despite a large drop in 1987 in the share of female immigrants by over 6 per cent to 41 per cent, female immigration increased substantially after 1989, forming 54 per cent in 1995.

In Belgium, Italy, Greece, Sweden and Switzerland, increases in the share of female immigrants ranged between 4.5 per cent and 5.5 per cent. Belgium experienced gradual annual increases with a rise of four per cent to 50.7 per cent of the share of female immigrants in 1995. There was a slight declining trend between 1989 and 1991. Switzerland experienced a similar development. The share of female immigrants increased continuously except for a slight decline in 1988 and 1989. Annual increases were stronger after 1991 and by 1996 female immigrants formed 50.5 per cent of the total inflows. Similarly in Sweden, the proportion of female immigrants grew gradually during the period 1985 to 1996 except for a small decline in 1988 and 1989. An increase of 2.8 per cent to 47.5 per cent occurred in 1990 and in 1996 female immigrants constituted 52.1 per cent. The share of female immigrants in Greece increased strongly in the mid-1980s by about 4 per cent in 1986 to 56.1 per cent followed by a substantial decline in the succeeding years to 51.2 per cent in 1991. In 1990 and 1991 the share of female immigrants experienced annual increases of over four per cent to about 60 per cent. After 1991, the proportion of female immigration remained stable by just over 57 per cent. Data for Italy are incomplete but show a dramatic drop from 49.7 per cent in 1989 to 31 per cent in the following year. By 1995, the share of female immigrants formed 54.5 per cent suggesting a strong increasing trend after 1991.

The Netherlands experienced a continuous decline in the share of female immigrants after 1986 from 47.2 per cent to 42.2 per cent in 1991. This trend was reversed after 1991 and the proportion of female immigrants increased during the 1990s to 49 per cent. Spain had a larger drop of 6.4 per cent in its share of female immigrants in 1991 to 42.2 per cent. After 1992, however, their share increased to 48.6 per cent in 1996.

For Finland, Ireland, Iceland and Portugal, data are only available from 1991/92 onwards. Increases in the share of female immigrants in these countries ranged from 3.3 per cent in Finland, 6.7 per cent in Ireland to 13 per cent in Portugal, Iceland experienced a small decline after 1993 of 3.7 per cent.

5.3.2 Emigration trends

While the number of female immigrants generally increased during the period 1985 to 1996, total numbers of female emigrants increased notably only in Switzerland, Germany and Denmark. Small increases occurred in Norway, Sweden and the UK. Belgium experienced a noticeable decline of female emigrants and small declines occurred in Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

The share of total female emigration was relatively stable in most countries. Only Germany and Luxembourg experienced a stronger decline between 1985 and 1996 of -9.6 per cent and -5.7 per cent respectively, Belgium had a stronger increase of 5 per cent and Iceland of 3 per cent. The share of female emigrants declined by -1.4 per cent in Sweden and increases in the remaining countries were below 2 per cent. In Switzerland shares wavered between 46 per cent and 47 per cent and in Denmark, except for a decline in 1987, between 44 and 46 per cent. Until a substantial drop of six per cent in 1991 to 35.3 per cent, shares of female emigrants from Germany had ranged between 42 per cent and 43 per cent. The decline continued after 1991 but the proportion picked up again in 1995. Except for a slightly larger share of 47 per cent in 1986, the proportion of women emigrants in the Netherlands was around 45 per cent, showing an increasing trend after 1994. In Iceland, women as a

proportion of total emigration ranged from 56 per cent to 63 per cent, apart from a substantial drop of about six per cent in 1992. By 1996, the share had again risen to over 61 per cent.

Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden and the UK experienced a declining trend in the share of female emigrants. While Luxembourg and Norway (except for an increase in 1995) had a continuous decline, Sweden experienced a decline between 1986 and 1990. The UK showed a general downward trend apart from annual increases in 1987, 1990/91 and 1994. Thus, by the mid-1990s the proportion of female emigrants in the UK was above the mid-1980s figure.

5.4 Migration flows by citizenship

This section examines changes in the composition of migration flows in Western Europe by citizenship. Several issues are explored. First, immigration data are analysed to investigate the extent to which new immigrant groups are emerging and the degree to which the main patterns of origin have changed from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s. Second, emigration data are examined with regard to signs of return migration.

5.4.1 Immigration by citizenship

Most EU/EFTA states - Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Iceland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the UK - provide data on immigration by citizenship from 1985 to 1996. Several countries have an incomplete data set; France provides data until 1994, Spain from 1988 to 1996, Portugal from 1992 to 1996 and Italy until 1995 (although there are no data for 1993 and 1994). Data for Ireland are scarce. A complete citizenship breakdown is available for 1991 and 1992 and from 1993 to 1997 only the top three immigrant groups are listed. Austria (1996, 1997) and Luxembourg (1995, 1996) give a citizenship breakdown only for the last two years for which data are available.

Table 5.17 below compares changes in the composition of the five main immigrant groups to the EU/EFTA states between 1985 and 1995/96. Those countries which appear in the table in bold represent a new national group among the top five immigrant groups in the mid-1990s compared to 1985. All countries experienced changes in the origin of their main immigration flows, though changes were particularly notable in Denmark, Iceland, Italy and Portugal. It should be noted that with regard to immigration from the former Soviet Union data recording is inconsistent and sometimes includes double counting. Some countries only list immigration from the former Soviet Union, others also provide data on flows from Russia and other former Soviet republics in addition to the former Soviet Union. Similar problems occur with regard to former Yugoslavia for which, in addition to Yugoslavia, Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina are also listed.

In most countries, nationals constituted the largest immigrant group throughout the period 1985 to 1995/96. In some countries, nationals only formed the largest immigrant group in selected years, such as in Sweden (1985-86, 1991-1993, 1994), Switzerland (1985-1990, 1995), Greece (1985-1993) and Finland (1985-1990, 1994- 1996). From 1991 to 1993 national immigrants formed the second largest group in Switzerland and Finland. Only in France and Portugal were national immigrants consistently not among the top ten immigrant groups. In Luxembourg, nationals were the fourth largest immigrant group, whereas they were not among the top ten in Austria in the mid-1990s. In Belgium and Luxembourg the proportion of nationals among new arrivals was relatively low, less than 20 per cent in 1996, but the proportion of immigrants from other member states of the EU/EFTA was high.

Germany, the Netherlands, Finland and Sweden are notably different from the rest in that they have a high proportion of immigrants from outside the EU/EFTA in 1995/96. In Germany, these were mainly citizens of the former Soviet Union, Poland, Turkey, former

Yugoslavia, Romania and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the Netherlands, the new arrivals were citizens of Turkey, former Yugoslavia, Morocco, Iraq and Surinam. In Finland, the new national groups in the mid-1990s were from Russia, Estonia, Iraq, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Somalia. Finally, in Sweden important new immigrant groups originated in Iraq, Iran and former Yugoslavia.

Data on the foreign resident population have shown a clear trend towards increased diversification of foreign stock, usually brought about in a decline of the shares of the top one or two immigrant groups. This development is mirrored in immigration flows. The countries with the fastest diversification were the Netherlands and Portugal, where shares of the top five immigrant groups in 1995/96 had declined since 1985 by 23 per cent and 17 per cent respectively. Substantial changes also took place in Iceland, Sweden, Denmark and Switzerland where the share of the top five immigrant groups declined by between 11 per cent and 12 per cent. France and Norway experienced smaller declines of between 3 and 7 per cent. The lowest diversification occurred in Spain and the UK, with a difference of less than two per cent in the share of the top five immigrant groups in 1995/96 compared with 1985. In these countries, proportions of the top five immigrant groups increased until 1992 and 1990 respectively. In Germany, the share of top three national groups declined by over 5 per cent but the share of the top five remained unchanged in 1996 compared to 1988. Shares of the main immigrant groups increased in Germany until 1989 and the downward trend in the 1990s was ended by an increase in 1995.

Table 5.17 - Share of top three and five foreign immigrant groups as a proportion of total foreign immigration

Country	Early (1985)				Recent (1995/6)			
	Top 3 Citizenship Groups		Top 5 Citizenship Groups		Top 3 Citizenship Groups		Top 5 Citizenship Groups	
	Top 3	per cent	Top 3, plus:	per cent	Top 3	per cent	Top 3, plus:	per cent
A	-	-	-	-	YU, TR, PL	32.8	D, HR	49.8
B	F, NL, US	31.4	D, I	44.8	NL, F, MA	35.5	D, US	47.3
CH	I, YU, P	38.1	E, D	57.6	ex-YU, D, P	32.8	F, I	45.4
D	PL, TR, I	37.1	YU, LK	46.8	ex-SU, PL, TR	34.4	I, YU	47.2
DK	IR, US, TR	34.1	UK, PL	45.6	SO, BA, YU	23.2	IS, D	33.9
E ¹	UK, D, AR	34.9	F, MA	48.9	MA, D, UK	36.2	PE, DO	47.0
FIN	S, SU, D	53.8	UK, CA	63.1	ex-SU, RU, EE	-	S, IQ	-
F ²	MA, DZ, TR	38.2	P, VN	-	DZ, MA, TR	33.2	P, TN	43.9
EL	UK, D, EG	28.9	SU, US	38.4	ex-SU, RU, BG	45.0	EG, YU	59.2
IS	DK, US, UK	51.5	LK, NO	62.9	PL, DK, S	36.9	US, TH	49.1
I	US, D, F	27.2	UK, EL	36.9	ex-YU, MA, AL	29.7	D, RO	37.5
NL	TR, MA, UK	37.6	D, SR	53.6	TR, D, UK	20.6	MA, US	30.3
NO	DK, UK, S	38.5	US, PK	51.9	S, ex-YU, BA	34.1	DK, UK	48.9
P ³	AO, BR, GW	56.5	CV, ST	68.0	UK, D, BR	35.9	CV, E	50.8
S	FIN, IR, NO	34.3	PL, DK	44.7	IQ, FIN, NO	24.3	BA, DK	33.9
UK	US, F, NZ	25.5	AU, PK	36.8	US, AU, F	24.5	NZ, D	35.0

Source: Eurostat, OECD

Notes

1. Early = 1998.
2. Recent = 1994.
3. Recent = 1992.

Greece, Belgium, and Italy stand out in that they experienced an increase in the proportion of the main immigrant groups. Greece had a large increase of about 16 per cent and 40 per cent in the share of the top three and five groups respectively. Until 1990, shares of the main groups declined in Greece then rebounded with the growing immigration from the former

Soviet Union and South East Europe. In Belgium, shares of the top three and five immigrant groups increased slightly after 1991 and in Italy after 1989. In both countries, the increase in the proportion of the main national groups was due to changes in the countries of origin.

The result of the stock analysis indicated that no single year was decisive in accounting for the changes that took place, rather each individual country had its own pattern. This is also the case with regard to changes in the composition and size of flows. Changes in the origin of immigration flows are, to some extent, influenced by the geographical position and history of the receiving countries. The opening of the borders in Eastern Europe clearly had a strong effect on Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Germany experienced a decline in the number of Italians and Greeks. However, after 1993 Portuguese nationals were among the top ten immigrant groups, constituting over 3 per cent of total foreign inflows. The number of Spaniards declined sharply in Switzerland after 1990 whereas Portuguese and Italian immigrants continued to arrive, though in declining numbers after 1991. Replacing those departing Southern Europeans were new migrants from Eastern Europe. Nationals from Poland and Yugoslavia were already arriving in large numbers in Germany in the 1980s. Their numbers increased after the opening of the borders and the war in former Yugoslavia. In addition, after 1988 nationals from former Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria were among the top ten immigrant groups. Switzerland already had a substantial population of Yugoslav migrant workers whose numbers increased continually until 1993. The subsequent strong decline may be partly due to changes in the recording of nationals from former Yugoslavia, as Bosnians, Croatians and Macedonians were listed separately from then on. In contrast to Germany, the top ten immigrant groups to Switzerland have hardly changed. Austria experienced a strong inflow from the neighbouring Eastern European countries. Data for 1996 show shares of over 10 per cent for nationals from former Yugoslavia and Poland, followed by immigration from Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Hungary, Romania and the Slovak Republic.

In Austria, Germany and Switzerland, there was also an inflow of migrants from Turkey. In 1996, Turkish immigrants formed the second largest group in Austria. In Germany, Turkish immigration continued to grow in the 1990s, mainly because of family reunification. In both countries, Turkish immigration made up over ten per cent of inflows in 1996. A large number of Iranians and Lebanese arrived in Germany during the mid-1980s. Nevertheless, in the 1990s, the only non-European migrants among the top ten immigrant groups were from Kazakhstan. In Switzerland, numbers of Turkish nationals declined after 1991 but still formed a share of around 4 per cent of total immigration.

France displays a similar pattern of declining migration from Southern Europe. Portuguese and Italians disappeared from the top ten immigrant groups after 1986 while, as in Germany, Portuguese immigration increased strongly after 1992, forming the third largest immigrant group in 1993. In the UK, the only EU foreign nationals among the top ten immigrant groups during the 1980s were from France and Germany, and their inflows declined substantially. Yet this trend may be reversed as French immigration rose considerably in 1995 and German immigration in 1996. Greek nationals were among the top ten immigrant groups in 1993 and 1996. While immigration from other EU member states was on the whole low, migration from the United States, Australia, New Zealand and Malaysia rose. Immigration from the former colonies of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh declined after 1990, though flows from the former two countries rebounded slightly after 1994. The principal flows into France were also from former colonies, notably Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, but a consistently large group during 1985 to 1996 was also from Turkey. In addition, a large number of Polish nationals came to France in the mid-1980s, although their numbers declined after 1990. Other noticeable changes in the origin of the main immigration flows occurred in 1992, when five new countries of origin emerged among the top ten. These were, in descending order of importance, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Mauritius, Switzerland and

Madagascar. In the following year, these flows were replaced by flows from former Yugoslavia, Haiti, Sri Lanka and Zaire.

Immigration figures for Belgium and the Netherlands show a relatively stable pattern for countries of origin. There was relatively little immigration from Eastern European countries; rather, they experienced strong inflows from the Middle East and North Africa. Immigration from Morocco and Turkey to Belgium increased after 1989. Immigration from Germany and the Netherlands grew gradually while inflows from Italy and the UK remained relatively stable. Figures for Portuguese nationals declined after a strong increase in 1991. In the Netherlands, the older, established inflows of Turks and Moroccans also declined after 1992, as did flows from Surinam after 1993. Immigration from Germany and the UK gradually increased over the years. New and important flows emerged after 1991, first with the arrival of nationals from former Yugoslavia, then from Somalia and Iraq. In contrast, the mid-1980s saw the arrival of larger numbers of nationals from Sri Lanka and Ghana. Figures for Luxembourg in the mid-1990s show an overwhelming majority of EU foreign national immigration. There was a small share of migrants from former Yugoslavia (2.5 per cent) in 1995 and 1996. In 1996, Chinese nationals figured among the top ten immigrant groups, constituting 3.4 per cent of total immigration.

Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland and Iceland have been affected differently by the geopolitical changes in Europe. Both Norway and Sweden had already experienced immigration from Yugoslavia during the 1980s, which increased strongly in Norway after 1991 and in Sweden after 1992. Immigration from the former Soviet Union was low in these countries, figuring among the top ten immigration groups in Norway only in 1995 and in Sweden for two years, 1993 and 1995. Both countries experienced a large inflow of Asians, in Sweden from Iran and Iraq and in Norway from Iran, Sri Lanka and Vietnam. However, these national groups were no longer among the top ten immigrant groups after 1993. Neither country took many Africans, except for Somalis, and both countries experienced a significant immigration from Chile until the late 1980s. Swedish and Finnish immigration to Norway showed an upward trend while Danish immigration declined. In Sweden, immigration of other Scandinavian nationals declined except for a rise in Danish immigration after 1991.

In contrast, Denmark experienced an overall increasing trend in the immigration of its main EU foreign national groups from Germany, Norway, Sweden and Iceland. Turkish immigration declined strongly after 1991 whereas inflows from the former Soviet Union rose after 1993 and in particular from Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1995, the proportion of total inflows constituted by Bosnians peaked at over 41 per cent. As in Norway and Sweden, Denmark had large groups from Asia, mainly from Iran, Lebanon, Vietnam and Iraq though these flows were less important after 1992. A large number of Poles arrived in the 1980s but they were not among the top ten immigrant groups during the 1990s. A new inflow from Somalia emerged after 1990.

Finland received large numbers of nationals from the Soviet Union and to a lesser extent from Poland and Hungary during the 1980s. Other important immigrant groups came from EU/EFTA member states, in particular from Sweden, Germany, the UK, Norway, France and Italy. Immigration from the former Soviet Union, mainly from Estonia, rose substantially after 1990. At the same time, inflows from Asian countries, especially Iran, Iraq, Vietnam, China and Turkey increased. Rising immigration from former Yugoslavia, mainly from Bosnia, was reflected in the data after 1993. Migration of EU nationals declined in relative terms though absolute changes were small. Except for Sweden, EU foreign nationals were not among the top ten immigrant groups during the 1990s. As in the other Nordic countries, immigration from Africa was limited, although noticeable inflows of Moroccans occurred in the late 1980s and of Somalis after 1992. Inflows in Iceland were dominated by EU nationals and immigrants from the US and New Zealand. After 1987, significant non-Western immigration came from Poland and former Yugoslavia, and after 1991 again from former Yugoslavia.

Particularly noticeable is the emergence of nationals from the Philippines and Vietnam among the top ten immigrant groups after 1989, and from Thailand after 1994, although absolute numbers were small, with less than one hundred immigrants per year. In all the Nordic countries, migration from the US was an important component of inflows throughout the period 1985 to 1996.

The Southern European countries of Italy, Greece, Spain and Portugal are generally regarded as the new receiving countries in Western Europe. Return migration in Italy and Greece increased strongly in 1990, and in Spain between 1989 and 1992, while Portugal experienced negative net migration. In Italy, return migration of nationals declined after 1992 while immigration of German and French nationals increased gradually. Immigration of Swiss and Greek nationals declined after 1986, numbers of British nationals arriving decreased after 1989. During the late 1980s and early 1990s, immigration from Morocco and Tunisia were the main two inflows, peaking dramatically in 1990 with about 24 and 12 per cent respectively of the total inflows. Another African group was Egyptian nationals, arriving in increasing numbers until 1992. An important source of immigration before 1992 was South America, in particular Brazil and Argentina. These immigrants were often descendants from former Italian emigrants benefiting from liberal entry provisions. In 1995, the composition of the main inflows to Italy changed considerably, but there are no data for 1993 and 1994. An important source of immigration in the mid-1990s was the Balkans. Immigrants from former Yugoslavia, Albania and Romania were among the top five immigrant groups. In addition, a large number of migrants from the Philippines and Sri Lanka arrived. Greece, like Italy, had, until the early 1990s, larger numbers of immigrants arriving from the Philippines and Egypt. But in contrast to Italy, Eastern Europe was a more important region of origin. Poland and the Soviet Union were important source countries in the mid-1980s. Numbers of Polish arrivals fell after 1989, while migrants from Bulgaria and Romania entered in growing numbers after 1989 and from the former Soviet Union after 1991. By 1996, inflows to Greece were dominated by migrants from the former Soviet Union, Bulgaria, former Yugoslavia, the Ukraine and Romania. Immigrants from Morocco and Tunisia were no longer among the top ten groups, but migration from Egypt rose gradually.

The main immigration flows to both Spain and Portugal were largely unaffected by the events in Eastern and South East Europe. Immigration to Spain was constituted to a large extent by EU foreign nationals - German, British, French, Italian and Portuguese - whose numbers grew gradually from 1988 to 1996. As in Italy, immigrants of Spanish origin from South America took advantage of liberal entry provisions. Flows from Argentina increased strongly in the late 1980s, declining after 1992. Further significant groups came from Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, the Dominican Republic, and after 1995, from Cuba. Yet despite the importance of immigration from EU member states and South America by far the largest growth has been in migration from Morocco, increasing strongly in the late 1980s and peaking in 1992, when it formed one quarter of the total inflows. Immigration to Portugal in the first half of the 1990s, in contrast, was characterised by its colonial history. The main national groups in 1992/93 arrived from Angola and Brazil, forming around 40 per cent of total immigration, followed by arrivals from Guinea-Bissau and Cap Verde. In the following years, immigration of EU foreign nationals, notably from the UK and Germany, increased while inflows from non-European countries decreased.

5.4.2 Emigration by citizenship

Only a few countries provide a breakdown of emigration by citizenship. There are, for example, no data from Spain, France, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg and Portugal; Italy (1989 to 1995) and Austria (1996 to 1997) provide only partial data. In all countries, except for Germany until 1993, nationals formed the largest emigrant group. Table 5.18 compares the main emigrant groups in 1985 and 1995/96. New emigrant groups among the top five national groups in 1995/96 are marked in bold.

Table 5.18 - Share of top three and five foreign emigrant groups as a proportion of total foreign immigration

Country	Early (1985)				Recent (1995/6)			
	Top 3 Citizenship Groups		Top 5 Citizenship Groups		Top 3 Citizenship Groups		Top 5 Citizenship Groups	
	Top 3	per cent	Top 3, plus:	per cent	Top 3	per cent	Top 3, plus:	per cent
A					YU, PL, TR	34.6	BA, HR	51.7
B	US, F, NL	33.8	I, UK	49.6	NL, F, US	38.9	UK, D	56.4
CH	I, D, ES	41.0	YU, P	55.2	I, P, D	35.6	ES, ex-YU	50.8
D	PL, TR, I	46.0	YU, EL	58.7	PL, TR, ex-YU	28.0	I, ex-SU	41.3
DK	US, UK, NO	36.1	D, IS	58.7	US, NO, UK	24.8	IS, D	38.7
FIN	S, ex-SU, UK	56.8	US, D	67.7	RU, S, EE	37.9	US, UK	50.0
IS	DK, S, US	58.2	UK, NO	72.8	DK, S, NO	52.5	PL, US	67.8
I	F, D, US	31.1	UK, CH	43.5	ex-YU, D, MA	29.8	US, F	40.5
NL	TR, UK, D	46.5	US, MA	62.2	D, UK, US	35.1	TR, JP	47.4
NO	DK, UK, US	52.1	S, D	65.2	S, DK, US	39.7	UK, BA	53.9
S	FIN, NO, DK	62.7	EL, US	70.2	FIN, NO, DK	45.9	US, IS	55.7
UK	US, AU, MY	31.4	NZ, CA	42.0	AU, F, US	24.2	MY, NZ	34.5

Source: Eurostat, OECD

The comparison of the origin of the top five emigrant groups in the EU/EFTA shows that the main pattern is relatively stable. In Switzerland, Denmark and Finland, no new emigrant group emerged among the top five, while all other countries except Italy had only one new emigrant group. Most new main emigrant groups are nationals from outside the EU/EFTA region, who replaced EU foreign nationals. Exceptions were Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden and the UK, where EU foreign emigrants simply replaced another EU foreign national group, or Canadians in the case of the UK. The non-EU foreign nationalities are mainly from Eastern Europe - Poland, former Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia - as well as from the former Soviet Union. The countries with the largest share of emigration of Central and Eastern European nationals were Austria, Germany and Finland. Moroccans in Italy and Japanese in the Netherlands were the only new non-European nationalities among the top five emigrant groups.

5.4.3 Diversification of emigration flows

As the breakdown of immigration by citizenship has shown, the top two or three national groups also dominate emigration flows. The difference in the size of the share between the top emigrant groups and the ones below has been gradually diminishing. While the stock of foreign population has increased in all EU/EFTA countries and become more diverse in terms of origin, outflows have fluctuated, varying from country to country. Overall, a diversification of outflows has occurred in all countries for which data are available except in Belgium. In 1985, in the majority of the countries the top five emigrant groups formed more than 50 per cent of the total foreign emigration. By the mid-1990s, this situation is reversed. In only three countries - Iceland, Norway and Sweden - did the top five emigrant groups constitute over 50 per cent. Diversification of foreign emigration occurred at variable rates. Belgium is a unique case, the only country where the share of the top five emigrant groups has increased substantially (6.8 per cent). The countries with the lowest diversification are Italy, Iceland, Switzerland and the UK where the difference in the share of the top five emigrant groups ranged between 3.0 per cent and 7.5 per cent. The countries with the greatest diversification were Finland and Germany with a difference of over 17 per cent, Sweden and the Netherlands with over 14 per cent, and finally Norway and Denmark with over 11 per cent.

5.5 Immigration by type of origin

In this section trends of immigration of non-nationals are analysed according to origin by the four World Bank income classifications. The countries in the categories high income and middle-high income have been grouped together as high-income countries and the countries in the categories middle-low income and low income have been grouped together as low-income countries. This section compares immigration flows in the mid-1980s with immigration flows in the mid-1990s in order to identify changes that occurred during this decade. Data from the mid-1980s are mainly from the year 1985, although there are no data available for the early years for Luxembourg and Portugal. The earliest year for which data are available for Ireland is 1991, and for the Netherlands 1987. The recent data are usually for the year 1996, except for France where the data are from 1994, and for Italy and Norway from 1995. There are no data available for Austria and Liechtenstein.

5.5.1 The mid-1980s: majority of foreign immigration from high income countries

During the mid-1980s, the majority of the EU and EFTA states for which data are available admitted more than half of all immigrants from higher income countries. Over 80 per cent of immigrants arriving in Iceland, Switzerland and Ireland came from higher income countries (Table 5.19), though total numbers in Iceland were below 500 immigrants. These three countries also had the largest shares of resident foreign nationals from higher income countries.

The share of immigration from higher income countries is considerably smaller with around 17 per cent than the share of foreign residents from these countries. In Denmark, the share of immigration from higher income countries is about 7 per cent smaller and in Finland and Iceland about 5 per cent smaller than the share of the foreign population from higher income countries. In most countries, the proportion of immigration from higher income countries is about the same as the stock of foreign nationals from higher income countries. Only in Spain was the share of resident foreign nationals from higher income countries noticeably lower (by 7.3 per cent) than the share of inflows from them. This difference is mainly due to immigration from mid-high income countries. In several other countries this trend was reversed. In Sweden, the share of foreign resident nationals from higher income countries was over 17 per cent larger than the share of immigration from higher income countries, about seven per cent in Denmark, and over five per cent in Finland and Iceland.

Table 5.19 - Countries with majority of immigration from high-income countries, 1985 (per cent)

	High	Medium	Low
IS	87.5	NO	71.4
CH	85.7	E	71.4
IRL1	81.1	FIN	70.8
			I
			64.5
			B
			63.3
			UK
			63.1
			EL
			55.7
			S
			55.3

Source: Eurostat, OECD, World Bank

Notes

1. 1991

During the mid-1980s, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark, had a majority of the foreign population coming from lower income countries. France admitted by far the

largest share from lower income countries, with 72.9 per cent. Corresponding with the size of their resident foreign population from low-income countries, the majority of immigrants to Germany (51.1 per cent) and to the Netherlands (62.9 per cent) came from lower income countries. Denmark received just over half of its immigrants from lower income countries, with 50.2 per cent. Most immigrants came from mid-low income countries but France and Norway also had substantial shares of immigrants from low-income countries with 21.1 per cent and 18.3 per cent respectively. Of the countries with immigration predominantly from high-income countries, the UK and Belgium also had substantial shares of inflows from low-income countries with 29.9 per cent and 22.7 per cent respectively. Greece and Sweden had a considerable share of immigration from mid-low income countries with 37.7 per cent and 30.2 per cent respectively. Spain, Finland and Italy still received over 20 per cent of immigrants from mid-low income countries.

5.5.2 The mid-1990s: decline of immigration from high income countries

There was a general trend towards increased immigration from lower income countries from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s. Only two countries, the UK and the Netherlands, experienced a considerable decline in the proportion of immigration from low income countries of 14.3 and 18.6 per cent respectively. In Belgium, the share of flows from low-income countries declined minimally by 4 per cent and in Denmark and France by 1.9 and 3.1 per cent respectively.

Table 5.20 - Countries with majority of immigration from high-income countries, 1996 (per cent)

	High		Medium		Low
L	86.4	P	78.5	B	67.3
IRL	80.5	UK	77.2	IS	62.7
		CH	73.1	NO	58.2
				DK	51.0

Source: Eurostat, OECD, World Bank

All countries, with the exception of the UK and Belgium, that admitted more than half of the immigrants in the mid-1980s from higher income countries experienced an increase in immigration from lower income countries. The rise in the proportion of immigration from lower income countries was particularly pronounced in Finland (42.8 per cent), Spain (28.6 per cent) and Iceland (25.9 per cent). Other countries with a large increase in the share of immigration from lower income countries included Italy (17.1 per cent), Norway (13.1 per cent), Switzerland (12.7 per cent) and Greece (10.7 per cent) as well as Sweden (8.5 per cent) and Germany (3.8 per cent). In Spain, Finland, Greece, Italy and Sweden, the share of immigrants from high-income countries fell below 50 per cent. With 51 per cent of immigration from high-income countries, Denmark just crossed the line (Table 5.20).

A comparison of the composition of the foreign stock with immigration in the mid-1990s, in the few countries for which data are available, shows that in Spain the share of inflows from higher income countries is substantially smaller (over 20 per cent) than the share of the stock of foreign population from higher income countries. In Portugal the share of immigration from higher income countries was considerably larger (28 per cent) than the share of resident foreigners from higher income countries. In the UK, Ireland and Denmark, the share of the inflows from higher income countries were between 17 per cent and 11 per cent larger than the share of foreign residents from these countries.

Finland underwent by far the greatest change. Its share of higher income immigrants fell by 41.8 per cent to 29 per cent in the mid-1990s, in line with the trend in its stock of foreign

nationals. This development is mainly due to immigration from Russia. The substantial increase in the share of immigration from lower income countries to Spain, Italy, Norway, Switzerland, Greece and Sweden was reflected in a similar decline in the proportion of immigrants from higher income countries. Only Germany showed a small rise in the proportion of immigration from lower as well as higher income countries. This may be a distorted picture due to a large share (over 8 per cent) of unclassified immigrants in 1985.

5.6 Conclusion

The opening of the borders between Eastern and Western Europe did not affect all EU/EFTA member states equally. The subsequent migration movements primarily impacted upon Germany, and to a lesser extent on Austria and Switzerland. At the political level, this was reflected in the conclusion of labour and readmission agreements in these countries with their Central and Eastern European neighbours. No other Western European country has come close to the level of immigration to Germany in recent years, where the combination of the opening of the borders between Eastern and Western Europe, together with the existence of several million 'ethnic Germans' with a constitutional right to settle in Germany, created a special case. A total of nearly 2.43 million *Aussiedler* were received in Germany from 1985 to 1996. Of a record gain of about 1.36 million in the EU/EFTA in 1990, some 400,000 was accounted for by 'ethnic German' migration to (West) Germany. The events of 1989, however, did not cause substantial changes in the composition of the main migration flows to the other principal receiving countries - France, the UK and the Netherlands. The scale of legal immigration of Eastern European migrants to these countries has been small when compared with the numbers that arrived in Germany.

Disregarding the events of 1989/90 and the war in former Yugoslavia that affected some EU/EFTA states disproportionately (notably Germany, Austria and Italy), the pattern of origin of migration flows appears to be relatively stable. With regard to the origin of the main migration flows to the EU/EFTA there is evidence of both stable patterns since the 1980s as well as of the consolidation of new flows after the turbulence of the early 1990s. However, data from the mid-1990s indicate that migration flows continue to change, showing signs of subtle shifts with regards to origin, sex and age composition.

The data indicate that no single year was particularly influential on the changes that occurred; rather each individual country had its own pattern. In some countries, there were signs of changes in the origin of migration movements during the mid-1980s, before the political events of 1989. Other flows are so strongly associated with former colonial links, labour migration and subsequent family reunification, that they do not seem to be affected by outside events.

The main trends pertaining to immigration in the EU/EFTA states can be summarised as follows:

- Foreign immigration has been declining since 1992, although in most countries numbers in 1996 were still larger than in 1988;
- EU foreign national immigration has been increasing after a decline between 1991 and 1993 and in most countries numbers in 1996 were larger than in 1988;
- National immigration has been declining after 1990 - only five countries received larger numbers in 1996 than in 1988.
- The core countries involved in the EU/EFTA migration system have not changed over the period 1985 to 1996. The share of inflows to the EU/EFTA was, in all citizenship groups, concentrated on a few countries: Germany, the UK, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Italy. Belgium was an important destination with regard to immigration by EU foreign nationals and Denmark with regard to immigration by nationals.

- Throughout the period, Germany has dominated the overall development of migration flows. More than half of the immigrants in the EU/EFTA region chose Germany as a destination country.

Regarding the characteristics of immigration flows, the majority of migrants are males of working age, although female immigration is increasing.

- The largest share of immigrants across the citizenship groups is in the 25-39 years age group, followed by the age group 15-24 years.
- There is an overall declining trend in the proportion of younger immigrants in the age range 0-24 years.
- There is an upward trend in the age group 40-54 years, although their share of total immigration is not very substantial.
- There is no clear trend in the age groups above 55 years.
- There is an overall increase in the shares of female immigrants, but the trend in absolute numbers is less clear. Only five countries experienced an increase in total numbers in 1996 compared to 1988.
- There is a trend of increasing immigration from low-income countries.

Until 1990, a major part of immigration flows could be accounted for by the return of nationals. After 1990, the proportion of total immigration flows comprised by nationals dropped below 30 per cent and the data show a downward trend. Most countries experienced a diversification of inflows, although substantial changes in the origin of the main five immigration flows occurred only in Denmark, Italy and Portugal. Corresponding with the composition of the resident foreign population, the top two or three national groups tend to dominate immigration flows.

The main trends pertaining to emigration from the EU/EFTA states can be summarised as follows:

- Total emigration has been declining since 1994.
- Non-EU foreign emigration has been declining since 1994.
- EU foreign national emigration has been increasing since 1990.
- The majority of emigrants left from a few countries: Germany, the UK, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Ireland. Belgium and Sweden had a large share of EU foreign national emigrants and Denmark and Italy of nationals.
- Germany dominates the overall pattern of outflows, except for emigration of nationals. More than half of the emigrants from the EU/EFTA left Germany.

With respect to the characteristics of emigration flows, the majority of migrants are males of working age.

- The largest share of emigrants across the citizenship groups is in the 25 to 39 years age group, followed by the age group 15-24 years.
- The share of the younger age group 0-14 years has been rising except for emigration by EU foreign nationals.
- The share of the age group 15-24 years shows an overall negative trend except in the UK.
- The share of the age group 25-39 years and 40-54 years shows an overall increasing trend except for EU foreign nationals in the latter group.
- The age group 55-64 has an overall upward trend, although changes are small, while the age group over 65 years shows hardly any changes except for a decline in the UK.
- There were no substantial changes in female emigration except for increases in absolute numbers in Switzerland, Germany and Denmark.
- There was no substantial difference between the main national groups arriving and the main national groups leaving.

Total net migration in the EU/EFTA region exhibited an increase until 1992. The positive balance was particularly substantial in each year from 1989 to 1992. Germany had by far the largest annual net gains, of more than 282,000 in 1996, followed by the UK and the Netherlands. The trends in net migration by citizenship groups were as follows:

- Net migration of non-EU foreigners increased until 1992.
- Net migration of EU foreign nationals increased until 1990.
- Net migration of nationals increased until 1990.
- There were overall net gains in female migrants except in Finland and Portugal.
- Despite an increase in the share of net migration of EU nationals after 1990, most of the recent international migration to the EU/EFTA involves non-Europeans.

CHAPTER 6 - WHAT ABOUT THE WORKERS? STOCKS AND TRENDS IN FOREIGN LABOUR

6.1 How many foreign workers are there in Western Europe?

It is more difficult to obtain accurate and comparable data across Europe for stocks of labour than for the foreign population as a whole. There are problems of knowing who is included and which sources might be used. In addition, unrecorded workers are almost certainly proportionately more important in the labour market than are unrecorded residents in the total population. The problem is compounded when information on the characteristics of the workforce is required. In effect, we have a very imperfect view of how big the foreign labour force is, of whom it is composed and what it does. One consequence is that attempts to model and explain labour flows are fraught with difficulty.

The evidence from Map 6.1 and Table 6.1 suggests that in Western Europe around 1996 (using the latest data for each country) there were about 7.46 million recorded foreign workers. This represents an increase of about 27 per cent on the 1988 figure (6.2 million) but only 1 per cent on that for 1994. It would appear that over the last few years stocks of recorded foreign labour have changed little. This is in marked contrast to the situation earlier in the 1990s when Western Europe increased its foreign labour force as the economy went into recession.

A longer term perspective may be obtained by comparing the situations in 1980, 1988 and 1996 for the eight countries for which data are available throughout. In 1980 these countries had 4.63 million foreign workers, but by 1988 this total had fallen slightly to 4.45 million (-3.9 per cent); in 1996 the number had risen to 5.29 million, an increase in eight years of 840,000 (18.9 per cent). For these countries, therefore, all of the increase in the foreign labour force since 1980 occurred after 1988.

The period since 1988 has, however, been one of fluctuation. For all countries listed in Table 6.1 (except Turkey) a comparison of the situation in 1988, 1992 and 1996 (or latest data available) has been made. In 1988 the total number of recorded foreign workers was 5.9 million; by 1992 it had risen by 23.1 per cent to 7.3 million but rose only 1.6 per cent to 7.4 million in 1996. It would appear, therefore, that increases in Western Europe's recorded foreign workers occurred almost entirely in the late 1980s and early 1990s and that since then the numbers have hardly changed.

Despite the general increases in the stocks of foreign population between 1980 and 1996, changes in the stocks of foreign labour have varied between the traditional countries of immigration. In 1996 the recorded stock of foreign labour in Germany (2.08 million) was only 3.1 per cent higher than in 1980, despite an increase of 64.2 per cent in the foreign population. These figures do not include ethnic Germans 'returning' from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. From 1980 to 1995, Austria's foreign labour stock increased by 83 per cent (145,000), compared with a 157.5 per cent increase in foreign population. In Austria, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands, for example, stocks of foreign workers fell during the early 1980s, reflecting the general economic downturn, reached a low point in 1984 or 1985, and then recovered to levels well in excess of those at the start of the decade. Increases in the late 1980s and early 1990s thus augmented an already rising trend.

In the last few years trends in foreign labour stocks have varied between countries. Germany, Greece and Switzerland recorded falls in numbers; in contrast, Austria, Ireland, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain had relatively large gains. Partly these differences are responses to the economic cycle, but they also reflect the statistical capture of foreign workers. In most countries the real numbers of foreign worker stocks are higher because of the presence of illegal workers.

The majority of foreign workers in Europe in 1996 - like the majority of the foreign population - was concentrated in the Federal Republic of Germany and France, with between them a total of over 4.68 million workers. The UK had around 878,000 more. The foreign labour stocks of each country reflect their respective foreign nationality population. The largest groups of foreign workers in Germany are Turks, Yugoslavs and Italians; in France, Portuguese, Algerians and Moroccans; in the UK, Irish. Turks are the largest single foreign worker group in Germany, the Netherlands, and the second largest group in Austria; Yugoslavs are the largest group in Austria, the second largest in Sweden and Switzerland; whilst Italians are the most prominent group in both Switzerland and Belgium. In addition to their numerical importance in France, Moroccans are the second largest group in both Belgium and the Netherlands.

There is no clear view as to whether free movement between EU states has increased the importance of workers from other members (Figure 6.1). The available data are partial and not always based on the same definitions: in some cases they refer to employed population, in others to working population. The period over which statistics are available also varies. For example, Belgium has no data after 1989, Austrian data refer only to 1994-6, and UK data before and after 1992 are not directly comparable. It appears that in some countries (Austria, Germany, UK, Ireland) EU workers have increased relatively in importance, in others (Netherlands, France, Italy) the reverse is the case, while elsewhere (Luxembourg, Greece) there has been little change. Hence, it appears that although stocks of citizens of other member states have generally decreased as a proportion of the total foreign population, the same cannot be said of labour.

The available statistics on the numbers of foreign workers in Eastern Europe are limited. Those in Table 6.1 are from official sources, and thus omit the large number of transient and illegal workers. The numbers recorded are low, certainly in comparison with those for Western Europe, and in recent years have fluctuated. Outside Russia, the Czech Republic has been the main destination, numbers there doubling since 1994, although in 1997 there was a small downward trend.

(a) Western Europe (1)	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Austria (2)	174.7	171.8	156.0	145.3	138.7	140.2	146.0	147.4	150.9	167.4	217.6	266.5	273.9	277.5	291.0	316.8	319.7	298.8
Belgium (3)	-	-	-	190.6	182.5	179.7	179.2	176.6	179.4	196.4	-	290.4	337.3	-	-	328.8	343.8	-
Denmark (4)	-	-	-	51.9	53.6	56.5	60.1	62.7	65.1	68.9	68.8	71.2	74.0	77.7	80.3	83.8	87.9	-
Finland (5)	4.5	4.8	5.3	5.5	6.0	6.8	6.4	7.2	8.0	10.0	13.0	14.0	14.7	15.2	22.6	25.5	29.7	32.5
France (6)	1458.2	1427.1	1503.0	1574.8	1658.2	1649.2	1555.7	1524.9	1557.0	1593.8	1549.5	1506.0	1517.8	1541.5	1593.9	1573.3	1604.7	1569.8
Germany (7)	2015.6	1917.2	1785.5	1709.1	1608.1	1586.6	1600.2	1610.8	1656.0	1730.8	1837.7	1972.9	2103.9	2183.6	2140.5	2128.7	2067.7	2001.8
Greece (8)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24.9	23.9	21.6	23.2	24.2	33.1	29.0	26.2	27.4	28.7	29.4
Ireland (9)	-	-	-	-	-	34.0	33.0	33.0	35.0	33.0	34.0	39.3	40.4	37.3	34.5	42.1	43.4	-
Italy (10)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	187.8	153.4	380.9	464.6	507.5	525.5	474.6	-	-	-
Luxembourg (11)	51.9	52.2	52.3	53.8	53.0	55.0	58.7	63.7	69.4	76.2	84.7	92.6	98.2	101.0	106.3	111.8	117.8	-
Netherlands (12)	188.1	192.7	185.2	173.7	168.8	165.8	169.0	175.7	176.0	192.0	197.0	214.0	229.0	219.0	216.0	221.0	218.0	208.0
Norway (13)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	49.5	47.7	46.3	46.3	46.6	47.9	50.3	51.9	-	-
Portugal (8)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33.4	35.2	-	36.9	39.9	59.2	63.1	77.6	84.3	86.8	87.9
Spain (14)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	58.2	69.9	85.4	171.0	139.4	115.4	121.8	138.7	161.9	176.0
Sweden (15)	234.1	233.5	227.7	221.6	219.2	216.1	214.9	214.9	220.2	237.0	246.0	241.0	233.0	221.0	213.0	220.0	218.0	220.0
Switzerland (16)	501.2	515.1	526.2	529.8	539.3	549.3	566.9	587.7	607.8	631.8	669.8	702.4	716.7	725.8	740.3	728.7	709.1	692.8
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16.3	21.0
United Kingdom (17)	-	-	-	-	744.0	808.0	815.0	815.0	871.0	914.0	882.0	828.0	902.0	862.0	864.0	899.0	878.0	949.0
(b) Central and Eastern Europe	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Albania	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.4	0.7
Bulgaria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Czech Republic(18)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	95.5	29.8	14.5	51.6	72.1	111.9	143.2	130.7
Hungary (19)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30.9	28.9	31.2	15.7	17.9	20.1	21.0	19.2	14.0
Romania (20)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.7	1.3	1.8	2.5	3.2	3.9	4.7
Slovak Republic (21)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.7	2.7	2.8	-
Russia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	292.2	241.5

Source: OECD

Notes

1. Includes the unemployed, except in Benelux and the U.K. Frontier and seasonal workers are excluded unless otherwise stated.
2. Annual average. Work permits delivered plus permits still valid. Figures may be over-estimated because some persons hold more than one permit. Self-employed are excluded. Data for 1990 and 1991 have been adjusted to correct for a temporary over-issue of work permits relative to the number of jobs held by foreigners, between August 1990 and June 1991.
3. Excludes the unemployed and self-employed.
4. Data from population registers and give the count as of the end of November each year except December (end of December). Source: Sopemi Annual Report (1995)
5. Estimate, assuming activity rates of the 1980s (slightly under 50%).
6. Data as of March each year derived from the labour force survey.
7. Data as of 30 September each year. Includes frontier workers but not the self-employed. Refers to western Germany.
8. Excludes the unemployed
9. 1991 data excludes the unemployed
10. 1994 figure to 31/8/94.
11. Data as of 1 October each year. Foreigners in employment, including apprentices, trainees and frontier workers. Excludes the unemployed.
12. Estimates as of 31 March, including frontier workers, but excluding the self-employed and their family members as well as the unemployed.
13. Excludes unemployed. Data are for the second quarter Source: Sopemi Annual Report (1995).
14. Data derived from the annual labour force survey.
15. 1990-92 data corrected.
16. Data as of 31 December each year. Numbers of foreigners with annual residence permits (including up to 31 December 1982, holders of permits of durations below 12 months) and holders of settlement permits (permanent permits) who engage in gainful activity.
17. Excludes the unemployed.
18. Former CSFR until 1992. Data refer to stock on 31/12 except for 1992 and 1996 (30/6). Source Federal Ministry of the Interior and Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, in OECD, 1997. Includes those from the Slovak Republic (1993 onwards). 1997 data as of 30/6.
19. 1996 figure for first half of year. Valid work permits.
20. Total work permit holders.
21. Total work permit holders, Ministry of Labour and Slovak Employment Service in OECD, 1997.

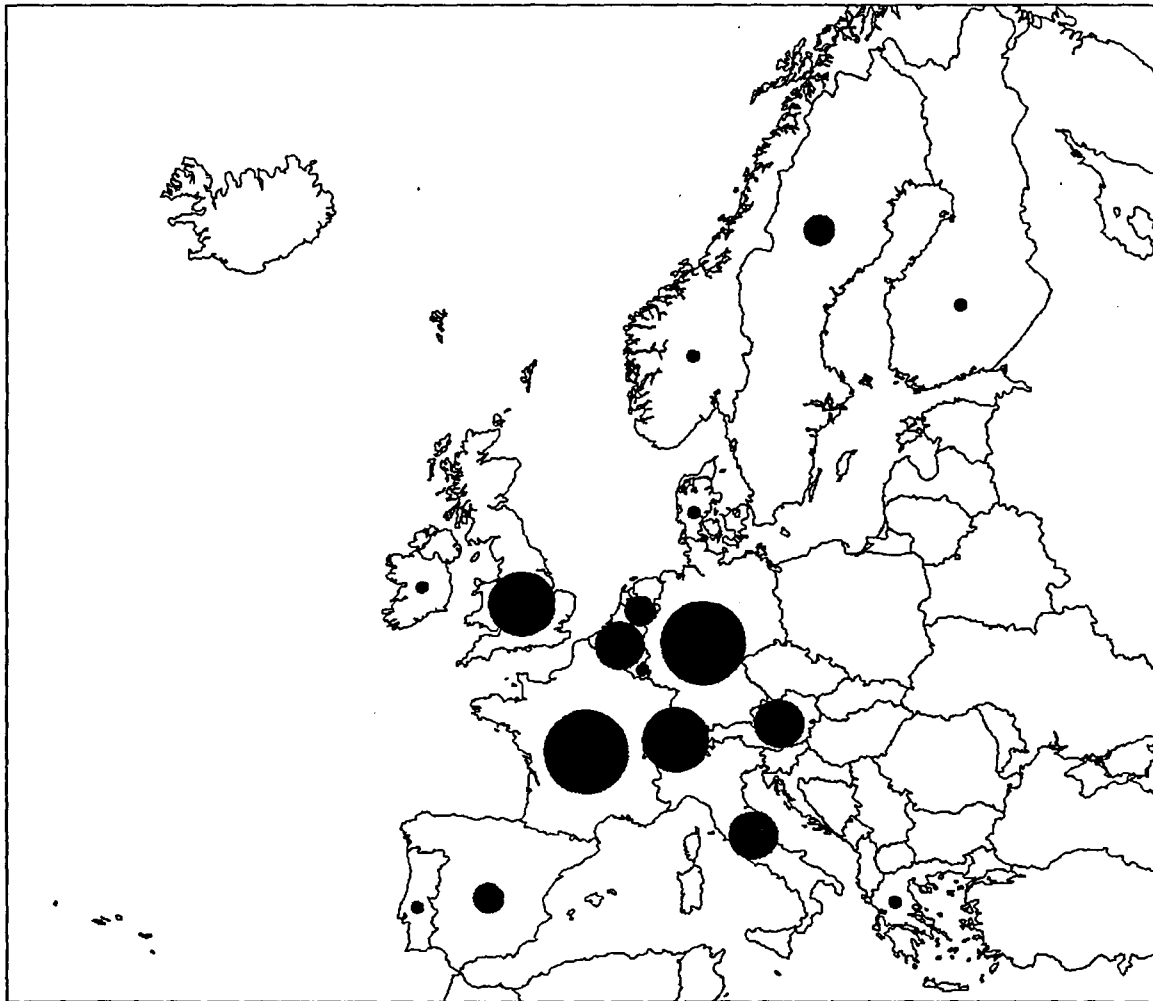
	(8)																
	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
(a) Western Europe																	
Austria (1)	-	-	31.4	32.4	34.0	18.0	15.3	17.4	37.2	103.4	62.6	57.9	37.7	27.1	15.4	16.3	-
Belgium	3.5	2.3	1.8	1.7	1.9	2.2	2.4	2.8	3.7	-	5.1	4.4	4.3	4.1	2.7	2.2	-
Denmark (2)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.1	2.7	2.8	2.4	2.4	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.7	-
France	33.4	97.0	17.3	10.8	9.7	9.9	10.7	12.7	15.6	22.4	25.6	42.3	24.4	18.3	13.1	11.5	-
Germany	43.9	25.9	24.4	27.5	33.4	37.2	48.1	60.4	84.8	138.6	241.8	408.9	325.6	221.2	270.8	262.5	285.3
Ireland (3)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.5	3.4	3.8	3.6	4.3	4.3	4.3	3.8	-
Luxembourg (4)	-	-	3.9	4.1	6.9	8.4	10.5	12.6	14.7	16.9	16.9	15.9	15.5	16.2	16.5	19	-
Spain (5)	-	-	-	-	-	-	52.3	45.5	47.9	51.2	126.1	95.0	92.7	88.6	100.3	121.7	-
Switzerland (6)	35.3	33.1	24.2	25.0	25.4	29.4	33.6	34.7	37.1	46.7	46.3	39.7	31.5	28.6	27.1	24.5	-
United Kingdom (7)	-	-	-	-	-	35.0	40.3	45.5	53.4	55.0	50.5	35.4	37.1	45.0	51.0	50.0	59.0
(b) Central and Eastern Europe																	
														(15)			
Bulgaria (9)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.1	0.1	-	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.2
Czech Republic (10)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47.5	-
Hungary (11)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30.9	28.9	31.2	15.5	19.5	18.6	18.4	14.5	18.0	-
Poland (12)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.3	12.0	9.6	11.0	10.5	13.7	17.5	-
Romania (13)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	-
Slovak Republic (14)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.5	3.0	3.3	-

Source: OECD

Notes

1. Data for all years covers initial work permits for both direct inflow from abroad and for first participation in the Austrian labour market of foreigners already in the country. Owing to a change in administrative practice, data from 1986 onwards are not comparable to the previous years. There is a break in the series from 1994 as a result of Austria's entry into the EEA. From 1994 onwards, only citizens of non-EU countries need a work permit.
2. Residence permits issued for employment. Nordic citizens are not included.
3. Work permits issued and renewed for non-EU nationals.
4. Data cover both arrivals of foreign workers and residents admitted for the first time to the labour market.
5. Work permits granted. 1996 provisional.
6. Seasonal and frontier workers are not taken included.
7. Data from the Labour Force Survey.
8. As from 1st January 1994, citizens of EEA countries such as Austria, Iceland, Sweden, Norway and Finland no longer require work permits to work in EU countries.
9. Work permits, new and extensions. 1997 annualised from Jan/Sept.
10. Valid labour permits issued for foreigners. Hungary 1997, annualised from first six months.
11. 1994 figure shows data for the period 1/1/92 to 30/6/94, from Council of Europe, Nov 1994. Work permits are issued for a maximum of one year.
12. Numbers of Individual work permits.
13. New work permits issued to foreign citizens.
14. Work permits granted.
15. 1994 and 1995 figures from the 1995 and 1996 reports to the OECD by the individual country SOPEMI Correspondents.

Map 6.1 - Stock of total foreign workers in the EU and EFTA, 1996 (or latest year)



Labour Stocks (Nos. of People):

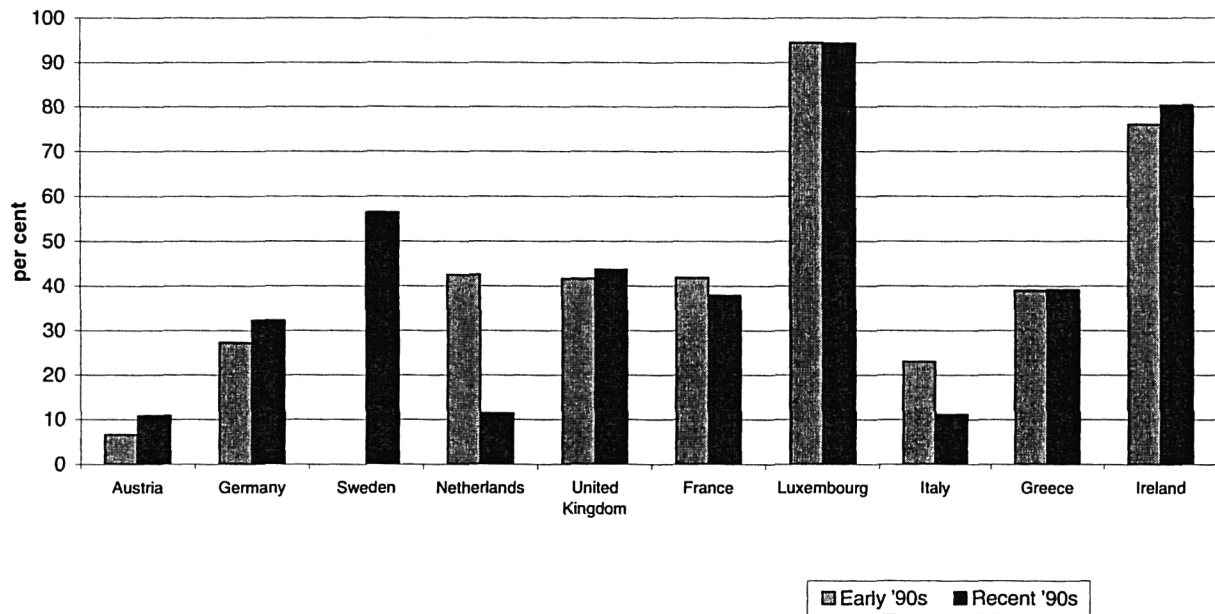
- 25,000 - 117,800
- 117,801 - 218,000
- 218,001 - 474,600
- 474,601 - 949,000
- 949,001 - 2,077,700



600 0 600 Miles

Source: Eurostat

Figure 6.1 - EU Foreign Workers as a Proportion of Total Foreign Workers in Selected EU Member States (early and recent 1990s)



Notes

Country	Data refer to:	Early 1990s		Recent 1990s	
		Year	EU	Year	EU
Austria	Working Population	1994	EU15	1996	EU15
Germany	Employed Population	1991	EU10	1995	EU15
Sweden	Working Population	-	-	1995	EU15
Netherlands	Employed Population	1991	EU12	1996	EU15
United Kingdom	Working Population	1993	EU12	1998	EU12
France	Working Population	1990	EU12	1997	EU15
Luxembourg	Working Population	1990	EU12	1996	EU15
Italy	Working Population	1990	EU12	1994	EU12
Greece	Working Population	1990	EU12	1995	EU12
Ireland	Working Population	1990	EU12	1996	EU12

Source: Eurostat, unpublished; SOPEMI Correspondents' annual reports.

6.2 Flows of foreign labour: an overall review

The mid-1980s turning point in total population flows in Western Europe was echoed by inflows of labour, with steady increases in all the countries listed in Table 6.2 until the early 1990s. Since then there has been a general downturn in labour inflows for those countries for which data are available. In the last couple of years there is evidence of an upward trend in a few countries, notably Austria, Denmark, Luxembourg, Spain and the UK. To some extent the upturn is a response to economic growth, with skilled labour especially being drawn in. However, the statistics underestimate total flows, those for Germany, for example, excluding 'ethnic' Germans. Unfortunately, reliable data on outflows of workers are not available, making it impossible to produce net labour flows.

Temporary rather than permanent migration, mainly for work purposes, was typical of Eastern Europe and the USSR during the Communist period. Principal origins were 'fraternal' regimes such as Vietnam, Cuba and Nicaragua. Since then new inflows of workers have occurred, polarised between the highly skilled (mainly from the West) and those finding niches at the bottom end of the labour market (mainly from Romania, Bulgaria and the CIS, and from the Third World).

The total number of people from Central and Eastern Europe working outside their own country is unknown, although Eurostat data on total numbers of foreign citizens for the EEA countries and Switzerland provide some guide (Table 6.1). Data on inflows of foreign labour in Central and Eastern Europe are at best only indicative, and there is little evidence of a strong trend (Table 6.2).

6.3 Stock of foreign workers by citizenship

Problems with the data mean that the distribution of the foreign stock by origin is partial. For a few countries there is a continuous record from the early 1980s, for others the incidence of statistics is sporadic, for several there are no data since the early 1990s, for none are there data after 1995. This inconsistency in statistical availability makes comparison difficult, both over time for individual countries and between countries for specific years. One possible way around the inadequacy of the Regulation 311/76 data is to use the Labour Force Survey which is carried out in all member countries. Several recent studies of foreign employment in the EU have done so (Hönekopp, 1997). Unfortunately, the LFS has severe disadvantages in a number of countries (Salt and Singleton, 1993). A major problem is that in a number of states the sample is biased and the response rate is low. In such circumstances the coverage of the foreign population is highly suspect.

6.3.1 Stocks of foreign workers by origin: concentration and diversification

One of the key questions for both policy makers and researchers is how far European states have become foci in global labour migration networks. Where data exist they suggest that most EU countries have some foreign workers from most other countries in the world, though numbers are often very small. Unfortunately, most member states provide only a limited breakdown of their foreign workforce by citizenship, with statistics on only the major national origins (usually according to the limited prescription requested by Eurostat). In an attempt to identify the degree to which the foreign labour force is concentrated in a small number of groups or dispersed throughout many, two indexes are used here: the proportions of the total accounted for by the top three and top five national origins. Since the fifth highest normally accounts for a relatively small proportion of the total (usually 5 per cent or less) the resultant index may be regarded as providing a reasonable approximation of the degree to which a country is reliant on only limited sources.

The role and impact of immigration depend to a considerable extent on the nationalities of foreign citizens which in turn reflect how links have been established. Who has moved and settled - for periods of variable length - is therefore of considerable importance. Historical links, perhaps through colonialism, tend to result in certain groups developing a high cultural visibility. Perceptions of immigration among host populations may then be dominated by the predominant national groups. The existence of large foreign national groups may also affect political relations between states and, in certain circumstances, affect the course of democratic developments in receiving countries. The size and variability of foreign groups may lead to the development and maintenance of particular social networks, frequently reinforcing patterns of relations built up over a long period. At the same time, we might argue that globalisation processes are creating new networks and transnational communities, leading to more diversification of migrant stocks and flows.

The degree to which foreign populations display characteristics of concentration or dispersion has already been discussed in Chapter 3. This section examines the degree to which the foreign labour forces of member states are dominated by particular nationalities and also whether there are trends towards diversification that might indicate whether national labour markets are becoming more open to new national groups.

The now familiar pattern of wide differentiation between countries is again clear with the proportion accounted for by the top five origin countries ranging from 20.3 per cent

(Portugal) to 89.9 per cent (Luxembourg) and the top three from 14.4 per cent (Portugal) to 75.1 per cent (Ireland) (Table 6.3). Although there is a reasonably even gradation between countries in the proportions, some categorisation is possible.

Luxembourg, Ireland and (to a lesser extent) Belgium stand out with the highest proportion from just a few countries and therefore with least diversification. The pattern differs between these three. Ireland's foreign workers are dominated by the British who constitute about two-thirds of the total and ten times as many as the second group of Americans. Luxembourg has no dominant group and its main suppliers are its neighbours, France (29.8 per cent in 1996), Belgium (17.7 per cent) and Germany (11.5 per cent), together with Portugal (24.1 per cent). The largest group in Belgium (latest year 1989) was Italian (30.8 per cent), followed by the French (14.3 per cent) and the Moroccans (10.8 per cent).

A second group, again with a relatively high level of concentration (57-67 per cent), contains Germany, France, Austria, Spain, Sweden and the Netherlands. In the cases of Spain, Sweden and France one supplier is dominant, respectively Morocco (36.8 per cent), Finland (33.2 per cent) and Portugal (27.9 per cent). For the first two, none of the other suppliers accounts for more than one in ten foreign workers while in the French case Algeria (14 per cent) and Morocco (10.5 per cent) are the two main supporting sources. Germany and Austria each have two main sources, Yugoslavia and Turkey. Turks form 28.5 per cent of Germany's foreign worker stock and 16.3 per cent of Austria's, Yugoslavs 19.6 per cent in Germany and 20.3 per cent in Austria.

More diversified is a third group (38-50 per cent) consisting of Denmark, Italy, Finland, Greece and the UK. Among the first four no country is the source of much more than 15 per cent of foreign workers, the remaining 'top 5' suppliers generally accounting for only 5-10 per cent each. The UK has a different pattern, the Irish accounting for around a quarter of foreign workers but no other country reaching 5 per cent.

Portugal stands alone with only about a fifth of its recorded foreign labour stock from its top five suppliers, only two of which (Spain and the UK) reach five per cent.

These national differences in part reflect the history of post-war immigration. Broadly speaking, those countries that became labour importers at an early stage have more concentrated patterns, while countries that were initially predominantly ones of emigration now tend to receive their immigrants from a wider range of suppliers. In the process of recruiting guestworkers countries tended to forge links with particular suppliers, networks built up and strong immigrant communities were formed. But this is only part of the story and the patterns observed reflect individual national situations. For example, that of France is affected by the large scale of naturalisation, particularly affecting immigrants from the Maghreb, so that nationality no longer provides a reliable indication of immigrant origins. In the Benelux region, the proximity of states and associated cross-border movements has led to long-standing links with immediate neighbours and an immigration pattern highly concentrated on a few states. The strong labour market and political links with Ireland explain the concentration from there in the UK, but the Commonwealth has also played a major role. During much of the post-war period many Commonwealth citizens held British nationality and do not appear in the statistics as foreigners. The demise of the British Empire also led to the creation of a large number of (often small) states, where many of the citizens still feel some affiliation with a 'mother country' to which they have come to work or settle. Hence, with the exception of Ireland, the UK has developed a highly diversified immigration system. The patterns for Germany and Austria reflect the relative recency of their international migration relations. Many of the workers recruited to Germany from Italy, Spain Portugal and Greece in the 1960s have subsequently returned home while the later recruits from Turkey and Yugoslavia have not, leading to a heavy concentration of these last two.

Table 6.3 - Proportion accounted for by top five and top three origin countries for EU countries

Group 1						
Rank	L		IRL		B	
		%		%		%
1	F	29.8	UK	64.6	I	30.8
2	P	24.1	US	6.3	F	14.3
3	B	17.7	D	4.3	MA	10.8
4	D	11.5	F	3.9	NL	9.3
5	I	6.7	NL	1.9	E	7.4
top 3		71.7		75.1		55.9
top 5		89.9		80.9		72.5

Group 2												
Rank	D		F		A		E		S		NL	
		%		%		%		%		%		%
1	TR	28.5	P	27.8	YU	20.3	MA	36.8	FIN	33.2	TR	15.1
2	YU	19.6	DZ	14.0	TR	16.2	PE	7.6	NO	9.8	MA	14.7
3	I	9.6	MA	10.5	BA	9.7	AR	5.6	DK	7.6	B	10.6
4	EL	5.6	E	5.7	HR	8.4	PH	5.1	D	4.6	UK	9.2
5	A	4.0	I	5.3	D	7.6	CN	4.6	UK	4.1	D	7.8
top 3		57.7		52.4		46.2		50.0		50.6		40.4
top 5		67.2		63.3		62.2		59.7		59.3		57.3

Group 3										
Rank	DK		I		FIN		EL		UK	
		%		%		%		%		%
1	TR	13.7	MA	15.3	S	14.9	UK	14.2	IRL	24.6
2	UK	10.1	YU	14.1	EE	9.5	D	8.1	I	4.8
3	NO	9.9	PH	6.7	RU	5.6	EG	7.0	F	3.9
4	D	8.9	TN	5.9	D	5.6	I	5.4	D	3.0
5	S	7.8	SN	4.7	UK	5.5	F	5.3	P	2.0
top 3		33.7		36.2		30.0		29.4		33.3
top 5		50.3		46.7		41.2		40.0		38.4

Group 4		
Rank	P	%
1	E	5.92
2	UK	5.01
3	D	3.42
4	US	3.19
5	F	2.73
top 3		14.4
top 5		20.3

Source: Eurostat

Notes

1. Latest year available taken in each case.

6.3.2 Trends in stocks of foreign workers by origin

What of the trend? The different time periods for which data are available make comparisons difficult. For some countries (e.g. Austria) there are figures for only two years, for others (e.g. Greece) for more than a decade. In the case of five countries (Luxembourg, Ireland, Belgium, Finland and Portugal) the trend is negligible; Spain and Italy showed a tendency towards greater concentration on a few sources; the rest (Germany, France, Austria, Netherlands, Denmark, Greece, UK) became more diversified in their origins. For the most part, though, the same countries appear year after year in the list of top sources. In that sense the pattern of foreign labour has a high degree of consistency. There appears to be no underlying rationale to these trends, indicating the need to treat each country individually. The analysis begins with those countries where there was little change in the degree of concentration (Table 6.4).

Despite the flatness of the trend there have been some changes in the composition of the major immigrant worker national groups. In the case of *Ireland* the dominance of one source, the UK, has been absolute, although there has been a tendency for its proportion of all foreign workers to slip from around 70 per cent in the mid-1980s to 62-65 per cent in the mid-1990s, despite rising numbers. Germany, France, Netherlands and Italy have

consistently been subsidiary, if growing, sources, though proportionately not very important. The major change for Ireland occurred after 1991 when an influx of Americans made them easily the second most important source. This new inflow, some accompanying US capital, both stimulated and responded to the republic's remarkable economic growth in recent years.

Table 6.4 - Trends for top 5 and top 3

Country	Top 5		Top 3	
	Latest (1990's)	Earliest (1980's)	Latest (1990's)	Earliest (1980's)
L	89.9	90.7	71.7	65.9
IRL	80.9	79.1	75.1	76.2
B	72.5	72.7	55.9	55.8
D	67.2	71.5	57.7	60.6
F	63.3	77.6	52.4	59.5
A	62.3	72.7	46.2	65.2
E	59.7	45.2	50.0	32.0
S	59.4	-	50.6	-
NL	57.3	64.7	40.4	48.8
DK	50.3	53.0	33.7	35.0
I	46.7	35.3	36.2	24.0
FIN	41.2	39.1	30.0	29.3
EL	40.0	87.9	29.3	75.5
UK	38.4	41.4	33.3	37.3
P	20.3	19.5	14.4	15.3

Source: Eurostat

While Ireland did experience some change in its main suppliers, *Luxembourg* has consistently had the same five suppliers, Portugal, France, Italy, Belgium and Germany, the numbers from all having risen steadily. During the 1980s and early 1990s Portugal was the main supplier before relinquishing its position to France, while in recent years Germany has become relatively more important at the expense of Italy. *Belgium* exhibits the same stability during the 1980s (there are no Belgian data after 1989) with Italy, France, Morocco, Netherlands and Spain the top sources throughout. Numbers of Italians, the leading source, and Spaniards, the fifth, tended to fall while the other three nationalities exhibited no obvious trend. Data exist for Finland for only two years, 1993 and 1994, so no major trend can be expected. Sweden and Estonia were the two major sources in both years, while numbers of Russians rose faster than those of Germans and Britons, the other major groups. The lack of any dominant sources for *Portugal* continued from 1985 to 1992 (the last year for which data are available) but there were some changes in the major origins. Spain, the UK, Germany and France were consistently major suppliers, with the Netherlands, Belgium and Italy also appearing, but in recent years new major sources have been Canada and the US. However, it is clear that Portugal gets the bulk of its foreign labour force in relatively small numbers from a large range of countries.

For the two countries with evidence of greater concentration, Italy and Spain, data are available only for the 1990s. Their patterns are also quite different from those discussed above. They are relatively new immigration countries and their foreign worker stock is dominated by the nationals of non-European countries. One consequence is that the composition of their major suppliers has changed. For *Italy*, Morocco was the main supplier in four of the five years and the Philippines in the fifth. Tunisia appears in the top five in four years, while Somalia, Albania, Mauritius and Sri Lanka are present from 1992 onwards. Northern European countries are less important, the UK and Germany appearing in 1990

and 1991 but not thereafter. *Spain* exhibits a mixed pattern. From 1989-91 the UK was the leading source, followed by neighbouring Portugal. France and Germany were also in the top five. After 1992 Morocco became the main supplier with Argentina and Peru becoming the second and third most important. The Philippines and China entered the scene in 1993; in contrast, the UK, Germany and France became less important.

Most of the countries that became more diversified in their origins maintained a consistent pattern among their major suppliers, implying that diversification for the most part involved new sources with small numbers. For the UK Ireland and Italy were the top two throughout, followed by Germany, France, Spain and Portugal. Individual non-European sources accounted for only small proportions of the total, although overall their significance has been growing. Data for *Denmark*, available only until 1992, again show a consistent pattern, with most foreign workers coming from north-west Europe. Turks are the largest group throughout, with Norwegians, Swedes, Britons and Germans the other groups; 1987 was the main exception when Italians, Dutch and French were in the top five. There was a marked diversification in *Greece*. The top five were dominated during the whole period by other EU states, notably the UK, France, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands. Turks were the most important group in the mid-1980s, a time of relatively low recorded foreign labour stocks; the main recent change was the emergence of Egypt in 1994-5 as the third largest source (6-7 per cent). Five nationalities consistently dominate the foreign labour force in the Netherlands: Turkey, Morocco, Belgium, Germany and the UK, the main change being a relative increase in UK numbers compared with German in the 1990s. This overall pattern has been very stable since 1980 and indicates that diversification has resulted from larger numbers of workers from smaller suppliers.

France experienced a gradual trend towards diversification throughout the 1980s, though this was reversed in 1994 and 1995 (there are no data for 1990-1). Portugal and Algeria were the two main foreign nationalities throughout, except for 1992. Morocco was the third largest source in most years, with Spain and Italy the other two main suppliers. Naturalisation has been more common in France than many other countries and is at least partly responsible for the decline in numbers of the main national groups listed, all of which are long-standing. *Germany* displays another picture of consistency. Its diversification was small, occurring mainly in the 1990s, and its main suppliers were the same throughout. Between 1980 and 1995 the top five were Turkey, Yugoslavia (between them accounting for nearly half of all foreign workers), Italy, Greece and Spain, with Austria displacing the last of these after 1991. There were some changes in numbers, however. Those of Turks and Yugoslavs increased over the period, while those of Italians, Greeks and Spaniards went down.

Data for Austria are available for only 1995 and 1996 and for Sweden 1995. In the case of *Austria*, there was a strong trend towards diversification during the short period. Yugoslavs and Turks were the two main groups, though their importance fell during the two years recorded. Bosnians, Croatians, Poles and Germans made the top five, numbers of Bosnians doubling between 1995 and 1996. Sweden's foreign labour force is dominated by other Scandinavians (around half of the total), Germans and Britons.

What general points may be made from this analysis, based as it is on only partial data? Overall, more countries experienced a trend towards diversification than the reverse, at least when measured by the proportion of total foreign labour accounted for by the main groups. Where diversification has occurred it has tended to be because of new, relatively small supply countries, rather than marked changes among major suppliers. Indeed, perhaps the salient characteristic is that throughout the period for which data are available there is a strong consistency in that the same major origin countries maintain their positions. For the most part these are the 'old' guestworker countries. There is little evidence of new, important players on the scene. In this sense, member states seem to be in a 'mature' stage in their

foreign labour supply. Despite the political changes of the last decade the broad nationality patterns of guestworkers have remained stable.

6.3.3 Stocks of foreign labour and income levels of origin countries

It is generally the case that exchanges of labour between high income countries for the most part involve relatively skilled people. It is also generally accepted that economies gain more from the addition of skilled rather than unskilled workers. For example, Wadensjo, 1999, has demonstrated that there are greater net fiscal benefits to the Danish economy from immigrants from richer rather than poorer countries. In this section an attempt has been made to link the origin countries of recorded immigrant labour stocks to the four World Bank income categories in order to carry out a similar analysis to that of total immigrant population stocks and flows in chapters 3 and 5. It cannot be assumed that all labour from less developed countries is low-skilled. In the UK case, for example, around four-fifths of work permits issued go to professional and managerial workers regardless of the level of development in countries of origin. On the whole, though, it does appear that workers from low-income countries perform tasks at the bottom end of the skill and pay hierarchy in their respective EU labour markets.

Under Regulation 311/76 EU states are required to provide information on foreign labour stocks but not with a full breakdown by national origins. The result is that for some countries there is more comprehensive information than others. For those with a limited national breakdown inevitably the residual categories (such as "Africa other") are larger, presenting problems in allocating them to World Bank categories. In the cases of Denmark, Netherlands and Portugal this results in relatively large proportions of the total not classified. In order to get round this problem an allocation procedure based on the distribution by nationality of the total immigrant population was used. The proportions of the total foreign population by nationality for those countries not separately listed in the labour stock statistics have been applied to the 'not classified' labour stock group, the resulting numbers being used to provide an adjusted distribution in Tables 6.5 & 6.6 for the three countries.

It is immediately clear that there are enormous variations between EU states in their proportions of foreign workers from high, middle and lower income countries (Table 6.5). The most recent data for the 1990s, normally around the middle of the decade, show a range in the proportion of foreign workers from high income countries from 4.6 per cent (Spain) to 95.2 per cent (Luxembourg). The majority of these are from other Western European states. Analysis of the proportions originating in high income countries shows three broad groups of EU states. In four countries - Luxembourg, Ireland, Sweden and the UK - more than six in ten foreign workers come from high income countries and in the cases of the first two the figure is 90 per cent or more. At the other extreme, Portugal, Italy and Spain have low proportions of foreign workers from high income countries. Between these two groups is an intermediate one consisting of Denmark, France, Greece, Finland, Germany and the Netherlands and where the proportion from high income countries ranges from a third to a half. Given that the economic benefits of immigration are likely to be greater when foreign workers are in more skilled occupations, and that workers from high income countries are more likely than others to fit into this category, then the data suggest some member states, and particularly the first group above, gain more economically from their foreign workforce than others. Conversely, those in the third group will receive relatively fewer labour market benefits.

The reasons for the differences between member states are complex. They include the existence of common travel areas (for example, between the UK and Ireland or in Scandinavia), colonial links which may work in both directions (such as the UK's link with its Old Commonwealth on the one hand, France's with North Africa on the other), and geographical location on the Eastern (Germany and Finland) or Southern (Italy, Iberia) borders of the EU. Other factors relate to the openness of labour markets both generally,

where entry controls have been weak, or in specific industries such as agriculture, construction and domestic service, which have encouraged the recruitment of low-skilled labour from countries with low levels of national income. Finally, the networks that have been established over the last 40 years, linking EU members with guestworker suppliers, play a major role in some cases.

Table 6.5 - Proportion of foreign labour stocks by income category of origin country

RECENT													
		% For	High	% High-Mid	% Low-Mid	%	Low	% Not Class.	%	Total			
A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
D	1995	100.0	743850	35.4	448565	21.4	750933	35.8	22271	1.1	133695	6.4	2099314
DK	1992	100.0	22689	49.0	3488	7.5	9706	21.0	951	2.1	9493	20.5	46327
DK ¹	-	100.0	23752	51.3	3773	8.1	15990	34.5	2802	6.0	0	0.0	46327
E	1996	100.0	6493	4.6	16358	11.6	96638	68.6	21199	15.1	137	0.1	140825
FIN	1994	100.0	5052	44.0	408	3.5	4587	39.9	1184	10.3	263	2.3	11494
F	1995	100.0	580797	47.1	23369	1.9	466260	37.8	78601	6.4	84000	6.8	1233027
EL	1995	100.0	12846	46.8	706	2.6	9266	33.8	4595	16.7	22	0.1	27435
IRL	1996	99.1	48300	90.4	0	0.0	1000	1.9	0	0.0	4100	7.7	53900
I	1994	98.4	60336	16.4	52834	14.4	119255	32.4	134927	36.7	327	0.1	373473
L	1996	100.0	107210	95.2	369	0.3	3082	2.7	1104	1.0	905	0.8	112670
NL	1996	100.3	101000	34.6	0	0.0	78000	26.7	0	0.0	113000	38.7	291000
NL ¹	-	100.3	110492	38.0	2938	1.0	162750	55.9	15820	5.4	0	0.0	291000
P	1992	99.8	11000	25.1	0	0.0	900	2.1	25000	57.1	6900	15.8	43900
P ¹	-	99.8	11223	3.9	1371	0.5	2359	0.8	28847	9.9	0	0.0	43900
S	1995	100.0	104252	72.4	12549	8.7	20623	14.3	5774	4.0	889	0.6	144087
UK	1996	98.0	533266	62.8	21055	2.5	117328	13.8	175355	20.7	1924	0.2	866498

EARLY													
		% For	High	% High-Mid	% Low-Mid	%	Low	% Not Class.	%	Total			
A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
B	1985	100.0	133541	74.3	0	0.0	37040	20.6	0	0.0	9180	5.1	179761
D	1985	100.0	526291	33.8	0	0.0	919427	59.1	0	0.0	109603	7.0	1555321
DK	1984	100.0	19688	52.5	0	0.0	11261	30.0	1503	4.0	5068	13.5	37520
E	1989	100.0	29537	59.2	3617	7.2	9222	18.5	7477	15.0	77	0.2	49930
FIN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
F	1985	99.6	629728	50.6	0	0.0	456403	36.6	0	0.0	159537	12.8	1251142
EL	1986	100.0	8724	35.7	0	0.0	15704	64.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	24428
IRL	1985	101.5	16700	81.1	0	0.0	300	1.5	0	0.0	3600	17.5	20300
I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
L	1985	100.0	49430	95.8	0	0.0	1199	2.3	0	0.0	983	1.9	51612
NL	1985	100.0	77200	46.6	0	0.0	68500	41.3	0	0.0	20100	12.1	165800
P	1985	100.0	6935	22.7	0	0.0	405	1.3	0	0.0	23160	75.9	30500
S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
UK	1985	100.0	479723	49.6	16180	1.7	177987	18.4	133889	13.8	159965	16.5	967747

Source: Eurostat, OECD, World Bank

Notes

1. Adjusted figures

Comparison with the situation in the 1980s shows a mixed trend. Luxembourg and Germany show little difference in the proportion from high income countries, France and Portugal have had small increases, Denmark a small decrease. In contrast, Ireland, UK and Greece markedly increased their proportions from high income countries, suggesting their economies were more likely to gain from labour immigration trends during the period. Conversely, the Netherlands and (especially) Spain had the opposite experience.

At the opposite extreme, most member states receive relatively low proportions of their foreign labour from countries in the lowest income category, less than 10 per cent for seven of the thirteen countries for which data are available. The main exception is Portugal, where around two-thirds of recorded labour stock come from low income countries. Italy and the UK have around a third and a fifth respectively. The exposure of the Mediterranean members is

clear: they account for four of the top five countries in terms of proportions of labour stock from the low income group.

Table 6.6 - Proportion of foreign labour stocks by broad income category of origin country

RECENT								
		% For	Upper	%	Lower	% Not Class.	%	Total
A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
D	1995	100.0	1192415	56.8	773204	36.8	133695	6.4 2099314
DK	1992	100.0	26177	56.5	10657	23.0	9493	20.5 46327
DK ¹	-	100.0	27525	59.4	18792	40.6	0	0.0 46327
E	1996	100.0	22851	16.2	117837	83.7	137	0.1 140825
FIN	1994	100.0	5460	47.5	5771	50.2	263	2.3 11494
F	1995	100.0	604166	49.0	544861	44.2	84000	6.8 1233027
EL	1995	100.0	13552	49.4	13861	50.5	22	0.1 27435
IRL	1996	99.1	48300	90.4	1000	1.9	4100	7.7 53900
I	1994	98.4	113170	30.8	254182	69.1	327	0.1 373473
L	1996	100.0	107579	95.5	4186	3.7	905	0.8 112670
NL	1996	100.3	101000	34.6	78000	26.7	113000	38.7 291000
NL ¹	-	100.3	113430	39.0	178570	61.4	0	0.0 291000
P	1992	99.8	11000	25.1	25900	59.1	6900	15.8 43900
P ¹	-	99.8	12594	28.7	31206	71.1	0	0.0 43900
S	1995	100.0	116801	81.1	26397	18.3	889	0.6 144087
UK	1996	98.0	554321	65.3	292683	34.5	1924	0.2 866498

EARLY								
		% For	Upper	%	Lower	% Not Class.	%	Total
A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B	1985	100.0	133541	74.3	37040	20.6	9180	5.1 179761
D	1985	100.0	526291	33.8	919427	59.1	109603	7.0 1555321
DK	1984	100.0	19688	52.5	12764	34.0	5068	13.5 37520
E	1989	100.0	33154	66.4	16699	33.4	77	0.2 49930
FIN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
F	1985	99.6	629728	50.6	456403	36.6	159537	12.8 1251142
EL	1986	100.0	8724	35.7	15704	64.3	0	0.0 24428
IRL	1985	101.5	16700	81.1	300	1.5	3600	17.5 20300
I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
L	1985	100.0	49430	95.8	1199	2.3	983	1.9 51612
NL	1985	100.0	77200	46.6	68500	41.3	20100	12.1 165800
P	1985	100.0	6935	22.7	405	1.3	23160	75.9 30500
S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UK	1985	100.0	495903	51.2	311876	32.2	159965	16.5 967747

Source: Eurostat, OECD, World Bank

Notes

1. Adjusted figures

Amalgamation of the data in Table 6.5 into two main categories, by linking together the high and upper middle groups and the low and lower middle provides a summary of the overall situation (Table 6.6). Six countries, headed by Spain, Portugal and Italy, followed by the Netherlands, Greece and Finland have half or more of their labour stocks from lower income countries. A middle group contains France, Denmark, Germany and the UK in the range 34.5-44.2 per cent from lower income countries. Sweden and especially Ireland and Luxembourg have low percentages of their foreign labour from lower income countries. In relative terms these last three would seem to be likely to gain more from their immigrant labour than other member states. There are no data for Belgium after 1989 but the situation then would place that country in a relatively favourable situation with only around a fifth from the lower end of the spectrum.

The major conclusion from this analysis is that the Mediterranean countries make more use of foreign labour from low income countries than most other member states, while Sweden, Luxembourg, Ireland and possibly Belgium make less. The situation in other states varies: for example, that for the UK tends to be polarised with a relatively high proportion from high income countries, but a substantial minority from poorer countries. Geographical location

plays a part in the story: Germany and Finland towards the east of the EU both have minorities from former Soviet Union republics in the lower-middle income category.

This analysis emphasises again the variety of situations pertaining to member states. Not only are origins geographically diverse but in the crucial area of levels of development from which foreign labour emanates there are major differences between countries. While one cannot generalise to the extent of suggesting that all labour from low income countries is low-skilled, on balance such workers are likely to have fewer high level qualifications and appropriate expertise than those from richer countries. In a world in which countries are increasingly competing for skills this suggests that some member states are better placed than others and that the balance of economic advantage derived from foreign labour is uneven across the Union.

6.3.4 Member nationals as foreign workers

A breakdown of the stock of foreign labour into major origin categories reinforces the differentiation that exists among member states (Table 6.7). The proportions of workers from other member states varies considerably, from well over 90 per cent in Luxembourg to around a fifth in Portugal. On the basis of the most recent figures, there appear to be three broad categories (Table 6.8). Luxembourg, Belgium and Ireland form a 'high' group, with 70 per cent or more of their foreign workers coming from other member states (though the most recent data for Belgium are for 1989). The first two are characterised by substantial cross-border movements from their EU neighbours and both have substantial numbers of member nationals working in or otherwise associated with the EU bureaucracy. The foreign element in the Irish labour market has always been dominated by the UK. At the other extreme there is a "low" group consisting of Germany, Denmark, Italy and Portugal with EU proportions of 20-30 per cent. Each of these has its own reasons for this situation, related both to geographical position and immigration history. Germany has received substantial labour from Turkey, Yugoslavia and more recently from the CEE region. Denmark's figures also reflect its Turkish and Yugoslav labour, but also the large number of refugees, especially from Asia, now in the workforce. Italy and Portugal have tended to look south for labour, the latter particularly from Cap Verde. An intermediate group consists of France, Greece, Netherlands and the UK which draw 40-50 per cent of their recorded foreign workers from the EU, though their circumstances in relation to geographical origins vary. For example, the UK situation is heavily influenced by the Irish, while France and the Netherlands receive substantial cross-border moves. For Greece, recorded foreign workers represent only a small minority of those estimated to work there and inclusion of unrecorded workers would change the arithmetic considerably.

The patchy nature of the data militate against drawing firm conclusions about trends in the proportions of labour stocks coming from other member states. What information there is does not suggest a general trend in any direction. Indeed, the overwhelming evidence is that over the decade or so from the mid-1980s the graphs remain fairly flat. This is the case especially for Belgium (for which there are no data after 1989), Germany, Denmark, Luxembourg, Ireland and the Netherlands. What movements occur are small and slow: for example, Germany had a slow fall in its EU proportion from 36 per cent in 1980 to 24 per cent in 1992, then a recovery to 28 per cent by 1995. France and the UK display some fluctuation but no long-term trend. Data are scarce for the Mediterranean members, but there is some evidence of a fall in the EU proportion in the 1990s.

Table 6.7 - Proportion of EU foreign workers from Stock of Total Foreign Workers in EU countries (per cent)

TOTAL																
	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
B	73.6	73.5	73.5	74.7	74.4	74.3	73.8	73.5	73.2	71.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
D	35.9	36.2	35.6	35.1	34.2	33.4	32.2	31.1	30.0	29.4	28.3	27.0	24.2	26.0	27.6	27.7
DK	-	28.8	28.9	29.0	29.4	29.5	29.1	-	28.6	27.9	27.5	26.8	27.6	-	-	-
E ¹	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47.3	47.1	47.8	23.3	-	-	-
F ²	-	54.0	54.1	41.2	41.2	39.7	39.3	-	-	36.0	-	-	48.8	44.0	45.8	45.7
EL	92.2	91.3	92.5	93.9	93.5	26.3	28.0	26.4	24.8	31.3	39.0	-	71.7	58.0	47.3	41.8
IRL	-	-	-	80.1	80.5	80.8	77.6	79.4	80.0	80.0	76.1	78.7	78.9	76.2	76.3	-
I ³	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23.0	18.9	44.2	-	30.6	-
L	-	-	-	95.1	95.0	95.0	94.9	94.9	94.9	94.8	94.4	94.1	94.1	93.7	94.3	94.3
NL ⁴	44.1	42.9	43.5	44.8	45.3	46.0	46.2	47.2	48.3	45.8	45.2	42.5	41.2	41.1	40.7	44.3
P	-	-	-	-	-	21.9	20.7	23.1	27.6	29.2	-	-	20.7	-	-	-
UK ⁵	-	-	-	43.7	36.4	37.3	37.3	37.2	37.6	47.4	46.2	47.3	45.1	41.1	47.1	44.2

MALES																
	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
B	72.0	71.9	72.0	73.1	72.9	73.0	72.5	72.2	72.1	70.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
D	35.6	35.7	35.1	34.7	34.1	33.5	32.3	31.2	30.3	29.8	26.8	27.5	24.7	26.1	27.8	28.0
DK	-	32.9	33.3	33.2	33.7	33.7	33.1	-	32.0	31.0	30.6	29.8	30.8	-	-	-
E ¹	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46.3	45.3	46.3	21.9	-	-	-
F ²	-	48.3	48.8	35.9	35.9	34.6	34.0	-	-	-	-	-	42.0	40.2	41.1	41.8
EL	-	-	-	-	-	25.2	27.1	27.0	26.4	30.4	37.2	-	66.8	55.4	43.9	37.5
IRL	-	-	-	82.3	79.3	82.8	78.5	79.7	80.2	78.6	75.2	77.8	78.9	74.2	73.2	-
I ³	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14.8	37.1	-	-	-
L	-	-	-	94.9	95.0	94.9	94.9	95.0	94.8	94.7	94.4	94.0	93.9	93.7	94.3	94.3
NL ⁴	41.0	40.3	40.9	42.1	42.5	43.2	43.7	44.2	45.3	43.2	41.0	38.7	38.8	40.1	40.3	42.1
P	-	-	-	-	-	19.8	18.8	20.7	27.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UK ⁵	-	-	-	39.3	34.2	34.8	34.2	33.1	36.3	45.1	43.3	42.9	43.3	39.1	46.4	40.6

FEMALES																
	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
B	81.0	77.9	77.8	78.8	78.5	77.8	77.3	76.7	76.1	74.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
D	36.6	37.4	36.7	35.9	34.7	33.3	32.0	30.7	29.2	28.3	27.3	25.9	23.2	25.8	27.2	27.1
DK	-	22.9	22.7	23.1	23.4	23.8	23.5	-	23.7	23.6	23.1	22.7	23.3	-	-	-
E ¹	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	49.0	50.0	50.3	25.9	-	-	-
F ²	-	70.4	68.2	54.4	54.1	52.1	51.1	-	-	-	-	-	64.6	52.1	55.8	53.4
EL	-	-	-	-	-	29.1	30.2	25.2	22.1	32.8	42.3	-	77.0	61.8	52.3	48.6
IRL	-	-	-	76.3	82.7	78.4	76.0	80.0	78.6	82.1	76.6	81.2	79.1	79.2	81.5	-
I ³	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26.5	54.9	-	-	-
L	-	-	-	95.5	95.1	95.2	95.0	95.2	94.9	94.8	94.4	94.4	94.4	93.9	94.1	94.2
NL ⁴	54.5	51.5	52.5	54.2	54.4	54.7	54.8	56.5	56.3	52.8	53.8	51.6	47.1	43.3	43.3	50.0
P	-	-	-	-	-	26.8	25.2	28.4	27.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UK ⁵	-	-	-	49.0	39.1	40.2	41.3	41.8	39.2	49.7	49.6	52.0	45.7	43.3	47.8	48.3

Source: Eurostat

Notes

1. 1992-1995 are Employed persons not working population.
2. 1983-1986 are Employed persons not working population.
3. 1993 figures are very low and do not tally with hard copy version. Therefore, 1993 has been left blank.
4. This table contains employed persons not working population.
5. 1980-1991 are employed persons. 1992-1995 are working population.

Table 6.8 - Major categories for stocks of foreign labour

		Total			
High (>70%)	%	Mid.	%	Low (20-30%)	%
L	94.3	F	45.7	I	44.2
IRL	76.3	NL	44.3	D	27.7
B	71.6	UK	44.2	DK	27.6
		EL	41.8	P	20.7

Source: Eurostat

There are some significant differences in the proportions of EU labour between males and females (Table 6.9). In eight of the eleven countries for which there is a breakdown, the female proportion is higher, sometimes markedly so (e.g. France, 41.8 and 53.4 per cent respectively; Italy, 37.1 and 54.9; Ireland 73.2 and 81.5). Only in the case of Denmark was the male proportion notably higher. Analysis of trends from the 1980s reveals no noticeable shift in the proportions.

Table 6.9 - Proportions of males and females (per cent)

	T	M	F
B	71.6	70.6	74.4
D	27.7	28.0	27.1
DK	27.6	30.8	23.3
E	23.3	21.9	25.9
F	45.7	41.8	53.4
EL	41.8	37.5	48.6
IRL	76.3	73.2	81.5
I	44.2	37.1	54.9
L	94.3	94.3	94.2
NL	44.3	42.1	50.0
P	20.7	-	-
UK	44.2	40.6	48.3

Source: Eurostat

Overall, it appears that the relative proportions of EU and non-EU workers vary considerably between states. With minor fluctuations this situation has held since the mid-1980s. Relatively more of the female foreign labour force consists of member nationals, although again the proportions vary between states and there has been no obvious change in this pattern during the period.

6.4 Sex and age structure of foreign workers

The demographic characteristics of foreign workers at any one time to a considerable extent reflect the time at which they entered. Participation in the labour force is much more complex, depending on a wide range of demand and supply factors. In recent years there has been a growing interest in women as international migrants and important questions relate to their contribution to the labour force and their roles in household living strategies. In view of concerns about the implications of demographic ageing for labour force development it is also important to know the trends in the age of the foreign workforce. The two issues of feminisation and ageing are dealt with here.

6.4.1 Females as a percentage of total foreign workers

One of the main trends in employment over recent decades has been the increasing participation of women in the labour force. The evidence for a trend towards feminisation of the foreign workforce is mixed (Table 6.10). Germany, France, Netherlands and Luxembourg show small but steady increases in the female proportion from the early 1980s, but for other countries there is no clear trend. The Belgian record is only to 1989, though the trend was for a small increase, for Denmark and Ireland the trend was fairly flat. In the UK the female proportion rose in the 1980s but fell after 1989; the situation for Greece was similar, the hinge year being 1992. Data are available for Spain only in the 1990s, but they indicate a small decline. Italy has only two years of data, while there is nothing for Portugal after 1989, an aberrant figure in the sequence for that country. On balance, there seem to be more countries where the feminisation trend is in evidence than the reverse, but it is not a strong trend and once again the analysis shows the variable experiences of member states.

Table 6.10 - Females as a proportion of the total stock of foreign workers (per cent)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
B	25.1	25.9	26.4	27.1	26.9	26.7	26.9	27.3	27.4	27.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
D	31.3	30.8	30.9	30.9	30.8	31.2	31.2	31.2	31.3	31.5	32.1	32.8	32.8	33.7	34.4	34.2
DK	-	41.3	41.7	41.9	42.0	41.6	41.3	-	41.1	41.2	41.5	41.8	42.2	-	-	-
E ¹	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39.5	37.9	37.0	34.3	31.7	33.4	33.7
F ²	-	25.9	27.6	28.2	29.0	28.9	30.8	-	30.4	-	-	-	30.4	32.0	32.2	34.0
EL	-	-	-	-	-	28.0	30.1	33.0	36.7	36.7	34.5	-	48.4	40.9	40.7	38.8
IRL	-	-	-	36.9	35.7	36.5	36.6	37.7	39.1	40.0	36.2	35.6	39.9	38.7	38.2	-
I ³	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35.3	39.5	-	-	-
L	-	-	-	32.4	32.5	33.1	33.4	33.7	33.9	34.1	34.8	34.8	34.8	35.2	35.8	35.8
NL ⁴	22.8	22.6	22.8	22.6	23.5	24.2	24.9	26.1	27.3	27.6	26.4	29.9	29.8	30.6	31.0	30.8
P	-	-	-	-	-	29.8	30.8	30.5	30.7	43.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
UK ⁵	-	-	-	44.8	45.1	45.8	44.8	46.7	46.3	50.1	47.2	48.2	47.0	48.6	48.6	46.8

Source: Eurostat

Notes

1. 1992-1995 are Employed persons not working population.
2. 1983-1986 are Employed persons not working population.
3. 1993 figures are very low and do not tally with hard copy version. Therefore, 1993 has been left blank.
4. This table contains employed persons not working population.
5. 1980-1991 are employed persons. 1992-1995 are working population.

6.4.2 Trends in age structure

In order to simplify the analysis by age, the age-breakdowns available in the database have been collapsed into three: 24 and below, 25-54, and 55 and above. There are several reasons for this. First, greater detail produces more complexities in the analysis and could lead to less rather than more clarity in the identification of patterns and trends. Second, not all countries are able to provide the same standardised categories, necessitating aggregation in several cases to allow comparison. Finally, the categories chosen make it possible to answer the most basic questions, such as whether the foreign labour force is getting older, how important are younger and older workers and what variations exist between individual countries in the age structures of their overseas workers.

The situation in the mid-1990s is represented in Table 6.11. Once again there are big variations between countries in the proportions in each age category, including substantial differences between EU and non-EU nationals. The proportions of the total foreign labour force aged under 25 varied from only 7.6 (Finland) to 19.1 (Germany), with a greater range among non-EU workers. Overall, non-EU workers were younger, with higher proportions in the age group, the largest differences being in the Netherlands and Austria, followed by Germany. Only in Greece and Ireland were EU nationals a higher proportion of the age

group. Amongst older workers, in all countries with data the EU proportion was greater, often considerably so (as in Austria). The UK had the highest proportion of older workers, especially those from other member states. The proportions aged 25-54 reflect those of the other two age groups, for example, the UK and Germany have relatively low proportions but for different reasons: the former because of the higher numbers of older workers, the latter because of younger workers. The pattern of national variation is continued, with the range for the total foreign workforce age 25-54 from 74.1 (Germany) to 86.7 per cent (Finland).

Table 6.11 –Age groups as a proportion of total foreign labour force in EU countries

	Mid 90's (%)								
	Y0_24			Y25_54			Y55_MAX		
	TOTAL	EU	NON EU	TOTAL	EU	NON EU	TOTAL	EU	NON EU
A (96)	17.6	10.6	18.6	77.7	75.1	78.2	4.8	14.1	3.3
B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
D (95)	19.1	15.5	20.8	74.1	76.5	72.9	6.8	8.0	6.2
DK	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
FIN (94)	7.6	5.7	8.5	86.7	87.7	86.6	5.7	6.6	4.9
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
EL (95)	8.4	9.4	7.6	83.9	82.4	84.9	7.2	7.8	6.9
IRL (96)	12.0	12.3	8.9	79.6	79.2	83.1	8.1	8.3	6.0
I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
L (96)	11.3	11.1	12.9	85.4	85.6	83.8	3.4	3.4	3.3
NL (96)	15.6	8.1	20.2	80.7	87.8	74.7	3.2	5.0	1.7
P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UK (95)	9.5	8.3	10.4	79.2	75.7	82.0	11.3	16.1	7.5

	Late 80's/early 90's (%)								
	Y0_24			Y25_54			Y55_MAX		
	TOTAL	EU	NON EU	TOTAL	EU	NON EU	TOTAL	EU	NON EU
A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B (89)	14.5	12.9	18.9	81.5	82.7	78.4	4.0	4.4	2.8
D (89)	17.1	13.8	18.7	76.7	77.6	76.2	6.2	8.6	5.1
DK (89)	22.6	16.3	26.3	72.8	78.3	69.6	4.6	5.4	4.1
E (89)	14.5	19.9	9.0	81.1	75.3	87.0	4.5	4.8	4.0
FIN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
F (89)	10.3	11.5	9.1	81.7	79.8	83.5	8.1	8.7	7.4
EL (89)	13.1	14.5	12.5	78.8	77.9	79.2	8.1	7.5	8.4
IRL (89)	19.5	19.2	17.5	73.8	73.1	75.0	6.2	7.0	2.5
I (90)	11.2	11.4	11.3	78.7	70.7	79.9	10.0	17.9	8.7
L (89)	18.9	18.9	18.1	76.4	76.4	76.9	4.7	4.6	5.1
NL (89)	20.3	14.3	20.6	76.6	76.9	73.5	3.6	2.2	2.9
P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UK (89)	13.7	12.5	14.7	72.9	68.7	76.7	13.4	18.7	8.6

	Early-mid 80's (%)								
	Y0_24			Y25_54			Y55_MAX		
	TOTAL	EU	NON EU	TOTAL	EU	NON EU	TOTAL	EU	NON EU
A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B (85)	14.5	13.9	16.3	80.6	80.8	80.5	4.8	5.4	3.2
D (85)	15.6	14.6	16.3	79.1	77.9	79.9	5.2	7.5	3.8
DK (85)	20.6	15.3	24.2	75.2	79.8	72.1	4.2	4.9	3.7
E	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
FIN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
F (85)	12.3	14.9	9.7	82.3	78.3	86.4	5.4	6.8	4.0
EL (85)	12.9	10.8	14.1	77.1	79.7	75.9	9.9	9.5	10.0
IRL (85)	31.1	31.1	35.9	63.5	64.6	56.4	5.5	4.2	10.2
I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
L (85)	19.5	19.7	15.9	75.2	75.1	77.2	5.4	5.2	6.9
NL (85)	19.1	15.5	22.5	78.1	81.0	75.0	2.8	3.6	1.9
P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UK (85)	14.0	13.7	14.1	73.8	72.0	74.8	12.3	14.3	11.1

Source: Eurostat

Notes

1. Numbers in brackets indicate years used.

Turning to trend, first, it is clear that the proportion of young workers has declined substantially in most cases, the main declines being in the 1990s. For example, the proportion of under 25s in the Netherlands was 19.1 in 1985, 20.3 in 1989 and 15.6 in 1996; Luxembourg showed a fall from 19.5 to 11.3 per cent between the early-mid 1980s and the mid-1990s, Greece 12.9 to 8.4 per cent. The exception was Germany where the proportion of young workers actually rose. Second, the difference between EU and non-EU nationals held, with the proportions of the latter being generally higher. There was a less consistent trend among older workers, some countries increasing their proportions over the period, others experiencing reductions. The pattern was, however, consistent with EU workers more likely to be older, something that became more pronounced over the period as a whole.

6.5 What is the sectoral employment structure of foreign workers?

6.5.1 The occupational spectrum

Foreign workers enter the complete spectrum of occupations in immigration countries, but are increasingly to be found in tertiary and quaternary sectors rather than manufacturing. Much of the immigrant flow is into highly skilled jobs, and the work permit systems of most countries now select those with high levels of expertise. However, there is increasing evidence of polarisation, with large numbers of jobs being filled at relatively low skill levels, especially in labour intensive occupations such as catering and cleaning. Many workers finding their way into these jobs are in an irregular situation.

Analysis of the distribution of foreign employment by NACE categories shows a variable pattern. Unfortunately, the uneven data availability makes comparison difficult. Countries have been unable to provide breakdowns consistently and there are few years for which a majority of countries have been able to provide statistics. Thus, for France and Belgium the latest data are for 1989, Portugal 1990 and Ireland 1991, Denmark, Spain, Luxembourg and UK 1993, Greece 1994, and Germany and Netherlands 1995. This variability reflects to some extent the ways in which countries collect their occupational statistics, not always according to the NACE classification.

The situation broadly for the 1990s is shown in Table 6.12. The use of foreign labour predominantly reflects the economies of the receiving countries. In most cases Agriculture, Hunting and Forestry is unimportant. The exceptions are those countries still with a significant agricultural sector, the Mediterranean countries, especially Portugal and Spain, Greece to a lesser extent followed by Netherlands and France. Energy and Water is universally unimportant as an employer of foreign workers and this has traditionally been the case for public utilities.

Belgium remains the country with the largest proportion of its recorded foreign workforce in extractive industries, around one in ten. Luxembourg, Portugal, Germany and the Netherlands have between 5 and 10 per cent of their foreigner workers in this sector. There is not a strong differentiation between countries in the proportions employed in manufacturing. The main exception is Germany which has about one in five foreign workers in metal manufacturing and about a third in manufacturing in total. Belgium, Ireland, France and the Netherlands are intermediate, with around 25 per cent in total of their foreign labour working in factories.

The Construction industry is very variable in its importance as an employer. It is particularly important in France and Luxembourg, hardly at all in Denmark, Netherlands and Portugal and not much more so in Greece, Ireland and the UK. Given the image of construction as a major employer of foreign workers these relatively low proportions are surprising. What is not clear is how far the irregular employment of foreign workers in an industry notorious for its casualisation distorts the picture given by official statistics.

The sector that includes Distribution, Hotels and Catering is one of the two major employing sectors of foreign workers, with Portugal being the main exception. In Greece nearly 30 per

cent work here, while Belgium, Germany, Spain, Luxembourg, Netherlands and UK each employ around a fifth of their foreign labour in the sector. The ubiquity of labour demand in the sector and the ease of entry and flexibility of working practices are major reasons for the relatively high proportions. The sector also contains many jobs which are low paid and with unfriendly working conditions, ones which have traditionally attracted foreign workers. With the growth of the service economy and especially the demand for personal services, these proportions seem likely to increase.

Table 6.12 - Sectoral employment structure of foreign workers, 1980's and 1990's (per cent)

NACE	B		D		DK		E		F		EL	
	1989	1989	1985	1995	1989	1993	1989	1993	1989	1989	1994	1994
N0 Agri, Hunt, Forest.	-	0.6	0.9	1.2	2.0	1.8	5.2	13.7	-	3.5	-	5.6
N1 Energy & Water	-	1.1	1.9	1.0	0.5	0.5	2.2	0.5	-	0.8	-	0.3
N2 Extrac & processing	-	10.5	7.9	5.6	2.9	2.4	3.2	1.7	-	3.6	-	0.4
N3 Metal Manu, machi, electr.	-	13.4	30.0	21.2	12.0	9.0	5.1	2.5	-	11.5	-	11.0
N4 Other manu.	-	11.0	15.8	13.0	12.9	11.4	5.2	5.6	-	12.9	-	-
N5 Build., Civil eng.	-	11.1	9.1	10.3	3.3	2.7	5.8	13.8	-	20.2	-	5.6
N6 Dist. trades,hotels,cater.	-	20.5	13.2	19.0	16.9	17.2	25.8	21.7	-	15.5	-	29.2
N7 Trans., commun.	-	3.7	3.9	4.8	6.6	6.8	10.0	2.5	-	3.4	-	16.4
N8 Bank., finance.	-	10.6	2.8	5.6	6.3	6.5	9.1	8.5	-	7.8	-	2.6
N9 Other services	-	16.0	14.5	18.3	36.4	41.7	27.7	28.6	-	19.9	-	28.7

NACE	IRL		L		NL		P	UK		
	1985	1991	1983	1993	1985	1995	1990	1985	1993	
N0 Agri, Hunt, Forest.	3.0	2.1	0.9	0.9	1.3	3.6	-	24.6	0.6	0.7
N1 Energy & Water	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.0	1.4	1.4	-	-	1.8	1.1
N2 Extrac & processing	3.0	5.1	17.0	8.1	9.7	5.4	-	6.7	3.3	2.4
N3 Metal Manu, machi, electr.	11.8	13.2	4.9	5.5	18.5	11.8	-	5.0	11.5	6.8
N4 Other manu.	12.8	12.3	9.6	6.3	18.3	14.9	-	7.9	13.9	7.4
N5 Build., Civil eng.	5.4	6.0	10.9	18.9	4.0	2.3	-	3.5	6.1	5.7
N6 Dist. trades,hotels,cater.	17.2	9.4	20.8	22.7	13.4	22.6	-	1.8	20.2	21.3
N7 Trans., commun.	2.5	4.3	2.8	4.9	5.8	5.4	-	45.5	8.2	5.6
N8 Bank., finance.	8.4	9.4	11.0	17.3	6.2	7.2	-	-	7.7	12.6
N9 Other services	33.5	31.9	18.7	15.4	21.3	25.3	-	5.0	34.8	34.7

Source: Eurostat

The Finance industry is of only intermediate importance in terms of the proportions it accounts for. Not surprisingly, in view of the significance of banking in its economy, Luxembourg has the highest proportion; while the financial strength of the City of London accounts for the fact that around one in eight foreign workers in the UK are in this sector. Only Greece has less than 5 per cent in the sector.

Other Services is the other main category. It employs a massive 41.7 per cent of foreign workers in Denmark and over 30 per cent each in the UK and Ireland. It is also highly significant in Greece, Spain and the Netherlands. The great variability of occupations represented in this sector makes generalisation difficult, but it includes many of the low-paid personal services that have become major employers in post-industrial economies. As with distribution, hotels and catering, many of the jobs are characterised by flexible working conditions, ease of entry and exit and general informality. A flexible and elastic foreign workforce is a natural response to circumstances which create mismatches between labour demand and indigenous supplies.

6.5.2 Trends in the occupational structure

What trends have occurred in stocks of foreign population by occupation? There are practical difficulties in presenting a comprehensive picture because of gaps in the statistics. For only nine countries is there a reasonable run of statistics capable of indicating change. Even then the periods for which data are available vary so that it is impossible to have common start and end dates for more than a few countries. The method used here has been to review the trend from

the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s, using the closest available statistics. For Germany and the Netherlands the period 1985-95 has been used, 1985-93 for the UK, 1983-93 for Luxembourg, 1985-91 for Ireland, 1989-93 for Denmark and Spain. For Belgium and France data are available only for the 1980s, 1980-89 for the former, 1981-89 for the latter. This variability presents considerable difficulties in determining overall trends, since the dates may be at different points in the trade cycle which might have implications for specific sectors. Despite the inherent problems, the results of the exercise are consistent enough to indicate the principal trends; a more timely analysis awaits improvements in the database, specifically the provision of data for all of the 1990s.

The trends by sector are summarised in Table 6.12. In the cases of Energy and Water, Extraction and Processing and Manufacturing the overall trends are clear. In the majority of countries the trend was one of decline or no change, although for the first two sectors the proportions of foreign population they occupy are low. For Metal Manufacturing, Machinery and Electrical, seven of the nine countries had declines in the proportions of total employment, mostly these were countries with a tradition of work in the heavy end of the sector. The exception was Ireland where the proportion rose from 11.8 to 13.2 per cent between 1985 and 1991, a response to the establishment of a thriving electronics industry in a country that never had an older and subsequently over manned engineering industry. No country experienced a rise in the Other Manufacturing sector, five experienced declining employment and in four there was little change.

The situation with regard to Construction is somewhat anomalous. It has always been a sector characterised by foreign employment because of the nature of the work. In Luxembourg and Spain the trend was upward, down in the Netherlands, Denmark, Belgium and France, and showed little change in Germany, Ireland and the UK. In part these trends may reflect the diverse periods for which data are available in a sector notorious for the dominance of the economic cycle. The remaining sectors, Distribution, Hotels and Catering, Transport and Communications, Finance and Other Services all demonstrate a clear upward trend. This is particularly the case in Finance where seven countries showed increases and none the reverse. These are also generally the sectors employing the majority of foreign workers so that the trend is particularly significant.

The overall trend is thus one of a shift from primary and secondary sectors to the provision of services. The trend is similar for both male and female employment. However, there is still considerable variability between countries in both the importance of individual sectors and the trends of employment within them.

The picture described above is confirmed by other studies. The sectoral distribution of foreign workers has been analysed in successive reports of the SOPEMI committee (OECD, 1995, 1997, 1998). Results show that foreign employment continues to be concentrated in certain sectors, for example mining and quarrying and manufacturing in Germany, construction in France and Luxembourg and selected service industries in the UK. However, in most Western European countries, foreigners are to be found in all sectors, with a fairly consistent trend towards greater presence in services as a whole.

There is some evidence for recent years to suggest that in a number of countries foreigners are over-represented in industries where employment is declining faster than the average. This may partly explain the generally higher unemployment levels of foreign workers when compared with indigenous ones. An important issue that arises from this is that of complementary or substitutive links between foreign and native labour in times of recession and restructuring. This is discussed and illustrated in some detail in OECD (1998) where the fragility of foreign employment forms a focus for analysis. There are considerable differences between the industrial and tertiary sectors. The degree of fragility is high in the construction sector in Belgium, France and the UK and in manufacturing, mining and quarrying in Germany,

Luxembourg, France and the Netherlands. Contrasts also appear in the service sector. Foreigners have benefited compared with nationals in the hotel and restaurant sector in most economies other than France and the Netherlands; with the exception of the latter this is also true in business services.

Table 6.13 - Rates of Unemployment among the National and Foreign Workforce, 1992-96

	1992/93			1995/96		
	National Workforce	Foreign Workforce	<i>of which:</i> EU foreign workers	National Workforce	Foreign Workforce	<i>of which:</i> EU foreign workers
Austria	3.9	7.6	-	7.0	8.4	-
Germany	7.6	11.9	6.9	11.0	20.4 *	-
Sweden	7.6	20.8	-	7.0 *	25.0 *	-
Italy	9.5	7.3	7.9	-	-	-
Netherlands	5.1	16.4	5.7	6.5	16.0 *	-
France	9.5	18.6	9.7	10.9	21.6	10.4
Spain	18.4	16.4	13.9	22.9	22.0	16.3
United Kingdom	9.5	13.5	10.6	8.0	14.0	11.0

Source: Eurostat

Note

* - 1997 data

Although foreign workers are present in and continue to penetrate all sectors of national economies, they remain more vulnerable to unemployment than nationals (Table 6.13). There is a distinction to be made between workers from other EU states and those from outside the Union. Unemployment among all foreign workers rose at an above average rate during the 1990s, although Italy and Spain were an exception in the early 1990s. Rates for EU foreign nationals also increased, but to a lesser extent than those for the total foreign workforce. In most countries unemployment rates among foreign women are higher than those among men: this is the case in Belgium, Germany, Spain, France, Greece, Italy and Portugal; the reverse is true of Ireland, Luxembourg and the UK; in Denmark and the Netherlands the rates are similar. It should be noted that differences in detail in recording and calculating unemployment rates, particularly among the foreign population, make exact comparisons impossible.

The spread of self-employment and personal services is an indication of the growth of employment in the "informal" sector. Employment in the informal sector, generally carried out in the family business or in small enterprises, is difficult to evaluate statistically. The number of self-employed foreigners has continually increased in Germany, from around 200,000 in 1992 to 250,000 in 1997. The number of family members working for them has increased gradually but dropped from 26,000 to 22,000 in 1997 (Fröhlich, 1998). Turkish immigrants were the largest group among self-employed foreigners, followed by Italians and Greeks. This sector has the capacity to absorb part of any increase in the supply of labour, especially in periods of crisis. In Italy, the number of self-employed non-EU nationals has doubled from 1990 to 1997, reaching over 35,000. This is 5 per cent of the work permits and six times less than the figure for self-employed Italians (Arosio, 1998).

6.6 Summary and Conclusions

It was the need for foreign labour that created most of the foreign national groups in the EU over a roughly twenty year period from the mid-1950s. This initial recruitment has been reinforced by the employment of family members and by a succession of new migrants who

have entered the labour market. What now exists is a rich mosaic of foreign labour within individual economies and across Western Europe as a whole.

By the mid-1980s national trends in foreign labour use were again upward, the main increases being between 1988 and 1992. Thereafter numbers have continued to rise at a slower rate to around 7.4 million in 1996. Comparison with the rate of increase of total foreign population from the early 1980s onwards shows numbers of foreign workers to have grown more slowly. An implication of this is that in future (naturalisation notwithstanding) the foreign workforce is likely to grow more quickly as this excess population enters the labour market.

As has been demonstrated in the other chapters in this volume, there is enormous variability between individual member states in the numbers and characteristics of the foreign workforce. Even so, there are generalisations to be made that broadly transcend national differences. Labour stocks are generally rising. There is an overall trends towards feminisation of the foreign workforce in that an increasing proportion is female. In general, too, foreign labour is getting older as the proportion of young people at work declines. There has also been a general sectoral shift in employment, away from the primary and manufacturing sectors towards tertiary and quaternary occupations: this shift may also to some extent be characterised as a move from formal to informal sector working. Finally, foreign workers remain more vulnerable to unemployment, a trend that shows little sign of abating.

These generalisations hide a much more complex picture, inherent in the national differences identified. The proportions of workers from other member states are highly variable and there is no clear trend as far as migration of member nationals between member states is concerned. The levels and trends of diversification by origin differ from one state to another. There are significant variations in the numbers of foreign workers emanating from rich and poor countries. The importance of foreign employment in individual NACE sectors differs from one member state to another and individual states also display variations in trends and levels of foreign employment by occupation. Furthermore, levels of unemployment of foreign workers and differences between foreign and indigenous labour in the proportions out of work are also variable. In short, the patterns and trends of foreign labour must be seen in a national context, the same as is the case with stocks of total population, migration and asylum flows, birthplace and acquisition of citizenship.

CHAPTER 7 - PROTECTION AND ASYLUM: GROWING DILEMMAS

The aim of this chapter is to examine changes in the trends and patterns of asylum flows to the EU/EFTA states. The first two parts examine data on asylum applications between 1985 and 1998.

The first part looks at the scale of asylum applications to identify trends and changes in the size of asylum movements. The literature on asylum migration often postulates two trends. Firstly, the uneven development of asylum applications in Western Europe and the dominance of a few destinations. Secondly, it has been assumed that the immigration and asylum restrictions in northern Europe have meant that former transit countries such as Greece or Spain have now become destination countries. Changes in the distribution of asylum applications are also examined together with the evidence for the emergence of new destination countries. However, it should be noted that the number of applications in a certain year cannot be equated with the number of arrivals.

The second part examines the patterns of the destination countries for asylum seekers by country of origin with the aim of identifying changes in the direction of asylum flows. The focus is on the region and countries of origin and examines changes in the major groups of applicants to the EU/EFTA states. Data are available for the years 1985 to 1996, but not all countries provide data for all the years covered in this study nor do they specify the nationality (country of origin) of the asylum seekers. Complete data sets by citizenship are available for the following eight countries - Austria, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Portugal and the UK, forming the core of the analysis.

In the third section the focus is on the destination countries and examines changing patterns of destination countries for the main national groups that sought asylum in Western Europe.

The final part studies the decisions on asylum applications. It discusses the development of the recognition rate as well as the granting of other forms of humanitarian protection. Where data are available, the main national groups in individual countries that have been granted refugee status or another form of protection are analysed.

Data on asylum flows and decisions present a series of problems. Due to the inconsistency and inaccuracies of the data which result from different classifications and time periods used by the individual countries, a comparative analysis of statistics on asylum applications and decisions has to be viewed with caution. Some of the issues are methodological, others are influenced by political developments, such as the creation of the temporary protection schemes in response to the arrival of refugees from Yugoslavia and the overall view the receiving states wish to give. One general problem with asylum statistics lies in the differences in the compilation of the data in the EU/EFTA states. For example, some countries include quota refugees or persons admitted under special schemes, while other countries include dependants in their asylum statistics (Böcker et al. 1998:99-100; NIDI 1994a, b; NIDI 1996a, b). In many countries, figures for asylum applications and/or decisions on applications are not broken down by citizenship, thus making it difficult to identify changing destination patterns for certain nationalities or discrepancies in the recognition rate for certain nationalities in different EU/EFTA states. There is a paucity of data on asylum seekers broken down by sex. The Eurostat data have been complemented by statistics from the SOPEMI country reports and data from the Intergovernmental Consultations on Asylum, Refugee and Migration Policies in Europe, North America and Australia (IGC).

In this study, the term asylum seeker refers to a person who has made an asylum application in another state and whose application is pending a decision. The legal basis for asylum in all EU/EFTA states is the 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees. This Convention defines a refugee as someone who has a well-founded fear of persecution

on grounds of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion. In practice, the distinction between asylum seekers and labour migrants is not always very clear (Suhrke, 1995). Strictly speaking, the term refugee refers only to a person who has been granted refugee status according to the Geneva Convention (referred to as a Convention refugee). Here, it also describes persons who have been refused refugee status but have been allowed to remain for humanitarian reasons.

The notion of recognition rates refers to the share of asylum seekers who are granted refugee status according to the Geneva Convention. Others may be given some form of protection even if they are not granted refugee status. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), about 50 million people around the world have fled their homes as a result of persecution, armed conflict or violence. The circumstances of forced displacement vary substantially and only around 13 million people are recognised by the UNHCR as refugees in the conventional sense, i.e. those who have left their country to escape persecution. Of those, only a very small proportion arrives in Western Europe. The majority are to be found in the poorer regions of the world, notably in parts of Africa, Asia and the former Soviet Union (UNHCR 1997:2-5).

When studying data on asylum applications and decisions, it is important to keep in mind the changing political context in Western Europe with the end of the Cold War and the opening of the borders between Eastern and Western Europe. In the 1950s and 1960s few asylum seekers from low-income countries made their way to Western Europe. Larger numbers of non-European refugees, primarily from the countries of Indo-China and South America, were often admitted within organised resettlement programmes. It was not until the early 1980s that asylum seekers from countries in Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Central America began to arrive independently and in significant numbers. At the same time, growing numbers of asylum seekers from Eastern and Central Europe also began to arrive.

7.1 Asylum migration to Western Europe: Changing patterns and trends

Tables 7.1 and 7.2 present the main asylum applications and decisions data upon which this analysis is based and from which, in part, subsequent tables and figures are derived. During the period 1985 to 1998 over 4.7 million asylum applications were made in the EU and EFTA states. From the mid-1980s to the early 1990s the numbers of asylum seekers in Western Europe increased rapidly from negligible figures in the early 1980s to a peak of 680,000 applications in 1992. In 1983, the total numbers of asylum claims in the countries of the EU were 73,700, rising quickly to about 170,000 in 1985.

7.1.1 Scale of asylum migration

From 1985 to 1987 the number of asylum applications was relatively stable. In 1988, the numbers increased to just over 232,000 from about 181,000 in 1987. The marked increase in the number of asylum seekers (as well as migrants) entering the EU started with the end of the Cold War. As communist governments fell and restrictions on migration were removed, many east Europeans abandoned their homes to seek a better future in the west. Asylum applications to EU countries more than doubled in the three years following the fall of the Berlin wall. After 1989, the number of asylum claims rose steeply from over 315,300 reaching an all-time high in 1992 of about 688,000 requests. Numbers then dropped to around 548,000 applications in 1993 and in 1994 continued to fall to around 319,800, almost back to 1989 levels. Between 1994 and 1996 the number of asylum applications lodged in EU/EFTA states continued to decline to about 250,000 in 1996. In 1997 an increase occurred, with applications reaching over 338,300 in 1998, up by over 20 per cent in a year.

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
A	6724	8639	11406	15790	21882	22789	27306	16238	4744	5082	5920	6991	6719	13805
B ¹	5387	7644	5976	4510	8188	12945	15444	17398	26281	14456	11648	12412	11575	21965
CH	9703	8546	10913	16726	24425	35836	41629	17960	24739	16134	17021	18001	23982	41302
D ¹	73832	99650	57379	103076	121318	193063	256112	438191	322599	127210	127937	116367	104353	98644
DK	8698	9299	2726	4668	4588	5292	4609	13884	14347	6652	5104	5896	5100	5699
E	2300	2300	2500	4516	4077	8647	8138	11712	12645	11901	5678	4730	4975	6639
FIN	18	23	49	64	179	2743	2137	3634	2023	836	849	711	973	1272
F ¹	28925	26290	27672	34352	61422	54813	47380	28872	28466	25884	20415	17405	21416	22375
EL	1400	4300	6300	9300	6500	4149	2766	2108	862	1299	1365	1575	4689	1990
IRL	-	-	50	49	36	62	31	39	91	362	424	1179	3882	4626
IS	-	-	7	-	10	7	19	15	0	-	-	-	-	-
I ¹	5400	6500	11000	1300	2240	3570	24490	2589	1323	1834	1759	681	1712	6939
L	32	92	98	44	87	114	238	120	225	165	155	266	427	-
NL	5644	5865	13460	7486	13898	21208	21615	20346	35399	52576	29258	22857	34443	45217
NO	829	2722	8613	6602	4433	3962	4569	5238	12876	3379	1460	1778	2277	8277
P ¹	70	118	178	252	116	61	163	200	1659	614	332	269	245	355
S	14500	14600	18114	19595	30335	29420	27351	84018	37581	18640	9047	5774	9619	12844
UK ¹	4389	4266	4256	3998	11640	26205	44840	24605	22370	32830	43965	29640	32500	46015
Total ²	167851	200854	180697	232328	315374	424886	528837	687167	548230	319854	282337	246532	268887	337964

Source: Eurostat, IGC, UNHCR

Notes:

1. Excluding dependents

2. Owing to gaps in the data for some years and exclusion of dependents for some countries, this figure is an underestimate.

Table 7.2 - Asylum decisions by outcome for selected EU and EFTA countries, 1985-96

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
A Total	4155	3991	3550	6718	15013	12648	19686	23485	15397	-	-	-
Positive	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Convention	1876	1430	1114	1785	2879	864	2469	2289	1193	684	993	716
Rejections	2279	2561	2435	4933	12134	11784	17217	21196	14204	-	-	-
B Total	-	-	-	4458	7998	12503	14072	15301	23469	11985	8494	6518
Positive	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Convention	-	-	-	311	518	531	607	906	1123	670	604	313
Rejections	-	-	-	3540	6805	11289	12889	14260	22468	10697	7884	6205
CH Total	6597	6601	9121	9524	13362	11720	29405	30905	26086	23494	17719	18898
Positive	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Convention	939	820	829	680	654	571	872	1408	3831	2937	2648	2267
Rejections	5658	5781	8292	8844	12708	11149	28533	29497	22255	20557	15071	16631
D Total	28237	40808	70231	70604	95857	122786	140417	172826	364387	263964	145038	152734
Positive	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Convention	11224	8853	8231	7621	5991	6518	11597	9189	16396	25578	23468	24000
Rejections	17013	31955	62000	62983	89866	116268	128820	163637	347991	238386	117939	126652
DK Total	-	-	-	-	-	4710	7043	6565	7186	7661	25944	12435
Positive	6504	6239	3316	3905	4452	3044	4014	3782	3424	2818	20347	8253
Convention	1140	1870	2455	1110	1247	700	985	757	749	676	4969	1449
Rejections	-	-	-	-	-	1666	3029	2783	3762	4843	5597	4182
E Total	264	709	843	1379	1515	2236	3808	7357	14954	12818	5763	3521
Positive	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Convention	177	401	262	303	134	246	156	296	592	627	464	243
Rejections	87	308	581	1076	1381	1990	3652	7061	14362	12191	5299	3278
FIN Total	-	-	43	53	170	489	2347	1919	3517	808	492	593
Positive	-	-	28	22	60	157	1719	575	2082	316	223	345
Convention	-	-	13	4	10	15	16	12	9	15	4	11
Rejections	-	-	15	31	110	332	628	1344	1435	492	269	248
F Total	26662	27274	26628	25425	31167	87352	78442	36646	35489	29705	29096	22203
Positive	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Convention	11539	10645	8704	8794	8767	13486	15467	10266	9914	7025	4742	4344
Rejections	15123	16629	17924	16631	22400	73866	62975	26380	25575	22680	24354	17859
EL Total	-	-	-	-	-	2497	-	-	-	-	1299	984
Positive	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Convention	670	642	546	230	289	166	123	45	42	170	203	130
Rejections	-	-	-	-	-	2331	-	-	-	-	1096	854
IRL Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	36	39	140	200	439
Positive	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Convention	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	7	9	34	90	160
Rejections	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	29	30	106	110	279
IS Total	-	-	7	-	10	7	19	15	-	-	-	-
Positive	-	-	7	0	10	7	19	15	0	-	-	35
Convention	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-
Rejections	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-
I Total	2749	4278	5096	6214	193	3198	23280	2531	1561	1621	1705	543
Positive	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Convention	191	152	245	206	91	1000	1146	143	162	279	287	157
Rejections	2558	4126	4851	6008	102	2198	22674	2388	1399	1342	1418	386
L Total	-	88	97	32	46	71	143	60	144	-	-	-
Positive	-	59	51	20	13	43	7	9	16	-	-	-
Convention	-	58	45	-	-	5	5	1	16	-	-	-
Rejections	-	29	46	12	33	28	136	51	128	-	-	-
NL Total	3139	3672	8556	8841	12429	11236	17239	32118	30771	51491	50798	75276
Positive	758	1067	1131	1504	2755	2239	2695	11814	15012	19345	18501	23590
Convention	115	176	237	589	1628	1395	775	4923	10338	6654	7980	8806
Rejections	2381	2605	7425	7337	9674	8997	14544	20304	15759	32146	32297	51686
NO Total	657	792	3471	6269	6955	3386	4020	3769	5210	4338	2356	2026
Positive	477	602	2650	4257	4005	1327	1755	1107	525	1375	942	616
Convention	56	91	271	147	338	108	101	63	54	22	29	6
Rejections	180	190	821	2012	2950	2059	2265	2662	4685	2963	1414	1410
P Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	642	1487	-	172
Positive	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Convention	9	11	14	8	8	30	8	17	-	8	12	5
Rejections	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	602	1441	-	167
S Total	-	-	-	-	-	28739	39023	31411	80420	37530	8460	8680
Positive	7314	11486	14042	16125	24879	12839	18663	12791	36482	26924	5042	4678
Convention	-	-	2326	3698	3079	2167	1404	615	1025	785	148	130
Rejections	-	-	-	-	-	15900	20360	18620	43938	14980	5560	3014
UK Total	2635	2983	2432	2703	6960	4023	6075	34905	23405	20985	27005	38965
Positive	2135	2452	1797	2207	6070	3300	2280	16440	12715	4485	5705	7295
Convention	576	350	266	629	2208	920	505	1115	1590	825	1295	2240

Table 7.2 - Asylum decisions by outcome for selected EU and EFTA countries, 1985-96 (continued)

Source: Eurostat, IGC, UNHCR

Notes:

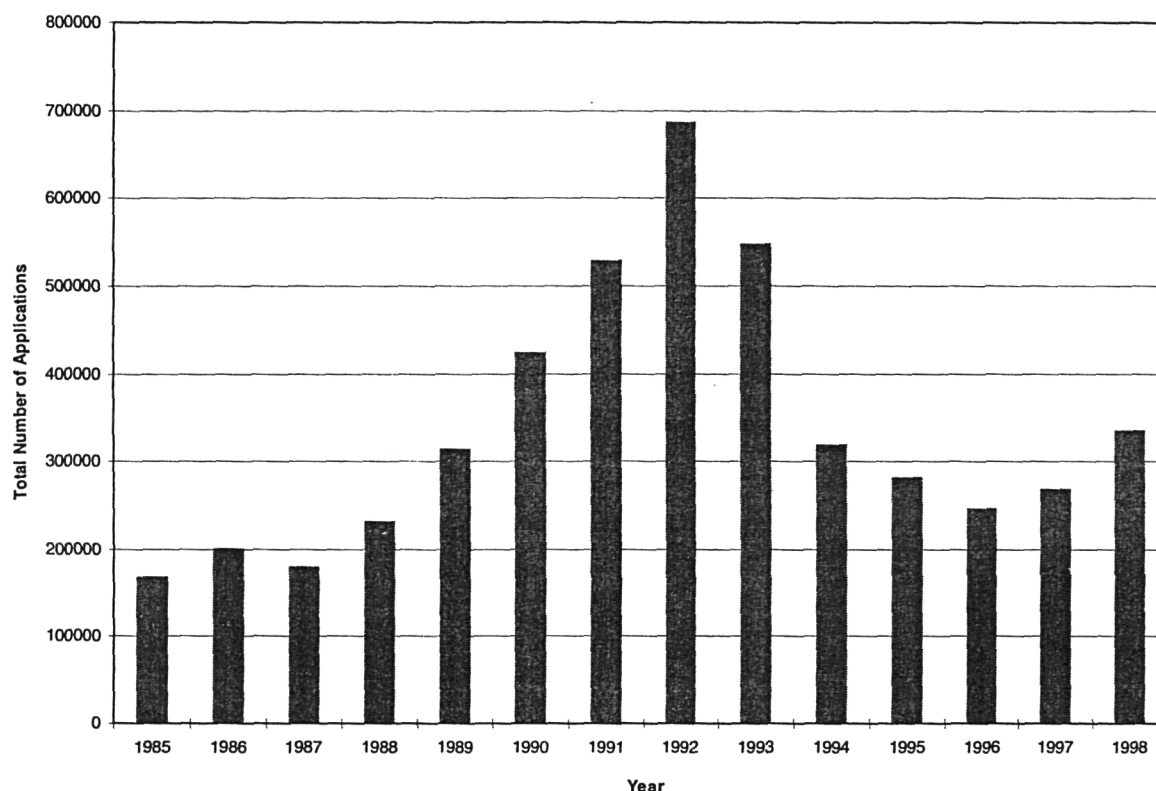
Total = Total asylum decisions by year for each country;

Positive = Total positive decisions (convention refugees and other status to remain);

Convention = Total grants of convention refugee status only;

Rejections = Those rejected without any form of protection.

Figure 7.1 - Asylum Applications for All EU/EFTA Countries



Source: Eurostat, IGC, UNHCR

These general trends are not reflected equally in all countries.⁵ In most EU/EFTA countries the peak occurred between 1991 and 1993, usually followed by a large drop in the following year. However, the timing of the overall peak year and overall reductions have been particularly connected with the situation in Germany, where 1992 was their peak year for applications (438,191). This was also the case in Finland and Sweden. However, in Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Iceland and the UK, the peak occurred in 1991, while in Belgium, Norway and Portugal it occurred in 1993. However, the UK received an even higher number of applications in 1995 and 1998 than in 1991. Denmark experienced a peak during 1992 and 1993, and Spain from 1992 to 1994. The Netherlands received the largest numbers of asylum applications in 1994.

Two countries received their largest annual total of applications during the late 1980s, France in 1989 and Greece in 1988, followed by a decline until 1997 and 1994 respectively. Italy and Norway had also experienced a smaller peak in the number of asylum applications

⁵ Data on asylum applications in Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Portugal and the UK do not include dependants.

in 1988 and 1987 respectively. In Ireland, the number of asylum applications was negligible with under 100 claims per year until 1994 when the number of claims rose to 362 and then increased substantially from 1179 applications in 1996 to 4626 in 1998. Luxembourg experienced an increase in the number of asylum applications in 1991 and 1993 but the largest number of claims so far was made in 1997 with 433 applications submitted.

From 1992 to 1998 applications in Germany declined by -77 per cent. Such a dramatic rate of decrease has only been matched by Sweden with -84.7 per cent, Finland with -65 per cent and Denmark with around -60 per cent. Taking the respective peak year as point of reference, asylum claims declined in Portugal by -85.2 per cent, in Italy by -71.7 per cent, in Austria by -49.4 per cent and in Spain by -47.5 per cent. With the exception of Sweden, numbers involved have been relatively small. There were far less dramatic declines in the cases of most other main destination countries, while the UK was the only country that recorded an increase, albeit small, of 2.6 per cent.

The declining trend in the total numbers of asylum applications was reversed in 1997, though it is too early to tell if this is the start of a new phase in asylum migration to Western Europe. Trends are not similar in all EU/EFTA states. Between 1994 and 1998, Austria, Switzerland, Greece, Ireland and the UK had in all or most years a positive trend. Most EU/EFTA countries with the exception of Germany, Denmark and Portugal experienced an increase in asylum applications in 1997 and 1998. Increases in Belgium and Spain have occurred only since 1998. Whereas in Germany the number of applications fell by 5.5 per cent in 1998 and in Denmark by 11.7 per cent, Italy (305 per cent), Norway (263 per cent) and Austria (105.5 per cent) were faced with record increases. In total numbers this amounts to between 5,000 and 7,000 additional asylum seekers in each country, roughly the number of asylum seekers that Germany 'lost'. Greece experienced an increase of almost 200 per cent (over 3000 in actual numbers) in 1997, followed by a decline in 1998. Substantial increases occurred in Belgium (89.8 per cent), Switzerland (72.2 per cent) and (with between 31 per cent and 42 per cent) the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and the UK. In Switzerland, the Netherlands and the UK, the 1998 figure reached the level of the countries' respective 'peak' year of applications. Despite an overall increasing trend in the last two years, in most countries numbers of asylum applications stayed below 1990 figures with the exception of Ireland, Luxembourg, Norway and Sweden.

Germany was by far the single largest receiving country during the last decade though numbers have been declining and the gap with the second largest receiving country has been lessening. In 1988, over 100,000 asylum applications were made in Germany, followed by France with over 34,000 applications. By 1990, numbers of asylum applications had risen generally and seven countries received over twenty thousand asylum claims. Table 7.3 shows that between 1988 and 1998 the directions of the asylum flows shifted and a different group of main receiving countries emerged. Noticeable changes are the emergence of the UK as the second most important receiving country in 1998, the growing importance of the Netherlands, Switzerland and Belgium and the declining relevance of France and Sweden as destination countries. Among the other countries, Italy, Ireland and Greece have emerged as new destination countries.

Since the increase in asylum applications in the late 1980s, many EU/EFTA states have introduced legislative changes that have often accounted for reductions in asylum applications. The large decrease in applications in Germany (60 per cent) in 1994 is explained by the new asylum law, which entered into force in mid-1993, and which incorporated the concepts of 'safe third country' and 'safe country of origin.' The same changes in French asylum law in 1993 are not reflected in a drop in the number of applications, although a series of asylum reforms in France in 1990 corresponded with substantial decreases in applications (39 per cent) in 1991 and in 1992. The introduction of new restrictive asylum regulations in Germany undoubtedly caused numbers of asylum

applications to drop, while other countries, such as the Netherlands, Belgium and Switzerland, saw a sharp increase in their intake of asylum seekers.

Similarly, decreases in the number of asylum applications in the UK (45 per cent) and Switzerland (56.9 per cent) between 1991 and 1992 and in Sweden (55.3 per cent) between 1992 and 1993 have been explained by new asylum policies. In Austria, the strong decline in the number of asylum applications lodged since 1993 is assumed to stem from the implementation of the new Asylum Law in June 1992. Changes in the Spanish asylum law in 1994 seemed to result in a decrease of asylum applications by over 52 per cent in the following year. Figures for asylum claims in Italy, Greece and Portugal have to be read with reservations. It was only in 1990 that Italy abolished the geographical restriction of the Geneva Convention under which only refugees from Europe were accepted. The high number of undocumented immigrants who took advantage of the regularisation programmes in 1986, 1990 and November 1995 may also have included 'hidden' asylum seekers. Greece and Portugal only passed legislation on asylum procedures in 1991 and 1993 respectively.

Table 7.3 - Asylum applications for selected years

1988		1990		1998	
Germany	103300	Germany	193000	Germany	98600
France	34300	France	54800	United Kingdom	46000
Sweden	19500	Switzerland	35800	Netherlands	45200
Switzerland	16700	Sweden	29400	Switzerland	41300
Austria	15700	United Kingdom	26200	France	22300
Greece	9300	Austria	22800	Belgium	22000
Netherlands	7400	Netherlands	21200	Austria	13800
Norway	6600	Belgium	13000	Sweden	12800
Denmark	4600	Spain	8600	Norway	8300
Belgium	4500	Denmark	5300	Italy	6900
Spain	4500	Greece	4100	Spain	6600
United Kingdom	3900	Norway	4000	Denmark	5700
Italy	1300	Italy	3600	Ireland	4600
Portugal	252	Finland	2700	Greece	2000
Finland	64	Luxembourg	114	Finland	1300
Ireland	49	Ireland	62	Luxembourg	368
Luxembourg	44	Portugal	61	Portugal	355
Iceland	N/A	Iceland	7	Iceland	N/A

Source: Eurostat, IGC, UNHCR

7.1.2 Distribution of asylum seekers: applications as share of total applications

Two trends are often referred to in the literature on asylum migration to Europe. The first is the uneven distribution of asylum applications in Western Europe; the second is the emergence of new countries of asylum in southern Europe.

The proportionate spread of asylum claims across EU/EFTA states is still uneven although the trend is for more even shares than has hitherto been the case.

Figure 7.2 shows that Germany has dominated the list of destination countries since 1985 where a total of 47 per cent of all applications, over 2.2 million, has been made. This total is over five times the number reported to have been received in the next most important destination country, France, with 9 per cent, about 445,000 applications. Germany alone accounted for over half of the applications in 1986, 1992 and 1993. After Germany and France, the most important destinations in the last decade have been Sweden, the UK and the Netherlands each with 7 per cent, about 330,000, and Switzerland with 6 per cent,

around 300,000. These six countries alone received 83 per cent of all asylum applications in the EU/EFTA region since 1985. The top ten countries dealt with 95 per cent of all asylum claims. Austria and Belgium took about 4 per cent each or around 175,000, and Denmark and Spain with 2 per cent or 97,000 and 91,000 asylum seekers respectively. The remaining eight EU/EFTA countries dealt with five per cent of all asylum applications, just over 217,000 persons.

Table 7.4 - Asylum Applications by Year for Each Country (per cent)

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Austria	4.0	4.3	6.3	6.8	6.9	5.4	5.2	2.4	0.9	1.6	2.1	2.8	2.5	4.1
Belgium ¹	3.2	3.8	3.3	1.9	2.6	3.0	2.9	2.5	4.8	4.5	4.1	5.0	4.3	6.5
Switzerland	5.8	4.3	6.0	7.2	7.7	8.4	7.9	2.6	4.5	5.0	6.0	7.3	8.9	12.2
Germany ¹	44.0	49.6	31.8	44.4	38.5	45.4	48.4	63.8	58.8	39.8	45.3	47.2	38.8	29.2
Denmark	5.2	4.6	1.5	2.0	1.5	1.2	0.9	2.0	2.6	2.1	1.8	2.4	1.9	1.7
Spain	1.4	1.1	1.4	1.9	1.3	2.0	1.5	1.7	2.3	3.7	2.0	1.9	1.9	2.0
Finland	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4
France ¹	17.2	13.1	15.3	14.8	19.5	12.9	9.0	4.2	5.2	8.1	7.2	7.1	8.0	6.6
Greece	0.8	2.1	3.5	4.0	2.1	1.0	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.6	1.7	0.6
Ireland	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.5	1.4	1.4
Iceland	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Italy	3.2	3.2	6.1	0.6	0.7	0.8	4.6	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.6	2.1
Luxembourg	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0
Netherlands	3.4	2.9	7.4	3.2	4.4	5.0	4.1	3.0	6.5	16.4	10.4	9.3	12.8	13.4
Norway	0.5	1.4	4.8	2.8	1.4	0.9	0.9	0.8	2.3	1.1	0.5	0.7	0.8	2.4
Portugal ¹	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Sweden	8.6	7.3	10.0	8.4	9.6	6.9	5.2	12.2	6.9	5.8	3.2	2.3	3.6	3.8
UnitedKingdom ¹	2.6	2.1	2.4	1.7	3.7	6.2	8.5	3.6	4.1	10.3	15.6	12.0	12.1	13.6

Source: Eurostat, IGC, UNHCR

Notes

1. Excluding Dependents

Table 7.4 shows that the concentration of applicants during the late 1980s and early 1990s has been to Germany, France and Sweden. These were the countries with the most liberal asylum legislation, coupled with flourishing economies. During the second half of the 1980s, these three countries, together with Switzerland and Austria, received over 80 per cent of all asylum applications that were registered.

In the peak year of 1992 the majority of asylum applications - 63.8 per cent - were made in Germany. Only Sweden, with 12.2 per cent, was another major destination country. Smaller shares of asylum applications ranging from 4.2 per cent to 2.4 per cent, were in France, the UK, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Belgium and Austria. With the decline of asylum claims in Germany, asylum flows appeared to have been (re)directed to other destination countries in the EU/EFTA region.

Since 1992, the share of asylum applications in Germany continued to fall, with two larger drops in 1994 (-19 per cent) and 1998 (-9.4 per cent). By 1998 Germany received only 29.4 per cent of all asylum applications, the UK 13.7 per cent, followed closely by the Netherlands with 13.5 per cent and Switzerland with 12.3 per cent. France took 6.7 per cent and Belgium 6.5 per cent. These six countries registered over 80 per cent of all applications. Further noticeable shares of asylum applications in 1998 were in Austria (4.1 per cent), Sweden (3.8 per cent) and in Norway, Italy and Spain (between 2.5 and 2 per cent). By 1998, the direction of asylum flows was less concentrated towards one country, namely Germany, and was more widely distributed between several other major destination countries.

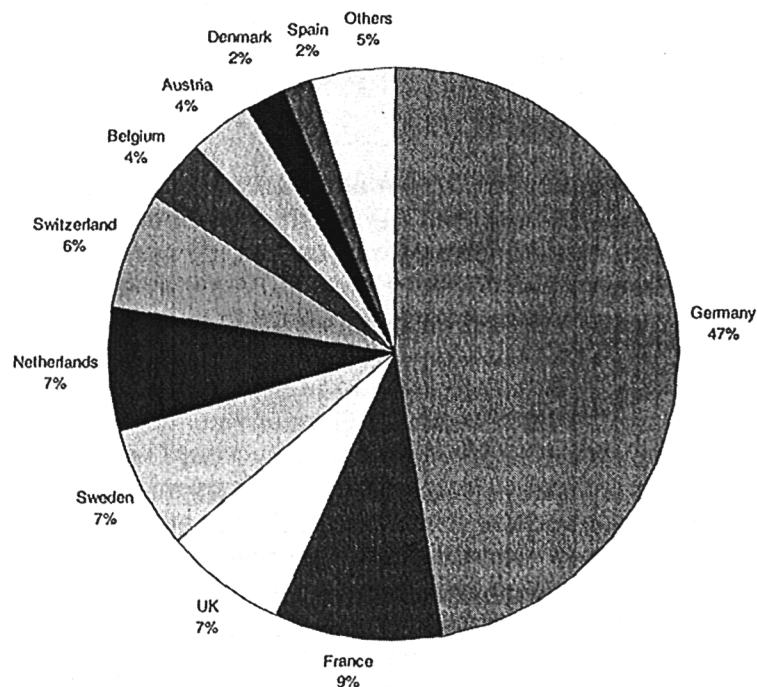
Compared to the mid-1980s, the Netherlands and the UK particularly gained in importance as destination countries. The upward trend started for the Netherlands in 1993 and for the

UK in 1994. Since then, both countries were the second or third most important receiving country after Germany; Belgium too started to become more important after 1993.

Denmark, France and Sweden lost in importance as destination countries and their share of the total asylum application declined. In Denmark, this trend occurred relatively early in 1987, when the share of asylum applications dropped from over 5 per cent in 1985 to below 2 per cent. In France, the downwards development started in 1992 when, from being the second most important receiving country, it dropped to number five in 1998. In Sweden, this downward development occurred later in 1994, after an upward trend when it became the second most important receiving country between 1991 and 1992. Austria's position among the top ten receiving countries declined after 1992 but picked up again in 1998. Norway played a small role in 1987/88 and again in 1993 but had for most of the years a share of less than one per cent of the total applications. Norway's share picked up again in 1998, while Switzerland actually declined in importance in 1992, when its share of the total applications dropped to 2.6 per cent, but the country had recovered a significant position by 1998.

The second trend often referred to in the literature, i.e. the growing importance of new destination countries in southern Europe, is not reflected in the number of asylum applications. Greece and Italy played a small role as destination countries for asylum seekers in the late 1980s - and Italy for the year 1991 - but since then their share of applications out of the total has been less than two per cent, rising to 2.1 per cent in Italy in 1998. The number of asylum applications submitted in Greece has been increasing since 1994 but remained below the level of applications registered in the late 1980s. Spain gained in importance in 1993 and 1994 with a share of asylum claims of up to 3.7 per cent but in the following years its share wavered around two per cent. The number of applications only rose again in 1998. Figures for Portugal are negligible, not even reaching one per cent, and applications have been declining since 1994.

Figure 7.2 - Total Asylum Applications, 1985-1998: Top 10 Receiving Countries



Source: Eurostat, IGC, UNHCR

7.1.3 Asylum applications relative to total population

The disparity in the number of asylum seekers taken by different countries in the EU has led some member countries, notably Germany, to call for burden sharing. That could mean allocating quotas of asylum seekers to individual countries or pooling finances. This solution is opposed by the UK and Spain. Asylum seekers are often perceived to be a burden to the welfare system of the host states. However, generally speaking, the number of asylum seekers per head of the population in EU and EFTA countries is negligible. In 1998, the largest share of asylum seekers relative to the total population was found in Switzerland with 5.8 per thousand and in the Netherlands with 2.9 per thousand. From 1990 to 1998, the proportion of asylum seekers per head of population decreased in all countries, except in Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the UK, though numbers in the first three countries remained small.

In 1998, the average number of asylum seekers per thousand of population in the countries listed was 0.9. However, fluctuations from year to year can have a significant effect. For example, in 1999, the rate for the UK was 1.2. Switzerland, the Netherlands and Belgium bear the greatest "pressure" from asylum seekers (Table 7.5).

Table 7.5 - Asylum seekers per 1000 resident population, 1998

Country	per 1000
Switzerland	5.8
Netherlands	2.9
Belgium	2.2
Norway	1.9
Austria	1.7
Sweden	1.5
Ireland	1.3
Germany	1.2
Denmark	1.1
Luxembourg	1.0
United Kingdom	0.8
France	0.4
Finland	0.2
Greece	0.2
Spain	0.2
Italy	0.1
Portugal	0.0
Average (countries listed)	0.9

Source: Eurostat, IGC, UNHCR

7.2 Asylum applicants by origin

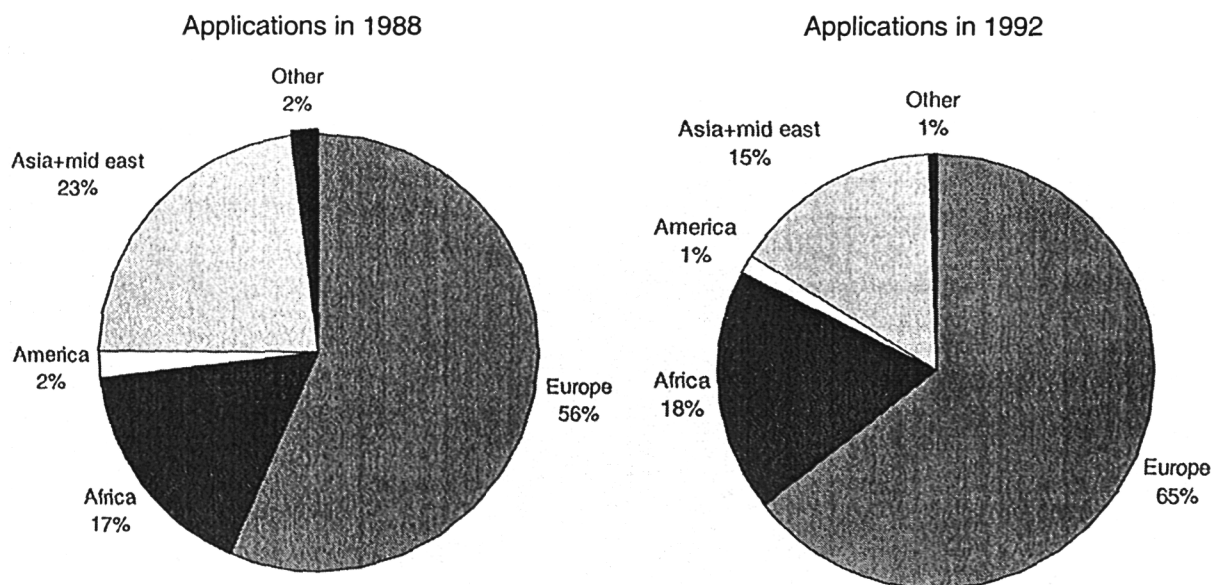
In the 1950s and 1960s few asylum seekers from low-income countries made their way to Western Europe. The majority of them were from European countries. Larger numbers of non-European refugees, primarily from the countries of Indo-China and South America, were often admitted within organised resettlement programmes. It was not until the early 1980s that asylum seekers from countries in Africa, Asia and the Middle East began to arrive independently and in significant numbers.

The available data for asylum applications by citizenship are patchy. Ten countries - Austria, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, Finland, France, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and the UK - provide a breakdown for asylum applications by region of origin from 1985 to 1996. Only eight of those countries, i.e. excluding Portugal and Spain, give a detailed citizenship breakdown by country of origin. Additional information for the period 1985 to 1992/93 is available from Switzerland, Luxembourg, Norway and Sweden. There is no breakdown by citizenship for Italy, Greece, Ireland and Iceland.

During 1988, the majority of asylum seekers in the above mentioned ten countries came from European countries (56 per cent), including Turkey, followed by applicants from Asia and the Middle East with 23 per cent. Only 17 per cent came from African countries. Asylum seekers from American countries formed a very small minority, with 2 per cent of the total applications in the EU/EFTA region. They were mainly found in Norway and Sweden, where around 30 per cent and 19 per cent respectively of the total asylum applications were made by American nationals. Further noticeable shares were in Spain (8.4 per cent), France (6.3 per cent) and the Netherlands (5.3 per cent).

Over 92 per cent of all asylum seekers registered in Austria in 1988 were from European countries. Other countries with similar substantial shares were Germany, with around 70 per cent, Switzerland with about 67 per cent, and Spain with over 54 per cent. In Norway and Finland the European share was around 32 per cent and 37 per cent respectively. The share of European applicants in Belgium, Denmark and France ranged between 22 per cent and 26 per cent.

Figure 7.3 - Asylum applicants in EU/EFTA states by region of origin: 1988, 1992 and 1996



Source: Eurostat, IGC, UNHCR

Notes

1. For Austria, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, Spain, Finland, France, Netherlands, Portugal, UK
2. 'Other' = unknown, stateless etc

Applicants from African countries were predominant in Portugal with 89.3 per cent. The earliest figure available for Finland is for 1990 when African asylum seekers constituted 60.5 per cent of all applications. Applicants from Africa formed a considerable share ranging between 39 per cent and 45 per cent in the UK, the Netherlands, France and Belgium.

Shares of asylum seekers from Asia and the Middle East were high in Denmark (49.1 per cent) and in the UK (45.7 per cent). In the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and Norway they constituted over one third of the applications, in Germany over 22 per cent and in Spain around 19 per cent.

Between 1988 and 1992 there was a steep rise in the number of European applicants, with the proportion increasing from 56 per cent in 1988 to 65 per cent in 1992. The share of applicants from Asia and the Middle East had fallen to 15 per cent whereas the proportion from African countries had hardly changed. The proportion from America was small with only 1 per cent. Their share in Norway and Sweden dropped to less than 2 per cent while in France the share had declined to 3.2 per cent. The largest change occurred in Spain where the share of applicants from America in 1992 formed about 42 per cent.

The big change with regard to European asylum seekers occurred in Denmark which experienced a huge increase, from 22.4 per cent to 71.5 per cent. An important change in the composition of asylum seekers occurred also in the other Scandinavian countries where the share of European applicants rose to over 85 per cent in Sweden, to almost 79 per cent in Finland and to about 69 per cent in Norway. These increases, at least in Norway, can be partly explained by the admittance of Bosnian refugees under temporary protection schemes. Further substantial increases in applications by European asylum seekers happened in the Netherlands (44.7 per cent), Belgium (41.2 per cent) and the UK (34.3 per cent). Despite declines in the share of European applicants in Austria and Switzerland, the majority still came from other European countries. The situation in Germany hardly changed. Spain was the only country for which available data showed a substantial decline of almost 20 per cent.

The share of African asylum seekers declined dramatically in Portugal from almost 90 per cent to 50.5 per cent in 1992. This was accompanied by an increase in the share of European asylum seekers from 6 per cent to 40 per cent. Despite the substantial decrease, Portugal still had the largest share of African applicants in the EU/EFTA. African asylum seekers increased their proportion substantially in Spain (25.7 per cent) and Germany (15.4 per cent) but despite strong decreases they still formed larger shares in France (32.5 per cent) and the Netherlands (31.6 per cent). Belgium experienced only a small decline by about three per cent down to 42 per cent.

The proportion of asylum seekers from Asia and the Middle East declined considerably in most countries considerably. The most dramatic declines occurred in Sweden (7 per cent) and Denmark (14 per cent). Only Austria (17.8 per cent) and France (38.5 per cent) experienced an increase in the share of applicants from Asia and the Middle East, by 11 and 14 per cent respectively. Despite a decline of over 10 per cent, about 33 per cent of all applications in the UK were still registered from these regions.

Following legislative changes in most EU/EFTA states after 1992, especially the classification of east European countries as safe countries of origin, the number of asylum seekers from eastern Europe underwent a sharp decrease. By 1996, the share of European asylum seekers (in the ten countries mentioned above) was down to 38 per cent. The proportion of applications from African countries had increased slightly to 20 per cent. The largest changes occurred in the asylum migration from Asia and the Middle East. The share of applicants from these regions more than doubled after 1992, constituting 38 per cent of the total asylum applications. The proportion of asylum seekers from America remained tiny at 1 per cent. Despite a substantial decline, they still formed the largest share in Spain with 14.2 per cent. The proportion of American applicants increased in Sweden (7.9 per cent) and in the UK (6 per cent). In all other countries American applicants constituted less than 2 per cent.

European asylum seekers were predominant in Belgium, with 60.3 per cent of the lodged asylum applications, and, despite a declining trend since 1992, in Sweden with 62.8 per cent in 1994. Other countries with larger proportions of European applicants were Germany and Portugal with over 44 per cent and France with around 40 per cent. About a third of all applications in Austria, Finland and Spain were filed by Europeans and about 22 per cent in Denmark, the UK and the Netherlands.

Despite a huge decline compared to 1988, Portugal still had the largest share of applicants from African countries (41.6 per cent). Other countries with important shares were the UK (38.1 per cent), Finland (39.2 per cent) and Spain (32.6 per cent). In Belgium, Africans formed the second largest group after European applicants with 27.9 per cent and in France they were in third place with 24.5 per cent.

Asylum seekers from Asia and the Middle East formed the majority in the UK (60.5 per cent), Austria (58.2 per cent) and the Netherlands (52.2 per cent). In Germany, over 39 per cent of all applications lodged in 1996 were from Asia and the Middle East and in Denmark and France over 32 per cent. After the decrease in the late 1980s, Spain (22.8 per cent) and Finland (26.3 per cent) experienced an increase from these regions of over 15 per cent, and Sweden (15.6 per cent) of over 8 per cent.

The situation in 1996 was very different from that in 1988. The share of applicants from European countries in the ten countries for which data are available declined substantially from 56 per cent to 38 per cent. The proportion of asylum seekers from Asia and the Middle East increased by 15 per cent to 38 per cent and there was only a small increase from African countries by 3 per cent to 20 per cent. By 1996, Europe was no longer a main region of origin.

The pattern of change was quite varied in the individual countries and some of the changes from 1988 to 1996 were quite striking. The geographical composition of asylum applicants changed dramatically in some countries. Austria, which registered over 92 per cent of its asylum applications from European countries in 1988, experienced a massive decline of over 60 per cent, mainly after 1992, in 1996 receiving the majority of its asylum seekers from Asia and the Middle East.

Germany and Spain, dominated in 1988 by applications from European asylum seekers, experienced a decline in the European share by more than 20 per cent. In Germany, after a drop in 1992 to about 13 per cent, the share of applicants from Asia and the Middle East had risen to almost 40 per cent by 1996. The proportion of African applicants increased, too, though this rise occurred mainly before 1992. In Spain, the decrease in the share of European applicants was compensated by a strong increase in the share of African asylum seekers, both before and after 1992.

In Belgium and Sweden the share of applicants from European countries grew substantially from around 20 per cent in 1988 to over 60 per cent in 1996 and 1994 respectively. Whereas in Belgium the increase happened gradually before and after 1992, Sweden experienced a peak of 85 per cent in 1992. Belgium's share of asylum seekers from Africa, Asia and the Middle East fell considerably, while Sweden experienced a substantial loss in the proportion of applicants from Asia, the Middle East and America. The losses occurred before 1992 and the proportion of applicants from the respective regions were on the increase again after 1992.

In Denmark, the share of European asylum seekers peaked in 1992 at 71.5 per cent, dropped in 1994 to 31.5 per cent and declined by 1996 to its 1988 level. The share of applicants from Asia and the Middle East had declined compared to 1988, while the proportion of African applicants had increased. Norway, like its Scandinavian neighbours

Denmark and Sweden, experienced a peak in 1992 of 68.8 per cent, though this is the last year for which data are available. The proportion of applicants from the other regions declined accordingly, though the decline in the share of American asylum seekers was the most substantial from 30 per cent to 1 per cent in 1992. Finland shows a similar pattern. It experienced a strong increase in the share of applications lodged by European asylum seekers in 1991 from around 32 per cent to about 61 per cent, peaking in 1992 at 78.5 per cent. In 1994, the European share dropped dramatically from over 63 per cent to about 16 per cent, accompanied by an increase in the share of asylum seekers from Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

In France, the proportion of asylum seekers from European countries increased once between 1989 and 1991 to over a third. After a drop to 25 per cent in 1992, the share of European applicants grew again and rose to over 40 per cent by 1996. This was accompanied by a considerable decline in the share of African applicants and an increase in the share of applicants from Asia and the Middle East.

The proportion of applicants from European countries in the Netherlands and the UK was one of the lowest in 1988 and increased considerably by 1992 to 44.7 per cent and 34.3 per cent respectively. After 1992, the European share declined in both countries to around 22 per cent, though this was still above 1988 levels. In the Netherlands, the African share dropped considerably and applicants from America had almost disappeared by 1996. The proportion of asylum seekers from Asia and the Middle East increased substantially, in particular after 1992. In the UK, both the share of applicants from African countries and from Asia and the Middle East declined between 1988 and 1992. While the African share increased to the 1988 level of just below 40 per cent, the proportion of asylum seekers from Asia and the Middle East doubled after 1992 and rose to over 60 per cent.

7.2.1 The main countries of origin

This part of the analysis is based on data from eight destination countries, namely, Austria, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, Finland, France, the Netherlands and the UK, which have provided a breakdown of asylum seekers by citizenship for the period 1985 to 1996. These countries received over 70 per cent of the total applications in the EU/EFTA region during this period.

During the mid-1980s, refugees from Africa, the Indian subcontinent and the Middle East grew in numbers, with Sri Lanka, Iran, Ghana, Zaire and Turkey generating particularly high flows. These flows declined after 1991/92. However, the increase in the number of European asylum seekers was already noticeable by 1988.

Until 1989, Poland was the most important East European country of origin, constituting 21.8 per cent of the total applications in the EU/EFTA states in 1988. After 1991 the number of applicants from Poland declined so sharply that the country dropped out of the top ten sending countries. Other relevant national groups from Central and Eastern Europe in the latter half of the 1980s came from the former Czechoslovakia until 1989 and from Hungary until 1988.

Significant national groups from outside Europe seeking asylum in Western Europe during the last decade have come from Sri Lanka (4.4 per cent), Iran (4.1 per cent) and Zaire (3.8 per cent). There were ten further relevant source countries whose shares ranged from 1.8 per cent to 2.9 per cent of the total submitted asylum applications. In Europe, these were the former Soviet Union and Bulgaria; in Africa: Somalia, Ghana, and Nigeria; in Asia and the Middle East: Vietnam, Afghanistan, India, Pakistan and Lebanon.

The most important countries of origin during 1988-96 were the former Yugoslavia (17.4 per cent of the total applications), Romania (11.2 per cent) and Turkey (10 per cent). Almost 1.3

million applications were received from these three countries out of the total of 3,340,000 claims made in the eight countries named above.

After 1988, asylum seekers from the former Yugoslavia arrived in larger numbers. They were the top national group of persons seeking asylum in Western Europe after 1990. In addition, many more were accepted under temporary protection schemes which did not fall within general asylum procedures. In 1992, applicants from the former Yugoslavia reached a peak of 27.8 per cent of all applications, declining to 14.4 per cent in 1996. However, it still remained the largest source country (see Table 7.6).

In 1992, asylum applications from Turkish citizens ranked third with 6.2 per cent, despite a strong increase in the number of applications made since 1988. By 1996, Turkey constituted the second largest source of asylum seekers with 13.4 per cent of all applications submitted.

Between 1990 and 1993, asylum seekers from Romania formed a significant share of applicants in Western Europe, reaching over 20 per cent in 1992, thus remaining in the top three sending countries for that period. Bulgarians emerged as a significant group between 1990 and 1994. However, applications from this country dwindled after 1993, and numbers of asylum seekers from the former Soviet Union became more significant after 1994, forming 5.7 per cent of the total applications in 1996, thus constituting the fourth largest national group.

There was a growing number of asylum seekers coming from outside Europe, mainly from African countries. Since 1989, and in particular during 1990 and 1991, there was a strong increase in the number of applicants from Somalia, Zaire, Ghana, Nigeria, and Ethiopia. In 1992, the share of applicants from Zaire, Ghana, Nigeria, and Somalia constituted between 1.8 and 3 per cent of total applications. Sri Lanka (2.3 per cent) and Vietnam (2.4 per cent) were the only Asian countries among the top ten countries of origin.

Despite the overall declining proportion of asylum seekers from Asia and the Middle East between 1988 and 1992, the numbers of applicants from some individual countries were growing. Increases occurred in particular from Lebanon between 1988 and 1993; from Vietnam between 1990 and 1993; from Afghanistan, India, Sri Lanka and Pakistan since 1989; from Iran and Iraq since 1990; and from Hong Kong since 1991.

The number of Algerian applicants increased dramatically in 1992 and it appeared among the top ten national groups in 1993 and 1994. Numbers of asylum seekers from Turkey, Iraq and Afghanistan increased again after 1995.

Since 1995, the former Yugoslavia and Turkey have remained the top two sending countries and have now been joined by Iraq and the Soviet Union respectively. In 1996 Afghanistan (4.9 per cent), Sri Lanka (4.4 per cent) and Iran (4.1 per cent) ranked fifth, sixth and seventh. The proportion of applicants from Romania, however, was down to 3.3 per cent, back to the 1987 level, with Somalia and Zaire following with 2.9 per cent. The proportion of asylum claims made in 1996 by the top three national groups (36.8 per cent) and by the top ten (64.9 per cent) had declined considerably compared to 1992 and 1988.

It is often assumed that the increase in the number of asylum seekers in the early 1990s was due to applicants from eastern and central European countries after the abolition of exit controls (Böcker et al., 1997). However, Table 7.6 shows that, apart from asylum seekers from Bulgaria and the former Soviet Union, the large numbers of citizens from the former Czechoslovakia and from Poland and Hungary arrived before 1990. Asylum migration from the main non-European countries of origin in the mid-1990s was already increasing. These countries of origin contributed to the overall increase in the number of asylum seekers from low income countries.

Table 7.6 - Top ten nationalities of asylum applicants in selected EU states 1985-96

Rank	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
1	lk	ir	tr	pl	tr	ro	ex_yu	ex_yu	ex_yu	ex_yu	ex_yu	ex_yu
2	ir	tr	pl	tr	pl	tr	ro	ro	ro	tr	tr	tr
3	tr	pl	ir	ex_yu	ex_yu	ex_yu	tr	tr	bg	ro	iq	iq
4	pl	lb	zr	ir	zr	lb	zr	bg	tr	ex_su	ex_su	ex_su
5	lb	gh	hu	zr	lk	zr	lk	zr	dz	lk	lk	af
6	gh	lk	lk	lk	ro	lk	bg	vn	vn	ir	af	lk
7	in	in	ex_yu	ro	ir	vn	ir	lk	zr	so	so	ir
8	zr	zr	gh	lb	lb	ir	pk	ng	lk	af	ro	ro
9	pk	pk	ex_cs	hu	gh	pl	ng	gh	ex_su	zr	ir	so
10	ex_cs	ro	ro	gh	ex_cs	bg	vn	so	so	dz	ng	zr

Source: Eurostat, IGC, UNHCR

Notes

1. Selected EU States are: AT, BE, DE, DK, ES, FI, FR, NL, PT, UK

7.3 Changing patterns of destination countries

The strong decline of the total share of European asylum seekers occurred mainly in Austria, Germany and Spain where applications by Europeans were dominant in 1988. Most EU/EFTA countries actually experienced an increase in the share of European asylum seekers. The strongest increases happened in Belgium, Portugal and Sweden where the proportion of European applicants increased by about 40 per cent from 1988 to 1996. France and the UK experienced a smaller increase of 15 per cent and 10 per cent over the same period. In Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands the share of European asylum seekers declined again to the 1988 level after a strong increase around 1992.

There was an increase in the share of asylum seekers from Asia and the Middle East during the period 1988 to 1996 but the geographical distribution of this group across the EU/EFTA countries changed. The most significant change was probably the emergence of Austria as a new important destination country, together with Germany, although to a lesser extent. There was an increase of over 50 per cent in the share of applicants from Asia and the Middle East to Austria. Asylum seekers from these regions formed the largest group in 1996 as a result of the large drop of European applicants in 1993. Germany and Finland both experienced an increase of over 20 per cent to around 40 per cent and over 26 per cent respectively in 1996. Of the countries with substantial shares of asylum seekers from Asia and the Middle East in 1988, the proportion of applications lodged in the UK and the Netherlands grew to 60.5 per cent and 52.2 per cent respectively, while the share in Denmark declined by about 17 per cent to 32.2 per cent.

The total increase in the proportion of asylum seekers from African countries was much smaller but the distributional changes were no less dramatic. All countries with substantial shares of African applicants in 1988, above all Portugal, and Finland in 1990, experienced a strong decline, although they remained among the countries with the largest proportions of African applicants. Only in the UK did the African share hardly change after a decline around 1992. Spain emerged as a new important country for African asylum seekers with a strong increase from 8.4 per cent to 32.6 per cent. Smaller increases of between 15 per cent and 7 per cent occurred in Denmark, Austria and Germany. This is particularly remarkable for Austria where asylum seekers from African countries constituted less than one per cent in 1988.

The total proportion of American asylum seekers in Western Europe generally hardly changed but between 1988 and 1996 the geographical distribution altered. Shares of

American asylum seekers were generally negligible in the EU/EFTA region but they tended to focus on a few countries. Norway (29.7 per cent) and Sweden (18.9 per cent) were the only countries with substantial shares in 1988. Spain, France and the Netherlands had registered small shares of applications ranging between 8.4 per cent and 5.3 per cent. In 1996, only Spain had a larger proportion of American applicants (14.2 per cent), followed by Sweden (7.9 per cent) and the UK (6 per cent).

The development of the geographical distribution of asylum seekers by region of origin shows clearly the move away from three or four countries with very large shares of applicants from a particular region in 1988 to a more diversified distribution across the EU/EFTA countries in 1996.

A closer examination of the specific patterns of origin and destination shows that asylum seekers from a particular country of origin in many cases tend to go to a particular country within the EU/EFTA region. In most EU countries a small number of nationalities account for a large part, if not the majority of the asylum applications (see Table 7.7).

A breakdown of asylum applications by country of origin is available for nine countries - Germany, Austria, the UK, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Portugal and Finland. Data for Switzerland are only available up to 1992, for Norway up to 1993 and for Sweden up to 1994. Luxembourg only gives a general breakdown by region for asylum applications. Although Spain gives a breakdown of applications by nationality the data set is too patchy. Asylum seekers are usually recorded as nationals of their country of origin but often the very reason why people are fleeing is that they do not accept that ascribed nationality. Asylum seekers from Turkey and Iraq are likely to include a large share of Kurdish people, data on asylum seekers from Somalia do not tell us to which ethnic group they belong and asylum seekers from Lebanon are most likely to be Palestinian.

It can be seen from Table 7.7, that the majority of applications from Central and Eastern Europe have been submitted in Germany and Austria, probably not only because of geographical proximity but also due to historical and ethnic ties. There was large-scale movement of refugees from the former Yugoslavia between 1990 and 1992 to Germany and Austria, though not all are included in the asylum statistics. Applicants from the former Yugoslavia were recorded in all EU countries for which data are available among the main national groups seeking asylum, except in the UK, France and Portugal. Similarly, Romanian asylum seekers formed a large proportion in most Western European countries except in the UK, Denmark and Finland. These two national groups form one of the most dispersed refugee populations in Western Europe. Applicants from sub-Saharan African countries were mainly found in Belgium, the UK, France and Portugal. Other national groups seek asylum almost exclusively in one country, for example, applicants from Vietnam and Mali form noticeable proportions only in France; citizens of India and Pakistan made asylum claims mainly in the UK and Belgium; in Denmark, applicants from Lebanon were among the main national groups seeking asylum; and in Finland they came from the former Soviet Union.

Table 7.7 - Main national groups of asylum seekers in selected EU countries 1985-1996

Country of destination	Main national groups of asylum seekers	Total numbers	Share out of total applications in %
Germany ¹	former Yugoslavia	455,145	22.3
	Romania	277,969	13.6
	Turkey	224,376	11
	Sri Lanka	113,990	5.6
	Poland	106,703	5.2
	Iran	85,287	4.2
Austria ²	Bulgaria	80,877	4.0
	Romania	37,559	24.5
	former Yugoslavia	21,623	14.1
	former Czechoslovakia	12,430	8.1
	Hungary	11,600	7.6
	Turkey	11,080	7.2
United Kingdom ³	Poland	10,873	7.1
	Iran	7,961	5.2
	Sri Lanka	23,255	9.2
	Somalia	17,071	6.7
	Nigeria	15,878	6.3
	Pakistan	15,628	6.2
Belgium ⁴	Turkey	15,392	6.1
	India	15,030	5.9
	Zaire	13,415	5.3
	Ghana	12,814	5.1
	Zaire	16,238	11.8
	Romania	15,879	11.5
The Netherlands	former Yugoslavia	14,272	10.4
	India	8,555	6.2
	Ghana	8,131	5.9
	Turkey	7,794	5.7
	Pakistan	5,798	4.2
	former Yugoslavia	40,597	16.3
France	Somalia	25,893	10.4
	Iran	20,613	8.3
	Sri Lanka	16,279	6.5
	Iraq	15,416	6.2
	Afghanistan	11,141	4.5
	Romania	9,923	4.0
Denmark	Turkey	63,749	15.9
	Zaire	40,635	10.1
	Sri Lanka	28,776	7.2
	Romania	25,940	6.5
	Vietnam	18,899	4.7
	Mali	17,629	4.4
Portugal	former Yugoslavia	20,747	24.2
	Iran	8,004	9.3
	Somalia	7,298	8.5
	Iraq	6,707	7.8
	Sri Lanka	6,325	7.4
	Lebanon	4,709	5.5
Finland ⁵	Romania	1,850	41.8
	Angola	849	19.2
	Zaire	423	9.6
Finland ⁵	former Yugoslavia	2,997	23.2
	former Soviet Union	2,658	20.6
	Somalia	2,538	19.6

Source: Eurostat, IGC, UNHCR

Notes

1. May include 1997 data
2. Breakdown by national origin is missing for 1996
3. May include 1998 data
4. 1988-96
5. 1990-96

In Austria, the rise in asylum applications during the 1980s and early 1990s was mainly due to an increase in refugees from European countries. Altogether, at least 67 per cent of all asylum applicants in Austria came from Eastern and South-eastern European countries. Their numbers increased from over 6,000 in 1985 to over 19,000 in the peak year of 1991. The most important countries of origin were the former Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Poland and Turkey. After 1990, the relevance of the former Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland declined and the former Yugoslavia became one of the most important countries of origin. Until 1988, European asylum seekers formed over 90 per cent of all applications. From 1989 on, the share of refugees from Asia and the Middle East began to grow and rose from 4.9 per cent to 21.3 per cent in 1990. This period around 1990 and 1991 was a turning point in Austria, with an increase of non-European asylum seekers. By 1996, the number of asylum claims from European countries had dropped substantially to just below 2000 (28.5 per cent of the total applications). Half of these came from former Yugoslavia. The largest share of asylum seekers in 1996 came from Asia and the Middle East, constituting 58.2 per cent of all applications. The main countries of origin were Iraq (22.7 per cent), Afghanistan (11 per cent) and Iran (9.4 per cent). The share of asylum seekers from African countries was negligible in the 1980s, rising within a year to 7 per cent in 1991 (mainly Ghana and Nigeria) and to 10.4 per cent in 1996 (main countries are Liberia and Nigeria). After changes of the asylum law in 1992, there was a general decline in the number of applicants from eastern European countries, in particular from the former Yugoslavia. In 1996, the main national groups to seek asylum in Austria were from Iraq (22.7 per cent), former Yugoslavia (14.7 per cent), Afghanistan (11 per cent), Iran (9.4 per cent) and from Turkey (6.8 per cent).

During the mid-1980s most asylum seekers in Germany came from Asian countries, constituting 60 per cent of all applications in 1985. The turning point came in 1987 with a rise in European asylum applicants from 25 per cent to over 63 per cent. The share of applicants from former eastern bloc countries increased to over 35 per cent in the same year, rising to about 66 per cent in 1993 (all European applicants: 72 per cent), but by 1997 approximately 24 per cent of all persons seeking asylum in Germany came from Eastern and South-eastern Europe; in total about 40 per cent came from European countries. African asylum seekers were only among the top ten countries of origin during the mid-1980s (Ghana, Ethiopia) and again between 1991 and 1993 (Nigeria, Zaire, Algeria), reflecting current violent conflicts. After 1993, the number of asylum seekers from Asia increased, forming around 40 per cent of all applications in 1996 as opposed to 15.6 per cent in 1993. After 1993, Armenians and Afghans emerged as new national groups among the top ten nationalities but on the whole, the main countries of origin were stable.

The United Kingdom received very few asylum seekers from Eastern Europe. The largest group were applicants from the former Yugoslavia with a share of 4.7 per cent of all applications. In 1992, this group formed about 23 per cent of all claims made in that year, a sudden rise from less than one per cent in the previous year. Subsequently, the share of applicants from the former Yugoslavia fell to 3.5 per cent in 1996, rising again to over 17 per cent in 1998. During the mid-1980s, larger shares of asylum applicants, ranging from 4 per cent to 16 per cent, came from African countries, namely Ethiopia, Somalia, Uganda, Zaire. Except for Somalia, shares of applicants from these countries declined to around 1 per cent after 1993. Applicants from Angola formed a noticeable share in 1990 and 1991, reaching about 13 per cent, then declining immediately the following year to 1 per cent. Ghana was among the top five principal countries of origin between 1991 and 1994, Nigeria between 1993 and 1996. Between 1994 and 1996 Nigeria formed the main country of origin. This is in contrast to the predominance of Asian countries among the top five countries of origin in the mid-1980s, namely Sri Lanka, Iran, Pakistan and Iraq. The share of applications from asylum seekers from Iran and Iraq declined after 1989 to less than 3 per cent, but in terms of numbers these national groups show an increasing trend since 1995. The more interesting developments in the UK can be observed after 1995 when numbers of asylum seekers from the former Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union and Poland began to rise. New national

groups of applicants emerged from Colombia, China and Afghanistan while the share of applicants from India and Pakistan was falling.

In Belgium the rise in asylum applications was mainly due to an increase from European countries. In 1988, the majority of applicants, 44.8 per cent, came from African countries, 31.2 per cent from Asia and the Middle East and only 21.8 per cent from Europe. The largest groups were from Ghana (25.4 per cent), Zaire and India with over 10 per cent each, Turkey and Yugoslavia with over 7 per cent each. Within a year, by 1990 the share of applicants from Europe rose from about 26 per cent to 42.8 per cent. In that same year, the share of asylum claims from Africa fell to 32.9 per cent, and those from Asia and the Middle East to 23.2 per cent. The main applicant groups were from Romania, Turkey, Ghana, Zaire and Poland. In the peak year of asylum applications (1993), 41 per cent of all claims came from European countries, with almost half of them from Romania, followed by the former Yugoslavia (8.3 per cent). 37.8 per cent arrived from African countries, with a large proportion (15.7 per cent) from Zaire, followed by Ghana (3.9 per cent) and Nigeria (3.4 per cent). The share of applicants from Asia and the Middle East was 20.5 per cent, with over half of them coming from India and 4.7 per cent from Pakistan. By 1996, the share of applicants from Asia and the Middle East had dropped to 10.8 per cent, with Armenians now forming the largest group at 7 per cent, followed by Pakistan at 2.5 per cent. The share of applicants from India was down to 1.5 per cent. Asylum seekers from Africa formed 27.9 per cent, with the largest groups coming from Zaire (6.8 per cent), Rwanda (3.3) and Liberia (2.9). The share of asylum seekers from Europe had increased substantially to 60.3 per cent with by far the largest group coming from former Yugoslavia (23.1), followed by Romania (6.1) and Turkey (5.9). A larger increase was also recorded for refugees from Bulgaria (4.9 per cent).

Throughout the period 1985 to 1996 asylum seekers in the Netherlands came mainly from Asian countries. The top five national groups during the second half of the 1980s were Sri Lanka, Surinam, Iran and Lebanon but also Turkey, Poland, Ghana, Somalia and Ethiopia. The strong increase in total applications in 1987 coincided with larger increases in the claims from nationals from Zaire, Ghana, India and Pakistan. The second substantial increase in total applications in 1989 and 1990 was caused by growing claims from persons seeking asylum from Poland and Romania, and, after 1991, from the former Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union. Applications from persons from Somalia, Zaire, Sri Lanka, Lebanon, Iraq and Iran also continued to rise. Between 1991 and 1995, most asylum claims were made by persons from the former Yugoslavia, followed by applicants from Somalia, Iran and Iraq. The peak of about 52,600 total applications in 1994 can be explained partly by a rise in the number of applications from persons from former Yugoslavia (24.9 per cent of all applications), Somalia (10.3 per cent), Iran (11.6 per cent), former Soviet Union (6.4 per cent) and Romania (5.3 per cent). Asylum applications from other national groups more than doubled their number, namely Algeria, Zaire, Angola, Afghanistan, but their share remained under 5 per cent each. After 1994, the number of asylum applications dropped to about 29,300, accompanied by a decline in applications from persons from the former Yugoslavia and Romania, Algeria, Zaire, Angola, Afghanistan and Iran. After a brief period of decline in total applications in 1995 and 1996, asylum claims rose again in 1997 and figures indicated an increasing trend in applications from persons from the former Yugoslavia, Turkey, Afghanistan and Iraq.

Until 1991, the composition of the top five national groups seeking asylum in France was relatively stable. The main groups had come from Turkey, Zaire, Vietnam and Sri Lanka, and in 1985/86 also from Ghana, whose place was then taken by asylum seekers from Malawi. Applications reached their peak in 1989, which saw a strong increase in the share of claims from European applicants (33.6 per cent), a small decline in the share from Africa (38.2 per cent) and a small increase in the share from Asia and the Middle East (22.7 per cent). The number of applications generally decreased substantially in 1992 by 39 per cent. This year

was also a turning point in the composition of the top five national groups. Persons seeking asylum from the former Yugoslavia, Romania and China now formed the largest groups after Sri Lanka and Zaire. However, numbers of applicants from Romania and China had already shown an increase after 1988. In relative terms, the share of applications from European asylum seekers declined to 24.8 per cent in 1992 while the share of asylum seekers from Asia and the Middle East rose to 38.5 per cent. The proportion of African nationals continued to decline and after 1992, the number of asylum applications also declined. The number of applications from both Africa and Asia and the Middle East fell, while there was a 16 per cent increase in applications from European countries. The number of Romanian asylum seekers grew, forming the largest national group since 1994. Applications from the former Yugoslavia declined and were no longer among the top five national groups after 1995. Instead, applications from Algerians increased after 1992, making the second largest group in 1994 and 1995. Further important groups of asylum seekers in the mid-1990s came from Zaire, Sri Lanka, Turkey and China. The few figures available for 1996 and 1997 indicate an increasing trend in nationals from Romania, China and Sri Lanka.

As in France, the composition of the top five national groups seeking asylum in Denmark was relatively stable until 1990, coming mainly from Lebanon, Sri Lanka, Iran, Iraq and Poland. Total applications declined continuously, from 8,700 in 1985 to 4,600 in 1991. After 1991, numbers of applicants from the former Yugoslavia increased sharply, leading to a peak in the total applications of over 14,300 in 1993. In 1992 and 1993 asylum seekers from the former Yugoslavia accounted for over 60 per cent of this total. Asylum seekers from the former Soviet Union were among the top five national groups between 1991 and 1996. Although other national groups from Central and Eastern European countries such as Poland, Romania and Bulgaria formed small shares of less than 3.5 per cent, over 35 per cent of all asylum applications lodged in Denmark during the period 1985 to 1996 were from eastern Europeans. After 1991, new non-European national groups emerged among the top five, namely persons seeking asylum from Somalia and Afghanistan. By 1996, the main national groups seeking asylum in Denmark came, as in the 1980s, from non-European countries, namely, Somalia (24.1 per cent), Iraq (11.8 per cent), Sri Lanka (5.1 per cent) and Afghanistan (4.1 per cent). Nationals from the former Yugoslavia formed 11.6 per cent and from the former Soviet Union 5.9 per cent.

In Portugal, asylum applications remained below 300 until 1991. The majority of asylum seekers in 1986 came from Angola (18.6 per cent), Mozambique (20.3 per cent) and Ghana (22.9 per cent). While applications from the latter two countries declined, an increase in 1987 and 1988 to over 250 total applications was largely due to a rise in asylum seekers from Angola, forming over 82 per cent in 1988. The rise in asylum claims after 1991 was due to applicants from Zaire and Angola, forming 40 per cent and 29 per cent of all applications respectively in 1992. Persons from Ghana seeking asylum formed 16.7 per cent in 1991, declining subsequently to around 1 per cent. Angolan asylum seekers constituted about 19 per cent in 1993. Total applications peaked in 1993 with 1,659 claims. This was due to a large rise in asylum seekers from Romania which formed about 62 per cent of the total. Asylum seekers from Angola and Zaire were the only other groups with noticeable shares of 18.8 per cent and 5.9 per cent respectively. Subsequent to the introduction of the asylum law in 1993, asylum applications fell to 614 in 1994 and continued to decline to 245 claims in 1997. However, the predominance of Romanian asylum seekers remained until 1995. In 1996, the share of Romanian applicants dropped to 15.6 per cent. Other relevant national groups after 1993 were from the former Soviet Union, increasing their share from 2.9 per cent in 1993 to 11.5 per cent in 1996 though declining in absolute terms. Several national groups peaked in individual years, maybe reflecting events in the country of origin or flight routes. Thus, asylum seekers from India and Pakistan had a share of 5.7 per cent in 1994. Iranians formed around four per cent in 1988 and 1996; nationals from Sri Lanka had a share of 8.6 per cent in 1985 and of 12.9 per cent in 1989; Polish nationals had a significant share during 1989 and 1990, reaching 19.7 per cent. After 1995, the number of persons

seeking asylum from Liberia increased in absolute and relative terms, forming 22.4 per cent in 1997 compared to 5.7 per cent in 1995. A similar development was observed for asylum seekers from Sierra Leone, increasing their share from 2.7 per cent in 1995 to 13.1 per cent in 1997. The number of applicants from Zaire increased again after 1995, forming 10.4 per cent in 1996 and 14.7 per cent in 1997. These figures would indicate that after a period of mainly east European asylum applications, including those from the former Soviet Union, between 1993 and 1995, Portugal again received more asylum seekers from African countries, returning to the trend of the 1980s. However, the main countries of origin changed. Whereas the mid-1980s was dominated by asylum seekers from Angola, Ghana and Mozambique, the 1990s saw asylum seekers coming from Liberia, Zaire and Sierra Leone.

Data on the national origin of asylum seekers in Finland are only available from 1990 to 1996. The legal basis for asylum procedures is the Aliens Act of 1991, amended in 1993 with the introduction of the safe third country and safe country of origin concepts. Prior to 1990 the number of persons seeking asylum in Finland was small, amounting to 179 persons in 1989. Numbers increased in 1990 to over 2,700 asylum applicants. The majority, 52.5 per cent came from Somalia, followed by Romanians (12.2 per cent) and nationals from the former Soviet Union (7.1 per cent) and the former Yugoslavia (6.7 per cent). After 1990, numbers of asylum seekers from the former Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia rose, peaking in 1992. Around 830 persons (23 per cent) from the former Soviet Union lodged an asylum claim and about 1,870 from former Yugoslavia (51.4 per cent). While numbers of asylum seekers from Somalia fell to 320 in 1991, applicants from Iraq increased during 1992 and 1993. Following the legislative changes in 1993, the total number of persons seeking asylum in Finland dropped from over 2,000 in 1993 to 836 in 1994 and continued to decline. Applications in 1997, however, totalled 973 and indicate an increasing trend. In absolute terms, most national groups declined after 1993, though the few figures which are available for 1997 indicate an increasing trend for asylum seekers from Turkey, Somalia and Iraq. In relative terms, while asylum seekers from the former Soviet Union, Romania and former Yugoslavia formed the majority in the early 1990s, after 1993 the share of applicants from the former Soviet Union and Somalia wavered around 20 per cent, followed by Iraq (6.6 per cent to 10 per cent) and Iran (around 8 per cent in 1995/96). Asylum seekers from Sri Lanka emerged as a new national group among the top five in 1996, forming 5.2 per cent, the same share as Iranian asylum seekers. On the whole, the composition of the top five national groups was relatively stable.

7.4 Development of Asylum Decisions

One of the main problems in comparing and summarising the different asylum data sets from the EU/EFTA countries has been that every country uses a different method and different categories for classifying refugees (Eurostat 1994a, b; NIDI, 1996a, b). Asylum seekers whose application has been rejected are often not deported but may be granted an alternative status for humanitarian reasons. Positive asylum decisions in the individual countries include different categories: asylum seekers recognised as refugees under the Geneva Convention (Convention refugees), rejected asylum seekers who are allowed to remain on humanitarian grounds (*de facto refugees*), dependants, appeals, quota refugees and persons who have been granted temporary protection.⁶ For various reasons, more and more asylum seekers are found not to fulfil the criteria of the Geneva Convention but Western European governments are bound by national and international obligations such as the European Convention on Human Rights. In this category fall so-called *de facto* refugees, who cannot be deported for humanitarian reasons, and who have formed the largest share of applicants in recent years. These temporary residence permits granted on humanitarian grounds vary in form and content from country to country.

⁶ For a detailed country by country information see NIDI (1996b).

Quota refugees are usually automatically granted Convention status. Quota refugees are mainly resettled from South Asia but also small numbers come from South America and elsewhere. Refugees brought in under international quotas became relatively insignificant in the 1980s. Between 1975 and 1985, some 150,000 refugees from South - East Asia were accepted by European Community member states. This flow was particularly important in France, which took nearly two-thirds of the total (Yen, 1986). Many EU/EFTA countries do not have a specified annual quota but some, such as Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, Italy and Norway, have accepted a certain number of refugees upon a request by UNHCR, most recently from the former Yugoslavia, and in Denmark from Iran and Iraq. However, annual quotas for the resettlement of refugees do not amount to more than a few thousand a year in Western Europe (IGC 1997).

In the wake of the war in the former Yugoslavia and the subsequent arrival of large numbers of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, EU governments granted temporary protection status to these persons, either arriving on their own or in the framework of an organised programme. In some countries, these refugees are included in the asylum statistics and may also submit an asylum claim under the normal asylum procedure. However, in other countries they are not listed in the statistics and, for example in Austria, are even barred from the asylum procedure. Altogether, over 600,000 refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina were granted temporary protection outside the individual asylum procedures in many EU states. Every EU/EFTA state has admitted war refugees from the former Yugoslavia but the largest number of them, 345,000, went to Germany. Other important receiving countries were Austria with over 80,000 and Sweden with over 63,500. Switzerland, the Netherlands and Denmark admitted between 23,000 and 27,000 Bosnian refugees under temporary protection programmes (UNHCR 1997:209). Such policies reflect a growing inclination to substitute limited, temporary solutions for the traditionally more comprehensive and durable protection mandated by the Geneva Convention. France, for example, granted many Algerians fleeing persecution by Islamist groups temporary residence permits in lieu of refugee status. In Italy temporary protection is also available for asylum seekers from Somalia. Persons covered by such schemes often have an inferior legal status to Convention refugees. The assistance which this status confers on the individual depends on the receiving country's regulations.

There are no data on the deportation of asylum seekers after the failure of their asylum claim. Rejected asylum seekers are not always automatically deported. They may be able to appeal against the negative decision or apply for a residence permit on a different legal basis, as in Belgium, Finland and France. Other rejected asylum seekers cannot be deported for technical or formal reasons, usually because of missing travel documents or because the countries of origin refuse to re-admit them. In some states such as Italy, Belgium and Greece there is no legal status for rejected and undeportable asylum seekers. They live in tolerated legal insecurity (Liebaut et al., 1997; IGC, 1997).

Statistics on asylum decisions are for most EU/EFTA countries incomplete. Eight EU/EFTA countries, namely, Austria, the UK, the Netherlands, Norway, Finland, Sweden, Denmark and Luxembourg provide a breakdown of all positive decisions by status: Convention refugees, and asylum seekers granted other forms of protection. Only the UK, the Netherlands and Norway give this information for the complete period 1985 to 1996. Finland gives a status breakdown for the years 1987 to 1996; Sweden for the years 1990 to 1996; Denmark for 1991 to 1995; Austria for 1991 to 1993; and Luxembourg for 1986 to 1993. The UK and the Netherlands are the only two countries that provide a complete data set by status breakdown and country of origin for the period 1985 to 1996. Sweden provides a citizenship breakdown for all positive decisions from 1985 to 1993, though this information cannot be related to the asylum seekers granted Convention status. A breakdown by region of origin is provided by Norway (1991 to 1994) and Finland (1991 to 1996). The remaining

three countries, Austria, Denmark and Luxembourg, do not give a breakdown by citizenship or region of origin.

Switzerland, Germany, Austria, France, Spain, Italy, Belgium and Ireland give only the recognition rate for asylum seekers granted refugee status under the Geneva Convention for the period 1985 to 1996. The information is very patchy. Switzerland, Germany and Spain provide data for the period 1985 to 1996, though information on the origin of the applicants is scarce. Switzerland has a citizenship breakdown for the period 1988 to 1994, Germany only for selected years (1990, 1991 and 1993) but gives a breakdown by region of origin for the years 1985 to 1993. There is no information on the origin of the refugees in Spain. France provides data on the number of Convention refugees by region of origin from 1985 to 1996 and Italy by country of origin from 1993 to 1996. Ireland gives figures for asylum seekers granted refugee status for the years 1991 to 1996. Belgium provides data on decisions by citizenship breakdown from 1988 to 1993, however, these are by year of initial applications, not decisions. Thus data are incompatible with the other EU/EFTA countries and, in particular, data for the most recent years are still being updated.

Iceland gives data on total positive asylum decisions and Greece and Portugal provide data on Convention status granted but data on total asylum decisions and rejections are only available for a few years. Hence, it is not possible to identify trends in the share of positive decisions out of the total decisions.

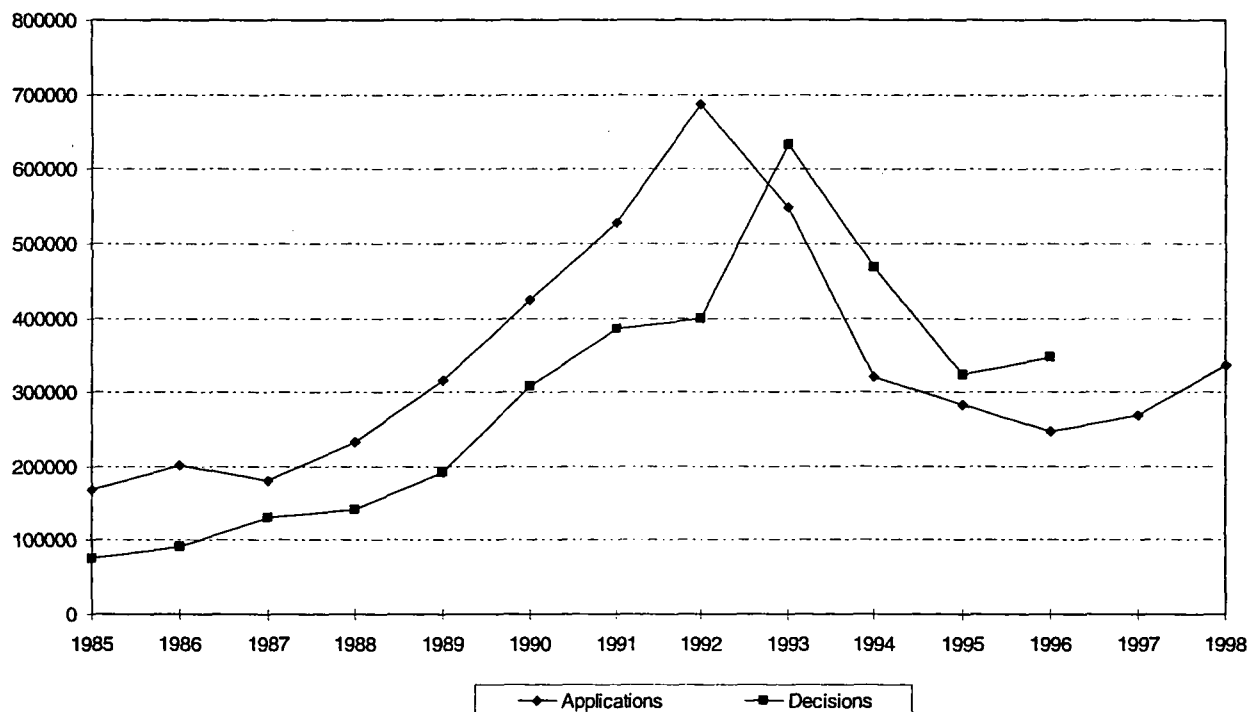
The development in the numbers of decisions taken on asylum applications broadly reflects the trend of the application rate (see Figure 7.4). In the countries for which data are available the number of asylum decisions grew slowly between 1985 and 1988, increasing in most countries since 1989 and 1990, in Austria and Norway since 1988. In most countries the number of decisions peaked in 1992 or 1993. Most EU/EFTA countries experienced a large drop in the number of applications following the peak year. The trend for the number of decisions is similar, although the main destination countries, namely, Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK, had an increase in the numbers of decisions in 1996. In the less important destination countries, Ireland and Finland, numbers of asylum decisions also increased after 1995/96. The number of decisions taken on asylum applications in Ireland, Italy, Greece and Portugal may seem marginal with under 1000 in 1996. However, these countries have only recently established asylum procedures (Liebaut et al., 1997). In total, numbers of asylum decisions increased by almost 20,000 to about 344,000 from 1995 to 1996. This development is likely to continue during the coming years when the national authorities deal with the backlog of applications.

Germany has dominated the statistics on the number of decisions made since the late 1980s. Of the overall record number of around 633,000 decisions in 1993, more than half were made in Germany. In the two previous years (for which the data set is almost complete except for Ireland and Portugal), Germany accounted for almost 40 per cent of all asylum decisions in the EU/EFTA countries. Yet despite a steady downward trend in numbers in Germany since 1993, Germany accounted for over 56 per cent of all decisions in 1994 and over 44 per cent in the following two years. The Netherlands and the UK recorded the highest figures in 1996 since 1985, with about 22 per cent and over 11 per cent of all asylum decisions respectively. In France, among the most important destination countries during the late 1980s, the number of decisions taken on asylum peaked in 1990 and 1991, and then declined continually, making only 6.5 per cent of all asylum decisions in 1996 compared to 28.4 per cent in 1991.

Data on total asylum decisions are not complete for Greece but the statistics available seem to reflect the peak in applications. Greece received most applications during the late 1980s, peaking in 1988, followed by a decline in asylum requests until 1994. Italy and Norway also experienced a stronger increase in the number of asylum applications in 1988. This is partly

reflected in larger numbers of asylum decisions in Italy in 1987 and 1988, and in Norway in 1988 and 1989. Italy reaches a peak of over 23,200 decisions in 1991, followed by a dramatic decline to over 2,500 in 1992 and 543 in 1996, while numbers in Norway fluctuated and went up to over 5,200 in 1993 and then declined gradually to over 2,000 in 1996.

Figure 7.4 - Total Asylum Applications and Decisions (for all 18 countries), 1985-1998



Source: Eurostat, IGC, UNHCR

7.4.1 Rate of acceptance

Data for the UK, the Netherlands, Norway, Finland, Sweden, Denmark and Luxembourg enable an analysis of the development of the recognition rate according to the Geneva Convention compared to other forms of protection on humanitarian grounds. The UK, the Netherlands and Sweden provide further data on asylum seekers allowed to remain by country of origin and for Norway and Finland by region of origin. This allows to some extent a broadening of the analysis to relate changing recognition rates to changing countries of origin of the main national groups seeking asylum as well as legislative changes.

In the United Kingdom the recognition rate for Convention refugees fluctuated considerably between 1985 and 1990, down from about 22 per cent to around 11 per cent in 1986 and 1987, rising to over 31 per cent out of all asylum decisions in 1989. The proportion of asylum seekers allowed to remain on humanitarian grounds varied accordingly from 55.5 per cent to 70.5 per cent. From 1990 to 1991 the share of asylum seekers granted Convention status plummeted from around 23 per cent down to 8.3 per cent and the share of applicants granted other forms of protection fell from about 59 per cent to about 29 per cent. After 1991, the share of Convention refugees remained under ten per cent, falling to a low of 3.2 per cent in 1992. The share of asylum seekers allowed to remain on humanitarian grounds increased again to over 47 per cent in 1993.

However, the granting of other forms of protection was significantly reduced upon the introduction of the Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act of 1993. In 1994, other forms of protection were granted in 17.4 per cent of all asylum decisions and only 13 per cent in

1996. The share of Convention refugees rose slightly after a drop from 6.8 per cent in 1993 to 3.9 per cent in 1994, to 5.7 per cent in 1996. Compared to other major destination countries this is a small proportion: in 1995 and 1996, the only years for which a breakdown is available, in 1996 Germany granted Convention status for about 16 per cent of all decisions, the Netherlands about 12 per cent. In total numbers, Germany admitted 24,000 asylum seekers as Convention refugees in 1996, the Netherlands over 8,800 and the UK 2,240 refugees.

These developments reflect changes in the main countries of origin of the asylum applicants. During 1985 to 1987, most asylum seekers granted Convention status were from African and Middle Eastern countries, especially Iran, Ethiopia, Iraq, Somalia and Ghana. The vast majority of persons granted other forms of protection came from Asian and Middle Eastern countries, mainly from Sri Lanka and Iran. In 1988 and 1989 about 75 per cent of Convention refugees came from African countries, primarily from Ethiopia and Somalia. African asylum seekers also formed a large proportion of persons allowed to stay on humanitarian grounds (Ghana, Somalia, Uganda) together with asylum seekers from the Middle East (Iran, Iraq, Lebanon). After 1989 the share of European asylum seekers granted refugee status rose, constituting over 42 per cent in 1992 but declining to around 16 per cent in 1994. After 1994, increasingly refugees came from the former Yugoslavia and were the largest group in 1996 and 1997. The strong increase in Convention refugees in 1996 was mainly due to the large increase of European refugees accepted, from 355 to 1,220 persons in 1996, or 54.5 per cent. While the number of total Convention refugees continued to rise, numbers of European asylum seekers granted Convention status declined in 1998 and their share fell to about 20 per cent. Middle Eastern refugees formed over two thirds of the applicants granted Convention status in 1994 and 1995, predominantly from Iran and to a lesser extent from Iraq. Since then their share has declined to 13 per cent in 1998, mainly from Iraq. The most important group of asylum seekers granted refugee status in recent years was from African countries, 1,460 persons in 1997, notably from Somalia, Algeria, Nigeria and Sudan.

The Netherlands allowed about 23,600 asylum seekers to stay in 1996, a share of 31.3 per cent out of all asylum decisions. The proportion of people allowed to remain was relatively low in the 1980s, falling from 24.1 per cent in 1985 to 15.6 per cent in 1991, though this constituted a continuous annual increase from about 760 to 2700 people in 1991. In 1992, the number of asylum seekers allowed to remain substantially increased to over 11,800, a share of 36.8 per cent of all decisions. The share of positive decisions peaked at 48.8 per cent in the following year and then declined to 31.3 per cent in 1996, while the total number of positive decisions continued to increase. The main national groups granted asylum and other forms of protection were from Asian countries: Iran, Iraq, Sri Lanka, Turkey, India, Afghanistan, but also from Surinam, Ethiopia and Somalia. From 1991 on, refugees from the former Soviet Union were among the top ten national groups granted asylum, followed by refugees from the former Yugoslavia, which formed the largest group between 1993 and 1996. Since 1994 three national groups from African countries, Angola, Zaire, Liberia, were among the top ten groups, reflecting ongoing military conflicts in these countries.

In Sweden, numbers of asylum seekers granted asylum or another form of protection rose from around 7,300 in 1985 to about 12,800 in 1992. The majority came from Asian and Middle Eastern countries, except in 1989 and 1991 when their share fell below 50 per cent. The main national groups were from Iran, Iraq, Vietnam and Lebanon. In 1989, the number of African persons peaked at almost 6000, constituting about 24 per cent of all positive decisions. The main national groups were from Somalia and Ethiopia. The share of European persons granted protection wavered around 16 per cent, with a small peak of over 19 per cent in 1991. The main European national groups in the second half of the 1980s came from Romania, Poland, Hungary and Turkey. After 1989 the most important European source countries were the former Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia, with persons from

the latter forming the largest group in 1993. In 1993, two new national groups, from Cuba and Peru, emerged among the top ten groups granted protection.

Like the UK, Norway had a relatively high share of positive decisions until 1989, when they declined from 72.6 per cent to 57.6 per cent. Numbers of asylum seekers allowed to remain, however, increased from under 1,000 in 1985/86 to over 2,600 in 1987 and over 4,000 in 1988/89. From then on, the number of persons allowed to remain declined continually, except for a small peak in 1994, falling below 1,000 since 1995 but still constituting a share of 30 per cent in 1996. The vast majority of asylum seekers granted refugee status in Norway were from Asian and Middle Eastern countries, their proportion rising from 73 per cent in 1991 to over 95 per cent in 1994. In absolute terms, however, the number of recognised refugees declined from 101 in 1991 to 22 in 1994. Numbers of asylum seekers granted other forms of protection declined from 1,654 in 1991 to 471 in 1993, rising to 1,353 in 1994. Protection for humanitarian reasons is often granted to persons from Iran, Somalia, Ethiopia, Sri Lanka, Lebanon and Iraq (Liebaut et al., 1997). The share of people from Asian and Middle Eastern countries, however, declined from over 67 per cent in 1991 to about 27 per cent in 1994 while the share of Africans granted protection for humanitarian reasons rose in 1992 and 1993 to over 50 per cent, declining to 19 per cent in 1994. The share of Europeans granted protection increased dramatically from less than ten per cent in the early 1990s to over 56 per cent in 1994.

Finland rarely grants Convention status, which fell to below 10 per cent of total asylum decisions after 1988 and after 1991 even below 1 per cent. Figures for the early 1990s are negligible with fewer than 20 persons granted asylum. The share of total positive decisions in the early 1990s declined from over 73 per cent in 1991 to about 58 per cent in 1996. In absolute numbers, persons granted other forms of protection declined from 1,700 in 1991 to 334 in 1996. The *de facto* status, granted on strong humanitarian grounds, was issued to Somalis, Iraqis, some Turkish Kurds and some Zairian asylum seekers (Liebaut et al., 1997:57). A law of 1992 established an exceptional asylum procedure for certain citizens of the former Yugoslavia, who arrived before 22/7/1992 (ibid). In 1991, over 90 per cent of all persons granted protection came from African countries; in 1992 over 35 per cent from both European and African countries. By 1993 the share of Europeans had risen to 82 per cent but substantially declined to 4.5 per cent in 1996. In 1995 and 1996, Africans formed again by far the majority, followed by persons from Asian and Middle Eastern countries as the second largest group.

In Denmark, the share of total positive decisions declined after 1990 from about 65 per cent to around 37 per cent in 1994. The proportion (out of total decisions) of persons granted refugee status declined over the same period from 15 per cent to 8.8 per cent, peaking in 1994 with 19.2 per cent. In 1996, still over 66 per cent of asylum seekers were allowed to remain and about 12 per cent were granted refugee status. The larger number of Convention and *de facto* statuses granted in 1995, over 20,300, was due to the fact that the asylum applications submitted by persons from the former Yugoslavia began to be processed after two years of temporary protection. In general, there was a declining trend in Denmark in the total number of asylum seekers allowed to remain between 1987 and 1994.

The number of asylum seekers granted protection in Luxembourg is negligible, declining from 59 in 1986 to 16 in 1993. Only in April 1996 was legislation passed to establish an asylum procedure.

A second group of countries, Switzerland, Germany, France, Austria, Spain, Italy and Ireland, give figures only on the recognition rate according to the Geneva Convention relative to total asylum decisions. Numbers of Convention refugees in Ireland are very small and are only given for the period 1991 to 1996. The Refugee Act, incorporating the Geneva Convention into Irish law, has only been in force since 1997. The share of asylum seekers

granted Convention status ranged in 1985 from 67 per cent in Spain to 3.7 per cent in the Netherlands. However, in terms of total figures, Germany and France, with a share of around 40 per cent and 43 per cent respectively granted over 11,000 people refugee status while Spain accepted just 177 asylum seekers as Convention refugees.

In Switzerland, the share of Convention refugees fell from 14.2 per cent in 1985 to 3 per cent in 1991, yet the number of asylum seekers allowed to remain was roughly the same at around 900. In 1993, the share of positive decisions increased suddenly to over 14 per cent and declined to 12 per cent, about 2,270 persons, in 1996. The main national groups granted asylum in the late 1980s came from Turkey, Vietnam and Iran. After 1989, refugees from the former Yugoslavia increased, forming the largest group in 1993 and 1994. Other important national groups were from Iraq, Sri Lanka and Afghanistan. The share of European refugees increased from about 54 per cent in 1988 to over 75 per cent in 1994, while the share of refugees from Asia and the Middle East declined from about 37 per cent to around 19 per cent.

The share of positive decisions in Germany fell from about 40 per cent (11,000 people) in 1985 to 5.3 per cent (about 6,500 persons), in 1990, and further to 4.5 per cent (about 16,400 persons) in 1993. Since 1991, the number of persons allowed to remain in the country has increased but the share of this group out of the total decisions increased only after 1994. In 1996, just over 26,000 people were allowed to stay, a share of 17.1 per cent. Until 1991, the majority of refugees came from Asia and the Middle East. In 1993, their share had declined to about 43 per cent and European refugees formed the majority with about 54 per cent. The main national groups granted refugee status in 1990 were from Iran (30 per cent), Turkey (20 per cent), Pakistan (15 per cent) and Albania (10 per cent). In 1993, they came from the former Yugoslavia (30 per cent), Turkey (22 per cent), Sri Lanka (14 per cent) and Iran (13 per cent).

In France, the second most important destination country in the 1980s, the share of Convention refugees fell from 43.3 per cent in 1985 to 15.4 in 1990, but in total numbers the declining trend had already stopped in 1990, when figures increased substantially from around 8,800 in 1989 to around 13,500 and 15,500 in 1990 and 1991. This may reflect the peak of asylum applications in 1988. The proportion of positive decisions continued to increase until 1993 to 28 per cent and then declined to 19.6 per cent in 1996. In total figures, the number of asylum seekers allowed to remain fell after 1992 from around 10,300 to 4,300 in 1996. The majority of asylum seekers granted refugee status came from Asia and the Middle East, though their share declined from 70 per cent in 1985 to around 47 per cent in 1996. In contrast, the share of refugees from African and European countries increased. European refugees formed about 14 per cent in 1985, rising to 29 per cent while the share of African refugees rose strongly from 8 per cent to about 21 per cent.

In Italy, the geographical restrictions of the Geneva Convention, under which only refugees from Europe could be accepted, applied until 1990. The share of Convention refugees out of total asylum decisions increased from around five per cent in 1991 to about 29 per cent in 1996. In absolute terms, however, numbers declined from over 1,000 to 160. During 1993 and 1996, the years for which data by region of origin are available, most refugees came from Asia and the Middle East, followed by those from African countries. However, in 1996 the situation appeared to change, when 61 per cent of asylum seekers granted refugees status came from African countries and only 29 per cent from Asian countries. The share of European refugees declined considerably from about 28 per cent in 1993 to 8 per cent in 1996.

In Austria, the share of Convention refugees declined from 45 per cent in 1985 to about 8 per cent in 1993; a stronger decline occurred after 1989. A similar development can be observed in Spain where the recognition rate declined from 67 per cent in 1985 to about 7

per cent in 1996. Stronger declines occurred after 1986 and again after 1988. In both countries, these figures must be seen against the background of overall rising numbers of total asylum decisions.

Figures for Belgium, which cannot be compared with the other EU/EFTA countries as they are compiled by year of application, show a declining trend in the numbers of refugees after 1989 from about 1,150 to around 400 in 1993. The recognition rate declined from 7 per cent in 1988 to about 5 per cent in 1996. In terms of region of origin, 1988 seems to have been a turning point. In 1988, about 44 per cent of asylum seekers granted refugee status came from Asia and the Middle East, followed by Europe with 30 per cent. After 1988, the share of Asian refugees declined continuously to about 18 per cent in 1993 while the share of European refugees increased to around 45 per cent in 1990, and then dropped to 23 per cent in 1993. The share of refugees from African countries grew from 18 per cent in 1988 to over 51 per cent in 1993. The main country of origin until 1992 was Turkey, replaced by Zaire in 1993. Other important source countries were Vietnam, Iran, Romania. African refugees came mainly from Zaire, Angola, Rwanda and Somalia.

7.5 Conclusion

The analysis of asylum data in the EU and EFTA states focused on three sets of questions. First, the scale of applications and the importance of different destination countries. Second, changes in the main countries of origin and related changes in the importance of destination countries. Third, the development of the recognition rate and other forms of protection, also in relation to changing countries of origin.

Following the rise in asylum applications in the 1980s, total numbers fell significantly in 1993 and 1994. The decline was most marked in Austria, Finland, Germany, Greece, Italy and Sweden, with the greatest decline in actual numbers in Germany. During the same period (until 1993) there was a continuing rise in Belgium, the Netherlands and Norway with the increase in actual numbers greatest in the Netherlands. Germany has dominated the list of destination countries over the last decade but noticeable changes are the emergence of the UK as the second most important receiving country in 1998, the growing importance of the Netherlands, Switzerland and Belgium and the declining relevance of France and Sweden as destination countries.

In recent years European states have become more reluctant to grant refugee status under the Geneva Convention but often national and international obligations provide protection against expulsion. As a result, despite very low acceptance rates across Western European states, a large proportion of those refused refugee status are allowed to stay on humanitarian grounds. The data availability poses important limitations on the analysis. Firstly, it is difficult to compare the development of recognition rates for Convention refugees relative to the development of other forms of protection. Secondly, more data on asylum decisions by citizenship breakdown would be needed to provide empirical evidence on changes in origin of asylum applicants, legislative changes or changes in asylum decision making and lower recognition rates. For example, between 1989 and 1992 new major sending countries such as the former Soviet Union and Romania emerged as a result of the fall of the Iron Curtain and the removal of exit controls. During this period the proportion of applicants granted Geneva Convention status or other humanitarian status decreased considerably.

Other national groups are not included in the asylum statistics, showing a trend among Western European governments to grant temporary protection on a group basis outside the asylum procedure and based on the examination of individual claims. During the past ten years, almost 100,000 citizens from Bosnia- Herzegovina were granted Convention refugee or humanitarian status through individual asylum seekers procedures in Western Europe.

However, the actual number of Bosnian asylum seekers granted protection over the past ten years is significantly higher, as a substantial number of Bosnians were granted protection outside the individual asylum procedures. The flight of Kosovo Albanians in 1999 was met with a similar response by EU governments. Some governments, such as France and Portugal, grant a special status to certain national groups from their former colonies.

Part of the answer to the enormous variations in asylum decisions across the EU is that different countries use varying definitions and asylum procedures to identify genuine asylum seekers. Many of these definitions are rooted in the political climate of the Cold War and confer refugee status on those persecuted by the state but not, as is more often the case today, by non-state agents such as militias. Refugee groups have criticised the definition of a refugee laid down by the 1951 Geneva Convention as too narrow and out of date. They would like to see it broadened whereas governments prefer to stick to the narrower interpretation. Asylum procedures in most EU countries, designed at a time when many fewer asylum seekers were arriving, are under pressure. Many EU countries revised their refugee identification procedures around 1993 and 1994, with a tendency towards greater restrictions (Liebaut et al., 1997; IGC, 1997).

More recently, it has been assumed that the immigration and asylum restrictions in northern Europe have meant that former transit countries such as Greece or Spain have become new destination countries. The available data have not confirmed this development, probably for two reasons. Firstly, figures of registered asylum seekers in Italy, Greece and Portugal have to be read with caution as these countries have only recently formulated national asylum legislation and set up asylum procedures. Secondly, a substantial number of potential asylum seekers is probably hidden in illegal immigration. The southern EU states have emerged as new countries of immigration but this is not strongly reflected in recorded asylum migration.

Historical links between countries of origin and destination also influenced the development of asylum applications and asylum seekers' choice of destination. These links are often the grounds for the privileged treatment of certain national groups. Among many other examples, this explains the concentration of recent Algerian asylum seekers in France. After the arrival of large groups of Algerians in need of protection France has introduced the new concept of territorial asylum in order to grant 'exceptional residence permits' for reasons other than those in the Geneva Convention. So far, this has been only applied to Algerian asylum seekers. Algerian nationals were the second main group of asylum seekers in 1995 but had a low recognition rate of less than 1 per cent because of the need to establish direct persecution by state authorities. An exceptional rule also applies to citizens from Lebanon, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Nationals of those countries who manage to find work may obtain a residence permit without going through the asylum procedure. Portugal also grants residence permits outside the asylum procedure for exceptional reasons of national interest. Most cases are related to former Portuguese colonies such as Mozambique, Angola, Cap Verde and Sao Tome e Principe. These figures are not included in the asylum statistics.

Another reason that has often been quoted to explain the scale of asylum applications in certain countries were the relatively liberal asylum policies, for example, in Sweden and Switzerland as well as in Germany and France until 1993. A third factor is geographical proximity which explains the impact of movement from Eastern Europe and the former Yugoslavia in particular to Germany and Austria.

Though the pattern of change was not uniform across the EU and EFTA states, the main trends regarding asylum migration can be summarised as follows:

- Most countries had an increasing trend in the number of applications since 1997.
- In all countries asylum seekers are by far outnumbered by other forms of immigration.

- Asylum flows to Western Europe are more diversified in the mid-1990s (i.e. there are more important destination countries) compared to the mid-1980s. Despite diversification of applications, the distribution of asylum seekers is still very uneven across the EU/EFTA region with the top four destination countries registering almost 70 per cent of all asylum claims.
- After the decline of applications from Central and Eastern European countries since 1993, there is a trend to more immigration from low-income countries.
- Despite an influx of asylum seekers from Eastern and South-eastern Europe, the composition of the top five countries of origin remained in most countries relatively stable.
- Despite changes in the main countries of origin, the top two or three national groups of persons seeking asylum in the EU/EFTA form the largest share of all asylum applications in most countries.
- An increasingly small percentage of asylum seekers is recognised as refugees under the Geneva Convention.
- The number of persons benefiting from other forms of protection and legal status has also declined.
- Generally, there has been a correlation between restrictive changes of national asylum legislation and reductions in asylum applications.

CHAPTER 8 - ACQUISITION OF CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPE

8.1 Introduction

Citizenship is generally based either on the principle of *jus soli* (citizenship by place of birth) or on that of *jus sanguinis* (citizenship according to parents' nationality), or increasingly, on a combination of the two. The concept of citizenship implies a claim of individuals to fundamental rights in a state and a special responsibility of the state towards its members, or citizens (Bauböck, 1994). The issue of national disparities in Europe with regard to citizenship is particularly pertinent in the current political climate of European integration and 'harmonisation'. Acquisition of the citizenship of one European member state conveys entitlement to citizenship of the Union as a whole, and conversely, lack of citizenship of a member state precludes acquisition of the new European citizenship. Thus the issue of naturalisation is linked to the social and political processes of exclusion and inclusion operating in contemporary Europe.

Overall there has been an increase in the absolute number of new citizenships acquired in Europe but this does not, against the backdrop of growing international migration, reflect a higher rate of citizenship acquisition. In looking more closely at the predominant areas of previous citizenship of those people naturalising, it emerges that those people coming from countries whose migrant streams contain a high proportion of refugees and asylum seekers are especially likely to naturalise. Furthermore, as will become apparent below, some countries have significantly higher numbers and rates of citizenship acquisition than others, reflecting differences in state policy and in the history of migration streams (Clarke et al, 1998).

8.2 Issues of citizenship in Europe

Citizenship has a prominent place on the European political agenda, and has become an important source of renewed debate for both the political Left and Right. In many contemporary European societies, questions about migration and the position of minorities, including their rights to citizenship, are among the most contested areas of social and political debate. There are several contributory explanations for this. Until recently, the economic and political predominance of the nation-state has been unquestioned and the exclusively national character of citizenship has been taken for granted. Yet in the present context of increasing globalisation and an integrating Europe, the traditional boundaries of the nation-state and the assumption of exclusive membership of one country are being challenged. The phenomenon of migration challenges traditional concepts of citizenship and national identity. Immigration adds to the diversity and plurality of social and cultural identities in modern societies and exacerbates the conflict between the universalistic principles of constitutional democracies on the one hand and the particularistic claims of communities to preserve their culture and way of life on the other (Habermas, 1992; Hall and Held, 1989). There are large communities of foreign citizens in Western Europe that show little evidence of integration and naturalisation.

In reality, the criteria for naturalisation are politically determined and vary significantly between nation-states. Nevertheless, there are indications of a liberalisation of access to citizenship for certain groups of immigrants in some countries. The general trend in Western Europe is towards a shorter required residence period before an application for citizenship can be made, and in most states this period is less for refugees and stateless persons (see Table 8.1). A continuous residence period of five years is now sufficient eligibility for naturalisation in many countries, including Belgium, France, the Netherlands and the UK. The longest required residence period is in Germany, where foreign nationals must have lived in the country legally for at least 15 years (eight years for applicants aged between 16 and 23). Italy represents an exception to the widespread trend of reduced residence periods. In 1992 the required length of residence for non-EU nationals was increased from 5 to 10 years, although at the same time it was reduced to 4 years for nationals of other EU countries. Meeting the required residence

period is often not the only condition of naturalisation: language proficiency and being of 'good character' are also common requirements of prospective citizens and a large degree of discretion lies with the naturalising authorities.

Table 8.1 - Minimum period of required residence for naturalisation in EU/EFTA Member States, in years

	General	Refugees	Stateless	Marriage	Minors
Austria	10	4			
Belgium	5	3	3	3 ¹	
Switzerland	12			5	2
Germany	15			5	8 ³
Denmark	7 ⁴	6		4	
Spain	10 ⁵			1 ⁶	1 ⁷
Finland	5 ⁴			3	
France	5			2	
Greece	3 ⁸			5	
Ireland	5			3	
Iceland	?				
Italy	10 ⁹	5	5	0.5 ¹	
Liechtenstein	?				
Luxembourg	10	5	5	5	
Netherlands	5			3	
Norway	7 ⁴			2 ¹¹	
Portugal	6				
Sweden	5 ⁴				
UK	5			3	

Source: Eurostat, OECD

Notes

1. 3 years of marriage
2. years between age 12-20 count double
3. applies for applicants between age 16-23
4. 2 years for Nordic nationals
5. 2 years for nationals from Latin America, Andorra, the Philippines, Equatorial Guinea, Portugal and for Sephardic Jews
6. applies also for widows/widowers of a Spanish national
7. for persons born in Spain of foreign parents (no age restrictions)
8. by continuous residence, 8 years by interrupted residence; 2 years for ethnic Greeks
9. for non-EU nationals, 4 years for EU nationals, 3 years for persons of Italian origin
10. i.e. 6 months residence, or 3 years marriage
11. and at least 8 years of marriage; otherwise: 8 years of residence

The requirements to be fulfilled for acquisition of citizenship through marriage also vary across Europe. In addition, until recently, a general condition of naturalisation (with the notable exception of the UK) was renunciation of previous citizenship. This has been changing, with a growing number of European states accepting the concept of dual nationality⁷.

⁷ It should be noted that dual nationality depends not only on the new country's acceptance but also on whether the old country allows its citizens to adopt an additional nationality.

One of the most important remaining discrepancies between national regulations is in terms of access to citizenship for the children of immigrants. Some countries which traditionally have attached overriding importance to *jus sanguinis*, for instance Germany, Belgium and Switzerland, have recently made their legislation more flexible so as to facilitate the acquisition of citizenship by second-generation immigrants (Eurostat, 1995; OECD, 1995).

Given the legal variation discussed above, it is not surprising that there are marked geographical variations in numbers and rates of naturalisation between countries and foreign citizenship groups. These will now be examined.

8.3 Availability of Data

The data on acquisition of citizenship are variable in both quantity and quality. These variations stem principally from differing sources and definitions. One of the more fundamental difficulties is the lack of consensus on the meaning of 'naturalisation'. In the construction of the Eurostat database, some NSOs provided data referring to those people who are entitled to citizenship after a certain period of residence in the country. Others have taken 'naturalisation' to mean the same as 'acquisition of citizenship' and provided figures for people acquiring citizenship through all means, not only after a statutory period of residence, but also by marriage, minority age status or adoption. Sometimes these different interpretations were an active decision by the NSO while others provided data in the only form or breakdown in which they were available. In some cases, for example, only significant previous citizenship groups were picked out, leaving the rest represented by residual categories. Therefore it is impossible to compile cross-national totals and sub-totals accurately: first, there are different years available for each reporting country; second, there are different breakdowns of previous citizenship; and third, some groups are underestimated because they are hidden in residual categories (for example, Moroccans may be hidden by inclusion in either the North Africa, North Africa Other, Africa or Africa Other residuals).

There are many breaks in the series resulting partly from legislative changes, partly from changes in the collection and presentation of the data. In Italy, for example, the 1990s have seen two breaks in the series, one reflecting a regulation change (resulting in an increase of 349 to 539, 1991-92), the other a more serious administrative change in presenting the data (resulting in an increase to 6,469 in 1993).

Another source of incomparability and inconsistency is the changing political map. Not only do the previous citizenships change with the changing of country boundaries, but this is also compounded by the more abstract nature of citizenship. For example, in a dataset recording immigration and emigration by country of previous or next residence, a person cannot physically arrive from or go to a country that no longer exists. However, with immigration and emigration by citizenship, which is often recorded by the checking of passports and papers, someone may have a passport from a country that no longer exists (for example, old Soviet Union or Yugoslavian passports), which they have not replaced with a passport from a new state. This is even more of a problem in the case of acquisition of citizenship when one considers that often a person is required to reside in a country for around five years before they may acquire citizenship.

These problems and sources of error mean that there are not only differences between countries but for some countries there are inconsistencies in data from year to year. These usually originate in a change in collection methods, either due to legislative changes or owing to improvements in data collection techniques, resulting in different formats for different years. Moreover, the question of dual nationality is not addressed which can lead to problems of double counting. Databases does not include data on loss of citizenship as few countries record this. If the acquisition of citizenship is considered a flow, then theoretically, data on loss (or 'negative acquisition') could be compared and cross-referenced in the way

that emigration figures for one country to another should be equal to the immigration figures from that country into the other.

8.4 Patterns and Trends

8.4.1 Overall Trends

In some countries there are a small number of individual cells for which recorded statistics are not available which make it difficult to establish aggregate figures. In order to obviate this problem we have used regression analysis to 'generate figures for these cells: there are six cases only, the figures being in italics in Table 8.2. This procedure was adopted only in cases where there were not known to be factors, such as an amnesty, likely to materially affect the trend.

Between 1985 and 1996 NSOs recorded a substantial rise in the number of persons acquiring a new citizenship, from 276,135 to 388,729 (Table 8.2). This is an increase of 125,000, which represents more than a 40 per cent rise in absolute figures in 11 years, an annual average increase of 3.7 per cent. The average annual rate of increase in the EU15 countries was 3.4 per cent. However, the situation in 1985 was affected by a change in Belgium in the rules for acquisition of citizenship resulting in an exceptional increase of over 67,300 for that year. If this group is removed, the respective trend figures are: 208,739 with a rise of 179,990, an increase over the period of 86.2 per cent at an average of 7.8 per cent per annum in all 19 countries; 86.5 per cent, 7.9 per cent annual average for the EU15.

Table 8.2 - Acquisition of Citizenship in EU and EFTA Member States, 1985-96

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1985-96
Total	276135	191976	201110	201250	275507	206308	248597	292692	309151	352756	359975	388729	3310736
EU 15	258706	174917	185860	186308	260330	192706	234556	276217	290491	329965	331117	356760	3084704
Austria	7308	8060	6616	7314	7305	8980	11137	11656	14131	15275	15627	15627	129036
Belgium	83421	9621	9638	8376	8797	8658	8470	46485	16379	25808	26149	16046	267848
Denmark	3309	3622	3763	3744	3258	3028	5484	5104	5037	5736	5260	7283	54628
Finland	1138	1111	1173	1063	1501	899	1236	876	839	651	668	981	12136
France	34271	45624	33906	46351	49330	54381	59684	59252	60013	77515	92410	63055	675792
Germany	13764	13878	13883	16521	17573	20078	27162	37000	45016	61625	31797	86356	384653
Greece	1609	1204	2216	1571	1217	1090	886	1204	1803	383	1258	716	15157
Ireland	253	271	545	333	299	179	188	150	133	175	355	175	3056
Italy	138	271	271	277	530	555	349	539	6469	5993	7442	6349	29183
Luxembourg	807	770	623	917	780	893	748	739	800	293	270	305	7945
Netherlands	34671	18758	19258	9114	28730	12794	29112	36237	43069	49448	71445	82690	435326
Portugal	45	28	48	34	210	97	43	117	2	144	80	123	2002
Spain	3709	5132	9086	8143	5919	7033	3752	5226	8348	7802	6756	8433	79339
Sweden	20498	20695	19958	17966	17752	16770	27663	29389	42659	35084	31084	25552	310809
United Kingdom	53765	45872	64876	64584	117129	57271	58642	42243	45793	44033	40516	43069	677793
EFTA	17429	17059	15250	14942	15177	13602	14041	16475	18660	22791	28858	31969	226032
Norway	2851	2486	2370	3364	4622	4757	5055	5132	5538	8778	11778	12237	68968
Iceland	138	132	145	102	127	105	165	155	177	205	229	308	1988
Liechtenstein	47	25	365	120	86	82	64	55	65	69	56	49	1083
Switzerland	14393	14416	12370	11356	10342	8658	8757	11133	12880	13739	16795	19375	153993

Source: Eurostat, OECD Annual SOPEMI Reports

Note:

99999 - Italicised data represent data generated by regression.

Among the EFTA countries acquisition of citizenship the number of persons acquiring citizenship rose from 17,429 in 1985 to 31,969 in 1996, an average annual growth of 7.6 per cent. The majority of this increase is accounted for by the large increase in Norway where the annual average increase was 29.9 per cent.

There were fluctuations in this overall rising trend. These annual fluctuations are often the result of changes in administrative procedures and legislation. In 1989, for example, 275,507 persons acquired citizenship of one of the 19 EU and EFTA countries, compared with 201,250 the year before, this substantial increase (36.9 per cent) a result of the a large number of applications received in the UK in 1987 at the end of the seven year transition period of the 1981 British Nationality Act. Furthermore, certain events such as the regularisation of the status of illegal immigrants or the acceptance of a large number of refugees, may influence naturalisation figures some years later, depending on the minimum period of residence required for eligibility.

The greater part of the overall increase in acquisition of citizenship in the EU and EFTA member states took place in the 1990s. In view of the increase in international migration to Europe over the past decades, higher figures of naturalisation in the 1990s are not surprising: a larger foreign population in the EU/EFTA member states means a greater potential for acquisition of citizenship.

8.4.2 Individual countries

The member states can be divided into three groups: one with low acquisition of citizenship figures (7 countries), one with moderate and one with high acquisition of citizenship figures (Table 8.3).

Table 8.3 - Acquisition of Citizenship in the EU and EFTA, Annual Averages 1985-96

Low		Moderate		High	
Liechtenstein	90	Italy	2432	Belgium	22321
Iceland	166	Denmark	4552	Sweden	25901
Portugal	167	Norway	5747	Germany	32054
Ireland	255	Spain	6612	Netherlands	36277
Luxembourg	662	Austria	10753	France	56316
Finland	1011	Switzerland	12833	United Kingdom	56483
Greece	1263				

Source: Eurostat, OECD

Low numbers naturalised

Some countries - Finland, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg and Portugal - report low numbers of naturalisations, with average annual naturalisations under 2,000 (Table 8.3). These seven countries contribute only 1.3 per cent to the total acquisition of citizenship in the nineteen countries as a whole. These countries are the smaller (in terms of population) members of the EU and EFTA and, except for Luxembourg, immigrant communities in these countries are small meaning there is a limited potential population for naturalisation.

In Finland the number of naturalisations in the beginning of the 1980s and in the 1990s was about 650 a year, but almost doubled in the second half of the 1980s to 1,200. The reason for this is that in the late 1980s a large number of ethnic (Ingrian) Finns who migrated to Finland from Sweden and the former Soviet Union were naturalised. Changes in legislation in 1992 obliged ethnic Finns to prove their Ingrian identity before being granted residence, and as a consequence acquisition of citizenship figures decreased substantially.

A number of peaks and lows characterise acquisition of citizenship in Greece but aside from a couple of notable exceptions (the highs and lows: 1987, 2216; and 1994, 383) figures were, for the most part, fairly stable with an annual figure of between 1,200 and 1,800. Lack of information on previous nationality prevents much detailed analysis of the Greek data. A

breakdown by previous nationality is available only from 1994 onwards, when almost half of all naturalisations were of persons with a citizenship of the former Soviet Union (between 45 and 55 per cent annually). Most of these are likely to be ethnic Greeks ('Pontics'): the Greek government encourages naturalisation of persons of Greek origin who immigrated from the FSU (OECD 1995: 92). Ethnic Greeks from Albania are not encouraged to take up Greek citizenship.

The remaining countries show very low numbers of persons acquiring citizenship at an average of under 1,000 annually and in fact, with the exception of Luxembourg, under 300. This is not surprising for Iceland, Ireland, Liechtenstein and Portugal, because the foreign population in these countries is small. Also, the Portuguese data do not include acquisition of citizenship by marriage or by birth. Luxembourg's naturalisation figures are unexpectedly low as it has a relatively large foreign population (100,000), constituting a quarter of the total population.

Moderate numbers naturalised

The moderate group consists of the following countries: Austria, Denmark, Italy, Norway, Spain and Switzerland, these six countries naturalising an annual average of over 2,000 and under 20,000 and making up 15.6 per cent of total naturalisation in all 19 countries.

The number of persons acquiring Austrian citizenship rose from 7,308 (1985) to 15,627 (1996). The rise is mainly due to an increase in the acquisition of citizenship by Turks and persons from former Yugoslavia. Denmark naturalised between around 2,000-4,000 more persons annually at the end of the period than at the beginning, increasing from around 3,400 in at the end of the 1980s to around 5,400 after 1990, reaching a peak of 7,283 in 1996. A similar development occurred in Norway: from 1985 annual averages were around 2,500, rising from 1988 to 5,538 in 1993, increasing sharply to 12,237 by 1996. In both of these countries, especially Norway, a large number of Asians, mainly Vietnamese and Pakistanis, acquired citizenship. Iran and more recently Sri Lanka were major source countries in Denmark. Many of these people had come to Denmark and Norway as refugees and applied for citizenship soon after they became eligible for naturalisation.

Analysis of the Italian situation is complicated. Figures rose from a low of 138 in 1985 to between 250 and 550 until 1992. From 1993, where there is a dramatic break in the series and the numbers jump to 6,469 in 1993, to a peak of 7,442 in 1995 as a result of the data suddenly including acquisition of citizenship by marriage. Acquiring citizenship by marriage to an Italian spouse is much more common in Italy than acquisition of citizenship by naturalisation. Over 75 per cent, for some years over 90 per cent, of all acquisition of citizenship was for reason of marriage.

For Spain and Switzerland figures vary during the period and no general pattern can be distinguished. In Spain, for example, acquisition of citizenship was lowest in 1985 and 1991 (less than 4,000 persons) and highest in 1987 (9,000). Acquisitions of Swiss citizenship start quite high at 14,393, falling to a low of 8757 in 1991 and then rise to a peak of 19,375 in 1996. However, these fluctuations in the Swiss figures are due to legislative changes and corresponding transitional regulations in 1985 and 1991.

High numbers naturalised

The top six countries are Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK. As Table 8.3 clearly shows, the average annual number of persons naturalising is considerably higher than in the group with moderate averages at over 20,000 (with France and the UK at over 56,000) and these six countries account for 83.1 per cent of the acquisitions in all 19 countries.

Belgian data are available for 1985-1995 only, with a generated number added of 16,046 for 1996, a considerably lower figure (taken from the overall linear regression trend line) than the previous two years at around 26,000. There have been two clear peaks in naturalisation, in 1985 (83,000) and 1992 (46,000), both resulting from legislative changes. The 1985 acquisition of citizenship data include over 67,396 persons born in Belgium to a Belgian mother and foreign father. They acquired Belgian nationality when the Code of Belgian Nationality came into force in 1985. Without this large group, the 1985 figure would have been 16,025. In 1992 the new Code on Belgian Nationality, already referred to above, became effective, and in that year a considerable number of children of Italian immigrants acquired citizenship. In the years between 1985 and 1992 acquisition of citizenship figures did not exceed 10,000 annually which would put Belgium among the moderate countries. Belgian citizenship has been acquired particularly by Italians and Moroccans.

The French data series starts in 1986 (1985 is, again, a generated figure), since which date the number of naturalisations has increased from 45,624 to a peak of 94,410 in 1995, declining quite sharply to 63,055 in 1996. Effects of the stricter legislation associated with the Nationality Act, effective from 1 January 1994, are hard to determine. It is possible that the application for naturalisation of persons who otherwise would have been naturalised automatically has raised naturalisation figures in 1994 and 1995. It is clear that the increase in acquisition of French citizenship has been almost entirely caused by naturalisation of North African immigrants: Moroccans, Algerians, Tunisians. In 1986 they accounted for a quarter of all acquisition of citizenship whereas by 1994 their share had risen to around 45 per cent.

An absolute increase in acquisition of citizenship also took place in Germany, especially at the end of the period. In the first few years of the period, the figures were relatively stable, at around 14,000 a year. Since 1988, the numbers have increased each year, to a peak of 86,356 in 1996. There is a sharp dip in the numbers in 1995, down to 31,797 which is hard to explain. It could be possible that this is a temporary break in the series. The overall increase is partly the result of more Turks and persons from former Yugoslavia acquiring German citizenship, the number of these two groups of people combined rising from around 3,500 in 1985 to around 20,000 in 1993 (last year for which a breakdown of previous citizenship is available). Ethnic Germans claiming citizenship are not included in the statistics: for 1988-92 inclusion of them would have meant a three to five-fold increase of acquisition of citizenship numbers (OECD 1995: 225).

In the Netherlands naturalisation figures fluctuated considerably during up until the early 1990s, with a peak of 34,671 in 1985 followed a few years later by a low of 9,114 in 1988. In the 1990s the figures rose significantly from 29,112 in 1991 to a peak in 1996 of 82,690. In 1985 the Law on Dutch Citizenship came into force, bringing significant implications for naturalisation. The Law extended the possibilities for acquiring Dutch citizenship and introduced a simplified procedure for naturalisation. Between 1986 and 1991 fluctuations in the figures are mainly due to the extra efforts of the Ministry of Justice in dealing with the backlog of applications for naturalisation. Legislative changes in 1992, allowing dual nationality (which have since been reversed), contributed significantly to the increase to almost 50,000 in 1994. In the first half of the 1980s most people naturalising were Surinamese, whilst from the late 1980s this position has been taken over by persons with Moroccan and Turkish citizenship.

In Sweden naturalisation rose at the beginning of the 1990s. In the late 1980s, figures ranged between around 17,000 to 21,000 per annum. From 1991, there was a sharp rise to 27,663, peaking in 1993 at 42,659, falling again to 25,552 in 1996. The overall increase affected many different nationalities, the main ones being former Yugoslavs and Iranians. Swedish policy encourages naturalisation of foreign residents (OECD 1995: 120).

No general pattern in acquisition of citizenship can be discerned for the United Kingdom. The 1995 figure of 40,516 was the lowest recorded for the period. The 1989 peak (117,000) resulted from the large number of applications for naturalisation received in 1987 upon the expiration of the transitional provisions in the 1981 British Nationality Act. The reduced eligibility to British citizenship implied in the Act mainly affected Commonwealth citizens. With the exception of 1989, the annual figures have fluctuated between around 40,000 and 65,000 with a slight downward trend in the 1990s. However, British data include acquisition of citizenship by marriage and of minors, and therefore may overstate acquisition of citizenship in comparison with some other countries.

8.5 Main Previous Citizenships of those Acquiring Citizenship in the EU and EFTA

In analysing data on previous citizenship, there are many problems resulting from large gaps in the datasets. There are gaps where a whole country may have not been able to provide a citizenship breakdown, may have only been able to provide a breakdown for some years or may have vary degrees of breakdown year-to-year (providing a full list of citizenships one year and then the main ones the next, with residual "other" categories). For this reason, the data have been compiled on what is available - i.e. the previous citizenships that we know people had before acquiring their new citizenship. Thus, while the larger citizenship groups will be significant enough to be listed, most figures are bound to be underestimates. Another distortion of the data is the way in which most reporting countries usually list all acquisitions by other EU/EFTA citizens, regardless of how small while they may have large gaps for other, non-EU/EFTA citizenships that are accounted for in a aggregated residual figure. An example of this is the data for Belgium, 1989, where 1 Irish national is listed whilst there is an "other" category of some 6,068 non-EU/EFTA nationals whose numbers for individual citizenships may be reasonably large. Hence, the data in Table 8.4 are biased towards the EU and EFTA states as non-EU/EFTA states are undercounted.

Looking more closely at the previous nationalities of persons acquiring new citizenship in Europe it becomes clear that the number of persons from one EU or EFTA country acquiring the nationality of another decreased in the period 1985-1996. Between 1986 and 1993 (the years providing the fullest data availability of the whole period), a total of around half a million EU/EFTA citizens acquired another EU/EFTA citizenship compared with about 1.5 million non-EU/EFTA citizens, the top 3 countries of previous citizenship being Turkey, Morocco and Italy (Table 8.4). In 1986 the ratio of previous EU/EFTA citizenship to non-EU/EFTA citizenship was approximately 1:2; by 1993 it had increased to 1:4. In the light of ongoing free movement within the European Union, there might be less incentive for citizens with one of the EU nationalities to naturalise to another. In this respect a kind of European citizenship has already come into practice. The only countries with stable numbers of naturalisation of persons with a previous EU/EFTA citizenship are Belgium (Italians and French), Germany (Dutch, Italians), and Luxembourg (Italians, Belgians, French, Germans).

There are three discernible trends in the acquisition of citizenship by persons with a non-EU/EFTA nationality (Table 8.4). The first is a general increase during the period of those people (and their relatives) who came to Europe as *Gastarbeiter*, mostly from Mediterranean countries. These include Turks in Germany and the Netherlands, Moroccans in France and Belgium, (former) Yugoslavs in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. There are a number of reasons for this increase. First, the long settlement periods of many of these immigrants have resulted in a large number meeting the residence requirements for naturalisation. Second, acquisition of citizenship has been seen as a way of politically integrating immigrants - citizens have passive and active voting rights; foreigners, including denizens (permanent non-national residents), have only partial voting rights at best. In some of the member states a more liberal legislation with respect to naturalisation has been introduced to facilitate the integration of immigrants. We have already discussed some of the policy changes in specific EU countries. The number of former Yugoslavs acquiring new citizenship

increased in Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Switzerland and particularly Sweden. The Yugoslavian immigrant population in these countries had been substantial before war in Yugoslavia broke out. This older immigrant population would already have been eligible for naturalisation on the basis of length of residence. The insecurity caused by the war may have encouraged many of these to acquire another citizenship. As a naturalised citizen such people would also have found it easier to bring in close relatives from conflict areas.

Table 8.4 - Acquisition of Citizenship in the EU and EFTA, 1985-96: main previous nationalities

Total	3968075	<i>Of which, Top 20:</i>	
EU/EFTA	801368	Turkey	262463
EU	771810	Morocco	250191
EFTA	29558	Italy	160670
Non-EU/EFTA	3166707	India	150271
		Pakistan	133671
		Former Yugoslavia	130523
		Jamaica	121545
		UK ²	113488
		Portugal	99626
		Germany	88433
		Poland	87358
		Algeria	81564
		Finland	80147
		Vietnam	77652
		Surinam	75025
		Iran	74047
		France	59865
		Tunisia	59483
		Spain	56364
		Bangladesh	50173

Source: Eurostat

Notes

1. Owing to large gaps in the data, not all countries may be represented and so these figures are underestimates.

2. United Kingdom refers mainly to people from outside the United Kingdom who did not have full British citizenship (e.g. British Dependent Territories Citizens, British Overseas Citizens, British Nationals (Overseas), British Subjects, British Protected Persons), over 60 per cent of them acquiring full British citizenship.

A second trend is that links with former colonies are clearly visible in the acquisition of citizenship figures. The few persons acquiring Portuguese citizenship mainly had the nationality of one of the former Portuguese colonies: Mozambique, Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau. The Surinamese are rarely found in the naturalisation figures for Europe except for the Netherlands, its former coloniser. Persons with a previous nationality of one of the North African countries play a predominant role in the French statistics. In Spain, Latin Americans and persons of other former Spanish colonies have a preferentially shorter required residence period for naturalisation, and as a consequence Spain has naturalised many persons with a previous Latin American nationality, especially Argentines. Persons with a previous nationality of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Jamaica, Ghana and Nigeria figure

largely in UK naturalisation records. Furthermore, a substantial number of people with a specific type of British citizenship acquire full British citizenship each year. The UK discerns five types of non-full British citizenship: British Dependent Territories Citizens, British Protected Persons, British Overseas Citizens, British Subjects and British Nationals (Overseas). Together over 4,000 new full British citizens per year had one of these partial British citizenships in the 1990s.

A third development in the 1990s has been the naturalisation of citizens from a new set of countries: Iranians, Iraqis, Vietnamese, Laotians, Filipinos, Lebanese, Egyptians, Ethiopians, together with those from former communist countries. This innovation follows trends in international migration to Europe, in which during the same time period new countries of origin have started to play a more prominent role. It is likely that many of the immigrants from these countries came to Europe as asylum seekers or refugees and are helped by the fact that in many countries residence requirements for naturalisation are lower for refugees than for foreign residents in general. The more arduous process of gaining residence rights, together with the uncertainties of return, mean that frequently refugees are more willing to acquire citizenship than other immigrant groups.

8.6 Naturalisation rates

What do the increases in naturalisation figures mean? Are they just keeping pace with the increase in net migration in the last 10 to 20 years, or is there a greater inclination to naturalise? Comparison of data on acquisition of citizenship and on stocks of foreign population enables us to calculate approximate rates of acquisition of citizenship. Ideally, we should calculate naturalisation rates on the basis of eligibility. Unfortunately it is impossible to produce such rates because of the complex criteria involved to determine eligibility.

Many other intervening factors make a straightforward conclusion impossible. An impediment to the analysis is the inclusion of acquisition of citizenship by marriage and/or birth by a number of countries. Furthermore, minimum residence requirements for naturalisation, normally 5 to 10 years, complicate interpretation of acquisition of citizenship statistics. Hence, changes in population as a result of international migration influence the statistics over variable time periods; the last immigrations in the 1990s have hardly begun to feed through.

Naturalisation rates were calculated by dividing annual stock figures of foreign population⁸ by the number of persons acquiring citizenship in the following year. The rates refer to the period 1985-1996.

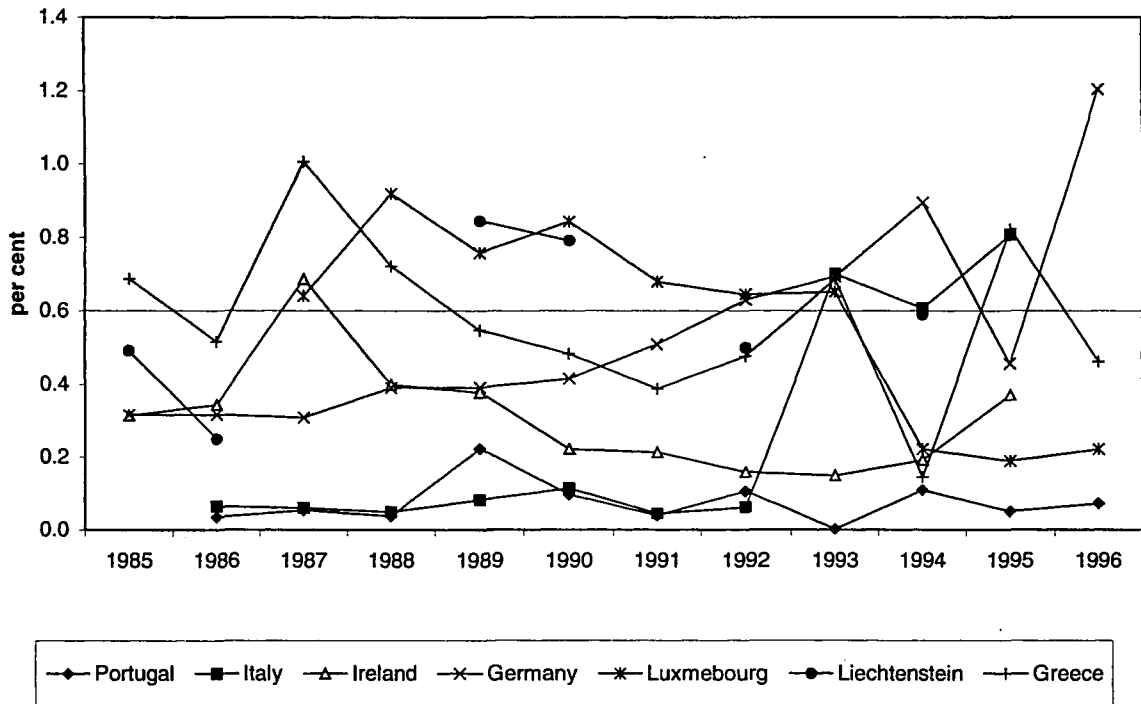
An average naturalisation rate has been calculated for the EU/EFTA member states for the period. No clear changes in acquisition of citizenship rates can be distinguished. The rates remained fairly stable at around 2 per cent, ranging from 1.6 per cent (1990) to 3.1 per cent (1996), the average for the whole period being 2.1. These fluctuations are in part due to missing data year-to-year. It seems clear that the rates do not indicate a greater inclination of migrants in Europe to naturalise. The significant increase in absolute numbers of naturalisations has not been substantially larger than the increase in stocks of foreign population.

Average rates of acquisition of citizenship differ markedly from country to country (Figures 8.1-8.3). In some countries they generally are below the EU/EFTA average, and do not exceed 1.0 per cent of the foreign population whilst others they are as high as 5.5 per cent. Although in some countries changes in legislation have opened up possibilities for naturalisation, these have not fed through into higher rates. Most countries have stable rates

⁸ See Chapter 3.

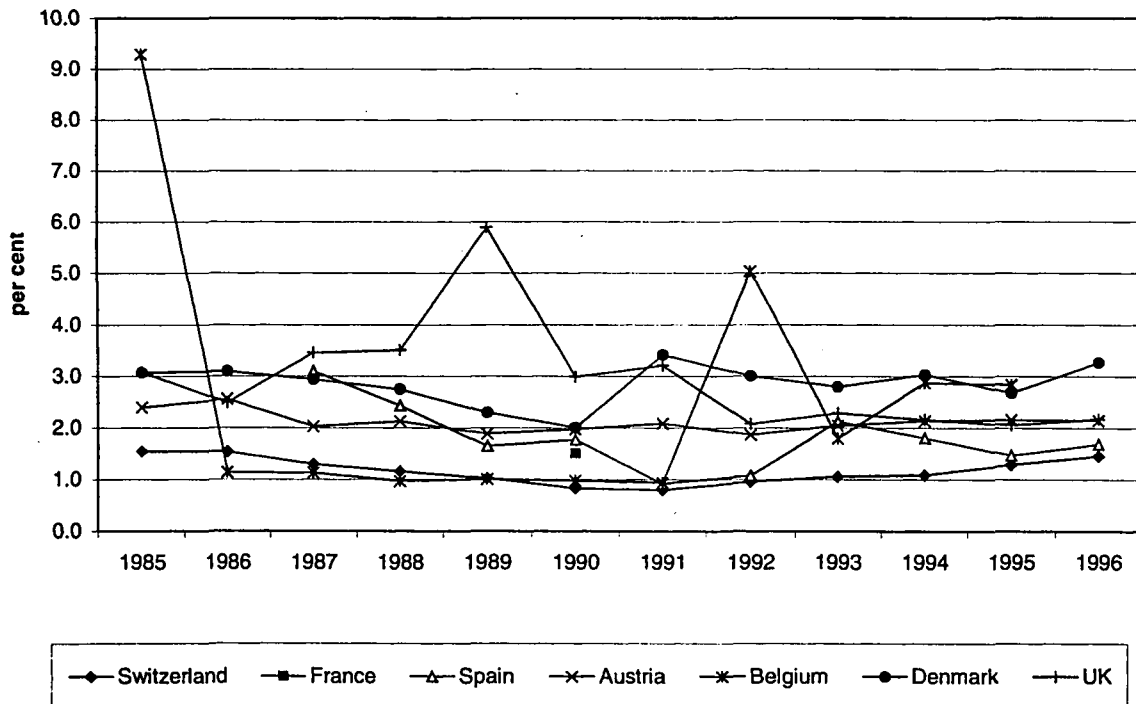
of naturalisation, as we would expect from the constant aggregate EU/EFTA rates, some with an occasional peak or low.

Figure 8.1 - Rates of Naturalisation in selected EU and EFTA Countries, 1985-96



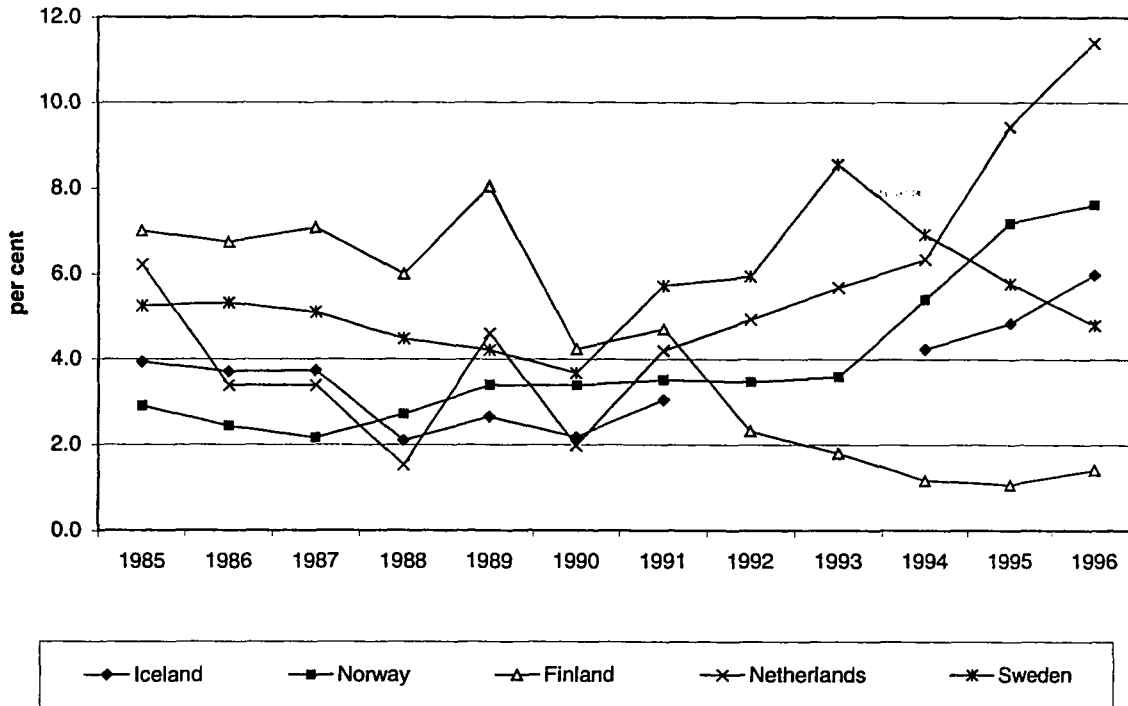
Source: Eurostat

Figure 8.2 - Rates of Naturalisation in selected EU and EFTA Countries, 1985-96



Source: Eurostat

Figure 8.3 - Rates of Naturalisation in selected EU and EFTA Countries, 1985-96



Source: Eurostat

Of the countries with low rates of naturalisation, German figures are particularly interesting because of the large foreign population of over seven million (1996) which accounts for around 8.8 per cent of total population. The naturalisation rates are low, amounting in the 1980s to 0.3-0.4 per cent, rising slowly in the mid 1990s to around 0.9 per cent, peaking at 1.2 per cent in 1996. In Germany however this means a substantial increase in absolute figures. Moreover, the rate of acquisition of citizenship is considerably higher if naturalisation by ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler*) is included.

The main exceptions to the unchanging naturalisation rates are Finland, Sweden and the Netherlands. Sweden's rate of naturalisation doubled from 1990 to 1993 but then declined from there to the end of the period. The Netherlands have seen an increase in naturalisation rates in the 1990s of from under 4 per cent to over 11.5 per cent. In both of these countries naturalisation is seen as part of integration policy, and therefore officially encouraged. A reverse development occurred in Finland, where the rate decreased by over 5 percentage points between 1985 and 1996. Two mutually reinforcing factors underlie the lower rates of naturalisation in Finland: increase of the foreign population and decrease of the number of persons acquiring Finnish citizenship. The foreign population in Finland increased substantially, from around 20,000 at the end of the 1980s to almost 69,000 in 1996. At the same time the number of naturalisations decreased at the beginning of the 1990s because of changes in legislation and less naturalisation of persons of Finnish origin.

Legislative changes and administrative measures were not only apparent in the absolute naturalisation figures, but are also evident in the rates. In the UK case rates have tended to decrease, with the exception of 1989. The Belgian rates of acquisition of citizenship are normally low (one per cent of the foreign population), except for the twin peaks of 1985 and 1992. In the Netherlands administrative measures to clear the backlog in processing applications for citizenship have led to higher rates in some years.

Unlike the general naturalisation trend in Europe, the increasing numbers of non-EU citizens naturalising to one of the EU citizenships is not only due to increasing numbers of residents with a non-EU nationality. Aggregate naturalisation rates were higher for persons with a previous non-EU citizenship than for those with an EU citizenship. In 1993⁹, Belgian rates of naturalisation were 0.5 per cent for EU-citizens and 3.6 per cent for non-EU-citizens; UK rates were 0.7 and 3.3 per cent respectively; Dutch rates were 0.8 and 7.2 per cent; even German rates were different: 0.2 and 0.8 per cent. The lower rates among EU-citizens confirms the idea that free movement weakens incentives to naturalise. EU-citizens already have some of the rights that others can obtain only by naturalisation.

Comparison of rates for individual nationalities by individual countries suggests that levels of naturalisation were highest among persons who are likely to have entered Europe as asylum seekers or refugees. In Norway, for example, in the 1990s the Vietnamese population had naturalisation rates of 10-15 per cent annually. The same applies to Iranians in Sweden. This lends weight to our assumption of a greater inclination to naturalisation amongst refugees, although we cannot of course presume that all migrants from refugee-supplying countries are refugees.

8.7 Conclusion

The main trends in acquisition of citizenship are an increase in naturalisation in terms of absolute numbers (though not in rates) and a shift away from naturalisation of EU nationals to the acquisition of citizenship by persons with a previous nationality of countries outside this area. It may be argued that the former have less to gain from acquiring the citizenship of a second EU nation. Within the group of non-EU nationals, those from countries which generate large numbers of refugees have a higher rate of naturalisation. This corroborates the notion that refugees are amongst those who have the most to gain from acquiring the citizenship of the country where they now live in exile.

While to some extent a convergence in naturalisation law can be identified, for instance in a general reduction in the required residence period prior to naturalisation, differences persist. It may be that these legislative differences account for a large part of the varying patterns of naturalisation which occur. For instance, in at least two of the countries in which naturalisation policies are directly linked to integration policies (Sweden and the Netherlands), rates of citizenship acquisition have increased significantly over the period studied. Conversely, in Germany, the country perhaps most reluctant, or perceived to be the most reluctant, to grant citizenship to foreign nationals, rates of naturalisation have remained low.

It also seems that while there may be a common perception that citizenship legislation has been 'liberalised', this is not always the case; in fact, for some groups of immigrants in some countries, naturalisation may even be more difficult. There are also signs that some moves towards liberalisation may be reversed in the near future. For instance, the Netherlands has abolished the option of dual nationality, effectively reverting to the situation before the reforms of 1992, in which previous citizenship must be renounced before Dutch nationality can be acquired. There is now a need to integrate acquisition of citizenship statistics with these on international migration flows, stocks of foreign population and births and deaths, in order to address the demographic effects of acquisition of citizenship.

⁹ Latest year for which data for all the following countries were available.

CHAPTER 9 - THE MIGRATION IMPACTS OF PREVIOUS EU ENLARGEMENTS AND LESSONS FOR THE FUTURE

9.1 Introduction

The majority of this volume has used EUROSTAT statistics to describe and analyse recent patterns and processes in international migration in the European Union (EU). This penultimate chapter adopts a different approach, by asking to what extent existing data might also provide indications of future migration trends. Specifically, the chapter considers the extent to which analysis of the migration implications of an earlier EU enlargement - to incorporate Greece, Spain and Portugal - can provide indications of the migration trends which may be associated with future enlargements.

There are sound reasons to think that the free movement experience of past enlargements will provide a good guide to what might happen when the next phase of enlargements occurs, which is to include the Czech Republic, Hungary, Estonia, Poland and Slovenia (the CHEPS countries). At the same time, there are limits to the extent of the analogy. Both the economic and political conditions in Europe today are very different from those at the genesis of free movement and its development in succeeding decades. Furthermore, the presence of growing numbers of foreign citizens in member states has changed social and cultural attitudes among both host and foreign communities.

It is generally accepted that the accession of Greece, Spain and Portugal provides the best guide to what might happen with the incorporation of the prospective new members, and particularly whether free movement brings an upsurge in migration. The other accessions, in 1973 and 1995, for the most part involved countries at similar levels of prosperity to those of the richest member states. This chapter presents a statistical portrait of Greek, Spanish and Portuguese citizens in Europe for the period 1986-1997, so that an overall picture of population stocks, flows, labour and trends of change in each can be established. Trends following the end of the transition periods (December 31 1987 in the case of Greece and December 31 1991 in the cases of Spain and Portugal, except in Luxembourg where free movement provisions applied a year later) can then be assessed.

The picture is a partial one because of data limitations. In the case of Greece, the absence of statistics on most aspects before 1985-86 means that there is a very short time-series up to 1988 from which to draw sound conclusions about trends before that date and comparisons with the subsequent period. The incompleteness of data on a number of countries, particularly the absence of much data from France, also places limitations on what can be inferred about overall patterns and trends. In addition, data on stocks of foreign population can change overnight simply as a result of migrants being granted citizenship in their chosen country of residence.

Despite these gaps in the data, some salient indications can be discerned. Each of the following sections on the Greek, Spanish and Portuguese populations, is structured similarly around the following themes: (1) Population stocks, (2) Trends of change in stocks, (3) Immigration (4) Labour, and (5) Comparisons with overall trends in foreign population.

9.2 Greek Citizens in Europe

9.2.1 Stocks of Greek citizens

In 1997 there were over 447,000 Greeks living in the other eleven countries which joined the European Community (EC) before 1995 (Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom). In 1987, the last year of the transition period, the total number living outside their country was around 345,000 (using data for the nearest year available from each country). This means that

between 1987 and 1995, there was an increase of some 102,000 Greek citizens (23 per cent) living in other EC/EU countries.

By far the largest group of Greek citizens in 1997 were resident in Germany, amounting to some 359,600 or 80 per cent. Other significant countries of residence were Belgium (19,900), the UK (23,100), Italy (11,700) and the Netherlands (5,400).

9.2.2 Trends of change in stocks

Closer analysis of the longitudinal data demonstrates that every country has recorded its greatest number of Greek citizens since 1991 - that is to say, well after the end of the transition period. However, it is also significant to note that three countries - Denmark, Ireland and Italy - recorded their largest stocks in 1991, after which date numbers fell. By contrast, six other countries have recorded their highest stocks between 1994 and 1996.

In Germany, the number of Greek citizens dipped before 1988, but has increased in every year since. The greatest percentage increase was between 1990 and 1991, when a rise of over nine per cent was recorded. The increase in stocks in Germany between 1988 and 1997 was over 103,000. In Belgium, the number of Greek citizens wavered around the 20,000 mark between 1989 and 1997, but did not change significantly. In the UK there was an upward trend during the early 1990s, peaking at 23,000 in 1992, followed by a decrease to some 19,000 in 1994. In 1997 the number of Greek citizens exceeded the 1992 peak for the first time in the decade, amounting to 23,100. In contrast, in Italy, stocks of Greek citizens have continued to decline since a peak of 21,000 in 1991. Between 1991 and 1997 stocks in Italy declined by some 44 per cent. Finally, in the Netherlands, stocks of Greek citizens have remained at a fairly constant rate throughout the 1990s, peaking in 1994 at 5,800, with a trough in 1991 at 4,900.

In most countries the greatest annual increases of stocks of Greek citizens occurred in the early 1990s. However, the actual size of annual percentage changes varied widely over the years and between countries. The greatest annual percentage increase in Greek population resident in each country for which data are available was: Belgium 1.0 per cent (1990-91), Denmark 12.2 per cent (1988-89), Germany 9.1 per cent (1990-91), Italy 9.9 per cent (1990-91), the Netherlands 8.9 per cent (1990-91), Spain 16.7 per cent (1989-90), and the United Kingdom 40.2 per cent (1991-92).

The population stocks data have also been analysed in respect of sex ratios. There appears to have been no consistent trends of change or convergence between countries, although there were marked differences between them. The variations in percentages of males in the Greek populations in groups of countries during the period 1986-97 were as follows: Belgium, Germany and Portugal: 53-59 per cent; Italy and the Netherlands: 63-71 per cent, and Denmark: 72-76 per cent. Data for the United Kingdom demonstrate widely varying percentages from year to year, while data for France, Ireland and Luxembourg cover only year (when the percentage of males in each country varied from 48-51 per cent).

9.2.3 Immigration of Greek citizens

Estimation of the enlargement effect for Greek immigration flows in the EC/EU area is hindered by the unavailability of flow data before 1995, so that a reasonable trend cannot be seen encompassing the period of transition. In the year 1988 there was an increase in Greek immigration in most countries for which data are available. Three countries - Denmark, France and Germany - recorded their highest annual immigration figure for the decade between 1988 and 1989, and three others - the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Belgium - between 1992 and 1993.

In Germany the highest figure recorded for Greek immigration (33,124) was in 1988, and the lowest (most recent) figure in 1993 (18,445), with only one upturn in 1991 in an overall trend

of decline. The decrease between 1988 and 1993 was over 40 per cent. This does not accord with trends in Greek population stocks in Germany which, as described earlier, have increased in every year since 1988.

Italy recorded continuous decline in Greek immigration between 1986 and 1990 before the figures levelled out at around 450 per year. The number of immigrants each year between 1990 and 1992 was 32 per cent lower than in 1986. This general trend is consistent with the trend of decline shown in more recent figures for Greek population stocks in Italy.

Belgium, by contrast, showed an opposite immigration trend between 1986 and 1990, with numbers of Greek immigrants increasing steadily up to 1990 before the figures levelled out at around 750 per year. There was a further increase in 1993, when the total (799) was nearly 60 per cent higher than in 1986. In broad terms, the levelling out of immigration figures matches the fairly level trend in Greek stocks in Belgium in the 1990s.

The United Kingdom recorded considerable fluctuations in Greek immigration but an upward trend from 1990 onwards. This accords with the increase in total Greek stocks in the early 1990s, although it is not clear whether the later decline in stocks is reflected in immigration trends. The Netherlands recorded annual increases in Greek immigration up to 1991, when the total number of Greek immigrants (704) was nearly 130 per cent more than the total for 1986. However, in 1992 and 1993 there were successive drops in immigration. At the same time, the trend in total stocks of Greek population continued to rise. Denmark recorded its largest number of Greek immigrants (139) in 1988, and numbers have fluctuated since. This trend contrasts with the steady annual increase in Greek population stocks in Denmark over the decade. Finally, France recorded its largest number of Greek immigrants in 1989, followed by a significant drop, a levelling out and a further drop in 1993. Data for other countries are unavailable.

9.2.4 Stocks of Greek labour

Available data on stocks of Greek labour in different countries are far less comprehensive than those for the total population stocks. Nevertheless, the data do demonstrate a steady trend of increase in Greek labour in a number of countries in the early 1990s, and significantly higher stocks of Greek labour in the mid 1990s than were recorded in the late 1980s.

In Denmark, Germany and the United Kingdom, there were marked increases in absolute or percentage terms between 1988 and 1990. In Denmark these amounted to an increase of 66 or 41 per cent, in Germany 7,745 or 8 per cent, and in the UK 3,995 or 138 per cent. In each of these countries, labour stocks appear to have peaked before 1995. In general the data show no consistent relationship between Greek labour stocks and total Greek population stocks. Figures for Denmark, Germany and the United Kingdom show stocks of Greek labour varying between 29 per cent and 45 per cent of total stocks of Greek citizens.

9.2.5 Comparison with overall trends in foreign populations

The available data do permit comparison between trends in Greek population stocks and overall foreign population stocks in the EC/EU area. It is clear that the greatest percentage increases in foreign stocks in the majority of countries took place between 1990 and 1992, as was the case in respect of Greek citizens. In general, trends in Greek stocks reflected those in overall foreign stocks, although the data demonstrate that this relationship does vary in specific countries. For example, the Greek population showed strong and consistent growth in the UK between 1989 and 1992, which was not the case for overall foreign population stocks. By contrast, the overall foreign population in Italy grew between 1990 and 1993, while Greek stocks declined after 1991.

What is most interesting, however, is the differences in the size of the increases in stocks for different citizenship groupings. Table 9.1 below shows the percentage increases in foreign populations for the year of greatest increase since 1988, distinguishing Greek citizens, other EC/EU citizens and other non-EC/EU citizens. The percentage increases and decreases in foreign populations in different countries varied enormously between years and countries. What is demonstrated is that even the greatest annual increases in Greek population was not particularly high compared with the greatest annual increase in one of both of the other citizenship groupings, and especially compared with the increases in non-EU citizens. Only in Denmark, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom is the Greek percentage increase the highest.

Table 9.1 - Percentage changes in stocks of foreign populations in year of greatest increase since 1988 (Greece, Other EC/EU and other non-EC/EU)

Country	Greek	Other EC/EU	Other non-EC/EU
Belgium	1.5	1.9	4.2
Denmark	12.2	6.0	11.4
Germany	9.0	8.2	10.9
Italy	9.8	16.4	74.7
Netherlands	9.5	5.2	9.3
Portugal	18.2	24.9	21.8
Spain	16.6	14.7	26.5
United Kingdom	40.3	16.8	27.2

Source: Eurostat

9.3 Spanish Citizens in Europe

9.3.1 Stocks of Spanish citizens

In 1997 there were about 471,000 Spanish citizens living in the other eleven countries which joined the EC before 1995. This figure probably underestimates the true total, as the largest Spanish stocks are in France, but the lack of data on foreign stocks in France has meant that 1994 totals have had to be incorporated in the 1997 population estimates.

In 1991, the last year of the transition period, the total number of Spanish citizens living in the EC area was about 477,000, meaning that between 1991 and 1997 there has been a slight decrease in total stocks living in other EC countries. By far the largest group (216,000 in 1994) were resident in France, and the next largest in Germany (132,300). Other significant countries of residence in 1997 were Belgium (48,300), the United Kingdom (34,600), the Netherlands (16,700) and Italy (10,100).

9.3.2 Trends of change in stocks

During the period 1986-95, three countries - Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands - recorded their greatest number of Spanish citizens before the end of the transition period at the end of 1991. In the cases of Germany and the Netherlands, the peaks occurred in 1986, and in the case of Belgium in 1989. In contrast, four countries - Greece, Ireland, Italy and the United Kingdom - recorded the highest numbers of Spanish citizens between 1992 and 1994, that is to say immediately following the end of the transition period. In Denmark and Portugal, peaks occurred in 1997, the most recent year for which data are available for both countries.

As observed above, the largest single population of Spanish citizens is in France. A shortage of data preclude a longitudinal analysis of trends in France; however, in the two years for which data are available - 1990 and 1994 - exactly the same figure is provided for Spanish stocks, namely 216,000. Immigration trends suggest that Spanish stocks in France may

have grown since 1994. The shortage of data from France hinders overall observations about the migration-related impact of enlargement, especially as Spain and France share a common frontier.

In Germany, the number of Spanish citizens declined consistently until 1989. Between 1989 and 1991 they increased from 127,000 to 135,200, from which peak they have gradually declined throughout the 1990s to the 1997 level of 132,300. In Belgium stocks have similarly declined through the 1990s, from 52,400 in 1990 to 48,300 in 1997. A generally similar trend of decline can also be observed from the data on Spanish stocks in the Netherlands. In Denmark and Portugal, in contrast, stocks have increased through the 1990s, with the highest recorded stocks appearing in 1997 (1,500 and 9,300 respectively). Finally, in Greece, Ireland, Italy and the United Kingdom, stocks have declined gradually from a peak between 1992 and 1994.

Closer analysis of the data also allows reflection on the patterns of increase and decrease in Spanish stocks in different countries in the last decade or so. These data show more signs of population decline than the comparable data for Greek citizens, and a less concentrated pattern of high percentage increases after the end of the transition period. As in the Greek case, the size of annual percentage changes varied widely between years and countries. The greatest annual percentage increases in Spanish stocks in those countries where increases have been recorded over the last decade were as follows: Denmark 12.5 per cent (1990-91), Germany 6.7 per cent (1990-91), Greece 16.7 per cent (1994-95), Ireland 133.3 per cent (1991-92), Italy 19.0 per cent (1990-91), Portugal 6.5 per cent (1993-94) and the United Kingdom 29.5 per cent (1991-92).

Finally, it is possible to provide a summary of the proportion of males in the Spanish population stocks resident in the EC/EU countries between 1986 and 1997. The only consistent trends of change were in Denmark, Germany and Greece, where there has been a gradual decline in the proportion of males. However, there are no discernible changes associated with the end of the transition period. The proportion of males in different countries were: Belgium, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands and Portugal: 50-60 per cent; Greece: 43-49 per cent, and Italy: 31-37 per cent. Ireland (14-36 per cent) and the United Kingdom (35-52 per cent) recorded widely varying percentages in different years, while France (52 per cent) and Luxembourg (51 per cent) had data only for one year.

9.3.3 Immigration of Spanish citizens

In 1992, the first year following the end of the transition period, the immigration of Spanish citizens increased in every EC/EU country but one (the United Kingdom) for which data are available. Moreover, five of eight countries with available data recorded their highest annual Spanish immigration figures for the period 1986-93 in either 1992 or 1993. In addition, since 1993 immigration has continued to grow in most countries. In France, the number of Spanish immigrants increased almost threefold between 1991 (372) and 1992 (782). In 1994 - the last year for which data are available - immigration had fallen slightly to 739. In Germany, the increase recorded in 1992 continued an increase in Spanish immigration since 1988. Immigration has continued to grow steadily, increasing from 5,210 in 1992 to 7,571 in 1996. The United Kingdom proves an interesting exception to the general trend. Spanish immigration declined from 1,655 in 1991 to 581 in 1992. Between 1992 and 1994 immigration grew quickly, to a total of 4,531, and by 1996 this total had reduced to 2,746.

9.3.4 Stocks of Spanish labour

Patterns of change in stocks of Spanish labour in the EC/EU during the period 1986-95 were markedly different from those for Greek labour described earlier. In France and Germany, the countries with the largest Spanish stocks, the figures were significantly higher in 1986 (109,540 in France and 65,442 in Germany) than they were in 1995 (69,676 and 50,471

respectively). The numbers recorded in Germany declined slowly but consistently throughout the decade. In France, they fell as low as 20,900 in 1993.

In Italy, there was a year-on-year increase in stocks of Spanish labour between 1990 and 1994. In every other country there were fluctuating numbers and no discernible trends. It is difficult clearly to discern significant changes after the end of the transition period in 1991.

9.3.5 Comparison with overall trends in foreign populations

Comparison with overall trends in foreign populations in the EC/EU area suggests that overall stocks were increasing while Spanish stocks decreased. The differences have been most marked in Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands. Table 9.2 provides the percentage increases in foreign populations in their year of greatest increase, distinguishing Spanish, EC/EU nationals and non-EC/EU nationals. In only two countries - Denmark and the United Kingdom - was the highest annual percentage increase in Spanish stocks greater than for either of the other two nationality groupings, and even there only marginally. In the other countries, and most strikingly in Portugal, it was significantly lower.

Table 9.2 - Percentage changes in stocks of foreign populations in year of greatest increase since 1988 (Spanish, Other EC/EU and other non-EC/EU)

Country	Spanish	Other EC/EU	Other non-EC/EU
Belgium	0.0	1.9	4.2
Denmark	12.8	6.0	11.4
Germany	6.7	8.2	10.9
Greece	10.4	9.5	12.5
Italy	18.7	16.4	74.7
Netherlands	0.3	5.2	9.3
Portugal	5.4	24.9	21.8
United Kingdom	29.6	16.8	27.2

Source: Eurostat

9.4 Portuguese Citizens in Europe

9.4.1 Stocks of Portuguese citizens

In 1997, there were over 917,000 Portuguese citizens living in the other eleven countries which joined the EC before 1995. This figure probably underestimates the true total, as the largest Portuguese stocks are in France, but the lack of data on foreign stocks in France has meant that 1994 totals have had to be incorporated in the 1997 population estimates.

In 1991, the last year of the transition period, the total stock of Portuguese citizens living outside their country in the EC/EU area was around 864,000. Thus between 1991 and 1997 there has been an increase in the total stock of 53,500, or six per cent.

By far the largest group (649,700 or 71 per cent) were resident in France, and the second largest (125,100 or 14 per cent) in Germany. Other significant countries of residence in 1997 were Spain (37,000), the United Kingdom (28,100) and Belgium (23,900). Luxembourg recorded 40,400 Portuguese citizens in 1992.

9.4.2 Trends of change in stocks

Every country for which data are available recorded its highest number of Portuguese citizens after the last year of the transition period in 1991. In every country apart from the United Kingdom and Greece, Portuguese stocks increased between 1991 and 1992. In six countries, the highest number of Portuguese citizens was recorded in the years immediately following the transition period, between 1992 and 1994. At the same time, it is important to

note that in almost every country the increase in Portuguese stocks in 1992 and thereafter continued an upward trend which was well established by end of the transition period. The consistency of this trend across countries is striking.

Analysing the data for individual countries, there was a slight drop in the Portuguese population in Germany between 1987 and 1988, however thereafter they rebounded strongly, peaking in 1996 (the last year for which data are available) at 125,100. In contrast, in Greece Portuguese stocks have decreased from a plateau of 400 between 1990 and 1993, to about 200 in 1996. Italy's peak was in 1993, with about 5,300 Portuguese citizens, falling in 1994 to some 3,500. Finally stocks in the United Kingdom recovered from a trough in 1992 of 17,800, to a peak of 29,500 in 1994. In 1996 Portuguese stocks in the United Kingdom totalled 28,100.

Closer analysis of the data also allows reflection on the patterns of increase and decrease in Portuguese stocks in different countries in the last decade or so. In five countries - Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg the Netherlands and Spain - the greatest increase in Portuguese stocks occurred in either the periods 1991-92, 1992-93 or 1993-94, immediately after the end of the transition period. In two countries - Germany and Italy - the greatest increases occurred during the last year of the transition period. In the United Kingdom, in contrast, the greatest increase was recorded between 1986 and 1987. The greatest annual percentage increases in Spanish stocks in those countries where increases have been recorded over the last decade were as follows: United Kingdom 19.6 per cent (1986-87), Greece 33.3 per cent (1989-90), Germany 14.2 per cent (1990-91), Italy 36.4 per cent (1990-91), Belgium 15.2 per cent (1992-93), Denmark 33.3 per cent (1992-93), the Netherlands 8.0 per cent (1992-93), and Spain 12.9 per cent (1993-94).

The proportions of males and females in the Portuguese population stocks in most countries have been fairly stable, although there appears to have been a slowly increasing proportion of males in Germany, Italy and the Netherlands during the 1990s. There are no marked changes associated with the transition period. The proportion of males in different countries over the decade were: Belgium, Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands: 51 per cent - 59 per cent, Greece and the United Kingdom: 42-51 per cent, and Italy 35-38 per cent. Data were available for one year only from France and Luxembourg (53-54 per cent), and statistics vary widely in the case of Ireland (100 per cent, 54 per cent and 46 per cent in different years).

9.4.3 Immigration of Portuguese citizens

In 1992, the first year following the end of the transition period, the immigration of Portuguese citizens decreased in four of the other eleven EC/EU countries (Germany, France, the United Kingdom and Ireland), but increased in the remaining seven countries. With the exceptions of Ireland and Greece, all of the other EC/EU countries with available data recorded their highest annual Portuguese immigration figures after the transition period, and in three cases (Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy immediately afterwards in 1992. With the exception of these latter three countries, in most other countries Portuguese immigration showed growth trends after 1992. In Germany immigration has increased almost threefold from 10,359 in 1992 to 32,177 in 1996. In Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Spain Portuguese immigration peaked in 1995 and has decreased gradually since.

9.4.4 Stocks of Portuguese labour

Available data for stocks of Portuguese labour show clear and continuous trends of growth in most countries, reflecting the trends observed of Portuguese population stocks. Data are only available for four countries, and even there only as recently as 1995. In this year, stocks of Portuguese labour totalled 343,390 in France, 50,221 in Germany, 40 in Greece and 26,519 in Luxembourg. In Germany and Luxembourg, these figures represented the highest totals since 1986.

9.4.5 Comparison with overall trends in foreign populations

Comparing trends of change in Portuguese stocks in different countries with those of other foreign populations, the overall direction of change is very similar - that is to say, in most countries in most years, upwards. However, the years in which the greatest percentage increases in Portuguese stocks occurred were not significantly concentrated in the period immediately following the end of the transition period. Table 9.3 provides the percentage increases in foreign populations in their year of greatest increase, distinguishing Portuguese, EC/EU nationals and non-EC/EU nationals. The table shows that the greatest annual percentage increase in Portuguese populations in every country except Spain exceeded the highest percentage increase for other EC/EU populations. It also exceeded, or was at a similar level to, the greatest annual percentage increase in non-EC/EU populations in Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Greece and the Netherlands.

Table 9.3 - Percentage changes in stocks of foreign populations in year of greatest increase since 1988 (Portuguese, Other EC/EU and other non-EC/EU)

Country	Portuguese	Other EC/EU	Other non-EC/EU
Belgium	15.2	1.9	4.2
Denmark	11.1	6.0	11.4
Germany	14.7	8.2	10.9
Greece	12.0	9.5	12.5
Italy	36.8	16.4	74.7
Netherlands	8.0	5.2	9.3
Spain	13.1	24.9	21.8
United Kingdom	19.5	16.8	27.2

Source: Eurostat

9.5 Conclusions

As explained at the beginning of this chapter, although there are reservations it is generally accepted that the accession experiences of Greece, Spain and Portugal can provide a guide to the implications of the next stage of EU enlargement which will eventually extend free movement to CHEPS nationals. The principal conclusion from the preceding analysis is that there has been no clear, common or consistent relationship between changing patterns of population and labour stocks, or immigration, and the accession of Greece, Spain and Portugal.

There are several reasons that explain this (Salt et al., 1999). First, historical experience has confirmed that migration is demand based. In effect, foreign labour recruitment only takes place where there are labour market gaps which the local population is unwilling or unable to fill. Second, labour market conditions in the sending countries are not necessarily an indication of either emigration potential or the size of future flows. For example, on the basis of employment figures, around 1.5 million emigrants were predicted from Spain and Portugal at the end of their transition period. In fact, as the preceding analysis has demonstrated, recorded emigration from the two of them to other EU states totalled about 130,000 during the transition period (1987-92/3) and about 90,000 in the two years following. There are several reasons for this. In the last quarter century, unemployment has been rising in all the receiving countries, as economic restructuring has taken place, thus reducing demand. This has been accompanied by the provision of universally generous welfare benefits across all member states, encouraging workers to stay and look for the next job at home. At the same time, wage level differences have been too small to offset the economic, social and psychological costs of moving.

Third, the geography of migration exerts an influence, particularly through the effect of distance which ameliorates the significance of unemployment and wage rates. The greater the distances between sending and receiving countries, the bigger the differences must be in wage levels and unemployment rates before migration is stimulated. This helps explain the relatively low emigration from Spain, Portugal and Greece - wage differences were not high enough to compensate for the associated costs of moving.

The existing geographical pattern of migration at the time of accession is also significant. Free movement for Greece, Spain and Portugal was introduced at a time when their emigration to North-west Europe was already past its peak and the tide of return migration was already strong. This had the effect of diminishing the importance of chain migration and reducing the potential for additional emigration. Furthermore, even at the onset of their transition periods, the three countries were already in the process of switching from their traditional role as sending countries towards becoming substantial receivers. This same process seems also to be occurring in the CHEPS countries.

Fourth, free movement provisions are largely neutral in their effects. By themselves they neither stimulate nor hinder migration. In effect, it is left to employers and workers to decide whether they wish to use the right to freedom of movement. The result is that migrants have only moved within the EU if they have perceived better opportunities elsewhere than at home. For the most part, EU employers have preferred to employ third country nationals, often illegally and at generally lower rates of pay. A major exception has been the use of self-employed and contract workers, especially from Portugal during its transition period. This migration occurred indirectly, via the free movement of services and the right to establish.

Fifth, the amount of free movement generated is also related to the migration regimes of individual states before that freedom was instituted. There are two elements involved. The first is the nature of the existing arrangements and the pattern of movement established. The second element relates to the degree to which administrative action is applied, for example the extent to which states leave recruitment to employers, adopting a largely permissive entry role.

Finally, the experience of earlier enlargements shows that rising incomes in the new members, improved security and political stability via full membership reduces incentives to migrate. How far, then, can the effects of past enlargements be used to prognosticate for the next wave countries? It appears that comparisons are of only limited use because of the very different situations: real wage differences were less; the total labour force in the new acceding nations is higher; and the existing communities of Greek, Spanish and Portuguese citizens resident in EU states upon accession were much bigger. We might thus conclude that analyses of existing patterns of EU migration give only a very limited guide to potential migration from the candidate countries. We need to know more about the role currently played by migrant labour in EU states, together with conditions in the prospective sending countries.

CHAPTER 10 - REVIEW AND PROSPECT

In the 19th and in the first part of the 20th century, Europe was principally a region of emigration. As the old political order changed around the time of the First World War the continent was a scene of massive shifts of population. Contemporaneously, new borders created new states and new national minorities, leading to a series of migrations of co-nationals during the rest of the century. The Second World War stirred the European beehive even more before the descent of the Iron Curtain created an uneasy calm - at least as far as migration was concerned - between East and West.

After the Second World War, Western Europe emerged as a labour importing region. Initially, labour was recruited from Southern European countries and former colonies, later from Turkey and North Africa. Despite protestations to the contrary from some countries, Europe has now become a major zone of immigration. The stock of foreign population has continued to rise, despite substantial naturalisations - easier in some states than others. Immigration flows, particularly from countries outside the EU, continue, leading to net migration increases. The consequence has been that during the 1990s across much of Western Europe migration has become the main component of population change. Only in the East, and especially in the former Soviet Union, is net migration overshadowed by natural increase.

The individual chapters in this report each carry concluding sections and it is not the intention here to rehearse the findings in any detail. What the chapter does is to highlight some of the major issues that emerge from what is essentially an identification of patterns and trends, and to suggest what now needs to be done to establish the underlying processes. Its approach is interrogative in raising issues of Europe's global position, convergence of experience among countries, and the changing nature of migration.

10.1 Is the EU a global region of immigration?

Where does Europe now stand in the international immigration league? Has foreign immigration to the EU/EFTA states come to rival that of the classical immigration countries of the New World, such as the USA, Canada and Australia? The question is not easy to answer because of differences in the concept of migration. In the New World states immigration is generally conceptualised as a permanent movement, managed by annual quotas set by governments, and the scale of planned immigration is a focus of public debate. In Europe the situation is different. No country any longer has a policy to encourage primary immigration and quota systems exist only for select groups which constitute a small minority of immigrants overall.

As we have seen earlier in this volume, assessing the level of migration to, from and within the EU is made difficult by different national definitions employed. Further, the concepts of permanent and temporary migration are difficult, if not impossible, to apply. Thus, attempts to measure the amount of primary migration require energetic leaps of faith. Despite these drawbacks, some attempt at comparison is justified, provided that the data limitations are acknowledged. At the least, some overall context can be provided for assessing the degree to which Europe is an immigration region on a global scale.

How do the numbers compare? Immigration of foreign nationals - excluding EU nationals - increased from over 831,000 in 1988 to a peak of around 1.5 million in 1992. In 1996, total foreign immigration (excluding their own nationals) to the EU/EFTA states was over 800,000. Foreign immigration - including EU nationals - in 1988 was over 1.2 million, rising to about 1.35 million in 1996 (with a peak in 1992 of over 1.84 million). In comparison, permanent immigration to Canada in 1996 was 226,100. Temporary labour immigration to Canada is tracked through data on employment authorisations which numbered 60,000 in 1996. Thus,

Canada had an overall total of around 290,000. In the US, in 1996 there were 915,900 permanent immigrants. Permanent immigration is counted as those granted permanent residence, and in 1996 over half of those persons were already in the country, living as temporary residents. The US recorded over half a million temporary labour immigrants in 1996, most of them highly skilled workers reflecting the US government's decision to increase the competitiveness of the national economy. Thus, the US accepted about 1.4 million immigrants in 1996. Australia's permanent immigration level in 1996/7 (74,000) was lower than the other two New World countries, but with 90,500 temporary entrants the overall figure was about 165,000.

Thus it would appear that, taken as a whole, the number of immigrants in Western European states is similar in scale to that of the USA. Only Germany, with around 700,000 in 1996, experiences flows that are even of the same order of magnitude as the US and Canada. Comparisons of net flows are problematic since neither the US nor Canada has comparable emigration statistics to those for European countries.

It is not possible to calculate the proportion of foreign born in the total population for the EU and EFTA because of the absence of data for several countries, notably Germany. In the US the foreign-born population in 1996 (24.6 million) constituted about 9 per cent of the total population, while that of Canada (5 million) was 17 per cent. Australia's 4.3 million overseas-born represented 23 per cent of its total population. Several European countries exceed or match these figures, notably Luxembourg (30 per cent) and Switzerland (over 20 per cent) and France, Belgium and the Netherlands (each around 10 per cent). Measured in terms of the proportions of foreign-born, therefore, European countries are not greatly dissimilar from those in the New World. The overall conclusion is that Western Europe as a whole is a substantial region of immigration on a global scale. In aggregate it bears comparison with the USA, while the experiences of some individual countries match those of Australia and Canada.

10.2 Are distinct "migration fields" developing in Europe?

Western Europe is at present only one component in a European migration system that is not yet unified. An important question for the EU is whether a single system is developing. Table 10.1 is an attempt to measure the degree of self containment within Europe of the migration fields of individual countries, based on the proportion of immigration and emigration flows to and from the regions listed, and using the latest available data for those countries for which appropriate statistics exist. For both flow directions there are considerable differences between countries.

With regard to immigration, countries fall into several groups. For those in Central and Eastern Europe for which we have data (notably the Baltic states and Slovenia) the vast majority of immigrants come from elsewhere in Europe, mainly from other CEE countries and with only small proportions from EU and EFTA states. Scandinavian countries also display a relatively high degree of 'Euro self-containment', with immigration mainly from EU and EFTA states, and from 'Other Europe' (largely Turkey and former Yugoslavia) with only small proportions of flows from Central and Eastern Europe. Germany's immigration field is strongly European and along with Greece receives a high proportion of its immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe. In contrast, almost a third of the UK's immigrants come from outside Europe. The Mediterranean countries also tend to look beyond Europe, as does the Netherlands.

Emigration data project a stronger picture of regional self-containment (the data for Spain are anomalous, including as they do only Spaniards known to be moving abroad). Most of those leaving the Central and Eastern countries go elsewhere in the region, and only Germany in the West sends a substantial proportion eastwards. Romanian and Slovenian

data suggest a strong tendency for movement to EU and EFTA states, though in the case of the former there is some dispersion further afield, especially to North America.

Table 10.1 - Percentage of total immigration/emigration by previous/next residence

	Immigration				Emigration			
	EU & EFTA	C&E Europe	Europe Total	Rest of World	EU & EFTA	C&E Europe	Europe Total	Rest of World
Albania ²	-	-	-	-	83.0	-	92.5	7.5
Cyprus ³	50.5	-	65.7	34.3	-	-	-	-
Denmark	34.9	1.6	70.2	29.8	52.3	1.9	61.9	38.1
Estonia ⁴	8.8	87.5	96.3	3.7	13.3	84.2	97.5	2.5
Finland	45.8	0.9	80.2	19.8	74.7	0.9	82.9	17.1
Germany	19.5	16.0	83.2	16.8	26.9	21.7	74.9	25.1
Greece	25.5	14.6	70.8	29.2	-	-	-	-
Iceland	75.0	4.7	81.7	18.3	85.2	1.1	87.4	12.6
Ireland	-	-	63.0	37.0	-	-	59.1	40.9
Italy	29.0	4.2	56.6	43.4	63.8	0.8	70.4	29.6
Latvia	4.9	87.5	92.4	7.6	5.2	87.0	92.2	7.8
Lithuania ⁵	2.0	93.1	95.2	4.8	6.8	78.1	84.9	15.1
Netherlands	31.8	2.4	49.7	50.3	50.1	1.6	56.5	43.5
Portugal	50.7	0.8	53.5	46.5	-	-	82.4	17.6
Romania	-	-	-	-	67.8	10.9	79.5	20.5
Slovenia ⁶	16.7	0.6	93.7	6.3	58.2	0.2	89.3	10.7
Spain	42.5	1.0	47.4	52.6	2.8	0.3	3.1	96.9
Sweden	35.3	3.9	63.3	36.7	56.0	1.8	61.0	39.0
United Kingdom	30.0	1.5	35.8	64.2	30.5	1.0	34.1	65.9

Source: Eurostat

Notes:

1. All figures refer to 1995 unless otherwise stated.
2. 1993-94
3. 1992
4. 1994
5. Immigration 1994
6. Emigration 1994

It is difficult to generalise from Table 10.1 because of data interpretation problems for some countries, and the absence of statistics for many others. Nevertheless, three major conclusions may be drawn. First, the patterns depicted reinforce the diversity of migration experience across Europe. Second, there are marked differences in the migration fields of individual countries, reflecting a range of historical (such as colonial links) and geographical (especially proximity) processes. Finally, there is some evidence of regional self-containment, especially for Central and Eastern European countries, in that the majority of exchanges are with elsewhere in Europe as a whole or its constituent parts. These findings are significant for attempts to develop scenarios for the future behaviour of the European migration system, such as estimating the likely flows consequent upon enlargement of the EU towards the east. Table 10.1 suggests that the acceding states may already be rooted into a CEE migration system, membership of which could conflict with attempts to integrate into another - that of the EU - because of different border control requirements.

10.3 Is there a trend towards convergence of experience?

There has been a general trend towards greater harmonisation of migration policy across the EU. In part this has been achieved through intergovernmental treaties and agreements, in part by the actions of individual governments which have responded in similar fashion to emerging migration issues. This policy convergence has spread beyond the EU into the surrounding 'buffer' countries, especially those to the east which are seeking accession to

the Union. In the light of these policy developments, a key issue is whether the actual migration experiences of member states are also converging or whether the differences between states remain greater than the similarities.

10.3.1 A heterogeneous Europe?

The major finding of the analysis presented here is that the single most important characteristic of the migration patterns and trends identified in the EU/EFTA states is their variability from country to country. It cannot be emphasised too strongly that Western Europe is a very heterogeneous migration region. On almost every count, the evidence presented here reinforces the differences between countries in matters of migrant origins and destinations, timing and migrant characteristics. Many of these differences are long-standing and they reflect the different migration histories and relationships of European states. Put simply, the character of migration in the countries of Western Europe is not the same from one to another. One of the most vivid illustrations is the proportions of foreign stocks, flows and labour coming from high and low income countries. The variations that exist defeat attempts to classify member states and their neighbours in any meaningful geographical way. For example, not all Mediterranean states have similar migration characteristics, nor do those in Scandinavia. Such is the overall complexity that no obvious classification has presented itself in this exercise.

10.3.2 Evidence of convergence?

In view of the different national situations, an important issue for policy makers is whether the migration experiences of member states are converging, however slowly, and if so, in what directions. From the present analysis, it is not possible to say that a general process of convergence of migration experience among EU states, similar to that in fertility and mortality, for example, has been occurring. However, there is some evidence that such a process is underway with regard to some elements of migration. Convergence is most clearly seen in the changing demographic pattern of migration. The general trend as far as both stocks and flows are concerned is towards increased female immigration and towards a higher proportion of immigrants of working age. There is also a shift in the age of Europe's immigrants. The numbers and proportions of those in the younger age groups are declining in favour of those in the older age groups so that overall the trend is towards an ageing immigrant population. The trend also applies to foreign labour stocks.

Although the case is less clear cut, there is also some evidence that member states are experiencing a trend towards greater diversification of migrant origins. What this means is the EU migration net is now cast more widely, even if unwillingly in most instances. However, this is happening slowly and at varying speeds in individual countries. The analysis of stocks and flows in Chapters 3 and 5 showed that there was an overall stability of pattern, as expressed in the representation of the major citizenship groups. In most countries, the same two or three groups tend to dominate both the stock of foreign citizens and the immigration flows. Although most countries experienced some diversification of inflows, substantial changes in the origin of the main five immigration flows occurred only in Denmark, Italy and Portugal. Where change did occur, it was normally in the form of a decline in the importance of the top one or two immigrant groups. Unfortunately, the data do not often allow the identification of new, initially small, national groups.

The picture from the labour stock data and from asylum applications is less clear (Chapters 6 and 7). It would appear that there is no general trend towards greater diversification of immigrant labour origin, although more countries showed a trend in this direction than towards greater concentration. In contrast, there is some similarity of experience among EU/EFTA states with regard to the origins of asylum seekers. In all countries asylum seekers are outnumbered by other forms of immigration. Despite changes in the main countries of origin, the top two or three national groups of persons seeking asylum form the largest share of all asylum applications in most countries. However, asylum flows to Western Europe are

now more diversified than a decade ago. Although there is no formal burden sharing, it appears that more countries now experience more asylum seekers from a wider range of origin countries.

The overall conclusion with respect to convergence of experience in relation to the national origins of migrant groups is that it is occurring slowly in the direction of an increasingly diverse set of origins. Furthermore, the trend is towards increased immigration from outside Europe, with a growing number of migrants from poorer countries.

10.4 How has the EU migration system changed since the 1980s?

The last two decades of the 20th century were ones of increased migration in EU/EFTA states, most of which was from neighbouring regions. More immigrants came to all European destinations. Germany took by far the largest share and, with Austria, was the main destination for migrants from Eastern Europe. To the south, Italy and Spain received increased immigration from North Africa and to a lesser extent from South America and Asia. Italy and Greece increased their admissions from the Balkans region. By the mid-1990s, Southern Europe, with the exception of Portugal (but this may now have changed) had become a net receiving region.

10.4.1 What are the basic trends?

The analysis in this study indicates several basic trends during the period. There was an overall increase in the stock of foreign population but a decline in the annual rate of increase, so that rates of increase were lower in the mid-1990s than in latter half of 1980s. Net migration of foreigners increased until 1992, after which it declined: nevertheless, in absolute terms most countries had larger net gains in 1996 than in 1988. Net migration of EU foreign nationals increased until 1990. Although total immigration declined after 1990, most countries received more immigrants in 1996 than in 1988; similarly, foreign immigration declined after 1992 but in most countries numbers entering in 1996 were larger than in 1988. Emigration patterns followed a similar path, though the 'hinge' dates varied and there were differences between EU foreign nationals and others. Emigration of nationals has been declining since 1990, while that of foreigners (and the total) did not begin to decline until 1994. In contrast, emigration by EU foreign nationals increased after 1990.

The relative significance of the main destinations changed little during the 1980s and 1990s. The share of inflows to the EU/EFTA states was concentrated on a few countries: Germany, UK, Switzerland, Netherlands and Italy. Belgium was an important destination for immigration by EU foreign nationals and Denmark for immigration by its own nationals. There was a similar picture with regard to emigration, the majority leaving from a few countries, notably Germany, UK, Switzerland, Netherlands and Ireland. Belgium and Sweden had a larger share of EU foreign nationals and Denmark and Italy of national emigrants. Throughout the period, the dominance of Germany overshadows overall development of migration flows, with more than half of all immigrants to the EU going there and more than half of all emigrants leaving there.

Trends in naturalisation are significant when reviewing changes in stock numbers. Over the period 1985-96 about 3.3 million people acquired citizenship of an EU or EFTA state. The trend has been upward, from around 200,000 per year in the 1980s to nearly double by 1996. These figures indicate that the real total of immigrant stock in the EU/EFTA region is considerably above the 20 million or so recorded foreign population.

10.4.2 Are there genuine new migrants?

Developments during the last decade have not caused fundamental shifts in the origin patterns of migrants. The main pattern of migration flows has been relatively unchanged in most countries and there is little evidence in the statistics of genuinely new immigration to

the EU/EFTA region. There is a strong degree of stability of flows established during the labour recruitment period. Some flows may appear novel but have in fact only increased in size after 1989, such as 'ethnic' migration to Germany from Eastern European countries and the former Soviet Union, and to Finland and Greece from the former Soviet Union. Other noticeable developments in the 1990s, such as increased immigration from the Philippines to Italy or from Vietnam to France, are not new trends either. Migration patterns thus appear to be entrenched, though flows change in volume depending on circumstances in the countries of origin and destination.

10.4.3 Has the pattern of migration evolved smoothly?

A distinction has to be made between asylum and other flows. In general, recorded flows changed without major fluctuations. The data do not indicate any particular year as decisive for the changes which occurred, rather each individual country had its own pattern. In some countries, there were signs of changes in the origin of migration movements during the mid-1980s, before the political events of 1989. There are no clear trends or peaks detectable regarding changes in the composition of the main national groups in the foreign stock or in inflows, so that each country has to be treated individually.

Volatility in the Western European migration system has been largely due to asylum and some 'ethnic' migrations and can be linked to specific events, notably the opening of the borders in eastern Europe in 1989/90, the break-up of the former Soviet Union, the wars in former Yugoslavia since 1991 and the collapse of the Albanian regime. Volatile migration movements, triggered by political and military events, usually affected only a few destination countries and not the EU/EFTA as a whole.

10.5 Is interaction between EU states increasing or declining?

Of particular significance is the number of fellow EU and EEA nationals in member states, since these groups have rights of free movement and are not subject to the same immigration and residence controls as non-EU/EEA citizens. There were about 17.4 million foreign nationals resident in EU states in 1997, almost 5.5 million of whom (31.3 per cent) were nationals of other member states. It appears that the relative importance of other EU foreigners in EU states is not increasing. Most of the countries for which data are available showed a decline in the proportion of EU foreigners among the total population during the 1990s. Only Greece and the Netherlands (where the change was marginal) recorded an increase, while Germany, Sweden, UK and Spain had substantial relative decreases. Trends in the proportion of total inflows accounted for by EU foreign nationals vary between countries. In most cases, however, the overall trend is downwards, the steepest falls being experienced by Finland, Spain and Italy, all 'new' immigration countries. The main exception is Belgium; the UK fluctuated, though after 1994 the EU proportion rose sharply.

There is no clear view as to whether the freedom of member nationals to seek and take work in another EU state has increased the amount of labour migration by member nationals within the Union. A major problem is data availability. It appears that in some countries (Austria, Germany, Ireland, the UK) EU workers have increased relatively in importance, in others (the Netherlands, France, Italy) the reverse is the case, while elsewhere (Luxembourg, Greece) there has been little change. Thus, while stocks of citizens of other member states have generally decreased as a proportion of the total foreign population, the same cannot be said of labour.

10.6 What differences occur between member states by type of origin?

An issue of considerable importance to the EU is the relationship between its immigration and the level of development in the origin countries and specifically the transfer of resources between countries at different stages of development. In Chapter 6 it was pointed out that

economies are likely to gain more from the immigration of skilled rather than unskilled workers.

Table 10.2 - EU countries: proportions of immigrant stocks, flows and labour by income category of origin country (most recent year available)

(a)	Immigration Flows from High-Income Countries	Labour Stocks from High-Income Countries (%)	Total Foreign Population Stocks from High-Income Countries (%)
Luxembourg	81.1	95.2	
Ireland	80.5	90.0	66.2
United Kingdom	67.1	62.8	53.8
Belgium	65.7		63.8
Portugal	65.2	25.6	34.1
Denmark	41.3	51.3	32.6
Sweden	41.0	72.4	44.7
Spain	34.2	4.6	54.6
Netherlands	32.9	38.0	30.6
Greece	30.1	46.8	42.2
Germany	29.4	35.4	28.7
Italy	25.0	16.4	28.0
France	24.4	47.1	39.7
Finland	23.7	44.0	25.6

(b)	Immigration Flows from Low-Income Countries (%)	Labour Stocks from Low-Income Countries (%)	Total Foreign Population Stocks from Low-Income Countries (%)
Italy	23.1	36.7	21.1
France	22.3	6.4	11.0
Denmark	21.3	6.0	18.4
Sweden	21.3	4.0	11.1
Portugal	16.1	65.7	47.8
Finland	15.3	10.3	16.4
United Kingdom	14.4	20.7	26.3
Netherlands	12.7	5.4	9.4
Germany	11.8	1.1	6.9
Belgium	9.1		3.6
Greece	9.1	16.7	12.2
Spain	6.7	15.1	5.4
Luxembourg	2.5	1.0	
Ireland	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source: Eurostat, MRU database, World Bank

One of the more innovative analyses in this study was the linking of the migration database with the World Bank's categorisation of countries by income. Table 10.2 summarises the situation with respect to total foreign population stocks and flows and labour stocks and uses the two extremes ("high" and "low") of the four World Bank categories. The data highlight the variability that exists across the member states and also between the various measures of migration within countries. In general, it seems that Luxembourg, Ireland, UK and Belgium 'do better' out of their foreign populations who are more likely to come from high income

countries, while the reverse is the case for Germany, Italy, France and Finland. The overall situation with regard to proportions from low income countries is less clear, though Italy, Portugal and the UK tend to have higher figures.

The differences in proportions within countries for the three measures of migration indicate a complex relationship between stocks and flows, including the effects of incorporating asylum seekers into the calculations. As things stand at the moment, Italy, France, Denmark and Sweden have around a fifth of their inflows from low-income countries, Belgium, Greece, Spain, Luxembourg and Ireland have less than one in ten.

10.7 Where now?

The study has identified in considerable detail the main patterns and trends of international migration in the EU and EFTA states during the 1980s and 1990s. In doing so it has provided a baseline against which future trends might be evaluated. It has also indicated what processes are at work, although it has not analysed them. That task now needs to be tackled. What follows here is not a definitive list but an indication of the main lines of enquiry that the present analysis suggests are appropriate.

First, one of the fundamental findings is that each country has to be treated individually and its migration processes examined accordingly. For example, with respect to the stock of foreign population by citizenship there are few discernibly clear trends. Changes in the composition of the top five immigrant groups have happened in different countries in any year between 1987 and 1996. Similarly, increases in the stock of foreign population have occurred in some countries before 1989, in others during the early 1990s. In combination with a more detailed breakdown of the foreign population by citizenship, the reasons for diversification (new labour agreements, emigration/return migration, political/legal changes in receiving states, socio-economic situation in sending states, war/military conflict, etc.) need to be examined more closely in order to understand the dynamic and evolution of new migration systems.

Second, a more detailed analysis of changes in the foreign population needs to be carried out in order to identify new countries of origin (or emerging new migration patterns). In almost all countries, the pattern of origin of the top five immigrant groups has hardly changed; broadly speaking countries continue to receive a majority of their migrants from traditional sources. But there is some evidence of diversification as new migrant groups have arrived, and/or smaller, already settled immigrant groups have become more important. What is now needed is analysis of the processes that are creating this diversification and in particular the degree to which they are common across the European Union.

Third, in order to explain migration patterns, or why certain trends happen in some countries and not in others, there is a need to identify and examine possible 'unifying' factors, for example the economic situation and labour market structure in receiving countries or existing migrant communities (networks). It has been argued that the introduction of free movement for CEEC nationals from acceding states, while removing legal barriers to migration and thus having an impact on volume and direction of migration movements, will mainly reinforce existing or past (disrupted by the 'Iron Curtain') migration flow patterns created by other factors such as existing migrant networks or special historical relations between two countries. In this context, the behaviour of specific nationalities requires further investigation to see if they behave differently or similarly in different countries of destination.

Finally, a parallel study to the present one should attempt to describe and explain the patterns and trends of migration in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. This is a region characterised by temporary labour migration westwards, intra-regional flows of workers, inflows of workers from some developing countries, inflows of highly skilled

workers from Western Europe and elsewhere, return migration and ethnic migrations. Superimposed on these types of migration is a complex mosaic of relatively short-term movements based on "labour tourism" and petty trading and comprising a highly intensive shuttling back and forth across international borders in order to make a living. What now needs to be known is how the processes which have created these movements are evolving.

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GLOSSARY OF COUNTRY CODES

Reporting Country Codes:

EU15 European Union 15
of which:

B Belgium
DK Denmark
D Germany
EL Greece
E Spain
F France
IRL Ireland
I Italy
L Luxembourg
NL Netherlands
A Austria
P Portugal
FIN Finland
S Sweden
UK United Kingdom

EFTA European Free Trade Association
of which:

IS Iceland
LI Liechtenstein
NO Norway
CH Switzerland

EEA European Economic Area
(constituting EU and EFTA, except Switzerland)

Citizenship Codes:

TOTAL	Total
NAT	Nationals
FOR	Foreigners
EU	European Union
EU_FOR	EU Foreigners
EU15	European Union 15
EU15_FOR	EU 15 Foreigners
EU12	EU 12
EU12_FOR	EU 12 Foreigners
B	Belgium
DK	Denmark
D	Germany
DEW	Federal Republic of Germany
EX_DD	German Democratic Republic
EL	Greece
E	Spain
F	France
IRL	Ireland
I	Italy
L	Luxembourg
NL	Netherlands
A	Austria
P	Portugal
FIN	Finland
S	Sweden
UK	United Kingdom
EEA	European Economic Area
EEA_FOR	European Economic Area -

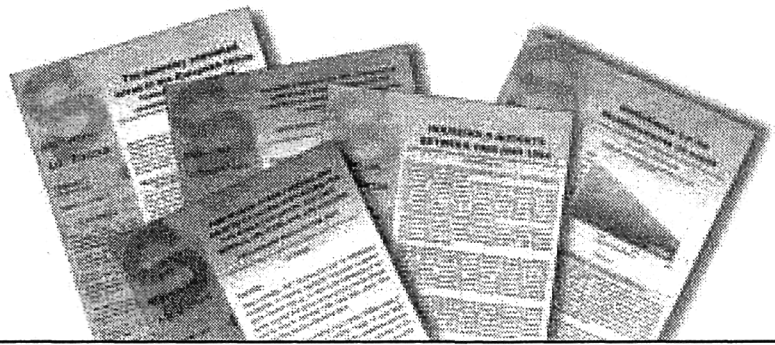
	Foreigners
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EU15_EFTA	EU 15 and EFTA countries
IS	Iceland
LI	Liechtenstein
NO	Norway
CH	Switzerland
EUR_CE	Central and Eastern Europe
CEEC	Central and Eastern European countries
CIS	Community of Independent States
EX_SU	Former Soviet Union
EX_SU_EUR	European Republics of the former USSR
AL	Albania
BY	Belarus
BA	Bosnia and Herzegovina
BG	Bulgaria
HR	Croatia
EX_CS	Former Czechoslovakia
CZ	Czech Republic
EE	Estonia
HU	Hungary
LV	Latvia
LT	Lithuania
MK	FYR Macedonia

MD	Moldova
PL	Poland
RO	Romania
RU	Russian Federation
SK	Slovak Republic
SI	Slovenia
UA	Ukraine
YU	Yugoslavia
EX_YU	Former Yugoslavia
EUR_CE_OTH	Central and Eastern Europe - Others
EX_SU_EUR_OTH	European Republics of the former USSR - Others
EX_SU_OTH	Former Soviet Union - Others
AD	Andorra
CY	Cyprus
GI	Gibraltar
MT	Malta
MC	Monaco
SM	San Marino
VA	Holy See
TR	Turkey
EUR_OTH	Other European citizens
EUR	Europe
EUR_FOR	European foreigners
AFR	Africa
AFR_E	Eastern Africa
BI	Burundi
DJ	Djibouti
ER	Eritrea
ET	Ethiopia
KE	Kenya
RW	Rwanda
SO	Somalia
UG	Uganda
TZ	Tanzania
AFR_E_OTH	Eastern Africa - Others
AFR_N	Northern Africa
DZ	Algeria
EG	Egypt
LY	Libyan Arab Jamahiriya
MA	Morocco
TN	Tunisia
AFR_N_OTH	Northern Africa - Others
AFR_C_S	Central and South Africa
AFR_C	Central Africa
CM	Cameroon
CF	Central African Republic
CD	Congo, the Democratic Republic of the
CG	Congo
GA	Gabon
GQ	Equatorial Guinea
ST	Sao Tome and Principe
TD	Chad
ZR	Zaire
AFR_C_OTH	Central Africa - Others
AFR_S	Southern Africa
AO	Angola
BW	Botswana
KM	Comoros
LS	Lesotho
MG	Madagascar
MU	Mauritius

MW	Malawi
MZ	Mozambique
NA	Namibia
SC	Seychelles
SZ	Swaziland
ZA	South Africa
ZM	Zambia
ZW	Zimbabwe
AFR_S_OTH	Southern Africa - Others
AFR_W	Western Africa
BF	Burkina Faso
BJ	Benin
CI	Côte d'Ivoire
CV	Cape Verde
EH	Western Sahara
GM	Gambia
GH	Ghana
GN	Guinea
GW	Guinea Bissau
LR	Liberia
ML	Mali
MR	Mauritania
NE	Niger
NG	Nigeria
SD	Sudan
SL	Sierra Leone
SN	Senegal
TG	Togo
AFR_W_OTH	Western Africa - Others
AFR_OTH	Africa - Others
MAGR	Maghreb countries
AME	America
AME_N	North America
AME_N_CA	North America and Caribbean
BM	Bermuda
CA	Canada
US	United States
AME_N_OTH	North America - Others
AME_LAT	Latin America
AME_C_S	Central and South America
AME_C	Central America
AME_CA	Caribbean
AME_C_CA	Central America and Caribbean
BS	Bahamas
CU	Cuba
DO	Dominican Republic
HT	Haiti
JM	Jamaica
MX	Mexico
PR	Puerto Rico
TC	Turks and Caicos Islands
AI	Anguilla
AG	Antigua and Barbuda
AW	Aruba
BB	Barbados
DM	Dominica
GD	Grenada
KN	St. Christopher
LC	Saint Lucia
TT	Trinidad and Tobago
VC	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
AME_CA_OTH	Caribbean - Others

BZ	Belize
CR	Costa Rica
GT	Guatemala
HN	Honduras
NI	Nicaragua
PA	Panama
SV	El Salvador
AME_C_OTH	Central America - Others
AME_S	South America
AR	Argentina
BO	Bolivia
BR	Brazil
CL	Chile
CO	Colombia
EC	Ecuador
GY	Guyana
PE	Peru
PY	Paraguay
SR	Suriname
UY	Uruguay
VE	Venezuela
AME_S_OTH	South America - Others
AME_OTH	America - Others
ASI	Asia
ASI_E	Eastern Asia
CN	China
CN_NOT_HK	China
HK	Hong Kong from 1997
HK_97	Hong Kong until 1997
JP	Japan
TW	Taiwan
ASI_E_OTH	Eastern Asia - Others
ASI_SE	South Eastern Asia
BN	Brunei Darussalam
ID	Indonesia
KH	Cambodia
KR	Korea
KP	Korea
LA	Laos People's Democratic Republic
MM	Myanmar
MN	Mongolia
MY	Malaysia
PH	Philippines
SG	Singapore
TH	Thailand
TP	East Timor
VN	Vietnam
EX_VN	North Vietnam
EX_VS	South Vietnam
ASI_SE_OTH	South Eastern Asia - Others
ASI_S	Southern Asia
AF	Afghanistan
BD	Bangladesh
BT	Bhutan
IN	India
LK	Sri Lanka
MV	Maldives
NP	Nepal
PK	Pakistan
ASI_S_OTH	Southern Asia - Others
ASI_W	Near and Middle East
AM	Armenia

AZ	Azerbaijan
GE	Georgia
KZ	Kazakhstan
KG	Kyrgyzstan
TJ	Tajikistan
TM	Turkmenistan
UZ	Uzbekistan
IL	Israel
LB	Lebanon
JO	Jordan
PS	Palestine
SY	Syrian Arab Republic
EX_YD	North Yemen
YE	Yemen
EX_YE	South Yemen
ASI_G	Gulf Arabian Countries
AE	United Arab Emirates
BH	Bahrain
IQ	Iraq
IR	Iran
KW	Kuwait
OM	Oman
QA	Qatar
SA	Saudi Arabia
ASI_W_OTH	other Near and Middle East countries
ASI_OTH	Asian countries other than Near and Middle East
ASIOTH	Asia - Others
OCE	Oceania
AU	Australia
POL	Polynesia
CC	Cocos
CK	Cook Islands
FJ	Fiji
FM	Federated States of Micronesia
KI	Kiribati
MH	Marshall Islands
NC	New Caledonia
NR	Nauru
NZ	New Zealand
PC	Pacific Islands
PF	French Polynesia
PG	Papua New Guinea
PN	Pitcairn
PW	Palau
SB	Solomon Islands
TO	Tonga
TV	Tuvalu
VU	Vanuatu
WF	Wallis and Futuna Islands
WS	Western Samoa
OCE_OTH	Oceania - Others
OTHER	Other
STATELESS	Stateless
UNK	Unknown
NRESP	No answer



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