

Integrative Mechanisms for Addressing Spatial Justice and Territorial Inequalities in Europe

D5.1 Synthesis report on migration flows

Version 1.0

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Subtask 5.1d - Synthesis report on main migration trends and patterns

1. Introduction – migration as a defining process within the EU

Migration is one of the defining processes of our time and free mobility is one of the pillars of the European Union (EU) as a whole. It has gained a central spot in recent political and media debates and constitutes one of the main priorities of the current Juncker Commission¹.

This report presents a synthesis of the main migration trends and patterns in 13 European countries, namely Belgium, Germany, Finland, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Spain, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. It provides a snapshot of historical patterns of migration, current patterns of immigration, emigration, internal migration, as well as refuge and asylum in a comparative analysis going back to the post-war period.

The distinction between the different migration flows is arguably somewhat artificial. In practice, the flows, internal and international, are highly interconnected. For instance, emigration from Poland has contributed to both economic growth and labour shortages, which make the country attractive for immigrants from outside the EU, like Ukraine. Similarly, internal migration is oftentimes a step towards international migration. Romania is a case in point, as rural-urban migration can become a stage in the process of international migration.

Additionally, the report includes a 5.1a) review of the existing literature and statistics on migration in the European context; 5.1b) a series of maps on the main in- and out-flows for each country analysed; 5.1c) a selection a potential case studies on different migration flows per country, and 5.1d) a cross country analysis.

The information is based on the individual country fiches, which can be found at the end of the report, under Subtasks 5.1a and 5.1b.

2. Migration trends and patterns since the 1950s until present day

Since the 1950s, migration processes experienced by the 13 countries have followed a common European trend that can roughly be divided into three main stages: (i) the stage of colonial migration and/or guest-worker programs; (ii) the stage of migration restrictions; and (iii) the stage of intra-EU mobility. These stages help contextualising and examining main

¹ See https://ec.europa.eu/commission/priorities/migration_en

patterns of migration, and structure our understanding of the way economic inequalities have affected and have been affected by it.

The first stage began in the late 1950s, when post-war economic development generated a demand for labour that could no longer be met domestically. Countries with a colonial history – namely UK, France, Belgium and the Netherlands – tapped into a vast supply of labour from former colonies (R. Hansen 2003). Countries that could not rely on colonial immigration – particularly Germany, Switzerland, and to a lesser extent Belgium, France and the Netherlands – implemented guest-worker programs to fill their labour shortages. Italy, Spain, Greece, Ireland and Finland were some of the countries at the sending end of these programs.

Geographical proximity played an important role in the development of specific migration patterns, with for instance, the UK recruiting labour from Ireland, Switzerland from Italy, or Sweden from Finland (Van Mol and de Valk 2016). These patterns created a migration system in which peripheral countries – especially Southern European – supplied workers for countries in Western and Northern Europe (idem.).

The realisation that “guest” workers were there to stay (Zaiceva and Zimmermann 2008) together with the lingering effects of the oil crisis from 1973-4, resulted in the effective termination of the guest workers programs in all receiving countries – UK, France, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands – by mid 1970s. A series of recruiting bans were placed on foreign workers and immigration policies were tightened (N. Hansen 1979). Despite these restrictive measures, however, immigration did not stop, but rather continued through family reunification and family formation.

Alongside the tightening of immigration policies in receiving countries, another process was developing in sending countries. Specifically, a mix of economic development and declining population generated significant labour shortages in Greece, Italy and Spain. This, coupled with relatively open immigration policies and the virtual closing of the borders in traditional receiving countries resulted in increasing immigration flows. In 1974, Italy registered a positive net migration for the first time, and by the 1980s all three countries became net countries of immigration (Castles and Miller 1998).

During this time, roughly between 1950s-1990, Romania and Poland were governed by political regimes which did not favour migration. For both countries, emigration flows before 1989 were mostly ethnic in nature, with a significant number of Germans and Jews leaving for Germany, Israel or Western Europe (Horvath and Anghel 2009; Alscher 2008). The limited immigration flows took the form of asylum seekers from other countries experiencing political oppression, such as Vietnam (Bachman 2016).

The third migration stage began in the early 1990s, when the fall of the Iron Curtain in Eastern Europe generated a pattern of significant East-West migration. Moreover, the Maastricht Treaty from 1992 made intra-EU mobility possible (Van Mol and de Valk 2016), which in turn made possible the significant outmigration from new Member States, particularly after the enlargement rounds of 2004 and 2007. A new pattern of periphery-core migration emerged, from the less economically developed countries like Romania or Poland, to the more developed countries like the UK, Italy or Germany.

The 2009 economic crisis, which disproportionately affected peripheral countries, generated significant emigration from Italy, Ireland, Spain and Greece. Each of these countries registered, during 2009-2015, at least one year in which emigration exceeded immigration, making many wonder whether they were becoming sending countries again (see Campos 2016). Much of these flows, however, represented return migration of their own immigrant groups, although the share of nationals in the total outflows was not negligible. Presently, Italy, Spain, Ireland and Greece are returned to their status of net receivers, with only Romania and Poland remaining net senders among all. Partly that has to do with the large inflow of asylum seekers, which will be discussed in section 3.2.

A notable development over time in the 13 countries is the changing nature of migration, including increased diversity, new forms of migration and new geographies of migration. While there are sometimes dominant immigrant groups – for instance, Polish nationals in the UK or Romanian nationals in Italy – generally, countries receive immigrants from a greater variety of origin countries now compared to half a century ago. Moreover, migration these days is not necessarily permanent, but can be seasonal, temporary, circular, transnational, among other forms, with significant ramifications for our understanding of integration concepts. Lastly, new geographies of migration have developed in the past several decades, with increased south-north (Greece to Germany), east-west (Romania to the UK) as well as east-south (Romania to Spain) migration patterns.

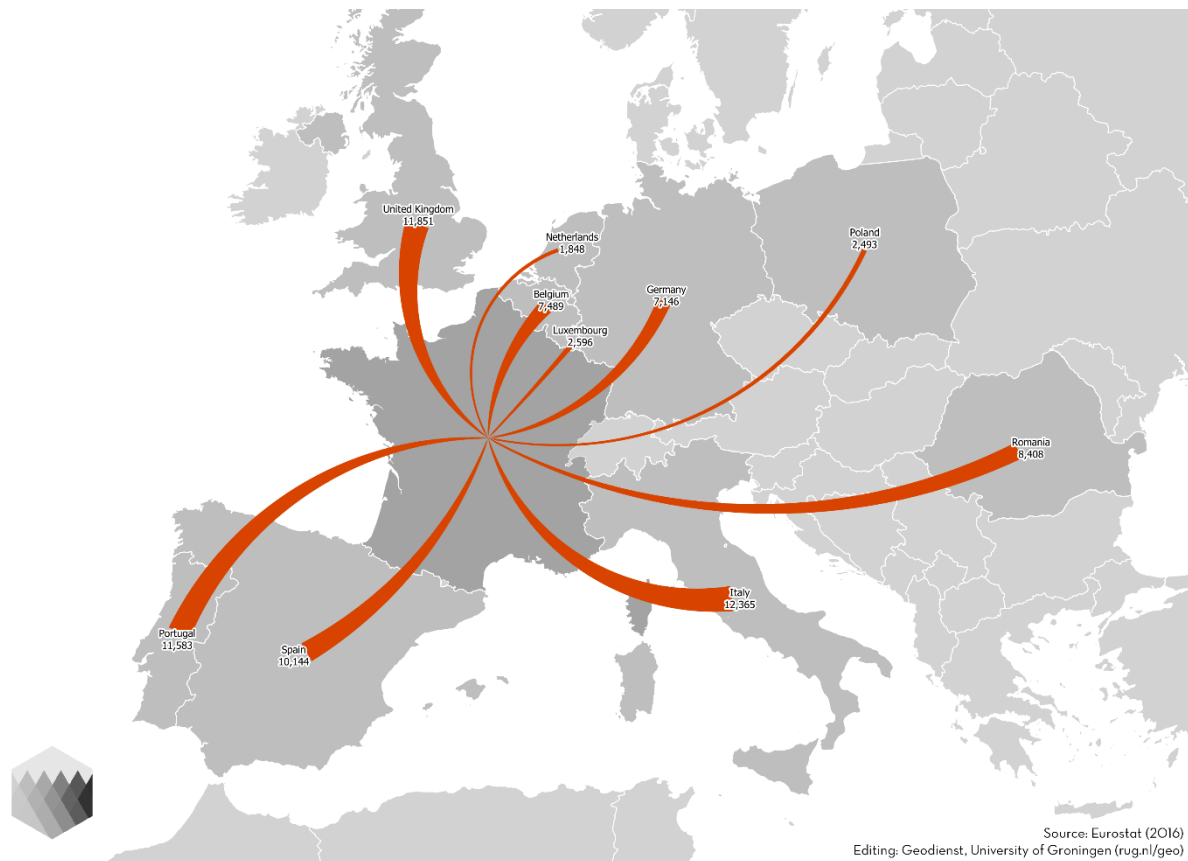
3. Current patterns of migration – a comparative perspective

3.1 Immigration

Most countries analysed (exceptions are Poland and Romania) are clear countries of immigration, experiencing more inflows than outflows. For many of them, including Belgium, France, Germany, Netherlands and Switzerland, migration from other EU Member States represents the largest share of migratory flows into the country. Romania and Poland represent

two of the most important source countries for many, with Romania being in the top five sending countries for 8 out of 11 countries, while Poland for 5 out of 11. Figure 1 presents an example map with the ten largest inflows into France for the year 2016, which includes both countries². Other major overall source countries in 2016 were Syria, Iraq, Albania and Italy, among others.

Figure 1. Example of map of main countries of immigration to France, 2016



Source of data: Eurostat.

Editing: Geodienst, University of Groningen (rug.nl/geo)

Immigration to some countries has been greatly influenced by their histories of colonialism or experience with guest workers programs. Some flows reflect historical ties with the sending countries, as is the Indian migration to the UK, Venezuelan migration to Spain, while others reflect language similarities, as is French migration to Belgium, or German migration to Switzerland, or Moldovan migration to Romania. Still other flows reflect the current political situations in the origin countries, as is Syrian or Iraqi migration to many of the countries analysed.

² Maps with the largest immigration and emigration flows for each country are included in the individual country reports in Annex 1.

Most of the flows, however, reflect the significant economic inequalities between the sending and receiving countries, particularly in the EU context, inequalities either intrinsic to the respective countries or temporarily caused by more general developments. Romania and Poland are examples of the former case, while Italian, Greek and to a lesser extent, Irish migration is a direct consequence of the economic crisis that deeply affected the respective countries.

Many immigrants head for the most developed regions and cities in the countries of destination, where they expect to have more opportunities to find jobs, and where they often find communities of fellow nationals. Such regions/cities include London in the UK, Bucharest and Cluj counties in Romania, Randstad in the Netherlands, Athens and Thessaloniki in Greece or Flanders in Belgium.

An increasingly important pattern of migration seems to have formed in recent years, namely international rural-to-rural and urban-to-urban migration. Intra-European rural mobility concerns mostly urban and rural citizens of Central-Eastern Europe who migrate to rural areas in the North-West and South of Europe in search of employment and a better quality of life (Bock, Osti, and Ventura 2016). This is the case of Ukrainian migrants settling in rural regions in Poland, or Romanian migrants moving into rural areas in Spain. The phenomenon has broader socio-economic implications and can in itself be an important contributor to diminishing or increasing economic inequalities between sending and receiving regions.

As with Italy, Greece, Spain and Ireland in the past, Poland is slowly becoming an attractive country of immigration, particularly from neighbouring countries like Ukraine and Belarus, but also for immigrants from India, Nepal and Bangladesh. The increase in immigration is due in part to the country's rapid economic growth and consequent labour shortages³, its shift towards more immigrant-friendly immigration policies and the evolving situation in Ukraine and other former Soviet countries (Kaczmarczyk 2015).

For many of the countries, including Finland, France, Germany and Romania, family migration represents the largest inflow of non-EU nationals, followed by migration for studying purposes.

With the exception of France, Ireland and Spain, all countries received more male immigrants than female in 2016.

3 To a significant degree caused by the country's own experience with large emigration over the past several decades (see section 3.3).

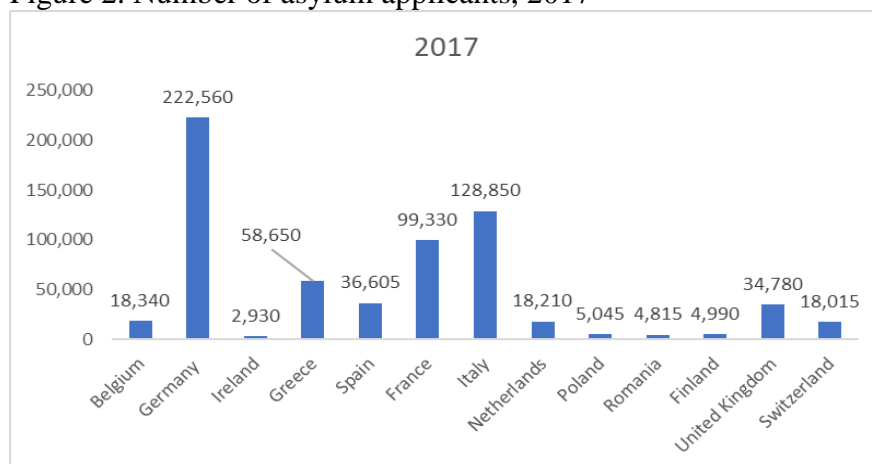
3.2 Refuge and asylum

The 13 countries exhibit significant variation in terms of their experience with refuge and asylum and in the volume of applications they receive.

Until relatively recently – late 1990s – Poland and Romania were themselves major sources of asylum seekers, with a considerable number of Poles applying for asylum in Western Europe and an estimated 350 thousand Romanians applying in Hungary, Western Europe, the US and Canada between 1990-1994 alone (Horvath and Anghel 2009). Both countries stopped being sources of asylum seekers once they started the process of adherence to the EU. This process implied the creation of an asylum system in line with EU standards and the 1951 Refugee Convention, which both countries ratified in 1991.

There is great variation in terms of the number of asylum requests that the 13 countries receive, with as low as 2.9 thousand applicants in Ireland and as high as 222.6 thousand applicants in Germany (figure 2). Much of this variation can be attributed to a country's geographical location and its (economic) attractiveness.

Figure 2. Number of asylum applicants, 2017



Source: Eurostat 2018

Geographic location can act as a deterrent of or as a contributor to asylum inflows. For instance, due to its peripheral position, Ireland has received a relatively low number of asylum applications (2.9 thousand). On the other hand, as a peninsula in the middle of the Mediterranean, Italy represents a transit area for immigrants who intend to move onward towards countries like Germany or Sweden, where they can find employment or reunite with family members (Scotto 2017). Between 2015-2016 alone, the country registered 335 thousand arrivals via the Mediterranean (idem). Greece and Romania, as entry countries into the EU, are in similar situations, although of different magnitudes.

The vast discrepancy in terms of the volume of applicants can also be attributed to a country's (economic) attractiveness. Germany has been the main destination country for many of the asylum seekers reaching Europe since 2013, regardless of whether they entered through Italy, Greece or Romania, largely because of the assumption that it presents better economic prospects and more opportunities for upward mobility than other countries.

The migration experiences of the 13 countries – and the EU more broadly – are interconnected and this is even more visible in the area of refuge and asylum. For instance, because several countries have reintroduced border controls to deter the arrival of asylum seekers (see Bender 2018), many asylum seekers have started to apply for asylum in Italy and Greece instead. Formerly mere countries of arrival and transit towards more attractive countries of destination like Germany or the Netherlands, Italy and Greece have now experienced a sharp increase in applications, which puts even more pressure on an already fragile system (Greece registered an increase in applicants from 9.4 thousand in 2015 to 58.6 thousand in 2017, and Italy from 83.5 thousand in 2015 to 128.8 thousand in 2017).

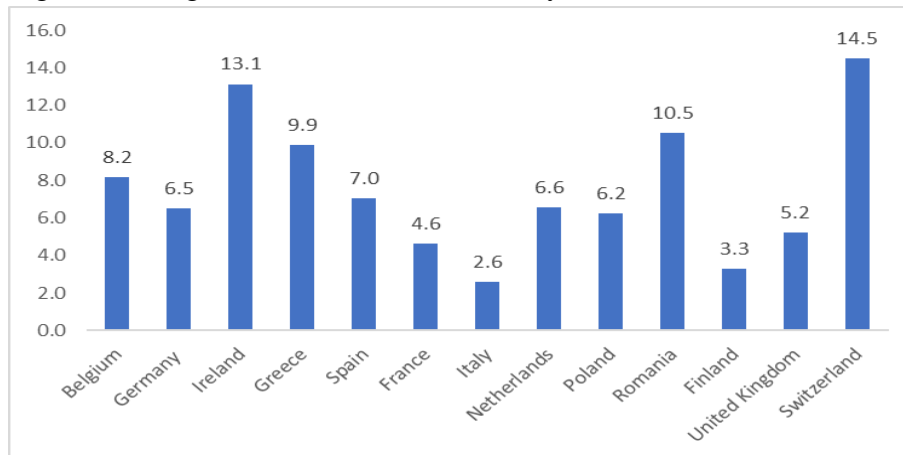
Last but not least, there is some variation in terms of countries of origin for asylum applicants. While Syrian and Iraqi nationals represented the largest applicant groups for Germany, Ireland, Belgium, Greece, Switzerland, Romania, Finland and Ireland in 2017, other countries experienced significant inflows from countries with which they share historical ties. Specifically, a third of all applicants in Spain were from Venezuela, almost ten percent of all applicants in the Netherlands and 20 percent in Switzerland were from Eritrea, and almost 70 percent of all applicants in Poland were from Russia. Nigerian and Bangladeshi nationals represented the largest applicant group in Italy, while a significant number of Albanian nationals applied for asylum in France and Ireland.

3.3 Emigration

The 13 countries have significantly different experiences with emigration both presently and in historical terms. In absolute numbers, in 2016, France, Germany, Romania and Poland experienced the largest emigration of their countries' nationals, with 260.3 thousand, 225.3 thousand, 206.8 thousand and 196.4 thousand emigrants, respectively (Eurostat 2018b). Of these, however, only Poland and Romania are net emigrant countries, with an estimated 7 and 17 percent respectively of their population residing abroad in 2016 (Mediafax 2018; Statistics Poland 2017).

The picture changes slightly if we consider the emigration rate (based on the total population) of each country for the same year (figure 3). In this case, Switzerland and Ireland register the highest outflow of population, in relative terms, followed closely by Romania and Greece. France, Germany and even Poland present significantly lower levels of outflows relative to the total population.

Figure 3. Emigration rates for each country, 2016



Source: Eurostat

Figure 5. Example of map of main destination countries for Romanian migrants, 2016



Source of data: Eurostat.

Editing: Geodienst, University of Groningen (rug.nl/geo)

Germany and the UK are two of the most popular destinations, appearing in the top 5 of all 11 countries analysed. Figure 5 presents an example of a map with the ten most important

destinations for Romanian migrants, the most significant in 2016 being the UK⁴. Other specific destination countries included Ecuador for Spain, Netherlands for Belgium, Sweden for Finland or Australia for the UK.

With the exception of Romania and Finland, for all other countries more males emigrate than females. In the case of Romania, the feminization of emigration can be explained by the nature of the jobs they usually perform in the countries of destination, i.e. caregivers and services, particularly in Italy in Spain.

The 2008 financial and economic crisis had a significant effect on emigration patterns for some of the 13 countries, where emigration flows surpassed immigration flows for the first time in over two decades. In Spain, an estimated 400 thousand persons left Spain every year between 2009 and 2014, compared to around 50 thousand between 2002 and 2005 (Campos 2016), while in Greece, an estimated 718 thousand people emigrated between 2010-2016 (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2017). Other countries too, experienced increased emigration rates over the same time period, including Belgium, Germany, France, Ireland, Italy. A closer look, however, reveals that many of the persons emigrating from the latter countries were foreigners leaving because of a lack of job opportunities caused by the recession and less so nationals.

3.4 Internal migration

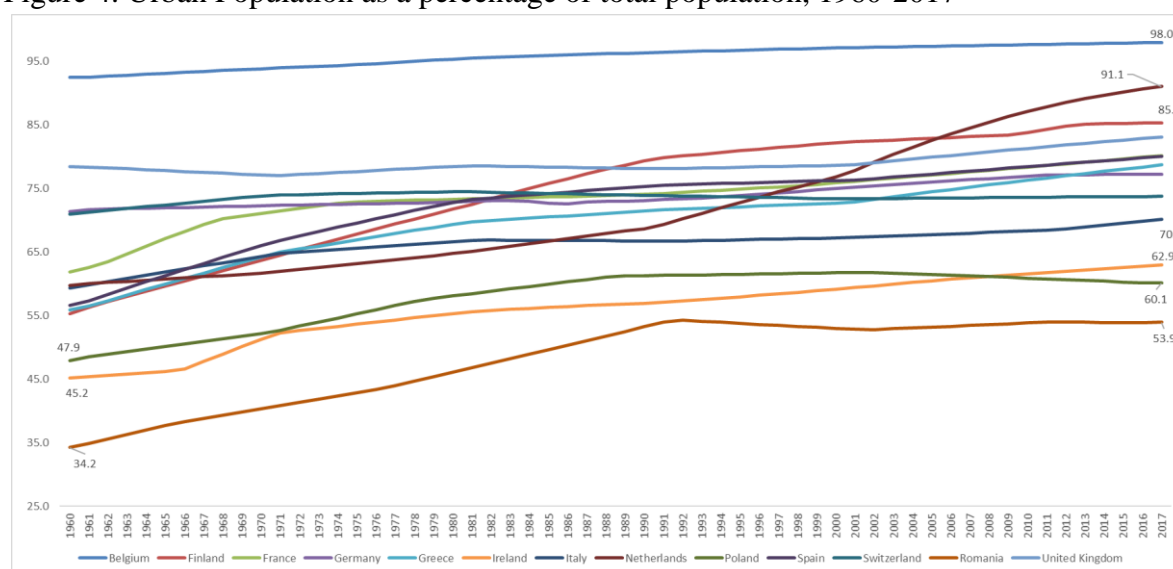
All 13 countries experience internal migratory movements to various degrees. Oftentimes, countries present specific patterns of internal migration which reflect historic economic inequalities between sending and receiving regions and can contribute to exacerbating them.

Most of the 13 countries have gone through a significant process of urbanization in the past half a century (figure 4). Between the 1960 and 1990, most internal migration in Romania was rural-urban, trend reflected in the sharp increase in the share of the country's urban population, from 34 percent in 1960 to 53 percent in 1990. The process of urbanization has stagnated since then, with Romania now displaying the lowest share of urban population of all countries analysed. A similar pattern can be observed in Poland and Ireland, where almost two thirds of the population now lives in urban settings.

⁴ Maps with the largest immigration and emigration flows for each country are included in the individual country reports in Annex 1.

By far the steepest increases in urbanization, however, are noticed in the Netherlands and Finland, with over 30 percentage points since 1960. In the case of Finland, this shift was the result of post-war changes in the structure of the Finnish economy and its transformation from a farming, forestry and fishing-based economy to a manufacture and services-based economy (Kupiszewski, Heikkila, and Nieminen 2000). This transformation brought along a major transfer of population from the north and east to the south, and to a lesser extent, west of the country (*idem.*).

Figure 4. Urban Population as a percentage of total population, 1960-2017



Source: World Bank 2018

A notable feature of internal migration in the 13 countries is the concentration of population in a few dominant, often urban, centres. Randstad in the Netherlands, Helsinki and Turku in Finland, Athens and Thessaloniki in Greece, London in the UK, Milan, Turin and Rome in Italy, Bucharest in Romania, the “Big Five”⁵ in Poland are just a few of the urban centres, while Flanders in Belgium and Bavaria in Germany are examples of regional centres. International migration has oftentimes contributed to exacerbating such focalizing trends, as immigrants themselves tend to settle in and around large metropolitan areas where there are more employment options and often higher salaries. For instance, the immigration flows that Spain experience in the early 2000s significantly increased the already existing patterns of rural to urban, peripheral to central mobility within the country. It is estimated that between 2002 and 2007, internal migration increased by 25 percent (Hierro, Maza, and Villaverde 2014).

⁵ The cities of Warsaw, Gdansk, Poznan, Wrocław and Krakow.

3.5 Irregular migration

Irregularity can refer to instances in which non-EU citizens are apprehended clandestinely crossing the border (either by avoiding border control or by using fake documents), have been denied requests for asylum, have overstayed their visa or residence permit, have an irregular type of employment, or in which EU citizens who have been barred from entering a Member State are found in the country nevertheless.

Irregular migration is difficult to measure, not only because of its clandestine nature, but also because individuals can go in and out of irregularity as laws and policies change (Migration Data Portal 2018). A persons' status can be subject to frequent change, depending on legislation that regulates the entry, stay, residence and right to work of foreigners (Ardittis and Laczko 2017). Estimates of irregular stocks and flows are usually obtained from administrative sources related to the enforcement of immigration legislation (e.g. apprehensions at the border, applications for regularization programmes, employer sanctions), which are more a reflection of the policies and practices of immigration control rather than of the reality of the phenomenon (*idem.*).

There is significant variation with regards to each country's experience with irregular migration and the size of irregular migrant stocks. For instance, due to its geographical location, Ireland has experienced relatively little irregular migration. The Migrant Right Centre⁶ Ireland estimates that between 20 and 26 thousand irregular migrants were living and working Ireland in 2017. Many irregular migrants in Ireland are persons who have entered the country legally but have overstayed their visa or work permit, and asylum applicants whose application has been rejected and who have not been deported (McCormack 2017). On the other hand, an estimated 180 to 520 thousand third country nationals were residing irregularly in Germany in 2014 (Grote 2015).

There are similar differences with regards to irregular flows. While France registered an estimated 85.4 thousand non-admissions of foreigners in an irregular situation at the country's borders in 2017 (EMN 2018), Spain apprehended 22.9 thousand persons who reached Spain from Morocco or Algeria in the same year (Reuters 2018).

Given the significant influx of asylum seekers in recent years, it is not surprising that for many countries the largest origin countries for irregular migration are Syria, Afghanistan or Eritrea. The number of irregular migrants in many asylum-receiving countries will likely increase in the near future, as the number of negative decisions on asylum will become final

⁶ Migrant Rights Centre Ireland. See <https://www.mrci.ie/our-work/justice-for-undocumented/>

and non-appealable. Other origin groups include Albanians in Greece, Nigerians in Germany and Turks in the Netherlands.

4. Migration and inequality – insights from the report

Migration, both internal and international, has been throughout history a strong indicator of inequality, either in terms of income, opportunities for upward mobility or lifestyles. Millions of workers and their families move each year across internal and international borders, hoping to diminish [what they perceive as] the gap between their own position and that of people in other places (Black, Natali, and Skinner 2006).

The same pattern of inequality-induced migration could be observed in the 13 countries for the past half a century. Countries with a booming economy and great demand for labour, particularly after WWII, like Germany, Netherlands, France, UK or Belgium became attractive destinations for migrants from countries with high unemployment rates, low wage levels and stagnating economies like Italy, Spain and Greece or Ireland (Fassmann and Munz 1992). These pull forces triggered a South-North migration system that continued until the early 1970s. Finland too experienced significant emigration, mostly to neighbouring Sweden. Emigration to Sweden was economically driven, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, with most emigrants seeking jobs to earn a basic livelihood, and the country experiencing high unemployment rates (Korkiasaari and Söderling 2003).

During this period, migration positively affected both sending and receiving countries in terms of economic outcomes. For the receiving countries, migration provided an important labour source to sustain their booming growth, while for sending countries it contributed to growth through remittances. In the Mediterranean countries, including Italy, Greece and Spain, emigration helped to alleviate some of the pressures on the labour market, as the region was characterized by low productivity and income, and high unemployment (Page Moch 2003).

Inequality continues to be a strong motivator for migration to this day. The vast majority of Polish nationals that emigrate or consider emigration, seek better pay and working conditions (Brandt 2016). Emigration from Romania is strongly motivated by existing disparities in economic development between the country and receiving destinations. The current minimum wage in Romania is about EUR 407⁷ compared to 735 EUR in Spain, 1,594 EUR in the

⁷ 1,900 Romanian Lei.

Netherlands or 1,414⁸ EUR in Germany (Wage Indicator 2018). Moreover, while South-North patterns of migration are still strong, new patterns have emerged, from East-West (Poland to UK) to East-South (Romania to Italy)

Inequality is a push factor for internal migration too. Internal migration in Switzerland is caused by regional inequalities in employment and income (including the tax burden), housing, technical infrastructure and social networks (Federal Office of Statistics 2015). In Spain, employment opportunities and the high urban-rural income inequalities triggered the movement of people from poorer regions to the richer Madrid, Catalonia and the Basque Country (Melguizo and Royuela 2017). The same disparities are reflected in Italy's internal South-North movement, from the islands to the richer Milan, Turin and Genoa (Scotto 2017). In Romania, internal migration reflects existing regional and rural-urban inequalities in economic development. The sending regions are predominantly rural, with a high share of the agricultural sector, a relatively high poverty rate, low infrastructure development and a low level of GDP per capita compared to the country average (Alexe et al. 2012).

Inequality, however, does not only generate migration, but is also affected by it. In Italy, the South-North internal flows caused significant change in the country, from the rise of overpopulated metropolitan areas in Turin, Rome, and Milan and the depopulation of rural areas in the South, to increasing regional inequality (Scotto 2017). In Romania, 10 counties (out of 42) receive the largest share of internal migration, concentrating almost half of the country's population. In addition to experiencing demographic growth, these counties register the highest economic growth too, leading to increased socio-economic inequality between the different regions, which in turn triggers more internal migration and emigration (Alexe et al. 2012). In Poland, net emigration rates remain remarkably high in regions with a large rural population share and low average income per capita (Okólski and Topińska 2012). This has created net sending regions, outflows of which then tend to concentrate in a relatively small number of destinations, exhibiting a high level of urbanization and significantly higher economic growth (idem). Lastly, most immigrants tend to choose major urbanized areas, where they have better opportunities for employment and relatively higher salaries, like London in the UK, Bucharest in Romania, Randstad in the Netherlands, Milan and Turin in Italy. The extra labour force contributes to increased productivity and thus increased economic growth, which further exacerbates existing economic inequalities between regions. This, in turn, triggers more out

⁸ 8.84 EUR per hour (computed as 4 weeksX40 hours per week)

migration, whether internal or international, creating a cycle of inequality-migration-inequality-migration.

5. Notes on data

We cannot discuss migration trends and patterns in any context, without addressing the issue of data availability and quality.

For consistency purposes, most of the information on flows – in and out – has been derived from the Eurostat database, considering the country of birth. Some countries do not have available data on immigration flows by country of origin – see Greece, Germany, Ireland, Spain, or by country of destination – see Ireland, Germany, France, Greece, Romania.

The migration data in some countries reflects all arrivals and departures, while in other countries it only reflects those persons who have registered or deregistered as permanent residents. The latter is particularly the case of Poland, where immigrants are defined as persons who had arrived from abroad and have been registered as permanent residents, while emigrants are defined as persons who have moved abroad with an intention to settle and delist themselves from their place of permanent residence (Kaczmarczyk 2015). It is also the case of Romania, where internal migration only reflects those who have registered formally. Therefore, in many cases, the official data likely underestimates the actual size of the flows.

6. Conclusion

This report has provided a synthesis of the main migration trends and patterns in 13 European countries, covering the period between the late 1950s until the present day. It has showed how the nature and geographies of migration have changed in the post-war period, with intra-EU mobility becoming one of the most important migration flows for many countries.

The sub-sections on immigration and emigration revealed how some countries' experience with in/out-flows has been influenced by their history of colonization or the guest worker programs, how other flows reflect ongoing conflict on sending countries, and how generally all flows reflect deep existing economic inequalities. They also pointed to the dynamism of the migration process itself; a country's position on the migration axis changes in time, as former countries of emigration become countries of immigration (Spain or Ireland), or as current countries of emigration are increasingly receiving immigrant flows (Poland). Equally important, depopulated rural regions in Poland are repopulated with immigrants from Ukraine, while depopulated regions in Spain are repopulated with immigrants from Romania. There

exists thus a cyclicity to migration and a dynamism that can only be observed if one takes into account different forms and directions of patterns and multiple sources and destinations.

The sub-section on refuge and asylum highlighted how some countries (Romania and Poland) have transitioned from sources to receivers of asylum seekers in recent history. It also emphasised the spillover effect of the interconnectedness between countries concerning migration flows, specifically, how restrictive measures in one country can increase inflows to another. A case in point is Italy, which has received an increasing number of asylum applications in the wake of stringent border measures in other receiving countries.

The subsection on internal mobility discussed the major process of urbanization that most of the countries have underwent in the past five decades and noted a growing trend of urban/regional concentration of population and economic development. Examples include Randstad in the Netherlands, Helsinki and Turku in Finland, Athens and Thessaloniki in Greece, London in the UK, Milan, Turin and Rome in Italy, Bucharest in Romania, or the “Big Five”⁹ in Poland.

The subsection on irregular migration noted the difficulty in measuring this phenomenon which by its very nature is rather clandestine and showed the different experiences the 13 countries have had with irregular migrants.

One of the most important contributions of the report is the discussion on the nexus between inequality and migration, in section 4. Migration to and from the 13 countries has been intrinsically linked to inequality in terms of wages, opportunities and lifestyles in sending and receiving countries. This is evident in migration patterns from the 1950s and is evident in current and emerging patterns. It is relevant for both international as well as internal migration. Lastly, migration can be triggered by inequality, but it can also contribute to reducing or perpetuate it. It seems intuitive to conclude that as long as there will be significant inequalities between regions and countries, migration will likely continue.

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Subtasks 5.1a and 5.1b - Country fiches and maps

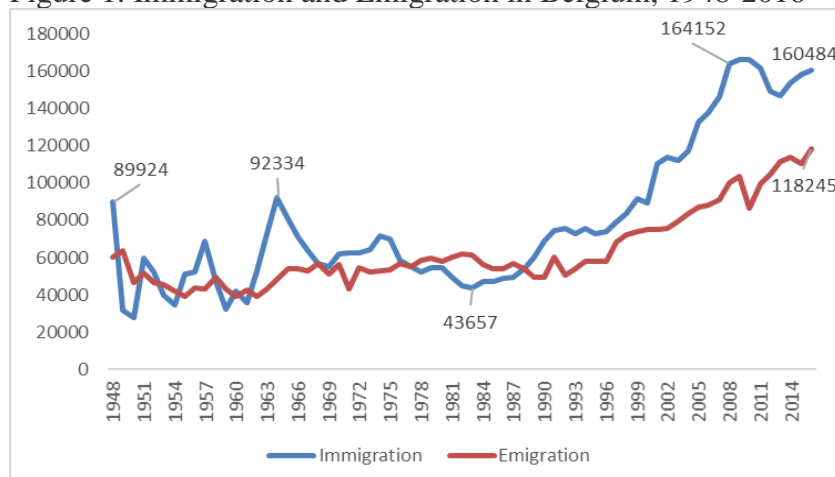
1. Belgium

Historical patterns of migration

For the past several decades, Belgium has been primarily a country of immigration. Its immigration path began in the late 1950s, when, due to post-war economic growth, the country experienced labour shortages and turned to guest worker programs to fill them. Belgium signed bilateral agreements with Southern European (Italy, Portugal) and Northern African countries (Morocco), and with Turkey. By the end of the 1960s, rising unemployment and a recession determined the government to implement stricter immigration policies. In 1974, in a similar fashion to other guest-worker receiving countries throughout Europe, Belgium officially concluded the guest-worker programs. This measure did not completely stop immigration, which continued through family reunification and family formation, alongside an increased volume of asylum applications.

Concomitantly, since the 1950s, Belgium has been one of the main countries hosting the institutions of the EU, which has triggered a significant stream of EU immigration. Currently, EU nationals represent more than half of the total immigrant population in the country.

Figure 1. Immigration and Emigration in Belgium, 1948-2016



Source: Statistics Belgium

Current patterns of migration

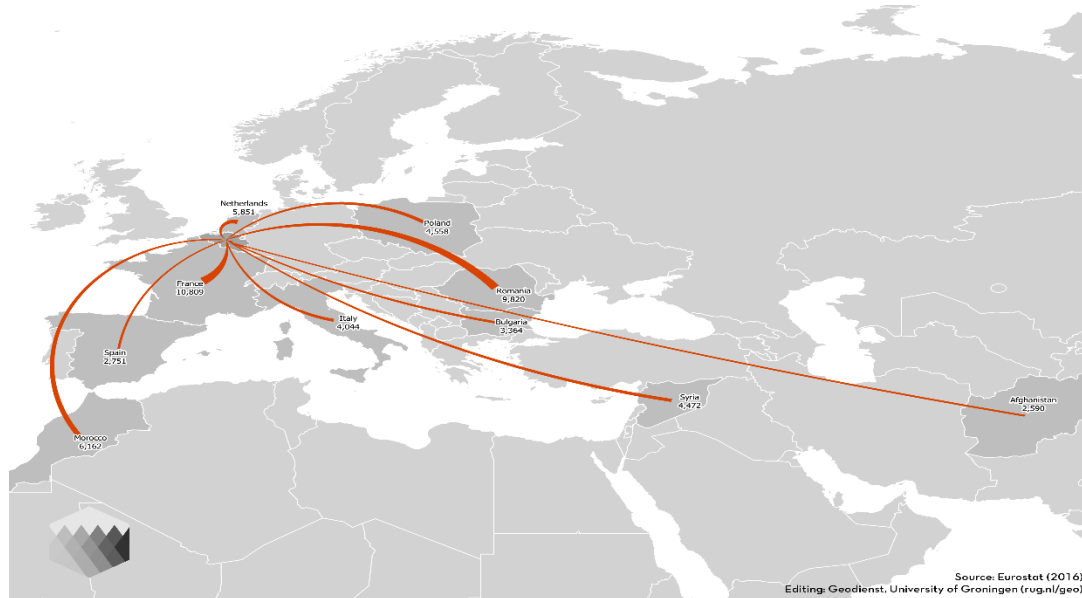
Immigration

As of January 1st, 2018, Belgium had a population of 11.4 million, a 0.5 increase over 2017 (54 thousand persons). An estimated 83 percent of this increase was due to a positive net migration of 44.5 thousand persons. Immigrants represented an estimated 12 percent of the country's population, most of them (42 percent) residing in the Flemish region. The top 5 immigrant groups residing in Belgium in 2016 were nationals of Morocco, France, Netherlands, Italy and Turkey.

The number of persons immigrating to Belgium in 2017 was 163.9 thousand persons, a 2.1 percent increase over 2016. Most immigrants originated from France (8.7 percent in 2016), Romania (7.9 percent), Netherlands (4.7 percent), Morocco (5.0 percent) and Poland (4.7 percent) (figure 2). There were significant differences in terms of immigration between the

three regions, with Flanders registering 58.1 thousand immigrants (and a positive net migration of 27.9 thousand persons), Wallonia registering 27.6 thousand immigrants (and a positive net migration of 9.3 thousand) and the Brussels-Capital receiving 42.4 thousand immigrants.

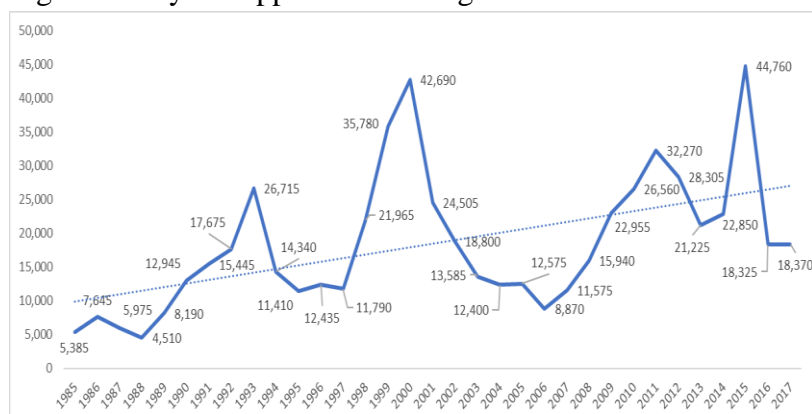
Figure 2. Main countries of immigration to Belgium, 2016



Refuge and Asylum

Although fluctuating considerably, the number of asylum seekers to Belgium presents an upward trend over the past three decades (figure 3). There were several notable peaks in the volume of applications throughout this period. The first peak is registered in the early 1990s, likely a result of an increase in applications from former Yugoslavia, followed by the late 1990s-early 2000s, and early 2010s. The last peak is noted in 2015-16, likely due to the escalating conflict in Syria.

Figure 3. Asylum applicants to Belgium between 1985-2017



Source: Eurostat

In 2017, a total of 18.4 thousand applications were lodged in Belgium, a slight decrease from the 18.7 thousand in 2016, and more than half the level reached in 2015, of 44.8 thousand applications. The decrease can be attributed to a decline in the number of application lodged by Afghan, Syrian and Iraqi nationals. While in 2015, they represented 63 percent of total

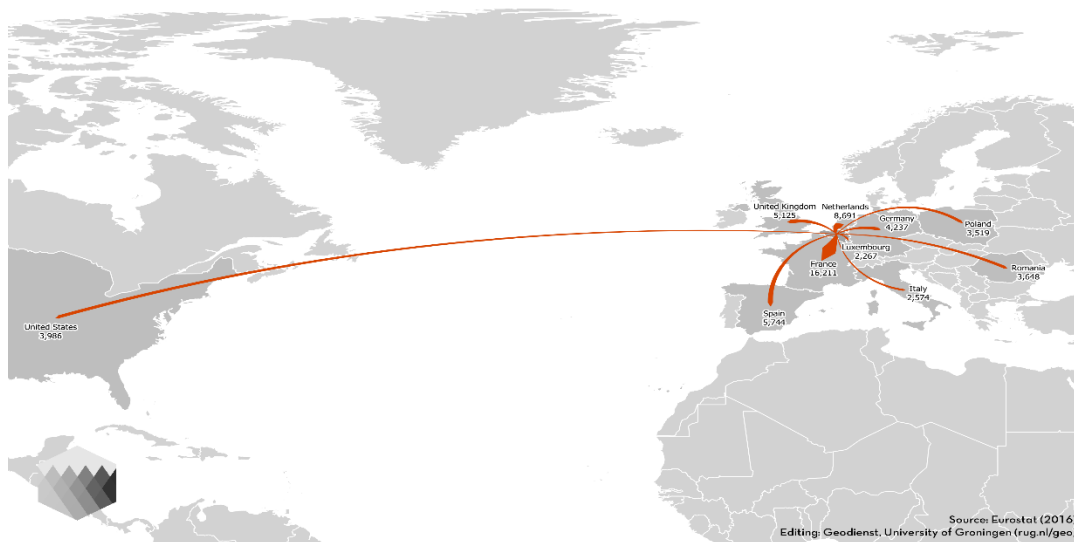
applications, in 2017 they represented a total 31 percent. Most applicants originated from Syria (15 percent), Afghanistan (9 percent), Iraq (7 percent), Guinea and Palestine (5 percent each). Other countries included Albania, Russia and Eritrea.

Emigration

Although Belgium has been experiencing a positive net migration over the past three decades, the emigration rate has been increasing substantially over the same period. In 2017, an estimated 119.4 thousand persons emigrated from Belgium, a 1 percent increase over 2016. Of these, an estimated 30 percent were persons born in Belgium, followed by France and the Netherlands.

In 2016, most emigrants headed for France (18 percent), the Netherlands (9 percent), Spain (6 percent), the UK (5.5 percent) and Germany (5 percent) (figure 4).

Figure 4. Main countries of emigration, 2016



Internal migration

There are significant differences in terms of migration and economic development between the three regions in Belgium, Flanders, Wallonia and Brussels-Capital.

In 2017, the population of the Flemish region increased by 36.9 thousand persons, while the population of the Walloon and the Brussels-Capital regions increased by 9.9 and 7.2 thousand persons respectively. The Flemish region had a positive net internal migration balance of 11.5 thousand persons, the balance in the Walloon region was a positive 2.8 thousand, while the region of Brussels-Capital registered a net internal migration balance of minus 14.3 thousand persons, a negative trend continuing since 2011.

At the province level, the province of Flemish Brabant registered the fastest growing population rate of 0.8 percent, while Antwerp and East Flanders registered a 0.6 percent growth rate. The population of the City of Brussels registered a population growth rate of 1.5 percent.

Irregular migration

Irregular migration can be represented by the misuse of legal migration channels, like applying for asylum. The number of asylum applications from visa free countries in the Western Balkans, although lower than in 2015, continued to be significant for some countries such as Albania. In some of these countries the decrease was rather small (for Albania, from 827 to 817 applications, for Bosnia and Herzegovina from 58 to 56), while for others it was rather substantial (for Macedonia from 335 to 165, and for Serbia from 374 to 203 applications).

In 2016, 694 persons with false or falsified travel documents were apprehended at the Belgian borders and 154 false or falsified identity documents were detected during registration procedures at municipalities.

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2. Finland

Historical patterns of migration

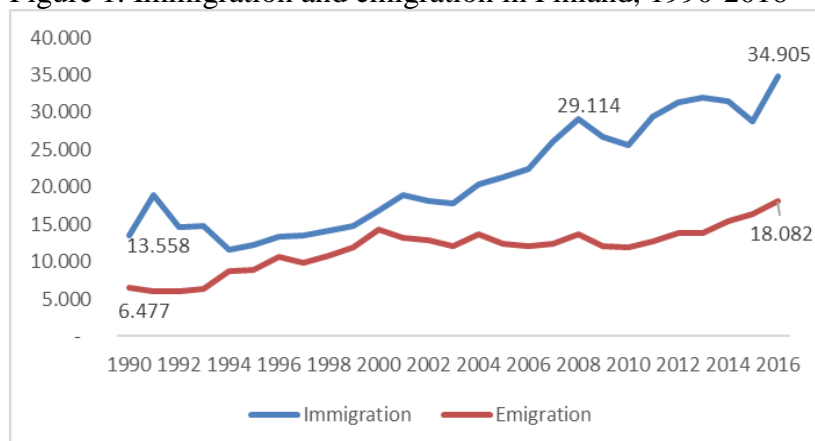
Historically, Finland has been a country of emigration, with more than 1.2 million Finnish nationals emigrating between 1860-1999. Before World War II, most emigrated to North America, while after the war, the majority emigrated to neighbouring Sweden. Emigration to Sweden - and formerly to North America – was most clearly economically driven, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, since most emigrants were seeking jobs to earn a basic livelihood. Unemployment in Finland and better salaries in Sweden were the main reasons for emigration.

The net migration rate became positive in the 1980s, when, due to the country's economic development, emigration decreased and return migration increased significantly. Return migrations, mostly from Sweden, constituted 85 percent of the immigration flows during that period. Partly motivated by international developments – the fall of the Iron Curtain, civil war in former Yugoslavia, conflicts in Africa and Asia – and partly by domestic developments – labour shortages and economic development -, immigration of non-Finnish nationals grew significantly from the 1990s onwards.

Since then, inflows have steadily increased, making Finland a country of net immigration for the past 30 years (figure 1).

The situation is not expected to change in the medium to long term future. Statistics Finland estimates that by 2040, the country's population will reach 5.8 million, a 0.3 million increase over June 2018. With an expected natural increase of -10.9 thousand individuals over the same period, most of the projected growth will be due to immigration.

Figure 1. Immigration and emigration in Finland, 1990-2016



Source: Statistics Finland

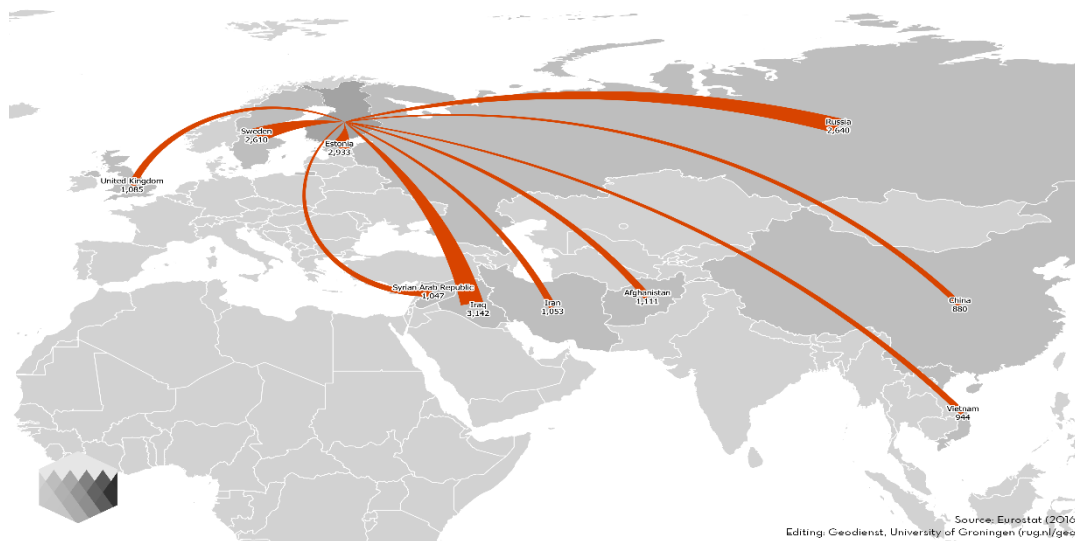
Current migration patterns

Immigration

At the end of June 2018, Finland's population was estimated at 5.5 million, 3 thousand persons more than in the same period in 2017. With a negative natural increase (3.7 thousand more deaths than births), the population growth was exclusively driven by immigration. A total of 13.7 thousand persons immigrated to Finland in the first half of 2018, 4 thousand of them being Finnish nationals.

More detailed statistics on immigration refer to the year 2016. Then, Finland received 34.9 thousand immigrants, of which 78 percent were individuals with a foreign background, born abroad, and 17 percent were individuals with a Finnish background, born in Finland. Of these 78 percent, most immigrants originated from Iraq (12 percent), Russia and Estonia (9 percent each), Afghanistan (7 percent) and Syria (6 percent) (figure 2). Most migrated to the region of Uusimaa (e.g. 73 percent of Estonians, 39 percent of Iraqis) and the municipalities of Helsinki (21 percent of total immigration in 2016), Espoo (10 percent) and Vantaa (7 percent).

Figure 2. Main countries of immigration, 2016



Based on the reason for application for a residence permit, we can distinguish between different types of migration, including labour and student migration, and family reunification.

In 2016, a total of 7.4 thousand first residence permit applications on the grounds of employment were filed, a 16 percent increase over the previous year. A residence permit on the grounds of employment entails eight different categories, including self-employment, senior expert, specialist (blue card), trainee, employee, scientific research, sports and coaching and other work. In 2016, the majority of the applicants for employment-based residence permits applied for a residence permit for an employed person (55 percent), followed by senior expert (14 percent) and scientific research (8 percent). The highest number of employment-based residence permits were granted to Ukrainian nationals, the majority of whom were issued a residence permit for an employed person. Ukrainian nationals come to Finland primarily to work in the agriculture, horticulture and construction sectors and many of them are seasonal workers. The second largest group granted employment-based residence permits were Indian nationals, the majority of whom come to work as specialists in the IT sector. Almost 70 percent of the employment-based residence permits were granted to men.

The number of residence permits granted for family ties was 8.2 thousand in the same year. The largest groups were Russian nationals (1.4 thousand), Indian nationals (565) and Iraqi nationals (557). An estimated 59 percent of residence permits based on family ties were granted to women and 41 percent to men.

The number of residence permits issued for students totalled 6.3 thousand in 2016, an 8 percent increase over the previous year. The three largest groups were represented by Chinese, Russian and Vietnamese nationals.

Asylum applications

Between 2000–2007, the number of asylum seekers in Finland was relatively stable at around 4 thousand per year. During this period, applicants originated from former Yugoslavia, and Romania, Bulgaria and Slovakia until the countries adhered to the European Union. A sudden increase in asylum applications from Somali and Iraqi nationals in 2008-2009 increased the total number of applications, up to 6 thousand, however, by 2010, the number of asylum seekers returned to the previous levels of around 4 thousand.

Like many EU countries, Finland experienced a significant increase in asylum applications in the past 3-4 years. The peak was reached in 2015, when 32.3 thousand individuals applied for asylum, an almost ninefold increase over the year 2014. The majority (63 percent), were Iraqi nationals. Other major countries of origin included Afghanistan, Somalia, Syria and Albania. Almost half of the asylum seekers in 2015 arrived from Northern Sweden through the border crossing point between Haparanda and Tornio.

That number of applications has slowly decreased since, reaching 5 thousand in 2017. Of these, 29 percent were lodged by Iraqi nationals, 15 percent by Syrian nationals, 9 percent by Eritrean nationals and 8 percent by Afghan nationals.

Emigration

Altogether, 6.8 thousand persons have emigrated from Finland during the first half of 2018, 4.4 thousand of which were Finnish citizens.

More detailed statistics on emigration refer to the year 2016. Then, 18.1 thousand individuals emigrated from Finland, 8.8 thousand of which were Finnish nationals. Of the latter, 15 percent had a basic education, 41 percent had an upper secondary education and 19 percent a Bachelor's degree. Many Finnish nationals emigrated to Sweden (26 percent), United Kingdom (11 percent), Germany and the United States (7 percent each) and Spain (5 percent) (figure 3). Most of the emigrants were between 25 and 34 years old (35 percent), and 18 to 24 (26 percent). More than half (56 percent) of all emigrants in 2016 were women.

Figure 3. Main countries of emigration, 2016



Estonians were the largest group of foreign citizens emigrating from Finland in 2016, their numbers growing constantly over the past few years (1.5 thousand in 2016 from 369 in 2010). The second largest group of people emigrating from Finland were people whose nationality is unknown, whose numbers increased significantly in 2015-2016 (1.3 thousand in 2016 from 26 in 2010). This is mostly explained by the fact that many asylum seekers have left the country voluntarily before receiving their decision on asylum and without informing officials about their departure.

Internal migration

For the past over half a century, Finland has experienced a massive relocation of its population from rural to urban areas. If in 1960, 55 percent of the country's population was living in urban areas, by 2017, their share increased to 85 percent. This movement was caused by post-war changes in the economy, resulting in a shift of jobs from agriculture to manufacturing and services. These internal migratory movements have resulted in depopulation in remote areas in the Eastern and Northern regions of the country.

During the first half of 2018, 57.9 thousand individuals migrated between regions in Finland. Regional patterns of migration show strong transfers of population from north and east to the south and to lesser extent to the west of the country. The regions of Uusimaa, where the capital Helsinki is located, Pirkanmaa, Päijät-Häme, Varsinais-Suomi and Åland registered the largest inflows. At the opposite end of the spectrum, the region of North Ostrobothnia registered the largest outflow in absolute numbers (789), while the region of Etelä-Savo registered the largest outflow in relative numbers, 4.1 persons per million of the population. The region of Uusimaa also registered the highest gain of population from intra-municipal and international migration, with over 8.9 thousand persons.

More detailed statistics on internal migration refer to the year 2016. Then, a total of 117.3 thousand individuals migrated between regions, with the regions of Uusimaa and Pirkanmaa being the most dynamic and experiencing both the largest inflows and outflows of persons. The majority of the internal migrants in 2016 had an upper secondary level of education (54 percent), 16 percent had a Bachelor's degree and 16 percent had a basic education. Most internal migrants are young, between 18-24 years old (42 percent) and between 25 and 34 years old (32 percent).

Irregular migration

The number of persons residing irregularly has traditionally been fairly low in Finland. According to the statistics from the Finnish National Bureau of Investigation, this number has been fairly constant, at around 3 thousand persons annually. In 2016, 2 thousand irregular migrants were found in Finland, significantly less than the over 14 thousand found in 2015. The latter figure was directly linked to the number of asylum seekers in the country, as statistics are based on cases recorded under categories of asylum investigation or violation of the Aliens Act. Thus, the figure included cases in which a person applies for asylum within the country without having a right of residence in Finland granted by, for instance, a valid visa. In addition to those who apply for asylum within the country, irregular migrant statistics include cases in which a third-country national is found to be intentionally residing in the country without a travel document, a visa or a residence permit, and cases in which EU citizens who have been prohibited from entering Finland are found in the country nonetheless.

The number of irregular migrants is expected to increase in the near future, as the negative decisions given to asylum seekers who arrived in Finland in 2015 will become final

and non-appealable. A rejected asylum seeker is ordered to leave the country, however, the Police cannot enforce all removals because some countries will not receive their own citizens. Moreover, if a person is unwilling to return voluntarily, it might not be possible for the Finnish authorities to return them in which case, the person remains in Finland without rights of residence.

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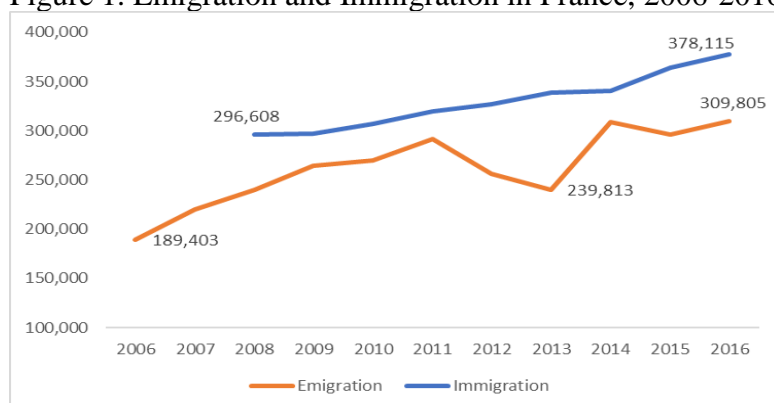
3. France

Historical patterns of migration

France has a long history of immigration. Immigration in France has been greatly influenced by the legacy of colonialism of earlier centuries as well as by the recruitment of foreign workers. Overall, the country has experienced a steady increase in immigration over the past decades.

The process of industrialization coupled with a decline in birth rates created a labour shortage in France, which was compensated by immigration throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. Thus, by the beginning of the 1930s, France was receiving the second largest number of immigrants, after the US. At the times, the immigrant population in France amounted to 2.7 million, the equivalent of 6.6 percent of the country's population. This number increased throughout the 1950s and the 1960s when France, experiencing a post-war economic boom, recruited guest-workers from Italy, Portugal, Spain, Belgium Germany, Poland and Russia. Active recruitment stopped in the 1970s, however immigration continued in the form of family reunification, which has since become the most important channel of immigration into France. By 2014, the share of immigrants in the total population represented 9.1 percent.

Figure 1. Emigration and Immigration in France, 2006-2016



Source: Eurostat

Current patterns of migration

Immigration

In 2016, a total of 378 thousand persons immigrated to France, a 3.7 percent increase over 2015. An estimated 25 percent of these were French nationals and 53 percent were third country nationals. The top five countries of immigration that year were Italy (3.3 percent of total immigration), Portugal and the UK (3.1 percent each), Spain (2.7 percent) and Romania (2.2 percent) (figure 2).

The number of residence permits granted in 2017 provides an insight into the main reasons for immigration into France. Out of a total of 262 thousand residence permits granted in 2017 (a 14 percent increase over 2016), 91 thousand were granted for family reunification, 88 thousand for studies, 40 thousand for humanitarian reasons, and 27 thousand for economic reasons. Residence permits granted on humanitarian grounds registered the highest growth over 2016, of 35 percent.

Figure 2. Main countries of immigration, 2016



A recent report, analysing immigration flows in France between 1968-2013, provides a glimpse into how immigration flows have changed over the 45 years. The period was marked by a diversification of the origin countries – although countries such as Italy, Spain, Portugal, Algeria, Morocco still represent the main countries of birth for immigrants, their share in the total immigrant groups has changed over time. Italian nationals accounted for almost 25 percent of all immigrants in 1968 but decreased to 5 percent by 2013. The same happened in the case of Spanish nationals, whose share decreased threefold between the 1960s and 2013. The share of Morocco nationals increased fourfold, from 3 percent in 1968 to 12 percent in 2013, while the share of Algerian nationals – which represented the largest immigrant group in 2013 – remained relatively stable over time (12 percent in 1968 and 13 percent in 2013).

Another trend observed over this period is a feminization of migration – while in 1968, immigration was predominantly male, because of the guest worker programs, by 2013 women represented 51 percent of all immigrants. Their numbers increased at first through family reunification channels, and more recently through work and study channels.

Refuge and Asylum

There have been a number of peaks in the history of asylum applications in France, most notably in 1989 (61.4 thousand applications from Turkey and Zaire), in 2003 (52 thousand applications) and 2017, which registered 99.3 thousand applications. Of the latter, 12 percent of which were lodged by nationals of Albania, 7 percent from Afghanistan, 6 percent from Haiti, and 5 percent each from Syria and Sudan.

There has been a concomitant rise in the number of positive decisions as well in recent years, from around 14 thousand in 2012, to more than 36 thousand in 2016. This increase is greatly due to a change in policy in 2003, which replaced territorial protection with subsidiary protection, a broadening of the criteria for admission, under which many groups qualify (e.g. Afghan, Iraqi and Syrian nationals, among others).

Emigration

In 2016, an estimated 309.8 persons emigrated from France, a 4.5 increase over 2015. Of these, 53 percent were male. The majority (66 percent) of the emigrants headed for non-EU countries, while 29 headed for EU countries. Emigrants tended to be young persons between 15-29 years of age (72 percent of all persons emigrating in 2016).

Figure 3. Main countries of emigration, 2016



Internal migration

Net internal migration rates reflect the attractiveness of the South and West, even though the Mediterranean coastline is starting to experience a decline.

Between 2010 and 2015, the population living in France (excluding Mayotte) increased by 0.5 percent, 0.4 percent being due to natural increase, and 0.1 percent due to net migration. These growth rates are similar to those registered between 1990 and 2010.

North-eastern France and Paris registered negative net migration rates, while the South and West registered positive net migration rates. Migration contributed to population growth (more than 1 percent per year during this period) in Corsica, Hérault, Gironde, Landes and Pyrénées-Orientales.

The annual growth rate of the population due to migration has decreased in 38 departments in recent years between the periods 1990-2010 and 2010-2015, while for regions located south of the Loire, the surplus migration is insufficient to offset the negative natural increase of an aging demographic structure.

Irregular migration

Irregular migration in France has increased substantially in recent years, a result of increased irregular apprehensions of third country nationals in an irregular situation or who are refused entry at the borders, a substantial growth in denied requests for asylum, and a decrease in cooperation with third countries in terms of return. Moreover, over the past few years since

the 2010 visa liberalisation for western Balkan countries, there has been an increase of irregular immigration from these countries, despite apparent compliance with the liberalisation criteria.

In addition, in the context of re-introducing internal border controls, non-admissions of foreigners in an irregular situation recorded at the country's borders increased significantly, to 85.4 thousand in 2017 compared to 63.7 thousand in 2016, a 34 percent increase.

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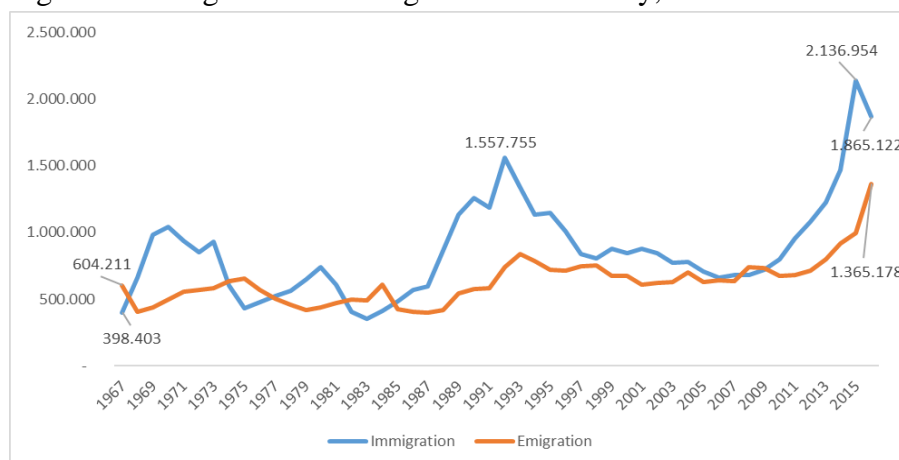
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4. Germany

Historical patterns of migration

Germany has become a country of immigration over the past half a century, although it has historically registered significant emigration flows as well. An estimated 6 million persons emigrated from the country between 1820 and 1920, most of whom headed for the US. Economic development, particularly in the wake of the second World War, brought about a shortage of labour and the beginning of significant immigration flows in the country. On a long-term average, net migration ranged between 142 thousand persons per year before the German reunification and 186 thousand persons per year in the entire period between 1954 and 2013. These average values are shaped by several waves of immigration, such as the recruitment of guest workers in the 1950s and 1960s, subsequent immigration for family reunification in the 1980s, and the significantly high level of immigration from the states of the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in the 1990s (see figure 1). However, there were also periods of negative net migration in between, such as in the mid-1970s and 1980s, and periods where the migration situation was calmer, such as between 2004 and 2009 when net migration was significantly below 100 thousand persons. Currently, Germany is once again experiencing a marked increase in net migration from 279 thousand in 2011 to 500 thousand in 2016. This is the result of the free movement of workers in the EU and the inflow of asylum seekers from conflict-afflicted regions.

Figure 1. Immigration and emigration in Germany, 1967-2016



Source: Destatis

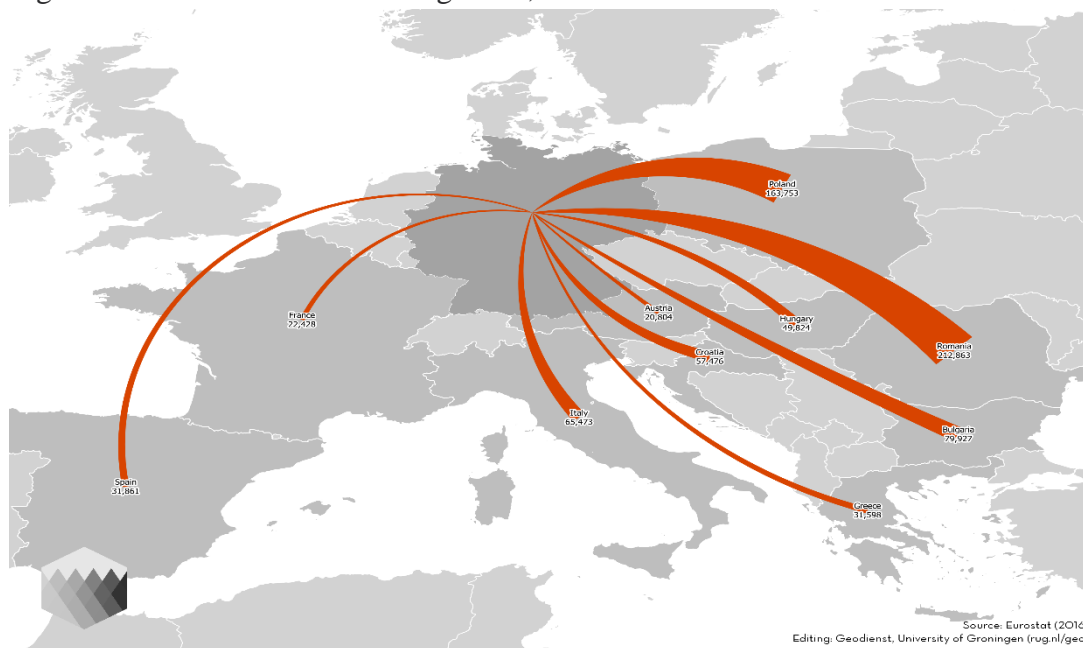
Immigration to Germany, and a positive net migration rate, is not foreseen to decrease in the medium to long term future. The current high immigration trend, however, will have only a limited effect on the long-term population trends. High net immigration can only slow the pace and lessen the extent of population ageing. Depending on the level of immigration, the country's population in 2060 will range between 67.6 million (continued trend based on lower immigration levels) and 73.1 million (continued trend based on higher immigration levels). The population will decline over the long term because the number of deaths will increasingly exceed the number of births and net immigration (defined as the positive difference between immigration into and emigration from Germany) cannot close this gap on a lasting basis.

Current patterns of migration

Immigration

In 2017, Germany registered 1.55 million arrivals¹⁰, a 27 percent decrease over the peak value registered in 2015. Of these, 11 percent were German nationals and almost 39 percent were women. The peak of arrivals was registered in the month of September, when 160 thousand persons entered the country. Most arrivals originated from Europe (56 percent in 2016), followed by Asia (25 percent in 2016). At the EU level, most arrivals originated from Romania (25 percent of all EU arrivals), Poland (19 percent), Bulgaria (9 percent) and Italy (8 percent) (figure 2).

Figure 2. Main countries of immigration, 2016



For third country nationals, the EU Blue Card has become an instrument of immigration increasingly in demand. In 2017, Germany issued a total of 21.7 thousand EU Blue Cards, a 25 percent increase over 2016. Of these, 24 percent were issued to Indian nationals, 10 percent to Chinese nationals, 6 percent to Russian nationals, 5 percent to Turkish nationals and 4 percent to Ukrainian nationals. Overall, a total of 76.8 thousand Blue Cards have been issued in Germany between the introduction of the instrument in August 2012 and the end of 2017. Germany remains the EU country issuing the largest number of Blue Cards, 84 percent of the total Blue Cards issued in the EU in 2016.

Still for third country nationals, in 2017, a total of 117.9 thousand visas were granted for family reunification, 14.1 thousand more than in 2016. Children below the age of 18 were the largest group of persons who applied for entry for family reunification purposes (37 percent in 2017), the second-largest group being spouses and civil partners who wanted to join their foreign partner (31 percent).

¹⁰ Statistics Germany registers “arrivals” and “departures” as they include both foreign and German nationals (as opposed to emigration and immigration).

An estimated 374.9 thousand foreign students were enrolled in German universities in the winter semester of 2017/2018, the equivalent of 13 percent of all students enrolled in the country.

The latest figures for the number of foreign researchers at German universities refer to the year 2015, when a total of 43.1 thousand foreign scientific and artistic personnel were employed by German universities, including 3.1 thousand professors. More than 50 percent of the foreign scientific personnel came from European countries, with the most important non-European countries of origin being China (2.6 thousand scientists at German universities), the US (2.2 thousand), India (2 thousand) and Iran (1.5 thousand).

In addition to immigration for economic, family, study or humanitarian reasons, Germany experiences immigration from Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union and ethnic German repatriates, who have a legal path of entry into the country.

Germany has been admitting Jewish immigrants and their family members from the former Soviet Union since 1990. In 2017, 872 Jewish immigrants entered Germany, 27 percent more than in 2016. Although the number of Jewish immigrants has slightly increased, it is still relatively low compared to previous years. For example, in 2002 a total of 19.2 thousand Jews and their family members came to Germany from the former Soviet Union. Since 1991, a total of 216.6 thousand Jewish immigrants and family members have entered Germany under the regular procedure (until December 2017).

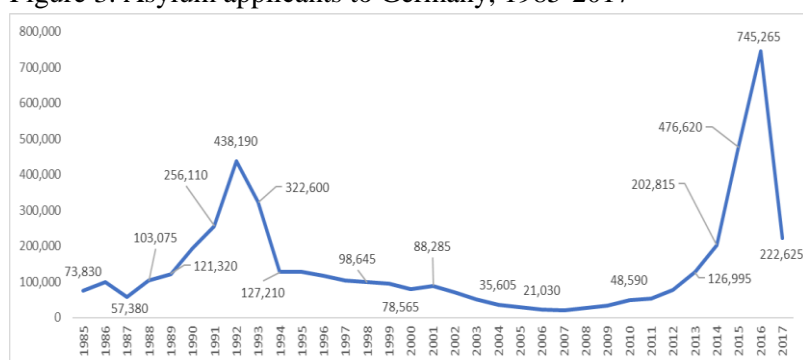
In 2017, 7.0 thousand ethnic German repatriates came to Germany, 44 percent of which were from the Russian Federation, 38 percent from Kazakhstan and 11 percent from Ukraine. Since 1950, more than 4.5 million ethnic German re-settlers and repatriates and their family members have been admitted into Germany.

By the end of 2017, there were 10.6 million foreigners living in Germany, 46 percent of which female. The largest immigrant group in the country is represented by Turkish nationals (14 percent), followed by Polish nationals (8 percent), Syrian nationals (7 percent), Romanian and Italian nationals (each with 6 percent).

Refuge and asylum

Since 1953, around 5.3 million persons have filed an application for asylum in Germany.

Figure 3. Asylum applicants to Germany, 1985-2017



Source: Eurostat

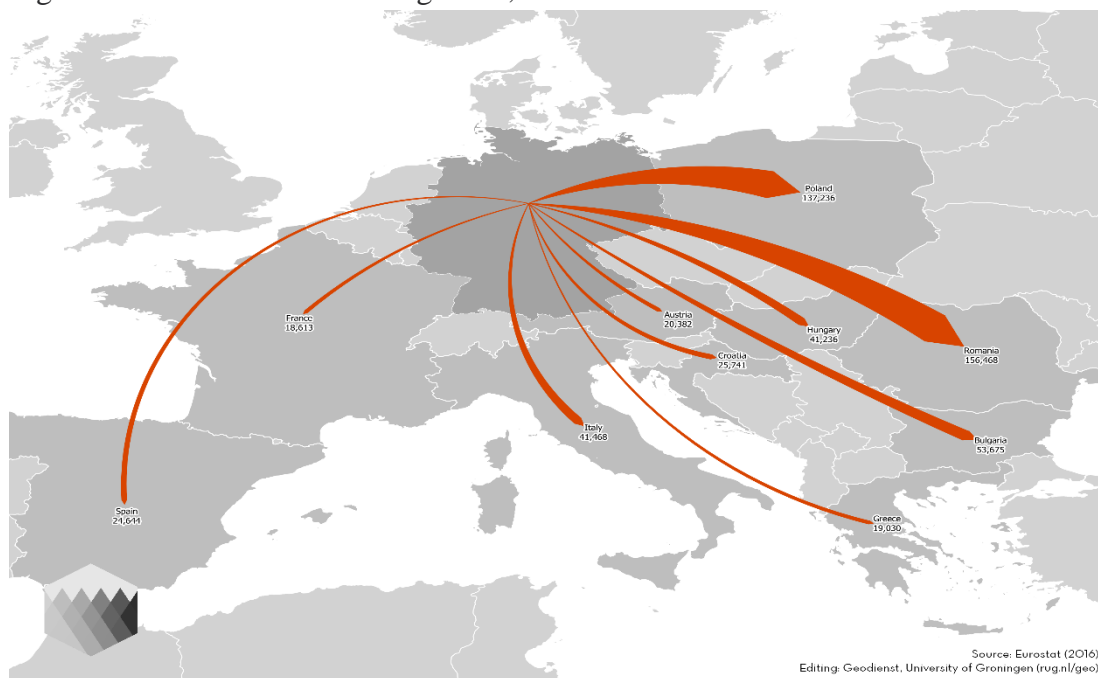
Germany has been one of the most popular destination and host countries for asylum seekers in Europe in recent years, admitting approximately 1.5 million asylum seekers between 2014 and June 2017, with the majority arriving between July 2015 and February 2016 (figure 3). In 2014, 202.8 thousand asylum seekers filed an asylum application, in 2015 this number more than doubled to reach 476.7 thousand and in 2016 it increased again to 745.3 thousand.

In 2017, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees received 222.6 thousand asylum applications, 70 percent less than in 2016. Most of the applicants originated from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Eritrea, Iran, Nigeria and Somalia. Two European countries, the Russian Federation and Turkey, were also among the top ten countries of origin.

Emigration

In 2017, Germany registered 1.14 million departures, a 16 percent decrease over 2016. Of these, 22 percent were German nationals and 34 percent were women. The peak of departures was registered in the month of August, when 120 thousand persons departed from the country. Most persons departed for Europe (62 percent in 2016), followed by Asia (8 percent in 2016). At the EU level, most individuals depart for Romania (25 of all EU departures), Poland (22 percent) and Bulgaria (8 percent) (figure 4).

Figure 4. Main countries of emigration, 2016



A significant share of German emigrants can be found in OECD countries. According to OECD's DIOC database of 2010/11, 3.4 million persons aged 15 and above are to be found in OECD countries, Germany ranking third among OECD origin countries and fifth worldwide in terms of outflows. Almost 90 percent of the emigrants from Germany were found to reside in just twelve OECD countries. The US alone hosted 1.1 million, followed by the UK and Switzerland each hosting around 270 thousand, and France, Spain and Italy, with about 200 thousand. Canada, Austria, and Turkey each hosted around 150 thousand, while Greece, Australia, and the Netherlands hosted 100 thousand German emigrants each.

Between 2010 and 2012, the total number of international students from Germany increased by 14 percent. They now represent the largest group of international students coming from an OECD country, with their numbers growing especially fast in Austria and the Netherlands. Many are enrolled in engineering, medicine, natural science and mathematics. Women represented 55 percent of all German emigrants in 2010/11.

Internal migration

Following reunification in 1990, rapid deindustrialisation, labour market restructuring and subsidised housing investment caused a significant share of internal migrants leaving East Germany for the West. Net losses from eastern states were highest in the years 1989-1990, with a second peak visible in 2001. Out-migration was found to be highest among young adults with above average education, who left non-metropolitan regions in the East and moved to western states with good job prospects. An estimated 1.7 million Germans have migrated from East to West between 1990 and 2006 alone.

This trend seems to be changing slightly in recent years. In 2014, a reported 141.9 thousand persons moved from West to East Germany, compared to 134.8 internal migrants moving the opposite way. The positive difference is greatly due to big cities like Berlin, which attracts young Germans seeking opportunities in creative industries and is all the more attractive for its relatively low rent prices. Leipzig is another eastern city that is attracting internal migration, partly due to the factories opened by BMW and Porsche in the city.

In 2016, the region of North Rhine-Westphalia received the highest number of inflows, 1.0 million, while the region of Bremen received the least, at 87 thousand. These two regions experienced the highest and lowest levels of outflows, respectively, so they seem to be the most and least dynamic regions in the country.

Irregular migration

There is no reliable data on the scale of the irregular migrants in Germany. Data on irregular migrants is therefore based on estimates and projections with reference, for example, to the number of irregular migrants who were arrested for a criminal offence in relation to other arrests. The term irregular migration covers instances of unauthorised entry into Germany and subsequent irregular residence as well as legal entry followed by unauthorised residence, for example because the person concerned does not leave the country even though their residence title has expired. Persons whose asylum application has been rejected and who are therefore obliged to leave are considered to be irregularly residing, too. An estimated 180 to 520 thousand third country nationals were staying irregularly in Germany in 2014.

In 2017, the Federal Police and the authorities tasked with cross-border traffic police controls registered a total of 43.9 unauthorised entries, a decrease of 61 percent over 2016. The entry of a person is considered unauthorised if the s/he does not possess a required passport or passport substitute or the required residence title. The five top countries of origin in 2017 were Afghanistan, Nigeria, Syria, Iraq and Somalia.

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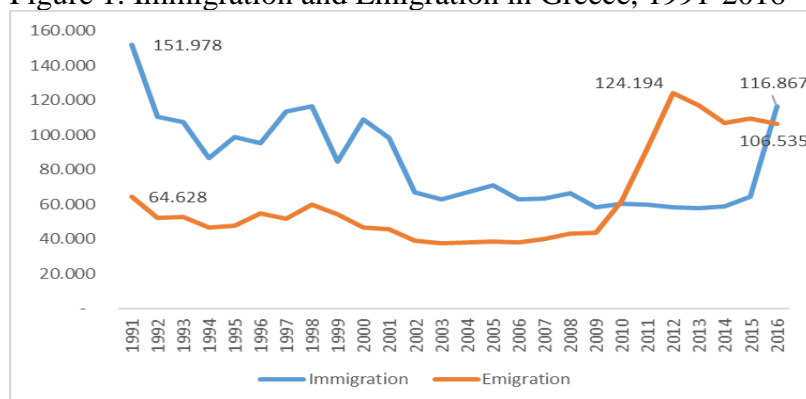
5. Greece

Historical patterns of migration

In a similar manner to other Southern European countries like Italy and Spain, Greece has transitioned in the past almost half a century from a country of emigration to one of immigration. In the 1950s and 1960s, Greece was one of the main countries contributing to the guest worker programs in the Northern and Western European, with an estimated 1 million Greeks having migrated between 1950 and 1974. Main destinations included Western Europe, the US, Canada and Australia. Emigration during this period was economically driven and most emigrants came from rural areas, supplying both the national and international labour markets.

The oil crisis in 1973 and the subsequent termination of guest worker programs in Western Europe prompted significant return migration of Greeks from abroad. It is estimated that by 1985, almost half of the emigrants of the post-war period had returned to Greece. Declining emigration and return migration created a positive migration balance in the 1970s. Immigration continued to grow in the 1980s, when a small number of persons from Asia, Africa, and Polish nationals arrived and found work in construction, agriculture, and domestic services. Nevertheless, immigration was still limited in size. The collapse of the Communist regime across much of Eastern Europe brought about a drastic increase in immigration from the early 1990s on.

Figure 1. Immigration and Emigration in Greece, 1991-2016



Source: Statistics Greece

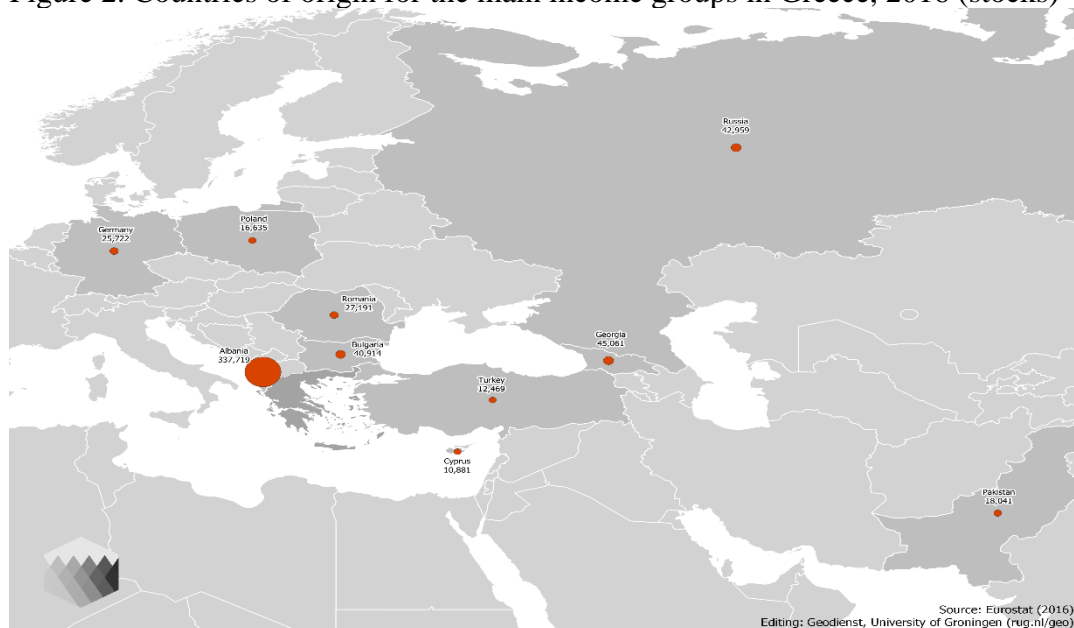
Current patterns of migration

Immigration

Based on the most recent census in 2011, foreign nationals represented approximately 10 percent of the total population, which amounts to 10.9 million individuals (renewed data from 2015), an 8 percentage points increase over 1981, when foreign nationals made up less than 2 percent of the total population.

Immigration inflows to Greece have picked up again in 2016, when 116 thousand individuals entered the country. This, coupled with a decrease in emigration, led to a positive net migration rate. Approximately 14 percent of these immigrants came from EU countries.

Figure 2. Countries of origin for the main income groups in Greece, 2016 (stocks)



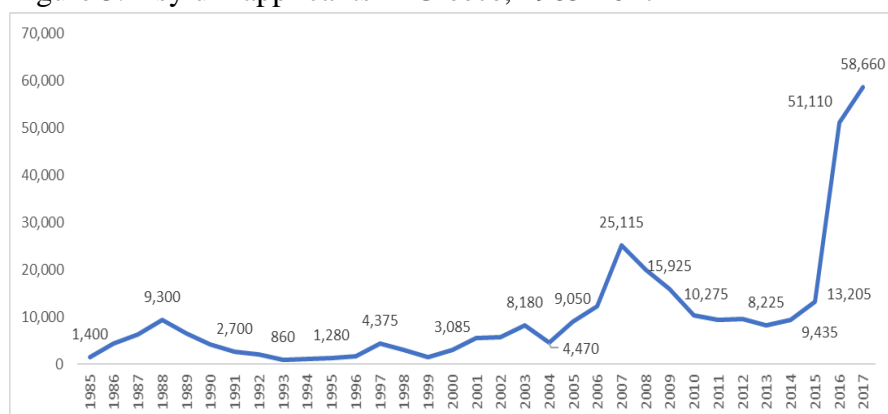
Note: Information on immigration flows to Greece, by country of origin was not available

According to the 2011 national census data, there were 713 thousand Non-EU nationals and 199 thousand EU citizens (non-Greek) living in Greece, representing 6.5 percent and 1.8 percent respectively of the total resident population. The largest immigrant groups were Albanians (52 percent of all migrants), Bulgarians (8 percent of all migrants), Romanians (5 percent), Pakistanis (4 percent), Georgians (3 percent), Ukrainians (2 percent) and Poles (2 percent) (figure 3).

Asylum applicants

Greece, has had a relatively low and stable volume of asylum applicants for the past 3 decades (figure 3).

Figure 3. Asylum applicants in Greece, 1985-2017



Source: Eurostat

The situation changed drastically, when, due to its location and its status as a first country of entry following the Dublin Regulations, Greece experienced the brunt of migratory

flows during the significant refugee inflows in 2014-15. Although at first more of a country of transition for refugees moving further north, the number of asylum applications to Greece has increased exponentially in the past couple of years, from 13 thousand in 2015, to 59 thousand in 2017 (figure 4). Most applicants originate from Syria (28 percent in 2017), Pakistan (15 percent), Iraq (14 percent), Afghanistan (13 percent) and Albania (4 percent). Most applications were lodge on the Isle of Lesbos (11.9 thousand), followed by the regions of Attica (8.8 thousand), Thessaloniki (7.6 thousand) and Chios (6.5 thousand).

Emigration

Since the significant emigration flows during the 1960s-1970s through the guest-workers program in countries like Germany or the Netherlands, Greece has meanwhile transitioned to a country of immigration with a positive net migration for most of the past 2.5 decades. The recent financial and economic crisis, which severely affected the country, triggered a new wave of emigration, which reached its peak in 2012, when 124 thousand Greek nationals left the country. Since then, emigration has slowly decreased, and immigration has slowly increased, so that in 2016, the net migration rate has been positive again (figure 1).

A survey conducted by the Bank of Greece estimates that most emigrants (79 percent) during this 2010-2015 period, originated from urban areas (53 percent of which originated from the three largest cities in the country, Athens, Thessaloniki and Patra), 7 percent from suburban areas and 14 percent from rural areas. At the regional level, individuals emigrated from the Attica region followed by the Central Macedonia region. Most emigrants headed to Germany and the UK (50 percent of the survey sample), followed by Australia, the US, France, Netherlands and Sweden. Australia is the third most significant destination of the new Greek emigration due to the ‘return’ of a sizeable population of ‘Greek Australians’ to Australia.

Figure 4. Main countries of emigration, 2016



Internal migration

Greece has experienced significant internal migration for the past several decades. The economic development in urban centres during the 1950s and 1960s attracted a large share of

the rural labour force. It is estimated that about 8 percent of the population had migrated during 1956 and 1960, and about 9 percent during 1966 and 1970. A substantial number of the internal migrants in that period settled in Athens and the surrounding area. By 1971, Greece shifted from being a predominantly rural country to being predominantly urban, as an estimated 53 percent of the population was living in urban areas. This share increased to 59 percent by 1991, and to further 78.6 percent by 2017. Internal migration was mostly economically-driven, as rural Greeks were looking for employment in the economically growing urban areas.

Irregular migration

Greece has been experiencing relatively high irregular migrant population stocks and flows during the past 25 years, and for the past 15 years it has been an important first country of arrival in Europe for irregular migrants and asylum seekers that are heading west and north.

In 2014, there were a total of 41.9 thousand irregular apprehensions at the border, the majority (21.9 thousand) happening at the Greek Turkish sea border, followed by the Greek Albanian border (4.9 thousand) and Crete (1.9 thousand). The top 5 nationalities apprehended in 2014, were Syrians (17.3 thousand), Albanians (9.5 thousand), Afghans (6.1 thousand) and Somalis (1.3 thousand).

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6. Ireland

Historical patterns of migration

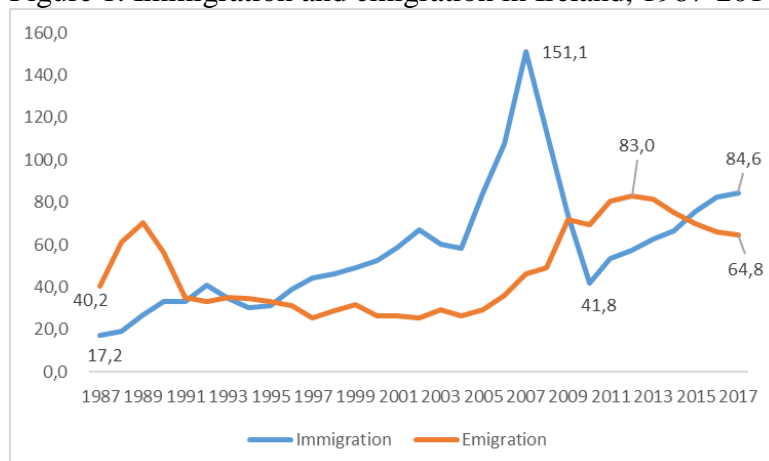
Traditionally, Ireland has been marked by a high rate of emigration. Over the past couple of decades, however, the country has become one of the most important countries of immigration in the EU.

Throughout much of its history, Ireland has been a country of emigration. In 1841, the country's population stood at 6.5 million, only to decrease to 3.2 million by 1901, mainly due to emigration and the Great Famine of 1847. Emigration continued, and by 1961, the country had a population of 2.8 million, the lowest level recorded. Most of the Irish nationals emigrating during this period headed for North America. This route ended with the beginning of the Great Depression in 1930s, and a new emigration route was formed towards the UK. An estimated 83 percent of all Irish emigrants headed for the UK between 1946 and 1951. In the 1960s, the country started to experience economic growth, and with it, increased immigration rates.

From the mid-1990s to the early 2000s, immigration continued to increase (figure 1), largely driven by returning Irish nationals. The EU enlargement in 2004 brought about an increase in EU immigration, particularly from the newly acceding countries like Poland. While immigration continued at relatively high rates, the economic recession the country experienced in 2007-2008 triggered a dip in immigration and an increase in emigration flows.

The different waves of immigration to Ireland have been marked by specific national groups. While in the 1980s and to a less extent the 1990s, immigration was mostly dominated by returning Irish nationals, the late 1990s and early 2000s marked a shift in flows, who were now mostly made of third country nationals. Lastly, since the EU enlargements in 2004 and 2007, a significant share of the country's inflows are now made up by EU nationals.

Figure 1. Immigration and emigration in Ireland, 1987-2017 (thousands)



Source: COS

Current patterns of migration

Immigration

Ireland continues its journey of transformation from a country of emigration to a country of immigration. After a period of increased emigration in large part due to the economic crisis,

which severely affected it, emigration has now slowed down, and the country is back to pre-crisis trends of positive net migration. In 2017, an estimated 84.6 thousand persons immigrated to Ireland, a 2.7 percent increase over 2016. Of these, 33 percent were Irish nationals, pointing to a strong trend of return migration.

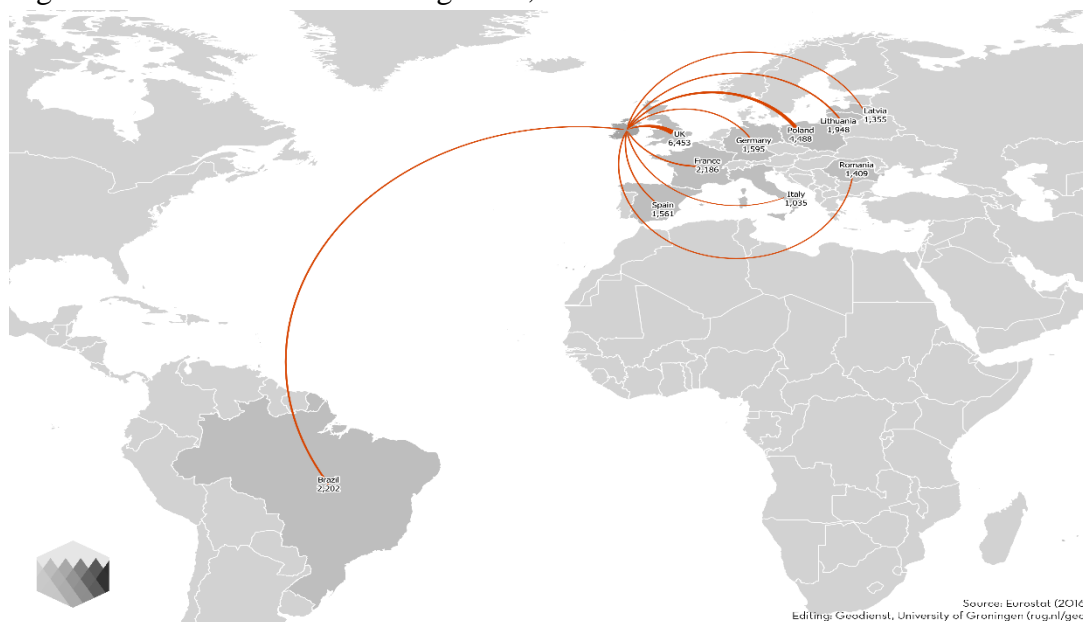
The 2016 Census survey found that 535 thousand non-Irish nationals were living in Ireland at the time, a 1.6 percent decrease from the previous Census, in 2011. The country received 84 thousand immigrants in 2017, a 2.8 percent increase over the previous year. Net immigration among non-Irish nationals has decreased from 25 thousand in 2016 to 23 thousand in 2017. Of the total number of immigrants to Ireland in the year to April 2017, 27 thousand (32.4 percent) were estimated to be Irish nationals. Non-EU immigrants accounted for 29 thousand (34.8 percent) of total immigrants and 13 thousand (21.1 percent) of total emigrants.

Student migration accounts for a significant share of total inflows in the country, 22 percent in 2016 alone. Of these, Brazilian nationals were the largest group with 2,370 students, followed by French nationals (774 students) and US nationals (662).

In 2017, Ireland had a population of 4.8 million, 88 percent of which were Irish nationals and 12 percent immigrants. According to the 2016 Census, the top nationalities in Ireland are Polish (122 thousand), UK (103 thousand), Lithuanian (36 thousand), Romanian (29 thousand), Latvian (20 thousand) and Brazilian (13 thousand).

In 2016, the main countries of immigration to Ireland included Uk, Poland, Brazil, France and Lithuania (figure 2).

Figure 2. Main countries of immigration, 2016



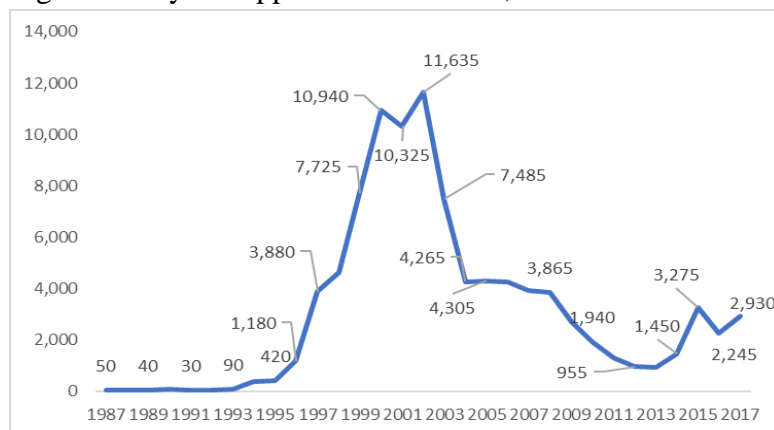
At lower administrative levels, the counties of Dublin City, Fingal and Cork had the highest share of immigrants in 2016, with 92 thousand, 47 thousand and 42 thousand, respectively. At the opposite end of the spectrum, the counties of Leitrim and Sligo registered the lowest numbers of immigrants. The cities of Galway and Dublin have the highest shares of immigrants in the total population, with 19 percent and 17 percent respectively. Polish nationals are the largest immigrants group in the former, while Polish, Romanian, UK nationals,

Brazilian, Italian, Spanish and French add up to more than half the immigrant population in the latter city. Donegal had the smallest proportion of non-Irish nationals (7.3 percent) in 2016, more than half of which are UK nationals.

Refuge and Asylum

Largely due to its peripheral location, Ireland has received a relatively low number of asylum applications compared to other EU Member States. The largest volume of applicants was registered in the later 1990s, early 2000s (figure 3). The country also experienced a significant increase in the number of applicants between 2014-2016; the number of applications in 2014 increased 53 percent over 2013, in 2015 it increased 126 percent over 2014, and in 2017, it increased 23 percent over 2016, reaching a total of 2.9 thousand applications. In 2017, most applications were lodged by nationals from Syria (19 percent), Georgia (10 percent), Albania (10 percent) and Zimbabwe (9 percent). This represents a slight difference from 2016, when the top nationalities were from Syria (11 percent), Pakistan (10 percent), Albania (10 percent), Zimbabwe (9 percent) and Nigeria (8 percent). Syrians represented the largest group of applicants for the third year in a row. Much of the increase is due to the relocation strand of the IRPP.

Figure 3. Asylum applicants to Ireland, 1987-2017



Source: Eurostat

Emigration

Ireland had been slowly transforming into a country of immigration, with a positive net migration over the past 2 decades. This situation changed in 2009, when, deeply affected by the economic crisis, the country started to experience significant emigration levels that surpassed immigration. An estimated 39 percent 2009, 59 percent in 2010 and 45 percent in 2011, of all emigrants were Irish nationals. The second emigrant largest group in this period was that of Polish nationals.

The number of emigrants started to decline, however, in 2015, and continued to decline in 2017, to 64 thousand from 66 thousand in 2016. Of these, 30 thousand (47.5 percent) are estimated to be Irish nationals, a 17 percent decrease from 2016.

In 2016, the main countries of emigration included UK, Australia, Poland and France (figure 4).

Figure 4. Main countries of emigration, 2016



Internal migration

Information about internal migration within Ireland comes from the 2016 Census. The Census revealed that the urban population grew by 4.9 percent from 2011, while the rural population grew by 2 percent.

An estimated 263 thousand individuals changed residency that year, a 3.5 percent decrease from the 2011 Census. Of these, 7 percent moved out of Dublin county to the counties of Kildare, Meath and Wicklow. The most common non-Leinster destination for movers from Dublin was Cork, where 8 percent relocated, while the least common was Leitrim.

In terms of cross-county movements, people from Leitrim were the likeliest to move across county (44 percent), while people from Cork (17 percent) and Dublin (20 percent) were the least likely. Only 22 per cent of people living in Donegal who moved set up their new home elsewhere in Ireland.

The Census also revealed that, although 25 percent of the country's population lived in Dublin City and suburbs, it accounted for over 30 percent of all movements within the year. Moreover, although 37.3 percent of the total population lives in rural areas, only 26 percent of all internal migrants resided in rural areas.

The most mobile segment of the population was that of people aged 20 to 34, accounting for 45.7 percent of the total.

Irregular migration

Due to its geographical location, Ireland has experienced relatively little irregular migration. Data from the Migrant Right Centre Ireland estimate that between 20 and 26 thousand irregular migrants lived and worked in Ireland in 2017.

Many irregular migrants in Ireland are over-stayers, persons who have entered the country legally but have overstayed their visa or work permit. Asylum applicants whose application has been rejected and who have not been deported are also considered irregular migrants. In this category are included persons that are entitled to reside in Ireland, but are

working irregularly, as well as persons who have entered the country legally, but through fraudulent means, like marriage of convenience.

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7. Italy

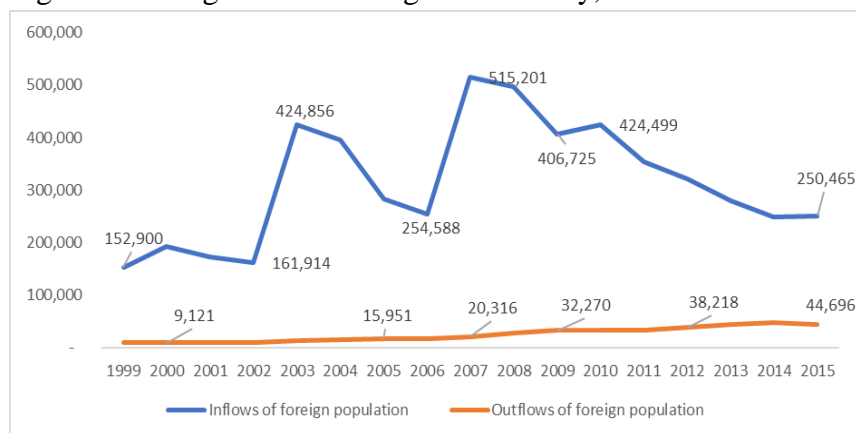
Historical patterns of migration

Throughout most of its modern history, Italy has been a country of emigration. Between 1876 and 1976, an estimated 24 million Italian nationals emigrated to the US, Australia and Northern and Western Europe. Most of the emigrants were from the regions of Liguria, Piedmont, Veneto and Lombardy, Sicily, Apulia, Calabria, and Campania.

The situation started to change in the 1970s. In 1974, Italy experienced positive net migration for the first time in over a century. Factors that contributed to this change included the existence of a rather liberal immigration policy, the country's economic growth and the termination of the guest workers programs in Western and Northern Europe, which triggered both return migration of Italians and a redirection of other immigrants flows to Italy. The 1981 Census found that an estimated 321 thousand migrants were residing in Italy at the time.

Since then, the immigrant population has rapidly increased over time (figure 1). During the 1990s, the number of immigrants in the country more than doubled, increasing from 556 thousand persons (0.6 percent of the total population) in 1991, to about 1.3 million in 2001 (2.3 percent of the total population).

Figure 1. Immigration and emigration in Italy, 1999-2015



Source: OCED International Migration Database

Due to its geographic position, Italy has played a significant role in the current European migration crisis, receiving over 335 thousand arrivals via the Mediterranean during 2015-2016. As a peninsula in the middle of the Mediterranean, the country represents a transit area for immigrants who intend to move onward towards countries like Germany or Sweden, where they can find employment or reunite with family members.

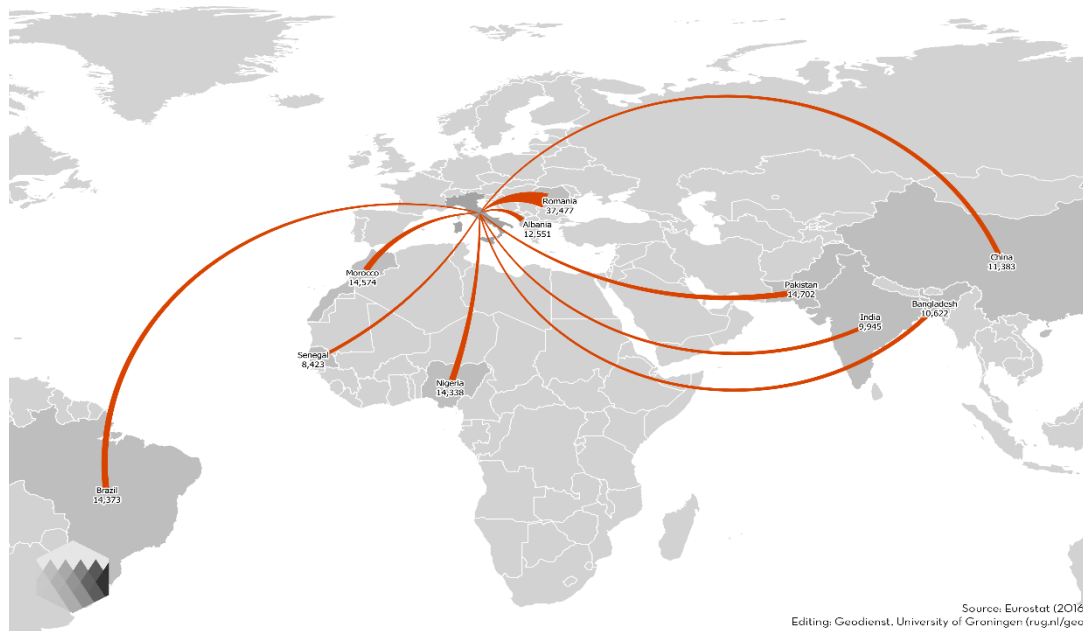
Current patterns of migration

Immigration

Beginning with the early 1970s, after the oil crisis of 1973, Italy started to experience increasing immigration flows. In the 1990s and early 2000s, the immigrant population increased rapidly. According to the last Census, immigrants in 2011 were about 4 million individuals and represented 6.8 percent of the total population. Romanians represent the largest immigrants group in the country, followed by Albanians and Moroccans.

In 2016, Italy received an estimated 300 thousand immigrants, a 7 percent increase over 2015. Most immigrants arrived from Romania (13 percent), Morocco, Nigeria, Brazil, Pakistan (5 percent each) and Albania (4 percent) (figure 2).

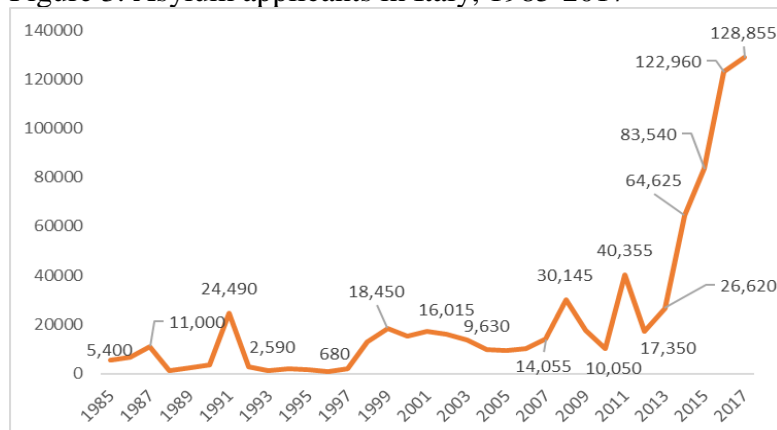
Figure 2. Main countries of immigration, 2016



Refuge and Asylum

Italy received a relatively stable number of asylum applicants up until 2013 (see figure 3), with relatively small peaks in the early 1990s, early 2000s and early 2010s. The situation changed drastically in 2013, when the country experienced a constant increase, from 26 thousand applicants that year, to 128 thousand by 2017. Most applicants in 2017 originated from Nigeria (20 percent), Bangladesh (10 percent), Pakistan (8 percent), Senegal and Gambia (7 percent each).

Figure 3. Asylum applicants in Italy, 1985-2017



Source: Eurostat

EU Dublin regulations require that asylum seekers submit their application in the first Member State they reach, however, in practice, many seek to avoid submitting their documentation in Italy, hoping to file once they reach their preferred destination. But because several countries have reintroduced border controls, Italy has had to handle a large share of the asylum seekers as the European Union continues to struggle to implement its redistribution agreement. While the numbers of arrivals in other parts of Europe, including Greece, have decreased dramatically after the EU-Turkey deal, the volume of arrivals has remained significant in Italy, which experienced a 5 percent increase in 2017.

The country has implemented several strategies to curb the arrivals, including a cooperation agreement with Tunisia to tackle illegal migration and human trafficking, deals with Chad and Niger to set up reception centres in their territories and a deal with Libya to stop inflows into the country.

Emigration

For much of the 20th century, Italy has been a country of net emigration, driven mostly by economic factors. After the unification of the country in 1861, issues in the agricultural and manufacturing sectors reduced incomes for the rural population and triggered the first outflows. Since then, emigration trends can be roughly divided into four main phases.

In the first phase, from the 1860s until the late 1890s, an estimated 7 million nationals left Italy, primarily for other European countries. The second phase lasted from the early 1900s to 1928 until the end of WW2 when an estimated 12 million Italian nationals emigrated, mostly toward non-European countries such as the US. The third phase lasted from 1946 to 1965, when more than 5 million Italian nationals emigrated, mainly to neighbouring countries such as Germany and Belgium. The fourth phase lasted from the mid-1960s until mid-1970s and was represented by the guest workers programs, when many Italian nationals emigrated to countries in Western Europe. Emigration started to slow down from mid-1970s, when a combination of economic growth, termination of guest-worker programs and increased immigration slowly transformed Italy into a country of immigration.

In 2016, an estimated 165 thousand persons emigrated from Italy, a 6.4 increase over 2015. Most emigrated to the UK (17 percent), Germany (14 percent), France and Switzerland (8 percent each) and Romania (7 percent) (figure 4).

Figure 4. Main countries of emigration, 2016



Internal migration

Internal migration in Italy presents two main dimensions, both fuelled by a diminishing agricultural sector and a growing demand for labour in manufacturing industries. The first dimension is represented by urbanization, which accelerated after World War II. Between 1951 and 1971 alone, the share of Italians living in rural areas and small towns fell from an estimated 24 percent of the total population to 13 percent. By 2017, 70 percent of the country's population lived in urban areas.

The second dimension of internal migration is a South-North movement. These flows caused significant change in the country, from the rise of overpopulated metropolitan areas in Turin, Rome, and Milan and the depopulation of rural areas in the South, to increasing regional inequality.

Irregular migration

Until the early 1970s, Italy was primarily a country of emigration, with an estimated 26 million Italians having emigrated between 1861 and 1976. This was reflected in the relative lack of restrictions on immigration flows and implied that, by 1986 when the first immigration regulations were implemented, most immigration was irregular. The measures to tackle irregular migration were often on an ad-hoc basis and involved a series of amnesties. The year 1986 is also the first one in which regularisations took place in Italy – an estimated 118 thousand irregular migrants were regularised then. The Martelli Law of 1990 regularised another 222 thousand migrants, although in 1991 alone, there were about 350 thousand irregular migrants in Italy, accounting for half of the total number of foreigners. Another Amnesty took place in 1995, when about 250 thousand migrants were regularised, followed by the Turco-Napolitano Law that regularised 217 thousand migrants. These were measures that contributed to the country's increasing needs for labour force.

In recent years, Italy has started to implement a number of measures intended to address the growing phenomenon of irregular migration in the country, including the intensification of coastal patrol, expulsions and bilateral agreements for returns, including with Libya. Although such measures have contributed to reducing the number of irregular arrivals and crossing, they have been also criticized by the public and NGOs for grave human rights violations.

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8. Netherlands

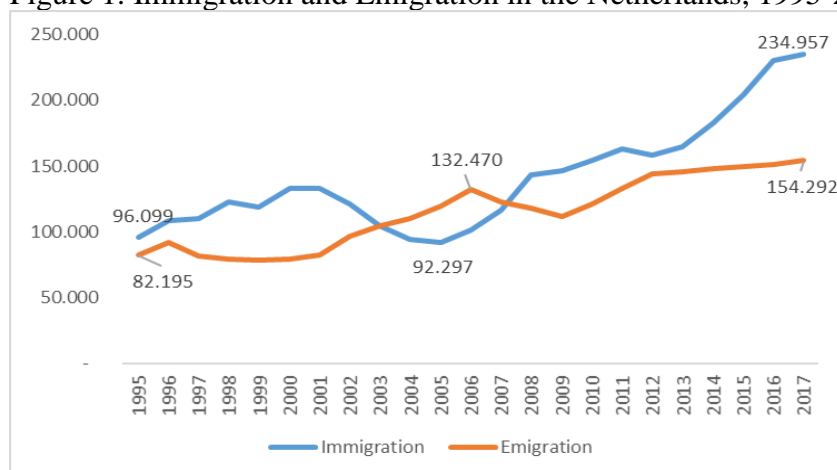
Historical patterns of migration

In the early 1960s, the Netherlands switched from being a country of emigration to being a country of immigration. Although at times more persons emigrated than immigrated after that – in 1967, for instance, the result of an economic crisis, or between 2004-2007 (see figure 1) – generally, more persons have entered the country than exited ever since.

Early immigration to the Netherlands followed a common European pattern, from post-colonial immigration from Indonesia and Suriname, to guest worker immigrants from countries such as Italy, Spain, Turkey and Morocco, Yugoslavia and Tunisia. The recruitment programs were eventually stopped during the first oil crisis, but immigration from these countries continued through network effects, first through family reunification and later through family formation. Between 1982 and 1983, inflows stagnated and even dropped almost to the level of emigration, most likely due to the recession the country was experiencing after the second oil crisis in 1979. Immigration increased in the 1990s, mostly as a result of asylum applications and continued family reunification. Immigration decreased significantly after 2001, until 2005, likely because of the adoption of the Alien Act in 2001 but picked up again in 2006-2007 with the two EU enlargement rounds. Current immigration to the Netherlands is dominated by EU migration and asylum applications from conflict-afflicted countries.

Immigration is not likely to decrease in the future. On 1 January 2017, the Netherlands had approximately 17.1 million inhabitants, over 100 thousand more than the previous year, most of this growth due to immigration.

Figure 1. Immigration and Emigration in the Netherlands, 1995-2017



Source: CBS

Current patterns of migration

Immigration

The Netherlands has a long history of immigration, with over 20 percent of the country's population having an immigration background (first and second generation). Over the years, the nature of immigration in the country has changed to include a greater diversity of origin countries, new geographies of migration (south north and east-west), and new forms of

migration (seasonal, temporary, transnational, study, humanitarian – in addition to the traditional labour and family migration).

Immigration flows have fluctuated over the past two decades, from 96 thousand immigrants in 1995, to more than 234 thousand in 2017, many originating from the European Union (36 percent in 2016). Most of the EU/EFTA immigrants originate from Poland (27.6 percent in 2016), Germany (11.4 percent), United Kingdom (7.1 percent), Italy (6.7 percent) and Romania (6.0 percent) (figure 2). Immigration from the New Member States, particularly from Poland, Romania and Bulgaria, increased exponentially after the EU enlargements rounds in 2004 and 2007, and after the lifting of the transitional arrangements in 2014. For instance, 2,234 Poles entered the Netherlands in 2003, 5,162 in 2004 immediately after the enlargement, and up to 23,057 in 2016.

Many EU immigrants (48 percent in 2017) reside in the provinces of North and South Holland. At the municipality level, Zeenwolde and Zundert register a relatively high share of EU immigrants (5 percent of their population), particularly from the new Member States. Both municipalities present a high degree of agricultural activities, which usually employ a significant number of Eastern Europeans, particularly Polish nationals. The municipalities of The Hague, Westland and Noordwijkerhout also exhibit relatively high shares of EU immigrants, each with about 4 percent of their respective populations.

In 2016, immigration from Non-EU countries mostly originated from Syria (21.6 percent), India (5.8 percent), Turkey (3.5 percent), United States (4.1 percent), Antilles (2.8 percent), Iraq (2.7 percent) and Eritrea (2.5 percent) (figure 2).

Figure 2. Main countries of immigration, 2016



Source: Eurostat

Editing: Geodienst, University of Groningen (rug.nl/geo)

In terms of population size, Turks (9.3 percent in 2015), Surinamese (8.7 percent), Moroccans (8.2 percent), Indonesians (6.0 percent) and Germans (5.8 percent) are the

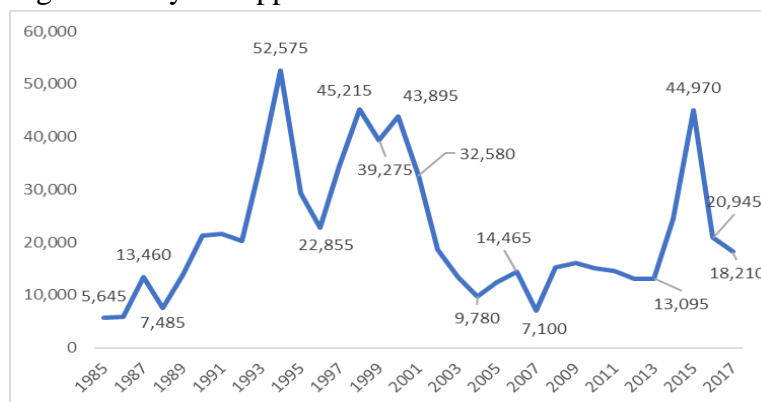
immigrant groups with the highest share in the total immigrant population in the Netherlands. Non-EU immigrants, particularly individuals with a non-western background, reside mainly in and around the four major cities comprising the Randstad area. In Amsterdam, The Hague, and Rotterdam, 1 in 3 residents has a non-western background, while in Utrecht this is 1 in 5.

At the regional level, in 2016, the regions of North and South Holland have registered the highest level of total immigration, 18.5 percent and 21.6 percent., respectively.

Refuge and asylum

The Netherlands received relatively low numbers of asylum applicants up until the 1980s. This changed in the 1990s, due to the fall of the communist regimes and the war in former Yugoslavia, when the country received an estimated 21 thousand applications in 1991 and 1992. The number of applications reached a peak in 1993, with over 52 thousand applications (figure 3). The country received a significant volume of applicants in the late 1990s-early 2000s, but this decreased after 2001, when the Aliens Act was introduced. The act introduced stricter procedures for the application for asylum.

Figure 3. Asylum applicants in Netherlands between 1985-2017



Source: Eurostat

The years 2014-2017 have again seen a substantial increase in the number of asylum applications to the Netherlands, particularly from Syria (16.5 percent of all applications in 2017) and Eritrea (9.1 percent). There has been a clear change in the composition of asylum seekers over the years. In the 1980s, origin countries included Turkey, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Iran, Poland, Ghana, Somalia while in the 1990s, most of the asylum seekers came from Iraq, Afghanistan, Bosnia Herzegovina, Iran, Sri Lanka, Yugoslavia and Somalia. In 2015, immigrants from Iraq constituted the largest refugee group in the Netherlands, followed by immigrants from Syria.

The number of asylum applications provides only a rough estimate of the actual number of refugees in the country, since a significant share of the applications is rejected. Nevertheless, many rejected applicants decide to remain in the country irregularly or reapply for asylum. We can obtain an estimate of the number of re-applications by deducting the number of first time asylum applicants from the total number of applicants in a year. This figure has ranged from 3.4 thousand in 2012 to 2.1 thousand in 2017.

Emigration

Until the 1960s, the Netherlands has been primarily a country of emigration, with main destinations including traditional countries like Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and the US. Emigration registered a sharp increase in the beginning of the 1950s, the result of deliberate emigration policies that included subsidies for transport, counselling, guidance, and bilateral international agreements for admission of Dutch nationals. Reasons for leaving included fear of unemployment, the Cold War and generally low economic expectations. An estimated 481 thousand Dutch nationals emigrated to between 1946 and 1972, mainly to Canada, the US, Australia and New Zealand.

More recently, in 2017, a total of 154.3 thousand persons emigrated from the Netherlands, a 1.8 percent increase over 2016. These days, popular destinations include Germany, Belgium, Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States, with retirees also heading to Spain, France and Italy.

In 2016, the most common countries of emigration in the EU/EFTA were Germany (18.9 percent of all emigration flows to the EU/EFTA); UK (14.2 percent); Belgium (13.3 percent); Poland (12.2 percent) and Spain (7.5 percent), while the most common countries of emigration outside the EU/EFTA were United States (12.7 percent of all emigration flows to Non-EU countries); Turkey (9.5 percent); China including Hong Kong (7.2 percent); Curacao (5.4 percent) and India (4.4 percent) (figure 4).

Figure 4. Main countries of emigration, 2016



Source: Eurostat

Editing: Geodienst, University of Groningen (rug.nl/geo)

There has been a recent trend of return migration to Turkey and Suriname, which is likely reflected in the high emigration rate to Turkey. Between 2012 and 2015, the net migration rate was negative, although it became again positive in 2016.

Internal migration

There is quite an intensive internal migration process taking place within the Netherlands. In 2016, the regions of South and North Holland received the highest share of internal migration, while the regions of Zeeland, Flevoland and Drenthe received the lowest share of internal inflows. In 2016, the municipalities receiving the most internal immigrants were Amsterdam (over 38 thousand), Rotterdam (over 26 thousand), Utrecht (over 21 thousand), The Hague (over 20 thousand) and Groningen (over 14 thousand). Many of the internal migration flows to Amsterdam originate from Amstelveen (6 percent), Utrecht (5.9 percent), Almere (4.6 percent), or The Hague (3.6 percent). The main sending municipalities in the case of The Hague are Amsterdam, Delft, Leidschendam-Voorburg, Rijswijk, Rotterdam and Zoetermeer, together accounting for 40 percent of all internal inflows in 2016. The main sending municipalities in the case of Rotterdam are Amsterdam, Capelle aan den IJssel, The Hague, Nissewaard and Schiedam, which together account for 25 percent of the internal migration to the city. Lastly, the main sending cities to Utrecht are Amsterdam, Nieuwegein, Stichtse Vecht and Zeist, which together account for 21 percent of the internal migration to the city.

In terms of commuting, most of the commuting flows in the Netherlands take place within the same region. Across all regions, Zeeland seems to experience the highest level of commuting to a foreign country (3.5 percent of all commuting flows in the region), Utrecht experiences the highest level of commuting to another region (22.9 percent of all commuting in the region of Utrecht), while Noord-Holland experiences the most commuting within the region.

Irregular migration

The Netherlands has a sizeable population of irregular immigrants, who might have either entered the country irregularly, or overstayed their visas, or have an irregular type of employment. Part of this irregular population is also composed of individuals whose applications for asylum have been denied. Irregular immigrants are often from the same countries as regular immigrants and tend to live in large cities. They operate through networks of their own communities and are usually employed in labour intensive sectors like agriculture, catering or construction.

The actual number of irregular migrants is difficult to measure because individuals can go in and out of irregularity as laws and policies change. There are several sources of data which can provide some insight into the number of irregular migrants, although they are oftentimes underestimating the actual size. One of them is the number of third country national found to be living illegally in the country, which in 2017 was 2,165. Over 18 percent of these individuals were from Albania, while 10 percent were from Morocco. Another way is to consider the number of third country nationals ordered to leave the country, which in 2017 was 31,565. Countries of origin include Eritrea (7.0 percent), Turkey (6.3 percent), India (5.8 percent) and China (5.2 percent).

Many irregular immigrants work in agriculture, in the greenhouse districts in the mid-west or on farms in the south-east.

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9. Poland

Historical patterns of migration

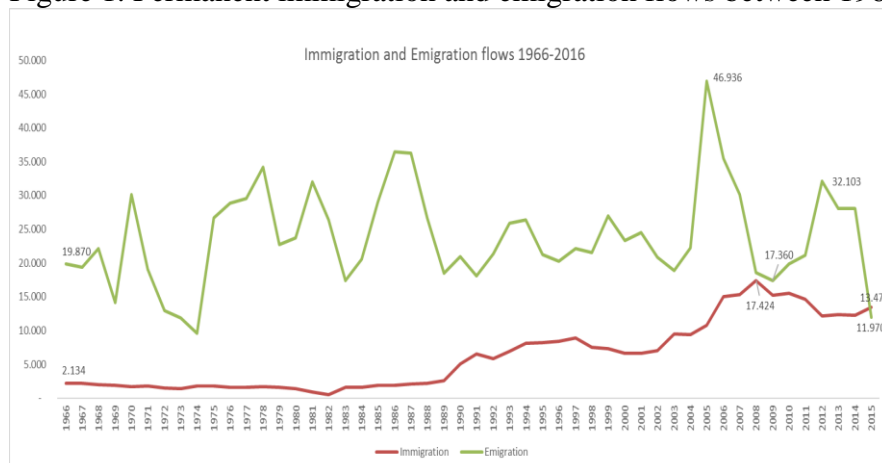
For the past several decades, Poland has reinforced its position as a country of net emigration. Although its history of emigration has witnessed several important peaks throughout time, the accession to the EU in 2004 brought about an unprecedented level of emigration. By 2007, the peak year of emigration, the estimated number of Polish nationals abroad was 2.3 million.

The end of World War II and the subsequent change in the country's borders resulted in the movement, mass displacement and forced resettlement of approximately 8 million people of Polish, Ukrainian, Belarusian and German origins. Significant outflows took place in the 1950s when about 220 thousand Jews emigrated to Israel, Western Europe and the US and ethnic Germans headed for Germany; when an estimated 25 thousand Polish Jews emigrated in 1968; or the emigration of 250 thousand Polish nationals in the 1980s. Emigration levels have fluctuated since the fall of the communist regime, with substantial outflows being observed since the country's adherence to the European Union in 2004.

In recent times, Poland has started to become an increasingly attractive country of immigration as well, particularly for immigrants from the neighbouring countries like Ukraine, Belarus or Russia. The increase in immigration is due in part to the country's rapid economic growth, its shift towards more immigrant-friendly immigration policies and the evolving situation in Ukraine and other former Soviet countries.

Due to its geographic location, at the confluence between Eastern and Western Europe, Poland is also seen as a transit country for non-EU migrants trying to reach Western Europe.

Figure 1. Permanent immigration and emigration flows between 1966-2016



Source: Statistics Poland

Current patterns of migration

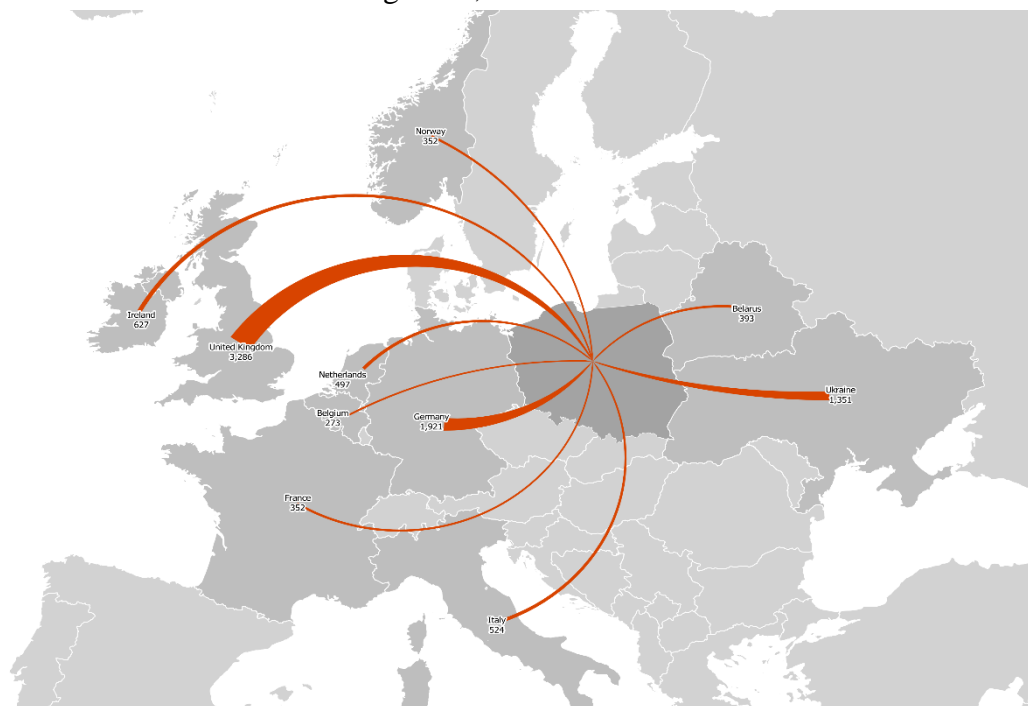
Immigration

Immigration to Poland has been accelerating over the past few years, and in 2014, the country experienced more permanent immigration than emigration for the first time in over 5 decades (figure 1). One reason behind this increase is the strategic document on migration policy adopted by the Polish Government in 2012, which addresses demographic developments and future labour market needs by streamlining application procedures. Partly as a result of the

ensuing reforms, the number of residence permits increased substantially and was almost twice as high in 2015 compared to 2012.

The majority of immigrants originate from the EU (66 percent in 2016). The top 5 countries of immigration in 2016 were the UK (24 percent of all immigrant inflows), Germany (14 percent), Ukraine (10 percent), Ireland (5 percent) and Italy (4 percent) (figure 2). Given Poland's specific method of recording migration flows¹¹, many of the immigrants registered from Germany, the UK or Ireland are probably returning Polish nationals.

Figure 2. Main countries of Immigration, 2016



Source: Eurostat

Editing: Geodienst, University of Groningen (rug.nl/geo)

Most immigrants reside in the Central (21 percent in 2016) and South (20 percent) regions of the country. At the province (voivodeship) level, most immigrants settle in the province of Mazowieckie (16 percent in 2016), while the least in the province of Lubuskie (3 percent).

Most immigrants settle in urban areas (68 percent in 2016). At the city level, most immigrants settle in the city of Mazowieckie (19 percent of all urban immigration), while the least in the city of Opolskie (2 percent).

Asylum applications

Poland has been mostly a sending country of asylum seekers for most of the 20th century, limiting asylum to citizens of other countries experiencing “class struggle”, such as Vietnam.

¹¹ The quality of migration data remains one of the main challenges in Poland, due to the applied definitions: immigrants are defined as persons who had arrived from abroad and have been registered as permanent residents; while emigrants are defined as persons who moved abroad with an intention to settle and delist themselves from their place of permanent residence (Kaczmarczyk, P (2015). Recent Trends in International Migration in Poland. The 2013 SOPEMI Report.)

The change of regime in the 1990s and the country's process of adherence to the EU brought about a change in policies. This meant the creation of an asylum system in line with EU standards and the signing of the 1951 Refugee Convention. Poland started receiving asylum seekers from nationals of former Soviet Union countries, Somalia and Afghanistan, among others.

In 2017, Poland received 5 thousand asylum applications, of which, 2.8 thousand were still pending at the end of the year. This represents a 2.5 time decrease over 2016, when the country received as many as 12.3 thousand applications. Almost 70 percent of the asylum applicants to Poland in 2017 originated from Russia, followed by 13 percent from Ukraine. Other countries included Tajikistan, Armenia, Georgia, Turkey and Syria. In terms of gender, 54 percent of the applicants were male, and 46 percent of all applicants were minors under 18 years of age.

Emigration

Poland has been experiencing a substantial level of outflows over the past two decades. A large number of Polish citizens emigrate every year to live and work in other countries. More than 2.5 million Polish nationals, almost 7 percent of the country's population, stayed abroad for more than three months in 2016, according to estimates from the national statistical office. This represents a 4.7 percent increase over the year 2015. Most emigration takes place within the EU (87 percent in 2016). The majority of Polish nationals permanently migrate to Germany (43 percent in 2016) and the United Kingdom (28 percent) (figure 3). The largest populations of Polish nationals can be found in the UK (788 thousand), Germany (687 thousand), the Netherlands (116 thousand) and Ireland (112 thousand).

In 2016, there was a significant increase in the number of Polish nationals staying in the UK and Germany compared to 2015, of 68 thousand (9.4 percent) for the former, and of 32 thousand (5 percent) for the latter.

The vast majority of Polish nationals considering emigration seek better pay and working conditions. The total unemployment rate was 4.9 percent in 2017, 12.2 percent for Polish nationals with less than lower secondary education, while only 2.4 percent for Polish nationals with a tertiary education.

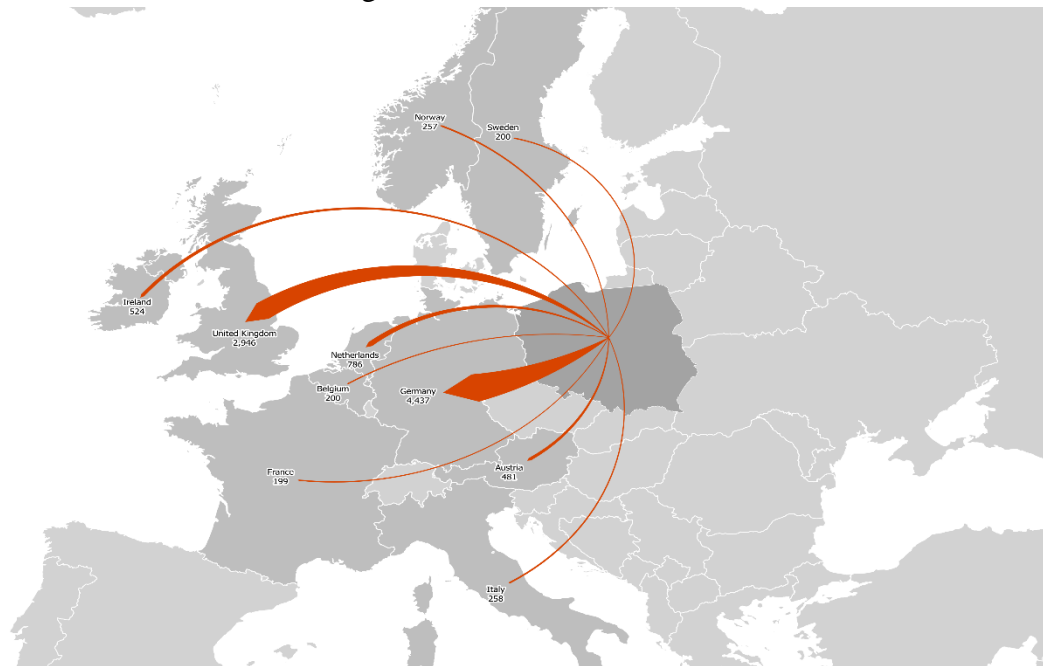
Poland's long tradition of emigration also contributes to its persistence, as networks facilitate more migration. Social networks help emigrants find work abroad, with inhabitants of particular Polish villages sometimes having a tendency to emigrate to the same country or even the same region in Western Europe.

Although emigration has become more evenly distributed across regions and more urban emigration since the country's accession to the EU, net emigration rates remain remarkably high in regions with a large rural population share and low average income per capita. Emigration has been particularly marked in rural areas of the south-eastern part of Poland, where 20-35 percent of the younger workers left have between 2004 and 2007.

Regionally, most Polish nationals emigrate from the Północno-zachodni region (19 percent in 2016), while the least from the Central region (6 percent), while at the province (voivodeship) level, most Polish nationals emigrate from Śląskie (20 percent in 2016), and the least from the province of Świętokrzyskie (1 percent). At the city level, most Polish nationals

emigrate from the city of Śląskie (24 percent of all urban emigration in 2016), while the least from the city of Świętokrzyskie (less than 1 percent).

Figure 3. Main countries of emigration, 2016



Source: Eurostat

Editing: Geodienst, University of Groningen (rug.nl/geo)

Internal migration

Internal migration in Poland has been relatively low since the falls of the communist regime, at around 11-12 per thousand inhabitants between 1991 and 2009. Part of reason is the fact that internal migration seems to be motivated more by change in the family status (marriage) or for education, rather than work. Employment-drive internal migration is much rarer in Poland, and most job-related mobility takes the form of commuting and takes place within the limits of a region or voivodship. Moreover, empirical evidence seems to suggest that internal migration in Poland has been substituted by emigration, as regions with a relatively low rate of internal migration and rural areas experience a relatively high rate of emigration.

A distinct feature of internal migration in Poland has been the existence of net sending regions, outflows of which then tend to concentrate in a relatively small number of regions. The latter tend to exhibit a high level of urbanization and significantly higher economic growth. In fact, there has been a high degree of urbanization taking place within Poland in the past several decades, with the rural population decreasing from 63 percent in 1950 to 39.5 percent in 2017.

Recent data seems to confirm this trend. In 2016, the Central region received the highest share of inflows (21 percent), followed by the region of Północno-zachodni (18 percent). These two regions are the only ones that in the same period registered a positive total net migration of 9.7 thousand and 1.9 thousand, respectively. The province (voivodeship) of Wielkopolskie received the highest share of internal migration flows (11 percent in 2016), while the province of Opolskie received the lowest (2 percent). The province of Mazowieckie presented the highest

outflows of permanent internal migration (13 percent in 2016), while the province of Opolskie the lowest (3 percent).

Irregular migration

Irregular migration in Poland describes different instances of irregularity happening at different stages of the migration process – entry, residence and work. The available statistics suggest that irregular migration is a marginal phenomenon in Poland, the estimated numbers being somewhere between a couple to several thousand persons.

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10. Romania

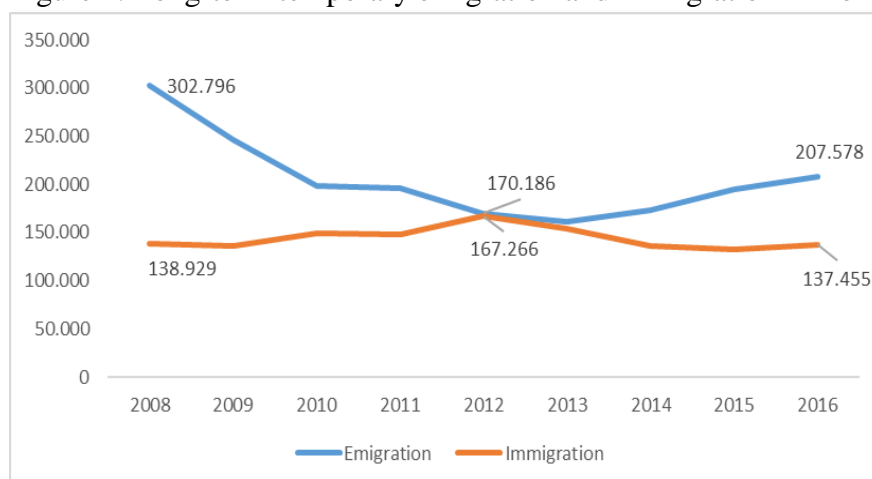
Historical patterns of migration

For the past century, Romania has been primarily a country of emigration. Emigration can be roughly divided into a pre- and post-1989 pattern. Before 1989, during the Communist regime, it was mostly politically driven and had a strong ethnic component, with many emigrants being ethnic Germans and Jews. Relatively few persons emigrated during this period, as migration was tightly controlled by the state. After 1989 and the fall of the communist regime, Romanian emigration became predominantly economically-driven and a great variety of patterns emerged including seasonal, temporary and transnational migration. Since then, migration (and emigration in particular) has been one of the most pervasive socio-economic phenomena in Romania, with an estimated 17 percent of the country's population emigrating between 1990 and 2017.

An estimated 96.9 thousand persons emigrated in 1990 alone, up to a total of 170 thousand persons by 1993. Migration flows during this period were mainly ethnically driven, as more than 75 percent of the emigrants were ethnic Germans. From the mid-1990s until the beginning of the 2000s, emigration to western Europe increased and took a temporary and seasonal character as destination countries were seen more as countries from which resources could be extracted, and less as countries of possible settlement. Since 2002, with the opening of the Schengen area and the subsequent accession to the EU 2007, Romanian emigration has intensified, major destinations including Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom.

Romania is to a lesser extent a destination country. Immigration levels have been modest, with less than 1 percent of the country's population being an immigrant.

Figure 1. Long-term temporary emigration and immigration in Romania, 2008-2016



Source: Eurostat and INSSE

Current patterns of migration

Immigration

Romania has one of the lowest shares of immigrants in the country's population, 0.6 percent, 0.3 percent being third country nationals. At the end of 2017, there were 116.8 immigrants registered in Romania, a 4 percent increase over 2016. Of these, 43 percent were granted temporary residence (mainly to nationals from Moldova, Turkey, China) and 11 percent were granted long-term residence (mainly to nationals from China, Turkey, Syria). A total of

43 percent of the immigrants are EU/EFTA nationals, originating mainly from Italy, Germany and France.

Figure 2. Main countries of immigration, 2016



In 2016, a total of 137 thousand persons immigrated to Romania, 66 percent of which were Romanian nationals. Approximately 47 percent of the foreign immigrants in Romania originated from Moldova, 8 percent from Spain, 5 percent from Ukraine and 3 percent from Italy and Turkey, respectively (figure 2). Most of the immigrants in 2016 (58 percent) were male. Many immigrants went to the North-East (16 percent) and South Muntenia (15 percent) regions. At the county level, Bucharest received the highest share of immigrants (8 percent of the total inflows in 2016), followed by the counties of Cluj, Iasi, Prahova, Constanta, Dolj and Timisoara (4 percent each).

The main reasons for immigration to Romania seem to be family reunification (43 percent), study (23 percent) and contract-based employment (9 percent)¹².

Refuge and Asylum

Throughout much of the Communist period, particularly in its final years, Romania was a major source of asylum-seekers. A considerable number of Romanians applied for asylum in Hungary, as well as in Western European countries, the US and Canada. The country continued to be a major source of asylum-seekers in Europe through the early 1990s, representing the second largest group of applicants, after citizens from former Yugoslavia. A total of 350 thousand applications were submitted between 1990 and 1994, three quarters of them in Germany.

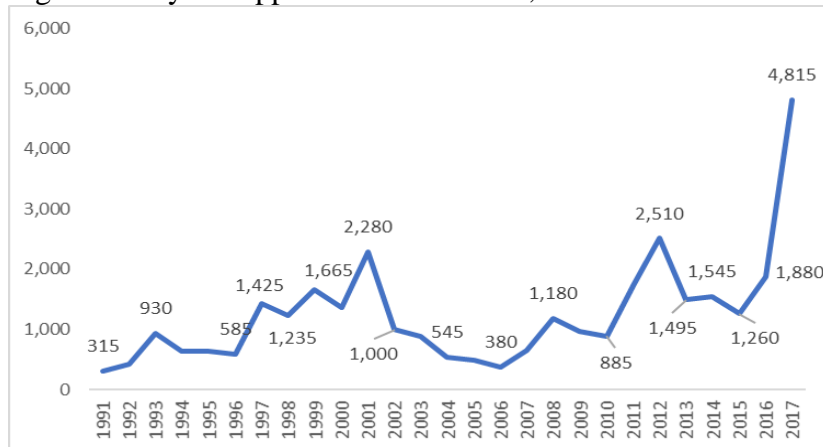
The country stopped being a source for asylum applications with the opening of the Schengen borders and the accession to the EU. Given its geographical position at the confluence of major migration routes, coupled with the closing of other entry points into the EU, Romania has started to receive an increasing number of asylum applications, although still relatively small compared to other EU Member States.

¹² Information for the year 2016.

In 2017, Romania received a total of 4.8 thousand applications for international protection, a 155 percent increase over 2016 (figure 3). Most applicants in 2017 originated from Iraq (2.7 thousand), Syria (945), Afghanistan (257), Pakistan (247) and Iran (207). Most applications were lodged in the months of August and September (30 percent of the total). Many applications were lodged by persons found illegally on the territory of the country, who wanted to travel further towards Western Europe and chose Romania as a migration route.

In 2017, humanitarian migrants (refugees and those granted humanitarian or subsidiary protection) constituted 5 percent of all immigrants registered in the country (3.9 thousand).

Figure 3. Asylum applicants in Romania, 1991-2017

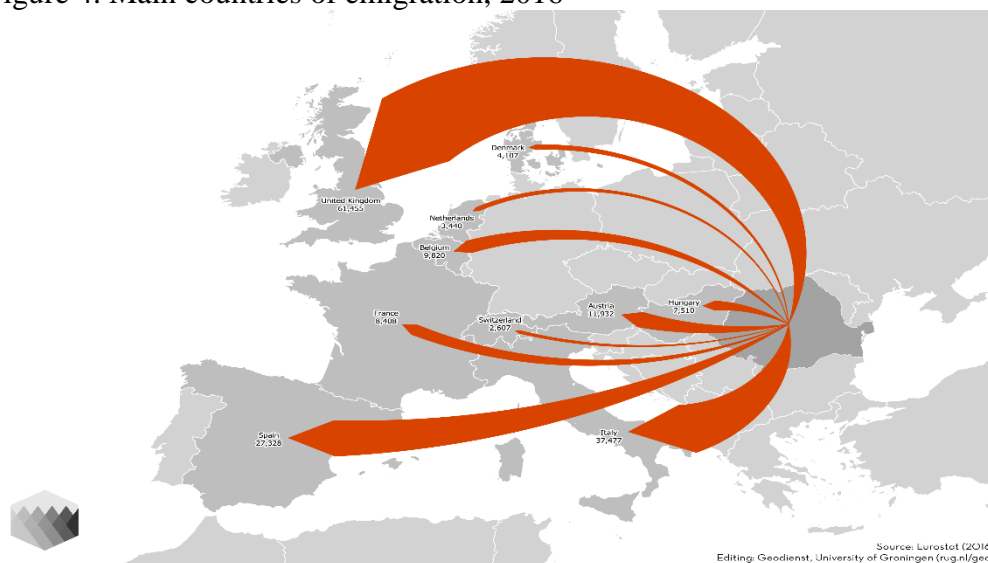


Source: Eurostat

Emigration

For most of its history, Romania has been a country of net emigration. Romanian emigration is primarily economically-driven and of short and medium-term duration. Recent data suggests that between 2000 and 2015, the country experienced a rapid growth (7.3 percent per year) in the size of its diaspora, with the total number of Romanians living abroad estimated in 2017 at more than 3.4 million persons (17 percent of the population), mainly established in Italy, Spain and Germany. This trend is not likely to slow down in the near future, as income differentials coupled with slow economic development will drive emigration.

Figure 4. Main countries of emigration, 2016



Source: Eurostat (2016)
Editing: Geodienst, University of Groningen (rug.nl/geo)

In 2016, a total of 207.6 thousand persons emigrated from Romania, over half of which were women (52 percent). The majority of the emigrants (96 percent) headed for EU28 countries (figure 4). Most of the emigrants in 2016 were young, 20 to 34 years old (49 percent). Many emigrants departed from the South-Muntenia and the North-East regions (16 percent each) and the least from the West region (9 percent). At the county level, most Romanians emigrate from the capital, Bucharest (9 percent), followed by the counties of Iasi, Constanta and Prahova (4 percent each).

Internal migration

Between the 1970s and the 1990s, internal migration in Romania was predominantly rural to urban. Beginning in 1992, this trend started to slow down, and urban to rural migration increased substantially, as a result of the country's economic transition and loss of jobs in the city. This trend continued until 1997, when the share of urban-rural migration outgrew the share or rural-urban migration, a process partly due to suburbanization.

Both external and internal migration in Romania reflect existing regional and rural-urban disparities in economic development. The regions which register a high degree of internal outflows are also the ones that experience considerable emigration to other countries. The three regions that register the highest outflows, both internal and external, are North-East, South-East and South. These regions are predominantly rural, with a high share of the agricultural sector, a relatively high poverty rate, low infrastructure development and a low level of GDP per capita compared to the country average.

The year 2016 registered a record of internal migration within Romania since 1991, with 389 thousand persons moving from one city to another in the country. This number most likely underestimates the actual level of internal mobility as it only registers those individuals who have formally registered their new location. Out of 41 total counties, only 10 have registered positive gains in population, including the counties of Timis, Sibiu and Arad which have seen a constant increase in population since 1991¹³. These 10 counties concentrate 42 percent of the country's population (almost half if one considers the non-registered internal migration).

In addition to experiencing demographic growth, these counties register the highest economic growth too, leading to increased socio-economic inequality between the different regions in Romania, which in turn triggers more internal migration and emigration.

Irregular migration

Romania has been both a source country and a receiver (or rather a transit country) of irregular migration.

Romania as a source country of irregularity began during the Communist regime, when irregular practices of crossing the border were used, since avenues for legal emigration were strictly restricted. However, even after the fall of Communism, labour migration from Romania was overwhelmingly irregular, as the majority of the Western European countries imposed entry visas for Romanian citizens, making legal access to these countries rather difficult. This has since changed, and regularization programs, like those in Italy, have given many labour migrants with Romanian citizenship legal residence status and access to employment in some countries of destination, while free movement and rights to work in all EU Member States have made irregularity increasingly rare.

Given its geographical position at the confluence of major migration routes, the country is also used as transit space for irregular immigration to more developed countries in Western Europe. This pattern has been especially intensified in recent years, with asylum seekers

¹³ The other 7 are Bihor, Braşov, Cluj, Constanţa, Giurgiu, Iaşi and Ilfov.

looking to lodge an application in countries like Germany or Austria using Romania as a transit route (particularly in light of the stringent Hungarian measures and the closing off of the route from Turkey). In 2017, a total of 3.6 thousand persons were found residing irregularly on the country's territory, a 36 percent increase over 2016.

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11.Spain

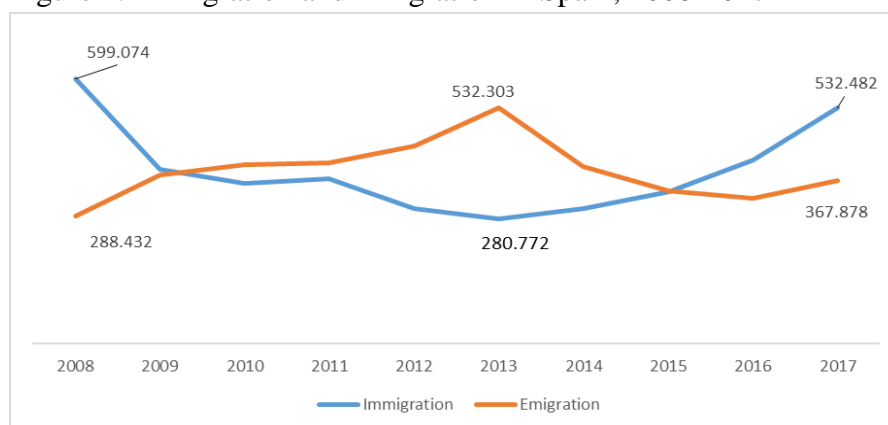
Historical patterns of migration

Traditionally a country of net emigration, Spain has been transformed within the span of a few decades into one of the most important immigration countries in Europe. In 1975, there were approximately 200 thousand immigrants living in Spain, by 2000 their number increased to 1 million and reached the peak of 6 million in 2008. The share of the immigrant population in the total population grew from 2.5 percent in 1975 to 14 percent in 2008, most of this growth taking place in the 2002-2008 period.

The initial immigration to Spain was relatively slow and consisted mostly of Northern and Western Europeans looking for a pleasant climate for retirement and Latin Americans escaping political turmoil in their home countries. However, economic migrants soon began to arrive from other regions (particularly from Latin America, Africa, and later Eastern Europe) in larger numbers. While British and Germans continued to settle as retirees, Spain also started to attract Eastern European labour migrants, particularly Romanians and Bulgarians. Labour migrants from Morocco, Pakistan and China also started to immigrate. Latin Americans represent an additional, and highly numerous, migration stream to Spain, particularly Argentinians but also Ecuadorians, Colombians and Bolivians.

Immigration flows suddenly decreased and emigration flows increased when the Spanish economy entered the recession in 2008 (see figure 1). An estimated 400 thousand people have left Spain every year between 2009 and 2014, compared to around 50 thousand between 2002 and 2005. Although these figures have triggered concerns about a brain drain and an exodus, a closer look reveals that most of the migrants are foreigners leaving because of a lack of job opportunities. For instance, in 2015, Spanish nationals accounted for only 18 percent of all emigrants.

Figure 1. Immigration and Emigration in Spain, 2008-2017



Source: INE

Current patterns of migration

Immigration

Spain experienced a sharp increase in immigration levels over the past two decades, making the country for a while the largest receiver of immigrants in the EU and the second largest in the OECD. The country's immigrant population increased from 1.5 million in 2000 to 6 million in 2008, and its share in the total population from 4 percent to 14 percent.

Immigration patterns, however, changed significantly after 2008, as the onset of the economic crisis which greatly affected the country triggered a spike in emigration and reduced immigration levels. As of July 1st, 2016, Spain had a population of 46.5 million inhabitants, 4.4 million of whom were non-nationals, the equivalent of 9.5 percent of the total population, a 4.5 percentage points decrease over 2008. An estimated 56 percent of the non-national population is represented by third country nationals, and 44 percent by EU nationals. Among third-country nationals there is a higher share of females (51 percent) than male, while among European Union nationals there was a higher share of men (51 percent). In terms of age groups, immigrants seem to on average be younger than Spanish nationals, with 25 percent of third country nationals and 22 percent of EU nationals aged 30 to 39.

Figure 2. Main countries of immigration, 2016



In 2017, Spain registered a positive migratory balance of 164.6 persons. An estimated 532.5 persons immigrated to Spain, representing a 28 percent increase over 2016. Of these, 15 percent were Spanish nationals. This is the third year the country experiences a positive net migration after the negative trend started in 2010. The main sending countries in 2016 were Venezuela, Morocco, Colombia and Romania (figure 2).

In 2017, 9.6 thousand more Spanish nationals emigrated than immigrated, while 174.2 thousand more foreign nationals immigrated than emigrated from Spain. The population with Spanish nationality that arrived in 2017 came mostly from Venezuela, Ecuador and the United Kingdom, while most foreign nationals originated from Morocco, Colombia and Venezuela. In 2017, net migration increased for Venezuelan, Italian and Colombian nationals and decreased for Romanian and UK nationals.

Refuge and Asylum

In 2017, Spain received a total of 31.2 thousand asylum applications, a twofold increase over 2016. This is the highest number of applications ever received in Spain. However, the highest leap occurred in 2015, which registered a 263 percent increase in applications over 2014.

In 2017, most applicants originated from Venezuela (33 percent), Syria (14 percent), Colombia (8 percent) and Ukraine (7 percent). The majority of applicants were men (58 percent), while 24 percent were children under 18.

While in 2016, the asylum applications received by Spain represented 1.3 percent of the applications lodged in the European Union as a whole, in 2017 this share increased to 4.4 percent. The significant increase in applications also shifted the country's position in the EU ranking in terms of numbers of asylum applications from 12th in 2016 to 6th in 2017.

Emigration

Triggered by the economic crisis from 2008, which greatly affected Spain, the country started to experience a high emigration rate, culminating with a negative net migration in 2010. The negative trend continued until 2015, when immigration started to pick up again and emigration to decrease. Although data is limited, evidence seems to suggest that most Spanish nationals that emigrated during this time were young, 25 to 35 years old, and relatively highly educated, with an estimated half having a university degree. Most Spanish nationals tended to emigrate to traditional destination countries like the UK, France, the US, Germany or Switzerland (figure 3).

Figure 3. Main countries of emigration, 2016



In 2017, 367.9 persons emigrated from Spain, a 12 percent increase over 2016. Of these, 24 percent were Spanish nationals. Of the total Spanish nationals emigrating in 2017, 63 percent were born in Spain and 53 percent were men. Main countries of destination included UK, France, US, Germany and Ecuador. In the case of Ecuador, but also Colombia and Bolivia, the characteristics of the emigrants seem to point to a return migration of Ecuadorian nationals who have also acquired Spanish nationality, and their children born in Spain.

Among the foreign nationals emigrating from Spain in 2017, the predominant nationalities were Romanian, British and Moroccan.

Internal migration

Internal migration patterns in Spain have changed significantly over the past few decades. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, employment opportunities in the newly

industrialised provinces and the high urban-rural income disparities triggered the movement of people from poorer regions to the richer Madrid, Catalonia and the Basque Country. This mobility trend changed in the 1980s and the 1990s, when the economic instability that Spain was experiencing led to return migration to the poorer provinces in the South and Southwest of Spain and to increased out-migration from the richer regions. During this period, the more significant flows were observed within regions due to the increase of employment in services, which prompted moves towards larger cities.

Increasing immigration from the early 2000s contributed to shifting patterns of internal migration. Since immigrants are usually more mobile than the native population, the increase in immigration resulted in an aggregate increase in internal migration. It is estimated that between 2002 and 2007, internal migration increased by 25 percent. Moreover, about 80 percent of that movement had urban areas as a destination. Internal migration, however, decreased between 2008 and 2013, most likely as a result of diminished immigration and increased emigration of both Spanish and foreign nationals.

More recently, in 2017, the regions of Madrid (+16.2 thousand), Catalonia (+3.8 thousand) and Illes Balears (+3.0 thousand) registered the highest level of a positive net internal migration, while the regions of Andalucía (-11.4 thousand), Castilla y León (-5.9 thousand) and Castilla-La Mancha (-4.6 thousand) registered the lowest levels of a negative net internal migration.

Irregular migration

Between mid-2016 and mid-2017, there has been an increase in irregular arrivals to Spain, reaching 6.8 thousand persons on June 1st 2017, up from 2.9 thousand persons on June 1st 2016. The irregular entries are mainly identified by sea. In the first half of 2016 there were 2.1 thousand irregular entries registered, while in the first half of 2017 this figure increased twofold, to reach 4.2 thousand. Particularly increased pressure was felt by the autonomous cities of Ceuta and Melilla, including attempts to jump over border crossing points.

In total, 22.9 thousand persons were detected as they reached Spain from Morocco or Algeria in the year 2017, up from a total of 10.2 thousand in 2016.

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12. Switzerland

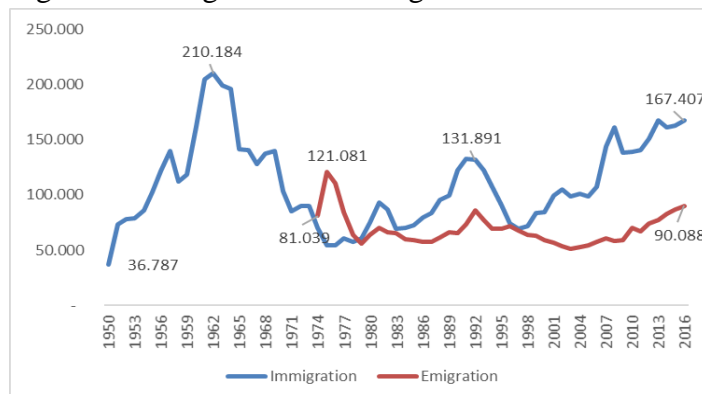
Historical patterns of migration

Switzerland has a long history of immigration, starting in the 19th century, when the expansion of the railway network brought the first flows of immigrants. At the time, immigration had been almost exclusively from neighbouring countries. Immigration continued through the 1950s and the 1960s, when Switzerland, like other European countries experiencing economic growth employed guest worker programs (mainly from Italy). The number of foreign workers in Switzerland jumped from 90 thousand in 1950 to 435 thousand in 1960 and further to 721 thousand by 1964. A series of stringent immigration measures led to a slight decline, only to pick up again by 1973, when it reached 897 thousand foreign workers. The share of immigrants in the total population increased accordingly during this period, from 6 percent in 1950 to 16 percent in 1974.

In 1973, partly as a result of the oil crisis, the guest workers programs were concluded. Immigration continued to increase through family reunification, albeit at a slower pace. The early 1990s brought about an increase in asylum applications and throughout the 2000s, Switzerland continued receiving significant inflows from EU countries.

By 2013, 2.4 million of the 6.8 million people aged 15 or more living in Switzerland had a migration background, 80 percent of which were born abroad. The largest immigrant groups in the country by 2016 were German, Italian, Portuguese and French nationals, together representing 45 percent of all immigrants in the country.

Figure 1. Immigration and Emigration in Switzerland



Source: Federal Office of Statistics

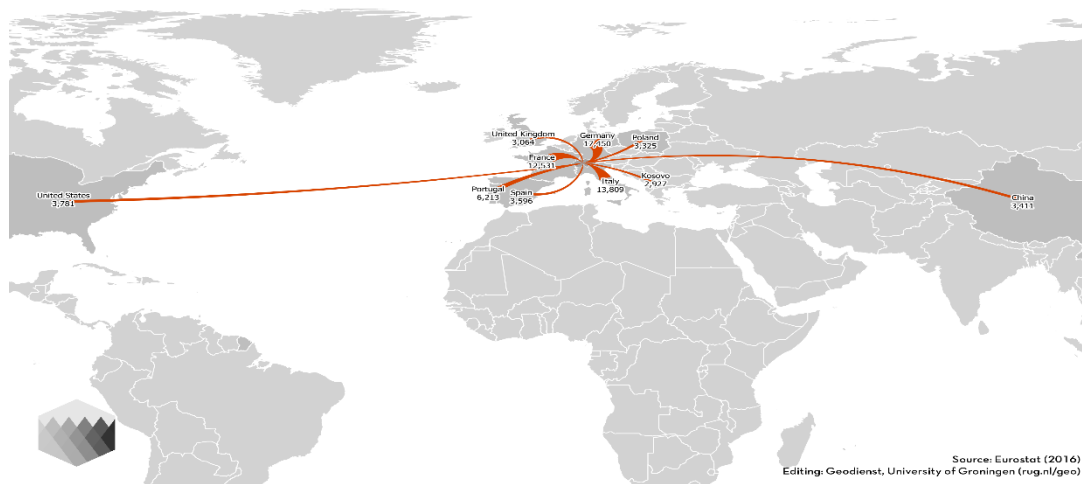
Current patterns of migration

Immigration

In 2016, 2.2 million migrants were residing in Switzerland, most of them originating from Italy (15 percent), Germany (14 percent), Portugal (13 percent), France (6 percent) and Spain (4 percent).

In 2016, an estimated 149.3 thousand immigrants entered Switzerland, a 3 percent decrease over the previous year. An estimated 33 percent of these were born in Germany, Italy and France.

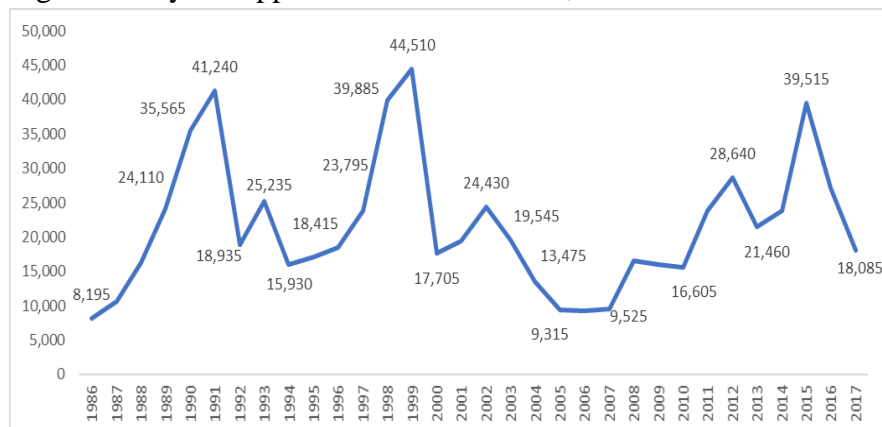
Figure 2. Main countries of immigration, 2016



Refuge and asylum

The volume of asylum applicants in Switzerland has fluctuated over the past 3 decades, with significant peaks observed in the late 1980s – early 1990s, late 1990s and in 2015 (figure 3).

Figure 3. Asylum applicants in Switzerland, 1986-2017



Source: Eurostat

In 2017, Switzerland received 18 thousand asylum applications, a 33 percent decrease over 2016. Most applicants originated from Eritrea (19 percent), Syria (11 percent), Afghanistan (7 percent), Somalia and Sri Lanka (5 percent each).

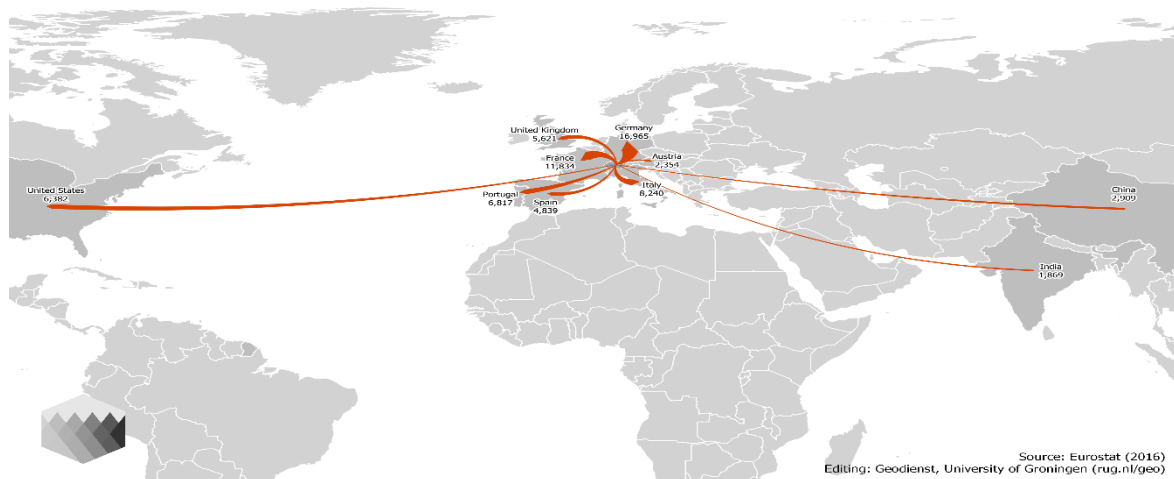
Emigration

In 2016, an estimated 90.1 thousand persons emigrated from Switzerland, a 4 percent increase over the previous year.

At the end of 2017, an estimated 751.8 thousand Swiss nationals were living abroad, in more than 200 countries, although the majority in Europe. An estimated 55 percent of all Swiss

emigrants are women. Almost 25 percent (196.3 thousand) of all Swiss national abroad are located in France. Other countries include the US (79.9 thousand), Germany (88.6 thousand), Italy (49.6 thousand), Canada (39.7 thousand) and UK (35 thousand) (figure 4).

Figure 4. Main countries of emigration, 2016



Swiss nationals living abroad tend to be younger than those living in Switzerland - 22 percent were minors under 18 years of age in 2017 compared to 18 percent, respectively.

Internal migration

Internal migration in Switzerland is caused by regional disparities in employment and income (including the tax burden), housing, technical infrastructure and social networks. In 2013, an estimated 480.1 thousand persons migrated within Switzerland. About 75 percent of these movements took place within the same canton, between municipalities.

Between 2004-2013, over 1.2 million persons moved to another canton. The cantons of Zurich, Aargau, Bern, St. Gallen and Vaud registered the highest levels of inflows while Basel-Stadt, Geneva, and Graubünden registered the highest level of outflows.

Irregular migration

Switzerland has in place, since 2008, a clause in the Asylum Act that concerns the prevention of irregular migration. Measures to prevent irregular migration can be taken at the political level (migration policy) or operational level (projects) and usually entail either information and awareness campaigns for potential migrants, or assistance to return migration.

In 2018, between January and May, an estimated 2.6 thousand migrants were apprehended at the border with Italy, and an estimated 2.3 thousand were apprehended at the border with Germany.

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13. United Kingdom

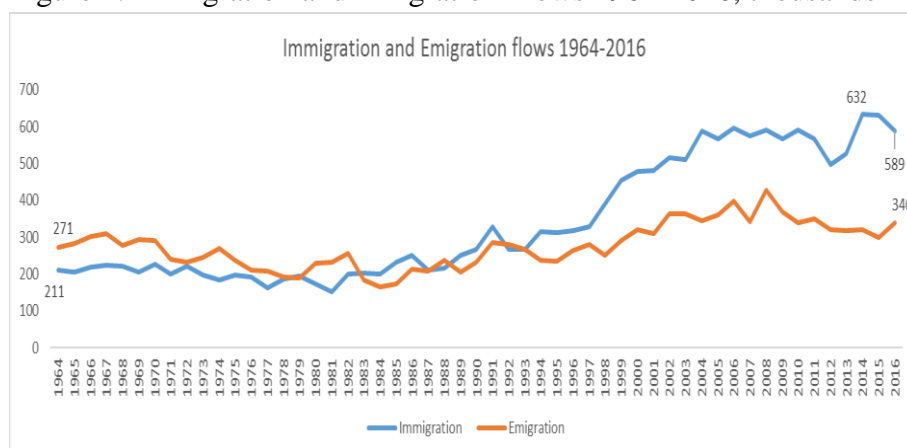
Historical patterns of migration

The United Kingdom has transformed from a country of emigration to one of immigration after WWII, as a result of large-scale inflows from its former colonies. Until the mid-1960s, immigration was economically-driven, fuelled by the UK's rapid economic growth and labour shortages. Immigration flows were relatively stable from the early 1970s until the 1990s, with family reunification immigration disproportionately represented in total inflows.

The 1990s brought about changes in the country's migration patterns. In the early 1990s, UK started to receive a significant number of asylum applications, growing from an average of 35 thousand applications per year between 1991-1998, to 100 thousand applications in 2002. Restrictive measures caused a sharp decline, so that by 2005, only 26 thousand applications were lodged. Concomitantly, skilled immigration began increasing too, with an estimated 130 thousand permits being granted annually between 2002 and 2005. Immigration registered a dramatic increase from 2004 onwards, with the enlargement of the EU.

Today, the United Kingdom receives more immigrants than at any point in its history. This has been reflected in the increase of the foreign-born population, from 4.9 million in 2001, to 8.5 million in 2015.

Figure 1. Immigration and Emigration Flows 1964-2016, thousands



Source: ONS

Current patterns of migration

Immigration

The foreign population in the UK was 8.5 million in 2015, of which the biggest groups were Indian (9 percent), Polish (9 percent), Pakistani (6 percent), Irish (4 percent) and German (3 percent) nationals.

The top 5 countries of immigration from the EU/EFTA in 2016 are Romania (24.7 percent), Poland (12.7 percent), France (11.5 percent), Italy (10.6 percent) and Spain (8 percent), while the top countries of immigration from Non-EU are China, India, USA and Australia (figure 2).

Figure 2. Main countries of immigration, 2016



Source: Eurostat

Editing: Geodienst, University of Groningen (rug.nl/geo)

England receives the majority of total immigration flows (89 percent in 2016), followed by Scotland (6.2 percent), Wales (2.6 percent) and Northern Ireland (2.0 percent). The regions of London (38 percent in 2016) and South East (13 percent) account for more than half of all immigration flows within England. At the county level, the West Midlands received the highest share of immigration flows in 2016, 5.7 percent of total.

Net migration over the past 10 years has ranged from a low of +154,000 in 2012 to a high of +336,000 in 2015. Further historical trends from 1964 for long-term international migration to and from the UK show that net migration has been continually positive since 1994 (figure 1).

Non-EU net migration (+205,000) was larger than EU net migration (+90,000), mainly due to the large decrease in EU net migration in 2017. The total number of people coming to work in the UK was 248 thousand in the year ending September 2017, a decrease of 45 thousand over 2016. In the year ending September 2017, the number of EU citizens coming to work in the UK has fallen by 58 thousand, driving the decrease in EU immigration. The most noticeable changes are seen for EU15 citizens (-24 thousand) and EU8 citizens (-18 thousand). For non-EU citizens net migration increased by 40 thousand persons over 2016.

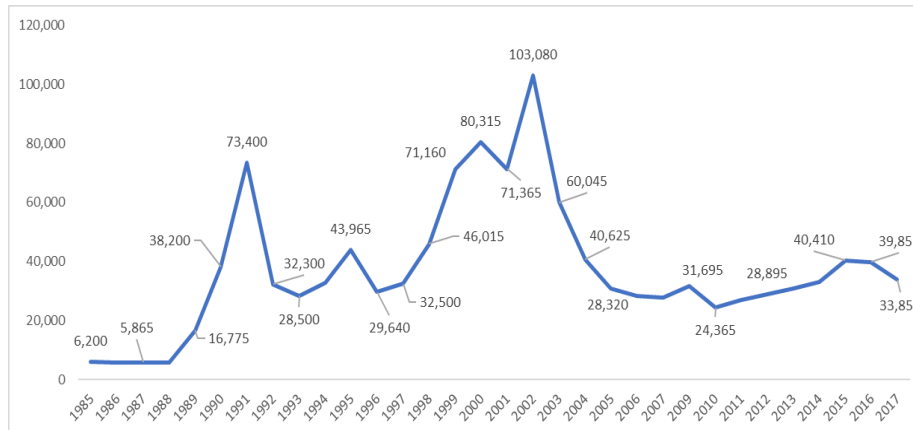
Refuge and Asylum

Until the late 1980s, the United Kingdom did not receive a significant number of asylum applications. For instance, it only received 5.7 thousand applications in 1988. The situation changed in the early 1990s, with the fall of the iron curtain, and again in the early 2000s, when the country reached a peak of over 103 thousand applicants (figure 3).

In 2017, the top 5 countries of origin for asylum applicants were Iraq (10 percent of all applications), Pakistan (10 percent), from Iran (9 percent), Bangladesh (6 percent) and Afghanistan (6 percent). A total of 14.8 thousand persons were granted asylum, alternative forms of protection and resettlement (40 percent of whom were under 18 years of age), a

decrease from a total of 15.2 thousand in 2016. Additionally, 5.2 thousand family reunification visas were issued to partners and children of those granted asylum or humanitarian protection in the UK, a 14 percent decrease over 2016.

Figure 3. Asylum applicants in the UK, 1985-2017



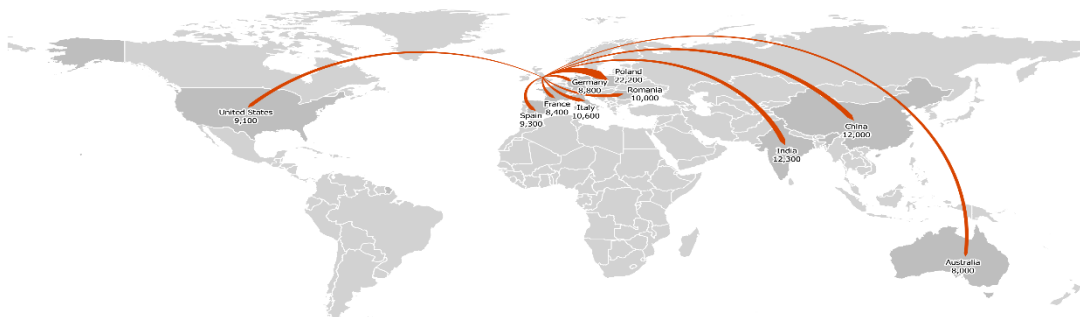
Source: Eurostat

*Data is not available for the year 2008

Emigration

In 2016, 315 thousand individuals emigrated from the UK, a 12 percent increase over the previous year. Of these, 35 percent were born in the UK, another 35 percent were born in EU countries, while 14 percent were born in Commonwealth countries. Among the EU-born emigrants, most were Polish (22 thousand), Italian (10 thousand), Romanian (10 thousand) and Spanish (9 thousand) nationals. Among the Non-EU emigrants, 12 thousand Indian and Chinese nationals left the country in 2016, followed by 9 thousand US and 8 thousand Australian nationals.

Figure 4. Main countries of emigration, 2016



Source: Eurostat

Editing: Geodienst, University of Groningen (rug.nl/geo)

The top 5 destination countries of emigration for British Citizens in 2016 were Australia, US, Spain, France and Canada, while for Non-British citizens these were Poland, Spain, China, USA and Italy.

England experiences the highest share of emigration flows (89 percent between 2015-2016), while Northern Ireland the lowest (4 percent). Over a third of the emigrants depart from the region of London (34 percent between 2015-2016), while the least from the North East region (2.1 percent).

Internal migration

Between 2015 and 2016, more than 287 thousand people left London for another region, almost 40 percent of which went to South East. The latter is also the region with the largest flows of internal migration in England, receiving over 17 percent of the total internal flows between 2015 and 2016.

In the 12-month period between July 2015 and June 2016, an estimated 2.85 million people moved between local authorities in England and Wales. The two regions with the highest numbers of moves in and moves out were London and the South East although they also have the largest populations. In total there were 223 local authorities with more people moving in than out, many of them in regions that also had a higher net inflow: South West, East of England, South East and East Midlands. However, there were still local authorities within these regions that had a net outflow, pointing to considerable within-region variation.

Irregular migration

Irregular migration in the UK can refer to instances of clandestine border crossing (either by avoiding border control or through fake documents), but it can also arise from regular entry and overstaying a visa. There seems to be a consensus that in the UK the majority of irregular migrants are overstayers rather than irregular entrants.

By its very nature, irregular migration is difficult to measure. The latest data estimated that in 2001 there were between 310-570 thousand irregular migrants, their number increasing to 417-863 thousand in 2008. One reason for the increase might be the fact that, unlike other European countries like Italy or Spain, the UK did not conduct significant regularisation campaigns over the years.

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Subtask 5.1c - Selection of potential case studies on different migration flows

This section presents a list of potential case studies selected for each of the partner countries. A number of important criteria were used for this selection.

To begin with, each pattern of migration represents an important flow into or out of the country, both in terms of size and in terms of socio-political importance. While some patterns, like Albanian migration to Greece, can be traced back decades, other patterns, like Portuguese migration to South Wales, are a more recent development and have been selected for their novelty as well as importance. Still some case studies, especially internal migration forms, have been gravely under-researched, yet they are important flows with spillover economic and social effects.

Secondly, the movements proposed represent different forms of migration, from intra-EU mobility between Spain and Ireland, non-EU migration between Albania and Greece, internal migration between the regions of Attica and Peloponnese in Greece, to asylum seekers in Athens and the region. Seasonal migration in Greece and Netherlands are additional aspects proposed to be analysed.

Thirdly, the proposed case studies reflect different geographies of migration, like the South-North migration of Italian migration to the Netherlands, the East-West migration of Poland to the UK and East-South migration of Romania to Italy. Moreover, it includes emerging trends like central to periphery internal migration in the Netherlands.

Fourthly, the flows proposed reflect deep inequalities between sending and receiving countries and regions, either in terms of wages, opportunities for upward mobility or lifestyle.

Lastly, not only are the case studies proposed important and relevant for each individual country involved, but their interconnectedness helps us better understand the migration processes taking place and developing in the European Union.

The following subsections will briefly introduce each potential case studies per country. A more in-depth discussion on each case study and the selection methodology will be presented in the next project delivery, D5.2, once the final case studies have been selected.

1. Greece

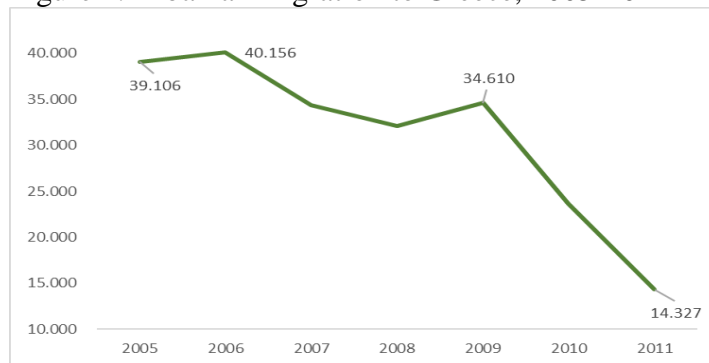
Albanian migration to Greece

With over 67 percent of the Non-EU immigrant population and 53 percent of the total immigrant population, Albanians represents the largest immigrant group in Greece (480 thousand in the last census, 2011).

Most Albanian immigrants chose to migrate to Greece due to its geographic proximity and the perception that it is a developed EU member state.

Albanian immigrants did not settle in all of the country's regions. Based on information from the 2011 census, approximately half the migrant population is gathered in Attica (193,521). The majority of Albanians are gathered in urban regions and, mainly, in the two largest urban centres of the country, namely the regional unit of Athens (60,497 in the municipality of Athens) and the regional unit of Thessaloniki (12,893 in the municipality of Thessaloniki).

Figure 1. Albanian migration to Greece, 2005-2011

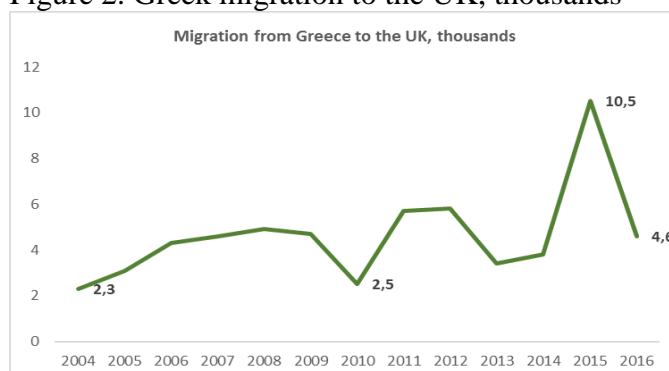


Source: OECD

Greek migration to the UK

The financial and economic crisis that severely affected Greece over the period 2009-2014, triggered a significant outflow of Greek nationals, most of them going to the UK and Germany. As unemployment rates in Greece increase, migration towards the UK soared, motivated by significant wage differentials: in 2018, the minimum wage in the UK was 1,407 EUR, compared to 586 EUR in Greece. Moreover, while the level of GDP per capita in the UK was 39,720 USD in 2017, it was less than half in Greece, at 18,613 USD.

Figure 2. Greek migration to the UK, thousands



Source: ONS

Romanian migration to Greece

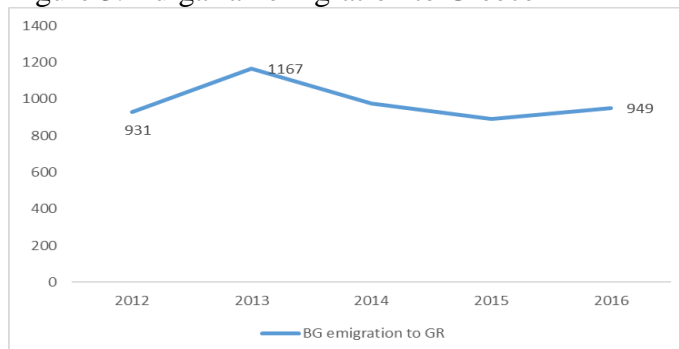
According to the 2011 Census, Romanians represent 5 percent of the immigrant population in Greece, with an estimated 46 thousand persons residing in the country. Romanian

migration to Greece is mostly seasonal and circular in nature, with many Romanians employed in the services sector during the summer months.

Bulgarian migration to Greece

According to the 2011 Census, Bulgarians represented 8 percent of the immigrant population in Greece, with an estimated 75 thousand persons. Political instability and high unemployment rates in the early 1990s triggered significant emigration from Bulgaria, a main destination country being Greece. The country was hosting at the time one of the largest communities of Bulgarian refugees, so the effect of networks and geographical proximity made it an obvious choice.

Figure 3. Bulgarian emigration to Greece



Source: Eurostat

Greek migration to Germany

According to data from the OECD, in 2015, an estimated 257 thousand Greek nationals were residing in Germany, the 7th largest immigrant group in the country. Greek migration to Germany intensified in the 1960s, through the guest worker programs that filled in the labour needs of the latter. Emigration to Germany picked up again in the early 2010s, when Greece was severely affected by economic recession and experience a sudden increase in outflows.

Refugees and asylum seekers in the regions of Attica and Western Greece

Greece experienced the brunt of migratory flows during the significant refugee inflows of 2014-15. Although at first more of a country of transition for refugees moving further north, the number of asylum applications to Greece has increased exponentially in the past couple of years, from 13 thousand in 2015, to 59 thousand in 2017 (figure 4). Most applicants originate from Syria, Pakistan, Iraq and Afghanistan and tend to settle in the region of Attica and the city of Athens, where they can rely on networks and more opportunities for employment.

Internal migration in Greece

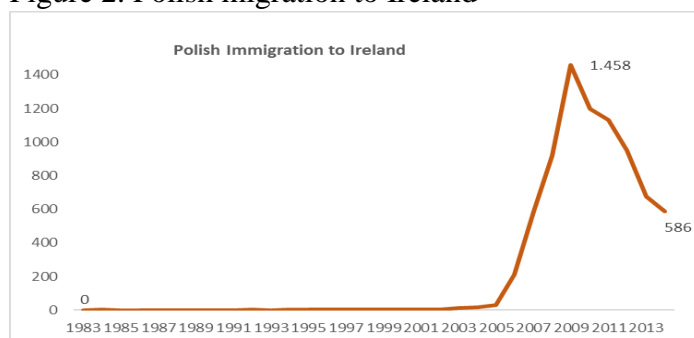
The case study intends to focus on internal migration, both rural-urban (mobility) and seasonal mobility in the regions of Attica and Western Greece.

2. Ireland

Polish migration to Ireland

Polish nationals represent the largest immigrant group in the country, with over 122 thousand individuals as of 2016. Immigration increased significantly in 2004, when all EU Member States, with the exception of Ireland, the UK and Sweden, implemented transitional arrangements. This resulted in a shift of migration routes for Polish nationals, from the traditional countries of immigration like Germany and Austria, to Ireland instead.

Figure 2. Polish migration to Ireland

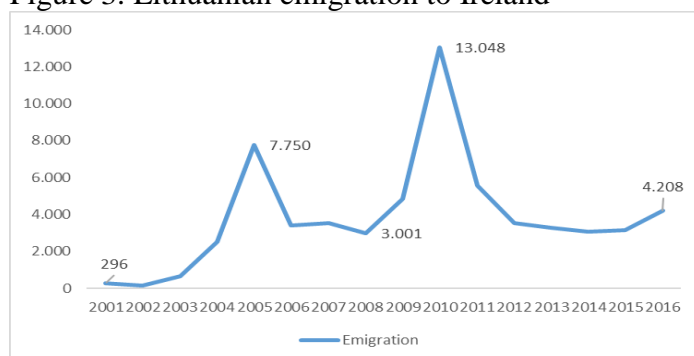


Source: Statistics Poland

Lithuanian migration to Ireland

Lithuanian nationals represent the third largest immigrant group in Ireland, with over 36 thousand individuals in 2016. Lithuanian migration to Ireland is driven largely by economic reasons, chief among them being wages and working conditions. According to the 2015 European Survey on Working Conditions, which assesses job satisfaction, 37 percent of Lithuanians are not satisfied with their wages, and 25 percent are not satisfied with their working conditions. Low wages, in particular, reduce the attractiveness of the Lithuanian labor market, spurring emigration to more advanced, higher income countries (IMF 2016). For instance, the minimum wage per month in Lithuania is 400 EUR, compared to 1 604 EUR in Ireland.

Figure 3. Lithuanian emigration to Ireland

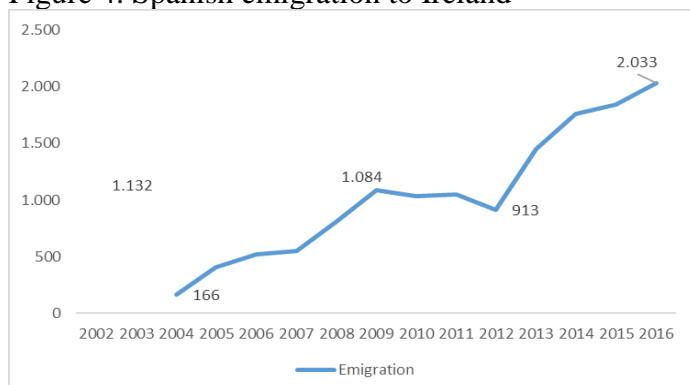


Source: Eurostat

Spanish migration to Ireland

Migration from Spain to Ireland has intensified in recent years, particularly in light of the recession which triggered significant emigration.

Figure 4. Spanish emigration to Ireland



Source: Eurostat

3. Netherlands

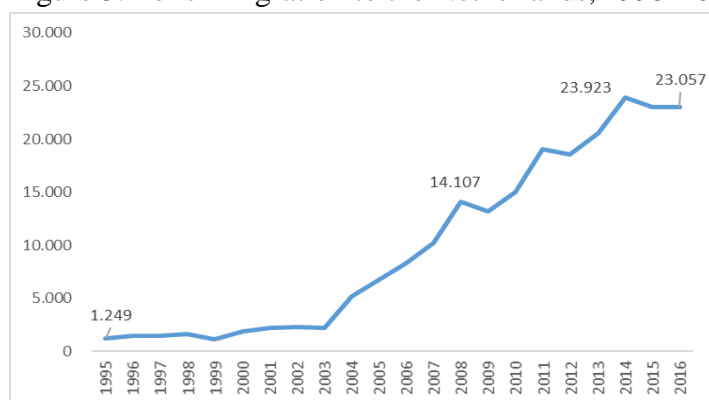
Polish migration to the Netherlands

Since Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004, the number of Polish immigrants in the country has increased exponentially, from 21 thousand in 2003, to over 117 thousand in 2015. Migration is motivated by economic reasons; in 2018, the minimum wage in Poland was 479 EUR, while in the NL it was 1,594 EUR., while in 2017, the level of GDP per capita in Poland was 13,811 USD compared to 48,223 USD in the Netherlands.

In May 2016, 150 thousand persons with a Polish background were registered in the Netherlands. Almost two-thirds of the Polish immigrants, particularly those originating from provinces that are relatively close to the Netherlands, come to work in the agricultural sector, which results in a high concentration of Polish nationals in rural areas, such as Westland, Zeewolde, Zundert and Aalsmeer.

Many Poles can also be found in urban areas, such as The Hague (8.6 percent of the total Polish population in 2017) or Rotterdam (5.9 percent). The proximity of Westland might be one reason why these cities exhibit such a high concentration of Poles, much so than in the other of the 4 Randstad cities, Amsterdam and Utrecht. At the province level, most of the Poles are located in the provinces of South Holland (32 percent) and North Brabant (23 percent).

Figure 3. Polish migration to the Netherlands, 1995-2016, numbers



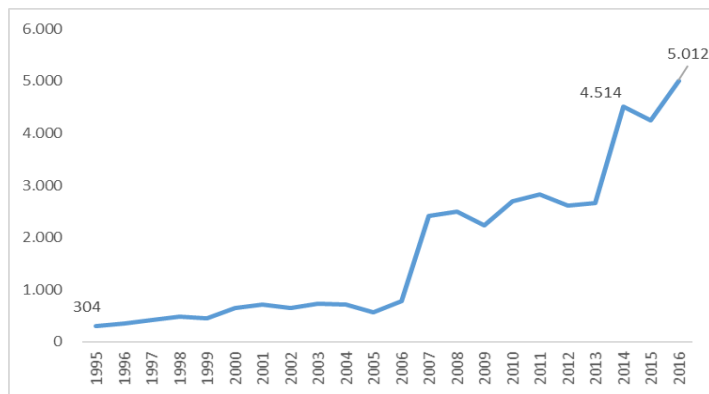
Source: CBS

Romanian migration to the Netherlands

Romanian immigration to the Netherlands increased significantly since the country's accession to the European Union, and in particular, since the end of the transitional arrangements in 2014.

Migration is mostly economically driven: in 2018, the minimum wage in Romania was 407 EUR, while in the Netherlands it was 1,594 EUR. Moreover, in 2017, the level of GDP per capita in Romania was 10,813 USD whereas in the Netherlands it was 48,223 USD.

Figure 4. Romanian migration to the Netherlands, 1995-2016, numbers

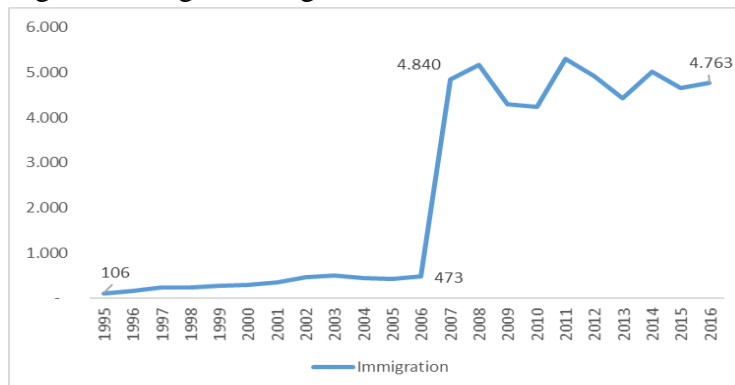


Source: CBS

Bulgarian migration to the Netherlands

In 2016, Bulgarian nationals represented the 5th largest EU immigrant group entering the country. Immigration from Bulgaria increased exponentially after the country's accession to the EU in 2007 (see figure 4) and has remained relatively stable since. Migration is mostly economically driven: in 2018, the monthly minimum wage in Bulgaria was 261 EUR, while in the Netherlands it was 1,594 EUR. Moreover, in 2017, the level of GDP per capita in Bulgaria was 8,031 USD whereas in the Netherlands it was 48,223 USD.

Figure 5. Bulgarian migration to the Netherlands, 1995-2016

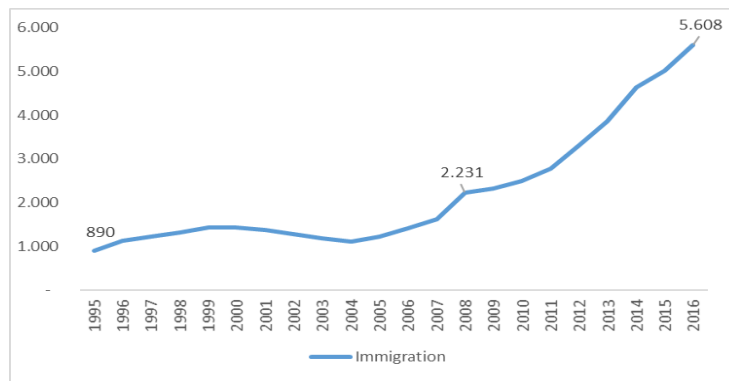


Source: CBS

Italian migration to the Netherlands

In 2016, Italian nationals represented the 5th largest EU immigrant group entering the country. Immigration from Italy increased significantly beginning with 2008, the year of the economic crisis which greatly affected the country and has been on the rise ever since. Migration is mostly economically driven: in 2017, the level of GDP per capita in Italy was 31,953 USD whereas in the Netherlands it was 48,223 USD.

Figure 6. Italian migration to the Netherlands, 1995-2016

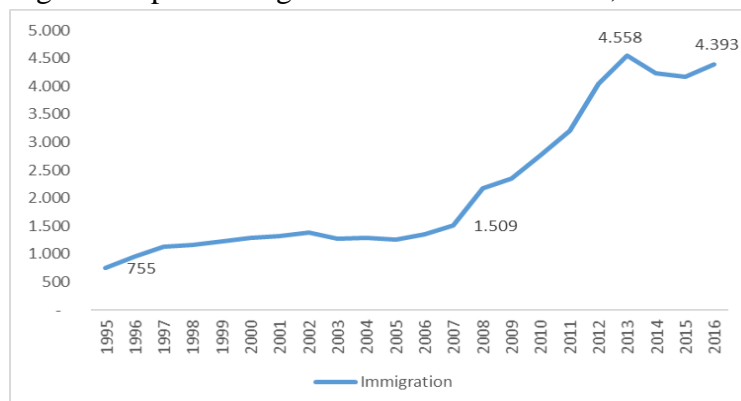


Source: CBS

Spanish migration to the Netherlands

In 2016, Spanish nationals represented the 9th largest EU immigrant group entering the country. Spanish migration to the Netherlands increased significantly after 2007-2008, when the economic crisis set in. Since then, immigration levels from Spain have been constantly around 4 thousand persons. Migration is mostly economically driven: in 2018, the monthly minimum wage in Spain was 735.9 EUR, while in the Netherlands it was 1,594 EUR. Moreover, in 2017, the level of GDP per capita in Spain was 28,156 USD whereas in the Netherlands it was 48,223 USD.

Figure 7. Spanish migration to the Netherlands, 1995-2016

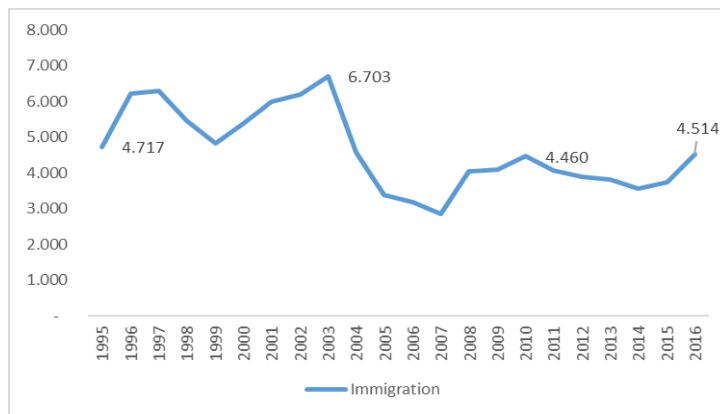


Source: CBS

Turkish migration to the Netherlands

In 2016, Turkish nationals represented the 3rd largest non-EU immigrant group entering the country, after the Indian and Syrian nationals. Although fluctuating in the past decades, immigration flows from Turkey have reached on average over 4 thousand persons per year in the period 1995-2016. Turkish nationals represent the largest immigrant group in the Netherlands, and their immigration is driven by economic reasons and aided by network effects.

Figure 8. Turkish migration to the Netherlands, 1995-2016



Source: CBS

Internal migration in the Netherlands

The case study intends to analyse centre to periphery mobility in one of two regions in the Netherlands, namely east Groningen or Friesland. This is an emerging phenomenon in the country and a gravely underresearched aspect of internal movements.

Asylum seekers and refugees in the Netherlands

The case study proposes to explore the nexus between inequality and migration in rural contexts in the Netherlands.

The years 2014-2017 have again seen a substantial increase in the number of asylum applications to the Netherlands, particularly from Syria (16.5 percent of all applications in 2017) and Eritrea (9.1 percent). Once they receive their status, many humanitarian migrants are relocated in rural areas, where they can decide whether to remain to further migrate to urban centres. Exploring this decision making process and how it is moderated by inequality is one of the objectives of this case study.

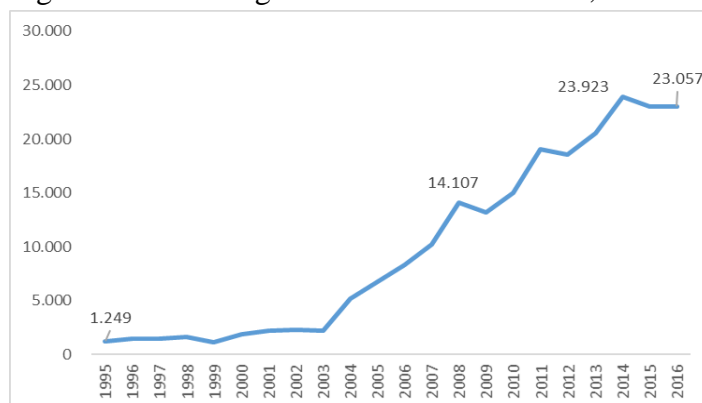
4. Poland

Polish migration to the Netherlands

The majority of the recently emigrated Polish nationals come from the West region in Poland. The top 3 provinces of origin are Silesia, Greater Poland and Lower Silesia. More than a third of the Polish nationals emigrating to the Netherlands in 2013 or 2014 originate from these provinces. In absolute numbers, about 70 percent of those living in the Netherlands come from urban areas, like Warsaw, Wrocław, Poznań and Bydgoszcz. In the Netherlands, Polish immigrants centre around Westland and The Hague, and around Zeewolde and Putten.

Although the ranking of the largest origin provinces varies from year to year, there are a number of provinces from which many or few Polish nationals have consistently emigrated since 2004. Specifically, the share of Polish nationals in the Netherlands relative to the Polish population within the province has always been quite high for the (south-) western provinces that border Germany and the Czech Republic such as Opole, Lubusz and West Pomerania, the northern province of Ermland-Mazury and the eastern province of Lublin. On the other hand, there are a number of provinces from which a small percentage of Polish nationals relative to the provinces' population emigrates to the Netherlands, such as Podlaskie, Masovian and Lower Poland, further in the East. This seems to indicate that geographical proximity distance plays a significant role in the migration patterns of Polish nationals to the Netherlands.

Figure 2. Polish migration to the Netherlands, 1995-2016, numbers

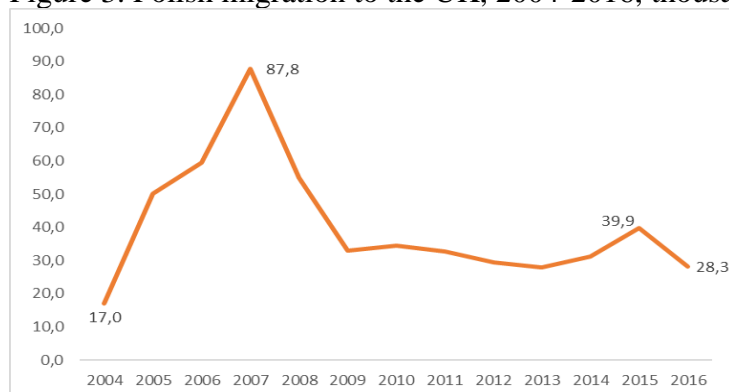


Source: CBS

Polish migration to the UK

Polish nationals make up the largest immigrant group in the UK. Although emigration from Poland to the UK has slowed down in recent years, it still represents the second largest EU immigrant group in terms of yearly inflows. Migration to the UK is mostly economically-driven - in 2018, the minimum wage in Poland was 479 EUR, compared to 1,407 EUR in the UK, while the level of GDP per capita in Poland was 13,811 USD compared to 39,720 USD in the UK.

Figure 3. Polish migration to the UK, 2004-2016, thousands

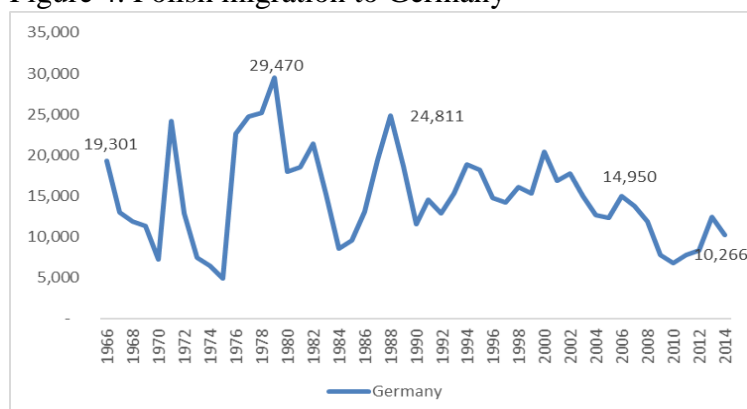


Source: ONS

Polish migration to Germany

Almost half (43 percent) of the Polish nationals abroad in 2016 were located in Germany. Germany has historically been an important destination for Polish nationals, from the 1930 when ethnic Jews emigrated to Germany, to the 1950s when ethnic Germans left the country, to more recent times when migration to Germany has been mainly economically-driven

Figure 4. Polish migration to Germany

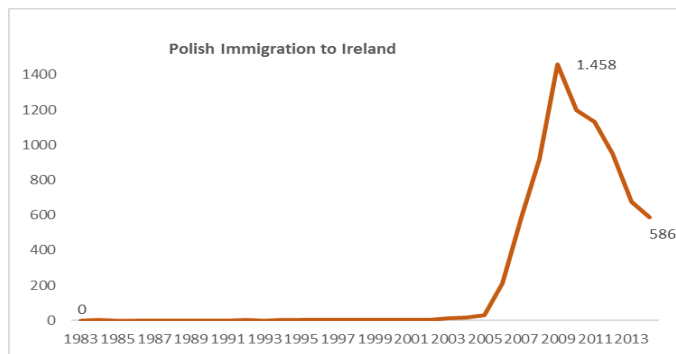


Source: Statistics Poland

Polish migration to Ireland

Polish nationals represent the largest immigrant group in the country, with over 122 thousand individuals as of 2016. Immigration increased significantly in 2004, when all EU Member States, with the exception of Ireland, the UK and Sweden, implemented transitional arrangements. This resulted in a shift of migration routes for Poles, from the traditional countries of immigration like Germany and Austria, to Ireland instead.

Figure 5. Polish migration to Ireland

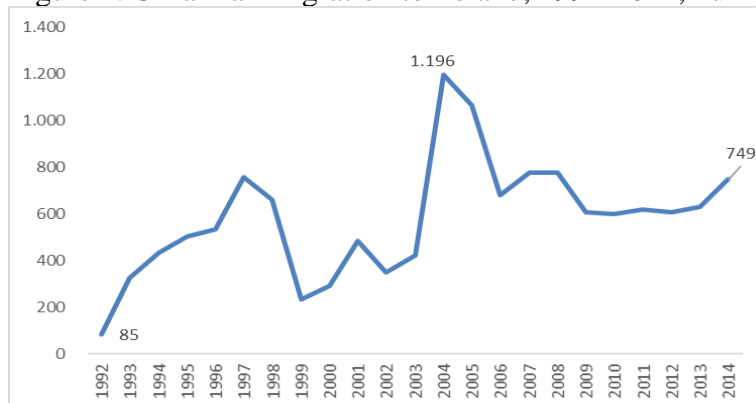


Source: Statistics Poland

Ukrainian migration to Poland

Due to geographic proximity and recent amends to legislation, which have made it easier for Ukrainian nationals to find work in Poland, Ukrainian migration to Poland has increased significantly in recent years. Ukrainian migration to Poland is motivated by security concerns and economic factors - in 2018, the minimum wage in Poland was 479 EUR, compared to 121 EUR in Ukraine, while the level of GDP per capita in Poland was 13,811 USD compared to 2,639 USD in Ukraine.

Figure 4. Ukrainian migration to Poland, 1992-2014, numbers



Source: Statistics Poland

Rural-urban migration

Rural-urban migration in Poland is driven by significantly higher levels of income and living conditions and less social exclusion in urban settings.

Sub-urbanization

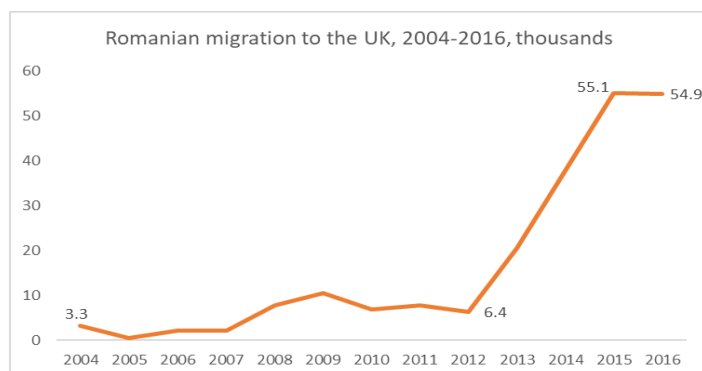
Poland has been experiencing an intense process of suburbanization, process made easier by the advent of public transportation, including railways, buses and private cars.

5. United Kingdom

Romanian migration to the UK

Romanian migration to the UK has increased exponentially since the removal of the transitional arrangements in 2014. Romanian Migration to the UK is economically-driven. In 2018, the minimum wage in Romania was 407 EUR, compared to 1,407 in the UK, while the level of GDP per capita in Romania was 10,813 USD compared to 39,720 USD in the UK (in 2017).

Figure 2. Romanian migration to the UK, thousands

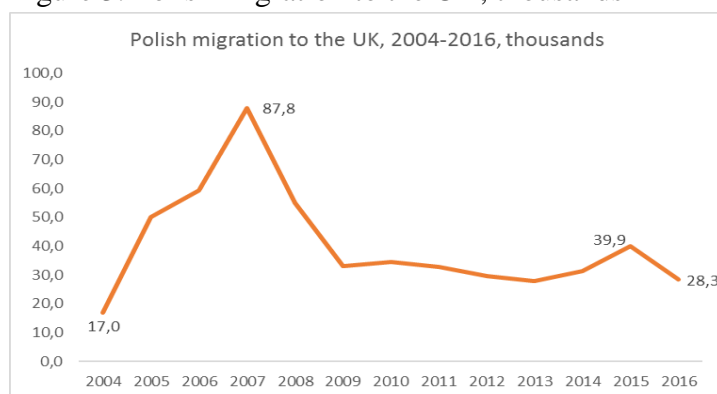


Source: ONS

Polish migration to the UK

Although slightly decreasing in recent years, Polish migration to the UK is still one of the most significant influxes the country receives and the second largest EU immigrant group in terms of yearly inflows. Polish migration to the UK is mainly motivated by income differentials; in 2018, the minimum wage in Poland was 479 EUR, compared to 1,407 EUR in the UK. Moreover, the level of GDP per capita in Poland was 13,811 USD in 2017, compared to 39,720 USD in the UK.

Figure 3. Polish migration to the UK, thousands



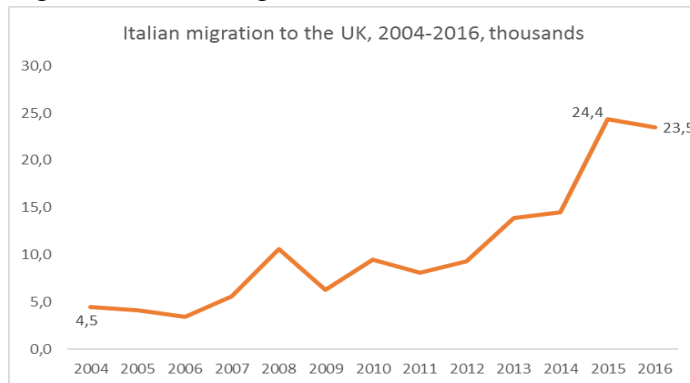
Source: ONS

Italian migration to the UK

Italian migration to the UK has in recent years become the third largest inflow into the country. A major reason for the increase owes to the deteriorating economic situation in Italy. Italian migration registered an increase in 2008, when the effects of the global economic

recession first started to affect the country and has been on the rise ever since. Migration is mostly economically driven: in 2017, the level of GDP per capita in Italy was 31,953 USD whereas in the UK it was 39,720 USD. Moreover, the unemployment rate in Italy was 11.3 percent in 2017, compared to 4.3 percent in the UK.

Figure 4. Italian migration to the UK, thousands

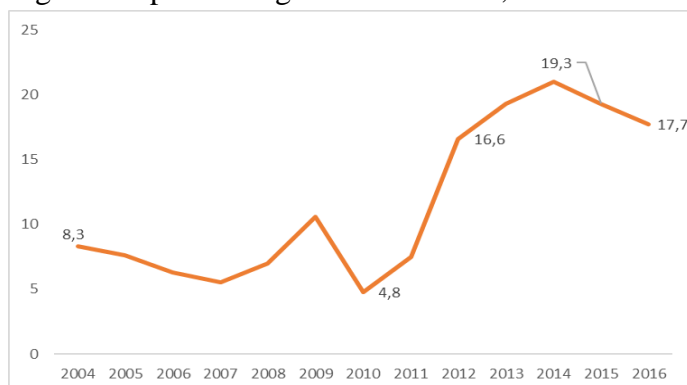


Source: ONS

Spanish migration to the UK

Spanish migration to the UK increased significantly after 2010, when the effects of the economic crisis were felt the worst. Since then, immigration levels from Spain have been constantly over 15 thousand persons. Migration is mostly economically driven: in 2018, the monthly minimum wage in Spain was 735.9 EUR, while in the UK it was 1,407 EUR. Moreover, in 2017, the level of GDP per capita in Spain was 28,156 USD whereas in the UK it was 39,720 USD.

Figure 5. Spanish migration to the UK, thousands

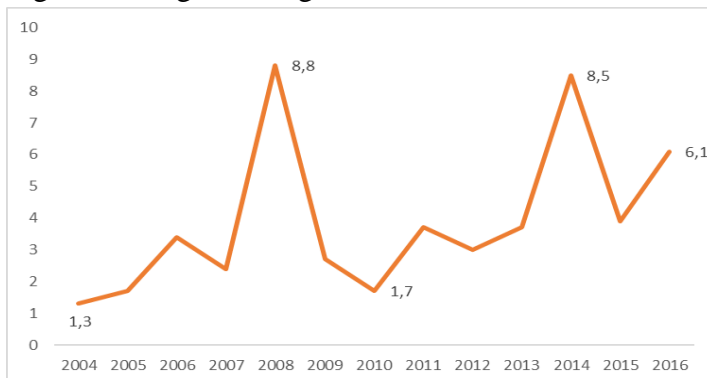


Source: ONS

Bulgarian migration to the UK

Similarly, to Romania, Bulgaria also experience a significant increase in migration to the UK. Figure 6 points to two significant spikes in Bulgarian migration to the UK, one in 2007, when Bulgaria joined the EU and its internal market, and the second in 2014, after the lifting of the 7-year transitional arrangements. Although it fluctuates significantly year-on-year, the BG to UK migration flow has constantly been significantly above pre-enlargement levels.

Figure 6. Bulgarian migration to the UK, thousands

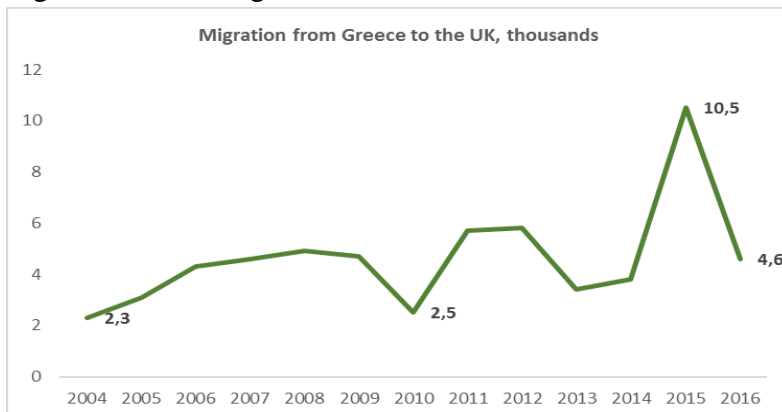


Source: ONS

Greek migration to the UK

The financial and economic crisis that severely affected Greece over the period 2009-2014, triggered a significant outflow of Greek nationals, most of it to the UK and Germany. As unemployment rates in Greece increased, migration towards UK soared. In 2017, the unemployment rate in the former was 21.4 percent compared to 4.3 percent in the latter. The choice of UK as destination is motivated by significant wage differentials: in 2018, the minimum wage in the UK was 1,407 EUR, compared to 586 EUR in Greece. Moreover, while the level of GDP per capita in the UK was 39,720 USD in 2017, it was less than half in Greece, at 18,613 USD.

Figure 7. Greek migration to the UK, thousands



Source: ONS

Portuguese migration to the UK

Portuguese migration to the UK started as early as the 1950s, with the guest workers programs and continue until today due to unemployment rates in Portugal and relatively higher wages in the UK.

German migration to the UK

The UK is one of the main destinations of German nationals, with an estimated 270 thousand Germans residing in the country in 2011.

French migration to the UK

French migration to the UK is a historical pattern that has fluctuated over time but has never really halted. Presently, the UK is the main destination for French nationals, with the latter being one of the main sources of immigration for the UK. The presence of the Eurostat and the possibility for French nationals to commute to London and the UK more broadly could be an explanation for the increasing share of employment in London for French nationals.

Internal migration – the case of Liverpool and Bristol migration to South Wales

The case study proposes the exploration of an emerging but little studied pattern of internal migration between Bristol and Liverpool and Wales, two diverse cities with strong connection to the region.