

NORFACE
MIGRATION

Migration: Moving Into View

Spring 2012

Norface Research Programme on Migration



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About NORFACE Migration Programme

About NORFACE

NORFACE – *New Opportunities for Research Funding Co-operation in Europe* – is a partnership between 15 research councils to increase co-operation in research and research policy in Europe. The partners involved are the research councils for the social sciences from Estonia, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Slovenia, Sweden and the United Kingdom. Canada and Austria participate in NORFACE as associate partners. NORFACE is an ambitious programme of communication, enquiry, sharing of experience and action. The work plan follows a logical progression from putting in place governance and good management of the NORFACE network to information exchange, analysis, research co-operation, strategic thinking and, finally, co-operation on two pilot programmes and the launch of a full-scale transnational research programme on migration. NORFACE receives core funding from the European Commission's 6th Framework Programme under the ERA-NET scheme.

NORFACE Migration

The NORFACE research programme on migration comprises 12 research projects and is jointly funded by the national research councils and the European Commission. The total funding for the programme is approximately €28 million, including €6 million funding from the EC. Each of the 12 projects consists of research teams from at least three NORFACE countries. The programme was launched in June 2009 and will run until the end of 2013. The scientific co-ordinator of the programme is Professor Christian Dustmann, UCL/CREAM.

The NORFACE Migration initiative emphasises three main themes:

- Migration
- Integration
- Cohesion and Conflict

The programme has the following main objectives:

- To globally advance excellent theoretical and methodological disciplinary, inter-disciplinary and comparative research on migration that builds synergetically on a pan-European basis
- To take advantage of and develop the present informal laboratory of experience, knowledge and data currently presented by migration in Europe
- To motivate and support excellence and capacity-building for research on migration on a cross-national basis throughout the NORFACE countries and beyond
- To develop understanding and promote research-based knowledge and insight into migration for issues of societal, practical and policy relevance, based on theory but worked on jointly with relevant users and experts

List of Migration Projects

Details of the 12 research projects within the Norface Migration Programme are available on the NORFACE Migration programme web site: www.norface-migration.org/currentprojects.php

The projects and their acronyms are as follows:

- CHOICES – Understanding Migrants' Choices
- CILS4EU – Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries
- IMEM – Integrated Modelling of European Migration
- LineUp – 500 Families: Migration Histories of Turks in Europe
- MIDI-REDIE – Migrant Diversity and Regional Disparity in Europe
- MI3 – Migration: Integration, Impact and Interaction
- NODES – Nordic Welfare States and the Dynamics and Effects of Ethnic Residential Segregation
- SCIP – Causes and Consequences of Early Socio-cultural Integration Processes Among New Immigrants in Europe
- SIMCUR – Social Integration of Migrant Children: Uncovering Family and School Factors Promoting Resilience
- TEMPO – Temporary Migration, Integration and the role of Policies
- TCRAf-Eu - Transnational Child-rearing Arrangements between Africa and Europe
- THEMIS – Theorizing the Evolution of European Migration Studies

Letter from the Scientific Director

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This is the first issue of NORFACE Migration: Moving into View, which reviews a selection of the exciting research taking place within the NORFACE Migration research programme “Migration in Europe – Social, Economic, Cultural and Policy Dynamics”.

“Moving into View” is a testament to the ambitious innovative work conducted within the NORFACE Migration programme, an initiative that aims to build a new synergetic body of research that contributes to our knowledge and understanding in the area of migration and provide insights on key issues of societal and policy relevance. Since the tail end of 2009, the 12 research teams have carried out their research along three dimensions: Migration, Integration, and Cohesion and Conflict.

Because data are vital to the analysis of migration’s impacts, 9 out of the 12 research teams are currently conducting innovative primary data collection to establish facts to support their research. The first part of this publication reports on some of these initiatives, as well as on the obstacles and problems involved in reaching and surveying mobile migrants and their families.

One of the crucial issues in both the literature and the public debate on migration are knowing the reasons for migration and developing tools to assess migration flows between regions and countries. Much research within the NORFACE Migration initiative, therefore, is dedicated to frontier research on these issues. The second part of the report reviews some of these on-going projects.

Immigration affects both the economic and social fabric of destination countries. For example, immigration leads to labour supply shocks, which may affect the wages and employment of workers in the receiving countries. It also creates diversity, which can stimulate the exchange of ideas that contribute to innovation and development but can also lead to inter-group mistrust and conflicts. Again, several research projects within the NORFACE Migration initiative are directed at understanding these processes, and we report on this on-going research in the last part of the publication.

To disseminate the early research output of the programme, we have launched a programme web site – <http://www.norface-migration.org/> – on which we provide information about the various programme activities and provide free access to the early research output in the form of discussion papers.

We look forward to another exciting and stimulating year and hope that you enjoy reading this first issue of NORFACE Migration: Moving into View.

Best wishes,



Prof. Christian Dustmann
Research Director, NORFACE Programme on Migration

Data

One major focus of the NORFACE Migration programme is the collection of primary data on migration that will yield new insights into important migration issues that cannot be studied using currently available information. The inter-disciplinary nature of the programme is reflected in the data collected by the different research teams through both quantitative surveys and qualitative case studies. All these data will be made available to the wider research community.

The first part of this publication presents the data collection activities of four NORFACE research projects. We will feature the activities of other NORFACE teams in future issues. Two of the projects presented are concerned with comparative research on the social integration of the children of immigrants in Europe, while the third investigates the integration patterns of newly arrived immigrants in four European countries. The fourth project explores the impact of transnational child-raising arrangements between Africa and Europe on the different actors involved: children and caregivers that stay in the country of origin, and migrant parents in the country of destination.

The fieldwork involved in such research generates a wide range of hurdles, from difficulties in finding and recruiting subjects to the challenges posed by multiple-informant research designs. The rewards, however, can be enormous. Although data cleaning is still in progress, even the preliminary descriptive statistics provided by three out of the four projects clearly demonstrate the exciting potential of this new initiative, the importance of the ensuing research and the potential benefits of the data collected for the wider research community.

Recruiting Immigrant Families in Three Countries – Challenges to Research Designs and Approaches

Why do some immigrant children successfully negotiate the transitions to primary and secondary school in terms of their social, emotional and cognitive development, whereas others struggle with these transitions? This question is central to the SIMCUR project (Social Integration of imMigrant Children – Uncovering family and school factors promoting Resilience). The goal of SIMCUR is to understand how families, schools, and societal and political institutions can contribute to children's well-being by maximizing their learning opportunities and their chances to participate in society at large. Three countries are participating in this endeavour – Germany, the Netherlands, and Norway. The research



opportunities and their chances to participate in society at large. Three countries are participating in this endeavour – Germany, the Netherlands, and Norway. The research focusses on children from Turkish immigrant families during two particularly sensitive periods in their lives – the transition to primary school and the transition to secondary school. Specifically, the project aims to identify both the challenges and the support these children receive from their families, teachers and class-mates.

To distinguish the characteristics that promote or hinder the children's adaptation process, the researchers follow them over the course of three years – before and after the transition to the new school environment. They collect data on (i) the children's social integration, such as their cultural competencies and their sense of belonging; (ii) their psychosocial adaptation, such as their subjective well-being and their social and behavioural competence and (iii) their external functioning, such as their academic progress, motivation and interests. Because gathering such data requires input from multiple informants, interviews are conducted with the children and their parents during home visits and the children's teachers and school principals are also asked to fill out questionnaires.

This multiple-informant data collection method has the important advantage of giving researchers a better informed and more complete picture of the children's lives than if the focus were on the children only. There is, however, also a clear downside: this strategy requires not only the children's co-operation but also that of their parents and teachers.

Legal and regional obstacles: some examples

A project like this faces many problems. Although the initial plan was to recruit subjects through municipal records, the records in each country contain very different information. For example, in Germany, most children of Turkish immigrant parents have dual citizenship and are therefore only in the German registry. Thus, in Germany, the researchers had to visually inspect names in the registers to identify those who were most likely to be of Turkish descent. In the Netherlands, municipal records not only provide information about the child's age and the parents' country of origin but also identify parents who are of Turkish origin but born in the Netherlands or who moved to the Netherlands before a given age. They do not, however, provide phone numbers, and most Turkish families are not listed in the phone book. In Norway, in contrast, municipal records do provide information on the addresses and even the phone numbers of the immigrants but present another challenge: there are fewer Turkish families, and they live spread out through the large country.

In all three countries, all the families identified received information about the research project by mail before the researchers contacted them in person. However, in Germany and Norway especially, subsequent door-to-door recruiting proved extremely difficult, so extra efforts were made to increase participation through the distribution of posters and flyers in schools, mosques, the general consulate, doctors' offices and in places frequently visited by the target children and their families. In addition, the researchers tried to inform important people within the Turkish community, like imams, members of parents' associations, and Turkish teachers and social workers.

The project began later than planned, and the time frame (assessing children before school transition) did not allow completion of the first-wave data collection as planned in 2010 but continued into early 2011.

Sorry – my husband does not want us to participate

At all sites, the team encountered difficulties because families either did not meet the study requirements (e.g., both parents had to be from Turkey, the child had to start a new school after the summer), families were not living at reported addresses, or people who agreed to participate later withdrew. In many cases, mothers reported that their husbands did not want the family to participate. In Germany, parents were often concerned that information on the children could be passed on to school authorities.

Many obstacles but rewarding data

Nevertheless, the majority of the home visits went well: the families were at home when the researchers rang the doorbell, and the research assistants enjoyed the Turkish hospitality and met many interesting families. In addition, the large majority of teachers were willing to fill out the questionnaires on class context and the particular child.

The school principals, however, were much more difficult to motivate: less than 50% returned the questionnaires.

Once all the hurdles were overcome, the team was able to collect a rich, interesting and unique data set drawn from multiple informants for each target child and collected through such multiple methods as questionnaires, videotaped observations and standardised tests. The data collection for the final wave will continue until early summer of 2013. Right now, the researchers are analysing the first wave of data collection and will present the first results in 2012 in a future issue of *Migration: Moving into View*.

Reference:

(More information about the SIMCUR Project is available at: <http://www.norface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=9>)

The Children of Immigrants: Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries

This project contributes to recent comparative research on the integration of the children of immigrants in Europe. By collecting comprehensive longitudinal information in England, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden, the researchers address important and yet still unanswered questions in the structural, social and cultural integration of immigrants with the goal of uncovering the mechanisms that lead to differences between countries, between ethnic groups and between different integration domains. Again, the data will be made available to the international research community and thus serve as a unique resource for future research on the integration of immigrant children in Europe.

The team conducted the first wave of data collection in winter-spring 2010–11 after first drawing nation-wide samples of schools in each of the four countries surveyed. Schools with high proportions of immigrant children were over-sampled. In each of the schools selected, the researchers interviewed all students in randomly selected classes of 14-year-olds (their respective grades). Table 1 shows the composition of the samples for each country and in total.

Table 1: Wave 1 Sample: Number of schools, classes and pupils

	England	Germany	Netherlands	Sweden	Total
Schools	107	144	94	131	476
Classes	210	270	262	258	1,000
Pupils	4,315	5,013	4,920	5,019	19,267
Immigrant background*	2,234	2,576	2,044	2,792	9,646
Non-immigrant background	1,950	2,415	2,818	2,128	9,311
Immigrant status unclear †	131	22	58	99	310

Note: * Children with an immigrant background are defined as students who were either themselves born outside the host country, or who have at least one parent or at least two grandparents who were born outside the host country.

† Unclear immigrant status is due to missing values on relevant variables.

Results are preliminary, given that the data cleaning process is still in progress.

The first-wave interviews collected information on different domains of life, focussing specifically on diverse aspects of structural, social and cultural integration. For example, the team asked detailed questions about the school situation,

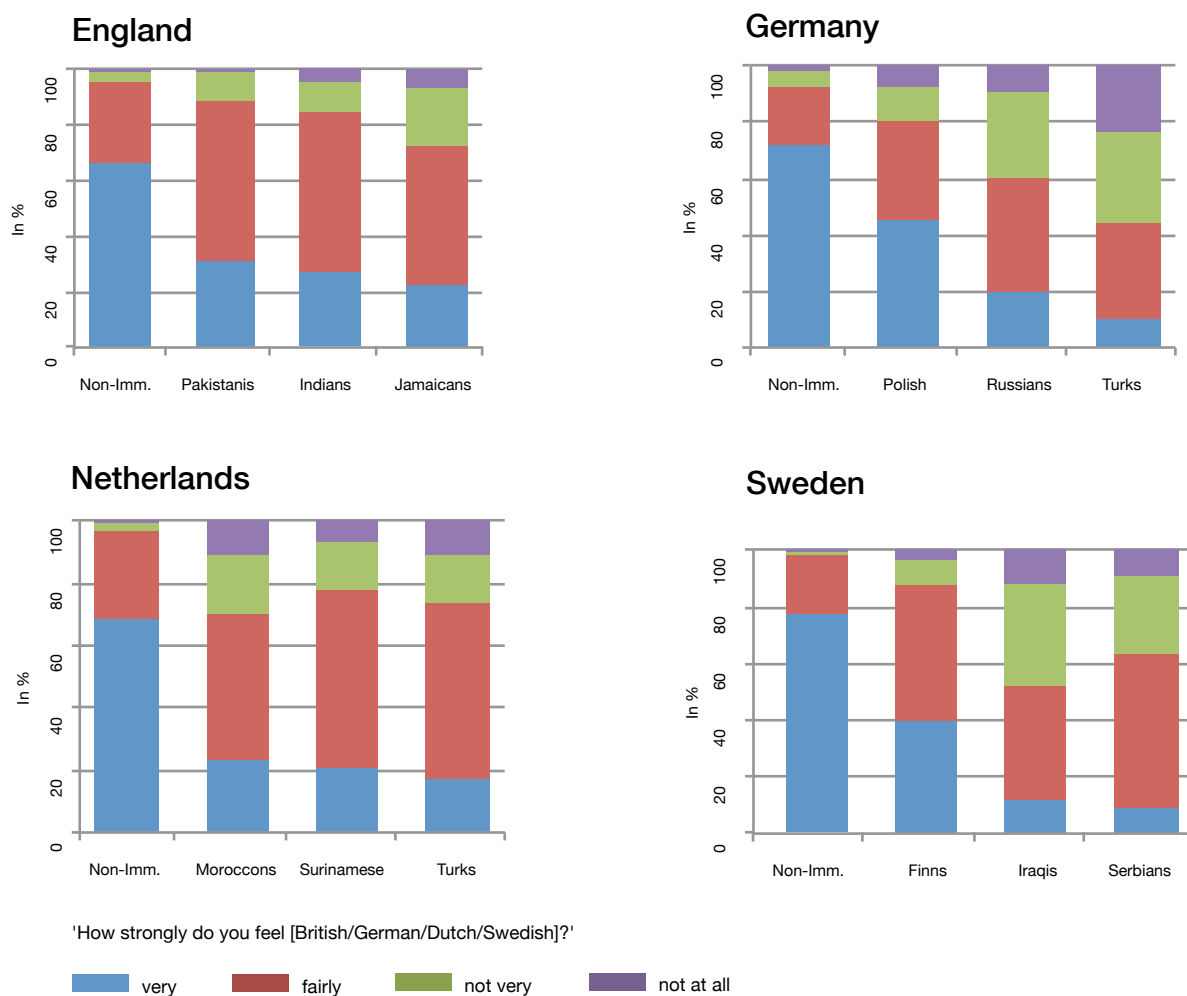
school-related attitudes and behaviours, the characteristics of best friends and partners in first romantic relationships, the family situation, leisure time activities, and more generally about attitudes, beliefs and values. The interviews were complemented by scores on scholastic achievement tests and by socio-metric measures of the complete class network. Whenever possible, the researchers also conducted a self-completion interview with one of the parents.

To illustrate the potential of the data for cross-group and cross-country analyses, Figure 1 lists some initial descriptive results on the extent of identification with the host society by members of the three largest immigrant groups in each country, as well as by the respective classmates without an immigrant background. As the figure shows, there

are significant disparities between different immigrant groups within some countries (e.g., Germany), whereas the between-group differences are only slight in others (e.g., the Netherlands). The data also allow analysis of the within-group disparities between countries (e.g., a comparison of the Turks in Germany with the Turks in the Netherlands).

In addition to analysing group and country differences, the researchers have also developed comprehensive measures of the young people's migration history, as well as that of their parents and grandparents, measures that offer rich potential for a comparative study of the impact of generational status on integration patterns. Table 2 gives an overview of the composition of the immigrants in the sample with respect to their generational status.

Figure 1: Ethnic differences in identification within and between countries.



Note: Results are preliminary, given that the data cleaning process is still in progress.

Table 2: Children of Immigrants and their generational status

	England		Germany		Netherlands		Sweden		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1 st generation	546	24.4	501	19.5	332	16.2	604	21.6	1,983	20.6
2 nd generation	577	25.8	1,312	50.9	880	43.1	1,047	37.5	3,816	39.6
2.5 th generation	260	11.6	73	2.8	101	4.9	117	4.2	551	5.7
3 rd generation	213	9.5	290	11.3	62	3.0	102	3.7	667	6.9
Interethnic 2 nd generation*	243	10.9	106	4.1	340	16.6	383	13.7	1,072	11.1
Interethnic 3 rd generation	366	16.4	174	6.8	318	15.6	490	17.6	1,348	14.0
Generational status unclear†	29	1.3	120	4.7	11	0.5	49	1.8	209	2.2
Total	2,234	100	2,576	100	2,044	100	2,792	100	9,646	100

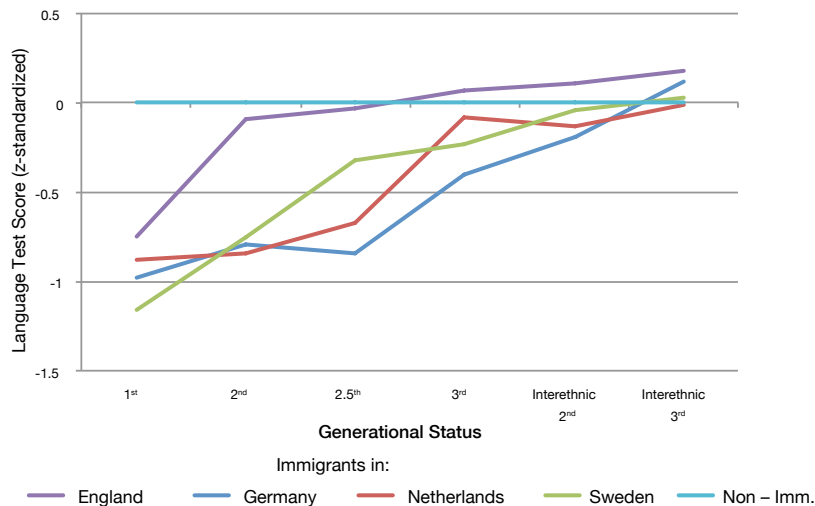
Note: * Interethnic 2nd (resp. 3rd) generation means that one parent is a first- (resp. second-) generation immigrant, while the other is a native without any migration background.

† Unclear generational status is due to missing values on relevant variables.

Results are preliminary, given that the data cleaning process is still in progress.

The importance of differentiating generational status when assessing the integration progress is exemplified in Figure 2, which shows the proficiency in the host country's language as measured by a verbal achievement test. The researchers find that whereas children of the second generation still lag behind by almost one standard deviation in three of the four countries (England being an interesting exception), those belonging to the third generation or issuing from inter-ethnic couples have more or less approached their non-immigrant peers in all countries.

Figure 2: Ethnic differences in host-country language proficiency according to generational status.



Note: Results are preliminary, given that the data cleaning process is still in progress.

These first descriptive results illustrate only some of the strength of the data. As briefly noted above, it is the rich repertoire of many other detailed and comprehensive measures of integration in different domains of life that provides unique opportunities for comparative analyses. Because the study includes peers without a migration background, this data set allows integration to be studied as a context-dependent two-sided process, thereby overcoming the limitations of many other data sets. The survey's real strength, however, will develop over time as the longitudinal approach allows disentanglement of the complex causal interplay between aspects of structural, social and cultural integration.

The second wave will be conducted at the end of 2011 and into the beginning of 2012, and the third wave is planned for 2012/2013. The researchers hope to be able to conduct further waves even beyond the NORFACE funding period in order to follow the respondents in their sample over the next crucial steps in their lives.

Further development of the project and its results will be reported in a future issue of *Migration: Moving into View*.

Reference:

(More information about the CILS4EU Project is available at: <http://www.norface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=2>)

Surveying New Immigrants in Germany and the Netherlands

Numerous empirical studies compare immigrant integration in Germany and the Netherlands; most especially because, although the two countries have been presented as examples for different integration models, over the past decade, both have faced similar public debates on immigration and integration. Yet to date, comparative integration research has largely ignored recently arrived immigrants, a void that

the SCIP project (Causes and consequences of early Socio-Cultural Integration Patterns of new immigrants in Europe) aims at filling. This project's focus on new immigrant arrivals in Germany and the Netherlands provides insights not only into the country-specific selectivity of immigrants but also into cross-country differences in their integration patterns. This latter requires longitudinal data on migrants' early structural and socio-cultural adaptation patterns. The primary data collection in the SCIP project includes a survey of about 7,000 recent arrivals in Germany, the Netherlands, the UK and Ireland. The first wave of data collection, which has just been completed, was conducted face-to-face, and these same individuals will be re-interviewed by phone in about a year from now.

A brief note on the SCIP project field work

Data collection posed a considerable challenge for the research teams in all countries because (i) the number of new arrivals has declined dramatically since 2008, (ii) new migrants are highly mobile and thus hard to track down and interview and (iii) they usually do not speak the language of their new host country.

In both countries, a random sample of recent arrivals was drawn from local registration offices. In Germany, the new immigrants sampled came only from Poland and Turkey, but in the Netherlands, where the number of immigrants is smaller, six immigrant groups were included: Turks, Moroccans, Poles, Bulgarians, Surinamese and Antilleans.

In Germany, a "local data collection coordinator" was hired for each city, who helped find and train interviewers, acted as a contact person and supervised activities. Jobs were advertised via employment agencies, religious organisations, different associations, specific Internet platforms, universities and schools. The number of applicants was generally lower than expected, with large variation geographically: whereas in Berlin, 91 applications were received, only 32 were received in Hamburg.

In the Netherlands, fieldwork was outsourced to a fieldwork organisation that could provide foreign language interviewers with which the research team was in weekly contact. Since interviewees were spread throughout the country, the organisation broke the fieldwork down into two-week periods in which the fieldworkers covered different selected regions. In total, 55 interviewers were assigned to collect data, each working over the entire duration of the project and conducting an average of 61 interviews. A field manager kept

track of the response results. The first wave of data collection took place between fall 2010 and summer 2011 in both Germany and the Netherlands.

Currently, researchers are preparing the second wave of data collection. The crucial methodological question for this phase is how many respondents can be re-contacted after about one year, either in the country of destination or – if they have re-migrated – in their country of origin. Between 70% and 85% of respondents were willing to provide contact information during the first interview, so different measures have been taken to keep in touch with these respondents between the first and second waves and to provide them with incentives to update the research team with any changes in their contact information.

A descriptive overview

In terms of the SCIP respondents' demographic characteristics, data collection in both countries yielded a balanced mix of male and female individuals, mostly in their early 30s and for the most part living in two-person households. In Germany, as well as in the Netherlands, Turks are mostly married, whereas a large group of Poles is single. The share of individuals who participate in the labour market also differs substantially between the groups and between the two countries. Most important, Poles are between twice (Netherlands) and three times (Germany) as often employed than Turks. Irrespective of the group, however, the share of individuals in paid employment is lower in Germany than in the Netherlands.

These findings largely reflect differences in the groups' migration motives. That is, whereas the majority of Poles in both countries came for work, this is true for a smaller fraction of Turks, most of whom came to marry someone already living in the country. The German data also show more educational migration than do the Dutch data, but in

both countries more so among the Turks than among the Poles. Large differences emerged with respect to the groups' migration biographies, with more Poles than Turks having been in the country prior to the current stay. Nevertheless, almost as many Turks as Poles knew people in the country before they came. In both countries, Turks expect to stay for a longer period than do Poles. How these remigration intentions change over time is one of the important questions that the SCIP team plans to study once the second wave data have been collected.

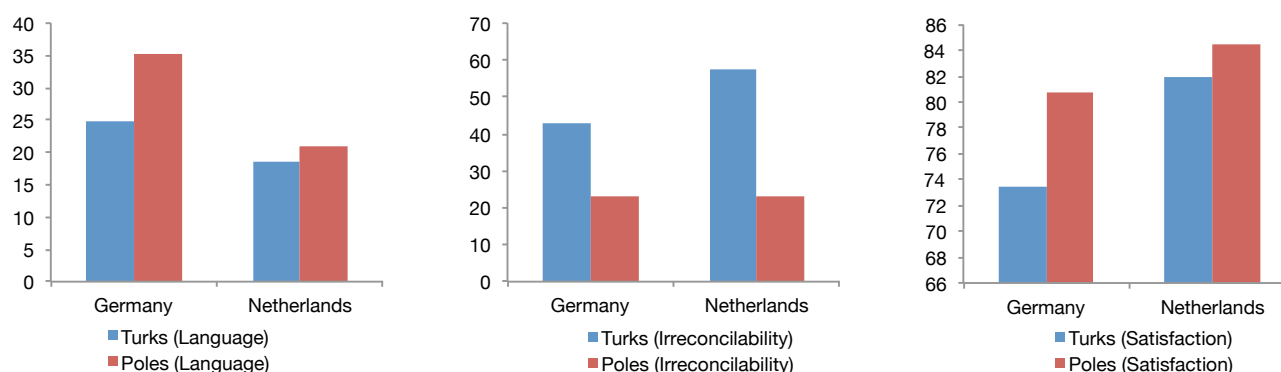
In terms of migrants' language skills and attitudes to the receiving country, the SCIP data show that only about a quarter (Turks) to a third (Poles) of immigrants speak German well or very well according to their self-assessment, but only a sixth and a fifth, respectively, speak Dutch well (see Figure 3). No substantial group differences exist, however, with respect to the level of satisfaction with life in Germany or in the Netherlands (see Figure 3). In Germany, more than 40% of the Turks but only 23% of the Poles responded that the values of their origin and host countries are "irreconcilable"; in the Netherlands, however, the figure for Turks is even larger (see Figure 3).

Although these preliminary findings show inter-country differences, the pattern of the group differences in the two countries is the same. Once second wave data are available, the researchers hope to study group-specific integration trajectories in greater depth. Doing so will shed light on such questions as whether the socio-cultural integration paths of both groups converge or diverge over time and whether and how such convergence/divergence is related to their integration into the labour market. Later issues of *Migration: Moving into View* will report these new developments.

Reference:

(More information about the SCIP Project is available at: <http://www.norface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=8>)

Figure 3: Acculturation and acculturation attitudes among recently arrived Poles and Turks in Germany and the Netherlands: Share of those speaking the language well, agreeing that host- and home country values are irreconcilable, being satisfied with life in host-country.



Transnational Child-raising Arrangements between Africa and Europe

Transnational child-raising arrangements (TCRAs) are prevalent the world over, with one or both parents located overseas. Yet quantitative data on the extent and systematic evidence on the effects of transnational child-raising arrangements on children, parents or caregivers is scarce. The TCRAf-Eu programme aims to address this gap through extensive mixed-method primary data collection on the impacts of transnational child-raising arrangements on the different actors involved (children, parent, caregivers and institutions) in Europe and Africa.

The programme is based on a multi-sited, mixed-method design that comprises four matched case studies, each of which covers a pair of countries: one European country (Ireland, the Netherlands or Portugal) and one major African sending country (Nigeria, Ghana or Angola). The programme integrates multiple methodologies by supplementing quantitative surveys with in-depth ethnographic case studies, institutional analyses and the inclusion of both migrants and non-migrants.



Pilot School Survey Lobito, Angola. Photograph: Jeanne Vivet

Multi-actor survey design

The study design incorporates various innovative elements: First, including the children and caregivers in the country of origin and the migrant parents in the country of destination allows data to be collected from all the actors involved in the transnational child-raising arrangement. It thus avoids a common problem in family research: the omission of information about the family members who live outside a particular nation-state. Second, unlike most transnational studies, which are predominantly small and tend to focus on specific actors (e.g., the children and their migrant mothers), the TCRAf-Eu team gives equal attention to fathers and non-biological caregivers. Third, the children's perspectives are collected directly from the children themselves, providing a perspective that is often either missing or obtained not from the children but from the adults.

This intricate design using a multiplicity of actors is, of course, not without its challenges, one of which becomes apparent in the following field account:

I was interviewing a young girl about the people that were important to her; who provides for school fees, who cooks, who buys food. On most questions related to money and care she would answer "my grandma". The grandmother, who had told me about the complexity of the sharing of economic responsibility for the care of the child, corrected the girl. I stopped the grandmother and told her in as a respectful way as I could that I asked the girl because I wanted to know how she viewed these things. I added that children often have a different perception of things than adults, often because we don't tell them the details about things like money transactions within the family. The grandmother nodded understandingly and smiled, and the girl was allowed to give her answers without further corrections.



Valodia School Lobito, Angola. Photograph: Jeanne Vivet



School Survey Sunyani, Ghana. Photograph: Ernest Appiah



Challenges of doing research in Africa. Photograph: Camilla Andres

Not only does this excerpt illustrate the interplay of the different actors and factors influencing TCRA, it also underscores the importance of matched sampling. Such matching of the different TCRA actors and their sites of operation enables the researchers to match different viewpoints and detect both the small everyday transactions of information, services, material goods and money that flow between them and any frictions these may create. Hence, by tracing the simultaneity of events and associating fragmented complex information, matched sampling can bring initially concealed connections to the foreground.

A brief overview of collected data

TCRAf-Eu is in the final stage of quantitative data collection, having begun data cleaning and analysis in October 2011. Large-scale surveys among junior and senior high school children in Nigeria, Angola and Ghana have already been conducted to identify different types of TCRA and measure their effects on the children's life-chances. Surveys were also conducted among migrant parents with the aim of analysing whether and how TCRA characteristics in the home country impact migrants' life-chances in the host country. Currently, in-depth ethnographic studies are being carried out of parent-child-caregiver triads to identify specific factors that

influence decisions on whether to migrate without children, as well as the choice of caregivers and formal and informal care arrangements. Institutional analyses of schools, child fostering norms and migration laws are also underway.

The provisional survey overviews suggest that in the study regions, between 24% and 46% of children are not living with at least one parent because of parental migration (Table 3), a finding that underscores the importance of this type of research. Nevertheless, the number living in transnational child-raising arrangements shows great variability, from 15.5% to 2.4% and 3.5% in Ghana, Angola and Nigeria, respectively.

Table 3: Children not living with at least one parent due parental migration (Ghana, Angola and Nigeria)

Children with at least one parent who migrated:	% in Ghana	% in Angola	% in Nigeria
Internationally	15.5	2.4	3.5
Nationally	30.3	37.2	20.2
Total N	2,195	1,638	1,627

Further data analysis of socio-economic characteristics, educational performance, emotional well-being, health, gender, TCRA characteristics and institutional parameters will be conducted in the next programme phase. The results will be reported in a future issue of Migration: Moving into View.

Reference:

(More information about the TCRAf-Eu Project is available at: <http://www.norface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=12>)

Migration Flows

A fundamental question in migration studies is why people move – how they decide to migrate in the first place and whether to move again, stay or return. The research projects presented in this next section address these issues from different angles and serve different goals. The economic and statistical macro models of migration stocks and flows, for example, contribute to better measurement of international population movements, which can inform social policy-making and help policy-makers assess the quantitative consequences of major changes in immigration policy. Likewise, analyses of push-pull factors and the role of networks and information flows allow a deeper understanding of the underlying decision processes.

Beyond Networks: Theorizing the Systemicity in Migration

The volume and structure of international migration flows are difficult to anticipate: scholars and policy-makers did not foresee, for example, the large East–West migration flows to Western Europe after the enlargement of the European Union. It is also particularly difficult to explain why some migration flows stagnate and decline in specific countries but flourish in others. These migration puzzles are central to the THEMIS project, which compares the migration flows from three countries on three different continents (Brazil, Morocco and Ukraine) to four European countries (the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the UK) to identify the following: (i) the conditions under which migration systems are established, (ii) the situations in which initial migration does not result in a migration system and (iii) the conditions under which established migration systems weaken or decline.

To address current migration theory's limited ability to explain why initial migration moves do not always lead to migration system formation and why established migration systems decline, THEMIS is drawing on new theories of system emergence to develop a richer understanding of migration patterns and help explain the rise and fall of migration flows. Such understanding is not only relevant for the academic debates on the causes and continuation of migration flows but also for a wide range of stakeholders, including policy-makers, businesses, employers, NGOs and migrants.

Migration corridors and the importance of geo-temporal characteristics

The THEMIS research project defines migration systems as sets of places linked by cross-border flows of people and accompanying flows of goods, services and information that facilitate on-going migration between these places. Crucial to understanding the systemic nature of such migration flows is a clear understanding of all the underlying feedback

mechanisms. Yet prior research on migration systems focusses almost exclusively on migrant networks as the feedback source, a view that echoes the classic story of pioneer migrants arriving in a new destination and then encouraging family and friends to follow.

In reality, according to the qualitative interviews among migrant populations in the four destination countries, the process of feedback operates through many different routes that may have little to do with migrants' personal networks. In particular, these paths include information flows and opportunities arising through employers, education, and tourism, as well as such media outlets as TV soap operas, web sites and social media. These initial findings, therefore, suggest that both the significance of migrant networks and the role they play varies greatly within the different groups in the study.

It is thus important to take into account the geo-temporal characteristics of migration corridors between localities in destination and origin countries, a perspective that introduces different kinds of divisions between migrants from the same country. First, migration flows are separated by time: those who come first may have little or no contact with those who come later, as is most obviously seen in the case of Ukrainian migrants to the UK who came before and after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Second, migrants are segmented by class and education, so, for example, the Brazilian 'pioneers' who arrived in Portugal and Norway as working professionals move in different circles from those arriving as low-skilled labour migrants. Third, migrants can be segmented by geography, a separation that does not seem surprising in a huge country like Brazil but that also appears in the notable distinctions between migrants arriving in Europe from the Rif region and those arriving from larger cities in Morocco, like Casablanca. Hence, any analysis of migrant networks must look below the level of nation-states.

This segmentation of migrant groups means that feedback can operate in quite varied ways. In some cases, the established migrant groups tend to refuse assistance to newcomers or keep them at bay. For instance, the very well-established population of Ukrainians in the UK and the Netherlands was largely distrustful towards the newcomers who started arriving in the 1990s. Nevertheless, there have been growing numbers of Ukrainian migrants over the last 20 years, which somewhat refutes the 'ethnic niche' argument. The research also pinpoints many cases in which new migrants are assisted on their arrival at the destination by complete strangers regardless of their nationality, strangers, nevertheless, who share the migrants' socio-economic positioning within the destination environment.

A more striking example comes from the Netherlands, where it is clear that migrant networks initially played an important role in building up the now well-established Moroccan population. These networks subsequently evolved from being 'bridgeheads' (facilitating chain migration) to becoming 'gatekeepers' (enabling selective chain migration) and finally 'gateclosers' (blocking chain migration). The exclusionary

stance of migration networks in the destination country may affect attitudes to migration in the country of origin. It thus appears that a process of diminutive causation has been set in motion that is stemming the migration flow from Morocco to the Netherlands.

Social limits of migration policies

The results of the THEMIS project indicate that the dynamics of migration flows are not governed exclusively, or even predominantly, by migrant networks, thereby illustrating the social limits of migration policies. That is, migration flows and patterns are transformed not only by migrant networks but also by other feedback mechanisms that lie even further beyond the reach of state intervention. Thus, understanding and anticipating the welfare and local policy consequences for cities and regions requires in-depth knowledge of migration dynamics within specific corridors, making it essential to analyse data below the national level.

References:

(Bakewell et al. 2011, "Migration systems, pioneers and the role of agency" - NORFACE Migration Discussion Paper No. 2011-23)

(Dekker and Kubal 2011, "Contextualizing immigrant inter-wave dynamics and the consequences for migration processes" - NORFACE Migration Discussion Paper No. 2011-24)

(Engbersen, forthcoming, NORFACE Migration Discussion Paper Series)

Integrated Modelling of European Migration

In order to fully understand the causes and consequences of international population movements in Europe, researchers and policy makers need to overcome the limitations of the various data sources, including inconsistencies in availability, definitions and quality. As part of the IMEM research project, therefore, a Bayesian statistical model has been developed for harmonising and correcting the inadequacies in the available data and for estimating the completely missing statistics on migration flows. The project focus is on estimating recent international migration flows among countries in the European Union (EU) and European Free Trade Association (EFTA) from 2002 to 2008 based on data collected by Eurostat and national statistical offices. This methodology is integrated and capable of providing a synthetic data base that includes measures of uncertainty for international migration flows and other model parameters.

The advantages of having a consistent and reliable set of migration flows are numerous. First, because migration is currently (and increasingly) the major factor contributing to population change, our understanding of how and why populations change requires reliable information about migrants. Estimates of migration flows are also needed so that governments have the means to improve their planning policies directed at supplying particular social services or at influencing levels of migration. In addition, as part of a new regulation passed in 2007 by the European Parliament, EU countries are now required to provide Eurostat with harmonised migration flow statistics. The framework proposed by the IMEM team may help countries achieve this task by providing the accuracy measures required to understand the estimated parameters and flows. Finally, the methodologies developed for this project are beneficial to researchers in other areas that utilise tables with missing, inadequate or inconsistent data.

The IMEM model brings together empirical data, covariate information and expert judgement in a Bayesian modelling framework to estimate migration flows among 31 European countries from 2002 to 2008. Covariates are used to estimate missing flows, and expert judgement is used to inform the measurement model and overcome the limitations in the existing data. The uncertainty in these estimates is summarised using probability distributions.

As an example, Figure 4 presents the probability distributions of the 2006 flows for Denmark to the Netherlands, France to Hungary and Estonia to the UK. For the Denmark to the Netherlands flow, both countries provided good data, resulting in a predicted distribution that is comparatively tight. The Estonia to the UK flow is more uncertain because of the lower quality of the reported data. For the France to Hungary flow, however, neither country provided data, so the distribution is based primarily on the covariate model, characterised by a relatively large amount of uncertainty and a heavy right tail.

Figure 4: Probability distributions of the migration true flows from Denmark to The Netherlands, France to Hungary and Estonia to United Kingdom, 2006

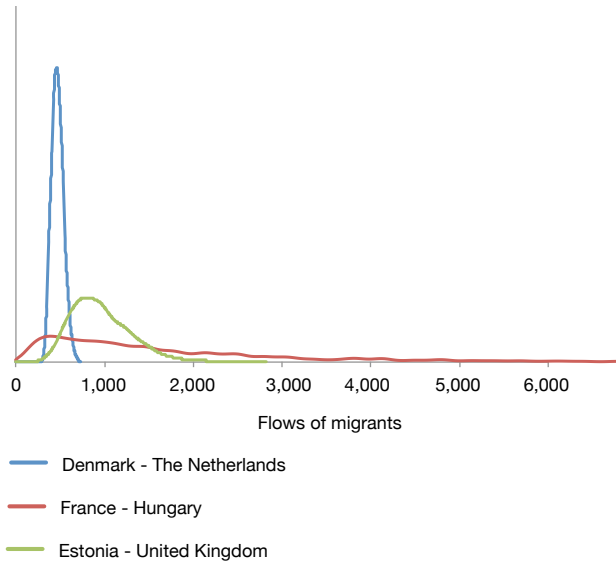
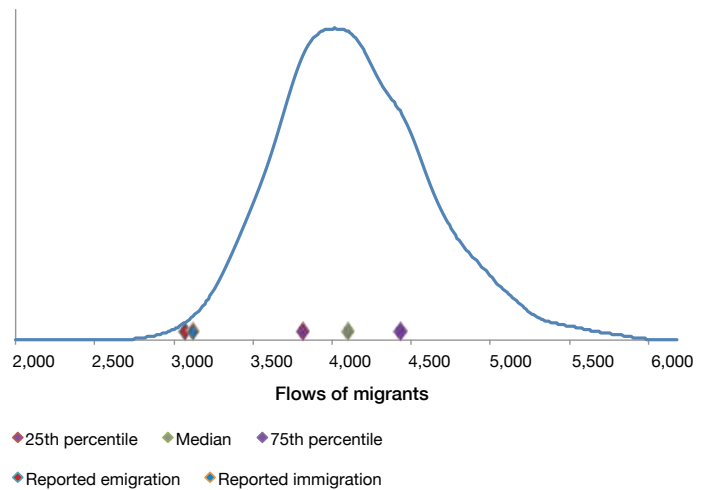
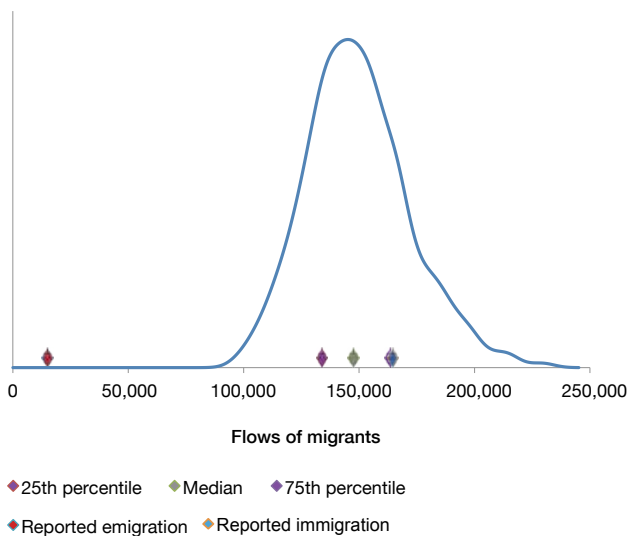


Figure 6: Probability distribution of the 'true' flow from Finland to Sweden, 2006



As another illustration, Figures 5 and 6 consider the 2006 flows from Poland to Germany and from Finland to Sweden, respectively. Here, the reported emigration data from Poland differ considerably from the flows estimated by the model because of the 'permanent' duration-of-stay criteria that Poland uses to identify migrants. In the German data collection system, no time limit is applied for incoming flows; nevertheless, their reported figures are not as high as the estimates because, as indicated by the experts, immigration is undercounted, which in effect offsets the short duration measure. For the Finland to Sweden flow, the reported flows for both countries are significantly lower than the estimates because they include the expert information on the undercount of immigration and emigration.

Figure 5: Probability distribution of the 'true' flow from Poland to Germany, 2006



In sum, the research shows how information obtained from multiple sources, including data and expert judgements on different measurements and collection systems, can be combined to provide a more complete and consistent picture of international migration. This work provides an important foundation for both modelling and understanding international migration, particularly in situations where the data are inadequate or missing.

References:

(Raymer J, Forster JJ, Smith PWF, Bijak J and Wiśniowski A (2011), "Integrated Modelling of European Migration: Background, specification and results" – NORFACE Migration Discussion Paper No. 2012-04)

(Wiśniowski A, Keilman N, Bijak J, Christiansen S, Forster JJ, Smith PWF and Raymer J (2011), "Augmenting migration statistics with expert knowledge" – NORFACE Migration Discussion Paper No. 2012-05)

International Migration with Heterogeneous Agents: Theory and Evidence for Germany

Explaining and forecasting migration flows and stocks is highly relevant for both the academic community and political decision makers; for example, in the context of the EU Eastern enlargement. Most migration forecasts, however, rest on macro models that explain migration flows by such factors as wage and income differences, unemployment rates and institutional variables and rely on the assumption of a representative agent; that is, they ignore differences across individuals in terms of preferences, migration costs, skills and labour productivity. Most models also treat migration as permanent when in fact a large and increasing share of migration is temporary. In contrast to this literature, Herbert Brücker and Philipp J.H. Schröder of the TEMPO project propose a migration model based on heterogeneous agents that features temporary migration.

Theory: importance of the heterogeneous social and psychic costs of migration

The model is based on the assumption that individuals decide on the basis of income differentials and the social and psychic costs of migration whether they want to migrate at all and how long they want to stay abroad. Location preferences differ across individuals and thus so do the costs of migration. As a result, parts of the population remain at home or abroad for an entire lifetime, while others spend only a certain fraction of the lifetime in another country, depending on the individual returns from migration and the migration costs. The researchers show that, in equilibrium, there exists a positive relation between the stocks of migrants and the income differential, while net migration flows become zero. This observation can be interpreted intuitively as follows: If individuals differ with respect to their preferences and migration costs, then the equilibrium stock of migrants is achieved when the benefits from migration equal its costs for the marginal migrant. Net migration flows then cease to zero. In contrast, under the assumption that all individuals are equal, migration will continue until the incomes of the sending country have converged to a certain threshold level.

Relation of migration stocks and flows to income differentials: empirical test

The discussion above has important consequences for the specification of empirical migration models in that the standard model in the literature, which relates migration flows rather than migrant stocks to income differentials, might be misspecified. The researchers conducted empirical tests of whether stock or flow models are more appropriate for explaining and forecasting migration, based on German migration stocks and flows in the 1967–2009 period, and found evidence in support of the conclusions of their theoretical model. This finding can be intuitively explained as follows: given a poor country in which the opportunity to migrate to a rich country has just opened and another country with the same income level but a long-standing opportunity for migration, the flow model would predict the same net flow of migrants from both countries. The stock model, in contrast, would expect net migration flows to be much smaller in case of the second country since net migration flows should converge to zero if migration stocks approach their equilibrium levels. This latter is confirmed by statistical tests.

Forecasting migration flows and stocks

Uncertainty about migration stocks and flows is high, which in turn affects uncertainty about the consequences of changes in immigration policies, a situation exemplified by the introduction of free worker movement in the context of the EU's enlargement rounds. The research conducted on this issue enhances understanding of why net migration flows have barely increased in case of the EU's Southern enlargement episode, while a migration surge was observed in the context of the EU's Eastern enlargement. In the first case, migration flows were already large in the 1960s and early 1970s, so introducing free movement has not changed the volume of gross immigration and return migration flows. Such was not the case in the EU's Eastern enlargement, in which migration was hampered by the Iron Curtain and after 1989, by relatively tight immigration restrictions on the side of the receiving countries in the pre-enlargement EU. Altogether,

the findings of the study contribute to a better understanding of migration episodes and to the development of better macro migration models, which can help policy-makers assess the quantitative consequences of major changes in immigration policies.

Reference:

(Brücker and Schröder, "International Migration with Heterogeneous Agents: Theory and Evidence for Germany, 1967-2009" - NORFACE Migration Discussion Paper No. 2011-27)

Does Unemployment Cause Return Migration? Evidence from the Netherlands

Now that immigration has become a core public concern in most developed economies, policy-makers are seeking ways to manage immigrant stocks. Understanding the link between the labour market and migration processes is fundamental to this end. In particular, quantifying the effects of time spent unemployed on migrants' decision to return to their source country is relevant to current debates about the financial costs – in terms of the state's social welfare bill – of 'failed' immigration.

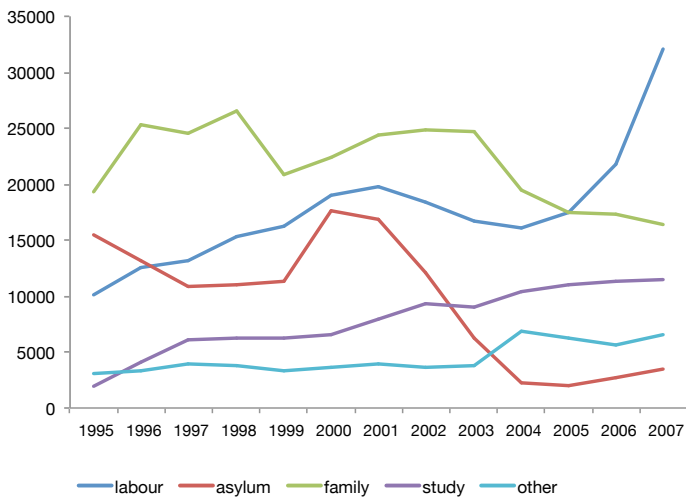
The research conducted by Govert E. Bijwaard, Christian Schluter and Jackline Wahba under the CHOICES project investigates the relationship between experiencing unemployment and return migration; in particular, whether unemployment leads to departure. This research also addresses the reverse causation between unemployment and return migration; that is, whether unemployment leads to departure or whether emigration plans lead to unemployment.

Temporary nature of recent labour immigration

The researchers use a unique administrative panel for the entire population of recent immigrants to the Netherlands covering the years 1999–2007. They take their data from the Dutch immigrant register, which is based on the legal requirement for all immigrants (including EU citizens) to register with the authorities upon arrival.

The Netherlands, like many European countries, has recently witnessed an increase in labour immigration flows (see Figure 7); however, the majority of that immigration is temporary rather than permanent – a substantial proportion of immigrants leave, many within 24 months. In fact, between 1999 and 2007, 47% of all immigrants left the Netherlands. In the meantime, around one third of all labour immigrants experienced a spell of unemployment.

Figure 7: Immigrants by migration motive to The Netherlands



Of the labour immigrants who entered the Netherlands during the 1999–2007 period, 51% came from the old EU, 13.5% came from the new EU and only 18% came from developing countries. The share of stayers (immigrants who remained in the Netherlands following their first entry) varies by origin (Table 4). Immigrants from the new EU, having arrived predominantly after 2004, have the highest stay rate at 70.9%. Immigrants from developing countries also show a high proportion of stayers, followed by immigrants from the EU15, who, because of their unimpeded labour mobility, are more likely to be repeat migrants.

Table 4: Unemployment and Return Migration (%)

	EU15	new EU	Non-EU DC	LDC
Stayers	48.2	70.9	40.9	58.6
Ever unemployed	50.5	36.8	35.8	37.7
Ever re-employed	22.4	17.0	7.3	14.1
Unemployed at emigration	53.8	44.0	40.7	48.4
Re-employed at emigration	7.5	9.9	2.8	4.8

Return migration as a result of unemployment

In terms of labour market dynamics, Table 4 reveals that, relative to the other groups, labour immigrants from the EU15 have experienced greater labour market volatility; that is, a higher incidence of unemployment spells coupled with a greater likelihood of re-employment. It is also evident that between 41% and 54% of migrants tended to be unemployed at the time of emigration, suggesting a relation between unemployment and return.

Overall, the findings suggest that across all immigrant groups, unemployment shortens the migration duration. In other words, unemployment leads to return migration. In addition, getting a job after a spell of unemployment delays the return of migrants back to the country of origin, a finding that holds true for migrants from all the groups of countries except the new EU countries.

The longer the migrants are unemployed, the higher the likelihood they will leave. Nevertheless, for migrants from non-EU developing countries, the effect of unemployment on the return decision is smaller and decreases with the length of the unemployment spell. The timing of the unemployment spell and immigrant characteristics, in contrast, play a relatively small role in explaining the duration of a labour migrant's stay in the Netherlands.

These findings challenge the perception that labour immigrants are attracted by the generosity of the welfare state in the Netherlands since almost half of recent labour immigrants leave if they experience unemployment. In fact, this observation suggests that voluntary return schemes might be more successful if they targeted recent immigrants rather than those already well-established in the country.

Reference:

(Bijwaard, Schluter and Wahba, "The Impact of Labour Market Dynamics on the Return-Migration of Immigrants" - NORFACE Migration Discussion Paper No. 2011-7)

International Labour Mobility in Estonia as a Small Country with Special Path-dependence

The Tartu team of the MIDI-REDIE project explores migration-related issues in Estonia, a small post-socialist country with a bilingual population (i.e., more than one third of the Estonian population is not native and speaks mainly Russian), which is culturally and linguistically close to its well-developed neighbour country Finland.

Ethnically segregated labour market

One part of the project aims at examining evidence of a tendency to ethnic segregation by place of residence. Within this context, the research team analysed a possible wage premium for members of the Russian-speaking ethnic minority population depending on their proficiency in the local Estonian language. They find that Russian-speaking men earn less than Estonian men and receive little premium for proficiency in the local language

(only the public administration sector shows a clear positive association). These results suggest that skills in the majority language do not always guarantee access to more productive jobs in the presence of large and linguistically homogeneous ethnic minority groups. Although many exceptions exist, in general, members of the minority group find it harder to move towards the upper end of the income distribution than do Estonians, and they tend to rely on less well-paid jobs in the largely segregated Russian-speaking workplaces. These findings confirm the earlier findings of other research teams on the existence of a glass-ceiling effect in the labour market; that is, well-educated ethnic minorities do not always enjoy the same good career opportunities in Estonia as Estonians do. One possible implication is that limited opportunities for making a career on the local labour market could make some of the (better educated) members of the Russian minority population pursue careers abroad.

Emigration from Estonia before and after EU enlargement

To shed light on East-West migration in terms of origin, destination and migrant group characteristics and to test the brain drain hypotheses, the research team also analysed the emigration process from Estonia before and after EU enlargement. In addition, they explored emigration differences among better educated people before and after EU accession, taking into account the possible consequences of the economic boom that took place in Estonia in the middle of the 2000s.

The study results show an overall increase in emigration after Estonia joined the EU in 2004, an accession that facilitated the emigration of less-educated people and significantly increased emigration to the UK and Ireland (Figures 8 and 9). Emigration also increased in the more peripheral areas of the country. Thus, accession to the EU has had the effect of spreading emigration behaviour down from the higher to the lower educated population groups and from larger cities to smaller towns and rural areas in the more peripheral parts

of the country. The researchers also find some evidence of an elevated post-2004 migration of minorities compared to Estonians among the better educated people, probably reflecting the eased opportunities for better educated Russian-speaking minorities to find suitable jobs in the common EU labour market.

Figure 8: Changes in the level of education of emigrants between 2000 and 2008, 2000=100%.
Source: Estonian Emigration Database (EED)

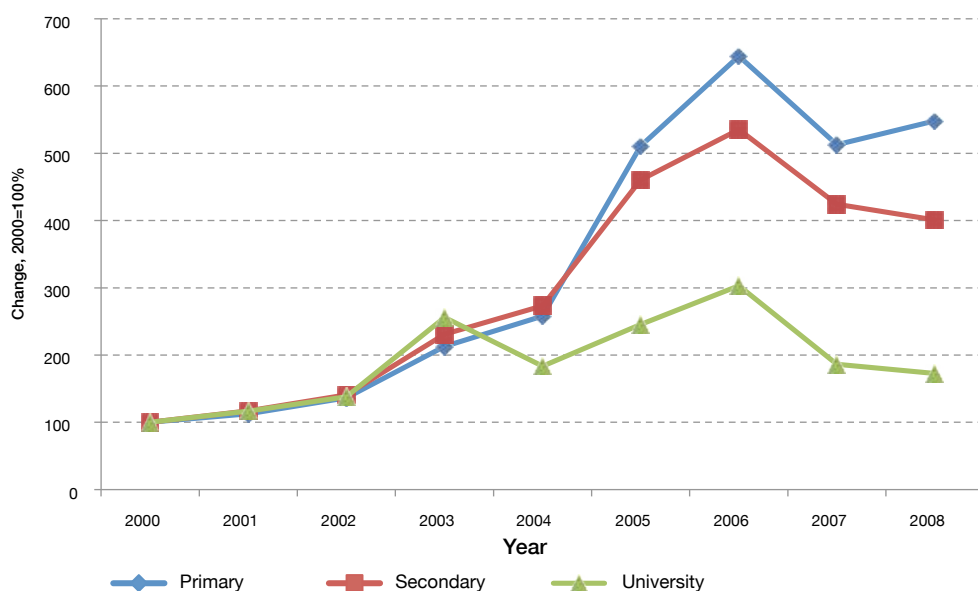
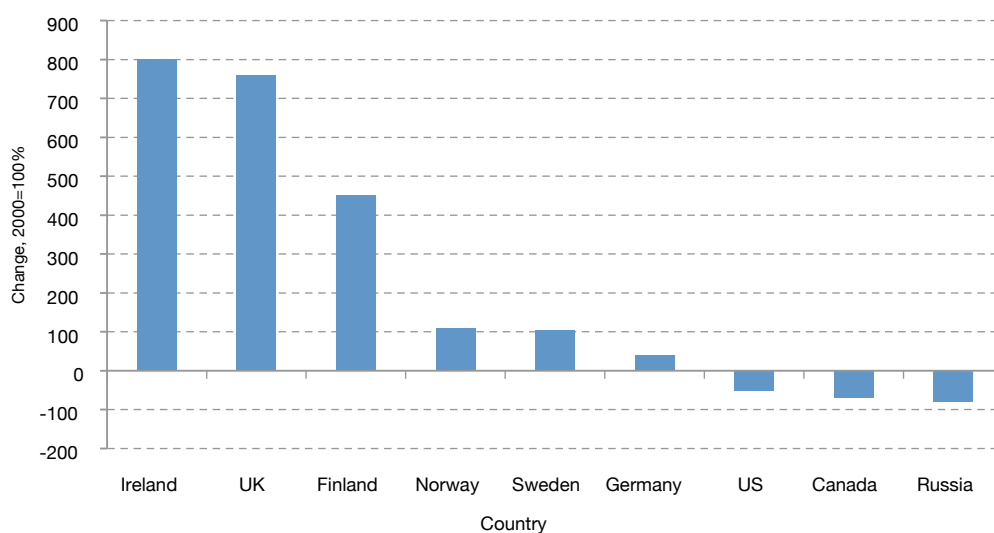


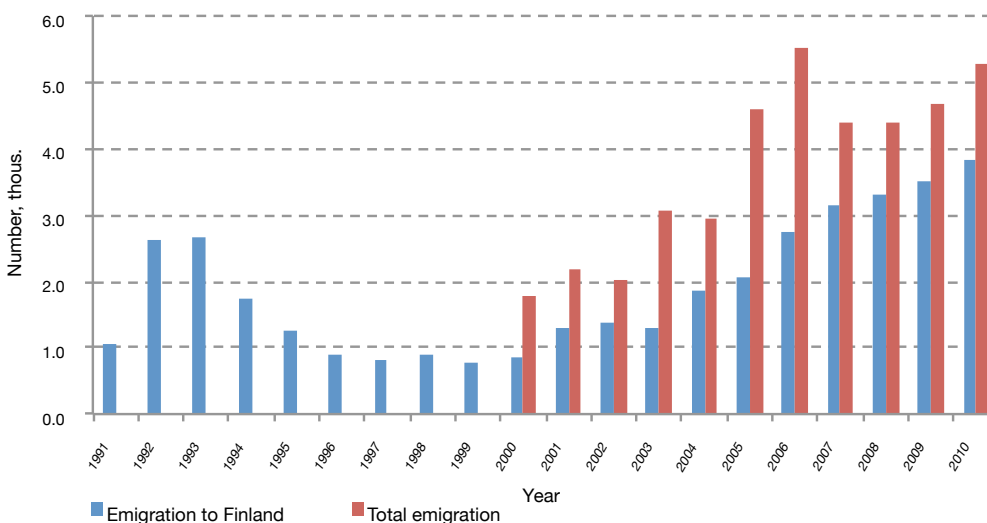
Figure 9: Change in emigration destinations of Estonia between the years 2000 and 2008.
Source: Estonian Emigration Database (EED)



Return migration from Finland

The main destination country for Estonia's emigration is Finland (Figure 10), its culturally and linguistically close neighbour, which also lies on the east coast of the Baltic Sea, separated only by the Gulf of Finland. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Finland became the primary destination of choice for westward migrants. The total number of Estonian emigrants in Finland is now around 30 000, making them the largest immigrant group in Finland; because this group includes ethnic Estonians, Russians and Ingrian Finns, however, it is ethnically and linguistically diverse. Taking into account that Estonia, being a small country, would suffer from qualified labour force emigration, the researchers studied possible return migration from Finland by administering a unique survey of Estonian migrants in Finland that examined their intentions to return to Estonia. This study takes a multi-dimensional approach by analysing not only educational level but also type and country of education and over-education (relative to current employment) as predictors of intentions to return. The results indicate that level of education is not related to the tendency to return; rather, the most important education variable shaping return migration is over-education – migrants who work below their training are more likely to express intentions to return home. The study also finds some evidence that education obtained in the host country improves later prospects for socialisation.

Figure 10: Emigration from Estonia, 1991-2010.
Source: Estonian Emigration Database (EED)



Nordic Welfare States and the Dynamics and Effects of Ethnic Residential Segregation

Ethnic segregation – in social, economic and spatial terms – has significant societal, practical and policy relevance throughout Europe. Not surprisingly, then, there has been intense political debate in all four Nordic countries on immigration-related issues, such as refugee reception (dispersal) systems, citizenship and minority rights, the financial costs and benefits of immigration, and ethnic residential segregation, as well as the role of welfare states and multi-cultural policies. The NODES project contributes to this contemporary political and theoretical debate by examining the causes, meanings and effects of ethnic residential segregation, as well as its links to welfare, housing and immigration policies.

There seems to be relatively wide theoretical and political agreement on the existence of a Nordic Welfare Model and on how it differs in many ways from other welfare models. The main features of this model include comprehensive social policy, strong state involvement and a high degree of de-commodification and universalism in terms of both costs and gains. Given the structural similarities within the model, it could be hypothesised that the Nordic countries should be

able to tackle issues related to immigration and residential segregation successfully. Nevertheless, evaluation of Nordic policy practices and their socio-spatial effects remains scarce. The aim of the NODES research project, therefore, is to capture and analyse the links between Nordic welfare state policies and trajectories of social and spatial integration.

Economic restructuring and recession challenging the Nordic Welfare Model

The top-down political approach to issues related to welfare, segregation and housing is deep-seated and has a long tradition in the Nordic countries. The

ideological cornerstone of the Nordic system is equality among individuals regardless of their demographic, socio-economic and ethnic characteristics, and strong universalism is believed to be a prerequisite for strong public support of welfare policies. During the last two decades, however, a number of external and internal pressures have challenged the basic pillars of the Nordic Welfare Model. First, because of the economic restructuring and recession that have affected all European countries, unemployment has become an issue in the Nordic countries, which, once used to full employment, now face a very different societal situation. At the same time, income differences have begun to widen – or at least there has been an increase not only in the proportion of the wealthier population but also in the distance from

the average income. This widening has a direct bearing on the housing market, so poverty has also become an issue. The fact that these changes are coincident with population ageing places even more financial pressures on the basic structures of the Nordic Welfare Model.

Housing profiles of different immigrant groups and ethnic segregation

At the same time, the number of immigrants has grown rapidly (Figure 11), a result of both labour migration based on free movement among EU countries, and refugee immigration and family re-unification. Because of active dispersal policies, a large majority of refugees are initially settled throughout the various regions in the Nordic countries; however, according to our findings, the majority tend eventually to re-locate to cities in the south – where there are notable concentrations of immigrants, particularly in the metropolitan regions. This movement can be seen in the growing spatial differences and ethnic residential segregation within metropolitan areas. Our results also show that the weak housing market position of the many immigrant groups, as well as the selective migration of both natives and immigrants, contribute to these observable spatial processes.

tenures other than owner-occupation. In addition, although there is progression towards owner-occupation in all groups, it occurs at different speeds. Nevertheless, most of these differences can be explained without reference to any 'ethnic' explanations; rather, they are mostly related to socio-economic resources.

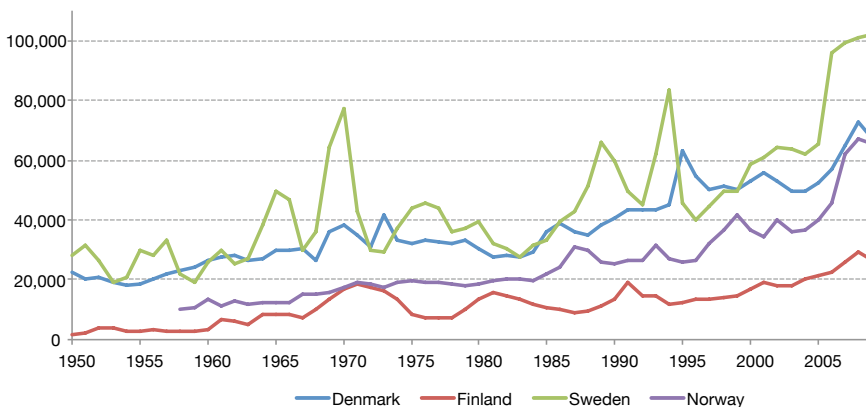
Importance of migratory choices of the native households

The uniqueness of the Nordic register-based survey design also enables the researchers to follow the selective migration patterns and housing choices of native households, and explore the motives and rationale behind their migration decisions. At present, the survey is about to close, with response rates above 40% in all countries. The forthcoming survey results are expected to greatly enhance understanding of the causalities related to segregation, addressing not only the housing profiles of minorities but also the migratory behaviour of the majority.

References:

(More information about the NODES Project is available at: <http://blogs.helsinki.fi/nodesproject/>)

Figure 11: Immigration to the Nordic countries in 1950–2009



Apart from the western migrants, the new immigrants belong mostly to the lowest income groups. For example, in Finland, 41% of the North African and Western Asian immigrants belong to the lowest quintile, which limits their choices in the housing market. These groups also frequently lack good contacts with landlords, have difficulties finding out about the housing market and sometimes experience discrimination. Thus, the large differences in regulation and support for different forms of tenure in the four countries are of major significance in the development of ethnic segregation.

Using longitudinal individual-level register-based data, the researchers are currently keeping track of the housing market entries and subsequent housing profiles of different immigrant groups and native migrants within the main metropolitan areas of the Nordic countries. By following the housing profiles of individual migrants, they hope to provide a more dynamic picture of immigrant housing situations based on aggregate statistics and/or cross-sectional individual-level data. The results show that, for example, that in Finland, the housing profile of the majority in all ethnic groups begins with

Effects of Cultural Diversity on Wages, Productivity and Innovation

Because the growing diversity of the population through immigration may affect the host economy through different channels, its net impact depends on the strength of these effects. On the one hand, workers with different cultural backgrounds represent complementary skills, problem-solving abilities, ideas and aspirations, which implies that migrants can make a major contribution to a country's vitality and entrepreneurship. In addition, given the growing benefits of urban agglomeration across the world, the fact that migrants are generally attracted to cities also contributes to economic growth in migrant-receiving regions. The various networks that migrants form can also have a range of impacts – for example, on international trade and the spatial clustering of migrant groups. Likewise, the interaction of immigrants with the host population may increase productivity through knowledge spill-over or other positive externalities. On the other hand, when the variety of the backgrounds is too diverse, fractionalisation may mean excessive transaction costs for communication, lower inter-group trust and also lower productivity. Hence, diversity may influence the subjective well-being of individuals in positive or negative ways.

Immigration Wage Impacts: Evidence from Norway

Throughout the past three decades, migration to EU countries has increased substantially, and Norway, whose foreign-born population share has increased from 2 to 10%, is no exception. In addition, as in other high-income countries, the composition of the foreign-born population has changed radically with regard to country of origin. Whereas prior to the 1980s, the majority came from countries that are geographically and culturally close; today, the majority of the immigrant population originates from developing countries that are much more distant in both respects. These developments have raised two important questions: how does this increase in immigration affect the wages of the native population, and what effects have these changes had on the composition of the immigrant population?

Effects of immigration differ by country of origin

Recent research by Bernt Bratsberg, Oddbjørn Raaum, Marianne Røed and Pål Schøne from the MI3 team investigates these questions by uncovering the unobserved counterfactual; that is, what would have happened to the native wage structure if migration had not taken place? To answer this question, the researchers adopt the 'national approach' proposed by Borjas (2003), which slices the labour market into clusters by education, work experience, and year of observation, and relates the change in the share of foreign-

born workers in each cluster to the change in the wages of native workers in that cluster. One potential problem with this approach, however, is the selective withdrawal from the labour force of native workers because of an increase in immigration. That is, supposing that the inflow of migrants to a particular cluster causes low-wage workers within the cluster to leave the labour market, the national approach will then understate the negative impact of migration on native wages. An important contribution of this study, therefore, is to account for the potential selective attrition by exploiting the longitudinal structure of the data.

A second contribution is to explicitly investigate the heterogeneous effects of immigration by country of origin. Theoretically, immigrants from neighbouring high-income countries – who share the same culture, educational institutions and even language – should be closer substitutes for the native population than immigrants from distant developing countries, who are culturally different, typically low-skilled, and often do not speak Norwegian. Hence, native workers are more likely to compete for jobs with immigrant workers from neighbouring countries than with immigrant workers from developing countries. Immigrant inflows from the Nordic countries, therefore, should have a larger negative impact on the wages of natives than inflows from developing countries.

Although the study does find overall that immigration lowers the wages of natives – a 10% increase in the share of immigrants in the labour force lowers native wages by 0.3% – it also shows the importance of accounting for the selective withdrawal of natives. Additionally, in line with economic theory, this negative wage impact is almost entirely driven by the inflow of immigrants from the neighbouring Nordic countries: the wage effects due to immigration from developing countries are small. Hence, given that the increase in the immigrant population in Norway over the past decade stems primarily from immigration from distant developing countries, the overall impact of migration on the wage structure of natives is likely to be limited.

Licensing and certification requirements as instruments

In related research, Bernt Bratsberg and Oddbjørn Raaum use an alternative approach to estimate the causal impact of migration on native wages. Their starting point is that some segments within the construction sector – for example, electrical installation and plumbing companies – are covered by strong licensing and certification requirements, whereas others – for instance, carpentry and painting firms – are not. These licensing requirements pose a major obstacle to immigrants entering the segment. The study therefore uses the variation in immigrant share across different segments, induced by the varying licensing requirements, as a source of exogenous variation.

Using a very different evaluation approach, Bratsberg and Raaum also confirm the key finding from the previous research: immigration lowers the wages of natives once

the non-random withdrawal of natives from the different segments of the construction sector is taken into account. The researchers also analyse the impact migration has on the price of services supplied by different segments of the construction sector through a decrease in production costs. This impact can either be direct, because firms now employ more immigrants who tend to earn lower wages than natives, or indirect, driven by the decrease in native wages because of increased immigration. The study does indeed find that immigration lowers prices.

Figure 12: Change in immigrant employment, adjusted log wage, and log price by construction activity

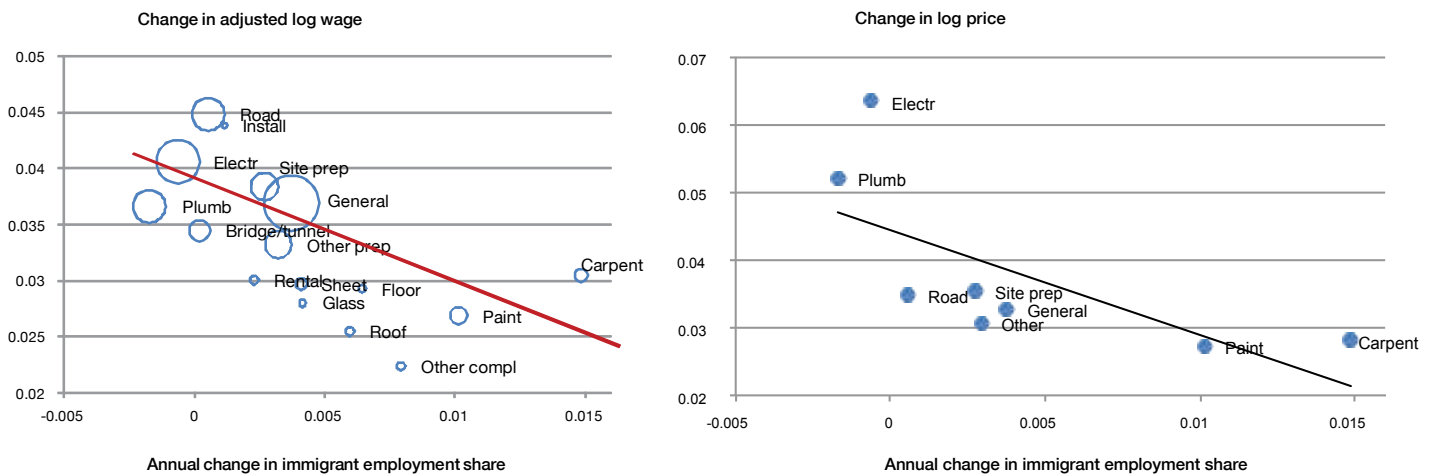


Figure 12 displays the annual change in the immigrant employment share, log of wages (after adjustment for age, education, and gender, and native attrition) and log of price for various construction services, and summarises the key findings of the study. The left-hand panel (in which the scatter points are weighted by native employment) shows that wage growth among native construction workers over the study period was much higher in trades with no change in immigrant employment, such as plumbing and electrical installation, than in trades with rapid growth in immigrant employment, such as carpentry and painting services. In fact, the wage growth of electricians and plumbers was 1% higher per year than that of carpenters and painters. The cost reductions from lower wages, shown in the right-hand panel, were then passed on to consumers. As a result, price inflation was much higher for services with no change in immigrant employment than for services with growth in the immigrant employment share.

These findings underscore that there are both winners and losers of migration. On the one hand, low- and semi-skilled workers – but much less so high-skilled workers – face increased competitive pressures on wages because of increased migration; on the other, as consumers, all workers enjoy more services at lower prices.

References:

(Bratsberg, Raaum, Røed and Schöne, "Immigration Wage Impacts by Origin" – NORFACE Migration Discussion Paper No. 2010-2)

(Bratsberg and Raaum, "Immigration and Wages: Evidence from Construction" – NORFACE Migration Discussion Paper No. 2011-16)

Are Foreign Experts More Valuable than Local Experts?

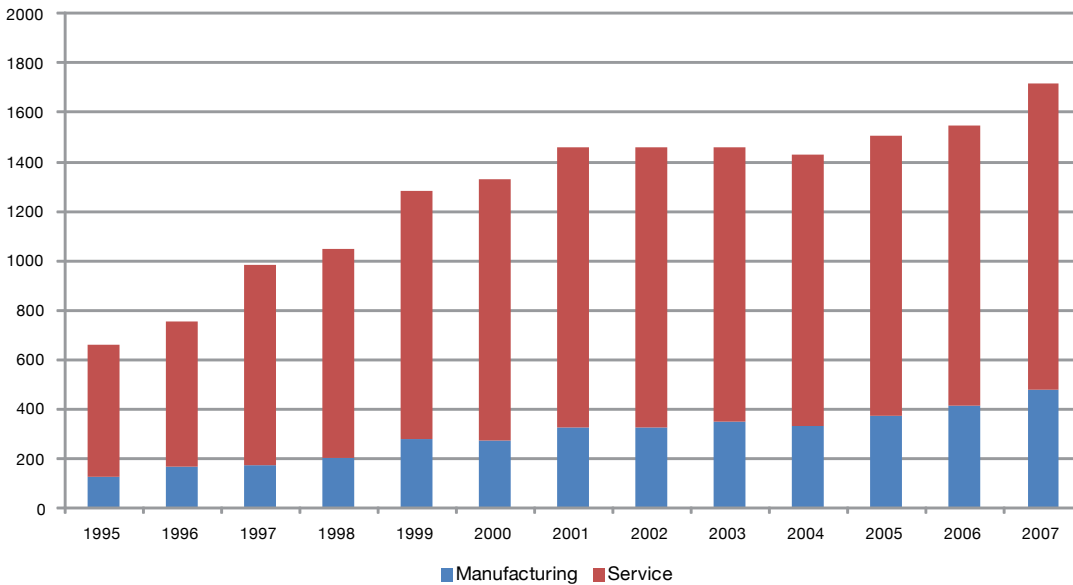
Despite the many restrictions on migration, most countries seem to welcome highly qualified immigrants. Some countries even subsidise immigrants if their qualifications are sufficiently high; for example, in Denmark, Italy, Spain, Sweden and the Netherlands, foreign labourers with sufficiently high qualifications are offered special tax breaks. This practice does, however, raise one important question: To what extent does the hiring of these talented foreigners affect the economic performance of the hiring firms? In a recent discussion paper under this programme, Nikolaj Malchow-Møller, Jakob R. Munch and Jan Rose Skaksen from the TEMPO team consider this issue and report the following results.

If foreign experts improved a firm's overall performance, they should be complementary to other inputs in the firm, possibly, for instance, because they have information that is complementary to that of the native workers. For this to be the case, the information sets of foreign and native workers should be disjoint but relevant to each other. Such information complementarity, although it may play a role for all types of labour, is likely to be most important among highly skilled workers, who are particularly characterised by specialised knowledge. The researchers therefore focus on a relatively small group of foreign experts.

To analyse whether the hiring of so-called foreign experts has a positive impact on the productivity of Danish companies, they use a very detailed, matched worker-firm data set drawn

from Danish register information for all individuals and firms for the years 1995–2007. In this study, foreign experts are defined as foreign employees who qualify for special tax treatment primarily because their wages are sufficiently high. Based on this rather narrow definition, Figure 13 profiles the number of foreign experts in private Danish firms over this period. Although most such experts are in the service sector, the number has also been rising within both the service and manufacturing sector.

Figure 13: Foreign experts in private Danish firms



Using firm-specific wages for workers other than the experts as a measure of productivity, the researchers find that foreign experts do in fact increase firm productivity. That is, firms that hire foreign experts show a 2.5% wage increase over similar firms that hire only domestic experts. Even when the focus is restricted to those workers who are in the firm both before and after the hiring of foreign experts, the results remain similar: there is a minor, albeit statistically significant, increase in their wages relative to that in similar firms hiring only Danish experts.

This finding raises the question of what type of information foreign experts possess that domestic experts do not. One obvious candidate is information related to foreign markets, so a further analysis explores what happens to the export performance of firms that hire foreign experts. The results show that hiring foreign experts raises export probability by 2.7 percentage points in the year following the hire and increases export intensity by 1.3–1.6% in the three subsequent years.

The study thus provides evidence that highly talented workers in different countries do have information that is different yet complementary to that of native workers, and there are gains to be reaped from exploiting these complementarities. Policy should therefore support the mobility of these talented individuals, possibly through the tax structure but also through other important avenues such as access to international schools, access to public services and the general attitude towards immigrants.

Nevertheless, because this analysis was conducted using Danish data, the extent to which its results are generalizable to other countries may be called into question. Obviously, given that Denmark is a small country, there may be less variability of skills among its highly talented people than in larger countries. In other words, because finding the right talent for the job may be easier in a large country, the gains from hiring a foreign expert may be smaller.

Reference:

(Malchow-Møller, Munch and Skaksen, "Do Foreign Experts Increase the Productivity of Domestic Firms?" – NOFRACE Migration Discussion Paper No. 2011-14)

Positive Effects of Ethnic and Educational Workforce Diversity on Innovation Outcomes in Firms in Denmark

Even though innovation is considered one of the most important components for long-term economic growth (new growth theory); from the micro-economic perspective, the sources of innovative activities have not yet been fully explored. One of the sources believed to be an important driver of innovation is workforce diversity; for instance, in a relatively recent survey by the European Commission, a large number of respondents identified innovation as a key benefit of diversity policies and practices.

Existing theoretical and empirical contributions, however, are not in agreement about the effect of workforce diversity on a firm's innovation outcomes. Theoretically, there is recognition of the following paradox: whereas a high degree of heterogeneity among workers can be a source of creativity and thus foster innovation activity, it can also induce misunderstanding, conflicts and unco-operative behaviour within workplaces and thereby hinder innovation. There is no general agreement on which effect prevails. Specifically, differences in skills, education and more broadly in knowledge among employees seem to be more beneficial than detrimental; particularly, if workers' information sets do not overlap but are relevant one to another. This ambiguity also holds for diversity in employees' ethnic and demographic characteristics. On the one hand, people of different cultural backgrounds may provide diverse perspectives, valuable ideas, and problem-solving abilities – thereby facilitating the creation of optimal solutions and stimulating innovations. On the other, such heterogeneities could create communication barriers, reduce workforce cohesion and prevent co-operative participation, resulting in high costs of “cross-cultural dealing”. It is thus unclear whether more ethnically and demographically heterogeneous firms are likely to outperform relatively more homogeneous ones with respect to innovation. The empirical literature on this topic, which consists mainly of business case studies, is inconclusive on this issue.

Pierpaolo Parrotta, Dario Pozzoli and Mariola Pytlikova from the MI3 project investigate the relation between labour diversity and innovation using a rich register-based linked employer-employee data set from Denmark for the years 1995–2003. As in previous studies, they proxy innovation using information on patents. They investigate the effect of labour diversity on firm innovation by examining three dimensions of employee diversity: cultural background, skills/education and demographics. The comprehensiveness of the data set allows an in-depth exploration of the mechanisms by which diverse workforces affect innovation. For example, because the beneficial effects of diverse problem-solving abilities and creativity are more likely to materialise as innovation in white-collar occupations than in blue-collar occupations, they test the creativity hypothesis by examining different occupational groups.

Implementing alternative estimation techniques, they find robust evidence that ethnic and educational diversity in the labour force is an important source of innovation, one that influences firms' patenting activity in several ways. Specifically, it (i) increases their propensity to (apply for a)

patent, (ii) increases the overall number of patent applications and (iii) enlarges the breadth of patenting technological fields. They also find, however, that the effects of demographic diversity on innovation vanish when the analysis includes a full set of controls or instruments such measures. Finally, they find that the beneficial effect of ethnic and educational diversity on innovation materialises for white-collar occupations only, which supports the hypothesis that diverse workers tend to have a wider pool of different experiences, knowledge bases and heuristics that boost their problem-solving capacities and creativity, which in turn facilitates innovation.

The overall picture given by the empirical analysis seems particularly relevant not only for the design of firms' innovation strategies but also for public policies aimed at fostering innovation. Most particularly, the results offer important insights into the technological process, a driver of productivity growth and hence of economic growth. For example, the researchers find that an increase in firm labour diversity in terms of education and ethnicity has a positive effect on the firm innovation process. Thus, governmental policies designed to encourage the employment of workers with different cultural backgrounds can be beneficial for improving firms' patenting activities, increasing private returns directly and social gains indirectly through knowledge-diffusion mechanisms. Such policies could help to invert the general decline in patenting activity recorded among OECD countries during the recent economic crisis.

Reference:

(Parotta, Pozzoli and Pytlikova (2011), “The Nexus between Labor Diversity and Firm's Innovation” – NORFACE Migration Discussion Paper No. 2011-5)

Migrant Diversity Boosts Productivity and Innovation in European Regions and Firms

During the last three decades, the foreign-born population in Europe has increased more than in any other part of the world. At the same time, the composition of cross-border migration flows has become more diverse in terms of source countries and cultures and the socio-economic characteristics of the migrants. This observation raises two fundamental questions: To what extent does this greater migrant diversity affect economic outcomes in Europe? Does diversity enhance or reduce regional disparities?

These questions form the core of the research activity undertaken by the Migrant Diversity and Regional Disparity in Europe (MIDI-REDIE) project, a collaboration between researchers from five countries: Estonia, Finland, Germany, Netherlands and United Kingdom. One of the key features of this research is the creation of new information on this important topic through the linking of various data sources. This article reports the results already obtained by studying German firms and regions, Dutch firms, and European regions at the so-called NUTS 2 level.

Diverse workforce and productivity at the firm and regional level

One of the most interesting aspects of the research is that different data sets produce similar results. For example, using a range of econometric models, the German team finds that, from a regional perspective, high-skilled foreign workers can be seen as a positive productive ‘amenity’, particularly if this group is diversified in terms of national backgrounds. The presence of low-skilled foreign workers, in contrast, is related to lower regional productivity. Yet for a given number of low-skilled foreign workers, their diversity still benefits productivity. Using very detailed information on the composition of individual firms, the German researchers also find evidence that the interaction of diverse foreign employees within firms boosts productivity, although the influence of regional workforce composition on plant productivity appears to be weaker.

To examine regional income disparities in the European Union, the German team uses Eurostat data matched with European Labour Force Survey (LFS) data to analyse the impact of immigration on GDP per capita at the NUTS 2 level. After controlling for reverse causality (i.e., migrants are attracted by high income regions), they identify a positive, but quantitatively small, effect of immigration on regional income. No such direct effect emerges, however, for diversity, possibly because the LFS data only permit a distinction between eight different cultural backgrounds. Instead, regions in which a particular migrant group dominates appear to have gained from immigration, possibly because of more efficient provision of migrant-specific public goods and lower costs of integration.

Patent applications

The Dutch researchers also investigate the relation between innovation – measured by patents at the NUTS 2 level across 12 European countries (the UK, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Sweden) – and regional immigration. In Figure 14, which maps the variation in patent applications across European regions, the darker regions correspond to areas characterised by a relatively large number of diverse migrant groups. In Figure 15, which shows the scatter plot of patent applications per million people against the share of foreigners in the population, the correlation, although not strong, is positive and shows an increase in 2001 as compared with 1991. Apparently, the impact of increasing population diversity is statistically significant but quantitatively small relative to all other influences on patent applications. In addition, patent applications are only positively affected by the diversity of the immigrant community beyond a critical minimum level of diversity. A more important driving force for innovation than the sheer size of the immigrant population in a certain locality is the distinct composition of immigrants from different backgrounds. The results also indicate that an increase in the average skill level of migrants has a positive effect on patent applications.

These findings are reinforced by recent research using a unique linked Dutch employer-employee micro-data set of 4,582 firms based on survey and administrative data from Statistics Netherlands. Whereas firms in which foreigners account for a relatively large share of employment are generally less innovative, there is again strong evidence that firms that employ a more diverse foreign workforce are more innovative, particularly in terms of product innovation.

Cultural diversity in the immigration policy debate

This research has potentially major implications for the public policy debate, which in many European countries, has focussed strongly on improving the skill composition of the immigrant flow. For example, some countries have attempted to attract (high-)skilled temporary and permanent immigrants to specific industries suffering labour shortages (e.g., the IT industry). This unconstrained recruitment of highly trained workers without any further consideration of the labour market, however, could lead to significant adjustment costs.

Rather, because high-skilled immigrants are not a homogeneous group, recruitment policies should be based on the structural properties of the labour market at the time. A high-skills immigration policy on innovation should generally have a positive impact, as long as other pre-requisite conditions are present (e.g., scale, infrastructure, networks and ICT) and the policy is designed to address needs and expectations at both the national and local levels and across sectors. To date, however, the cultural diversity of the immigrants has played a minor role in this debate. Yet the MIDI-REDIE results suggest that there are returns to cultural diversity in regional labour markets and that immigration policy can be improved by taking these aspects into account. Overall, multi-culturalism has rather tangible effects: in addition to ‘soft’ location factors that shape perceptions about the quality of life in different locations, its primary effect seems to be on productivity and innovation.

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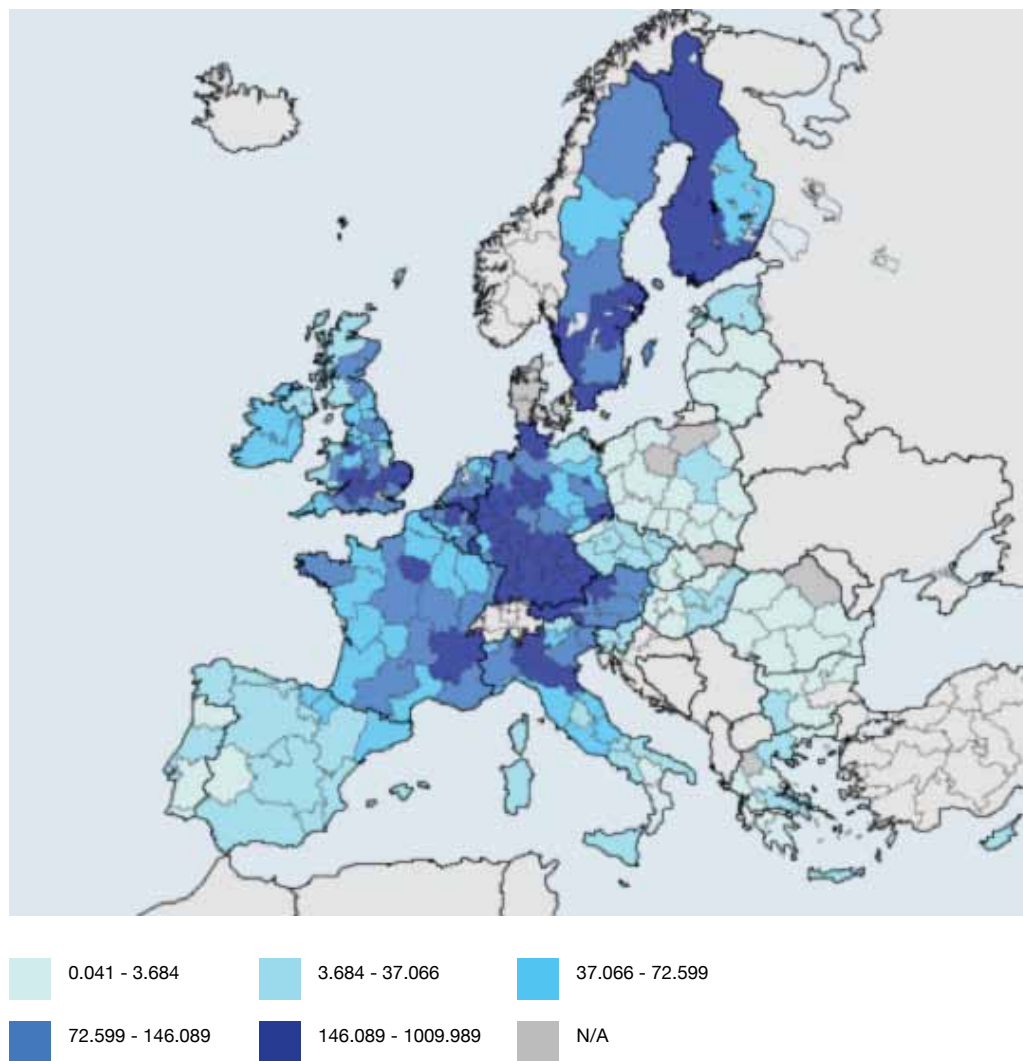
(Brunow and Blien (2011), “Effects of Cultural Diversity on Individual Establishments” - NORFACE Migration Discussion Paper No. 2011-6)

(Brunow and Brenzel (2011), “The Effect of a Culturally Diverse Population on Regional Income in EU Regions” - NORFACE Migration Discussion Paper No. 2011-21)

(Ozgen, Nijkamp and Poot (2011), “Immigration and Innovation in European Regions” - NORFACE Migration Discussion Paper No. 2011-8)

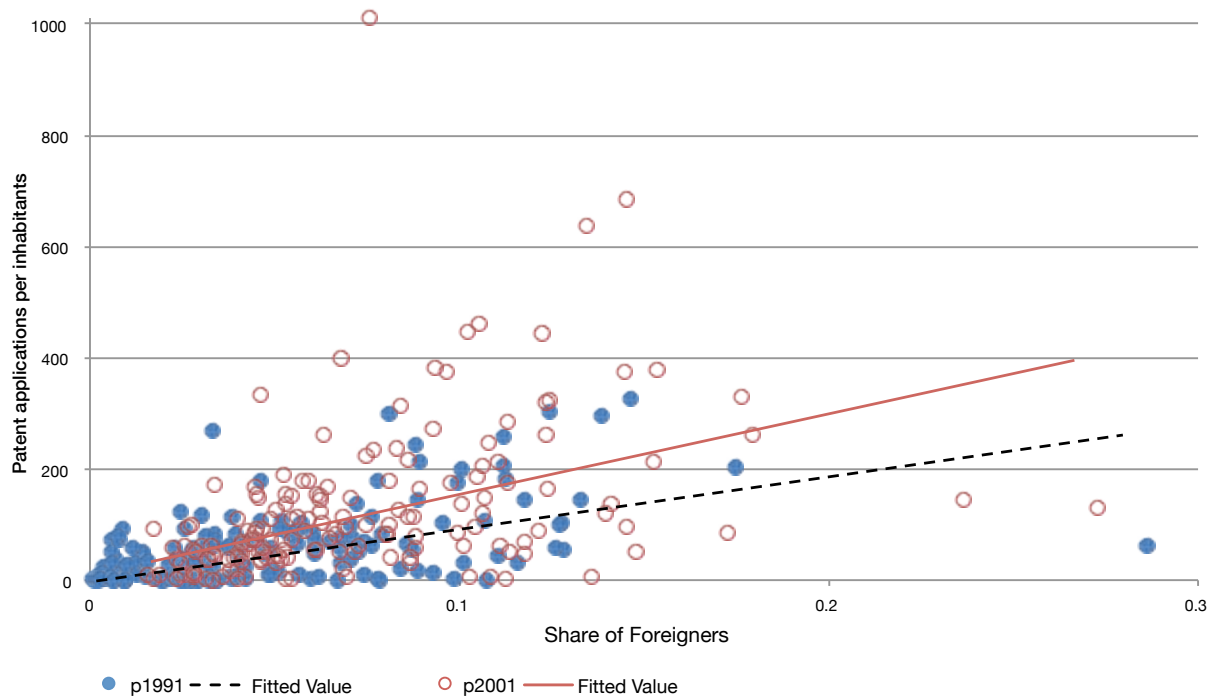
(Ozgen, Nijkamp and Poot (2011), “The Impact of Cultural Diversity on Innovation: Evidence from Dutch Firm Level Data” - NORFACE Migration Discussion Paper No. 2011-13)

Figure 14: Patent Applications in NUTS 2 Regions in 2001



Minimum value: 0.041 Maximum value 1009.989

Figure 15: Patent applications per million inhabitants against the share of foreigners in the NUTS 2 regions in 1991 and 2001



Activities

The key objective of the NORFACE Scientific Co-ordination Office is to promote inter-project collaboration that facilitates good cross-communication and synergy between NORFACE Migration research teams and appropriate engagement with other academic researchers and stakeholder groupings involved in migration issues both within Europe and beyond. For this purpose, the Scientific Co-ordination Office is developing a communication platform by organising various activities and assisting projects with their individual events. Details of the events organised by both the office and the project teams are available on the NORFACE Migration web site (www.norface-migration.org/events.php)

Summarising some of the key events, the first NORFACE Migration Workshop was organised in March 2010. This workshop began with a meeting at which the Data Expert Panel and the individual data-collection teams discussed their data collection strategies, followed by two days of NORFACE project updates. In September 2010, a second conference was co-organised with the World Bank and the Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration (CReAM), in which the economics-based NORFACE teams participated and presented their research. In April 2011, a large interdisciplinary conference was organised that brought together all 12 research projects (and over 100 researchers) of the Migration in Europe programme, as well as other scholars working in the research field (for a total of around 400 scholars). The first day of the conference was reserved for NORFACE teams only, giving them an opportunity to develop communication channels across the different project teams and inform each other about their respective research agendas, data collection and preliminary results. Numerous researchers from the Migration in Europe projects, however, also reported on their individual studies during other conference sessions. The conference programme included two keynote speeches, eleven invited speeches, two policy podiums and some special sessions, including one on Migration Data. In total, 450 individual papers were submitted to the conference, but to ensure the highest academic standard, only 231 presentations and 33 poster presentations were accepted. The conference's greatest achievement was the bringing together of the most prolific scholars, representing diverse and often contradictory approaches to migration studies. By doing so, it abetted NORFACE's goal of supporting inter-disciplinary research in migration studies and creating joint academic discussions among research fields that have traditionally stood in opposition. The conference also made a major contribution by offering NORFACE-funded scholars and other scholars interested in the same research themes an environment in which to discuss and link individual research projects across project and funding frontiers.

SCIP Workshop on Respondent-Driven Sampling

In June 2011, the SCIP team organised a workshop on new developments in respondent-driven sampling (RDS), an innovative sampling method that uses social networks to identify and survey hard-to-reach populations. RDS is particularly valuable in special circumstances in which other sampling methods are inapplicable. For example, governments around the world use targeted programmes designed to reach populations for which there is no sampling frame, such as recent immigrants, drug users, homeless men and women, or individuals engaged in high-risk sexual behaviour. Likewise, governments need to evaluate the effectiveness of social programmes on which millions of dollars are spent annually, such as those designed to aid immigrant integration or drug cessation, provide shelter, or encourage safer sex. RDS offers government a method for surveying these populations and estimating prevalence rates in a representative and unbiased manner.

It is also important, however, that policy-makers are aware of the strengths and weaknesses of this method and understand the accuracy of estimates drawn from RDS sampling and estimation designs. Despite the increasing popularity of the method and considerable optimism about its potential to provide population estimates of hard-to-reach populations, recent research has uncovered several possible methodological weak points, especially in its variance estimations. Most particularly, the accuracy of RDS is impacted by the underlying social network, the distribution of traits within this network, and the recruitment dynamic. Particular challenges for the method are highly clustered and balkanised populations, homophily in referral chains, and the need for large samples to overcome design effects.

To improve implementation and reporting and disseminate knowledge about RDS, the NORFACE- and ESRC-sponsored workshop brought together leading statisticians and survey methodologists and practitioners from a variety of social sciences that employ the technique. The resulting papers are currently being prepared for review as a special issue of the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, which will relay the information to a wider audience.

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