



demotrends

quadrimestrale sulla realtà demografica italiana

Direttore Responsabile: Giuseppe Gesano

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Immigrants as a Resource

Today's international migrations, as well as long-distance internal migration, have been considered above all as the effect of imbalances in the quantity, quality and wages between different labour markets, exacerbated by the difficult living conditions in much of the Southern Hemisphere. From this point of view, the presence of foreign workers is considered by the migration-receiving countries to be an opportunity for labour demand to be met with respect to shortages in the domestic labour supply, especially in lower-level or less desirable jobs. The immigrant labour supply, often being associated with almost or completely illegal employment, is likewise said to counter the demands of workers for wages and benefits.

However, this narrow viewpoint has not proved sufficient in the face of the complexity of a phenomenon which, due to the human, social and cultural implications, cannot be reduced to a simple factor of production. Foreign labour implies the presence and the likely settlement of people – the workers themselves, their families and children – in the local and social context of the host country. All this leads to various types of problems affecting both the principles and practices of living together, but it also stimulates innovation and growth in terms of culture, social organisation, the development of economic activities which would not exist otherwise.

The sluggish population dynamics in many Western countries have more than benefited from foreign immigration. First of all, the presence of immigrant workers has at least partially solved some of the consequences of population-age-



ing processes. Especially in the countries where welfare mainly depends on the family network, this means that private care for the elderly, as well as care for the disabled and children, can be undertaken by foreign workers hired by the families. In Italy, for example, a professional profile called *badante* (a hired person, often female, looking after elderly family members) has recently been created to cover domestic, non-specialised care for the elderly.

Some also see immigrant labour as a partial solution for the social-security gap due to the rise in the number of retirees,

benefiting from pensions, and the fall in the number of workers paying social-security contributions.

In any case, the demographic aspects are the main benefit of immigration to the future of the host country. The type of arrival and settlement, together with the processes of integration between the various nationalities and with the host population, have led to the growth of pre-existing households and the development of new families. Therefore, the contribution of immigration is also measured by the enrichment of future generations in terms of the demographic, social and economic vitality of the host country.

It is the task of policy-makers to highlight the positive aspects of immigration and also to promote the correct formation of public opinion.

* * *

In concluding these considerations, it is with great regret that I inform the readers that the publication of *Demotrends* is suspended. Since 1997, this newsletter has presented the activities of the IRP (National Institute for Population Research) and then of the IRPPS (Institute of Research on Population and Social Policies) to an external audience.

Demotrends has been a widely appreciated tool for dissemination and discussion within the Italian and European scientific community, as well as with policy makers and local administrators, teachers, students and media. The closing of the newsletter represents a decision that has been very difficult to be taken but necessary due to financial and organisational matters and that hopefully we do not consider as definitive. Both personally, and on behalf of the Editorial Board, I would like to thank all the readers, contributors, and the executive staff of the *Demotrends* newsletter.

Giuseppe Gesano

The Italian Immigration Model

Is there an Italian immigration model? Are there, in other words, specific and systematically recurring features of immigration in Italy? What are these specific features and particularities?

The answer to the first question is probably affirmative. On the one hand, the characteristics of Italian immigration reflect the general trends of international migration. These include: a) flows originating mainly from countries in the Southern Hemisphere; b) a high percentage of women who migrate autonomously and not as family members; c) employment of immigrants mainly in the service sector with a significant level of involvement in the informal economy; d) considerable percentage of illegals due to restrictive admission policies; e) a high percentage of refugees and asylum-seekers.

On the other hand, in Italy some of these aspects are more pronounced, while others occur much less often than in other European countries. For example, the presence of refugees and asylum-seekers is lower than elsewhere. On the contrary, female immigration, which is high everywhere in Europe, has always been much more evident in Italy than in other countries.

This is linked to the characteristics of the Italian labour demand that reflects not only aspects of the economy but also the demographic and social trends of the population. The first women immigrants to Italy worked as maids in middle class families, while today's women immigrants, coming above all from the countries of Eastern Europe, work increasingly often in care for the elderly in households of differing social condition, including those of lower status. Previously, the labour demand for women immigrants working as full time maids was due to backward lifestyles of the local bourgeoisie as

well as to the deficiencies of the welfare system. Now, the origin of the specific labour demand has to be found above all in the combination of demographic changes - characterised by a sharp and rapid rise of the older population - on the one hand, with family-centred criteria for assistance and care for the elderly on the other.

A heightened female presence, the prevalence of service-sector employment and involvement in the informal economy together with employment in agriculture and building are characteristics common to immigration in all the countries of Mediterranean Europe.

This implies that the Italian model is a specification of a more general Mediterranean model of immigration.

The informal and illegal features of employment in Italy (as well as in the other countries on the northern shores of the Mediterranean) are due to the difficulties of official entry for immigrants, which implies an illegal status at least in the first phase of immigration. This, in turn, leads to their necessarily being relegated to informal employment. Obviously, immigrants without a residence permit can only be employed in this way.

Up to now, the issue of the systematic occurrence of illegal conditions has been managed in Italy, as well as in the other countries of Mediterranean Europe, with the systematic use of amnesty measures. Perhaps in this respect Italy has gone beyond current European practices. Indeed, we can say that almost all the adult immigrants currently present – or in any case the overwhelming majority – have gone through varying periods of illegal status, finally solved by amnesty laws. We need only recall that these laws (there were 5 major amnesties) have led to the legalisation of a million and a half men and women workers with a previously illegal (or in any case irregular) status in Italy. According to the latest surveys of immigrants coming from countries in the South (and from the East) of the world, there are just over 2 million legally living in Italy. We should likewise say that the current figures

on the number of immigrants in Italy are much higher, since they also include persons from wealthier countries inside and outside Europe. The panorama, however, remains the same.

The restrictive policies adopted by Italy and the other countries of Mediterranean Europe – following a more general European trend – are at the origin of such a high rate of illegal immigration. If one considers that almost all immigrants of a working age are employed, one can understand that in the end they have found a place in Italian society, since they satisfy the demand from businesses and families. We should stress that the role of families, in activating the labour demand, is one of the main aspects of the Italian immigration pattern.

It is worthy to recall a book by Francesco Carchedi, published by Ediesse about 10 years ago, entitled *"La Risorsa Inaspettata"* (The Unexpected Resource). This title aptly expressed the sense and the role of immigration in Italy. While in those years attention was focused on the alleged risks of invasion and immigration was seen as a problem, the concrete social reality of the country increasingly showed a clear and urgent demand for labour (especially by families for the care of the elderly) which only the immigrant workforce, specifically women immigrants, was able to meet. Thus, immigration has become a true resource.

A final characteristic of immigration in Italy today which may appear somehow contradictory to the picture above presented is the following: a gradual process of stabilisation. This implies a tendency towards a more balanced and demographic structure (as a result of family reunions), a growing number of families with at least one foreign spouse, a rise in the average duration of stay, and a more stable position in the labour market despite all the difficulties that immigrants meet. Consequently, Italian immigration is undergoing a process of transition, increasingly becoming a "normal immigration".

Enrico Pugliese

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ITALIAN IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION IN GERMANY

A success story? Yes and no

From "Gastarbeiter" to European co-citizen

Based on opinion polls and surveys, integration of Italian immigrants in Germany seems to be unparalleled compared to the other major groups of foreign citizens living in Germany. Even if, like for other EU citizens, taking German citizenship is extremely rare for Italians, the perception of their social and cultural integration is often positive. Bi-national marriages are frequent and, as a result, many younger persons have dual citizenship. The relatively high frequency of friendships between Italian immigrants and Germans, observed in the recently conducted BIB (Bundesinstitut für Bevölkerungsforschung) Integration survey, also indicates for a successful social integration.

However, other statistical information tells a different story and integration deficits do exist: 50 years ago the German-Italian agreement on labour force recruitment was signed. The Italian community in Germany grew rapidly during the 1960s and 1970s and reached its maximum in 1973 with more than 630,000 persons. According to most recent counts at the end of 2004, based on a verification of the central register of foreign citizens, 548,200 Italians lived in Germany of whom 164,000 were born in Germany. They represent 8.2 % of the total foreign population and about 0.66 % of the total population.

The German cities with the largest Italian communities are Munich, Cologne, Frankfurt and Stuttgart. The proportion of Italians is highest in Southwestern Germany, the Saar agglomeration, the Rhein-Main agglomeration (Frankfurt), the southern rim of the Ruhr agglomeration, Wolfsburg, the areas of Nürnberg and Munich.

The Italian community was always characterised by a high fluctuation between Italy and Germany, or more precisely, the community is formed simultaneously by highly mobile individuals/families and individuals/families who settled in Germany for extended periods or indefinitely.

The frequent 'back and forth' of many Italian migrants can be considered one of the impediments to successful integration of many Italian families in Germany.

Whereas Italians seem to be the least segregated group of foreign citizens, school statistics indicate that Italian school children are, on average, performing less well than other immigrant groups, and labour market statistics indicate that Italians are, on average, more threatened by unemployment than most other EU citizens. E. Pichler offers an approach for interpretation, by distinguishing various groups of Italians according to the period and motivation of immigration. In her article (*Pioniere, Arbeitsmigranten, Rebellen, Postmoderne und Mobile Italiener in Berlin. Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 42, 2002, 257-274) she distinguishes pioneers, labour migrants, political migrants and post-modern migrants. In Berlin, for example, where Italians are less often traditional labour immigrants, Italian school children are doing far better than their co-nationals in other German *Länder*.

The low success rate of Italian children in the German school system is a well-known and often discussed feature of Italian immigration in Germany. A specific characteristic of the Italian immigration was and still is the persistent low educational attainment compared to the German population and

other groups of foreigners, perpetuated through relatively weak results regarding schooling and professional formation.

15-29-year-old population according to the highest degree obtained and citizenship, 2003

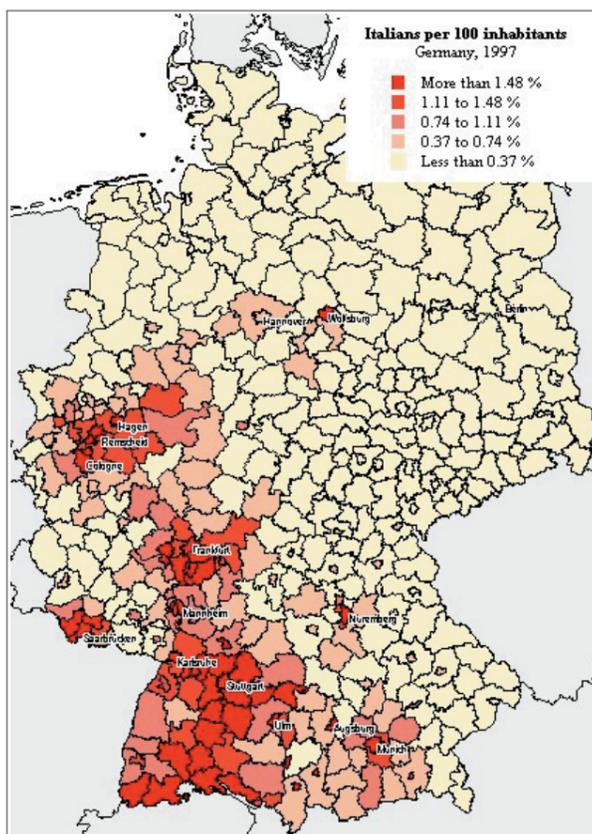
Degree	Citizenship		
	German	German-Italian	Italian
No degree	1.6	3.0	5.1
Lower secondary school	25.3	32.8	59.6
Higher secondary school	41.1	35.1	19.1
Highschool	32.0	29.1	15.6

Data source: German Microcensus

The low qualifications that were an advantage in the case of the first generation of Italian immigrants - who found jobs on

assembly lines and in construction work that required low qualifications - are today a major problem for Italian workers. With the general restructuring of the German economy education and professional training are an ever more important element for success in the labour market. Today, Italians have lost this competitive advantage in the labour market and the traditionally relatively low educational level might be one of the impediments to a successful confrontation with the structural adaptation process and to a successful school career for Italian children.

Whereas in the early years of guest worker immigration unemployment rates were very low, the economic crisis, the crisis of the manufacturing industry in 1970s and the restructuring process of the German economy have changed the situation drastically. Today Italians are among the foreign nationals most affected by unemployment and, given their relatively high presence in construction and menial jobs, Italians are rather exposed to seasonal variations of unemployment.



Data source: Own estimations based on the values of the location coefficient reported in Glebe, Günther; Thieme, Günter, *Ausländer in Deutschland seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg*. In: Institut für Länderkunde, Kemper, Franz-Josef; Gans, Paul (eds.) *Nationalatlas Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Band Bevölkerung. Heidelberg-Berlin, Spektrum Akademischer Verlag, 2001, 72-75, which are estimated based on data reported by the Statistical Offices of the *Länder*

Employment and unemployment according to citizenship, March 2005

Citizenship	Employed and unemployed covered by social security		
	Total	Unemployed	Employed per unemployed
Total	30,975	4,547	5.8
German	28,615	3,976	6.2
Foreigners	2360	571	3.1
EU nationals	669.2	112.7	4.9
Italian	222.3	47.2	3.7
Turkish	662	182	2.6

Data source: Bundesagentur für Arbeit

Unemployed foreigners, Italians included, will certainly feel the brunt of the reforms of the German welfare state introduced in 2005, but a final judgement regarding the possible effects - like a return to the country of origin - has to be reserved for the future.

Even employment in the specific niche of ethnic restaurants and services is suffering competition from other nationalities. It is too early to talk of a crisis of the Italian traditional presence in the gastronomic sector, but Italians who are not "re-inventing" their role seem likely to have problems maintaining their position.

The authors concluded their recent article in the journal *Studi Emigrazione* with the affirmation "The 'new' Italian migration to Germany, already observed by Pichler in the case of Berlin and mentioned again in a recent publication by Rieder, might substitute for the traditional Italian German labour migration and offer an anticipation and indication of the integration of Europe, which the traditional labour migration could not fulfil."

Sonja Haug and Frank Heins

Walking ethnic Rome ⁽¹⁾

According to the most recent data about 300,000 foreigners are living in Rome and its immediate hinterland with a resident permit. About 42,000 are from Romania, 22,000 from the Philippines, 17,000 from Poland, 9,000 from Ukraine, 8,000 from Albania, about 6,000 from China and Bangladesh respectively. Obviously, at the time of publication this data will be already outdated.

The foreign citizens living in Rome represent a great variety of nationalities and ethnicities and come from poor, as well as wealthy countries. Increasingly families, including young children, join the immigrants posing new challenges to the social and educational services. The many catholic institutions in Rome also account for an important share of foreigners.

The central and northern boroughs of Rome show the highest concentration of foreign citizens (Rome: 7.2%, 1st borough: 18.6%, 2nd: 10.6%, 20th: 12.5%) ⁽²⁾ and the highest absolute values. The increase in the number of foreign citizens is more pronounced in the 15th borough to the west and the 7th and 8th borough to the East.

The immigrants from wealthy nations are living most often in the central areas of Rome. Many immigrants, predominantly women, working in private households and taking care of children and the elderly, like Philippines, South-Americans and Eastern-Europeans, as well as immigrants working in the service sector, are only partially 'visible' when travelling to

and from work, doing errands and during leisure time when congregating with co-nationals in one of the public places around the city. Probably the most 'visible' communities in Rome are the Chinese and Bangladeshi shop owners in the Esquilino district, part of the 1st borough, and especially the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II neighbourhood.

The Esquilino neighbourhood was bourgeois in the 1950s and experienced urban decay in the 1960s and 1970s due to population loss and the missing tertiarisation of the area. The arrival of the Chinese and Bangladeshi communities and their various economic activities changed the area significantly. Both communities are very active in the fashion industry. Whereas the Chinese are specialised in the wholesale of low priced textiles, Bangladeshis focus on fashion accessories. Over the years members of both communities have also invested in shops linked to their presence, such as grocery shops, communication and money sending businesses. Probably due to a lack of demand, only relatively few ethnic restaurants were opened in this area, which cater more to the communities and less to the Italian population. Many Bangladeshi economic activities are collocated in parts of Principe Amedeo Street, whereas the Chinese activities are spreading out over a wider area of the neighbourhood and are still expanding.

The presence of the foreign communities has brought some social and political conflicts to the area. As a consequence,

the city government has been making a special effort to requalify the area. For example, the traditional out-door Piazza Vittorio market has been moved to indoor facilities a block away and the Piazza with its gardens restructured. The market today, with its many stalls run by foreigners, has always been a market with very competitive pricing and is serving Italians as well as a multitude of foreign communities. In case Rome should be in need of a multiethnic symbol, this market would be certainly a formidable candidate.

Frank Heins

⁽¹⁾ The walking tour of ethnic Rome was organised during the 2nd Conference of the EAPS Working Group on International Migration in Europe "International Migration in Europe: New Trends, New Methods of Analysis". It was held on November 27th 2004, guided and commented by Pierpaolo Mudu. O. Casacchia, L. Natale and S. Strozza contributed additional comments. See the conference web site http://www.irpps.cnr.it/ricmob/web_conf/confere.htm for more information.

⁽²⁾ These data refer to the year 2003. The steep increase in the number of foreign citizens over the last years implies a significant increase in their proportion in the population of the boroughs.

Regional patterns of migrations in Europe

Flows have considerably changed during the last decades

Although the measurement of European migration trends is still to be considered a work in progress, available research does allow for describing main patterns and characteristics of international migration in our continent. Four main stages have emerged when considering the evolution of the regional patterns of European international migration over the last sixty years. The first stage started just after the end of the Second World War, when the main European flow was the forced migration brought about by the direct and indirect effects of the peace treaties. Whole populations were obliged to leave their homes because of the new national borders. Ethnic minorities were removed to insure homogeneity within the new boundaries. This flow was concentrated within a short period of time but, with its estimated magnitude of 30 million people, including internal migration, it remains one of the most important in recent European history.

The second period of European migration was characterised by labour migration and foreign workers recruitment. It started with the first bilateral agreements of the second half of the forties between Italy with Belgium and France, and ended with the stop policies of the first half of the seventies. The size of the foreign population living in Western Europe increased threefold between 1950 and 1975, from 4.1 million to 12.5. Geographical divides were very clear, even if areas of arrival and departure enlarged during the period, along with the extraordinary growth of Western European economies. A line of division developed along the Iron Curtain, completely separating East and West, with the only exception being Yugoslavia. Within the Western Block, emigration countries

included Southern European countries, Ireland and Finland, while the traditional immigration area included the remaining countries of Northern and Western Europe. The golden period of European labour migration was characterised by a favourable political climate towards international migration. Governments of receiving and sending countries usually played an active role in promoting the flows. They signed bilateral agreements for the recruitment of workers through official channels and clearly defined procedures. Furthermore, immigration countries were largely available to regularise 'ex post' the foreign workers that had used unofficial channels of entry.

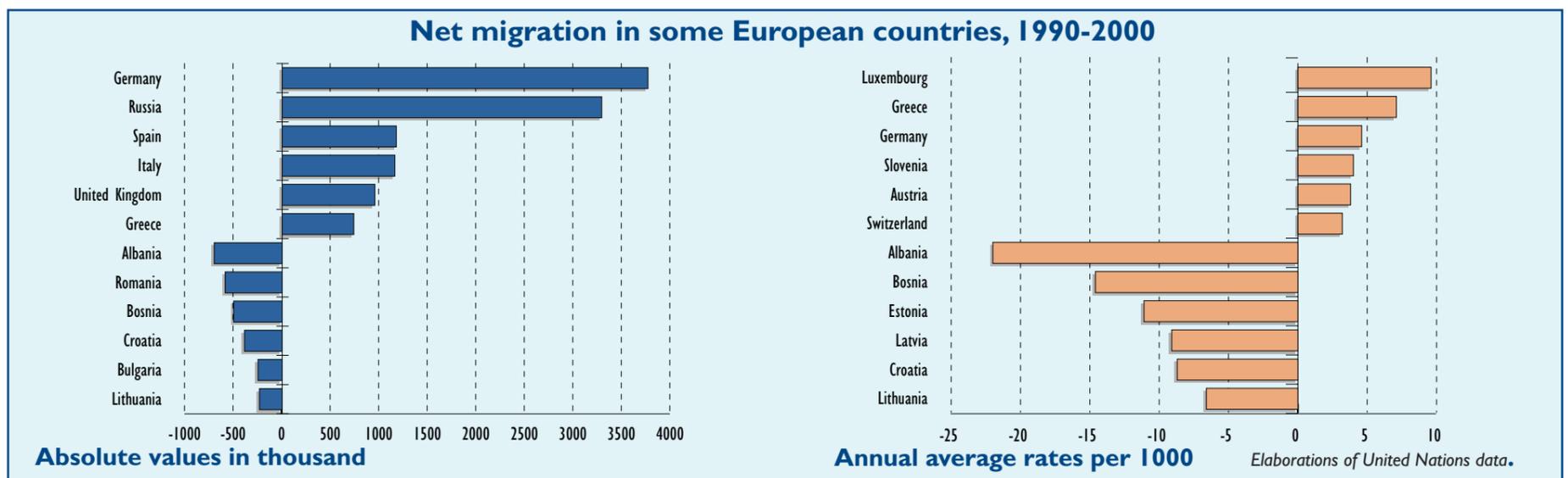
This situation completely reversed with the two oil shocks of the seventies. All the receiving countries halted active recruitment and tried to favour return migration. In this way, they tried to export unemployment towards sending countries and to face the problems of a phenomenon that had clearly changed its nature from temporary to permanent. It was the beginning of a more and more strict control by the states over entries and of the growing importance of migration issues in national political debates. At the same time, economic pull factors rapidly moved from the core of industrial sectors to services. In this period, the segmentation of labour markets and the restructuring of Western economies heavily affected international migration trends and characteristics. Central and Eastern Europe continued to remain, to a large extent, isolated behind the Iron Curtain, even if there was a resurgence in ethnic flows, promoted by the political openings of the eighties. The most important novelty in European regional patterns of international migration was recorded at the end of the seventies with the com-

mencement of immigration flows towards the traditional emigration countries of Southern and Northern Europe.

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 signalled the beginning of a new stage for European migration patterns. With the end of the Cold War, political barriers to emigration were removed and CEE countries had again the opportunity to participate in migration movements. It was a radical change for the geography of continental flows, even if Western countries rapidly established strict controls on immigration, also to counteract the effects of the forced migrations caused by the ethnic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and Soviet Union. In any case, the most astonishing example of the new CEE involvement in migration flows is probably Albania, which has become one of the most important emigration countries of Europe in an extraordinarily short period of time.

A new phase has probably been emerging over the last few years. In fact, some EU countries are giving much greater attention to the promotion of skilled migrations, while employment-related migration is generally increasing. Besides this, the final document from the Tampere Conference of 1999 contains the basis for a new approach to migration issues at a European level. In this framework, more attention is being devoted to the general contexts of international migration and to considering the positive effects of the flows on the economic development of the countries of departure and on the economies and demography of the countries of arrival. The Zero option, introduced in the 1970's, is perhaps approaching its end.

Corrado Bonifazi



International migration within and from CEE

Two historical events are of crucial importance for shaping of new migration trends in Central-Eastern Europe (CEE): the collapse of Soviet Empire that begun with the June 4th, 1989 parliamentary elections in Poland and the return of CEE to Europe whose milestone became the accession of the first eight countries into EU on May 1st, 2004. Before 1990, for several decades, international migration was repressed by totalitarian regimes in CEE, and its pulse reflected the political cycle marked by periods of relative stability punctuated by brief upheavals. Stability meant holding a hard grip on migration whereas the periods of upheavals usually saw some relaxation and intensified out-movement of people.

After 1989 migration in almost all post-Soviet states is free, and it presents a rich variety of movements. Some of those flows (e.g. those related to family reunion or ethnic returns) originate in the communist past, some others (e.g. transit migration from Africa and Asia to the West or inflow of asylum seekers) in the new geopolitical position of CEE, still other flows in purely economic motives. The latter include two major types: a mix of profit-oriented movements within CEE and the outflow of migrant workers to other countries (mainly EU and USA). A predominant share of those latter movements constitutes incomplete migration. It is a CEE-specific form of flows that recently developed in the region, whose root causes lay in the "underurbanisation" suffered by many of its societies. Migrants involved in that form are usually poorly skilled; they live in the countryside and small towns or belong to marginalised groups in larger towns. They are attracted by higher pay abroad than in home country not just because it is higher but principally because the bulk of earnings is being spent home where the cost of living is much lower. For this reason, as a rule, firstly, the migrants are not accompanied by family members and their households stay in

home country, and, secondly, because migrant's sojourn abroad tends to be short, they are ready to accept relatively harsh working conditions in host country. While barely any demand for this kind of labour exists in sending countries, for receiving countries persons taking part in incomplete migration are a highly valued supplement to their flexible and partly informal labour markets.

The basic facts about current migration and migrants from CEE are as follows. In 2002 European and North American countries recorded the inflow of around 190.000 Russians (mainly in Germany and USA), 150.000 Romanians (mainly in Italy and Spain), 130.000 Ukrainians (mainly in Germany, Portugal and USA), 120.000 Poles (mainly in Germany, Italy and USA), and between 30.000 to 70.000 persons from Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Serbia and Montenegro. Programmes of immigrant regularisation carried out between 1997 and 2001 in Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain embraced as many as 356.000 Albanians, 223.000 Romanians, 174.000 Ukrainians and around 70.000 persons from other CEE countries. The 2002 stock of CEE authorised migrant workers in European countries included some 450.000 persons in Germany (mainly Croats, Poles and Serbs), 320.000 in Greece (mainly Albanians), 200.000 in Switzerland (mainly ex-Yugoslavs), 160.000 in Austria (mainly ex-Yugoslavs), 150.000 in Italy (mainly Albanians and Romanians) and a further few hundred thousand elsewhere. In addition, around 350.000 migrants worked seasonally, a majority of them Poles in Germany. Moreover, several hundred thousand migrants from CEE were believed to be employed informally in Europe and USA. Those figures suffice to conclude that both the flows and stocks of migrants from post-communist countries of Europe have become sizeable and geographically diversified.

In turn, CEE itself has simultaneously developed into a migrant-receiving area. The Czech Republic, a regional leader, in 2002 hosted as many as 150.000 migrant workers or foreign entrepreneurs, majority of whom came from Slovakia, Ukraine and Vietnam. Apart from that country also Hungary and Slovenia (and to lesser extent Poland and Russia) rank among migration poles in the region. Nearly all countries recorded large inflows of asylum seekers; e.g. between 1996 and 2003 the Czech Republic 63.000, Hungary 45.000, Poland 35.000 and Slovakia 33.000.

EU enlargement already executed in 2004 (and in case of Bulgaria, Romania and possibly Croatia planned for 2007) has further divided the post-Soviet states with respect to migration. Symbolically for a majority CEE countries soon there will be no barriers to migration within a common Europe while a minority (notably Russia and Ukraine) will be left behind. Early migration outcome of the 2004 enlargement, however, suggests that the real effects of a free access to EU labour markets might not be as big as widely expected. Of three countries who instantly lifted relevant restrictions, Ireland and Sweden noted a very moderate increase in the inflow from new member countries, whereas in the United Kingdom it was larger but by no means massive. Between May 1st and December 1st, 2004, Britain recorded 131.000 migrant workers from those countries in accordance with new rules, of whom estimated one-half arrived in earlier periods, and after May 1st only moved from irregular to regular employment. On the other hand, even a generally small outflow from new EU member countries can still be source of concern in those countries. Some of them, for instance, noted a rapid depletion in the pool of certain highly skilled, like Hungary which already lost 430 physicians.

Marek Okólski

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Major area, region, country or area	Estimated number of international migrants at mid-year				Foreign population at 1 st January (ths absolute values)	Net migration			Asylum and refugees (ths absolute values)		Expatriates towards OECD countries (b)		Government policy concerning:	
	Absolute values and type of data (ths)	% growth rate of the migrant stock	% international migrants on total population	% female migrants on total migrants		Net migration (ths absolute values)	Net migration rate (annual values per 1,000 population)	Asylum applications	Refugees at the end of the year (a)	Absolute values (ths)	% of highly skilled	immigration levels	emigration levels	
														2000
	1	2	3	4		5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
EASTERN EUROPE	24811.8	0.8	8.1	54.4	...	2812	0.9	...	37.0	30.4	7174.2	27.1		
Belarus	1283.7 B	0.1	12.8	54.4	...	28	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.6	149.9	25.0	lower	lower
Bulgaria	101.0 E	15.5	1.2	54.4	...	-361	-4.4	0.0 ^(h)	1.5	4.1	527.8	14.5	maintain	lower
Czech Republic	235.6 N	4.8	2.3	59.5	195.4	91	0.9	2.5	11.4	1.5	215.9	24.6	raise	lower
Hungary	296.5 BR	-1.6	3.0	52.4	130.1	201	1.9	1.5	2.4	7.0	314.9	28.7	lower	no intervention
Poland	2088.1 B	2.0	5.4	53.9	49.2 ^{(h)*}	-147	-0.4	-0.4	6.9	1.8	1276.5	25.7	maintain	no intervention
Republic of Moldova	474.4 B	-2.0	11.1	54.4	...	-194	-4.5	-0.9 ^(h)	0.1	0.1	35.4	36.7	maintain	lower
Romania	94.0 BR	-4.2	0.4	57.1	2.0	-880	-3.9	-0.3	1.1	2.0	613.2	26.3	lower	lower
Russian Federation	13259.4 B	1.3	9.1	54.4	...	4160	2.8	0.6	0.7	9.9	580.6	43.0	lower	lower
Slovakia	32.0 ER	6.8	0.6	54.4	29.5 ^(h)	19	0.4	0.3	10.4	0.4	374.6	13.8	lower	no intervention
Ukraine	6947.1 B	-0.2	14.0	54.4	...	-105	-0.2	-0.5	2.3	2.9	753.1	27.2	raise	lower
NORTHERN EUROPE	7400.7	1.0	7.9	52.6	...	976	1.1	...	163.5	522.1	5034.1	35.1		
Denmark	303.7 B	3.2	5.7	48.0	271.2	140	2.7	1.2	4.6	69.9	173.0	34.6	lower	no intervention
Estonia	365.4 B	-1.0	26.7	52.5	...	-162	-11.2	-0.1 ^(h)	0.0	0.0	35.1	32.0	maintain	maintain
Finland	134.1 B	7.9	2.6	50.4	107.0	66	1.3	1.1	3.2	10.8	265.2	25.4	maintain	no intervention
Iceland	15.6 B	5.5	5.5	54.9	10.2	1	0.4	-0.5	0.1	0.2	23.1	33.8	no intervention	no intervention
Ireland	309.8 B	3.0	8.1	48.8	215.4 ⁽ⁱ⁾	81	2.2	7.8	13.2	6.0	792.3	23.5	maintain	no intervention
Latvia	613.0 B	-1.1	25.8	52.5	33.3	-225	-9.0	-0.4	0.0	0.0	54.2	37.4	maintain	lower
Lithuania	339.2 B	-0.9	9.7	52.5	31.2 ^(g)	-208	-5.7	-1.8	0.2	0.4	132.8	22.1	lower	no intervention
Norway	298.6 B	4.8	6.7	51.2	204.7	111	2.5	2.5	16.0	46.1	122.1	32.1	maintain	no intervention
Sweden	992.6 B	2.4	11.2	52.1	476.1	213	2.4	3.2	31.3	112.2	206.6	37.8	maintain	no intervention
United Kingdom	4028.7 B	0.7	6.9	53.5	2794.0	959	1.7	2.6 ^(h)	94.9	276.5	3229.7	39.2	raise	no intervention
SOUTHERN EUROPE	4961.4	3.8	3.4	54.9	...	2120	1.5	...	38.1	342.6	8594.7	12.9		
Albania	12.1 E	-0.3	0.4	54.9	...	-687	-21.9	-4.9 ^(f)	0.0	0.0	389.3	9.1	maintain	no intervention
Bosnia and Herzegovina	96.0 ER	5.4	2.4	54.9	36.3 ^(g)	-651	-19.0	5.9 ^(g)	0.7	22.5	536.3	11.5	maintain	lower
Croatia	425.0 BR	-1.3	9.6	54.9	...	3	0.1	2.6	0.1	4.4	422.3	14.0	lower	lower
Cyprus	49.4 B	1.2	6.3	54.4	83.5	40	5.5	15.4	5.1	0.3	138.7	25.2	lower	lower
Greece	534.5 N	3.7	4.9	54.2	762.2 ^(g)	770	7.2	3.5 ^(h)	8.2	2.8	735.4	16.1	lower	no intervention
Italy	1634.3 B	1.9	2.8	56.0	2194 ^(v)	1176	2.1	10.6	13.7 ^(p)	12.4	2430.3	12.4	lower	no intervention
Malta	8.7 N	4.1	2.2	56.7	11.0	12	3.2	2.8	0.7	0.2 ^(h)	96.8	19.5	maintain	no intervention
Portugal	232.8 B	5.4	2.3	51.1	250.7	167	1.7	6.1	0.1	0.4	1268.7	6.5	lower	no intervention
Serbia and Montenegro	626.0 B	15.6	5.9	62.3	...	104	1.0	0.2 ^(g)	0.1	291.4	1064.6	11.9	maintain	lower
Slovenia	51.0 NR	7.1	2.6	49.4	45.3	46	2.3	1.8	1.1	2.1	52.3	17.5	lower	no intervention
Spain	1258.8 B	5.0	3.1	51.2	2772.2	1179	3.0	14.1	5.9	5.9	763.0	18.0	lower	maintain
F.Y.R.M.	33.0 NR	2.8	1.6	54.9	...	-39	-2.0	-1.3 ^(g)	2.3	0.2	149.0	11.8	maintain	lower
WESTERN EUROPE	18801.0	2.2	10.2	49.0	...	5504	3.0	...	281.5	1312.2	5541.5	31.4		
Austria	756.4 N	4.7	9.3	48.0	766.2	307	3.8	4.5	32.4	16.1	366.0	28.7	maintain	no intervention
Belgium	879.3 N	-0.2	8.6	48.2	850.1 ^(h)	182	1.8	4.0 ^(h)	21.2	12.6	321.5	33.8	maintain	no intervention
France	6277.2 B	0.6	10.6	50.7	3263.2 ^(d)	643	1.1	0.9	106.2	130.8	1013.6	34.4	maintain	raise
Germany	7348.5 N	3.4	8.9	47.5	7334.8 ⁽ⁱ⁾	3826	4.7	1.7	67.8	960.4	2933.8	29.5	maintain	no intervention
Luxembourg	162.3 N	3.5	37.3	49.7	174.2	37.0	9.1	4.6	1.6	1.2	27.2	26.2	maintain	no intervention
Netherlands	1576.0 B	2.8	9.9	51.0	702.2	351	2.3	0.4	13.4	140.9	616.9	34.0	lower	no intervention
Switzerland	1801.2 B	2.7	25.1	48.2	1623.6	158	2.3	5.9	39.0	50.1	262.5	35.8	maintain	no intervention
EU-15	26429.0	2.1	7.0	50.5	...	10097	2.7	5.3^(e)	417.6	1758.9	15336.8	25.9		
EU-25	30507.8	1.9	6.7	50.9	...	9764	2.2	4.5^(e)	455.8	1772.7	18138.6	25.7		
Total Europe (c)	56134.8	1.5	7.7	52.4	...	11433	1.6	...	520.1	2207.3	26344.5	24.9		

... Not available. ^(e) Estimated value. ^(p) Provisional value. ^(a) Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are: 327.1 in Bosnia and Herzegovina; 4.4 in Croatia; 368.2 in Russian Federation; 256.9 in Serbia and Montenegro. ^(b) Eastern Europe total includes expatriates assigned to Former Czechoslovakia (110.0) and to Former USSR (2222.3); Southern Europe total includes expatriates assigned to Former Yugoslavia (54.8). ^(c) Up to column 7 (excluding column 5) totals include values for small countries not specified. ^(d) 1999. ^(f) 2000. ^(g) 2001. ^(h) 2002. ⁽ⁱ⁾ 2003 ^(v) national data.* May 2002.

Technical notes are in page 8

MIGRATION IN EUROPE

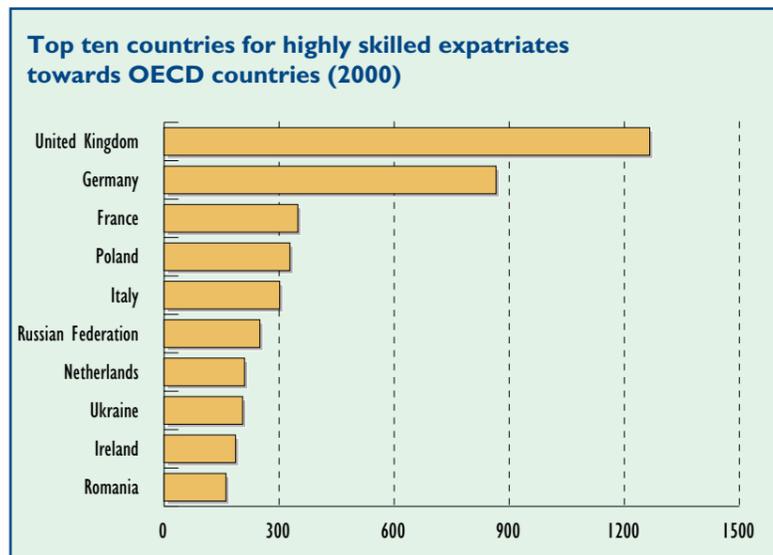
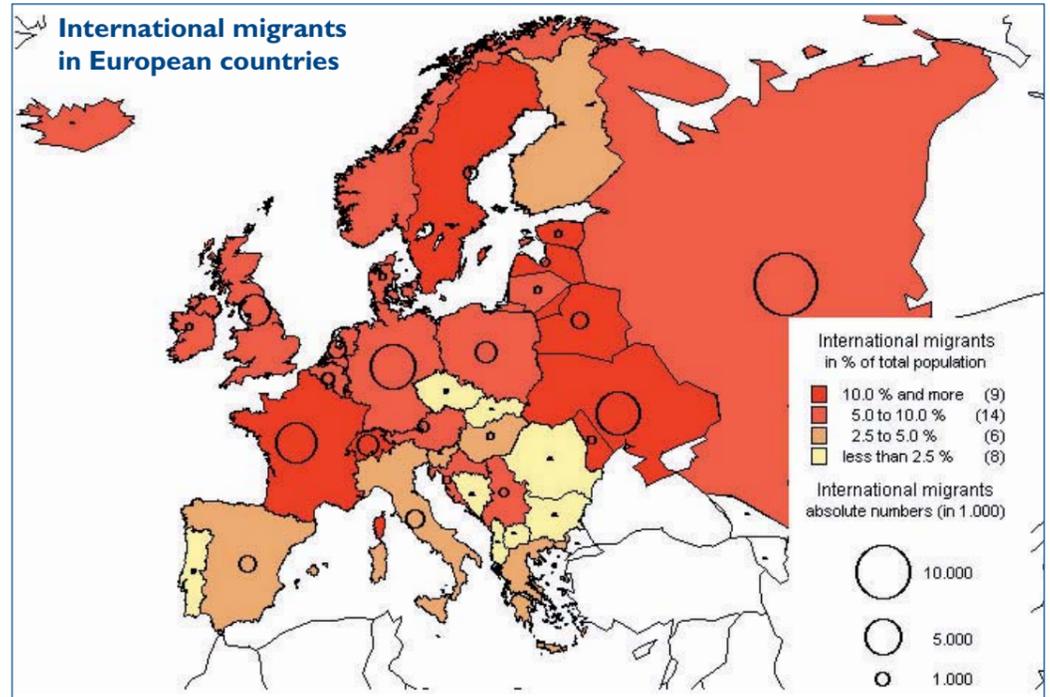
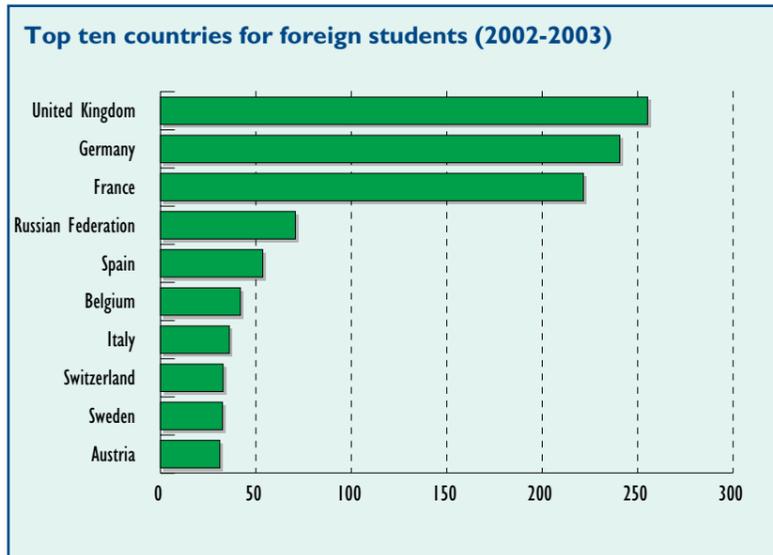
Edited by Federica Aguiari and Antonella Guarneri

In the last decades of the 20th century, trends and patterns of international migration in Europe have changed considerably. First with the changes in the countries of Mediterranean Europe, from migration-sending to migration-receiving countries, and then with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the consequent collapse of the Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia, Europe has experienced a new geopolitical and migratory situation. The growing importance of Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans is evident in stock and flow data that are strongly influenced by political changes and new state borders. As a percentage of the total population, immigration levels in the Mediterranean countries of the European Union — notwithstanding a constant recorded growth of immigration in the 1990s — have, only in recent years, reached those of the traditional migration-receiving countries. In 2000 Luxembourg was unchallenged in first place (37.3%), followed by Estonia (26.7%), Latvia (25.8%) and Switzerland (25.1%). The macro-regions considered in the decade 1990-2000 have highlighted a positive annual migration rate of between 1‰ and 3‰. Meanwhile, countries like Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina still seem to be strongly characterised by emigration (with rates -21.9‰ and -19‰ respectively). The countries of Central and Eastern Europe — though in some cases recording

a net in-migration — appear to be characterised by transit migration, play the role of buffer-zone, or are the theatre for new migratory patterns in the category of "incomplete migration".

Another feature of the "new" migration is a consolidated "feminilisation", since in most cases the female component of immigrants has exceeded the male component. This phenomenon has reversed the classical image of the male immigrant as breadwinner.

The migration field now assumes new forms and characteristics, such as in the case of displaced persons or of highly skilled migrants. Northern and Western European countries record the highest concentration of asylum-seekers. Meanwhile, those who have obtained the status of displaced persons also seem to be considerable in some countries of the former Yugoslavia, as an evident, dramatic consequence of the Balkan conflicts of the 1990s. With regard to highly skilled emigrants, this sector seems to be quite widespread. However, it is not always possible to establish whether this type of emigration results in brain gain or brain waste in the host countries. In this respect, quality migration is also measured on the basis of foreign students, with large numbers recorded in the United Kingdom, Germany and France (over 200,000), though also followed by another top-ranking country like Russia with 70,700 foreign students.



Migration Flows and Migration Policies

The macro-level population factor, considered in relation to the economic and social situation of migration-sending and receiving countries — in particular to their labour markets — is undoubtedly one of the basic elements in major international migrations, as evidenced by all the research studies and analyses of the last decades. On the micro level, the basic element is an evaluation of the actual, and not simply prospective, economic and social situation of individuals and their families in their original country in relation to their hoped-for situation in the country of destination.

Those who feel the push to emigrate will therefore — with varying degrees of awareness and completeness — make a complex overall evaluation of micro and macro aspects. They will also take into account the psychological, human and financial costs of the transfer, considering the barriers for entry into the country of destination (and sometimes for leaving their country of origin), as well as the costs and obstacles involved in settlement in the country of destination. It is truly these costs which determine migration flows that are extraordinarily low with respect to the current demographic, economic, and social imbalances between the different countries and regions of the world. These imbalances should actually produce flows which are at least comparable, absolutely and proportionately, to the very high rates occurring at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. In that period the first globalisation occurred, characterised by strict protectionism in the flow of goods, but with extensive liberalisation in the flow of persons. Currently, we can observe the exact opposite type of globalisation: a gradual, albeit difficult and slow, process of liberalisation in the flow of goods and increased protectionism with regard to the flow of persons.

This extraordinary difference lies mainly in the fact that in this second globalisation: 1) There are no longer new worlds to populate, ready to host hundreds of millions of immigrants; 2) The imbalance between population growth and economic growth (especially with respect to the creation of sufficient jobs) affects billions of people living in what are now developing countries. The gap between the surplus labour supply and the labour demand cannot be reconciled, as widely occurred in the first phase of globalisation, by international migration. The labour surplus is not only due to high rates of pop-

ulation growth, but also to the improvement in the status of women, now increasingly entering the non-farming labour market. It is likewise due to the process of agricultural modernisation which has expelled huge masses of workers from this sector (in a recent international conference, the Chinese Minister for International Trade stated, in an answer to one of my questions, that following this process, China has created 200 million jobs in the non-farming sector, but now it is necessary to create 300 million more!).

With regard to population dynamics, the countries of the Southern Hemisphere will experience an expected rise of about 1.5 billion people of working age over the next four or five decades; while the countries of the North will experience a considerable, though less sharp, correspondent fall. In this situation, which is even worse if we also take into account the social and economic differences, it is hard to imagine how a single country can effectively manage migration flows. We should also consider that there are eight actors involved: 1) the country of destination, with its direct migration policies (and also the indirect ones, for example the issue of tourist visas); 2) the nearby countries of destination (which have indirect influence through their own policies, migratory and otherwise); 3) the potential emigrant; 4) the family and the community of origin of the potential emigrant; 5) the country of origin, with its policies; 6) the immigrant community already settled in the country of destination; 7) the transit countries, with their policy for limiting migration inflows and outflows; 8) labour traffickers. It is an illusion to think that in this situation a single country or a single region can fully and effectively manage migration flows. We can only try to manage some, and not all, of the factors and actors involved.

Thus, with a medium to long-term perspective, it is possible to imagine large regions of labour and trade markets: for example, a Euro-African region; an American region; a region for the Far East, while China and India can be considered as autonomous regions. Within each of these regions there would be a complete and free flow of persons, goods, and services, while exchanges between the regions would somehow and to a certain extent be regulated.

Antonio Golini

Lessons Learned from the NIDI-Eurostat Study

Migration from West Africa and the Mediterranean Region to the EU

Need for special migration surveys

Existing data sources do not collect the type of detailed data needed to understand the determinants and mechanisms of migration. Household surveys are needed that use special sampling procedures, are conducted in both sending and receiving countries, and collect data on appropriate comparison groups, i.e.: (1) non-migrant households in selected sending countries, (2) households in those sending countries with out-migrations to particular receiving countries, (3) households in receiving countries who migrated from the same sending countries as entire households, and (4) individuals in those receiving countries who came from the same set of sending countries. Sampling procedures must deal with the fact that households containing international migrants (referred to here as migrant households) are often rare elements in populations, cluster in particular areas, and are not covered adequately in existing data sources. NIDI, EUROSTAT and national institutes implemented migration surveys in EU receiving countries (Italy, Spain) and in sending countries in Africa and the Mediterranean region (Turkey, Egypt, Morocco, Senegal, Ghana)¹. In sending countries, migrant and non-migrant households were sampled and interviewed while in each receiving country immigrants from two origin countries were interviewed.

Need for special sampling procedures

We developed a multi-stage, stratified, two-phase model sample design involving disproportionate allocation of the sample to areas and strata with a high prevalence of international migrants. This involved the following steps:

1. Choose appropriate study regions, and collect demographic and other data on constituting areas (e.g. provinces, districts).
2. Determine desired total sample size, including migrant and non-migrant households, allowing for non-response.

3. For each region, estimate the prevalence of migrant households in each area, based on data from a census, population register, or, key informants; create strata based on prevalence of migrant households and classify areas.
4. Determine numbers of migrant and non-migrant households to sample in each area (use substantive, logistic and costs criteria), and allocate sample to regions and strata such that areas in the high prevalence strata are over-sampled.
5. For each stratum, compute numbers of areas to sample and sample them from a list using systematic selection.
6. Conduct two-phase sampling in each sample area:
 - Phase 1: use a screening questionnaire to identify and list migrant or non-migrant households.
 - Phase 2: sample predetermined numbers of migrant and non-migrant households from the lists by systematic selection, and then interview them.

Results and lessons learned

Each country used some variant of model sampling

Data on sample designs and implementation.

Country	Target sample	Screened households	Interviewed households		
			Migrant	Other	Total
Italy	1,600	n.a.	Egyptian 508 Ghanaian 669	n.a.	1,177
Spain	1,200	n.r.	Senegalese 515 Moroccan 598	n.a.	1,113
Turkey	1,773	12,838	656	908	1,564
Egypt	2,588	27,438	992	949	1,941
Morocco	2,240	4,512	1,061	892	1,953
Senegal	1,971	13,298	711	1,029	1,740
Ghana	1,980	21,504	709	862	1,571

n.a. = not applicable, n.r. = not reported

approach leading to data of sufficient numbers of migrants and non-migrants. In the absence of adequate sample frames, the judgment of key informants was often used initially in sending countries to select the study regions, and then large screening operations were needed to ensure identifying sufficient households with recent migrants. In receiving countries, the rare elements problem was particularly severe, which led to some use of social gathering points and snowball sampling (asking sample immigrants to identify others they know from that group). Various problems led to the objective of achieving regional and national representativeness in sending and receiving countries, respectively, being only partially realized. However, a unique, data set (see the table) was established for countries belonging to the same migration system to study the determinants and mechanisms of migration.

Some lessons learned are: (1) carefully plan all phases of the project, including sample and questionnaire design and the two-phase fieldwork; and secure sufficient funding to minimize the risk of later compromising the design or fieldwork; (2) conduct a pre-project workshop to explain appropriate sampling strategies and how to deal with potential problems; (3) document problems encountered and solutions adopted, and evaluate correspondence between sample design and implementation. The value of applying the model sampling strategy is the potential for covering larger and more representatively distributed populations, making analyses of migration processes from a migration system perspective, more valid.

¹ For details, see: G. Groenewold and R. Bilsborrow. 2004. Design of Samples for International Migration Surveys: Methodological Considerations, Practical Constraints and Lessons Learned from a Multi-Country Study in Africa and Europe (presented at 2nd conference of the EAPS Working Group on International Migration in Europe. Rome, November 2004).

George Groenewold and Richard Bilsborrow

Recent Trends of International Migration in Southern Europe

In the last quarter of the 20th century, the countries of Southern Europe (Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal) have gradually turned into geographical areas receiving foreign immigrants from developing countries. They have experienced in the last 4-5 years major changes in the size, origin and features of migration flows from abroad.

Despite the well-known limitations mainly due to the administrative character of some statistical sources and the difficulty in conducting international comparisons between data from different countries, the use of stock data on the foreign population recorded in official sources highlights the most important changes (Figure 1). In the early 1990s, the foreigners holding a permit to stay in Italy totalled just under 650,000, they were about 360,000 in Spain, nearly 115,000 in Portugal while in Greece just over 165,000 foreigner residents were recorded in the demographic census. A little more than a decade later, these figures are considerably higher due, in part, to the extraordinary regularisation programmes allowing for the surfacing of a large undocumented and irregular immigrant population. In early 2004, foreigners with a permit to stay in Italy totalled about 2,200,000 (but considering accompanying minors, total is well over 2,500,000). The figure is nearly 1,650,000 in Spain (but exceeds 3,000,000 according to the Padrón Municipal, which also records the illegal component, thus overestimating the phenomenon since a proportion of foreigners who have left the country have not yet cancelled their registration) and is nearly 435,000 in Portugal. In Greece, the usually resident foreigners exceeded 760,000 in the 2001 census, with an estimate of about 950,000 foreigners in early 2004. Between 1992 and 2004, the weight of immigrants with respect to the

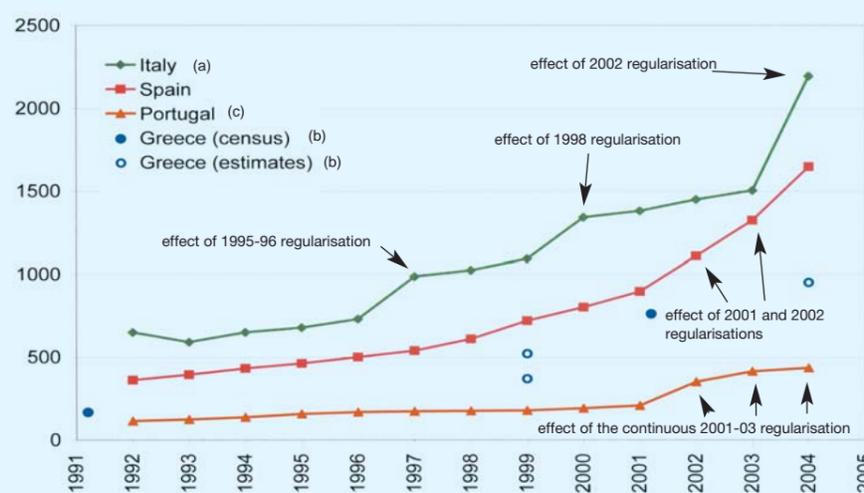
total population seems to have grown considerably. In Italy, the share of foreigners (permits to stay and accompanying minors) rose from 1.2% to 4.4%, in Spain from 0.9% to 3.8% (to over 7% according to data from the Padrón Municipal), in Portugal from 1.1% to 4.1% and in Greece there was an extraordinary rise from 1.6% to 8.6%. The considerable increase in foreign immigrants in the region, which has quadrupled in just 12 years (from about 1,300,000 to over 5,500,000 foreigners, not including the Padrón Municipal figures for Spain), has significantly altered the population distribution within the EU countries. While in the early '90s foreigners in

the four countries of Southern Europe formed less than 10% of total foreigners in the EU-15 Member States, in early 2004 this share was about 25%.

This growing immigration rate is due to the consolidation of some traditional South-North migration flows, and above all to the intense East-West migration streams. Together with immigration related to colonial ties (from the Portuguese-speaking African countries to Portugal and from Latin America to Spain), geographical proximity (the Albanians moving to Greece and Italy, the Moroccans to Spain and other North Africans to Italy), the so-called globalisation of international migration (in particular, the Filipinos and Chinese in Italy and Spain) and the Balkan conflicts (basically the former Yugoslavs in Italy), there was also a sudden, growing immigration in the second half of 1990s from the Central and Eastern European countries, with the massive inflow of Romanians in Italy, Spain and Greece, as well as Ukrainians in Italy and Portugal. These are only two of the most significant examples of what has now become a highly significant East European immigration, which has developed after a series of recent migratory waves. The East Europeans, in fact, represent approximately 75% of the foreigners in Greece, almost 40% in Italy, about 25% in Portugal, and nearly 10% in Spain (where immigration from Latin America predominates). The official statistics, however, represent only some of the significant changes occurring over the recent years, since the new forms of international mobility - characterised by short-term, often repeated, almost always irregular or disguised moves - are either not shown in official surveys or are registered long after their occurrence.

Salvatore Strozza

Trends of foreign population in Southern European countries, 1st January of the years 1992-2004. Absolute values in thousands.



(a) Minors recorded on the parents' permit to stay are not included.
 (b) The 1st January 1999 data are estimated by adding the applications for regularisation to the permits to stay (the maximum assessment considers all the over 371 thousand applications for temporary permit to stay, white card, the minimum considers the subset of the almost 213 thousand following applications including the necessary papers to obtain a permanent permit to stay, green card. The 1st January 2004 data are the results of an assessment based especially on the permit to stay data.
 (c) The 2002-2004 data include the foreign population which took advantage of the continuous process of regularisation. This process was introduced in 2001 and has let the issue of permits to stay.
 Sources: Permits to stay of Ministry of Interior for Italy (revised by ISTAT since 2003), Spain and Portugal, foreign usual resident in 1991 and 2001 population census for Greece.

