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May 2013

Conceptual framework
for modelling longer term migratory,
labour market and
human capital processes

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No.1

Heinz Fassmann and
Elisabeth Musil



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SEEMIG WORKING PAPERS SERIES

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1. Introduction

1.1. SEEMIG objectives

The South-Eastern Europe (SEE) Region faces a complex, nationally and regionally diverse set of demographic, migratory and labour market challenges. Most of these countries show a stagnating and ageing population and an emigration trend, particularly within the younger and most qualified segment of the population. Other countries, amongst others in Western Europe, pay higher salaries and offer a variety of job opportunities and therefore attract migrants. Only by joint, transnational actions and the development of a system of migration management can SEE countries tackle these demographic and economic challenges, which, if no strategic measures are taken and following the idea of cumulative negative causation (Myrdal 1957), could negatively affect territorial cohesion and hinder economic growth in the region.

However, before such actions are implemented, it is important to improve the understanding of on-going processes and challenges in the region. Against this background, SEEMIG aims to better understand and address longer term migratory, human capital and demographic processes of the SEE area, as well as their effects on labour markets and national/regional economies. The project thereby seeks to support public administrations to develop and implement policies and strategies by using enhanced data sets and empirical evidence.

SEEMIG also builds on important projects that have already been carried in the field of international migration statistics. As such, to some extent SEEMIG can be seen as successor project of 'Promoting Comparative Quantitative Research in the Field of Migration and Integration in Europe' (PROMINSTAT)¹ and 'Towards Harmonised European Statistics on International Migration' (THESIM)², the latter of which can be labelled as a pioneer project in the field of comparative analysis of migration statistics. However, SEEMIG has a different geographical focus. Whereas THESIM was a Europe-wide project, SEEMIG concentrates on South-Eastern Europe and will therefore go more in depth in discussing the specific situation in this region. It will also go further in terms of migration policy recommendations. Moreover, SEEMIG pursues the objective to also consider on-going projects/programmes dedicated to similar challenges, (for example 'Making Migration Work for Development (MMWD)', 'European Observation Network, Territorial Development and Cohesion (ESPON programme)³', 'Regions benefitting from returning migrants (Re-Turn)⁴', 'The Determinants of International Migration (DEMIG)⁵') to enhance the use of synergies and to regularly reflect upon their spatial and methodological experiences and approaches.

SEEMIG is also a policy and development project. For this purpose, the project will develop foresight scenarios and projections to predict demographic, migratory and labour market processes, substantiating effective and sustainable national, regional and local strategies. It will also seek to build capacities of local and regional authorities to better collect and utilise statistical data in their planning and sectorial policies, and to introduce evidence-based

¹ <http://www.prominstat.eu/drupal/?q=node/64>

² <http://www.uclouvain.be/en-7823.html>

³ <http://www.espon.eu/main/>

⁴ <http://www.re-migrants.eu>

⁵ <http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/research-projects/demig>

policy-making and implementation. As an implementation-oriented project, the SEEMIG consortium largely consists of entities responsible for data production and collection in SEEMIG countries. They are accompanied by a range of scientific institutions, securing a coherent conceptual approach. Furthermore, the project involves decision-makers applying statistics related to migratory challenges at the regional and local level. All these institutions will work together to improve the knowledge on demographic, migratory and labour market processes and challenges to enable evidence-based policy-making.

1.2. Purpose and aims

This paper aims to elaborate a theoretical and analytical framework for the interrelationships of demographic, migratory, labour market and human capital processes. This activity will help to develop a common framework for better understanding such processes in order to guarantee a sound basis for the further work packages and activities of SEEMIG.

In the sections that follow, first, definitions, concepts and categorisations of migration are addressed and conceptually interlinked with possible socio-demographic and economic drivers. Subsequently, theories explaining the economic, social and political forces that generate and perpetuate international migration are presented. However, a detailed survey of migration theories is not possible or envisaged here.⁶ Instead, only selected theories which are deemed to be most relevant for the project contents are described and evaluated in this study. The push pull model in a reformulated way and the concept of the migration cycle are at the core of this analysis. In a further step, the embeddedness of migration processes in the world system, migration systems, and political, demographic as well as socio-economic contexts will be illustrated. Afterwards, macro-analytical effects of international migration are presented. Based on the review of concepts of migration and theoretical considerations, conclusions for the project's data collection and research activities are drawn.

1.3. Methodology

This paper has been elaborated by the SEEMIG project partner at the Department of Geography and Regional Research at the University of Vienna, leader of Work Package 3, in close cooperation with the contributing partners.⁷ The paper is based on a comparative literature review regarding definitions and conceptualisations of international migration. Furthermore, literature of the main theoretical models on long-term migratory, demographic, labour market and human capital processes were examined.

Throughout the elaboration of the study, the project partners were consulted and involved on a continuous basis. A first draft outline was presented at the SEEMIG Kick-Off Meeting in Budapest on 21 June 2012. It was further developed based on the discussions at the meeting and comments received from partners in response to a questionnaire circulated by the University of Vienna in July 2012. Additional comments received at the SEEMIG Transnational Working

⁶ For a more elaborated synopsis of theories of migration see Massey et al., 1993, 1994, 1998; Arango 2000; Portes and DeWind, 2007; Brettell and Hollifield, 2007.

⁷ The contributing partners are: Hungarian Central Statistical Office, Hungarian Central Statistical Office-Demographic Research Institute, School on Local Development - University of Trento, Institute of Informatics and Statistics – Slovakia, Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities, National Statistical Institute of the Republic of Bulgaria, Institute of Social Sciences - Serbia and the Institute for Economic Research – Slovenia.

Group and SEEMIG Panel of Experts Meeting in Bratislava on 20 September 2012 were also incorporated. A first draft version was discussed at a working meeting held in Vienna on 5 November 2012 between the Lead Partner and the Work Package leaders of WP3, WP4 and WP6, which presented additional essential input to the study. The paper was then reviewed by the SEEMIG Transnational Working Group Members and SEEMIG Panel of Experts, which represents a large pool of expertise in sociology, economics and developmental studies, before being finally submitted to the SEEMIG Steering Committee for approval.

1.4. Acknowledgment

This paper has been elaborated by the SEEMIG project partner at the Department of Geography and our thanks go to all contributors and reviewers, to the Transnational Working Group Members and Panel of Experts and especially to Attila Melegh and Kathrin Gruber for permanent and competent support and Katie Klaffenböck for the proof-reading; however, the authors remain responsible for any error or misinterpretation.

2. Defining International Migration

2.1. Definitions and Concepts of International Migration

Despite the growing dimension and importance of international migration in today's interconnected world, a common and generally accepted definition of international migration does not (yet) exist. This contrasts with natural demographic events like birth or death – which are in statistical terms disputable to some extent but much more clearly defined than migration. We presume that this observation is linked to the fuzzy delineation between spatial mobility and migration. Migration needs a specific 'quality' to differentiate it from the general term of spatial mobility.

Migration generally refers to the longer term relocation of the centre of life of individuals. Two defining variables of international migration are relevant in this context: spatial distance and duration of time. The majority of definitions of international migration include these two features, but differ significantly in their specific use. As regards the variable of spatial distance, the identification appears to be relatively simple: international migration involves the crossing of an international border.⁸ However, how long a person must stay in or leave a country to be counted as an immigrant or emigrant respectively still varies to a large extent from one country to another (van der Erf, Jandl and Reeger 2005: 3).

This situation is even more unfortunate, as the lack of availability, accuracy and comparability of statistics on international migration have been known for a long time (UN 1949, Herm 2006). Major efforts to standardise statistics on international migration have been undertaken at the international level for more than one and a half centuries; the congresses of the International Statistical Institute in Vienna (1891), Budapest (1901) and Berlin (1903) criticised the fact that differences in concepts and techniques make international comparisons of existing data on migration impossible.⁹

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) refers to the problem of diverging definitions on migration in its World Migration Report 2003: 'As they result from distinct political, social, economic and cultural contexts, definitions of migration are highly varied in nature. This makes comparison difficult not only because statistical criteria differ, but because these differences reflect real variations in migration's social and economic significance, depending on the particular contexts' (Castles 2000, cit. in IOM 2003: 8). To counter these contextual and national differences, numerous efforts have been undertaken over many decades led by international bodies and organisations such as the United Nations (UN), the OECD, IOM or the European Union (EU) on the international level to harmonise concepts and definitions.

A definition was proposed by the UN Statistical Division in 1998. The United Nations (1998: 17) recommends defining an international migrant as '*any person who changes his or her country of usual residence*'. To make a clear distinction between international visitor and international migrant, the United Nations recommends further, with regard to the time element, that the change of country of usual residence necessary to become an international migrant must involve a period of stay in the country of destination of at least one year (12 months).

⁸ This criteria can also be misleading, as the changing of international borders as a consequence of country break-ups and state formation processes also have a major effect on officially recorded migration statistics.

⁹ See Fassmann, Reeger and Sievers 2009: 17.

A *long-term migrant* is therefore defined as: 'A person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least a year (12 months), so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence. From the perspective of the country of departure the person will be a long-term emigrant and from that of the country of arrival the person will be a long-term immigrant.' (ibid: 18)

Additionally, as the increase of short-term international movements of people for purposes other than tourism is one of the new features of international population mobility, the UN recognises the importance of collecting information on some of the persons who spend less than a year in a country other than that of their usual residence. For this purpose, a definition for *short-time migrant* has also been introduced: 'A person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least 3 months but less than a year (12 months) except in cases where the movement to that country is for purposes of recreation, holiday, visits to friends and relatives, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage. For purposes of international migration statistics, the country of usual residence of short-term migrants is considered to be the country of destination during the period they spend in it.' (United Nations: 18)

However, three main problems arise with the implementation of this recommended definition of long-term migrant:

1. The first difficulty relates to the definition of 'usual residence'. While the UN clearly defines this term as 'the geographical place where the person usually resides' (ibid: 17), this definition is not applied by all European countries or is employed differently. In Romania, for example, all persons who have a permanent registered address in Romania – even when living or working in another country are considered as resident population (Tompea and Năstuță: 2009).
2. The question of whether all people who change their usual residence should be counted is a further problem that arises (Fassmann 2009b: 33). Although, according to UN recommendations, every person settling in a country for a specific period of time should be included in the statistics, in many European countries ethnic immigrants or immigrants from countries with specific historical or political relations are not included. For instance, Germany does not categorise ethnic Germans ((Spät-)Aussiedler) who have the right to settle in Germany as foreigners although they represent an important group of immigrants. (Rühl 2009).
3. A third problem is the time dimension and its character: While the UN recommendations define a minimum duration of stay of a year as criterion for international migration, many countries employ different time dimensions. This lies partly in the fact that adhering to this suggested time frame means that data of countries are outdated before they are published (Fassmann 2009b: 34). Austria, for instance, employs for national purposes a minimum duration of stay of three months as criterion for migration (Reeger 2009).

Even though the EU Member States have tried to implement the definition of an international migrant, the definitions still 'vary significantly between countries, within countries over time, and between different sources of statistical information' (Nowok, Kupiszewska and Poulain

2006: 214). Only Cyprus and the United Kingdom currently apply the UN recommendations consistently, while Finland and Sweden alone treat emigration to other countries that have signed the Nordic Agreement in a different way. All other EU Member States have their own exceptions, traditions and statistical instruments. The THESIM Report (Poulain, Perrin and Singleton 2006) is a useful source for this Babylonian confusion; see for example the overview regarding the registration of resident population and the inclusion of immigrants in table A1 of the Annex.

The European Union has also undertaken major efforts regarding the harmonisation of migration statistics in the EU Member States (i.e. EC Regulation No 862/2007 on Community statistics on migration and international protection, EC Regulation No 763/2008 on population and housing censuses, and Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council on European statistics on demography COM(2011) 903). In all mentioned regulations, the definition on migration was slightly modified from the UN recommendations on migration (e.g. intended duration of residing is explicitly stated) and also the terminology (e.g. migration and not long-term migration). Despite these efforts, problems remain. Countries refer to different data sources and consequently differing variables on residence are used by the countries to derive migration statistics. In addition, different methodological solutions concerning the derivation of the duration of stay in the country are employed.

Despite the above mentioned challenges, for the context of SEEMIG, it is suggested to use the United Nations definition of international migrant as '*any person who changes his or her country of usual residence*' (UN 1998: 17). This means that, to the greatest extent possible, asylum seekers and minority groups such as the German 'Spät-Aussiedler' should also be included. If this is not possible, this should be clearly stated in the country reports or part on metadata information of other SEEMIG outputs. This approach will provide opportunities to enhance the comparability of migration statistics by identifying challenges and gaps of missing data for further improvement. If possible, information on both *short-time migration* and *long-time migration* should be collected in order to allow an as broad picture on migration as possible.

2.2. Categorisation of Migrants and Migration

International migration can conceptually be further differentiated by specific characteristics. Nevertheless, as there is no single agreed definition of migration, no single agreed universal categorisation of migration exists. Instead, an arbitrary number of combinations of criteria allow for the construction of a multitude of different categorisations. Vice versa, different forms of migration can, depending on the criteria that are drawn upon, be assigned to several categorisations of migration or a combination of several categories.

To bring order to this fuzzy debate, we can differentiate between categories of migrants as persons who migrate and the process of migration itself.¹⁰ Characteristics such as sex, age or qualification are important features to make the reality of migrants more easily understandable. Following these variables, migration of the elderly, highly-skilled (qualified) migration or retirement migration can be differentiated as well as a student migration, family migration, or a marriage migration.

¹⁰ SEEMIG will rather look at migration processes than categories of migrants.

Table 1. Categorisations of Migrants and Migration

Reference	Type of categories	Variable	Examples
Migrants	Demography	Sex	Female migration
		Age	Child migration, youth bulge migration, migration of the elderly
	Education	Highest education level attained	Highly-skilled (qualified) migration, low-skilled (qualified) migration
	Motives/ purpose	Motives	Retirement migration, students' migration, family migration, marriage migration, labour migration, protection
Migration	Time	Duration of stay	Short-term migration, long-term migration; seasonal migration
	Process	Forms of organisation	Voluntary migration, forced migration, chain migration, 'boat people' migration
	Legality	Compliance with legal framework	Legal migration, irregular migration
		Legal purpose of migration	Labour migration, student migration, asylum seekers
Space	Distance, direction	Long-distance migration, short-distance migration; internal migration, international migration, transnational migration, rural-urban migration, urban-rural migration, remigration, circular migration, oversee migration	

Source: own illustration.

The other categorisation considers migration as a process. Time, organisation, legality and space are the main features to define further categories. Short-term, long-term or seasonal migrations are subcategories of the term 'migration' when the migration process is differentiated by time. If the migration process is linked with space, then long and short-distance migration is the result or rural-urban migration, remigration or circular migration. Transnational migration, for example, is defined as the process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together origin and destination (Glick-Schiller, Basch, Blanc-Szanton 1995). Further examples which are illustrative and non-exhaustive can be derived from table 1.

Once again, the categorisation is useful to make the large variety of migration processes more comprehensible. However, clear definitions for example when transnational migration begins or ends do not exist. Another unclear boundary exists between the terms 'voluntary' and 'forced' migration. According to the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration, forced migration refers to conflict-induced, development-induced or disaster-induced displacement.

However, whether migration is totally voluntarily or partly forced, such as in the context of economic migration remains unclear. The only exception of a more precise categorisation is the categorisation by legal criteria. Refugee migration in the sense of the Geneva Convention is clearly defined by international laws (1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol), regional regulations (e.g. 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa and The Cartagena Declaration) and national laws. To some extent the same is true with family reunification which is, for example, regulated in the EU context by an EU directive (Directive 2003/86/EC on the right to family reunification), or with highly qualified migration which is regulated by the 'Blue Card' (Directive 2009/50/EC on the conditions of entry and residence of third-country nationals for the purposes of highly qualified employment). Both directives are – as all other directives - transposed into national laws of the European Union Member States bound by them.

The strategy of SEEMIG is to obtain a broad picture of international migration. For this purpose it is suggested that while some types of migration (for example labour migration) will be more in the focus, the project should in a broader manner also be aware of as many of the above mentioned aspects related to migration processes as possible.

3. Theoretical and conceptual considerations

There is no general theory for explaining migration. Instead, as research on migration is intrinsically interdisciplinary (Bretell and Hollifield: 2007) and because these disciplines look at different aspects of population mobility, a multitude of theories, explanatory models and systems, conceptual and analytical frameworks or empirical approaches have been developed. As Castles and Miller (2009: 21) emphasise, each of these methods has its place and a full understanding of migration requires contributions from all of them.

A detailed and integral survey of migration theories is not possible and not necessary here. Instead, only selected theories which are deemed to be the most relevant for the project contents are described and evaluated in this study. The reformulated push and pull model and the concept of the migration cycle comprise the centre of this analysis.

3.1. Migration, human capital and the labour market

3.1.1. *Push and Pull Model revisited*

The authors of this paper propose a revisited version of the push and pull model as the core concept for the SEEMIG project. The great advantage of the push and pull model is the applicability on a micro and macro level of analysis and clear linkages to official statistics. SEEMIG is a project which is carried out in cooperation with statistical offices as well as local and regional public administrations; therefore, a theoretical concept that is applicable and useful for them is necessary.

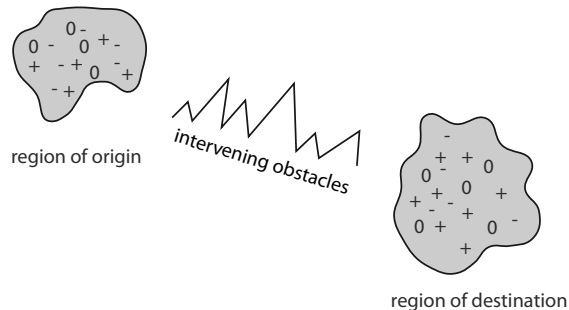
The push and pull model is a general framework for explaining spatial mobility that can result in migration. The push and pull model argues that all people are potential migrants if the living conditions elsewhere – especially labour market related conditions – are better than in the actual place of living and the cost for migration is lower than the gain which can be accumulated due to migration. People evaluate the attractiveness of their place of living and compare it to another possible and potential place of living. The attractiveness itself is in this context the sum of location factors, which are perceived as positive – so-called ‘pull factors’ (plus factors) minus negative perceived factors – ‘push factors’ (minus factors).

A simple schema of factors or variables that induce migration was elaborated by Lee (1966) from which he then formulated certain hypotheses in regard to the volume of migration, the establishment of ‘stream’ and ‘counter-stream’, and the characteristics of migrants. Lee (ibid: 50) summarises the factors which are relevant for the decision to migrate and the process of migration under four headings: factors associated with the area of origin, factors associated with the area of destination, intervening obstacles and personal factors (see figure 1).

Push factors – or minus factors – are circumstances that make it unattractive for an individual to live in a certain place, region or country. Such push factors could be high unemployment or low wages or perspectives that do not promise any change in the future. Pull factors – or positive factors – in contrast can constitute high income, a favourable job or business opportunities, and promising expectations. Lee emphasises that the perception of pull and push factors

is, depending on the life cycle and personal circumstances, defined differently for every (prospective) migrant. He also states that the decision to migrate is never completely rational and not all persons who migrate reach this decision themselves (ibid: 51). For this reason, amongst others, he warns that factors that hold, attract or repel people can be neither precisely understood by social scientists nor the persons directly affected (ibid: 50).

Figure 1: Push and pull factors and constraints to migration: an illustration



Source: Fassmann 2011 based on Lee 1966: 51.

The fact that an individual really decides to migrate depends on the extent of the individual balance of push and pull factors at the place of origin compared to the push and pull factors anywhere else. 'The balance in favour of the move must be enough to overcome the natural inertia which always exists' (ibid: 51), as well as the intervening obstacles. Obstacles can be distance and related transportation costs or legal frameworks regarding migration which may hinder migration. Finally, there are also personal factors which affect individual thresholds and facilitate or retard migration. In this connection, Lee emphasises that it is not the actual factors at origin and destination but the perception of these factors which results in migration. He stresses further that (prospective) migrants often have a lack of knowledge on the area of destination resulting in an element of ignorance or even mystery about this area.

Harris and Todaro (1970) argued similarly when developing an urban-rural internal trade model to explain rural exodus in developing countries that takes place despite unfavourable conditions as economically rational choice for the individual migrants. Harris and Todaro emphasised in their model the importance of expected and perceived benefits of migration. The expected benefit of migration, however, is a function of non-material and monetary benefits of migration compared to migration costs. Information plays once again a main role when balancing cost and gains due to migration.¹¹

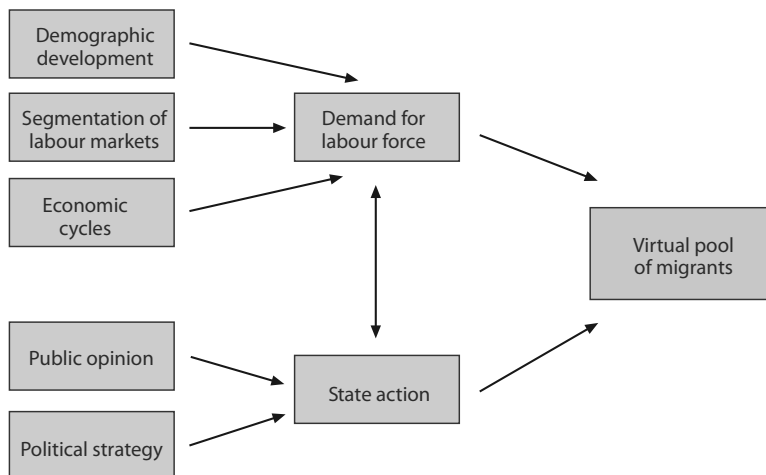
¹¹ Harris and Todaro also introduced time as a main dimension in their model. Migration continues so long as the expected urban real income at the margin exceeds real agricultural produces. The urban employment rate acts as an equilibrating force on such migration. Because of migration, labour supply decrease and wages rise in the region of origin and labour supply increases and wages decline in the region of destination, leading to the so-called Harris-Todaro Equilibrium (Brockmeier and Kurzweil, 2004). As the incentives to migration disappear, migration ceases.

Another contribution to the push and pull model-revisited comes from Sjaadstaad (1962) who viewed migration in the same way as training and experience: as an investment in human capital. According to his approach, individuals calculate the difference of the expected incomes in the country of origin and in the country of destination over the remaining working years and put it in relation to the migration costs. If the expected income gains (returns) are bigger than the migration costs (which also include psychological costs), and if there are still enough years until retirement, it is not only probably but also rational to migrate (Fassmann 2011: 73). Human capital characteristics, age, family status, sex and professional status of individuals play a key factor in this evaluation of returns and costs.

Bauer and Zimmermann (1999) summarise the assumptions of the human capital model in the following way: the likelihood of migration decreases with age, reflecting the smaller expected lifetime gain from moving for elderly people; individuals with higher education usually exhibit a higher migration probability, because an individual's greater ability to collect and process information gained through higher education reduces the risks of migration; finally, the risks and costs of movements are expected to rise with distance, because information about labour market conditions will be better for closer locations.

Furthermore, migration flows are mainly directed to regions where the expected and perceived benefit of migration is a maximum and will be influenced by region-specific migration costs. Adjacent regions with lower transportation costs will attract migration even if the migration gain is relatively low. The same is true when members of the same ethnic groups migrate to a specific country/region of destination and thereby lower the 'price' for migration for other future migrants as members of the same ethnic community by providing information and solidarity (Fassmann 2011: 72). Migration networks, referred to by others also as 'migration chains' (MacDonald and MacDonald 1974) or 'migration capital' (Taylor 1986), provide access to knowledge about the place of destination, support and other resources that assist movement and lower as such costs and risks of migration and increase the expected net returns to migration (Massey 1999: 44).

Until now, the push and pull model was seen as a concept to describe individual decision-making processes on a micro level. However, assuming that the principal idea of the push and pull model is valid – balancing of push and pull factors at the place of origin compared to the push and pull factors anywhere else followed by a migration decision or a decision to stay – then the model can be transferred to the macro level of regions or countries. Migration from one region to the other is directly proportional to differences in attractiveness (especially labour market related factors like wages and unemployment but also welfare and social benefits) and indirectly proportional to constraints to migration (especially distance, transportation costs and political barriers).

Figure 2: Dominating pull factors in countries of destination

Source: Fassmann 2009a: 12.

Harris and Todaro (1970) also made this argument and introduced variables describing the general demographic development in the country of origin as well as in the destination country. Fassmann (2009a) emphasised the importance of the state, which regulates the entrance of migrants in general and of labour migrants in particular. Through the establishment of specific laws and regulations, states can open their gates for new immigrants and present themselves as attractive countries of destination. Other countries decide to be unattractive and to build-up barriers and obstacles. In some countries, the demographic development makes it highly unrealistic that the demand for new labour will become larger than the supply. On the other hand, the economic cycle and short and long-term economic effects play a role in influencing policy as well as signalling that new labour is necessary. The on-going DEMIG-project¹² attempts to analyse how migration policies of countries of origin and destination affect the size, direction and nature of international migration.

It is also important to explain the segmentation of the labour market in regards to if and how intense pull factors for new and mostly low qualified migrants emerge. Thus, the push and pull model on the macro level becomes more complicated and is more than a simple transfer from the micro scale. The global position of the countries of origin and destination can constitute another important factor in the decision to migrate. Melegh (2012: 18) stresses that it is not the actual differential which matters concerning areas of destination but rather the relative position toward the status of the whole world. Research¹³ has shown in this regard that individuals have a very clear and accurate picture of the global positions of countries and hierarchical development.

¹² More information is available at <http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/research-projects/demig>.

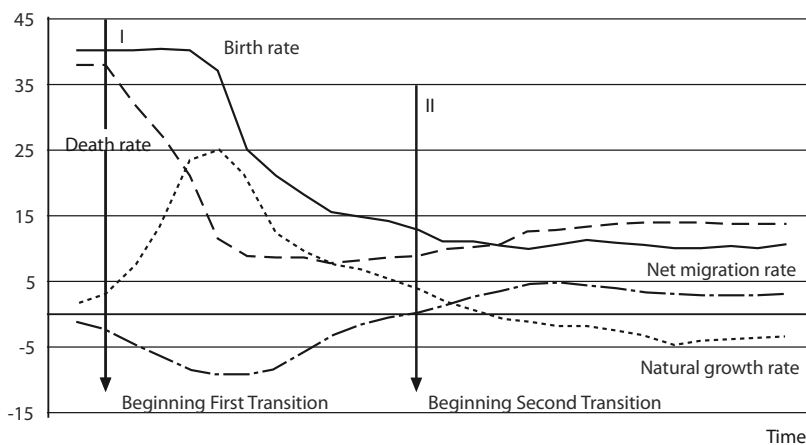
¹³ For further information see Thornton et al. 2012; Melegh et al. 2012.

Other relevant elements in the decision-making process can include cultural and behavioural factors as well as value systems.

3.1.2. The Impact of Demography

Other demographic processes are important when looking at migration and the relationship between them is complex. In demography, the three central demographic events (births, deaths and migration) are analysed by different theories and models implying that there is no unified and general theory of these demographic processes. The ‘demographic transition’¹⁴ (see figure 3) is an important concept in analysing population development from an agrarian to an industrial and post-industrial society. The ‘first demographic transition’ refers to historical mortality and fertility declines observed in the 18th century onwards in several European countries, and continues today in most developing countries with significant impacts on internal and international migration. Rural-urban migration as well as long-distance migration to the ‘New World’ in the 19th century cannot be explained without understanding the effects of the first demographic transition.

Figure 3: First and Second Demographic Transition



Source: Van de Kaa (1999).

The concept of the ‘second demographic transition’ (Lesthaeghe and van de Kaa 1986) is based on the idea that industrialised countries have reached a new stage in their demographic

¹⁴ Major fertility projects based on large data-sets, such as the pioneering European Fertility Project (Princeton Group, led by Ansley Coale) have demonstrated, however, that it is difficult to explain the historical fall of fertility in Europe using the variables of classic fertility transition theory (see also: <http://opr.princeton.edu/archive/pefp/>). Cultural and regional factors were largely omitted in this theory. The insights of anthropological demography/demographical anthropology (Greenhalgh, Kertzer) provide further inputs in this direction.

development, which is characterised by full control over fertility (van de Kaa 2002). The concept of ‘demographic transition’ argues that with the change of the economic structure, the value of having children has fundamentally changed: while children in the pre-industrial society were important in terms of work force, children are rather seen as cost factors in the industrial and post-industrial societies (e.g. schooling). Enabled by the instruments of modern contraceptives, the reduction of births and the postponements of the first birth are the consequences.

While the end point of the first demographic transition witnessed an older stationary and stable population with replacement fertility, zero population growth and high life expectancies, the second demographic transition does not display such equilibrium but rather a non-stationary ageing population with declining sizes characterised by continuous sub-replacement fertility and a range of various forms of living together. This population decline raises important concerns. There is also currently an ongoing debate on whether there is a demographic ‘transition’ or a ‘crisis’ in the SEE region.

Due to low fertility and increased ageing, the population in most European countries and many other developed countries has become smaller and older and, as a consequence, the countries experience labour force shortages. This generates a compensatory trend in migration, the third demographic factor of the classical demographic balancing equation (ibid). However, there is consensus now that migration cannot stop population ageing but can only have a modest impact on slowing-down the process.

According to some scholars (Coleman 2006), migration is even seen as the motor of a ‘third demographic transition’ characterised by a substantial alteration in industrial countries in the composition of the population according to national or ethnic origin. Coleman’s concern belongs to the ethnic composition of the population in the new immigration countries and warns for example that the “Britishness” of the society is in danger (see also Sarrazin (2010) for the German debate).

3.1.3. Human Capital Theory

The human capital theory was developed in the early 1960s by authors such as Becker, Schultz, Oi and Mincer. The human capital theory is part of the neoclassical concept. The main content is the differentiation of the supply side of the labour market by variables like education and skills. The supply side is not homogeneous, as was long assumed, and employees are not productive independent of their formal education and their specific skills.¹⁵

Human capital is the result of personal investments and as in the case of other investments, a return of the capital and time which was spent to achieve a higher education or more skills can be expected. The human capital theory is therefore a concept to explain and to understand wage differences. Empirical studies prove the human capital assumption in general. Wages are to some extent a function of the years spent in school and at university as well as work experience. In that respect migration could be viewed as by Sjaastad (1962) in the same way as training and experience: an investment in the human capital of a person who wants to receive more return from their investments.

Qualified and skilled employees are more productive than low qualified workers and therefore – on an aggregate level – qualified and skilled workers are a prerequisite for a competitive

¹⁵ Skills can be differentiated into specific skills related to the workplace, formal and certified skills and general skill like discipline and the ability to cooperate.

economy. Especially in a situation of global competition and due to their relatively high wages, many European economies are forced to increase productivity by investing in the capital stock, machinery and new work processes (logistic, design, marketing, labour organisation) but also in the qualification of their inhabitants. This is the reason why most European countries argue that investment in education means investment in the future. This is reflected by the Europe 2020 strategy (European Commission 2010), which defines education-specific targets (e.g. 40% of the 20-30 year old population should have tertiary education) to emphasise the need of more investment in education.

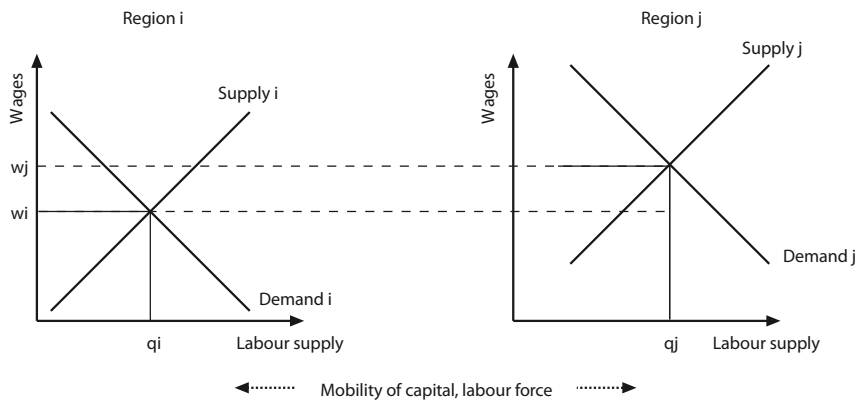
Human capital is in the view of the neoclassical human capital theory a personal investment but also capital that can be utilised easily at different places. In particular, formal and certified qualifications can be transferred by migration. The country of destination accumulates human capital whereas the country of origin experiences brain drain, that is, it loses human capital or at least the financing of the formal education of the emigrants.¹⁶ The emigration of (highly) qualified workers is called brain waste when the actual occupation in the country of destination is below the acquired qualifications of the individual, for example in the context of restrictive or difficult recognition of diplomas. This situation deteriorates over time, as a process of de-skilling (the loss of one's educational and professional experiences) sets in when immigrants are employed for a longer period in jobs where their skills cannot be used.

On the other hand, in a situation where there is a high unemployment of qualified people in the country of origin, it could be a gain through remittances to allow the people to emigrate. In contrast, if the country of origin experiences an economic upswing, it is necessary to utilise their human capital. Therefore the linkages between migration and human capital are important theoretically and in practice for SEEMIG. Most of the SEEMIG project partner countries show a stagnating and ageing population and an outmigration of the younger, most qualified and dynamic part of society, which is disadvantageous for them in the long run. Especially in the field of medical services, a trend towards brain drain was noticed in recent years.

3.1.4. Labour Market

In neoclassical theory, the labour market can be seen as an institution where the demand and supply sides of labour meet (see figure 4) and equilibrium is produced due to flexible wages. If the supply side of the labour market exceeds the demand side then an increase in unemployment can be expected as well as a decrease in the wages or an increase of emigration. The adjustment process continues until a balance between supply and demand emerges. If the supply is scarce and more labour would be needed, the wages increase to attract the unemployed reserve or foreign workers who are called to enter the labour market in order to fill the new vacancies. If both reactions are not able to re-balance the supply and demand, the companies and enterprises will start to relocate their capital and production sites to regions or countries where the supply exists.

¹⁶ The literature sometimes mentions a possible 'win-win-win'-situation (a gain for countries of origin, countries of destination and the migrant him/herself). The relationship between brain gain and brain drain and 'winners and losers' respectively, however, is complex and further research, especially in the SEE context, is needed.

Figure 4: Supply and demand on the labour market

Source: Fassmann and Meusburger 1997.

Migration is a crucial and core element of the neoclassical labour market theory. As it is assumed that any restriction would affect the functionality of the labour market negatively, a neoclassic stimulated policy would argue against wage restrictions – especially minimum wages. It would also welcome a joint labour market without nation state restrictions, a project which is gradually being realised in the European Union. However, figure 2 illustrates the linkages between labour market development, migration and migration policy that exist in reality due to the absence of an ideal realisation of the neoclassical model.

Apart from the neoclassical model, another theoretical concept is important to consider when examining international migration: the dual labour market theory elaborated among others by Piore at the end of the 1970s. According to this theory, international migration is caused by a permanent demand for foreign labour that stems from certain intrinsic characteristics of advanced industrial societies (Arango 2000: 288). Piore (1979) argues that the labour market is divided due to formal and informal norms and economic rationalities, specifically into two segments: a primary segment characterised by highly-skilled jobs, favourable working conditions, high social prestige as well as high wages and a secondary segment with insecure jobs, low wages, low social prestige and a high degree of flexibility.

As the domestic workers avoid the secondary labour market segment, especially because of the low prestige of jobs, a lack of labour force arises, which initiates employers in this segment to look for labour supply. Immigrants, who consider their engagement in the labour market of the country of destination often as temporary, are more willing to accept these bad conditions of the second labour market segment (Parnreiter 2000: 29). Low costs of labour in this segment are the main variable. Employers of this secondary segment seek to lower costs of labour and exchange, if possible, established and expensive employees through cheaper and new labour force. This race for cheaper labour leads to a continued demand for foreign work force, which continues

as long as even cheaper workers offer their work force (Fassmann 2003: 431). As mentioned by Massey et al. (1998), segmented labour market theory helps explain the important role of employers and governments in international migration and the persistence of migration even when international wage differentials decline.

The specific position of migrants on the labour market can also be seen as a result of social capital which Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 12) define as 'the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' or the lack of it. While networks between prospective migrants and already established migrants in the country of destination can assist in finding jobs in specific niches of labour,¹⁷ a lack of social networks to the primary labour market segment may affect the job finding opportunities in this sector negatively. As SEEMIG will also analyse long-term and historical patterns and processes, the chapter below focuses on theories on the development of dynamic patterns.

3.2. Migration Cycle

The migration cycle concept concentrates less on migrants but more on the migration process on the macro-scale in time. This is the important feature in the following subchapter: How do migration flows change over time?

3.2.1. Model of Mobility Transition and the Migration Hump concept

In his 'Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition', published in 1971, Zelinsky looks at the systematic changes of different forms of migration along the lines of the demographic (vital) transition¹⁸ which he divides into five phases: the pre-modern traditional society, the early transitional society, the late transitional society, the advanced society and the future super-advanced society. Zelinsky claimed that the specific character of migration processes tends to change over the course of this vital transition in such a manner that each of these vital phases is linked to distinct forms of mobility (de Haas 2008: 12). While in phase 1 'The pre-modern traditional society' characterised by high fertility and mortality rates and slight natural increase, the extent of permanent migration is in comparison low, in phase 2 'The early transitional society' (high fertility rates and a rapid decline in mortality) the beginning of industrialisation and the related growing concentration of employment in urban centres induce that spatial mobility especially in the form of rural-urban migration grows in size. In 'A future "superadvanced" society' finally in which both fertility as well as mortality are on a very low level, spatial mobility is very high and its tendency is increasing gradually due to circular forms of migration such as circular migration of elites, cyclical labour migration, commuting and residential migration (suburbanisation, retirement migration) (Fassmann 2011: 80).

The model of mobility transition is an extension of the demographic transition model. In the core of the model, once again, the demographic development is combined with a very general view of an economic development. Whether this model is useful for the SEEMIG project is

¹⁷ Migrants can create their special, ethnic niche economies (for further information see Light and Gold 2000).

¹⁸ Zelinsky prefers to use the term 'vital transition', by means of which he broadened the concept of demographic transition by linking it to processes of modernization, economic growth, and increasing mobility (de Haas 2008: 12).

questionable because all countries of South and South-East Europe are in phase 4 ('the advanced society') or 5 ('superadvanced society'). Further developments cannot be deduced if most countries are in the last phase of the Zelinsky' model. However, the authors put this model in the conceptual paper to provide some overview and to react to a specific request of partners.

A related theory is 'Migration Hump Theory' developed by Martin (1993) and Martin and Taylor (1996). The authors argue that countries experience a 'migration hump' in the course of economic development – a temporary increase in migration. As a certain amount of financial resources are necessary to enable people to cover migration costs and risks, an increase in wealth tends to lead to an increase in migration. With continued growing wealth and the establishment of migrant networks, a growing proportion of the population is able to migrate, selectivity of migration tends to decrease, and this process of development initially tends to lead to an increasing diffusion of migration across communities. At later stages of development, outflows tend to decrease and regions and countries tend to transform from net labour exporters to net labour importers. (de Haas 2008: 16-17)

However, the concept of the migration hump should not be confused with that of migration transitions: while the first as originally formulated refers to relatively short-term hikes in migration in the wake of trade reforms, foreign direct investment and aid, the latter seeks to explain long-term structural changes in migration patterns associated with social and economic transformation processes (ibid: 11).

3.2.2. Model of Migration Transition: From emigration to immigration countries

The model of migration transition is more relevant. It describes the empirical observation that countries change, for example, from an emigration to an immigration country if the demographic reproduction is not guaranteed. The concept is based on the idea that a society and the legal system of a country adapts to a new situation and develops a mechanism to handle new or evolving migratory circumstances. Countries and societies are 'learning' to manage immigration which is historically a new situation after a long time of emigration. (Fassmann and Reeger 2012: 67)

This adaptation and learning process that becomes necessary when new demographic and economic conditions arise is referred to as a migration cycle (ibid: 68). The factors that are mainly responsible for new circumstances can be seen in the demographic development, the structure of the labour market and economic cycles as a more short-term factor. Figure 2 illustrates once again these linkages. The specific element of the model of migration transition is the stepwise accommodation to the new conditions. The starting position can be described by stability. Emigration is more important than immigration, or else net migration is zero. A certain and specific demographic situation is constant for a long period of time and, usually, both political and social dynamics are attuned to it.

During an *intermediate or transition stage*, a former emigration country becomes, step by step, a new immigration country. The steps are of different length and of significant migration surplus and could then be followed by a period of stagnation or a short-term negative migration balance. However, the general trends appear to be changing and, from the transitions' inception, immigration typically outweighs emigration. The reason for this change can be seen as a consequence of a demographic and economic development primarily. It is important to note that the political sphere overlooks this new situation or tries to ignore it. A legislative gap concerning migration and integration issues characterises this second step.

However, this step fades out into a third stage, which is called the *adaptation stage* or *post-transformation stage*. This stage's main characteristic is a newfound stability. Immigration is more or less acknowledged as a necessary supplement to a demographically diminishing working population, on the one hand, and a growing economy, on the other hand. A new political rationality emerges by integrating a means of controlling international migration into a differentiated legal system. Conceptual differentiations of the inflows and legal or judicial differentiations of the individuals who are legally allowed to immigrate are important features of this phase.

These various stages of the model of migration transition can be found in the project region. Austria has already entered the third phase and learned to adapt to the new situation. Serbia in contrast is still an emigration country where emigration exceeds immigration. Nevertheless, the fertility is quite low and with a changing and ageing population structure, Serbia could become a not-yet-immigration country as well. Hungary and Slovenia, to give another example, are a both 'immigration-and-emigration' countries, with nationals leaving the country while people from other countries fill the jobs they left behind.

It is therefore not assumed that all countries pass through exactly the same cycle. It is also not postulated that the individual stages of the cycle last for the same amount of time or exhibit identical characteristics. On the contrary, even different patterns and trajectories could develop in region. Nevertheless, the concept of model of migration transition is helpful to observe the dynamic process of possible changes in the relation of emigration and immigration.

3.3. Embeddedness of the Migration Process

Migration does not occur in a vacuum space but is embedded in a greater system of demographic, political, economic and social structures and processes. These may cause and influence decisions to migrate or sustain and perpetuate the direction and intensity of migration flows and patterns. Some of the most important theories related to the project are summarised below.

3.3.1. Dependency-Theory

The dependency-theory, which has an 'unequal exchange' between countries as a core element, was mainly developed by Singer (1949) and follows a historical-structural approach and the neo-Marxist school of thought. This theory focusses particularly on rural-urban migration to big cities, which at the point of the development of the theory had reached major dimensions. It views the rural-urban exodus as a conflict-ridden social process that can generate and strengthen inequalities between rural and urban areas (cf. IOM 2003: 13). Specific importance is attributed to the phenomenon of 'brain drain' in this context.

The main assumptions behind this theory are unequal relations that exist between an industrialised centre (the so-called developed world) and an agricultural periphery (the so-called developing countries): Because political power is unequally distributed across countries, the expansion of global capitalism acts to perpetuate inequalities and reinforces a stratified economic order. As a consequence, developing countries are trapped in a disadvantaged position within an unequal geopolitical structure, which perpetuates their poverty (cf. Massey et al., 1998: 34). In this light, migration is a consequence of the centre's dominance of the periphery (IOM 2003: 13).

In dependency theory, the idea of cumulative causation – the concept that migration becomes self-sustainable and self-perpetuating over time – is built in. The idea was first put forward by Myrdal (1957) in the context of back-wash effects put in motion by uneven development (Arango 2000: 292). The concept was then later extended by Massey (1990), who identified factors and mechanisms responsible for the self-perpetuation. As most important factors for self-perpetuation are seen the expansion of networks, the regional distribution of human capital, the social labelling of immigrant jobs and the structure of production (Massey et al. 1998: 46). However, Massey et al. (ibid) also confirm that in any finite population, the process of cumulative causation cannot continue *ad infinitum*. Networks, for example, can reach a point of numerical saturation (Massey et al., 1994) or if migration continues long enough, the pressure for emigration may be reduced because of rising wages and labour shortages in the country of origin (Hatton and Williamson 1994).

3.3.2. World System Theory and Migration System Theory

A theory of particular importance in the context of the SEE region, in which some countries have been characterised in recent history by a disrapture – the breakdown of socialism and with this also a breakdown of the affected labour markets –, is World System Theory, which belongs to the historical-structural tradition and built on earlier work of dependency theorists.

The notion of a ‘modern world system’ was developed by Wallerstein (1974: 1980): a world system of European hegemony has that taken shape since the sixteenth century and which consists of three concentric spheres – core-states, semi-periphery and peripheral areas (Wallerstein 1974). It is the keystone of the *World System Theory* put forth by Portes and Walton (1981) and Sassen (1988).

As in dependency theory, migration is seen as an effect of the dominance of core areas over peripheral areas characterised by conflict and tense relationships. Migration stems as such from inequality, i.e. an unbalanced international order, and reinforces this inequality (Massey et al. 1998). According to the theory, migration is mainly explained through the extension of modern capitalism from core countries to countries in the periphery – a penetration which was facilitated in the past by colonial regimes. Today the penetration process is eased by neo-colonial regimes, multinational corporations and foreign direct investments. As a consequence of this penetration and in combination with other processes such as modernisation, capitalist practices substitute traditional practices in emerging countries, especially in agriculture and manufacturing (ibid: 291).¹⁹

Hence, major segments of the population in these countries are destabilised, especially workers whose traditional ways of life disappear. As a result, a sharp increase in rural-urban migration develops, which in turn leads to the swelling of a traditional tertiary sector in big cities characterised by an extremely low productivity (Arango 2000: 291). Many migrants are therefore attracted by jobs in the core countries where many economic sectors depend on cheap and abundant labour (IOM 2003: 13). Migration thus operates as a global labour supply system (Sassen: 1988).

The *Migration Systems Theory* (Kritz, Lim and Zlotnik: 1992) is another historical-critical approach in the neo-Marxist tradition of thought, which argues on a global level (Fassmann 2003: 433). It

¹⁹ Contrary to this, in SEE capitalism substituted a socialist form of production and distribution that followed a completely modern and state-driven logic. This difference meant, for example, that, contrary to Arango (2000), in SEE no massive rural-to-urban migration occurred in the 1990s, as this process had already been completed during the decades of state socialism.

postulates that migration does not occur everywhere, but only within a political and cultural system of states that are interlinked through historical, political or economic ties. The approach no longer assumes that individuals (or households as Stark (1984, 1991) argued) calculate costs and benefits in order to arrive at a migration decision. Rather, it is external circumstances which drive the majority of migrants to move. Only a small minority of individuals is able to decide 'freely'.

Yet, as Arango (2000: 292) criticises, the migration systems approach is no more than a 'desideratum' that has never been fulfilled, at least as far as international migration is concerned, and has hardly gone beyond the identification of international migration systems at a purely descriptive level. Nevertheless, this descriptive approach is useful in the case of SEE. It can be argued that with the fall of the Iron Curtain the modern capitalism extended from core countries to countries in the periphery and forced people to leave the low-wage regions with decline of employment.

3.4. Macro Analytical Effects: Migration and Development

While uneven development was already discussed above as possible driver for migration, this section will examine the effects of migration on development. The ongoing debate about the effects of migration on the development of countries of origin oscillates between the poles of 'migration optimism' and 'migration pessimism' (Taylor 1999). De Haas (2008: 23) stressed that this debate has evolved separately from the theoretical debate on the causes of migration, which could explain why migration and development has remained under-theorised and largely disconnected from more general debates.

De Haas (ibid) summarised the opposed views of these two schools of thought on migration and development as well as more general strands of social theory within they are situated. The migration optimists – most commonly representatives of the neo-classical migration and developmentalist modernisation theories – believe that migration generally has a positive impact on the development process in countries of origin. In particular, the optimists positively view the generation of counter-flows of capital (remittances and investment) and knowledge that can be invested and are believed to subsequently stimulate development and modernisation as well as the return of emigrants. On the other side, migration pessimists – often adherents of neo-Marxist, dependency theory, world systems theory, and cumulative causation theory – are inclined to see migration as a negative phenomenon that contributes to the further dependency of countries of origin.

Due to their volume and their supposed potential to reduce poverty, (economic) remittances are one of the main triggers for the optimistic views on the migration-development nexus.²⁰ Economic remittances can have effects ranging from the microeconomic-level to the macroeconomic-level: on the micro level, they raise the income-level of individuals or households. Because migrants may send more funds during hard times to help their families and friends, economic remittances may move counter-cyclically to the economic cycle of the recipient country or even be higher in the times of crisis or following events such as natural disasters (World Bank 2006: 99). On

²⁰ The most recently available statistics of the World Bank (2012) show that officially recorded remittance flows amounted to over \$372 billion in 2011 worldwide. Moreover, in some countries, remittances constituted up to 31 per cent of the total gross domestic product.

the macro level, they can be a source of external financing, source of foreign currency, reduce balance of payments deficits and increase a country's solvency at the macro level.

The growing importance of remittances as a source of foreign exchange is reflected in the fact that their growth has outpaced private capital flows and official development aid over the last decade. For some countries, remittances constitute the largest single source of foreign currency and often rival FDI in size (see World Bank 2005a and 2005b). However, empirical evidence also shows that the positive effects of the flow of remittances on development can be rather weak, and that the use of different methodological and conceptual frameworks can yield mixed results on the positive effects of remittances (see for example UN-INSTRAW, 2007). Furthermore, research suggests that in most countries, the potential of remittances is under-used from the point of view of investment. This is because remittances are, by nature, private income, and their principal goal is not necessarily investment but consumption, just as in the case of other kinds of private income.

Although the category of economic remittances still predominates in literature on migration, different types of remittances have been identified. *Economic remittances* usually refer to cash flows from migrants' countries of destination to their countries of origin (Rahman and Lian 2012: 691). They are further commonly divided into remittances in *cash* and *in kind*, for example goods brought by migrant workers. *Social remittances* (Levitt 2001) refer to the fact that in addition to money, migrants export ideas and behaviours (norms, practices, identities and social capital) back to their communities in the country of origin. *Technological remittances* (Nichols 2002) refer to skills and technology brought back by returning migrants and *political remittances* (Fitzgerald 2000; Smith 1998) are political identities and ideologies, including demand and practices associated with migration.

Whether migration and remittances stimulate or hinder development for countries in origin has been subject to a conceptual debate which has been going on for more than forty years (de Haas 2010; Papademetriou and Martin 1991). The general but simplistic view is that remittances can be an important source of foreign exchange; however, remittances also represent an income that is channelled to consumption (recurrent household expenses) and encourages dependency. Nevertheless, in recent years the economic perspective has been challenged (Faist 2008). Nyberg Sørensen (2005) argues that other areas should be included that do not fall within the economic definition of investment. Piper (2009) suggests that the use of remittances for recurrent expenses and other so-called non-productive investments can be interpreted as contribution to human development, which has long-term positive social consequences. There is also some evidence of empowerment, activism and improved gender relations as a consequence of remittances (Dannecker 2005).

Remittances are important within SEEMIG and stakeholders should consider how the statistical registration of remittances can be improved and how research can more effectively address the nexus of migration and development (see Work Packages 3 and 4).²¹ Beyond this, however, further research is also needed on the complex relationship between migration and development. SEEMIG should more closely examine questions such as in what ways migrants connect to their countries of origin while working in foreign countries as well as how the benefits (economic remittances and social remittances) of labour migration may contribute to the development of the region of origin.

²¹ For further information see Böröcz 2012.

4. Conclusions

The conceptual paper offers an overview of problems related to the conceptualisation and categorisation of international migration in order to help SEEMIG to develop a differentiated view on this phenomenon. However, the core of the conceptual paper is comprised of theoretical considerations explaining migration on a micro and macro scale, arguing why and when emigration countries emerge into immigration countries and vice versa and how migration is embedded into a larger political, societal and economical frame. The relevant indicators that can be derived will be introduced in the data requirement paper for measuring long-term migratory, labour market and human capital processes.

4.1. Theoretical conclusions

The conceptual paper recommends that the project be based on the push and pull model revisited. The push and pull model revisited is not as specialised as other concepts, as it combines the micro and macro scale and it offers interfaces to official statistics. The model is characterised on the micro level by the following specificities:

- The model assumes that all people are potential migrants as people evaluate the attractiveness of their place of living and working and compare it to another possible and potential place of living and working; different factors enter the decision to migrate:
- Pull factors (plus factors) and negatively perceived push factors (minus factors) associated with the areas of origin and destination: push factors could be high unemployment, economic break-down (for example in the context of the break-down of socialism), low wages, a low global position of the country, lack of welfare or social benefits, perspectives that do not promise any change in to future, or persecution or war; pull-factors can be a high income, a favourable job or business opportunities, a high global position of the country and promising expectations as well as, in the case of flight, the search for international protection. It is the perception of these factors that results in migration; namely, the expected and perceived benefits of migration. Information on the area of destination is important in this regard. The perception of pull and push factors is, depending on the life cycle and personal circumstances, also differently defined for every (prospective) migrant.
- Intervening obstacles (especially legal barriers, migration costs, distance): The model stresses the importance of the state, which regulates the entrance of migrants in general and the entrance of labour migrants in particular. Through the establishment of specific laws and regulations, the state can open its gates for new immigrants or build-up barriers and obstacles. The general demographic development in the country/region of destination or segmentation of the labour market resulting in a demand for labour is of importance in this context. There are, however, also circumstances that

can help to reduce intervening obstacles such as established migration networks, which help to lower migration costs. Once again: the perception of the intervening variables depends on the life cycle and personal circumstances and therefore they are differently defined for every (prospective) migrant.

- The individual decision to migrate depends on the extent of the individual balance of push and pull factors in the country of origin compared to the push and pull factors anywhere else as well as the intervening obstacles and personal factors. The decision to migrate is furthermore never completely rational; it is affected by cultural and behavioural factors as well as value systems. In addition, all persons who migrate reach that decision themselves but can arrive at the decision together with the family or community.
- The model further acknowledges that on the macro level, migration processes have a complex and interlinked relationship to demographic, socio-economic, human capital and labour market processes: migration processes are both influenced by and actively influence the latter mentioned processes.

Finally the conceptual paper recommends the ‘Model of Migration Transition’ as a blueprint for the SEEMIG historical country reports, as the various stages of the model of migration transition can be found in the project region. It is, however, not assumed that all countries pass through exactly the same cycle or postulated that the individual stages of the cycle last for the same amount of time or exhibit identical characteristics. In contrast, it is acknowledged that countries could also follow different and differing patterns and trajectories.

4.2. Region specific conclusions

When applying these frameworks and considerations to the SEEMIG context, the following specific characteristics of the region and of the project itself must be taken into account. It is especially important to highlight them, as the overwhelming majority of migration theories were conceived in the United States or in Western Europe and not in transition countries; they deal first and foremost with immigration, not with emigration. Finally, they are seen either from an academic or a top-level policy-maker’s point of view and not from the perspective of a local government employee who deals with immigrants and/or emigrants on a daily basis. When conceiving a framework for strategies, SEEMIG should be reflective on these differences.

The majority of the countries involved in SEEMIG are characterised by an important rupture – the breakdown of socialism. This breakdown had important effects and consequences for the societies, demographic situations, economic systems, labour markets as well as migration patterns of the countries in the region.

Further essential features of the region include changes of international borders in recent history. Within the project partnership, three partner and observer countries – former Yugoslavia (Slovenia and Serbia), the former Soviet Union (Georgia and Ukraine) and former Czechoslovakia (Slovakia) – were multi-national states. People migrated within the borders of the multi-national sovereign states, from the territory where a certain nation lives into the territory of a different nation – without crossing official borders or leaving the country. In a broader historical frame,

even more countries are subjected to this – with the former Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires covering most of the SEE program area. Migration patterns established before the breakup of multi-national states also have an influence on the current migration trends (e.g. family reunification).

Despite the difficulties related to the distinction between forced and voluntary migration, forced migration must be considered in the SEEMIG context. Forced migration has been an important element of international migration in the region in recent decades and migration linked to the specific territorial organization of newly-emerged nation-states in the region still remains important. As an example, forced migration from war areas of former Yugoslavia has influenced certain policies towards refugees in various countries in the region and beyond.

A further essential form of migration in the region in recent years has been emigration, especially the younger and qualified segment of the population as well as specific professional groups, such as medical professionals. SEEMIG should seek to look closely at these processes and help to develop a sound basis of evidence for policy-makers.

Finally, SEEMIG is specifically aimed at supporting local strategies on migratory processes that form the background of changes in the local populations due to international and internal migration. As research on immigrant and immigration policy-making is still considered to be in its infancy (Zincone and Caponio 2006), especially when the local level is considered, theoretically driven empirical research in this field is needed (Caponio 2010). SEEMIG will seize the opportunity to contribute to filling this lack of knowledge and to examine this under-researched topic from different thematic and comparative perspectives, in order to support local governments and administrations to improve their evidence-based policy-making capabilities.

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Annex

Table A1: The registration of resident population and the inclusion of immigrants, 2006

Country	Persons included (apart from nationals and EU citizens)	Arrivals are counted as immigrants after a period of	Absent persons are counted as emigrants after a period of
Austria	TCN with permanent and temporary permit, asylum seekers	3 months	3 months
Belgium	TCN with permanent permit (with temporary permit after 3 months), asylum seekers	3 months	Permanent/ permit expiry
Cyprus		1 year	1 year
Czech Republic	TCN with permanent and temporary permit, no asylum seekers	1 year	Permanent/ permit expiry
Denmark	TCN with permanent permit (with temporary permit after 3 months), no asylum seekers	3/6 months	6 months
Estonia	TCN with permanent permit (with temporary permit after 3 months), no asylum seekers	3 months	No time criteria
Finland	TCN with permanent permit (with temporary permit after 12 months), no asylum seekers	1 year	1 year
France		1 year (TCN), no statistics for EU citizens	No statistics
Germany	TCN with permanent and temporary permit, asylum seekers	Depends on the Länder	No time criteria
Greece		1 year (TCN)/ no statistics for EU citizens	No statistics
Hungary	TCN with permanent permit (but not with temporary permit), no asylum seekers	3 months (EU)/ 1 year (TCN)	Permanent/ permit expiry
Ireland		No time criteria	No time criteria
Italy	TCN with permanent permit (with temporary permit after 6 months)	6 months	1 year
Latvia	TCN with permanent permit (with temporary permit after 3 months), no asylum seekers	1 year	6 months/ permit expiry
Lithuania	TCN with permanent permit (with temporary permit after 12 months), no asylum seekers	1 year	6 months/ permit expiry
Luxembourg	TCN with permanent and temporary permit, asylum seekers	No time criteria	No time criteria
Malta		Permanent	No statistics
The Netherlands	TCN with permanent and temporary permit, asylum seekers 6 months after application	4 out of the forthcoming 6 months	8 out of the forthcoming 12 months
Poland	TCN with permanent and temporary permit, no asylum seekers	Permanent	Permanent
Portugal	TCN with permanent and temporary permit, no asylum seekers	1 year	1 year
Romania	TCN with permanent and temporary permit, no asylum seekers	Permanent	Permanent
Slovakia	TCN with permanent and temporary permit, no asylum seekers	Permanent/ 3 months	Permanent/ permit expiry
Slovenia	TCN with registered permanent or temporary residence (only asylum seekers who on the ground of positive decision on their asylum applications registered their residence in Slovenia were included)	Registration of permanent or temporary residence	Deregistration of permanent/ temporary residence or expiration of temporary residence
Spain	TCN with permanent and temporary permit, asylum seekers	No time criteria	No time criteria
Sweden	TCN with permanent permit (temporary permit after 12 months), no asylum seekers	1 year	1 year
Switzerland	TCN with permanent and temporary permit, asylum seekers	No time criteria	No time criteria
Turkey	TCN with permanent and temporary permit, asylum seekers	No time criteria	No time criteria
UK		1 year	1 year

Source: Fassmann and Reeger 2009 based on THESIM 2006. Partially updated 2012.