

European Population Papers Series No. 7

Migration trends in Europe

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Migration trends in Europe¹

In order to grasp the complexity of migration trends in Europe it is important, given the limitations of the available statistics, to look at the wider issue, breaking it down into four separate elements:

1. the migration flows affecting Council of Europe member states in recent decades, distinguishing between migration between member states and migration flows with other parts of the world;
2. the reasons for migration, with particular reference to illegal migration or asylum;
3. the socio-demographic features of migrant populations, described with reference to the data on migrant “stocks” (foreign populations in each of the member states);
4. the expected trends for the coming years, based on demographic processes in the various member states and possible sources of migrants.

1. Migration flows in Europe

1.1 General pattern

Numerous migration flows accompanied the economic and political changes that swept Europe in the 20th century. These flows are well documented, despite the lack of harmonised data². In the first half of the century, Europe was a land of emigration with flows operating mainly in the direction of America, but this trend was later reversed with the arrival of populations from other parts of the world. In the period following the second world war – which coincided with the arrival of the immigrants we find today in European countries – the main flows were initially due to people who had been displaced during the second world war, or in the wake of the civil war in Greece, returning and resettling; the next wave was triggered by decolonisation (with the *Pieds noirs* returning from Algeria, the Dutch from Surinam and Indonesia, the Portuguese *retornados*, etc); the one after that was due to strong economic growth in western Europe (intra-European flows), while the final wave was triggered by a series of political crises (asylum seeking and ethnic migration following the collapse of communism in eastern Europe).

Later in this report we will take a closer look at the migration features of the various states. Overall, though, the period 1945-2000 was marked by three major developments as regards the composition of migration flows.

Firstly, the oil crisis in 1973 and its impact on the economy prompted many countries to adopt more restrictive policies on labour immigration and to begin limiting the number of admissions. The main effect of these policies was to replace a primary form of migration - labour migration - with a secondary, family-based form (family reunion and also migration for the purpose of marriage). At the same time, asylum-related migration, linked to the collapse of communism and the war in former Yugoslavia, took on new importance. In this way, the reasons for migration began to become more diverse.

¹ Report prepared for the ministerial Conference “Implications of labour migration for social security systems in European Countries” in Bratislava May 2002.

² The data used in this report are derived mainly from the yearbooks published by the Council of Europe, Eurostat, the UNHCR, the United Nations Population Division and from national registers and censuses. The data collection methods and the definitions of migration and citizenship vary, however, from country to country and from period to period, something that needs to be borne in mind when interpreting the data in question.

The second major development has to do with the diversification of migration flows. In the two decades that followed the end of the second world war, labour migration flows occurred mostly within Europe itself, in particular as workers from southern Europe (Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece) moved north. Unlike longer-distance migration, this intra-European migration was characterised by frequent returns to the country of origin once the period of employment ended. Countries that had traditionally served as sources of labour, however, saw the number of potential leavers decline and by the late 1980s, had themselves become countries of immigration³ (Table 1). The traditional flows observed in the 1960s and 1970s gradually gave way to migration from the developing countries to Europe. Total net migration in the member states thus rose from 1.1 million in the 1960s to almost 10 million in the 1990s (Graph 1), reflecting the large influx of immigrants from the rest of the world. If we look simply at the last ten years, Europe's net migration count, having been very high in the early 1990s, fell until 1997 and has been climbing again since 1998.

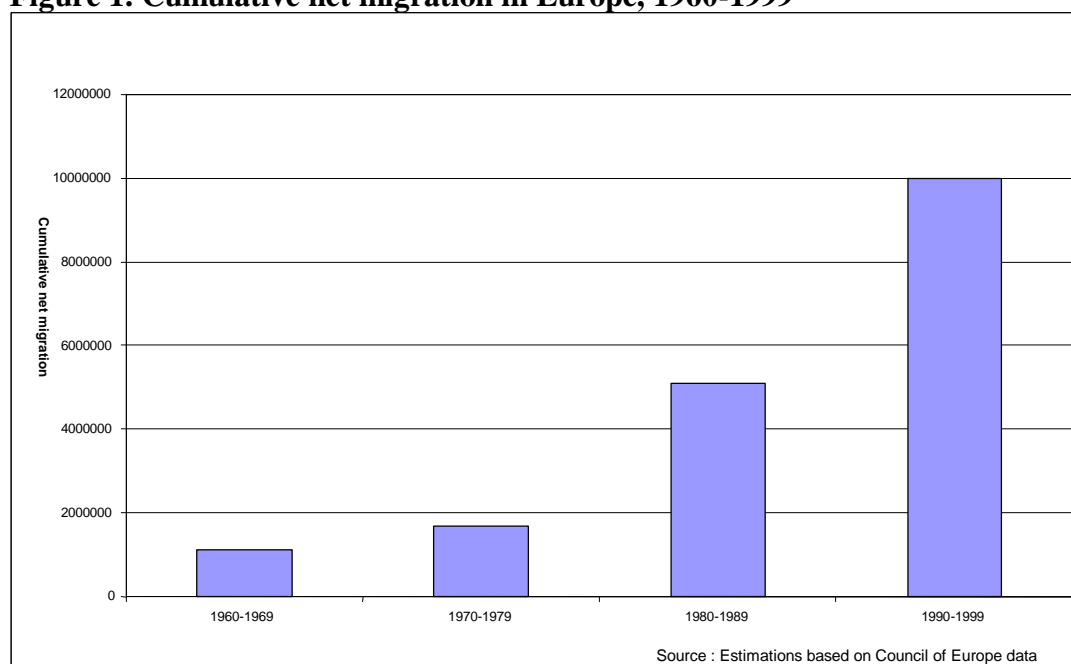
Table 1. Cumulative net migration (native et foreigners) in Europe, for different periods

in thousands of people	Period					
	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-1994	1995-1999	Together 1960-1999
Albania (1)	-	-	-	-236.5	-42.8	-
Andorra	-	-	-	11.0	-1.0	-
Austria	54.6	80.3	133.5	295.1	39.7	603.1
Belgium	155.0	81.0	4.7	95.5	56.7	392.9
Bulgaria	-9.3	-145.0	-256.3	-245.6	1.1	-655.1
Croatia	-11.3	-11.4	-16.0	96.8	-98.0	-39.9
Cyprus (2)	-23.4	-60.0	-4.1	21.7	1.6	-64.1
Czech Republic	28.5	19.6	22.3	30.7	50.5	151.4
Denmark	18.7	37.3	34.8	52.0	77.8	220.6
Estonia	82.2	67.2	45.0	-66.3	-20.3	107.8
Finland	-150.4	-30.2	32.7	44.8	20.9	-82.2
France	2195.3	743.0	510.5	380.0	210.0	4038.8
Georgia	-	-	-	-175.1	-60.9	-
Germany	1918.4	928.6	1705.7	2813.0	1022.3	8387.9
Greece	-385.2	159.7	208.1	290.6	111.7	384.9
Hungary	9.1	-12.9	-192.4	-	-	-
Iceland	-1.6	-5.6	0.4	-1.1	0.4	-7.4
Ireland	-178.7	102.3	-197.3	-7.1	78.9	-201.8
Italy	-814.5	-87.9	-151.5	542.7	602.6	91.4
Latvia	145.7	101.8	94.3	-113.1	-29.6	199.1
Liechtenstein (3)	2.2	6.2	0.6	1.2	0.6	10.9
Lithuania	33.6	63.3	111.0	-31.5	-0.5	175.9
Luxembourg	14.9	26.5	13.1	20.7	20.8	95.9
Malta (3)	-	-	-	4.8	1.6	-
Moldova (4)	313.2	-19.1	-78.8	-129.8	-65.8	19.8
Netherlands	68.9	312.0	207.9	206.8	154.5	950.1
Norway	1.2	35.4	59.4	40.0	54.3	190.3
Poland	-132.2	-559.9	-320.3	-74.6	-70.1	-1157.1
Portugal	-1240.1	219.3	-221.8	-64.1	56.1	-1250.6
Romania	-119.6	-103.7	-194.2	-554.0	-62.2	-1033.7
Russian F.	-772.9	297.3	1691.8	1602.6	1626.2	4445.0
San Marino	-	-	-	1.3	1.4	-
Slovakia	-67.1	-40.1	-36.0	1.5	9.6	-132.0
Slovenia	7.8	57.8	31.2	-13.5	1.7	85.0
Spain (4)	-286.5	248.9	-270.2	81.2	204.3	-22.3
Sweden	176.0	121.3	146.5	451.5	48.0	943.3
Switzerland	366.4	-124.1	208.7	228.1	56.8	735.8
FYROM (3)	-50.8	0.4	-1.6	-256.6	-1.0	-309.6
Turkey (3)	-287.5	-603.0	1419.9	-166.6	-51.0	311.8
Ukraine (3)	-	-	174.1	174.4	-401.3	-
United Kingdom (3)	76.2	-229.8	255.1	354.2	681.1	1136.8
Total	1136.6	1676.5	5163.0	5706.6	4287.1	17969.8

(1) 1995-1997 ; (2) 1962-1969 ; (3) 1995-1998 ; (4) 1965-1969

Source : Calculations based on Council of Europe yearbooks

³ In the 1970s, as a result of decolonisation, Spain and Portugal were already countries of immigration. In terms of inter-European migration, however, both countries showed a negative balance.

Figure 1. Cumulative net migration in Europe, 1960-1999

It will thus be observed that foreign populations today have a wider range of origins: between 1981 and 2000, most of the member states, in particular Scandinavia, Italy, Spain and the Netherlands, saw a decline in the proportion of foreign nationals from other European countries, and an increase in the share of foreigners from Africa or Asia (Table 2).

Table 2 – Distribution of foreigners in different member States according to place of origin, 1981 and 2000

	1 January 1981						1 January 2000					
	Europe	Africa	America	Asia	Oceania	Other, unknown	Europe	Africa	America	Asia	Oceania	Other, unknown
Andorra (1)	96.5	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.1	0.7	96.9	1.2	0.9	1.0	0.1	0.0
Austria (2)	89.5	1.1	2.2	4.2	0.2	2.9	90.2	1.6	1.8	5.0	0.1	1.2
Belgium	77.6	16.0	2.1	1.7	0.0	2.6	74.3	18.0	2.5	3.0	0.1	2.1
Denmark	73.7	4.1	6.6	14.2	0.5	0.8	61.2	9.8	3.9	21.6	0.5	3.0
Finland	74.2	2.7	12.9	6.4	1.2	2.7	68.8	8.9	4.2	15.6	0.6	2.0
France (3)	47.6	42.9	1.4	7.8	0.0	0.2	46.2	45.4	2.0	6.3	0.1	-0.0
Germany (4)	86.6	2.3	2.5	4.8	0.1	3.7	80.8	4.1	2.8	11.2	0.1	1.0
Greece (1)	66.6	3.7	16.6	6.5	4.1	2.5	63.2	7.8	12.0	15.3	0.8	0.8
Hungary	-	-	-	-	-	-	82.3	1.7	3.1	12.5	0.2	0.3
Iceland (5)	69.5	1.2	22.6	3.3	3.2	0.2	70.2	2.5	11.4	15.1	0.8	0.1
Ireland (6)	-	-	-	-	-	-	75.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	24.1
Italy (7)	58.8	11.7	16.6	8.1	1.3	3.5	38.4	32.8	9.8	18.7	0.3	0.0
Latvia	-	-	-	-	-	-	94.6	0.0	1.6	2.7	0.4	0.8
Liechtenstein (8)	99.2	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.0	97.0	0.2	1.6	1.1	0.1	0.0
Luxembourg	94.2	0.7	1.1	0.6	0.0	3.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	64.5	17.7	8.4	7.8	0.6	0.9	51.3	23.0	5.6	9.4	0.5	10.2
Norway	63.7	3.2	16.3	15.7	0.6	0.4	66.3	6.5	8.0	18.6	0.4	0.2
Portugal	30.3	48.8	18.5	1.8	0.3	0.2	29.7	46.9	18.9	4.1	0.3	0.1
Romania	-	-	-	-	-	-	58.3	0.5	3.3	2.3	0.1	35.5
SanMarino (10)	98.9	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	97.8	0.3	1.4	0.5	0.0	0.0
Slovenia	-	-	-	-	-	-	97.7	0.1	0.4	0.7	0.0	1.0
Spain (9)	65.2	2.2	25.4	6.3	0.3	0.5	44.1	26.6	20.8	8.3	0.1	0.1
Sweden	88.6	1.6	4.8	4.2	0.1	0.6	68.0	5.7	6.5	17.2	0.4	2.2
Switzerland	94.0	1.2	2.3	2.4	0.1	0.0	89.2	2.5	3.3	4.8	0.2	0.0
United Kingdom (10)	-	-	-	-	-	-	46.3	12.8	11.6	24.5	4.5	0.3

(1) 1.1.1998 ; (2) 1.1.1991 ; (3) 1982 et 1990 ; (4) 30.10.1980 ; (5) 1.1.2.1980 ; (6) 15.4.1999 ; (7) 25.10.1981 et 1.1.1999 (8) 1.12.1980 et 31.12.1998 ; (9) 1.3.1981 ; (10) 1.1.1999

Source : Council of Europe yearbooks

The third major development has been the very high level of international mobility. Despite the restrictive policies introduced in the 1970s, migration has continued and the proportion of people living in a country other than their own has grown in virtually every state in Europe (Table 3). It is estimated that some 21 million people today are living in a country other than their country of origin⁴, out of a total member state population of 775 million inhabitants (ie 2.7%). These figures provide some indication of the level of mobility in Europe. When interpreting them, it is important to bear in mind that a proportion of the foreign population was naturalised after moving to the host country, but that the high birth rate among foreign women is helping to maintain the large proportion of foreign nationals.

Table 3 - Proportion of foreigners in member States, 1971-1999

	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996	1999
Andorra	-	-	72.4	-	77.8	69.2	65.6
Austria	2.6	3.6	3.8	1.9	6.7	9.0	9.2
Belgium	6.9	8.5	8.7	8.6	9.0	9.0	8.3
Cyprus	2.8	0.5	1.3	-	2.4	3.0	3.2
Czech Republic	-	-	1.7	-	-	-	2.1
Denmark	2.0	1.8	2.0	2.3	3.1	4.2	4.8
Finland	-	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.5	1.3	1.6
France	6.5	6.9	6.5	-	6.4	-	5.6
Germany	3.9	5.8	5.7	5.6	7.3	8.8	8.9
Greece	1.1	-	1.9	1.1	1.6	1.5	-
Hungary	-	-	-	-	-	1.4	1.5
Iceland	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.9	1.8	2.4
Ireland	-	-	-	-	2.5	-	3.2
Italy	0.2	-	0.4	0.6	0.9	1.3	1.9
Latvia	-	-	-	-	0.1	0.3	1.0
Liechtenstein	31.6	-	34.5	-	-	38.8	36.3
Luxembourg	18.4	25.3	26.3	27.7	29.4	33.4	35.6
Malta	-	-	-	-	-	1.9	2.1
Netherlands	1.9	2.6	3.7	3.8	4.6	4.7	4.2
Norway	2.0	1.7	2.0	2.4	3.4	3.7	3.7
Portugal	0.4	0.3	4.7	0.8	-	1.7	1.8
Romania	-	-	-	-	-	0.0	0.0
San Marino	11.6	13.0	-	10.7	13.8	12.9	14.7
Slovenia	-	-	-	-	-	2.4	1.7
Spain	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.9	1.3	1.8
Sweden	5.1	5.0	5.1	4.6	5.6	6.0	5.6
Switzerland	17.4	15.5	14.4	15.1	16.7	19.3	19.4
Turkey	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	-	-
United Kingdom	-	-	2.9	3.1	3.4	3.4	3.8

Source : Council of Europe yearbooks; Eurostat + own estimations

1.2 Levels and features of migration in the member states

In 1999 and in relative terms, Germany (874,000 admissions of foreign nationals), the Russian Federation (380,000 admissions of non-Russian nationals, most of them migrant workers from the former communist states, to which must be added returning ethnic Russians or native Russian speakers), and the United Kingdom (332,000 arrivals from abroad, all nationalities combined) were the main countries of immigration, followed by Italy, the Netherlands, Austria and Switzerland.

In relative terms, the highest immigration rates are to be found in Luxembourg (22 immigrations per 1,000 inhabitants), Switzerland (10 immigrations per 1,000 inhabitants) and Germany (8). Behind them come Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands and Belgium, with roughly 5 immigrations per 1,000 inhabitants (Graph 2). Whereas immigration rates rose significantly between 1989 and 1998 in Norway, Denmark and Ireland, they fell in Switzerland, Germany and Sweden (Table 4). Graph 3 shows the annual number of

⁴ The actual number of "migrants" – people born in a country other than the one where they currently reside - is more difficult to estimate, but it is probably higher than this figure.

international immigrations per foreign national. The biggest influx of immigrants is to be found in the foreign communities of northern Europe (Scandinavia and the United Kingdom) and the Netherlands. In Finland, for example, there were nearly 225 immigrants per 1,000 foreign residents in 1989, although the figure fell to 100 in 1998. Norway (170), the Netherlands (120) and the United Kingdom (112) now have the highest figures. The growth potential of the foreign community is thus greatest in these countries.

Figure 2. Immigrants per 1000 inhabitants, 1989 and 1998.

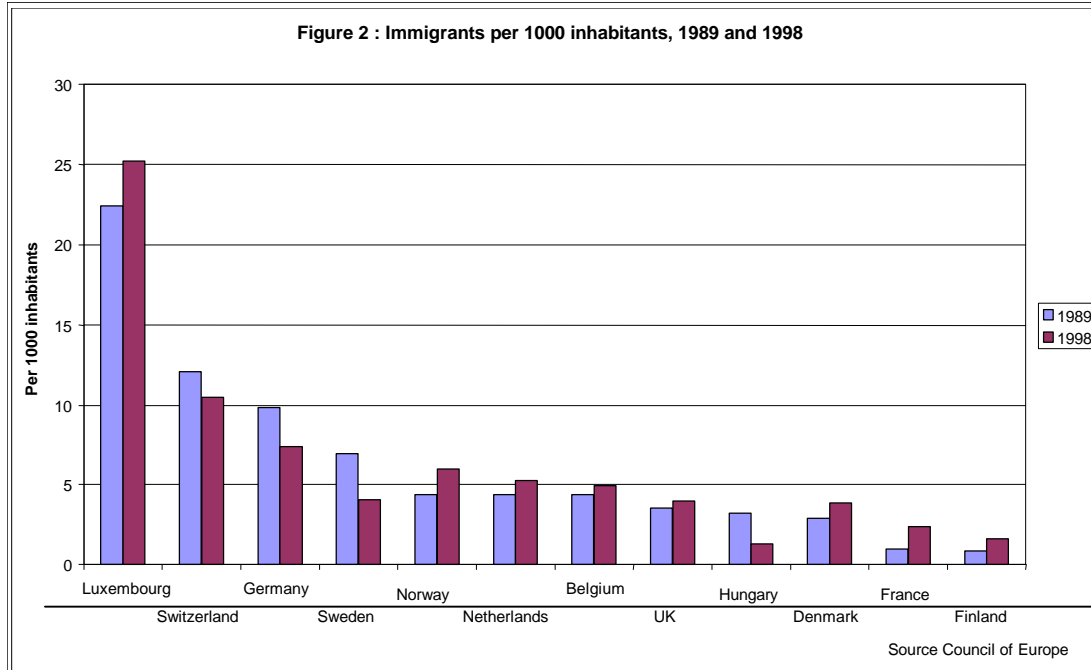
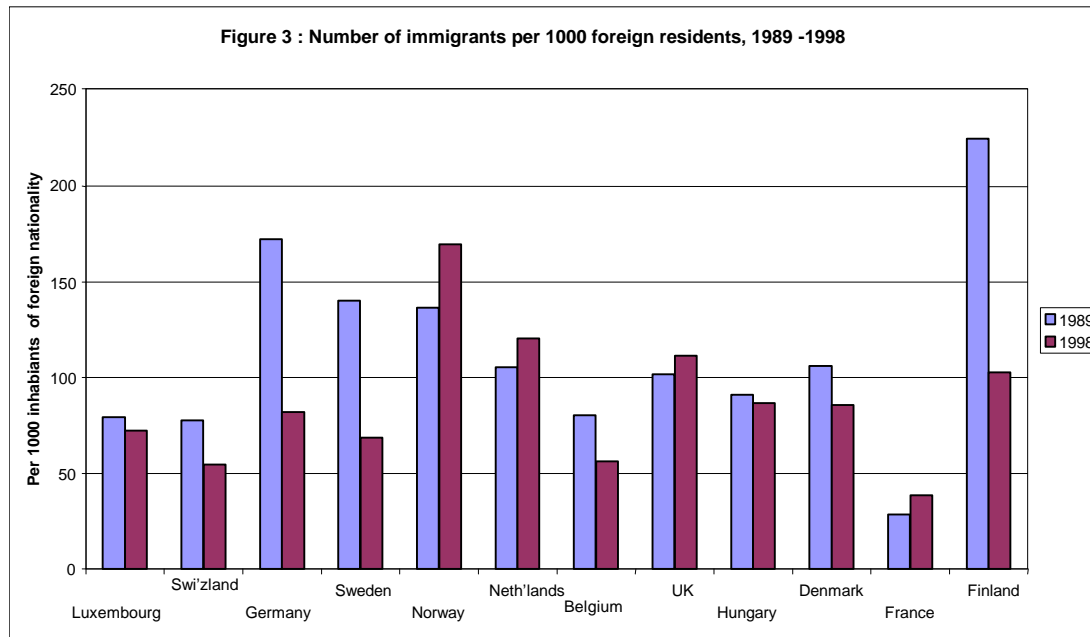


Table 4. Number of non-national immigration per 1000 habitants

	Year									
	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	
Austria								7.0	7.3	
Belgium	5.1	5.5	5.5	5.3	5.5	5.2	5.1	4.8	5.0	
Denmark	3.8	4.3	4.2	4.0	4.0	7.5	6.0	5.2	5.5	
Spain	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.9	1.5	
France	1.7	1.8	1.9	1.6	1.1	0.9	0.8	1.1	1.7	
Finland	1.3	2.6	2.1	2.2	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.6	
Germany	10.6	11.6	15.1	12.2	9.6	9.7	8.7	7.5	7.4	
Greece	2.5	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.8	2.0	2.1	2.1	1.2	
Hungary	3.6	2.2	1.5	1.6	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	
Italy	1.7	1.3	1.0	0.9	0.9	1.2	2.5			
Ireland		3.0	4.3	4.1	3.7	3.8	5.9	5.7	5.6	
Luxembourg	24.5	25.9	25.3	22.6	22.8	23.6	22.4	22.4	22.2	
Netherlands	5.5	5.6	5.5	5.6	4.3	4.3	5.0	4.0	5.2	
Poland	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	
Portugal			1.4	1.0	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.7	
Norway	3.7	3.8	4.0	5.2	4.1	3.8	3.9	5.0	6.0	
Sweden	6.3	5.1	4.6	6.3	8.5	4.1	3.3	3.8	4.0	
Switzerland	18.4	19.7	19.3	17.7	15.4	13.0	10.5	9.8	10.2	
Czech Rep.		0.6	0.7	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.0	
United Kingdom	2.8	2.6	2.0	2.0	2.3	2.6	2.7	3.2	2.5	

Source : Eurostat

Figure 3. Number of immigrants per 1000 foreign residents. 1989-1998

1.3 Composition of migration flows

Table 5 provides a detailed picture of the international migration trends observed in the member states in 1999. Some countries have statistics on trends according to country of origin or country of destination, whereas others merely have data based on nationality (foreign nationals only). A distinction is made in the table between migration between the various countries of Europe (intra-European migration) and migration between a European country and the rest of the world (inter-continental migration). Table 6 shows, in the case of countries for which detailed statistics are available, how the composition of immigration varied over the 1990s.

The proportion of immigrants from European countries (or who possess European nationality) varies between 97.9% (Slovenia) and 33.2% (United Kingdom), with wide disparities between eastern European countries or the former communist states, and western Europe (Table 5). In particular, apart from the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Portugal have the highest proportion of immigration from non-European countries (or, in the case of Portugal, of non-European immigrants). The United Kingdom receives large inflows from the English-speaking regions of America, Africa and Oceania, as well as from India and Pakistan. The Netherlands attracts large numbers of immigrants from the Dutch West Indies, while Portugal attracts immigrants from neighbouring African countries or Portuguese-speaking parts of Africa. The Russian Federation also has a high level of immigration from non-European countries, in the form of workers from the former Soviet republics.

Table 5. Migration movements by country of origin and country of destination or nationality in 1999

	Entire world			Amount for 1000 habitants			European countries			% of the total movements		Rest of the world			% of the total movements	
	Immigration	Emigration	Net migr.	Immigration	Emigration	Net migr.	Immigration	Emigration	Net migr.	Immigration	Emigration	Immigration	Emigration	Net migr.	Immigration	Emigration
<i>By country of origin and destination</i>																
Austria	86710	66923	19787	10.7	8.3	2.4	69487	54614	14873	80.1	81.6	17223	12309	4914	19.9	18.4
Croatia	32910	14285	18625	7.2	3.1	4.1	30330	3541	26789	92.2	24.8	2580	10744	-8164	7.8	75.2
Estonia	1418	2034	-616	1.0	1.4	-0.4	1327	1802	-475	93.6	88.6	91	232	-141	6.4	11.4
Latvia	1813	3660	-1847	0.7	1.5	-0.8	1565	2959	-1394	86.3	80.8	248	701	-453	13.7	19.2
Malta	339	67	272	0.9	0.2	0.7	118	54	64	34.8	80.6	221	13	208	65.2	19.4
Netherlands	119151	59023	60128	7.5	3.7	3.8	52337	35149	17188	43.9	59.6	66814	23874	42940	56.1	40.4
Norway	41841	22842	18999	9.4	5.1	4.3	27612	16735	10877	66.0	73.3	14229	6107	8122	34.0	26.7
Poland	7525	21536	-14011	0.2	0.6	-0.4	4923	17698	-12775	65.4	82.2	2602	3838	-1236	34.6	17.8
Slovakia	2072	618	1454	0.4	0.1	0.3	1746	519	1227	84.3	84.0	326	99	227	15.7	16.0
United Kingdom (1)	332390	198934	133456	5.6	3.3	2.2	110205	72533	37672	33.2	36.5	222185	126401	95784	66.8	63.5
<i>By nationality</i>																
Belgium	57784	24380	33404	5.7	2.4	3.3	39104	18068	21036	67.7	74.1	18680	6312	12368	32.3	25.9
Czech Republic	9910	1136	8774	1.0	0.1	0.9	7910	1004	6906	79.8	88.4	2000	132	1868	20.2	11.6
Denmark	27883	16242	11641	3.0	1.7	1.2	15841	11542	4299	56.8	71.1	12042	4700	7342	43.2	28.9
Finland	7937	2000	5937	1.5	0.4	1.1	5504	1490	4014	69.3	74.5	2433	510	1923	30.7	25.5
Germany	874023	672048	201975	13.1	10.1	3.0	611545	476445	135100	70.0	70.9	262478	195603	66875	30.0	29.1
Hungary	16649	1296	15353	1.7	0.1	1.5	13433	1012	12421	80.7	78.1	3216	284	2932	19.3	21.9
Iceland	1918	954	964	6.9	3.4	3.5	1356	776	580	70.7	81.3	562	178	384	29.3	18.7
Ireland	47500	29000	18500	12.6	7.7	4.9	31600	14700	16900	66.5	50.7	15900	14300	1600	33.5	49.3
Italy (1)	127114	7937	119177	4.6	0.3	4.3	54031	4274	49757	42.5	53.8	73083	3663	69420	57.5	46.2
Lithuania	2679	1369	1310	0.7	0.4	0.4	2366	971	1395	88.3	70.9	313	398	-85	11.7	29.1
Luxembourg	11776	6903	4873	27.2	16.0	11.3	10650	6189	4461	90.4	89.7	1126	714	412	9.6	10.3
Moldova	1517	6318	-4801	0.4	1.5	-1.1	904	3595	-2691	59.6	56.9	613	2723	-2110	40.4	43.1
Portugal	14476	4077	10399	1.4	0.4	1.0	5010	3027	1983	34.6	74.2	9466	1050	8416	65.4	25.8
Romania	10078	12594	-2516	0.4	0.6	-0.1	9506	7788	1718	94.3	61.8	572	4806	-4234	5.7	38.2
Russian Fed	379726	214963	164763	2.6	1.5	1.1	159869	145023	14846	42.1	67.5	219857	69940	149917	57.9	32.5
Slovenia	3579	1643	1936	1.8	0.8	1.0	3504	1550	1954	97.9	94.3	75	93	-18	2.1	5.7
Sweden	34573	13582	20991	4.0	1.6	2.4	17677	9588	8089	51.1	70.6	16896	3994	12902	48.9	29.4
Switzerland	83677	62780	20897	11.7	8.8	2.9	56587	48812	7775	67.6	77.8	27090	13968	13122	32.4	22.2
FYROM	1118	141	977	0.6	0.1	0.5	1075	139	936	96.2	98.6	43	2	41	3.8	1.4

(1) 1998 Source : Council of Europe yearbooks

Table 6. Distribution (in %) of immigrants, by nationality

		Year							
		1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Belgium	Nationals	19.8	17.5	16.8	16.4	15.6	15.7	16.5	17.2
	Non-nationals	80.2	82.5	83.2	83.6	84.4	84.3	83.5	82.8
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	EEC	45.9	49.2		48.3	50.0	55.3	56.0	
	Other Europe	16.7	14.3		13.6	17.7	11.4	10.5	
	Non-European	37.4	36.5		38.1	32.4	33.3	33.5	
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Denmark	Nationals	49.2	50.5	52.8	53.3	38.0	42.1	45.3	43.8
	Non-nationals	50.8	49.5	47.2	46.7	62.0	57.9	54.7	56.2
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	EEC	16.6	17.6		32.5	16.6	23.2	27.6	
	Other Europe	32.7	29.5		25.4	58.9	39.1	32.0	
	Non-European	50.7	53.0		42.0	24.5	37.7	40.5	
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Spain	Nationals	56.6	53.1	53.5	45.6	45.9	44.2	38.5	29.5
	Non-nationals	43.4	46.9	46.5	54.4	54.1	55.8	61.5	70.5
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	EEC	31.1	24.6		31.2	28.5	30.9	39.1	
	Other Europe	6.6	5.5		5.4	4.9	5.5	5.5	
	Non-European	62.3	69.9		63.4	66.5	63.6	55.4	
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Finland	Nationals	30.3	28.9	26.5	34.3	39.9	43.3	40.3	41.5
	Non-nationals	69.7	71.1	73.5	65.7	60.1	56.7	59.7	58.5
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	EEC	4.9	4.4		13.7	17.0	17.8	17.0	
	Other Europe	61.9	66.9		55.3	55.0	52.7	46.7	
	Non-European	33.2	28.6		31.0	28.0	29.5	36.3	
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Germany	Nationals	22.8	19.4	22.5	28.2	27.7	26.2	26.8	24.5
	Non-nationals	77.2	80.6	77.5	71.8	72.3	73.8	73.2	75.5
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	EEC	13.9	9.9		19.3	22.2	24.3	24.5	
	Other Europe	67.9	74.2		59.4	59.6	54.0	47.1	
	Non-European	18.3	15.9		21.3	18.3	21.8	28.4	
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Italy	Nationals	44.1	48.1	49.1	46.8	29.4	16.8		
	Non-nationals	55.9	51.9	50.9	53.2	70.6	83.2		
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	EEC	9.8			12.8		6.5		
	Other Europe	27.3			39.8		32.4		
	Non-European	62.9			47.4		61.1		
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Luxembourg	Nationals	8.6	8.0	9.3	9.0	7.1	7.9	10.1	9.6
	Non-nationals	91.4	92.0	90.7	91.0	92.9	92.1	89.9	90.4
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	EEC	76.7	70.7		78.4	76.8	75.5	78.3	
	Other Europe	10.6	17.0		10.3	10.2	9.5	9.9	
	Non-European	12.7	12.3		11.3	13.1	15.0	11.8	
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Portugal	Nationals	29.8	29.0	23.1	27.8	30.3	29.0	30.2	33.3
	Non-nationals	70.2	71.0	76.9	72.2	69.7	71.0	69.8	66.7
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	EEC	23.7	25.5		23.1	22.1	23.7	25.0	
	Other Europe	24.2	23.1		23.0	21.4	16.7	15.4	
	Non-European	52.1	51.4		53.9	56.5	59.6	59.6	
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sweden	Nationals	11.7	12.8	11.4	10.6	21.4	26.5	25.7	27.7
	Non-nationals	88.3	87.2	88.6	89.4	78.6	73.5	74.3	72.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	EEC	9.4	8.5		9.3	21.8	27.0	21.4	
	Other Europe	34.4	30.6		66.1	40.4	27.2	32.7	
	Non-European	56.3	60.8		24.5	37.8	45.7	45.9	
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Switzerland	Nationals	19.2	16.1	15.3	17.3	20.2	23.8	24.1	24.8
	Non-nationals	80.8	83.9	84.7	82.7	79.8	76.2	75.9	75.2
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	EEC	44.7	41.6		44.3	45.1	46.0	45.3	
	Other Europe	11.1	41.7		36.7	32.7	28.6	24.8	
	Non-European	44.2	16.7		19.0	22.2	25.4	29.8	
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source : Eurostat

Since the Treaty of Rome in 1957, immigration between EU member states has been facilitated by numerous arrangements. The free movement of people, which has gradually been introduced, has had relatively little impact compared with longer-distance migration, however. In 1997, for example, intra-EU migration accounted for 17% of admissions in Finland and 21.4% in Sweden (Table 6). By contrast, in Belgium (56%) and, most notably, Luxembourg (78.3%), the majority of immigrants come from other EU countries (Eurostat, 2000).

Table 7. Distribution (in %) of immigrants by country of origin/ nationality, in 1999 in different countries

<i>Eastern Europe</i>			<i>Northern Europe</i>			<i>Southern Europe</i>			<i>Western Europe</i>		
Czech R	Slovakia	33.6	Denmark	Iraq	6.8	Croatia	Bosnia-Herzegovina	68.1	Austria	Ex-Yugoslavia	27.0
	Ukraine	16.9		Norway	6.1		Yugoslav R.	9.8		Yugoslav R.	15.9
	Vietnam	8.2		Germany	5.5		Germany	7.6		Turkey	9.1
	Russian Fed	7.1		Sweden	5.2		Slovenia	1.4		Poland	6.1
	Germany	5.7		Iceland	4.3		Switzerland	1.1		Bosnia-Herzegovina	4.6
	Total	71.3		Total	27.8		Total	88.0		Total	62.7
Hungary	Romania	36.5	Estonia	Russian Fed.	60.5	Italy	Albania	15.6	Belgium	France	13.7
	Ukraine	13.5		Ukraine	7.8		Morocco	10.1		Netherlands	10.7
	Yugoslav R	9.5		Finland	7.5		Philippines	6.9		Morocco	8.5
	China	7.2		Latvia	3.7		China	5.3		United Kingdom	5.2
	Germany	4.1		Sweden	3.0		Romania	5.4		USA	5.0
	Total	70.8		Total	82.4		Total	43.2		Total	43.2
Poland	Germany	33.1	Finland	Russian Fed.	27.5	Portugal	Cape Verde	24.8	Germany	Poland	10.3
	USA	17.7		Sweden	8.5		Brazil	9.3		Yugoslav R.	10.1
	Canada	6.0		Estonia	7.4		Guinea-Bissau	8.3		Russian Fed	7.7
	France	4.6		Yugoslav R.	5.1		Angola	8.2		Kazakhstan	6.2
	United Kingdom	3.6		Iraq	4.2		Spain	7.2		Turkey	5.5
	Total	65.0		Total	52.7		Total	57.9		Total	39.9
Romania	Moldova	77.3	Norway	Yugoslave R.	14.4				Luxembourg	France	18.6
	Ukraine	4.4		Sweden	14.4					Portugal	17.5
	Germany	3.3		Denmark	6.5					Ex-Yugoslavia	13.2
	Hungary	2.7		United Kingdom	4.8					Belgium	11.4
	USA	2.5		Iraq	4.8					Germany	5.9
	Total	90.1		Total	45.0					Total	66.6
Moldova	Ukraine	16.8	Sweden	Iraq	16.0				Netherlands	Germany	7.4
	Turkey	13.1		Finland	9.8					United Kingdom	5.8
	Syria	12.3		Norway	5.8					Belgium	5.1
	Jordan	11.1		Denmark	3.7					USA	5.0
	Romania	9.2		Yugoslav R.	3.4					Turkey	4.6
	Total	62.4		Total	38.7					Total	27.8
Russian Fed.	Kazakhstan	36.5	UK	Australia	12.6				Switzerland	Ex-Yugoslavia	14.2
	Ukraine	21.4		USA	11.6					Germany	12.7
	Uzbekistan	11.0		South Africa	6.4					Yugoslav R.	9.5
	Georgia	5.2		Germany	6.1					France	7.3
	Azerbaijan	4.2		New Zealand	5.4					Italy	6.2
	Total	78.2		Total	42.2					Total	50.0

Table 7 shows, for various states, the principal countries of origin (or the main nationalities represented¹) for immigration recorded in 1999. The countries of eastern Europe² typically have a high proportion of immigrants from the former communist states, or who possess the nationality of such states: the Czech Republic, for example, has very large migration flows

¹ Cf. Table x for choice of nationality/country criterion

² The division of states into regions (“eastern Europe”, “northern Europe”, “southern Europe” and “western Europe”) is based on the UN system.

with the Slovak Republic, Hungary with Romania, Moldova with Ukraine, and also with China. Three quarters of immigrants in Romania come from Moldova. The Russian Federation has constant migration flows with the former Soviet republics (chiefly Kazakhstan and Ukraine). The only exception is Poland which attracts large numbers of immigrants from western Europe and North America, due to returning Poles who had been living in exile for a few years, for political or professional reasons.

The countries of northern Europe typically have high levels of short-distance immigration, but they also attract a large number of immigrants from Iraq (16% of immigrants in Sweden and nearly 7% in Denmark came from Iraq) and the FRY. The United Kingdom attracts immigrants mainly from other English-speaking countries. The three southern European countries for which statistics are available tend to attract immigrants from countries to which they are geographically or culturally close: Croatia thus attracts mainly (nearly 70%) immigrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Italy attracts mainly Albanians and Moroccans, but also immigrants from the Philippines and China, and Portugal attracts large numbers of immigrants from its former colonies (Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Angola) and also Brazil.

Finally, western Europe as a whole does not really fit any one pattern where immigration is concerned. The German-speaking countries attract large numbers of immigrants from former Yugoslavia, but also from neighbouring countries (Poles in Germany, Germans, French and Italians in Switzerland). Portuguese immigration is still very high in Luxembourg, and Germany still receives large numbers of Turks and people from the former Soviet Union whereas non-European immigration is relatively low, with the exception of the Moroccans in Belgium³.

Similar patterns can often be discerned in the breakdown of emigration flows according to country of destination (or nationality) (Table 8). In many cases, the flows between countries are two-way (emigrants returning, renewal of migration flows). This is true, for instance, of flows between Romania and Hungary, or between the Scandinavian countries. In other member states, one finds evidence of longer-distance flows, which can be regarded as more permanent forms of migration. Such is the case with the Estonians in Germany or Ukraine, for example.

In the final analysis, although myriad migration patterns could be observed at the end of the 1990s, the composition of current migration flows based on nationality is closely linked to four factors: historic ties, formed, for example, during the colonial era or, as in the case of the former Eastern bloc countries, through political alliances; geographic proximity which is particularly important for the Mediterranean countries and Scandinavia; the language factor, which plays a key role in Anglo-Saxon migration; and finally, immigration policy, which determines the extent to which each country is willing to open its doors. This last factor is particularly important in matters relating to asylum, but more generally, it could influence migration flows over the next few decades, especially given the current demographic outlook.

³ And probably the Surinamese in the Netherlands, who do not appear in the tables owing to the fact that most have Dutch nationality.

Table 8. Distribution (in %) of emigrants by country of destination / nationality, in 1 999 in different countries

<i>Eastern Europe</i>			<i>Northern Europe</i>			<i>Southern Europe</i>			<i>Western Europe</i>		
Czech R.	Germany	31.8	Denmark	Iceland	8.0	Croatia	Bosnia-Herzegovine	17.5	Austria	Ex-Yougoslavia	24.6
	R. slovaque	29.6		Norway	7.7		Germany	2.4		Germany	16.6
	Armenia	8.1		United Kingdom	7.5		Yugoslav R	2.2		Yugoslav R	11.9
	USA	4.8		USA	7.3		Slovenia	1.0		Poland	7.6
	Switzerland	4.0		Germany	6.9		Austria	0.8		Turkey	5.9
	Total	78.3		Total	37.5		Total	24.0		Total	66.6
Hungary	Romania	24.1	Estonia	Russian Fed.	39.2	Italy	Germany	7.1	Belgium	Netherlands	15.4
	Poland	14.2		Finland	24.1		USA	6.2		France	12.7
	Ukraine	11.0		Germany	9.6		Japan	6.0		USA	11.2
	USA	5.3		USA	7.2		France	5.5		Germany	8.9
	Germany	4.6		Ukraine	4.4		United Kingdom	5.4		United Kingdom	8.1
	Total	59.3		Total	84.6		Total	30.3		Total	56.3
Poland	Germany	71.3	Finland	Sweden	22.0	Portugal	France	27.6	Germany	Poland	10.3
	USA	10.9		Estonia	7.6		Germany	23.5		Yugoslav R	7.2
	Canada	5.2		Russian Fed.	6.3		Switzerland	10.5		USA	6.3
	Austria	2.7		United Kingdom	6.3		Brazil	7.9		Turkey	6.3
	France	1.2		USA	6.2		Angola	7.4		Italy	5.7
	Total	91.3		Total	48.4		Total	76.9		Total	35.8
Romania	Germany	18.8	Norway	Sweden	24.2				Luxembourg	Portugal	25.5
	USA	18.9		Denmark	13.8					Luxembourg	17.0
	Canada	12.9		USA	8.9					France	16.0
	Italy	11.2		United Kingdom	7.6					Belgium	10.6
	France	5.5		Finland	4.3					Italy	5.9
	Total	67.5		Total	58.7					Total	74.9
Moldova	Israel	21.2	Sweden	Finland	20.0				Netherlands	Germany	12.1
	Germany	19.9		Norway	11.2					Belgium	11.8
	USA	19.6		Denmark	7.2					USA	9.1
	Ukraine	17.4		USA	6.1					United Kingdom	9.0
	Russian Fed.	15.1		Germany	4.4					Morocco	7.9
	Total	93.2		Total	48.8					Total	49.9
Russian Fed.	Ukraine	27.4	United Kingdom	Australia	15.6				Switzerland	Italy	14.6
	Germany	22.3		USA	12.3					Portugal	12.7
	Kazakhstan	11.6		Germany	7.4					Germany	9.7
	Israel	9.3		France	5.9					Spain	8.9
	Belarus	8.9		New Zealand	5.0					Ex-Yugoslavia	7.1
	Total	79.6		Total	46.2					Total	53.0

1.3 Migration in the former communist states

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 led many in western Europe to assume that there would be large numbers of people migrating from east to west in the 1990s. In the event, the flows have remained relatively small, and most of the migration triggered by the end of communism has occurred within the region, either in the form of voluntary repatriation or in the form of forced population movements (IOM, 2000).

There was already a high level of movement between former Soviet republics in the 1980s, with over 700,000 Russians, for example, emigrating to Ukraine, Kazakhstan and other states. Although this Russian emigration declined fivefold between 1988 and 1998, every year since 1993, there have been over 100,000 departures to other parts of the world, mainly Germany, Israel and the United States. Ukrainians for their part are still emigrating to Russia (170,000

departures per annum between 1993 and 1996), but also to Israel, the United States and Germany (approximately 10,000 departures per annum). Every year between 1990 and 1998, some 50,000 to 100,000 Kazakhs moved to Germany (United Nations, 2001). The other migration flows from the former communist states are more limited, apart from the arrival of 66,000 Romanians in Germany in 1990 (Table 9).

Table 9. Number of annual departures in countries of the former communist block according to place of destination

Country of departure	Country/region of destination	Year								
		1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Belarus	<i>Ex-USSR</i>	105916	61520	50837	46889	47746	26102	14045	9694	7459
	<i>Germany</i>	95	208	370	464	398	552	518	616	581
	<i>Entire world</i>	...	140010	83537	60564	53790	54696	34882	22962	16709
Estonia	<i>Ex-USSR</i>	10735	11544	35719	14684	7763	7770	5641	2687	1427
	<i>Germany</i>	544	495	543	488	311	496	463	322	207
	<i>Entire world</i>	12402	13237	37375	16169	9206	9786	7235	4081	2545
Kazakhstan	<i>Ex-USSR</i>	213054	177025	257237	232904	375806	205924	155787	239441	193979
	<i>Germany</i>	75327	72256	105129	105801	108367	94082	69674	55024	44955
	<i>Entire world</i>	305361	255015	367299	333375	480839	309632	229412	299455	243663
Kirghizstan	<i>Ex-USSR</i>	..	..	..	132213	61103	210619	21232	15491	...
	<i>Germany</i>	15751	12740	13323	12145	10926	9539	5507	3497	...
	<i>Entire world</i>	82352	71315	103728	145671	73009	220839	27341	19538	...
Lithuania	<i>Ex-USSR</i>	19827	18085	27324	15076	3418	2916	2929	1674	1387
	<i>Germany</i>	..	253	307	191	180	250	212	130	145
	<i>Entire world</i>	23592	20703	28855	15990	4246	3773	3940	2457	2130
Latvia	<i>Ex-USSR</i>	28244	22883	50643	29679	20080	11582	8141	7818	4259
	<i>Germany</i>	..	..	655	744	548	657	638	674	971
	<i>Entire world</i>	32801	25480	53130	31998	21856	13346	9999	9677	6291
Moldova	<i>Ex-USSR</i>	48304	43153	53171	29374	..	..	..	..	..
	<i>Germany</i>	634	799	1088	1166	..	..	..	..	..
	<i>Entire world</i>	65081	61372	60315	35771	..	..	..	..	..
Russia	<i>Ex-USSR</i>	625,773	587,150	570,026	369,115	231,752	229,287	191,383	149,461	133017
	<i>Germany</i>	33,754	33,705	62,697	72,991	69,538	79,569	64,420	52,140	49186
	<i>Entire world</i>	729,467	675,497	673,143	483,028	337,121	339,600	288,048	234,284	216691
Tajikistan	<i>Ex-USSR</i>	..	40105	97362	78110	51494	..	..	..	..
	<i>Germany</i>	7720	4532	1869	1416	2283	1745	421	..	..
	<i>Entire world</i>	81246	48599	104722	86301	55059	..	..	..	..
Ukraine	<i>Ex-USSR</i>	..	..	222218	245694	269649	202367	193677	139010	94639
	<i>Germany</i>	1444	21444	6559	7979	9335	9802	9744	9915	11412
	<i>Entire world</i>	..	..	266627	307008	345924	277534	246724	203597	144475
Uzbekistan	<i>Ex-USSR</i>	..	..	..	..	164702	103220	51707	42382	..
	<i>Germany</i>	4609	3766	4015	..	..	..	..	..	..
	<i>Entire world</i>	..	..	..	..	179182	116875	59714	48560	..
Czech Rep.	<i>Germany</i>	1226	1393	205	79	108	195	207	237	345
	<i>Entire world</i>	11787	11220	7291	7424	265	541	728	805	1241
Slovakia	<i>Germany</i>	169	173	12	13	15	26	..	120	99
	<i>Entire world</i>	10940	8861	11868	7355	154	213	..	572	746
Hungary	<i>Ex-USSR</i>	306	267	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>Germany</i>	448	353	163	165	154	144	120	63	32
	<i>Romania</i>	4946	1947	732	1018	472	334	759	672	163
	<i>Entire world</i>	10086	4855	4248	2624	2176	1762	2386	1805	667
Poland	<i>Germany</i>	11587	14502	12851	15333	18876	18161	14800	14202	16128
	<i>Entire world</i>	18440	20977	18115	21376	25904	26344	21297	20222	22177
Romania	<i>Germany</i>	66121	20001	13813	6874	6880	9010	6467	5807	3899
	<i>Entire world</i>	96929	44160	31152	18446	17146	25675	21526	19945	17536

By contrast, the political crises in the Balkans triggered a mass influx of migrants or refugees from these regions. In particular, 380,000 former Yugoslavs came to Germany in 1992 and 280,000 the following year (United Nations, 2001). Switzerland recorded 40,000 admissions per annum over the same period and in Austria, the number was probably similar. In total, some 4 million people migrated as a result of the war in Yugoslavia.

Although far lower than expected, migration between eastern and western Europe is still significant. Germany, the main host country, has signed bilateral agreements with various countries of central and eastern Europe, while in other western countries, there is talk of using labour from these regions to alleviate staff shortages.

2. Reasons for migration

Migration is normally due to multiple, interrelated reasons, making it difficult to ascertain precisely why people move to other countries. One option in these circumstances is to focus on information about the type of permits issued. We will thus look in turn at labour migration, migration for the purposes of family reunion, migration related to asylum and illegal migration.

Since the early 1990s, we have seen a change in the structure of migration based on the official reason given, with an increase in family reunion migration in France and Sweden (where it accounts for more than one in two admissions – IOM, 2000), but also large flows of asylum seekers into western European countries.

2.1 Labour migration

The few statistics available (Tables 10 and 11) are derived from the OECD report on migration (OECD, 2000). The 1990s saw a sharp decline in labour migration to countries experiencing an economic downturn, such as Austria, Switzerland, Germany and France. Over the past few years, however, labour immigration has been on the rise, particularly in the United Kingdom, Hungary and Italy, reflecting increased demand for foreign labour.

Table 10. Immigration of foreign workers in some member States (in thousands)

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Austria	103.4	62.6	57.9	37.7	27.1	15.4	16.3	15.2	15.4
Belgium	-	5.1	4.4	4.3	4.1	2.8	2.2	2.5	7.3
Denmark	2.8	2.4	2.4	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.8	3.1	3.2
France	26.2	29.7	46.2	28.4	22.4	17.6	16.3	15.7	14.6
Germany	138.6	241.9	408.9	325.6	221.2	270.8	262.5	285.4	275.5
Hungary	51.9	41.7	24.6	19.5	18.6	18.4	14.5	19.7	22.6
Ireland	1.4	3.8	3.6	4.3	4.3	4.3	3.8	4.5	5.6
Italy	-	125.5	123.7	85.0	99.8	111.3	129.2	166.3	-
Luxembourg	16.9	16.9	15.9	15.5	16.2	16.5	18.3	18.6	-
Spain	16.0	81.6	48.2	7.5	15.6	29.6	31.0	23.2	-
Switzerland	46.7	46.3	39.7	31.5	28.6	27.1	24.5	25.4	26.8
United Kingdom	34.6	29.0	30.1	29.3	30.1	35.5	37.7	42.4	64.5

Source : OECD 2000

Table 11 - Immigration of seasonal foreign workers in some member States (in thousands)

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
France	58.2	54.2	13.6	11.3	10.3	9.4	8.8	8.2	7.5
Germany	-	-	212.4	181.0	155.2	192.8	220.9	226.0	201.6
Italy	-	-	1.7	2.8	5.8	7.6	8.9	8.4	-
Netherlands	-	-	1.0	0.9	0.5	-	-	-	-
Norway	4.3	4.3	4.7	4.6	4.5	5.0	5.4	6.1	7.5
Switzerland	153.6	147.5	126.1	93.5	83.9	72.3	62.7	46.7	39.6
United Kingdom	-	-	3.6	4.2	4.4	4.7	5.5	9.3	9.4

Source : OECD 2000

Germany is also the main host country for seasonal workers (Table 1), followed by Switzerland which gradually did away with this arrangement in the 1990s. Migration by temporary workers seems to be making a strong comeback in some European countries, and replacing long-term migration which is reserved for skilled workers.

2.2 Family migration

There is a lack of comparative statistics where migration for the purpose of family reunion is concerned. It is not uncommon for the number of family reunions to exceed the number of worker admissions. To these reunions must be added migration for the purpose of marrying a native of the country.

2.3 Asylum-related migration

As indicated earlier, asylum-related migration accounted for the bulk of migration flows observed in the 1990s. As far back as the end of the second world war, 40 million formerly displaced persons were repatriated or settled in a host country. In 1956, 200,000 people fled Hungary, and 12 years later, a slightly smaller number left Czechoslovakia.

Since 1975, some 170,000 “boat people” have found refuge in Europe, the majority in France. To these must be added inflows of people of Latin American origin who fled Chile or Uruguay following the coups in 1973, or Argentina as from 1976. It was not until the 1980s, however, that we began to see the biggest flows of asylum seekers into Europe, mainly due to civil war in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East.

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, furthermore, triggered a mass exodus from Albania to Italy, and also flows of asylum seekers from former Yugoslavia. The number of asylum applications filed in European countries increased from 70,000 in 1983 to almost 700,000 in 1992, after which it declined until 1996, when it began to rise again. Germany was the prime destination for asylum seekers in Europe in the 1990s, ahead of the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Belgium and Sweden (UNHCR, 2000 – Table 12). In relative terms, however, Switzerland and Luxembourg have the biggest number of asylum seekers per 1,000 inhabitants.

Table 12. Migration of asylum seekers in some member States (in thousands)

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Austria	22.8	27.3	16.2	4.7	5.1	5.9	7.0	6.7	13.8	20.1
Belgium	13.0	15.4	17.6	26.5	14.7	11.7	12.4	11.8	22.1	35.8
Czech Republic	1.8	2.0	0.9	2.2	1.2	1.4	2.2	2.1	4.1	8.6
Denmark	5.3	4.6	13.9	14.3	6.7	5.1	5.9	5.1	5.7	6.5
Finland	2.7	2.1	3.6	2.0	0.8	0.8	0.7	1.0	1.3	3.1
France	54.8	47.4	28.9	27.6	26.0	20.4	17.4	21.4	22.4	30.9
Germany	193.1	256.1	438.2	322.6	127.2	127.9	116.4	104.4	98.6	95.1
Greece	4.1	2.7	2.0	0.8	1.3	1.4	1.6	4.4	2.6	1.5
Hungary	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.1	7.4	11.5
Ireland	0.1	...	...	0.1	0.4	0.4	1.2	3.9	4.6	7.7
Italy	4.7	31.7	2.6	1.3	1.8	1.7	0.7	1.9	11.1	33.4
Luxembourg	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	1.6	2.9
Netherlands	21.2	21.6	20.3	35.4	52.6	29.3	22.9	34.4	45.2	39.3
Norway	4.0	4.6	5.2	12.9	3.4	1.5	1.8	2.3	7.7	10.2
Poland	...	...	...	...	0.6	0.8	3.2	3.5	33.4	3.0
Portugal	0.1	0.2	0.6	2.1	0.8	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Spain	8.6	8.1	11.7	12.6	12.0	5.7	4.7	5.0	6.8	8.4
Sweden	29.4	27.4	84.0	37.6	18.6	9.0	5.8	9.6	12.5	11.2
Switzerland	35.8	41.6	18.0	24.7	16.1	17.0	18.0	24.0	41.2	46.1
United Kingdom	38.2	73.4	32.3	28.0	42.2	55.0	37.0	41.5	58.0	91.2

Compared with the pre-1980s situation with regard to asylum seeking, under the auspices of the UNHCR and as part of the quotas for refugees, the current flows tend to be more intermittent. The trend in the member states is towards tighter eligibility requirements, and the proportion of asylum seekers granted refugee status or humanitarian status now stands at not more than 20% in Europe (compared with over 50% in Canada, for example), although the situation varies significantly from country to country.

In the European region, there are 4.4 million asylum-related migrants, including 2 million refugees and 500,000 asylum seekers (Table 13). The Russian Federation, Croatia and Ukraine also attract asylum-related immigrants (mainly in the form of people displaced from border areas). Persons with refugee status living in Europe are distributed according to various criteria: Iranians, Iraqis and Turks are thus to be found mainly in Germany, the Sri Lankans and Vietnamese in France and the Somalians in the Netherlands (Table 14).

Table 13 - Population of asylum domain at 31 December 1999

	Refugees (1)	Applicants (2)	Others				Total
			Returned (3)	Internally displaced persons (4)	Returned internally displaced persons (5)	Others	
Albania	3900	20					3920
Austria	80300	5500					85800
Belgium	36100	23100					59200
Bulgaria	540	1600					2140
Croatia	28400	30	33600	50300	70300		182630
Czech Republic	1200	1400				2300	4900
Denmark	69000						69000
Estonia		30					30
Finland	12800						12800
France	140200						140200
Germany	975500	264000					1239500
Greece	3500						3500
Hungary	5000	2600					7600
Iceland	350	10					360
Ireland	1100	9800					10900
Italy	22900	5000					27900
Latvia	10						10
Lithuania	40	50					90
Luxembourg	700						700
Malta	270						270
Moldova	10	220					230
Netherlands	129100						129100
Norway	47900						47900
Poland	950						950
Portugal	380						380
Romania	1200	50					1250
Russian Federation	80100	16000		498400	64500	845300	1504300
Slovakia	440	330					770
Slovenia	4400	610				11300	16310
Spain	6400	3300					9700
Sweden	159500	7900					167400
Switzerland	82300	45400					127700
FYROM	21200						21200
Ukraine	3700	300				260000	264000
United Kingdom	132700	129000					261700
Total	2052090	516250	33600	548700	134800	1118900	4404340

Source : UNHCR 2000

(1) including humanitarian permits or temporary protection

(2) people awaiting a decision

(3) ex refugees returned to their country and benefiting from UNHCR assistance

(4) persons displaced inside the country and benefiting from UNHCR assistance or protection

(5) internal ex-displaced persons and returned to their place of origin and benefiting from UNHCR assistance

Table 14. Refugees living in Europe, according to country of origin and country of asylum

<i>Afghanistan</i>		<i>Sri-Lanka</i>	
Netherlands	20300	France	15900
Germany	16600	Germany	9200
United Kingdom	3500	United Kingdom	8300
Denmark	2300	Switzerland	4300
		Norway	2300
<i>Bosnia-Herzegovina</i>		<i>Turkey</i>	
Austria	66700	Germany	40800
Sweden	52800	France	11900
Germany	50000	Switzerland	5000
Denmark	27300	Sweden	2400
Croatia	25000		
<i>Iran</i>		<i>Vietnam</i>	
Germany	29100	France	15700
Sweden	11000	Belgium	3100
Netherlands	9700	Switzerland	3100
Norway	3800	Sweden	2400
Denmark	2800		
<i>Iraq</i>		<i>Yugoslavia</i>	
Germany	34500	Sweden	29200
Sweden	24000	F. Macedonia	21000
Netherlands	22900	Germany	21000
Denmark	10500	Norway	10400
United Kingdom	5700	Netherlands	7000
<i>Somalia</i>			
Netherlands	18500		
United Kingdom	18100		
Denmark	9600		
Sweden	7700		
Norway	3600		
Source : Estimate based on data in the Council of Europe Demographic Yearbook			

2.4 Illegal migration

Illegal or undocumented immigration is attracting growing interest. It is difficult to estimate the number of people concerned, but it appears that, at the beginning of the 1990s, there were 2.6 million illegal aliens in Europe (ILO, 1991). This figure, whose precise significance is difficult to determine owing to national differences in definitions, probably rose above the 3 million mark in 1998. Italy estimates the number of illegal immigrants present on its territory at 260,000, ie 20% of its foreign population (OECD, 2000), while the number of illegal immigrants in France is estimated at 500,000, and 150,000 in Spain (IOM, 2000). In Germany, some 33,000 people were deported in 1999. Every year, too, approximately 17,000 people are deported from Austria (Council of Europe, 2001).

Schemes to legalise the status of illegal immigrants have been widely introduced in France, Greece (mainly for people of Albanian origin), Italy, Portugal and Spain. At the same time, policies have been introduced to combat the problem and its worst side-effects (in particular trafficking). In the Baltic States and the Czech Republic, which serve as transit countries between Asia and eastern Europe on the one hand and western Europe on the other, a number of former Yugoslav or Asian nationals are regularly deported every year.

3. Socio-demographic features of the foreign population

3.1 Number and proportion of foreign nationals in the member states

The data on foreign nationals in the member states are particularly helpful in understanding the demographic features of migrants. The foreign population, however, does not depend solely on migration, but also on the current rules governing the granting of nationality and the birth rate among foreign nationals living in each host country. France, for example, had 19.66 million migrants, but only 3.26 million foreign nationals, according to its last census (1999). Ireland, Sweden and the Netherlands also have more migrants than foreign nationals. The United Kingdom and Luxembourg, on the other hand, have more foreign passport-holders than migrants in the strict sense. It is important, therefore, when examining the information contained in Tables 9 et seq not to bracket migrants and foreign nationals together.

Three quarters of the 21 million⁴ people living as foreign nationals in a Council of Europe member state at the beginning of 2000 reside in one of the following five countries: Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Switzerland and Italy (Table 15). Excluding Andorra and Liechtenstein, however, Luxembourg (35.6%), Switzerland (19.4%, ie 1.4 million foreign nationals), Austria (9.2%), Germany (8.9%) and Belgium (8.3%, a percentage that has remained unchanged) have the largest foreign national populations in relative terms (Table 3). It should be noted, though, that Belgium has a fairly relaxed naturalisation policy, whereas Switzerland and Luxembourg have relatively low naturalisation rates.

Table 15. Countries with the most foreigners at 1 January 2000 and distributed according to the nationalities represented

Country	All foreigners	Nationality							Total
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Germany	7.343.591	Turkey	Ex-Yugoslavia	Italy	Greece	Poland	Others		
		28.0	10.0	8.4	5.0	4.0	44.7	100.0	
France (1)	3.596.600	Portugal	Algeria	Morocco	Italy	Spain	Others		
		18.1	17.1	15.9	7.0	6.0	35.9	100.0	
United Kingdom	2.281.000	Ireland	Indies	US	Pakistan	Italy	Others		
		17.8	6.7	5.0	4.5	4.1	61.9	100.0	
Switzerland	1.406.630	Italy	Ex-Yugoslavia	Yugoslav Rep.	Portugal	Germany	Others		
		23.4	23.3	13.5	9.6	7.4	22.8	100.0	
Italy (2)	1.116.394	Morocco	Philippines	Yugoslav Rep.	Tunisia	China	Others		
		13.2	5.3	4.6	4.5	3.7	68.6	100.0	
Belgium	897.110	Italy	Morocco	France	Netherlands	Turkey	Others		
		22.3	13.6	12.0	9.6	7.7	34.9	100.0	
Spain (2)	801.329	Morocco	United Kingdom	Germany	Portugal	France	Others		
		20.2	9.5	7.6	5.5	5.4	51.8	100.0	
Austria	753.528	Ex-Yugoslavia	Turkey	Germany	Italy	Morocco	Others		
		45.2	17.8	9.0	0.0	0.0	28.0	100.0	
Netherlands	651.532	Morocco	Turkey	Germany	United Kingdom	Belgium	Others		
		18.4	15.5	8.3	6.1	3.9	47.9	100.0	

(1) 1990 (2) 1999

Source : Council of Europe Yearbooks

The foreign nationals residing in the different member states have a wide range of origins. There are, however, large numbers of Italians living in Belgium and Switzerland, large numbers of former Yugoslavs living in Switzerland and Austria, and a large Turkish community in Germany, Switzerland and Austria (Table 15). This presence is a result of the successive waves of migration described earlier.

⁴ Compared with 14 million in 1990

Although the largest foreign populations are thus to be found in non-Mediterranean western European states, the other states also have what may be described as a “peripheral” foreign population: France, for example, has a high proportion of Africans (45%) derived from its former colonies (mainly Algeria) or French-speaking African countries. Spain and Italy have a large number of Moroccans while Portugal is home to a large Cape Verdean community. In other parts of western Europe, the foreign communities tend to be more diverse in terms of their origins. The situation is very different in the former Eastern bloc countries. Only Hungary attracts westerners, while the foreign communities in the other eastern European countries are derived mainly from neighbouring countries.

3.2 What are the main migrant communities in Europe?

The geographical location of the main foreign communities can be estimated from the data contained in the Council of Europe’s statistical yearbook for the beginning of 2000. The 21 million or so people living outside their country of origin in a member state (ie “foreigners”) can be broken down as follows (Table 16): 12.9 million Europeans, 3.4 million Africans, 1.7 million Americans, 1.5 million Asians and 0.1 million people of Oceanian origin. The biggest European populations living in a foreign member state of the Council of Europe are the Turkish community (2.75 million Turks live outside Turkey), Yugoslavs⁵, Italians (1.6 million) and Portuguese (1.1 million)⁶. The biggest non-European communities are the Moroccan (1.2 million), Algerian (670,000) and American communities (360,000)⁷.

Table 16. Numbers living in Europe outside of their country of origin, by country of origin at the beginning of 2000 (in millions)

Total	21.0								
Europe	12.9	Africa	3.4	America	1.7	Asia	1.5	Oceania	0.1
of which :		of which :		of which :		of which :		of which:	
Turkey	2.7	Morocco	1.2	USA	0.4	India	0.2	Others, unknown	0.1
Yugoslav Rep.	(2,2)	Algeria	0.7	Brazil	0.1	Pakistan	0.2		
Italy	1.6	Tunisia	0.3	Peru	0.1	Iran	0.2		
Portugal	1.1	Somalia	0.1	Dominican Rep.	0.05	China	0.2		
Spain	0.6	Senegal	0.1	Chile	0.04	Sri Lanka	0.1		
Germany	0.6	Ghana	0.1	Cuba	0.03	Iraq	0.1		
France	0.5	Nigeria	0.1			Vietnam	0.1		
United Kingdom	0.5	Egypt	0.1			Philippines	0.1		
Poland	0.5	Cap Verde	0.1			Thailand	0.1		

Source : Estimates based on data of the Council of Europe Demographic Yearbook

Migrants of *European* nationality can be characterised as follows (Table 17): a large majority of Turks, Greeks, former Yugoslavs and Poles live in Germany, whereas nearly 3/5 of Portuguese immigrants live in France. One also finds a large Italian community in Switzerland, France and Belgium, and a relatively large Polish community in France. German emigrants live mostly in Switzerland, but also in the United Kingdom, Austria and Spain. British expatriates tend to live in Germany, Spain, Ireland and France. The Spanish have a similar migration pattern to the Portuguese, but tend to be less heavily concentrated in France, as a large proportion of them also live in Germany and Switzerland. Former Yugoslavs, meanwhile, tend to be concentrated mainly in the German-speaking countries.

⁵ The number of Yugoslavs is difficult to estimate, firstly because some states list nationals of the FRY, whereas others only have information on former Yugoslavs; and secondly, because this population is extremely mobile owing to its residence status.

⁶ These estimates may need to be revised upwards given the rather patchy nature of some of the information, particularly in eastern European countries.

⁷ These figures are based on the data relating to persons of foreign nationality and are thus merely an estimate of the number of migrants.

Table 17. People living in Europe in a country other than their country of origin, according to nationality (in italics) and distribution by country of domicile

<i>Total foreigners</i>		<i>Europe</i>		<i>Africa</i>		<i>America</i>		<i>Asia</i>		<i>Oceania</i>	
Germany	34.9	Germany	46.1	France	49.5	Germany	49.5	United Kingdom	38.1	United Kingdom	84.8
France	17.1	France	12.9	Italy	10.9	United Kingdom	15.9	France	15.5	Netherlands	2.6
United Kingdom	10.9	Switzerland	9.8	Germany	9.0	Spain	10.0	Italy	14.2	Italy	2.4
Switzerland	6.7	United Kingdom	8.2	United Kingdom	8.7	Italy	6.6	Sweden	5.7	Switzerland	2.1
Italy	5.3	Belgium	5.2	Spain	6.3	France	4.4	Switzerland	4.6	France	1.9
Total	74.9	Total	82.2	Total	84.4	Total	86.3	Total	78.0	Total	93.8
		<i>Turkey</i>		<i>Germany</i>		<i>Morocco</i>		<i>USA</i>		<i>India</i>	
		Germany	74.8	Switzerland	18.5	France	46.5	United Kingdom	31.3	United Kingdom	64.9
		France	7.2	United Kingdom	13.5	Spain	13.1	Germany	31.0	Germany	14.6
		Austria	4.9	Austria	12.1	Italy	12.0	Italy	5.0	Italy	8.7
		Netherlands	3.7	Spain	10.8	Belgium	9.9	Spain	4.3	Spain	3.6
		Switzerland	2.9	Netherlands	9.7	Netherlands	9.7	Greece	4.3	Switzerland	2.3
		Total	93.5	Total	64.6	Total	91.3	Total	75.9	Total	94.1
		<i>Italy</i>		<i>France</i>		<i>Algeria</i>		<i>Brazil</i>		<i>Pakistan</i>	
		Germany	38.7	Belgium	21.9	France	91.6	Germany	25.1	United Kingdom	56.5
		Switzerland	20.7	Germany	21.9	Germany	2.6	Portugal	23.4	Germany	21.2
		France	15.9	United Kingdom	17.5	United Kingdom	2.1	Italy	18.1	Italy	6.1
		Belgium	12.6	Switzerland	12.2	Italy	1.5	Spain	9.1	Norway	4.1
		United Kingdom	5.9	Spain	8.8	Spain	1.5	Switzerland	8.5	Denmark	3.9
		Total	93.7	Total	82.4	Total	99.2	Total	84.2	Total	91.9
		<i>Ex-Yugoslavia</i>		<i>United Kingdom</i>		<i>Tunisia</i>		<i>Peru</i>		<i>Iran</i>	
		Germany	49.7	Germany	23.2	France	68.5	Spain	41.4	Germany	65.0
		Austria	23.0	Spain	15.6	Italy	16.8	Italy	36.3	Sweden	9.0
		Switzerland	22.1	Ireland	13.7	Germany	8.1	Germany	11.9	United Kingdom	8.4
		United Kingdom	1.8	France	10.3	Norway	1.6	Switzerland	4.0	Italy	4.7
		France	1.5	Netherlands	8.1	Belgium	1.4	Sweden	3.0	Denmark	3.2
		Total	98.1	Total	70.9	Total	96.4	Total	96.7	Total	90.3
		<i>Portugal</i>		<i>Poland</i>		<i>Somalia</i>		<i>Chile</i>		<i>China</i>	
		France	59.1	Germany	62.6	United Kingdom	39.1	Sweden	29.0	Germany	25.6
		Switzerland	12.3	France	10.1	Denmark	13.6	Germany	17.3	Italy	24.7
		Germany	12.1	United Kingdom	6.0	Sweden	12.8	Spain	16.0	Spain	14.7
		Luxembourg	5.2	Italy	4.8	Italy	11.1	Switzerland	10.5	United Kingdom	12.5
		Spain	4.0	Czech Republic	3.9	Germany	8.0	Italy	8.5	Hungary	5.3
		Total	92.6	Total	87.4	Total	84.6	Total	81.4	Total	82.9
		<i>Spain</i>		<i>Greece</i>		<i>Senegal</i>		<i>Cuba</i>		<i>Sri Lanka</i>	
		France	36.4	Germany	81.3	France	49.7	Spain	51.7	Germany	37.4
		Germany	21.9	United Kingdom	5.8	Italy	35.9	Germany	21.8	United Kingdom	23.8
		Switzerland	14.8	Belgium	4.1	Spain	8.8	Italy	13.1	Italy	18.4
		United Kingdom	7.9	Italy	2.9	Germany	3.0	United Kingdom	3.1	Switzerland	12.2
		Belgium	7.7	Switzerland	1.4	Switzerland	0.9	Sweden	3.1	Denmark	3.3
		Total	88.7	Total	95.5	Total	98.3	Total	92.7	Total	95.1

Example : 74,8% of Turks living in Europe outside of Turkey live in Germany

Source : Estimate based on data of the Council of Europe Demographic Yearbook

Half of all Africans in Europe live in France, but they are also to be found in Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom and Spain, thus showing a marked preference for the larger states. The

African presence in Europe is mainly determined by historic ties, with more than 9 out of every 10 Algerians, for example, living in France. Geographical proximity accounts for the large number of Moroccans living in the Mediterranean countries, and also the substantial Tunisian presence in France and Italy. The Somalians, for their part, live mainly in the United Kingdom although they can also be found in Scandinavia.

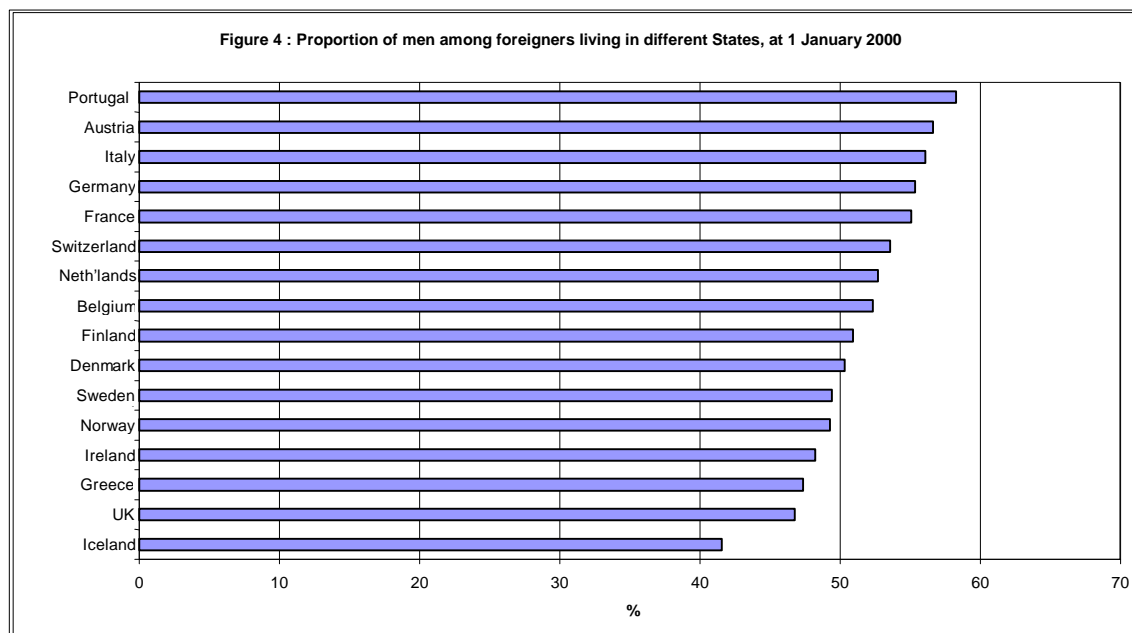
The American community consists primarily of US nationals, a third of whom live in the United Kingdom and another third in Germany. Brazilians are attracted mainly to Germany and Portugal, whereas Peruvians tend to gravitate towards Spain and Italy. Chileans are divided between Sweden, Germany, Spain and Switzerland, while 50% of the Cuban population in Europe lives in Spain.

The United Kingdom has historic links with various Asian countries, which is why 38% of Asians in Europe are to be found in this country. That percentage rises to 65% in the case of Hindus, and 56.5% for Pakistanis. Iranians, the third-largest Asian community in Europe, live mainly in Germany, whereas the Chinese tend to be concentrated in Germany, Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom. There is also a large Philippine population in Italy and a Middle Eastern community in Greece. Finally, nationals of Oceania in Europe are mainly to be found in the United Kingdom (Table 10).

3.3 Breakdown of foreigners residing in the member states by gender and age

Overall, it is estimated that males account for roughly 54% of foreign nationals living in Europe (Graph 4). The percentage varies from country to country, ranging from 41.6% in Iceland to 58.3% in Portugal.

Figure 4. Proportion of men among foreigners living in different States, at 1 January 2000.



Recent data, however, show that female migration is gaining ground, particularly in the case of migration to Greece (where females accounted for more than 60% of inflows in 1997, OECD 2000). Other countries whose foreign population is predominantly male, but whose recent inflows have been dominated by women, are Switzerland, Belgium, Finland and

Portugal. In Germany, however, men accounted for the bulk of inflows at the end of the 20th century.

Generally speaking, therefore, the 1990s saw an increase in the proportion of women in migration flows, due to the large number of family reunions and a decline in labour flows over the period 1996-1998.

Foreign nationals in Europe also tend to be between the ages of 20 and 64 (Graph 5). There is, however, a sizeable proportion (nearly 10%) of foreign nationals aged 65 or over in Belgium, France and, most notably, the United Kingdom, indicating a certain ageing of this population. At the same time, over 30% of foreign nationals in Denmark, and almost 30% in the Netherlands, France, Finland and Germany, are under the age of 20. Although they vary slightly according to the rules governing family reunion, these figures invariably reflect the important role played by occupational activity and family reunion in migration trends.

Figure 5. Composition by age of the foreign population, at 1 January 2000.

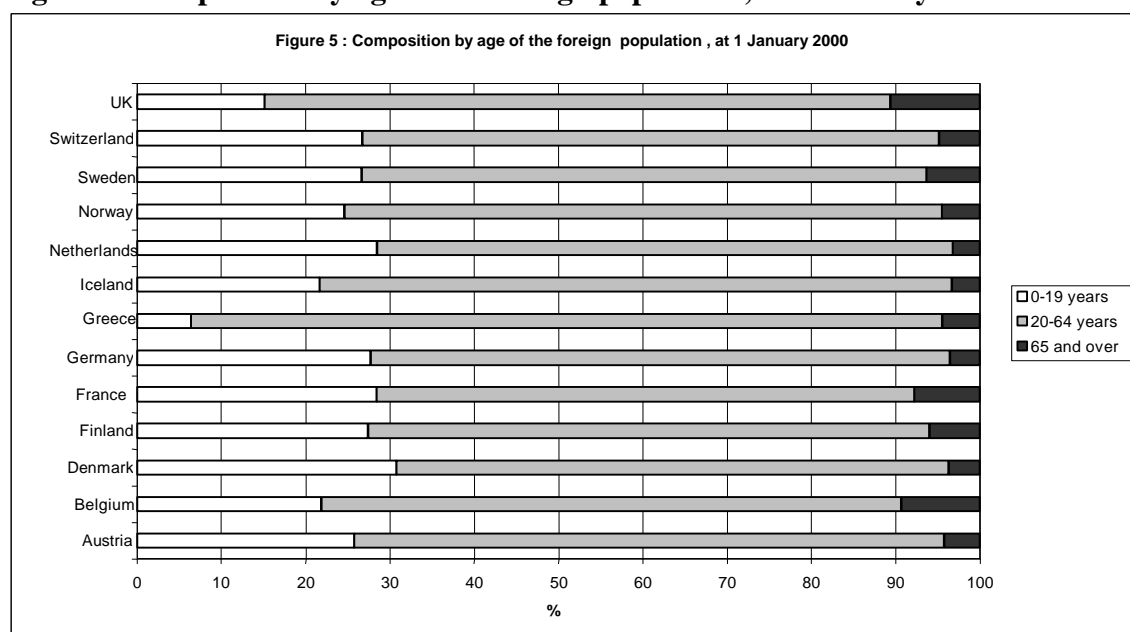


Table 18. Structure by age of immigrants entering some European countries in 1997

	0-14 years	15-24 years	0-24 years	25-64 years	15-64 years	65 years et +	
Austria	13.0	28.0	41.0	56.4	84.4	2.6	100.0
Belgium	15.9	24.5	40.4	56.3	80.8	3.3	100.0
Denmark	17.9	33.3	51.2	47.2	80.5	1.6	100.0
Spain	19.1	14.9	34.0	59.7	74.6	6.3	100.0
Finland	23.1	19.8	42.9	50.9	70.7	6.2	100.0
Germany	13.8	26.4	40.2	56.7	83.1	3.1	100.0
Greece	4.8	26.5	31.3	66.4	92.9	2.3	100.0
Hungary	14.2	...	...	...	76.0	9.8	100.0
Ireland	15.3	39.1	54.4	44.3	83.4	1.3	100.0
Luxembourg	16.0	22.0	38.0	59.9	81.9	2.1	100.0
Netherlands	18.3	25.9	44.2	54.6	80.5	1.2	100.0
Poland	16.5	9.9	26.4	60.6	70.5	13.0	100.0
Norway	18.4	27.8	46.2	52.1	79.9	1.7	100.0
Sweden	22.2	20.5	42.7	55.3	75.8	2.0	100.0
Switzerland	15.8	25.3	41.1	57.5	82.8	1.4	100.0
United Kingdom	11.7	50.5	62.2	36.7	87.2	1.1	100.0

Source : Eurostat and national statistical yearbooks

If one looks, moreover, at the age structure of immigrants (Table 18), it will be observed that there is a high proportion of under-24-year-olds, who account for 62% of entrants in the

United Kingdom and 51% in Denmark. Regardless of the country concerned, persons of working age (15-64 years) account for nearly four immigrants in five.

4. Future migration trends

Two factors provide some clues as to how migration is likely to develop in the future: firstly, the availability of potential immigrants in countries which act as sources of labour; and secondly, “demand” in the host countries, which is heavily dependent on demographic and economic trends in these countries.

4.1 Potential immigrants: new migration flows to Europe

Various changes in migration flows to Europe have been observed in recent years, as described above. A close look at these changes allows us, to some extent, to predict future migration flows and to identify potential immigrants.

In particular, there is nothing to indicate that the countries of southern Europe will once again become sources of labour. With a birth rate of around 1.2 children per woman, their population is set to decline as from the end of this decade, and population ageing in these countries is also expected to be particularly pronounced.

The former Yugoslav republics have generated a large stream of migrants. With governments in some countries now keen to limit this migration, however, and with the political situation in the region gradually returning to normal, the flow of migrants is likely to diminish in future.

Turkey is another major source of labour. The growth of the Turkish population, however, will tend to ease off over the next few decades and it is likely that the number of workers wishing to leave Turkey will gradually fall.

Eastern European countries have already seen a marked decline in their populations, partly because of very low birth rates and partly because average life expectancy has either decreased or levelled off. It seems likely, therefore, that migration flows to Europe will be characterised by an influx of workers from other parts of the world where the birth rate is still high.

One major source of labour for Europe’s Mediterranean states will undoubtedly be the Maghreb. Another source could be India and its neighbours, European immigration policies permitting.

At the same time, closer European integration will probably mean greater international mobility within Europe: in particular, we are likely to see an increase in the number of retired people moving to the Mediterranean countries.

4.2 Migration demand: replacement migration

The focus of the immigration debate has recently shifted to include the issue of population ageing and labour shortages. The debate over replacement migration received special attention at the beginning of 2000 with the United Nations report on the main industrialised countries (UN, 2000), although there had already been a number of studies and discussions on the subject (OECD, 1991).

The relations between demographic trends, changes in the working population and migration flows are certainly crucial, but they are also complex. By 2050, according to the United Nations (2000), of all the member states, only Albania, Iceland, Ireland, Luxembourg and Turkey are expected to have positive natural growth rates (Table 19⁸). All the other states should see their populations fall.

Table 19. Rate of demographic growth projected for 2000-2050 and proportion of 15-59 year olds

	Average annual growth rate					Percentage of 15-59 year olds	
	1995-2000	2000-2005	2010-2015	2020-2025	2045-2050	2000	2050
Albania	-0.32	0.63	0.76	0.61	0.07	61.1	56.4
Austria	0.08	-0.10	-0.27	-0.34	-0.83	62.6	47.4
Belgium	0.22	0.01	-0.05	-0.08	-0.33	60.6	50.3
Bulgaria	-1.12	-0.98	-1.05	-1.09	-1.30	62.6	47.6
Croatia	0.09	0.03	-0.12	-0.26	-0.36	61.8	53.0
Cyprus	1.05	0.77	0.55	0.32	-0.06	61.2	53.4
Czech Republic	-0.11	-0.10	-0.22	-0.34	-0.65	65.2	46.3
Denmark	0.35	0.16	-0.01	-0.02	-0.30	61.8	53.0
Estonia	-1.26	-1.14	-1.02	-1.20	-1.51	62.1	48.5
Finland	0.25	0.07	-0.03	-0.10	-0.39	62.0	50.6
France	0.37	0.36	0.22	0.11	-0.16	60.7	51.3
Georgia	-0.34	-0.53	-0.74	-0.92	-1.46	60.8	49.8
Germany	0.09	-0.04	-0.17	-0.24	-0.52	61.2	49.5
Greece	0.30	0.04	-0.20	-0.34	-0.61	61.5	46.2
Hungary	-0.49	-0.50	-0.50	-0.54	-0.66	63.3	49.4
Iceland	0.87	0.67	0.52	0.44	0.05	61.6	53.2
Ireland	1.05	0.96	0.97	0.65	0.40	63.2	53.3
Italy	0.08	-0.13	-0.41	-0.56	-0.98	61.7	46.2
Latvia	-0.77	-0.56	-0.56	-0.67	-0.74	61.7	47.5
Lithuania	-0.10	-0.24	-0.32	-0.38	-0.62	62.0	48.1
Luxembourg	1.28	1.20	1.09	1.05	0.79	62.0	57.1
Malta	0.63	0.40	0.31	0.10	-0.24	62.9	51.1
Netherlands	0.52	0.35	0.13	0.08	-0.29	63.4	52.5
Norway	0.50	0.37	0.24	0.28	-0.01	60.7	51.7
Poland	0.01	-0.09	-0.12	-0.26	-0.47	64.3	48.7
Portugal	0.20	0.13	-0.10	-0.22	-0.50	62.5	49.9
Romania	-0.22	-0.26	-0.35	-0.42	-0.58	62.9	50.0
Russian Federation	-0.36	-0.64	-0.54	-0.63	-0.82	63.5	49.3
Slovakia	0.13	0.08	-0.04	-0.25	-0.67	65.1	50.0
Slovenia	-0.02	-0.12	-0.31	-0.46	-0.91	65.0	45.1
Spain	0.09	-0.02	-0.28	-0.46	-0.95	63.5	44.5
Sweden	0.03	-0.13	-0.18	-0.12	-0.37	59.4	48.3
Switzerland	0.15	-0.06	-0.29	-0.39	-0.86	62.1	48.6
FYROM	0.71	0.30	0.04	-0.08	-0.47	63.0	52.0
Turkey	1.62	1.32	1.00	0.88	0.34	61.5	57.5
Ukraine	-0.78	-0.94	-0.86	-0.94	-1.25	61.6	49.0
United Kingdom	0.27	0.18	0.10	0.10	-0.25	60.4	51.1

Source : United Nations, World Population Prospects. The 2000 Revision

This demographic decline will be accompanied by a sharp drop in the proportion of economically active people in the population, especially in countries with a low birth rate. With the exception of Italy, however, most European countries should manage to keep the number of workers at the same level over the next 20 years (Feld, 2000). Provided that existing human resources are utilised (Bagavos et Fotakis, 2000), there is only a small chance that we will see a sharp increase in migration in response to a demand for replacement workers over the next 20 years. The expected changes in migration patterns over the coming period may be described as “tendential”: the various demographic projections compiled,

⁸ Between 1995 and 2000, most eastern European countries already had negative growth rates. Italy, Spain and Germany will shortly join the list of countries whose population is declining.

either by member states, or by Eurostat, assume a certain stability in terms of flows, moreover (Table 20).

Table 20. Hypotheses for the most recent demographic projections

	Observed		Estimated			
	1990-94	1995-99	2000-04	2005-09	2010-14	2015-19
Belgium	96	52	43	36	31	26
Denmark	53	78	55	47	59	59
Germany	2813	1475	900	900	700	700
Greece	290	125	111	121	125	125
Spain	120	175	175	175	175	175
France	320	252	250	250	250	250
Ireland	-24	0	0	0	0	0
Italy	533	249	252	258	266	276
Luxembourg	21	13	13	13	13	13
Netherlands	207	142	189	176	160	147
Austria	295	22	17	29	66	94
Portugal	-64	42	70	110	125	125
Finland	45	21	20	20	20	20
Table 2 : Foreign population distributed according to origin in 1981 and 2000	162	41	44	45	45	46
United Kingdom	376	394	325	325	325	325
Iceland	-1	0	0	0	0	0
Liechtenstein	1.2	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3
Norway	40	35	35	35	35	35
Switzerland	235	96	108	11	11	17
Hypotheses from the latest projections made by statistical institutes or Eurostat						
Source : Eurostat, 2000						

As regards the more distant future (2020-2050), although it is unlikely to change the course of expected demographic trends, migration may help to mitigate the effects of population ageing, at least in the short term since, after all, migrants age too. For the period 2020-2050, therefore, we might expect to see a growing demand for workers in most member states, which in that case could only be offset through the use of non-European labour.

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