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Impact of migration on society and policies

Types of migration in Europe: implications and policy concerns

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SECTION 1 — FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

1.1 Problems of concept and definition

As policy makers and researchers, we confront the confusion that surrounds the migration debate daily. Concepts are unclear. Statistics are quoted in ways that alarm rather than inform. A very partial picture of population movement is often presented.

The answer to the question “what is migration?” is by no means straightforward. International migration is a sub-category of a wider concept of ‘movement’, embracing various types and forms of human mobility (from commuting to emigration). What we define as migration becomes an arbitrary choice and may be time specific. Migration streams are dynamic, involve different types of people and motivations, have different roles and different implications for host societies, and are influenced and managed by different agencies and institutions.

In successive annual reports for the Council of Europe on current trends in European international migration I have indicated how complex migration typologies might be. For example, the concept of *permanent migration* is epitomised in the idea of new lands of opportunity, but today what we mean by ‘permanent’ is less clear: mostly it occurs indirectly, resulting from previous temporary migrations, perhaps accompanied by *family reunion* and *family formation*. Most voluntary migration in recent decades has featured *temporary labour migrants*, an enormously diverse group which includes au pairs and domestic servants, agriculture and construction workers, hotel, catering, and cleaning staff, and highly skilled corporate secondees. The health and education systems have been actively recruiting foreign professionals for varying time periods and the universities have been striving successfully to attract more *foreign students*. The legal mobility spectrum must also take some account of the vast numbers of *tourists* and *business travellers*. For some of them, brief trips abroad are fact-finding missions which ultimately lead to longer term moves; for others, business travel is a substitute for two or three year corporate secondments. Finally, it is important that these diverse groups are not seen as discrete, since one type of migration or journey may transform into another.

1.2 What are the main types of migrants in Europe today?

Assessing the scale of migration is important for many reasons, not least its impact on the size of the population as a whole. Aggregate figures, however, cover a multitude of rationales and processes behind a set of diverse movements. Both migrants themselves and a range of other institutions, including government, employers, trade unions and human rights groups, have their reasons for promoting or reducing movement. The migrations that occur are the outcome of various processes that operate differentially on different types of movement.

Family reunion, for instance, is generally accepted as a fundamental human right and is the rationale behind both immigration and emigration of close family members. Other types of movement have quite different roots and proceed in different ways. Educational institutions play a leading role in the promotion and selection of foreign students and there are no quotas. In contrast, in some countries quotas have been established for entry schemes for low-skilled workers in the hospitality and food-processing industries. Quite different circumstances surround retirement migration,

where moves are usually personal decisions, tempered by social security and pension arrangements.

Despite this diversity, political and media discourse in Europe tends towards a simplistic view of international migration. For example, debates around asylum in particular have become polarised, between pro-asylum advocates on the one hand and some fairly virulent anti-asylum press coverage on the other. One way to achieve a more balanced view is to recognise that even within the single category ‘asylum seekers’ there is enormous diversity. Asylum seekers come to Europe for a variety of reasons; they originate in a wide range of countries; they have diverse educational backgrounds and skills; some come alone and others with family members, and there are increasing numbers of unaccompanied minors claiming asylum. There are similar diversities affecting other migration streams. In the UK, for example, labour migrants include the Irish, moving within a common travel area, other EU nationals with rights of free movement, those with work permits (some with additional dependants), working holidaymakers, au pairs, domestic employees, seasonal agricultural workers, people entering under the new sectors based and highly skilled migrants schemes, as well as ministers of religion.

In short, migration flows are extremely varied. People come for different reasons, stay for different periods and fulfil different roles. Simultaneously, thousands of people each year return to their country of origin or migrate elsewhere. European nationals are part of the movement in both directions.

1.3 Framework for analysis

For the purposes of this study, four main migration entry streams were selected: labour, family, students and asylum. From the outset, the study was intended to be conceptual and of necessity its results are presented at a general level. In any attempt to analyse in detail the links between a wide variety of flow types and an equally wide set of potential implications it quickly becomes clear that such is the complexity and level of detail that the task is unmanageable. It is not surprising that such an exercise as this has not been tried before. Thus, what is set out in this paper is very much a first step in linking migration streams with their implications.

The framework for analysis is a matrix which relates type of migrant entry stream to a set of implication fields. The focus of attention here is on the implications at destination rather than at origin. The starting framework is illustrated in Table 1.

1.3.1 Migration entry streams

The rows in the matrix identify the main migration streams, each of which may be further subdivided, notably by nationality, motives, duration of stay, origin and skill levels. For example, in the labour route of entry, the highly skilled include a variety of specialists, including professionals and executives. Many of them move within international corporate organisations. They are frequently human resources that governments set out deliberately to attract. In contrast, low-skilled workers enter in different ways, many in seasonal or temporary schemes. Their skills are often interchangeable.

Among family migrants, family formation and reunification are processes which differ in their scale and outcomes. Whether family movers are elderly or children is also important in assessing the implications of movement on host populations and on migrants and their families. Students and asylum seekers may also comprise different streams within major routes of entry.

Table 1 – Framework for analysis

| Migration Type | Labour market | Education | Health | Housing |
|---|--|------------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>Labour</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Highly skilled ▪ Low skilled ▪ Permanent ▪ Temporary | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ spatial <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – national – local ▪ institutional ▪ societal <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – individual – community | ... | ... | ... |
| <i>Family</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Formation ▪ Reunification ▪ Elderly ▪ Young | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| <i>Students</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Education ▪ Trainees and apprentices | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| <i>Refugees and Asylum</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Asylum seekers ▪ Refugees ▪ Temporary protection | ... | ... | ... | ... |

1.3.2 Implication fields

Large-scale population flows into and out of a country have many social and economic implications. Four major fields were chosen in each of which certain implications of migration were selected for analysis: labour market; education; health and welfare; housing;. Within each of these, three types of implication were identified in the first instance: spatial; institutional and societal.

In spatial terms, different types of migrants have implications at both national and local levels. To some extent the implications reflect geographical distributions, degrees of concentration affecting, for example, health or educational provision, housing availability and quality, unemployment or skill shortages. There are also implications for particular organisations such as employers, schools and hospitals and trade unions. These organisations may function as migration drivers, facilitators or avenues of integration. They may have a positive or negative effect on the scale and nature of movement. Societal implications occur at individual and community levels

within destination countries and regions (although it is recognised that individuals and societies in countries of origin are also affected).

1.3.3 Regional distributions of migrants

The local implications of migrant flows are strongly affected by the degree to which the migrants are concentrated regionally. Concentrations vary enormously, major determining variables being the relative locations of host countries, their internal geographies (including the presence of ‘escalator regions’ (Fielding, 1993)), migrant networks and government regional and dispersal (as in the case of asylum seekers in some countries) policies. Where there are migrant concentrations, the implications of new flows will generally be greater (although it is acknowledged that in areas with few immigrants or none, the arrival of even a small number may have disproportionate social effects). What is required is an overall summary of the degree to which migrants are evenly distributed across countries in different types of areas. This is attempted in Table 2, derived from OECD (2004).

Table 2 – Geographic distribution of foreigners in selected European countries, 2001

| Country | Concentration in non-rural regions (1) | Concentration in "rich" regions (2) | Region with largest number of foreigners (c) | |
|-----------------|--|-------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| | (a) | (b) | Name | Incidence of foreigners (3) |
| Austria | 2.2 | 2.8 | Vienna | 2.0 |
| Belgium | 1.9 | 1.5 | Brussels | 3.0 |
| Czech Republic | 2.2 | 3.4 | Prague | 2.6 |
| Finland | 2.5 | 2.5 | Uusimaa | 1.8 |
| France | 3.0 | 3.0 | Ile de France | 2.3 |
| Germany | 2.1 | 2.1 | Dusseldorf | 1.4 |
| Greece | 2.7 | 2.5 | Attikiti | 1.8 |
| Hungary | 1.4 | 2.0 | Central Hungary | 1.8 |
| Italy | 3.7 | 5.3 | Lombardia | 1.7 |
| Netherlands | 1.7 | 1.5 | Zuid-Holland | 1.3 |
| Norway | 2.3 | 2.3 | Oslo o Akerhus | 1.8 |
| Portugal | 1.8 | 1.8 | Lisboa e Vale do Tejo | 1.9 |
| Slovak Republic | 4.2 | 4.2 | Bratislavski | 3.1 |
| Spain | 1.4 | 1.9 | Madrid | 2.0 |
| Sweden | 2.2 | 2.2 | Stockholm | 1.8 |
| Switzerland | 3.4 | 1.6 | Zürich | 1.1 |
| United Kingdom | 2.6 | 2.0 | Inner London | 5.6 |

Source: OECD (2004); European Community Labour Force Survey (Eurostat)

1. The ratio of the proportion foreign nationals in non-rural areas as compared with the country as a whole. For example, in Austria, the proportion of foreign nationals to the total population in non-rural areas is 2.2 times the proportion of foreign nationals in Austria as a whole.

2. The ratio of the proportion foreign nationals in "rich" areas – areas with above the national GDP per capita – as compared with the country as a whole. For example, in the Slovak Republic, the proportion of foreign nationals to the total population in "rich" areas is 4.2 times the proportion of foreign nationals in the Slovak Republic as a whole.

3. Incidence refers to the ratio between the number of foreigners living in the region (% of total population of this region) to the total number of foreigners living in the country (% of the total population). For example, foreigners represent 16.9% of the regional population of Vienna while total foreign population represents 8.4% of total population in Austria. In this case, the incidence of foreigners in Vienna equals 2.

The table demonstrates that recorded foreigners are predominantly urban creatures, that they tend to congregate in richer areas and that certain regions have considerably more than their 'share'. Column (a) shows that there are, however, differences between host countries: the non-rural bias is particularly marked in Slovakia, Italy, Switzerland and France. In contrast and although still predominantly in urban areas, migrants in Hungary, Spain, Netherlands, Portugal and Belgium are more evenly distributed. Furthermore, it is the richer ('escalator') regions which are the main poles of attraction, a phenomenon especially noticeable in Italy, Slovakia, Czech Republic and France (Column (b)). Column (c) lists for each country the region which has the highest incidence of foreigners. The region in the UK with the highest incidence of foreigners (Inner London) has over five times more than it would have if they were evenly distributed across the country. Slovakia and Belgium also have high incidences of foreigners in their regions of greatest concentration (Bratislava and Brussels). In contrast, incidences are relatively low in Switzerland (Zurich), Netherlands (Zuid-Holland) and Germany (Dusseldorf), all countries without a megalopolitan core.

1.3.4 Interaction between migrant types and implication fields

The framework for analysis to be developed in the paper assumes that both migrant streams and implication fields are dynamic. Migration streams are affected by conditions at origin and in other potential destinations as well as the final destination – which may, however, turn out to be a transit one. In the case of migration implication fields, any dynamism occurs to a considerable extent regardless of migration, but is nevertheless affected by it. What happens is a process of 'negotiation' between the individuals in a particular migration stream and the health, labour market etc. environments in the destination country, leading to some form of 'consensual' relationship. Thus there is a two-way interaction in which both national and local governments have a mediating role.

Thus, it is hypothesised that each migrant has a unique migration experience which cannot be represented by a view of international migration as a homogeneous flow of people. However, migrants entering a host country through a particular migration route share, by definition, some common characteristics and are engaged in similar interactions with the host environment. Each of these migrant groups will interact with the implication arenas of the host country, sometimes in similar fashion, sometimes differently. For example, the outcomes in the labour market for a mature highly skilled worker would be different from those of a young trainee seeking work experience. A child migrant will have different health requirements to those of an elderly relative. A migrant student will participate in a different area of the housing market from an intra-company transferee. But there are also similarities: for example, young migrants, whatever their routes of entry, usually make less call on health systems.

The framework is not intended to be a cost-benefit evaluation. Rather, it seeks to elucidate the complexity of international migration flows and the outcomes in the host country in terms of the variables identified above and, in doing so, to indicate the less tangible and quantifiable outcomes of migration as well as the more economic ones. In doing so it points to the policy issues arising from the balance of migrant entry streams into a country and its regions.

1.4 Structure of the paper

The paper looks systematically at each of the migration streams, presenting statistical data on the scale of flows and stocks for each stream in order to illustrate the scale and trends (where possible) of movement. It discusses the main characteristics of those involved and then presents summary information, in the form of matrices for each stream on the implications in the chosen fields. A final section summarises the main differences between the entry streams within the four fields of interest. The data and examples presented vary in quality and comprehensiveness and have been selected on the basis of their availability.

SECTION 2 — THE NATURE OF MIGRATION STREAMS

2.1 Comparison of the scale of migration streams

Table 3 summarises statistics on immigration flows by entry stream for selected countries for the latest years available. Since the nature of the data source varies by country, direct comparison is not possible and the figures should be regarded only as indicative of the relative size of flows into the countries. Furthermore, the individual routes of entry do not necessarily add up to the flow total. This is because sometimes the data come from different administrative sources while the aggregate flow is derived from a national statistical source (such as a population register or, in the UK case, the International Passenger Survey) and other routes of entry not listed here also contribute to the total. In this table, UNHCR data on asylum seekers have been used for the sake of consistency. However, statistics on asylum published in several countries are different from those presented by UNHCR, usually because they refer to different phases in the asylum determination process.

Table 3 – Immigration flows to selected European countries, latest year available (1) (thousands)

| | Total | Labour | Family | Students | Asylum (2) |
|-----------------|-------|--------|--------|----------|------------|
| Austria | 75.0 | 24.9 | 27.0 | 4.5 | 32.3 |
| Belgium | 66.0 | 7.0 | - | - | 16.9 |
| Czech Republic | 44.7 | 44.6 | 8.7 | 2.9 | 11.4 |
| Denmark | 30.6 | 5.1 | 8.2 | 5.3 | 4.6 |
| Finland | 12.9 | 14.1 | - | - | 3.1 |
| France | 119.3 | 31.8 | 45.4 | 40.0 | 51.4 |
| Germany | 658.3 | 373.8 | - | - | 50.5 |
| Greece | 12.6 | - | - | - | 8.2 |
| Hungary | 19.5 | 49.8 | - | - | 2.4 |
| Ireland | 76.1 | 23.8 | - | - | 7.9 |
| Italy | 388.1 | 92.4 | - | - | 7.3 |
| Lithuania | 5.1 | - | 1.8 | 0.7 | - |
| Luxembourg | 11.0 | 27.3 | - | - | - |
| Netherlands | 86.6 | 26.2 | 35.4 | 9.3 | 13.4 |
| Norway | 30.8 | - | 9.4 | - | 16.0 |
| Poland | 6.6 | 17.8 | - | - | 6.9 |
| Portugal | 17.0 | 6.1 | - | - | - |
| Romania | 6.6 | 1.5 | - | - | 1.1 |
| Slovak Republic | 2.3 | 2.0 | 0.6 | 3.2 | - |
| Slovenia | 7.7 | - | - | - | 1.1 |
| Spain | 443.1 | 41.6 | - | - | 5.8 |
| Sweden | 47.6 | 3.3 | 24.4 | 4.0 | 31.4 |
| Switzerland | 103.8 | 41.9 | 43.2 | 11.6 | 21.1 |
| United Kingdom | 418.2 | 99.0 | 83.9 | 96.9 | 61.1 |

Sources: Council of Europe, National Statistical Offices, OECD SOPEMI Correspondents

Notes

1. Figures refer to 2002 or latest year available, except where 2003 data were available.
2. Asylum figures refer to 2003, except Italy.

It is immediately clear that the data on family reunion and student flows are very patchy and for only eight countries are there data on all of the streams. Among these eight, asylum records the largest flows in three (Austria, France and Sweden), labour in two (Czech Republic and the UK), family in three (Denmark, Netherlands and Switzerland). While taking into account the data interpretation problems mentioned above, it is probably true to say that the relative importance of the different streams varies from country to country. It follows from this that the implications and policy responses will also vary.

2.2 Labour migrants

The scale and nature of labour inflows are discussed in detail in Salt and Clarke (2004) and need not be rehearsed here. The most recent trend data are presented in Table 4 but, as the footnotes indicate, comparability between countries is compromised by the different methods of counting used (for example, in Scandinavian countries Nordic nationals are excluded from the labour flow figures) or by specific events (such as the Italian amnesty for those working illegally in 1999 which substantially increased recorded inflows without commensurately increasing actual numbers). Overall, labour flows have fluctuated, peaking in the early 1990s, then relatively stable, but showing increases in several countries recently.

There is a growing body of studies, many of them summarised in Wanner (2004) which have reviewed the impact of migration on the labour force and the wider economy. On the whole they demonstrate the impact to be somewhere between broadly neutral and mildly positive at the aggregate level. There are, however, both sectoral and geographical distributional effects. By filling skill gaps migrants enable the labour market to work more efficiently and to be more competitive internationally. In consequence, many governments in Europe and beyond have adopted policies to attract skilled migrants.

There is no single labour migration stream and in some respects it is difficult to differentiate between labour and other forms of migration. For the purposes of this study certain basic types of labour migration streams have been identified, together with their implications for the implication fields of interest. Even then, it is possible to disaggregate further, as the example of highly skilled migrants presented below illustrates.

2.2.1 The highly skilled

In recent years there has been a growing recognition of the importance of international recruitment and movement of the highly skilled. Modern industries and services increasingly rely upon the acquisition, deployment and use of human expertise to add value in their operations. When this expertise is not available locally, employers frequently import it from abroad. However, there is no agreed concept or definition of the highly skilled. It is clear, though that they do not constitute a homogeneous group, although in broad terms they may be described as professional, managerial and technical (PMT) specialists. The group as a whole consists of a series of largely self-contained and non-competing sub-groups, among whom levels and duration of training are such as to lead to low elasticities of supply.

Table 4 – Inflows of foreign labour into selected European countries, 1998-2002 (thousands)

(a) Western Europe

| | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| Austria (1) | 15.4 | 18.3 | 25.4 | 27.0 | 24.9 |
| Belgium | 7.3 | 8.7 | 7.5 | 7.0 | - |
| Denmark (2) | 3.2 | 3.1 | 3.6 | 5.1 | - |
| Finland | 3.2 | 3.0 | 3.6 | 14.1 | - |
| France | 14.6 | 22.9 | 25.9 | 31.8 | - |
| Germany | 275.5 | 304.9 | 333.8 | 373.8 | - |
| Ireland (3) | 3.8 | 4.6 | 15.7 | 30.0 | 23.8 |
| Italy (3) | 182.0 | 219.0 | 145.3 | 92.4 | - |
| Luxembourg (4) | 22.0 | 24.2 | 27.3 | - | - |
| Netherlands (9) | - | - | 27.7 | 30.2 | 26.2 |
| Portugal | 2.6 | 4.2 | 7.8 | 6.1 | - |
| Spain (6) | 53.7 | 56.1 | 74.1 | 41.6 | - |
| Sweden | 2.4 | 2.4 | 3.3 | 3.3 | - |
| Switzerland (7) | 26.4 | 31.5 | 34.0 | 41.9 | - |
| United Kingdom (8) | 68.0 | 61.2 | 86.5 | 76.2 | 99.0 |

(b) Central and Eastern Europe

| | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 |
|----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Bulgaria (9) | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.3 | - |
| Czech Republic (10) | 49.9 | 40.3 | 40.1 | 40.1 | 44.6 |
| Hungary | 26.3 | 34.1 | 40.2 | 47.3 | 49.8 |
| Poland (11) | - | 17.1 | 17.8 | - | - |
| Romania (12) | 1.3 | 1.5 | - | - | - |
| Slovak Republic (13) | 2.5 | 2.0 | 1.8 | 2.0 | - |

Sources: Council of Europe, National Statistical Offices, OECD SOPEMI Correspondents

Notes:

1. Data for all years covers initial work permits for both direct
2. Residence permits issued for employment. Nordic citizens are not included.
3. Work permits issued for non-EU nationals.
4. Data cover both arrivals of foreign workers and residents
5. Number of temporary work permits (WAV). 2002 data refer to January-September. Source: CWI.
6. Work permits granted.
7. Seasonal and frontier workers are not taken included.
8. Data from the Labour Force Survey.
9. Work permits, new and extensions.
10. Work permits issued for foreigners.
11. Numbers of Individual work permits.
12. New work permits issued to foreign citizens.
13. Work permits granted. Czech nationals do not need work

The nature of the work they perform and the expertise required, offer further definitional complications because of their rich diversity. Entry into some PMT occupations is related largely to general academic training, to first degree standard. In other cases training is occupation-specific, leading to a diploma or a general occupational entry qualification. The ability to perform in a highly skilled capacity is sometimes linked to previous experience, or to a combination of experience and formal qualification (such as an MBA). Some jobs that are rightly deemed to be highly skilled may require little by way of training or experience, relying on natural talent: sportspeople, entertainers, musicians and artists are examples. Many of these are highly mobile internationally, but they are rarely discussed in the migration literature (an exception is Todisco, 1993).

Motivations vary. For a majority of them moves reflect the priorities employers use in allocating their staff resources internationally. In other cases moves reflect the incidence of overseas projects and the need to employ contract staff for limited periods. For some people motivation reflects their individual decisions and aspirations, for example entertainers and those moving for private career development and training purposes. Some highly skilled may also be selected by government entry and permit policies for particular treatment, for example entrepreneurs and the independently wealthy.

The scheme below attempts to identify the most important categories of temporary highly skilled migrants and in doing so illustrates the complexity of the migration stream as a whole.

1) *Corporate transferees*. These people move internationally within the internal labour markets (ILMs) of large employing organisations. Numerical data on these are scarce and where available the figures are low (Table 5) but this is partly a reflection of how the moves are recorded and the definitions used by statistical and administrative authorities. Their moves are for a wide range of reasons, and for varying time periods. Frequently moves are related to career development and training, but they may also be production, marketing or research specialists. Their moves generally reflect the organisational structure of their employers. Usually they have private health insurance, schooling for their children and housing costs provided by their employers. They have specialist roles in labour markets which increase the efficiencies of local workers.

Table 5 – Intracompany transferees in selected European countries 1998-2001 (thousands)

| | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 |
|----------------|------|------|------|------|
| Austria* | 0.2 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 1.9 |
| France | 1.1 | 1.8 | 2.2 | 2.3 |
| Netherlands | 2.7 | 2.5 | - | - |
| United Kingdom | 22.0 | 15.0 | 16.0 | 17.0 |

Source: OECD (2004)

* Stock of non-EU intracompany transferees who held a residence permit on 1 July each year.

2) *Professionals*, who work in both public services especially in health and education, and also in the private sector. They are highly educated and internationally recognised

qualifications are common, although this is more likely for EEA nationals moving within the EEA. Recruitment, sometimes by agents, is frequently on an individual level and for fixed term contracts abroad, although movement may also be permanent. They are often employed by NGOs, with some of whom employment overseas may become permanent. Their housing, educational and health/welfare requirements are often paid for by employers or they receive special help or allowances. There may be recognised paths for career development both within and between countries. When they move they are likely to be accompanied by their families.

3) *Project specialists and "visiting firemen"*. Their migrations are related to specific overseas projects, often in construction. Moves may technically occur within corporate ILMs, although often they are recruited through the external labour market (ELM) for a limited contractual period. They are usually single so there are no educational implications, housing is likely to be temporary renting or hotel. Their labour market implications may be significant because their specialist expertise increases overall efficiency. Moves may be unpredictable, responding to crisis management needs. Family members do not usually accompany them and moves may range from days to weeks in duration. Housing needs may be quite specific but short-term.

4) *Consultant specialists*. Increasingly employing organisations are using specialist consultancies for a range of business services. Locations are worldwide, depending on the clients' organisational structures. Consultancy firms are themselves increasingly transnational in their own organisation. Their impacts may be shorter or longer term and are similar to those of project specialists and some corporate transferees. Their channels of movement are likely to be determined by the locations of clients and by the types of services they offer. When moves are short-term, families usually remain behind so any health implications are reduced and educational effects are minimal. Accommodation may be in hotels or company owned flats.

5) *Private career development and training*. Many people seek opportunities through the ELM for career development and training, involving periods abroad of varying lengths. The group includes many nurses, and also young people in the very early stages of their careers seeking experience in overseas environments. It also includes those in later career stages whose moves may be seen in the context of 'chasing the dollar'. Housing, education and health implications depend upon stage of career reached and the trajectory of career development.

6) *Clergy and missionaries*. Religious and quasi-religious orders traditionally post their adherents abroad, for varying lengths of time. Those staff involved may overlap with other types of expatriates, especially health care and educational professionals. Housing is often tied to the job.

7) *Entertainers, sportspeople and artists*. This is a very varied group, frequently moving internationally, often for short periods. Others may, in effect, become permanent migrants. Where they are highly paid (like some footballers) they will normally use private education and health facilities.

8) *Business people and the independently wealthy*. This group may be entrepreneurial, perhaps over several generations, or be investors settling abroad for personal (including tax) reasons. For most there is the intention to stay for long periods or to settle. Family

accompaniment is to be expected with health and education provision public or private. They tend to settle in the main urban areas.

9) *Academics* include researchers and teachers in institutions of further and higher education. There is a substantial exchange of academics and researchers from universities and similar institutions, for varying periods of time. Some moves are relatively short-term, perhaps for an academic session, others are more permanent (the classic brain drain phenomenon). An increasing number of young people take up research positions abroad, both for first and subsequent posts. In some cases accommodation is provided in hostels and health provision is variable – sometimes privately provided but frequently through national health services. An important academic sub-group, especially in the UK, consists of those moving abroad for medical training and registration.

10) *Military personnel*. These are normally excluded from consideration as migrants, and most members of the armed forces would probably not be regarded as highly skilled. However, substantial numbers of officers and specialists would undoubtedly come into a definition of the highly skilled that included the military. Periods spent abroad in the armed forces may influence subsequent civilian migrations. An important educational implication is the movement of children in and from schools when the military moves from one station to another.

2.2.2 The lower skilled

This is another highly varied group. Both sexes are well represented and migrants tend particularly to be young adults. Geographically they are concentrated in the large cities and in certain regions of their adopted countries. Their entry and employment may be subject to quotas, as among seasonal workers in Switzerland and in Italy.

On the basis of empirical evidence in the 1950s and 1960s, Bohning (1972) suggested that flows of less skilled labour migrants mature demographically in four stages. The first immigrants are young, predominantly single and male, intending to stay for relatively short periods. They are followed by older males, more of whom are married and whose intended duration of stay was greater. In the third stage, the stream continues to age and more wives come to join their husbands. Finally children, who had been left behind with grandparents and other relatives, rejoin their parents and the process of family settlement in the new country is complete. It is not yet clear if this pattern is being followed in Central and Eastern Europe today.

Less skilled immigrants require cheap, usually rented, housing. The nature of housing provision varies, depending whether they are single, itinerant (as frequently in agriculture) or have families. A housing priority for them is that their housing should be accessible to employment since their commuting costs must be low. In many cities across Europe immigrant quarters are easily identifiable. Sometimes these are in inner city areas, where housing is provided by private renters; elsewhere they are publicly provided and in suburbs, often characterised by drab blocks of apartments.

The implications of less skilled migrants on health provision are often highly polarised, in both production and consumption. They are often an important element in the provision of care assistants in national health services and in the care of the elderly. In

France, an estimated 51,000 foreign workers provide care for the elderly and children in their home. A 2002 survey in Italy estimated that more than 950,000 families hired foreign workers to tend to the needs of the elderly and children, while nearly 350,000 foreign domestic helpers or caregivers applied for regularisation to legalise their stay during the amnesty that year (Warnes, 2003). In the UK, our PEMINT survey (results as yet unpublished) found that in areas of ethnic immigrant concentration, foreign or ethnic minority staff were major sources of care labour supply.

On the other hand, many less skilled migrants are prone to both mental and physical health problems consequent on family separation and the poor living conditions they endure. For example, migrant health continues to be linked to their working conditions, including exposure to toxic substances and the frequency of accidents (IOM, 2002).

One factor above all characterises their role in the labour market: they occupy jobs that indigenous populations shun. The sectors in which they work are those of easy entry, including especially agriculture, construction and hospitality (hotels and catering). Formerly many of them worked in manufacturing but this is now less common. Pay and conditions are usually poor and illegal working seems to be commonplace. In many respects their labour market position echoes that of their forebears forty years earlier. A key issue is the degree to which there is educational equivalence (proportions with various levels of education) between migrants and natives and whether labour migrants and natives with similar qualifications progress through the labour market in equal fashion.

2.2.3 Permanent migrants

The skills possessed by migrants and the types of jobs they engage in are major influences on the implications they have for destination regions. Equally important, although in different ways, are the degrees of permanence in their sojourns at their new locations. However, a distinction must be made between intention and reality. Many migrants enter a new country with the intention of remaining a short time but then settle for an indeterminate period. Others intend the move to be long-term or permanent but find their new locations not to their liking and return whence they came.

Those intending a permanent stay are more likely to move as a family or engage in family reunion. Where family migrations occur, integration issues loom larger, including those of schooling, labour market participation and multicultural living generally. The more permanent the migration, the more important is the ease of naturalisation, especially for third country nationals in the European Union. The rate of naturalisation is regarded by many as a key indicator of integration.

In the labour market there is plenty of evidence of upward social and career mobility by immigrants, among whom the self selection process means that they are frequently more innovative and energetic in improving their labour market position than indigenous populations. Permanent migration also ensures there is a generation effect which may see the children of immigrants entering different occupations than those of their parents. There are also special effects, for example, as immigrant entrepreneurs create niche markets or engage in transnational businesses.

Housing demands and provision for permanent migrants differ from those for temporary movers. More family accommodation is required and accessibility issues beyond accessibility to work can become important. Low skilled migrants want access to housing in the public sector but are not always entitled to it. If they are highly skilled, purchase in the private sector may be the norm.

Permanent migrants may be both providers and consumers in the health sector. For example, foreign doctors and nurses provide specialist services in many countries. On the other hand, family settlers have more complex implications for health consumption patterns than temporary migrants. There are financial implications too, with permanent immigrants more likely to pay for health services through taxation and national insurance.

More permanent migrations impinge on the educational system. They diversify the languages spoken, may require special provision to be made, engage in particular cultural traditions, go on extended holidays and pose often delicate problems of multiculturalism in schools. Increasingly, too, we see immigrant children breaking through into higher education, though this seems to be occurring on a selective basis.

2.2.4 Temporary labour migrants

Governments have always had difficulties in managing temporary migrant worker programmes (Martin, 2003). In a number of countries governments have shifted towards more niche temporary worker programmes because macroeconomic policies have less effect on employer demand for guestworkers (instanced by labour shortages in some sectors despite high unemployment among native populations). Micro-level programmes can be better tailored to particular sectoral or regional conditions, though they pose administrative problems owing to the multiplicity of rules for separate programmes. Examples of micro programmes include Germany's posted worker, seasonal and green card programmes, France's bilateral agreements to bring in seasonal agricultural workers and the UK's Sectors Based Scheme for the hospitality and food processing industries.

There are several categories of temporary labour migrants: some are seasonal, others are cross-border workers, others come for indeterminate periods. Each of these may be broken down further, into agricultural or tourist seasonal workers, cross-border commuters (as in the Alsace Rhineland or at the Denmark-Germany border) and a host of new pendular migrants in the CEE region. Other temporary migrants come for training, for assignments or to fill periodic gaps in the labour force of destination countries. They may be high or low skilled and are often sector specific.

Although generalisation is not easy, temporary migrants tend to be young, single and the volume of movement is frequently large. Many come in on special schemes which may lead to permanent settlement. Sometimes their numbers are controlled by quotas.

In labour market terms, temporary migrants provide lubrication, helping overcome bottlenecks and skill shortages and leading to greater efficiency of operation. Among the highly skilled, temporary labour migration may be perceived by both employer and employee as part of career development. Conversely, among the low skilled temporary

migration is less likely to be seen as providing continuity of work and career, giving a quite different perception of the nature of the work entailed.

The itinerant nature of temporary migration differentiates its implications from those of more permanent movers. They are normally renters of housing, even if they are highly skilled. They contribute to rapid turnover of housing stock and their very mobility can give local areas a particular character. Sometimes they live in hostels, created specifically to provide for short-term stays.

The educational implications depend on how far the movement involves families. Schools in areas with rapid through movement of immigrants may experience high levels of pupil mobility at non-standard times of entry and exit, directly affecting the ability of the school to provide the high standard of education expected elsewhere. There may be local neighbourhood effects as a result, including flight from the area by the indigenous population. International schools may be provided in high immigrant areas, teaching the national curricula of other countries or providing an international curriculum such as the IB. In areas with concentrations of the military, schools may experience high rates of mobility if the regiment moves.

Since most temporary migrants are young and usually fit, health consumption implications are generally low. Indeed, by paying national insurance (NI) they may be net contributors to the system. They may also benefit from reciprocal national health agreements. Others may find that their employers provide them with private health insurance during the stay abroad. Temporary migrants also provide health services, as nurses, doctors (including those under training) and other medical staff.

2.2.5 Implications of labour migrants: summary

In light of the preceding discussion of different labour migrant entry streams, Table 6 tries to summarise the main ways in which labour migrants as a whole have spatial, institutional and societal implications for host countries, in the three fields presented in the initial framework: Spatial, Institutional and Societal.

Although Table treats each of the four areas of integration separately, they are clearly linked. For example, successful labour market integration (measured in terms of unemployment, earnings and activity rates) requires equal access to occupations and work, education and training, housing and social security must be guaranteed so that foreigners can compete on the same terms as nationals. This means that the ultimate state of integration depends on the different migrant entry streams going through a set of processes to reach the same end. Werner (2003) demonstrates that in Germany foreigners have higher unemployment rates, that young migrants have been more affected by the decline in training opportunities than Germans, that less skilled foreigners are proportionately more affected by redundancies and that there are particular difficulties for foreign women.

Table 6 – Labour migrants and their implication fields

| | Spatial | | Institutional | Society | |
|---------------|--|--|---|---|---|
| | National | Local | | Individual | Community |
| Labour market | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ increase economic competitiveness ▪ resolve skill shortages ▪ replacement labour force ▪ participation rates of different groups ▪ work permits systems | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ sectors specific to certain areas ▪ local economy ▪ border regions where cross-border commuting | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ employers ▪ trade unions ▪ national and local government administration ▪ professional organisations ▪ agencies and sub-contractors | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ economic and social mobility ▪ competition with natives | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ niche economic/social activities (e.g. speciality shops and restaurants) ▪ generation effects |
| Education | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ language teaching (foreign teachers) ▪ family consumption in schools, etc. ▪ meet skill shortages (teachers, etc.) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ provide teachers, lecturers, researchers ▪ pupil mobility in schools, potentially affecting quality of education ▪ urban focus | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ work in schools, universities, etc. ▪ place demands on schools, universities, etc. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ training and career development | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ educational equivalence between migrants and natives ▪ comparative development of foreigners and natives |
| Health | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ net contributors to national health insurance schemes ▪ use of private health insurance schemes ▪ entitlement to national healthcare ▪ fill gaps in labour force between indigenous training and demand | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ meet skill shortages (healthcare workers) ▪ provide specialist language and other services in healthcare system | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ consumers and providers in hospitals ▪ consumers and providers in general practices, dentists, etc. ▪ employers ▪ training and qualifications organisations (healthcare workers) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ shorten waiting lists (healthcare workers) ▪ provide specialist expertise (healthcare workers) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ foster multiculturalism in healthcare ▪ support private healthcare system |
| Housing | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ numbers (increment required) ▪ tenure (renting, owning, hostels) ▪ private vs. public sector | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ local authorities' policies ▪ contributions to housing taxation ▪ proximity to jobs ▪ house price effects | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ private builders ▪ landlords ▪ agents | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ access to accommodation ▪ quality of housing | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ new provision produced (construction workers) and required (consumption) ▪ commuting and proximity to migrant employment |

2.3 Family migrants

Family migrants are usually divided into two categories: family formation and family reunion. Unlike labour migration, neither is related directly to economic conditions so that labour market models are poor predictors of family migration. However, there may be indirect links. For example, family formation is more likely to occur when economies are strong and migrants are doing well. Family reunion often happens in the reverse economic situation as established single migrants send for their relatives rather than return home during an economic downturn, fearing that they not be allowed back. On occasions whole families move together. In the past this has been particularly characteristic of settlement moves to lands of opportunity in the New World. Today family moves are diverse, ranging from asylum seekers to highly skilled corporate staff and secondees. Mostly they result in permanent settlement although in later life there may be retirement return to the country of origin.

Family formation includes those who go abroad, usually to their country of origin, for a fiancé(e) or spouse, with the intention of settling in the country of destination of the prime mover. By definition such people are relatively young, usually in their twenties, and involve people with similar ethnic or cultural backgrounds. Frequently contact is made through existing networks, with the movement and marriage giving rise to further chain migration effects, for example as parents or siblings of the moving partner subsequently engage in family reunion.

Family reunion usually results occurs following a prime move for employment reasons by a married male. However, this now seems to be changing as more women make the first overseas move. Those reuniting include different generations, including children, spouses, siblings and grandparents.

2.3.1 Trends in family migration

Statistics on the number of migrants entering for purposes of family reunion are not readily available for many countries and in other cases good time series data are lacking (Table 7). For the most part, western countries have larger family flows than their eastern neighbours. According to the OECD (2004) the recent increase of labour related migration has resulted in the share of family related migration falling in some countries. In the UK the share of family migration as a proportion of total immigration flows fell from almost half in 1999 to only a third in 2000; for Switzerland the figures were 46 and 41 per cent in 1999 and 2001; in France, traditionally a major family importing country, family inflows fell from 79 per cent in 2000 to 71 per cent in 2001 (OECD, 2004).

2.3.2 Characteristics of family migration

It is impossible to detach family migrations from other entry streams because they are inherently related. However, family migrations do have certain characteristics in immigration rules and law which necessitate considering them and their implications separately from other streams.

With the demise of new labour migrations after the 1970s, family reunion became the main legal means of entry in a number of countries. States were content to allow this

because the arrival of family members enabled single labour migrants to lead normal family lives while at the same time contributing towards integration. Over recent decades a number of international statutes have set out a common legal basis for family reunion, although interpretation has varied. Where there is more or less common agreement among host countries is that permanent and temporary labour migrants are treated differently. Among the former, family reunion is much easier (subject to varying periods of residence by the primary migrant) whereas temporary workers are much more constrained and if family members are allowed in they are frequently prevented from entering the labour market. Over the last decade or so, a string of European countries has introduced new or modified legislation with respect to family reunion, such as Finland in 1997, France, Italy and the Netherlands in 1998. Of course, under EU law, family members may freely move and take residence between countries. Most countries have adopted a more favourable approach to refugees than to other migrants and most make stipulations with respect to financial resources and accommodation.

Table 7 – Inflows for family reunion to selected European countries, 1998-2003 (thousands)

| | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 |
|---------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Austria | - | - | - | - | - | 27.0 |
| Czech Republic | - | - | - | - | - | 8.7 |
| Denmark (1) | 9.7 | 9.4 | 12.6 | 11 | 8.2 | - |
| France | - | - | - | 45.4 | - | - |
| Lithuania | - | - | - | - | 2.5 | 1.8 |
| Netherlands | - | - | - | 34.6 | 35.4 | - |
| Norway | - | - | - | 13.1 | 9.4 | - |
| Slovak Republic (2) | 1.5 | 1.3 | 0.8 | 0.8 | - | 0.6 |
| Sweden (3) | - | - | 22.8 | 24.4 | - | - |
| Switzerland | - | - | - | - | 43.2 | - |
| United Kingdom (4) | 48.2 | 59.8 | 75.7 | 69 | 68.6 | 83.9 |

Sources: Various national sources, OECD (2004)

Notes:

1. Grant of first-time residence permits.
2. Newly granted long-term and permanent residence permits.
3. Close relatives granted residence permits.
4. Persons granted permanent residence for family reunification.

2.3.2.1 Eligibility for family reunion

Defining who is a family member is not something upon which states agree. The notion of spouse is open to interpretation, that of co-habitee more so, both in principle and in the length of time the co-habitation has taken place. Table 8, derived from the OECD (2001a) attempts to summarise which family members are eligible for reunification procedures. It is the realm of non-married partners where most restrictions occur, spouses and minor children the least. Elderly dependants are often excluded from family reunion, though most governments exercise some discretionary powers. The families of students may not enter in some countries (Spain and Switzerland), may do so in others as long as they do not work (Netherlands) while

elsewhere the situation is conditional on resource and accommodation availability (Belgium). In all countries, the families of refugees have full entitlement to reunion.

Table 8 – Family members eligible to benefit from family reunification procedures in selected European countries

| | Spouses | Non-married partners | Minor children | Parents | Siblings | Others |
|-----------------|---|--|----------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| Belgium | yes | | yes | yes (only of Belgian nationals) | only in exceptional cases | |
| Bulgaria | yes | | yes | | | |
| Czech Republic | yes | | yes | | yes | yes |
| Finland | yes (the couple must have cohabited for at | yes | yes | only in exceptional cases | only in exceptional cases | yes (fiancé(e)s) |
| France | yes | | yes | | | |
| Germany | yes | | yes | | | |
| Italy | yes | | yes | yes | yes | yes (dependant parents – first, second or third generation only) |
| Netherlands | yes | yes (including homosexual partners) | yes | | yes | |
| Slovak Republic | yes | | yes | | | |
| Spain | yes | | yes | | | |
| Switzerland | yes | yes | yes | | | |

Source: OECD (2001a)

Countries vary in the conditions that must be met before family reunion can occur (Table 9). A minimum period of stay is common before a residence permit is issued. It is also usual for the reunion not to impose a charge on public funds so applicants may have to demonstrate a suitable level of resources and/or accommodation.

The rights accorded to family members after permission to stay is given are summarised in Table 10. In most countries the right to work is included, although there may be a minimum period of residence before access to the labour market is allowed. There is more variation with respect to access to social security, protection against expulsion and change in the sponsor’s circumstances.

2.3.3 Implications of family migration

The labour market implications of family migration are diverse, depending on factors such as the age mix, culture and nationality, levels of education and training and a range of entitlements. In some countries family members of foreign nationals are automatically allowed access to the labour market, elsewhere they are not. In cases where a primary migrants has entered as a highly skilled worker, there may be dilution of the skill stream if family members are allowed to work but possess lower level skills.

Table 9 – Conditions required of migrants entering under family reunification procedures in selected European countries

| | Required residence status/permit | Minimum duration of stay | Financing conditions | Housing conditions |
|-----------------|---|---|----------------------|--------------------|
| Belgium | 3 month authorisation of stay | n/a | | |
| Bulgaria | permanent residence permit | n/a | | |
| Czech Republic | permanent residence permit | n/a | yes | yes |
| Finland | n/a | n/a | | |
| France | 1 year residence permit or permanent residence permit (10 years) | obtaining a temporary residence is sufficient for the procedures to begin | yes | yes |
| Germany | permanent residence permit | residence permits may only be obtained upon 8 years of legal residence | yes | yes |
| Italy | 1 year residence permit for reasons of work or permanent residence permit | 5 years | yes | yes |
| Netherlands | residence permit valid for more than 1 year | n/a | yes | yes |
| Slovak Republic | foreigners of Slovak extraction, refugees, diplomats | n/a | yes | |
| Spain | permanent residence permit (students are therefore excluded) | 6 years | yes | |
| Switzerland | permanent residence permit (students are therefore excluded) | 10 years (5 years in some exceptional cases) | yes | yes |

Source: OECD (2001a)

Table 10 – Rights accorded to those entering under family reunification procedures in selected European countries.

| | Authorisation of stay granted | | Access to the labour market | Social security | Protection against expulsion | Reexamination of family reunification in the case of: | |
|-----------------|---|--|--|-----------------|------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| | Permanent | Temporary | | | | Death of the sponsor | Divorce |
| Belgium | | 1 year | yes | yes | yes | | yes (if it occurs within 1 year) |
| Bulgaria | | 5 years | yes | | | | yes (if it occurs within 5 years) |
| Czech Republic | | 5 years | yes | | | | |
| Finland | if the sponsor has this status | 1 year | yes (1) | | | | yes (if it occurs within 2 years) |
| France | 10 year permit if the sponsor has this status | 1 year if the sponsor holds this kind of permit | yes (2) | yes | yes | cases are treated on their merits, sympathetically | yes (if it occurs within 1 year) |
| Germany | | 1 year (3 years for the family members of a national) | one year to obtain a <i>Betugnis</i> ; 4 years to obtain a <i>Aufenthalterlaubnis</i> ; 6 years to have unrestricted access to the labour market | yes | yes | | yes (if it occurs within 4 years) |
| Italy | if the sponsor has this status | if the sponsor holds this kind of permit | yes (except for parents) | yes | | | |
| Netherlands | | 1 year | yes | | | | yes (if it occurs within 3 years) |
| Slovak Republic | | 1 year | yes | | | death is treated in the same way as divorce | yes |
| Spain | n/a | n/a | yes | | | | yes |
| Switzerland | | 2 years (permanent permit) or 1 year if the applicant holds a temporary residence permit | yes | | | death is treated in the same way as divorce | yes |

Source: OECD (2001a)

Notes:

1. The right to take up employment is granted immediately to the spouses of Finns, to refugees and to other persons who have been permitted to enter for humanitarian reasons.
2. Those family members who arrive with the sponsor are, however, not permitted to work.

The main labour market implication of family migration, as distinct from direct labour migration is the degree to which spousal and children's employment is sought and available. In most European countries family members of third country nationals with work permits are allowed to work but under restrictions in certain cases.

Family migrations impact more on educational, housing and health systems than single migrants. If migrant families have higher fertility than the indigenous population, a common occurrence in the early stages of a migration stream, there are considerable implications for educational provision. The tendency for migrant families to coalesce in certain cities or parts of cities means that some schools may become dominated by them. Teaching may be complicated by the need to cope with a highly diverse set of languages, especially where the language spoken at home differs from that of the destination country. Where there are children of school age, migrants may increase those forms of pupil mobility in schools which take place at non-standard times, with wider implications for educational provision and the measurement of change in standards of achievement. The implications of pupil mobility are greater if there are no or few educational records of the pupils from their former places of education. Of course, the educational implications depends on other features of the migration, whether children go through the local school system or to international schools. Often temporary migrant families use private schools rather than the state system. This has the effect of increasing the breadth of educational provision in the country.

Several recent studies have shown links between family migration and education. A cross-national comparison of the educational achievements of immigrants and natives in six European countries found that educational disadvantage seems to derive from socio-economic background in the country of origin and also from pupils' capacity to communicate in the language of the host country, the time they have lived in the host country and the degree of segregation (Schnepf, 2004). A study of Turks and Pakistanis resident in Denmark found that spouses engaged in marriage migration were less likely to complete a qualifying education (Celikaksoy et al, 2004).

The most obvious housing requirement for migrating families is family-sized accommodation. The implications of family migration for housing depend upon the make-up of the family group. If family migrants are highly skilled they may choose to live in areas of high value rental housing or even buy. In both cases their moves may be linked to employer-driven migrations and be subsidised. The existence of cultural features like specific national or international schools, transport facilities or social networks may attract them to certain locations. In some cities the most segregated groups are from the richest countries of origin. In contrast, less well-off families often congregate in urban twilight zones. The generation mix of families on the move is another important housing variable. In some cases extended families will live together, often in order to purchase property, in order to spread costs.

2.3.3.1 The special situation of older migrants

Links between migration and population ageing are complex and evolving. The special circumstances of older migrants have been reviewed by Warnes (2004) who has suggested a fourfold typology which distinguishes the groups' nativities, the ages at which their international moves took place and the predominant motives for their moves (Table 11). Two of the groups are European and non-European labour

immigrants who have ‘aged in place’ and two are family-oriented ‘ and ‘amenity-led’ movers in old age and on its threshold.

Table 11 – Needs for support, care and treatment among older international migrants in Europe

| Older international migrant groups | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|---|---|--|
| | European labour migrants | non-European labour migrants | Family-oriented international retirement migrants | Amenity-seeking international retirement migrants |
| Conditioning factors | Low education, interrupted work and incomplete residence histories (compromising eligibility to welfare), occupational morbidity, language difficulties | Low education, incomplete work and residence histories (re: ineligibility to welfare), severe language problems and occupational morbidity, religious and cultural discrimination and incomprehension | Variable s.e. status and income; family orientation; new immigrant, compromising eligibility to welfare | Affluent, well-educated and financial management skills; new immigrant compromising eligibility to welfare; majority are able and prepared to move again |
| Need | | | | |
| Financial support: | | | | |
| men | above average; moderate assets and pensions entitlements | high; low assets and pensions entitlements | average (for age and marital status) | below average (for age and marital status) |
| women | high; low assets and pensions entitlements | very high; nugatory assets and pensions entitlements | average (for age and marital status) | below average (for age and marital status) |
| Social/emotional | | | | |
| men | average: high among bachelor worker groups | average: high among bachelor worker groups | some have high needs: migration 'maximised' opportunities | high among socially-isolated widowers |
| women | high through social isolation for childless or if children remote | high through social isolation for childless or if children remote | some have high needs: migration 'maximised' opportunities | high among reluctant migrants and socially-isolated widows |
| Long-term care | unclear: high morbidity but low life expectancy; community associations make limited provision | unclear: high morbidity but low life expectancy; community associations make limited provision | average | average |
| Medical treatment | high morbidity and high unmet needs; occupational and deprivation bases | very high morbidity and high unmet needs; occupational and deprivation bases | normal levels of need and contemporary healthcare expectations | normal levels of need and contemporary healthcare expectations |

Source: Warnes, A. (ed) 2004

There are considerable variations within each of these groups, depending on a wide range of personal and network characteristics: Warnes, for example, contrasts a Portuguese from a rural background and with poor language skills living in Germany with an East African of middle class background living in the UK. Overall, though, the scheme provides a useful summary of the diverse pressures on support, care and treatment systems by different types of older family migrants.

This fourfold typology is developed further to include the expectations of older international migrants as providers of inter-generational support and care. It distinguishes men’s and women’s human capital when it comes to providing care, various roles and activities and separates the provision of financial help from that of social support and personal care. The four groups have some conditioning

characteristics, financial and social/emotional states and long-term care and medical requirements in common, while others are different. For example, non-European labour migrant males generally have low assets and pensions entitlements and therefore require a high level of support; in contrast, amenity-seeking international retirement migrants generally have sufficient assets of their own and require below average levels of support. Both retirement migrant categories have similar levels of healthcare need.

2.3.4 Family migration: implications summary

The spatial, institutional and societal impacts of family related migrations are summarised in Table 12.

Table 12 – Family migrants and their implication fields

| | Spatial | | Institutional | Society | |
|---------------|--|--|--|--|---|
| | National | Local | | Individual | Community |
| Labour market | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ entitlement for spousal and other family employment | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ large cities ▪ selected economic regions and localities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ family businesses ▪ self-employment | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ family information networks | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ business networks for different nationalities |
| Education | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ use of state and private systems ▪ equivalence of outcomes for foreigners and natives ▪ entitlement to education services across age range | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ local mix of nationalities, cultures and languages ▪ pupil mobility in schools ▪ school reception system | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ schools, universities ▪ government (local and national) ▪ special educational needs ▪ international schools | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ equality of opportunity ▪ extended holidays taking pupils out of school ▪ change between first and second generation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ creation of "under class" ▪ polarisation of experience within immigrant groups |
| Health | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ net consumers of healthcare | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ need for health visitors, etc. ▪ local provision for age range (maternity, infants, elderly) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ hospitals ▪ general practices, dentist, etc. ▪ specific services | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ special provision for elderly ▪ children ▪ maternal care | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ family care system ▪ old people's homes ▪ domiciliary care |
| Housing | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ type and tenure of housing ▪ house prices | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ local demand ▪ extended family effect ▪ public housing entitlement | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ local authorities ▪ financial institutions ▪ community organisations | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ access to housing ▪ quality of accommodation ▪ reception system and ease of obtaining housing | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ degree of segregation and integration ▪ "ghetto" areas |

2.4. Foreign students

One of the major migration growth industries in recent years has been that of international students. An increasing number of students are taking the opportunity to study abroad in a growing variety of courses and curricula. Improving language skills (especially English) is seen by many young people as a key to promotion to positions of responsibility. In addition, the cultural experience acquired while studying abroad

is an additional advantage for young people wanting to get on in the job market. Studying abroad has become much easier as host countries have competed to attract foreign students and “education for trade” rather than “education for aid” is now commonplace in higher education systems. The internationalisation of education systems has resulted in more complex and varied degree and other programmes and a much more cosmopolitan student population (OECD, 2001b). At national levels, foreign students bring economies of scale to educational systems; they also have major implications for local economies through their consumption of housing, retail goods and the provision of part-time employment. There is a case for arguing that student mobility is another form of mobility by the highly skilled, given the potential for foreign students to enter the host country workforce upon graduation. Entry into the labour market is facilitated by their (usually) foreign language skills, their ability to adjust, their research and analytical capabilities and their familiarity with the customs and culture of the host country in which they have studied.

2.4.1 Trends in student migration

Numbers of students vary by country of origin and destination (OECD, 2001b). Country size and geographical proximity once gain show the efficacy of the gravity model, but numerous other factors play a role, including EU policies on freedom of movement, recognition of degrees (currently under discussion in the Bologna process), exchange and network programmes such as Erasmus/Socrates. OECD calculations (2001b) indicate that certain countries, notably UK, Austria, Denmark, France and Germany host large numbers of foreign students relative to their size. The existence of former student networks through institutional channels encourages chain movements.

Somewhat surprisingly, statistics on inflows of foreign students are patchy (Table 13). This is less true of data on stocks of foreign students, which are now considerable across Europe (Table 14). Because different countries count foreign students in different ways and at different levels, caution must be applied in comparing countries. However, the UK is the clear market leader but Germany and France are other major destinations. Overall, the total for the countries listed is 862,200.

Table 15 shows the foreign population of selected European countries by education level. Foreigners are generally over-represented in both the highest and lowest levels of education, the distribution varying by host country. In several countries more than 40 per cent of foreigners aged between 25 and 64 have at best only lower secondary education: for example, in Belgium and France the figures are 54 and 55 per cent respectively (OECD, 2004). In contrast, in some countries the proportion of foreigners with tertiary education is high, for example, the UK (35 per cent), Norway (31 per cent).

2.4.2 Characteristics of foreign students

There is a marked lack of systematic information on the make up of foreign students and trainees but it is clear that they are a diverse group. Much attention focuses on those in higher education who may include undergraduates and postgraduates, undertaking courses of varying lengths. Many are trainees, sent abroad by their employers or moving for career development reasons. Large numbers are language students. An important

subset is working holidaymakers, perhaps in a gap year, travelling under special government schemes for the age group.

Table 13 – Inflows of Foreign Students to selected European Countries, 1998-2003 (thousands)

| | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 |
|---------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Austria | - | - | - | - | - | 4.5 |
| Czech Republic | - | - | - | - | - | 2.9 |
| Denmark (1) | - | - | - | 3.7 | 5.3 | - |
| France | - | - | - | 40.0 | - | - |
| Lithuania | - | - | - | - | 0.2 | 0.7 |
| Netherlands | 6.1 | 6.2 | 6.3 | 7.7 | 9.3 | - |
| Slovak Republic (2) | 1.4 | 1.6 | 0.6 | 0.8 | - | 3.2 |
| Sweden (3) | - | - | 3.1 | 4 | - | - |
| Switzerland (4) | - | - | - | - | 11.6 | - |
| United Kingdom | - | 78.4 | 65.3 | 81.4 | 96.9 | - |

Sources: Various national sources, OECD (2004)

Notes:

1. Grant of first-time residence permits.
2. Newly granted residence permits.
3. Resident permit issues to students.
4. Students and pupils.

Table 14 – Stock of foreign students in selected European countries, 2001

| Country | 2001 |
|-----------------|-------|
| Austria | 31.7 |
| Belgium | 38.2 |
| Czech Republic | 7.8 |
| Denmark | 12.5 |
| Finland | 6.3 |
| France | 147.4 |
| Germany | 199.1 |
| Hungary | 11.2 |
| Iceland | 0.4 |
| Ireland | 8.2 |
| Italy | 29.2 |
| Netherlands | 16.6 |
| Norway | 8.8 |
| Poland | 6.7 |
| Slovak Republic | 1.7 |
| Spain | 39.9 |
| Sweden | 26.3 |
| Switzerland | 27.8 |
| Turkey | 16.7 |
| United Kingdom | 225.7 |

Source: OECD (2004)

Table 15 – Stock of foreign born by level of education for selected European countries, 2001 or latest year available

| | Less than upper secondary | | Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary | | Tertiary | | Unknown |
|--------------------|---------------------------|----------|---|----------|----------|----------|---------|
| | number | per cent | number | per cent | number | per cent | |
| Austria | 456032 | 49.4 | 362918 | 39.3 | 104742 | 11.3 | - |
| Belgium | 443045 | 54.2 | 197573 | 24.2 | 176917 | 21.6 | 201779 |
| Czech Republic | 164538 | 38.4 | 208718 | 48.8 | 54766 | 12.8 | 4212 |
| Denmark | 155216 | 48.6 | 101842 | 31.9 | 62243 | 19.5 | - |
| Finland (1) | 59374 | 52.7 | 31940 | 28.4 | 21322 | 18.9 | - |
| France | 3066864 | 54.8 | 1521910 | 27.2 | 1011424 | 18.1 | - |
| Germany | 3870908 | 43.7 | 3612460 | 40.8 | 1372254 | 15.5 | - |
| Greece | 448046 | 44.8 | 399653 | 39.9 | 153083 | 15.3 | - |
| Hungary | 113250 | 41.1 | 107779 | 39.1 | 54465 | 19.8 | - |
| Ireland | 92939 | 29.6 | 92011 | 29.3 | 128762 | 41 | 19292 |
| Luxembourg | 40499 | 36.7 | 45807 | 41.6 | 23916 | 21.7 | 19539 |
| Netherlands | 629462 | 53 | 349889 | 29.4 | 208863 | 17.6 | - |
| Norway | 38466 | 18.3 | 106590 | 50.6 | 65535 | 31.1 | 80830 |
| Poland | 348750 | 47.9 | 293537 | 40.3 | 86385 | 11.9 | 9067 |
| Portugal | 320778 | 54.7 | 151806 | 25.9 | 113348 | 19.3 | - |
| Slovak Republic | 32933 | 29.3 | 63013 | 56.1 | 16424 | 14.6 | 805 |
| Spain | 1029435 | 55.4 | 423225 | 22.8 | 404387 | 21.8 | - |
| Sweden | 253195 | 29.6 | 395962 | 46.2 | 207558 | 24.2 | 75394 |
| Switzerland | 485466 | 41.6 | 405183 | 34.7 | 276791 | 23.7 | 286745 |
| Turkey | 479520 | 49.3 | 331728 | 34.1 | 161557 | 16.6 | - |
| United Kingdom (2) | 1602168 | 40.6 | 968116 | 24.5 | 1374370 | 34.8 | 558667 |

Source: Dumont and Lemaitre (2004)

Notes:

1. "Less than upper secondary" includes "unknown" educational attainment.
2. Educational attainment levels refer to those aged 16-74; others are included in "unknown".

Both sexes are represented and they are mainly young and single and most, but not all, intend to migrate for relatively short periods. They gravitate to certain countries (English speaking ones have more than their share) and normally to large cities where the most comprehensive educational facilities are to be found.

At tertiary level they are more likely to enrol in general disciplines than professional ones, reflecting the national basis of many qualifications and hence a lack of transferability (OECD, 2001b). They are also likely to be in graduate rather than undergraduate courses and to be attracted to international centres of excellence, although this last point may be changing as more and more institutions put on special, bespoke programmes. Graduate courses are attractive because they provide easier entry into the labour markets of host countries when the education is completed and when language mastery has been achieved (Dustmann, 1993).

2.4.3 Implications of foreign students

Participation in the labour force varies from country to country, depending on legislation and immigration rules. Most governments allow them to work part-time. A trend in recent years has been for governments to make it easier for graduating foreign students to enter the labour market. In this way employers are able to recruit the skills they need

while the economy as a whole becomes more competitive with the addition of up-to-date skills at low recruitment cost.

The implications of foreign students for the educational sector have become increasingly important as institutions compete for their cheque books. Frequently they go to selected prestigious institutions leading to growing inequalities in educational systems at national level. Their accommodation is characterised by high turnover. They usually rent and, in doing so, are collectively able to outbid families and in consequence turn certain areas into student ghettos. In some cases they live in hostels provided for them and this has become an important attraction in the competition between institutions.

The overall implications of the foreign student entry stream are summarised in Table 16.

Table 16 – Foreign students and their implication fields

| | Spatial | | Institutional | Society | |
|---------------|--|--|--|---|---|
| | National | Local | | Individual | Community |
| Labour market | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ international competition for graduates ▪ engage in part-time work ▪ transitional ▪ representation in particular economic sectors ▪ legislation on participation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ local economy skill shortages ▪ concentrations of particular groups ▪ centres of innovation (e.g. science parks) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ employers ▪ lack of involvement in trade unions | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ dualism in labour market (skilled vs. unskilled roles) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ reduced skill shortages leading to improved service |
| Education | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ education for trade ▪ financial gain through fees ▪ enrolment by course type ▪ competition for overseas students | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ concentrations in certain institutions ▪ centres of expertise ▪ local social mix | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ universities ▪ schools ▪ training centres ▪ institutional channels (e.g. SOCRATES) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ career development, including language training | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ local community hosting of foreign students |
| Health | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ access to national healthcare system ▪ training for medical students | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ register with general practices, dentists, etc. ▪ student health services | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ hospitals ▪ local practices ▪ university healthcare provision ▪ training hospitals (medical students) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ career development (medical students) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ reduced skill shortages leading to improved service |
| Housing | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ eligibility by housing sector ▪ usually renting | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ local provision ▪ multiple occupancy ▪ local concentrations ▪ may be subsidised by employers if come for training | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ local authorities ▪ private rental sector ▪ universities (etc.) provision | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ usually short-term requirement ▪ sharing with others | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ compete with locals ▪ create local foreign student communities ▪ transform rental areas |

2.5 Asylum seekers

This is another varied group, characterised by its unpredictability. Unlike the other streams discussed, in most countries asylum seekers have their own special conventions and legislation, usually agreed at a multi-national level. Their length of stay in the destination is uncertain, depending both on their assessed need for protection and conditions in their home country. In recent years, large numbers of claimants have been judged not to be in need of protection, despite which many have remained in the host country.

2.5.1 Trends in asylum seeker numbers

The numbers involved are substantial (Table 17) and it is not easy to discern any consistent trend across Europe. Hence, the implications of asylum seekers in the fields of labour market, education, health, and housing vary over both time and space. There is some evidence from Table that while in Western European countries numbers of claimants have tended to fall in recent years, in Central and Eastern Europe the reverse has been the case, although numbers remain small.

Table 17 – Asylum applications in selected European countries, 1998-2003

| | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 |
|----------------|------|------|------|------|-------|------|
| Austria | 13.8 | 20.1 | 18.3 | 30.1 | 39.4 | 32.3 |
| Belgium | 22 | 35.8 | 42.7 | 24.6 | 18.8 | 16.9 |
| Bulgaria | 0.8 | 1.3 | 1.8 | 2.4 | 2.9 | 1.6 |
| Czech Republic | 4.1 | 7.3 | 8.8 | 18.1 | 8.5 | 11.4 |
| Denmark | 9.4 | 12.3 | 12.2 | 12.5 | 6.1 | 4.6 |
| Finland | 1.3 | 3.1 | 3.2 | 1.7 | 3.4 | 3.1 |
| France | 22.4 | 30.9 | 38.8 | 47.3 | 51.1 | 51.4 |
| Germany | 98.6 | 95.1 | 78.6 | 88.3 | 71.1 | 50.5 |
| Greece | 3 | 1.5 | 3.1 | 5.5 | 5.7 | 8.2 |
| Hungary | 7.1 | 11.5 | 7.8 | 9.6 | 6.4 | 2.4 |
| Ireland | 4.6 | 7.7 | 11.1 | 10.3 | 11.6 | 7.9 |
| Italy | 11.1 | 33.4 | 15.6 | 9.6 | 7.3 | - |
| Netherlands | 45.2 | 42.7 | 43.9 | 32.6 | 18.7 | 13.4 |
| Norway | 8.4 | 10.2 | 10.8 | 14.8 | 17.5 | 16 |
| Poland | 3.4 | 3 | 4.6 | 4.5 | 5.2 | 6.9 |
| Romania | 1.2 | 1.7 | 1.4 | 2.4 | 1.2 | 1.1 |
| Slovakia | 0.5 | 1.3 | 1.6 | 8.2 | 9.7 | 10.3 |
| Slovenia | 0.5 | 0.9 | 9.2 | 1.5 | 0.7 | 1.1 |
| Spain | 6.7 | 8.4 | 7.9 | 9.5 | 6.3 | 5.8 |
| Sweden | 12.8 | 11.2 | 16.3 | 23.5 | 33 | 31.4 |
| Switzerland | 41.3 | 46.1 | 17.6 | 20.6 | 26.1 | 21.1 |
| United Kingdom | 58.5 | 91.2 | 98.9 | 91.6 | 103.1 | 61.1 |

Source: Governments, UNHCR. Compiled by UNHCR Geneva (Population Data Unit/PGDS).

Note:

Countries selected are those with an average of 1,500 applications or more per annum during the period.

2.5.2 Characteristics of asylum seekers

Flows involve both sexes, although worldwide females predominate (IOM 2004). In Europe they include all age groups, but the young predominate. More often than not asylum seekers come singly but many then engage in family reunion. A small but growing problem is the arrival of unaccompanied minors who claim asylum, although it

seems that some of these may be trafficked. The origins of asylum seekers are also very variable, depending on many factors including language, historical ties and geographical proximity. It is also the case that destinations are frequently chosen by facilitators (smugglers and traffickers) rather than by the claimants themselves.

2.5.3 Implications of asylum seekers

The implications of asylum seekers for the labour market depend on the legislation governing their right to work. Most countries do not allow immediate access but they may take up employment after a period (such as six months) if their cases are not yet decided. Once accepted as refugees they are able to work. However, for many highly skilled their qualifications are not always acceptable and a 'brain waste' occurs. A substantial proportion of rejected asylum seekers do not return home but remain and work illegally.

Most countries allow the children of asylum seekers to have access to education. However, there are important consequences for schools in the form of pupil mobility and the lack of records of educational achievement before arrival.

Dispersal schemes for asylum seekers have been developed by many governments, often devolving responsibility for housing to local authorities. While at the outset this can result in a widespread geographical distribution, there is evidence of secondary movement as those dispersed gravitate to areas where their compatriots are living. In some countries special reception centres house asylum seekers while decisions on their future are being made. Elsewhere, asylum seekers effectively compete with locals for rental accommodation.

There are consequences for the health sector. Many asylum seekers have mental and physical health problems and these often stretch to the whole family. Dealing with these is often made difficult by language differences. On the positive side, asylum seekers often possess skills in short supply in destination countries, such as in a range of health professional occupations, and these can sometimes be converted into full-time employment, to mutual benefit.

Table 18 summarises the spatial, institutional and societal implications of asylum seekers in the four fields under study.

Table 18 – Asylum seekers and their implication fields

| | National | Spatial Local | Institutional | Individual | Society Community |
|---------------|---|---|---|--|---|
| Labour market | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ potential labour force ▪ brain waste | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ enforced unemployment ▪ availability of jobs locally | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ qualification recognition | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ skill level and entitlement to work | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ perception by natives ▪ informal economy and networks |
| Education | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ special funding | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ pupil mobility in schools, potentially affecting quality of education ▪ special requirements such as language and dealing with trauma ▪ placed in unpopular schools | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ units for special educational needs and provision ▪ language support | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ entitlement to education ▪ lack of school records | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ community support groups to provide aid and help integration |
| Health | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ no national health insurance payments ▪ mental and physical health ▪ waves and scale of entry | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ may affect waiting lists ▪ provision through general practices, dentists, etc. ▪ need for language specialists | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ hospitals ▪ local health services ▪ NGOs and charities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ entitlement to healthcare ▪ unaccompanied minors | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ community support groups to provide aid and help integration |
| Housing | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ government dispersal schemes ▪ provision of housing assistance (money, rental) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ local authority agreements ▪ local proximity to point of arrival ▪ urban areas most affected | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ reception centres ▪ detention centres ▪ local authorities ▪ housing associations ▪ NGOs and charities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ entitlement to housing | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ community support groups to provide aid and help integration ▪ asylum seeker networks ▪ secondary migration |

SECTION 3 — SUMMARY

It is clear, even from the relatively superficial review of types of migration and their associated entry streams presented here, that there are dangers of misinterpretation in any reductionism that fails to grasp the complexities of different migration flows. The relationships between migrant entry streams and the fields of labour market, education, health and housing are complicated and pose wide ranging policy dilemmas for governments at national and local levels. These relationships are particularly affected by the scale of flows in the individual streams which vary in importance from one country to another. Thus, governments are faced with the need to orientate their policies according to their particular constellation of flows which may be different from those of their neighbours.

The nature of this paper does not easily lend itself to a conclusion. Partly this is a consequence of the level of generalisation adopted. In assessing the implications of migration streams, it is important to take into account that migrants are both providers and consumers of services. In this regard some are net contributors to the economy while others are net consumers. However, the balance sheet is not only economic and there are major social implications which again vary according to entry stream.

The paper so far has been written from the perspective of the individual migrant streams, presenting the implications of the flows in a series of synoptic tables. In this final summary section the tables are, metaphorically, superimposed on top of one another so that each cell can be examined in an attempt to identify the main differences between the migrant streams for each of the four key sectors: labour market, education, health and housing.

3.1 Implications for the labour market

At the national level the various entry streams have different implications for the labour market. Those who come specifically as legal labour entrants generally increase economic competitiveness, help resolve skill shortages and may be perceived as a replacement labour force. Not all participate in the workforce to the same extent, however, and sharp differences in unemployment rates sometimes occur between national or ethnic groups. Governments have developed work permit systems to manage their entry at the national level and there may be regional labour market tests associated with them.

Whereas deliberate policies have been developed, by government and employers, which relate the labour entry stream to the state of the labour market, this is not the case for the other entry streams. Asylum seekers often constitute a potential (or illegal) workforce, rather than an active one and they are frequently characterised by brain waste. The implications of family migration are closely related to the entitlement to work of spouses and other family members. The student entry stream is closely related to international competition for graduates, increasingly seen as in a transitional position between education/ temporary employment on one hand and permanent entry into the labour market on the other. While engaged in study, many students engage in part-time work, usually (but not only) in the less regulated sectors (such as hospitality, catering) of the large urban economies in which educational

institutions are located. Their ability to work legally depends on any legislation governing the conditions of their workforce participation.

At a local level, labour migrants are often important in sustaining local economies, sometimes in niche markets or in sectors specific to certain areas. The spatial focus is particularly marked in border regions, including those where there is active cross-border commuting. Family migrants are potentially significant elements in selected economic regions and localities, especially large cities. The local labour market implications of asylum seekers depend to some extent on government dispersal policies and the availability of jobs locally, as well as the local availability of informal employment. The implications of the student stream are related to the locations of educational institutions, the concentration of particular types of students and skill shortages in local economies which may encourage employers to recruit foreign students directly upon graduation. In the last case, centres of innovation such as science parks may serve as catalysts not only for employment after education but as attractive forces for foreign students in the first place.

The institutions for which labour migration has most implications are the main social partners – government, employers and trades unions — together with professional organisations, especially those which establish and monitor qualifications. The last of these are also important for determining whether asylum seekers and refugees are eligible to practise. Various employment and recruitment agencies act as conduits for movement and, in certain sectors especially, labour sub-contractors play major roles in orchestrating migration and installing workers into the labour market. The ability of family businesses to provide employment and the opportunities for self employment are significant for family entry streams. For student employment the main implications are for employers; for the most part students do not get involved with trades unions.

The societal implications of the different streams entering the labour market also vary. Successive generations of labour migrants frequently enter different sectors, displaying ascending levels of skills and social mobility. Labour migrants may also create niche economic and social activities (such as speciality shops and restaurants). These may be linked to family migration through the creation of business networks for different national origin groups. In contrast, asylum seekers are often to be found in the informal economy (the only place many can find work); they participate in different social networks and their overall economic role be affected by how they are perceived by native populations. Student employment benefits society through its peripatetic and short-term nature, reducing skill shortages and improving service provision.

There are also labour market effects of the different entry streams at the individual level. Foreign workers often compete with natives in the workplace and there is some evidence that this leads to greater economic and social mobility for both. Asylum seekers may suffer through non-entitlement to work at their skill level. Individual family migrants may have their opportunities for work increased through family information networks. Foreign students have a dualistic role in labour markets, taking on either/both skilled and unskilled roles.

3.2 Implications for the education sector

At the national level labour migrants are both consumers – though their children – and providers of education. In the latter capacity they help meet skill shortages, especially in the inner areas of some large cities and they are frequently providers of language training. The effects on the educational system of family migrants depend on the entitlement to education services across the age range. If there is not entitlement to public education they may use the private school system and various forms of international schools are common. A key educational issue is the equivalence of educational outcomes for foreigners and natives, the former often performing less well and leaving school with poorer qualifications. This is often the case for the children of asylum seekers who have language difficulties, although some countries provide special funding to help cater for asylum children. Students provide a different suite of educational issues compared with those of other entry streams. ‘Education for trade’ has resulted in often intense competition for overseas students, in a wide range of courses including language, medicine, MBAs and PhDs. In several countries higher educational systems are increasingly reliant on a steady or growing influx of foreign students.

The labour migration stream has some marked local spatial implications for the education sector, depending upon the geographical concentrations of migrants. Again there are both provision (teachers, lecturers, researchers) and consumption (family members) considerations, usually focused on certain urban areas. Selected schools may feel the pressures of pupil mobility as labour migrants and their families come and go. The family stream, also has implications for pupil mobility in schools, including the need to provide (often costly) reception systems for new entrants into the school at non-standard times. Family migrants also contribute to the local mix of nationalities, cultures and languages in the educational system. The economic costs of dealing with these are compensated for by the resulting social enrichment.

Each migration stream affects the main educational institutions through the demands they place upon them, schools, universities etc., but in different ways. Labour migrants are more likely than others to work in the educational sector as teachers and researchers; family migrants often have special educational needs and special schools may be provided for them (such as international schools). Asylum migrants frequently require language or other forms of support and may impose particular burdens through pupil mobility. For students, special schemes such as SOCRATES have been developed to channel mobility and international networks of institutions created. The EU 5th and 6th research framework programmes have stimulated the movement of scholars within large collaborative networks.

There are broader societal implications of different migration streams in the education sector. Among those coming to work the level and nature of education attainment prior to migration influences the economic and social development of foreigners compared with natives and may set the scene for continuing difference. Family migrants and asylum seekers may become an underclass, characterised by low levels of education and qualifications, unless special assistance is provided, such as language training and other educational measures designed to provide assistance and help integration. Foreign students are sometimes hosted by local families and

communities, not only to mutual economic advantage but also helping create understanding between national cultures.

At the individual level, differences between the streams are again manifest. Some labour migrants come for training and career development purposes so that there is a symbiosis between the education and employment sectors. Family migrants gain from better educational provision, marked by intergenerational improvements in economic and social position. On the other hand, extended holidays in which pupils are taken out of school for trips back to the origin country (including for marriage reasons) have educational disbenefits for both school provision and the young people involved. Asylum seekers have varying entitlements to education; even when they go to school, the lack of records of their education so far constitutes a serious problem for both them and the schools.

3.3 Implications for the health sector

It is in the health sector that some of the major differences between the entry streams are apparent. More so than other types, labour migrants fill gaps in the workforce between the levels of training of indigenous workers and the scale of the demand for skills; they are also contributors to national health insurance schemes. Foreign medical students in the later stages of their training also help alleviate skill shortages. Access as consumers to national health services varies. Some labour migrants and their families use private health insurance schemes but most are entitled to use public services because of the tax and insurance they pay. Student access to free national healthcare varies from country to country. Family migrants are more likely to be net consumers of healthcare (at least until they enter the workforce) depending upon their age structure. The healthcare implications of the asylum stream differ in several respects from those of other migrants. Upon and after arrival they will not have paid contributions to the national system; their arrival tends to come in waves which impose particular temporal burdens; often they have acute mental and physical health problems, resulting from persecution, conflict and torture.

These differences between entry streams at the national level are replicated locally. Labour migrants are important in meeting skill shortages in certain areas, such as health care assistants in large urban areas, especially those with ageing populations, and in providing specialist language assistance in hospitals and other institutions. In contrast, family migrants require local health provision across the age range (maternity, infants, elderly), including health visitors with appropriate levels of language and cultural understanding. Students are not heavy consumers of local health services but they may register with local doctors and dentists and often they have special student health provision through their educational institutions. Asylum seekers have similar implications for local health services to those of family migrants and if they are concentrated in particular localities they may affect waiting lists for treatment, need language services and increase pressures on medical practices.

All migrant entry streams have potential implications for the main health institutions, hospitals, general practices etc. but there are variations. University hospitals especially are centres of final training for junior health professionals who may subsequently stay and work in them; they also attract medical students. Asylum

seekers frequently use the services of NGOs and charities which act directly and indirectly in a medical capacity.

The different migration streams have varying social implications for the health sector. Foreign labour migrants foster multiculturalism in health provision as well as giving support to private healthcare systems that benefit the wider population. Recruiting foreign students into healthcare reduces skill shortages and improves services generally. Family migrants, especially in certain cultures, may provide domiciliary care through family-based support groups, reducing pressures on other ways of administering services for the elderly and vulnerable. Conversely, as migrants age, there may be greater pressure on centrally-provided services. Asylum seekers pose some different problems from the other entry streams, for example, as they use community support groups which provide aid and help integration and thus reduce pressures on the health service.

The societal implications for the health sector are more likely to be felt at the individual level. Labour migrants bring their individual skills which may often be highly specialised. The implications of individual family migration depend mainly on age, with children, expectant mothers and the elderly, for example, requiring different types of service. The implications for the health sector of individual medical students are linked to their career development and the specialisms in which they are being trained. For asylum seekers, in contrast, key issues are ones of entitlement to healthcare (perhaps emergency only) and the special circumstances of unaccompanied minors.

3.4 Implications for the housing sector

Many of the implications for the housing sector are common to all migration streams. The scale of foreign immigration has implications for the overall housing stock and this is especially significant where migration is the main component of national or local population change. In the early stages of immigration most migrants will rent their accommodation. For those who are better off or intending permanent settlement ownership beckons, though success in this regard is likely to depend on the ability of migrants to access the routes to finance. Single labour migrants, especially the young, may share accommodation, lessening the cost to the individual but in doing so pricing families out of the rental market. Family migrants require larger accommodation than single labour migrants, while asylum seekers may be provided with housing through government dispersal schemes.

The spatial implications of migration on the housing sector are more pronounced at local level. All migrants are affected by local government policies to restrict access to public housing to the indigenous population. Labour migrants contribute to housing taxation and they have house pricing effects. They also want accommodation with proximity to their places of employment and this may lead to nationality concentrations where particular national groups work for certain employers. Some employers provide housing directly for their migrant workers or provide indirect assistance through special allowances. Other issues are the extended family requirement for larger accommodation, local concentrations of students in certain cities and zones within them, together with multiple occupancy. Housing for asylum seekers is often governed by agreements with local government to place a quota in

publicly owned accommodation or to subsidise their private renting. A further local effect of asylum seekers is that many settle initially in close proximity to their point of arrival while their cases are being considered.

A wide range of housing institutions either exist for or are affected by migration. Labour migrants use agents, landlords and private builders. They and family migrants use financial institutions and community organisations and they may have access to local authority housing provision – as might students. Foreign students frequently use the private rental sector but also have access to accommodation provided by educational and training institutions. Asylum seekers are sometimes accommodated in reception or detention centres, or in properties owned by housing associations or charitable organisations.

At the broader community level, the housing implications of migration are particularly seen in two fields: the degree of segregation that occurs and the competition between migrants and the native population. All immigrant streams are implicated in these. However, there are other societal elements of the housing sector where different migrant types have particular effects. Thus, labour migrants are both producers (as construction workers) and consumers. Families often settle in areas of existing migrant concentration. Foreign students compete with locals, create local foreign student concentrations and may transform rental areas in reasonable proximity to educational institutions. Asylum seekers gain from the creation of local support networks but also engage in secondary migration to live closer to their compatriots.

There are also some housing implications for individuals. These particularly involve entitlement to public provision, especially for asylum seekers, labour and family members and access to housing of suitable quality. Reception systems have been developed by some migrant groups, especially for family migrants, to assist in obtaining housing. Student housing needs tend to be different from other migrants, key elements being the temporary nature of the housing requirement and the tendency to engage in sharing arrangements.

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