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Swiaczny, Frank; Sauer, Lenore; Henning, Sabine

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Migration in the Mediterranean

FRANK SWIACZNY, LENORE SAUER and SABINE HENNING¹

Zusammenfassung

Migration im Mittelmeerraum

Die internationale Migration im Mittelmeerraum hat seit den 1990er Jahren einen tief greifenden Wandel erlebt, sie hat erheblich zugenommen, ist deutlich heterogener geworden und aus den ehemaligen Abwanderungsgebieten im Süden Europas sind selbst Regionen mit Zuwanderungsüberschuss geworden. Mit dem Anwachsen der Zahl an Asylbewerbern, Flüchtlingen und undokumentierten Migranten seit den 1990er Jahren werden diese Wanderungsbewegungen in europäischer Wahrnehmung zunehmend als Bedrohung empfunden. Zahlreiche EU-Staaten haben hierauf mit einer Verschärfung ihrer Zuwanderungs- und Aufenthaltsgesetze reagiert, während andere der Zuwanderung in den Arbeitsmarkt positiver gegenüber stehen und wiederholt illegale Zuwanderung nachträglich regularisiert haben. Gleichzeitig hat die Ausweitung der EU und die damit verbundenen Freizügigkeitsregelungen für die Niederlassung von EU-Bürgern in anderen Ländern zwischenzeitlich einen EU-Binnenwanderungsraum geschaffen, der sich von den benachbarten nicht EU-Ländern abhebt und in den Medien auch als „Festung Europa“ bezeichnet wird, deren Südgrenze den Mittelmeerraum durchschneidet. Während die EU bestrebt ist, Migration selektiv zu steuern, haben die südlichen Nachbarregionen ein Interesse, Wanderung für ihre eigene Entwicklung zu nutzen. Diese Interessengegensätze zu einem gegenseitigen Nutzen zu vereinen ist u.a. Ziel der *EuroMediterranean Partnerschaft*, bei der Wanderungsfragen gegenwärtig einen Arbeitsschwerpunkt darstellen.

Der Beitrag beschreibt den Verlauf der Wanderungsströme im Mittelmeerraum und die in den Mittelmeerländern ansässige nicht-einheimische Bevölkerung² nach ausgewählten Ländern im Überblick und stellt die aktuellen Wanderungstrends in den Zusammenhang regionaler Entwicklungsunterschiede und divergierender demographischer Entwicklungen in der Region. Darüber hinaus werden die unterschiedlichen Ziele der aktuellen Wanderungspolitiken der Mittelmeeranrainer im Kontext der aktuellen internationalen Diskussion um die Ergebnisse der *Global Commission on International Migration* und dem *Global Forum on Migration and Development* zum Zusammenhang zwischen internationaler Wanderung und Entwicklung bzw. der Steuerung von Wanderung durch transnationale Kooperation analysiert und hinsichtlich möglicher künftiger Trends der internationalen Wanderung im Mittelmeerraum interpretiert.

Mittelmeerraum, internationale Migration, Migrationspolitik, Demographie, menschliche Entwicklung

Abstract

International migration in the Mediterranean has changed dramatically since the 1990s. It has increased significantly, become far more heterogeneous and the former countries of emigration of Southern Europe have become preferred destinations of immigration flows themselves. With the increase in the number of asylum seekers, refugees and undocumented migrants since the 1990s, these migratory movements are increasingly perceived as a threat by many Europeans. Many EU countries have responded by tightening their immigration and residence laws, while others consider immigration into the labour market generally positively and have repeatedly regularised undocumented immigration flows. At the same time, the expansion of the EU and the related regulations on freedom of residence for EU citizens has created an internal migration space within the EU. Referred to in the media as “Fortress Europe”, this is separated from the neighbouring non-EU countries and has a southern border that cuts through the Mediterranean region. While the EU is striving to regulate migration selectively, its southern neighbours are interested in using migration to boost their own development. One of the goals of the *Euro-Mediterranean Partnership*, which is currently focusing on migration issues, is to unite these opposing interests for the benefit of all concerned.

This article describes changes in the migration flows affecting the Mediterranean region, presents an overview of the foreign³ population in the Mediterranean countries based on selected examples and puts current migration trends into the context of regional development differences and divergent demographic developments in the region. It also analyses the different goals of the Mediterranean neighbouring countries' current migration policies in the context of the recent international discussion on the results of the *Global Commission on International Migration* and the *Global Forum on Migration and Development* regarding the relationship between international migration and development as well as migration management through transnational cooperation. Further, the paper relates these policies to possible future trends in international migration in the Mediterranean region.

Mediterranean, international migration, migration policy, demography, human development

¹ The views and opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of the United Nations.

² Abhängig von den verfügbaren statistischen Quellen wird der Begriff der nicht-einheimischen (foreign) Bevölkerung definiert als im Ausland geborene Personen oder Personen ohne inländische Staatsbürgerschaft.

³ Dependent on the available statistical sources foreign population is defined as foreign-born or foreign national population.

Mediterranean – Statistical survey I

Country	Population 2005		Population growth rate (%)		Total fertility rate (TFR)		Life expectancy at birth (years)	
	in 1,000	Density	1990/95	2000/05	1990/95	2000/05	1990/95	2000/05
Albania	3154	110	-0.9	0.5	2.8	2.3	71.6	75.7
Algeria	32854	14	2.2	1.5	4.1	2.5	67.7	71.0
Bosnia and Herzegovina	3915	76	-4.6	0.7	1.5	1.3	72.2	74.1
Croatia	4551	81	0.7	0.2	1.5	1.4	72.5	74.9
Cyprus	836	90	1.4	1.2	2.4	1.6	76.8	79.0
Egypt	72850	73	1.9	1.8	3.9	3.2	63.7	69.8
France	60991	111	0.5	0.6	1.7	1.9	77.5	79.6
Greece	11100	84	1.0	0.2	1.4	1.3	77.0	78.3
Israel	6692	302	3.5	1.9	2.9	2.9	76.9	79.7
Italy	58646	195	0.2	0.3	1.3	1.3	77.3	79.9
Lebanon	4011	386	3.2	1.2	3.0	2.3	69.3	71.0
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	5918	3	2.0	2.0	4.1	3.0	68.8	72.7
Malta	403	1274	1.0	0.7	2.0	1.5	76.3	78.6
Montenegro*	608	44	1.2	-1.9	1.8	1.8	75.4	74.0
Morocco	30495	68	1.7	1.1	3.7	2.5	65.4	69.6
Occupied Palestinian Territory	3762	625	3.9	3.6	6.5	5.6	69.7	72.4
Slovenia	1999	99	0.4	0.2	1.4	1.2	73.5	76.8
Spain	43397	86	0.3	1.5	1.3	1.3	77.4	80.0
Syrian Arab Republic	18894	102	2.8	2.7	4.9	3.5	69.3	73.1
Tunisia	10105	62	1.8	1.1	3.1	2.0	70.0	73.0
Turkey	72970	93	1.8	1.4	2.9	2.2	66.2	70.9
Total	448151							
Portugal	10528	114	0.1	0.6	1.5	1.5	74.6	77.2

* Before 2006: Serbia and Montenegro

Tab. 1a: A statistical overview of the Mediterranean
Source: UN 2006c, 2007, UNDP 2008

Introduction

International migration in the Mediterranean region has changed dramatically since the 1990s and has gained significant political importance in Europe in recent years (cf. BÄHR 1995; FASSMANN & MÜNZ 1992; GOLINI et al. 1993; KING 2002; SALT 1992, 2005; SALT & MILLAR 2006; SALT & FORD 1995; SALT et al. 2004; VANDERMOTTEN et al. 2005). Since the beginning of the 1950s, the numerically most important migration flows originated in the Mediterranean and were directed toward northern industrialised countries – with the exception of France – and generally took the form of traditional, regulated recruitment of guest workers with family reunification at a later date. Since then, this traditional migration pattern has changed fundamentally. The former emigration regions in southern Europe have become immigration regions in recent years (cf. BALDWIN-EDWARDS 2004, 2005; FINDLAY 1996; GANS & WEST 2004; KING & RYBACZUK 1993; KING et al. 1997;

KRINGS 1995; MONTENARI & CORTESE 1995; SWIACZNY 2002). Thus, immigration has risen sharply, in absolute numbers and per 1,000 persons in the European part of the Mediterranean region since the 1990s (cf. UN 2007; SWIACZNY 2003). Publications such as “The Age of Migration” (CASTLES & MILLER 1993) and “The Times of Migration” (CWERNER 2001) view the changes in the migration flows as a shift in traditional migration patterns. In an ever more globalised world, migration in the Mediterranean today is shaped by increasingly heterogeneous migration flows, in terms of source and receiving regions and causes of migration, as well as the age, gender, education and professional qualifications of the migrants (cf. CHAMPION 1994, p. 656). This change can no longer be explained by classic migration theories alone, which regard migration as a process of balance along a gradient of wealth or development (cf. MASSEY et al. 1993). Migration to industrialised countries

has become more complex in nature. Further, beside permanent immigration flows, cyclical or periodic back-and-forth movements play a more important role today than in the past, but are difficult to monitor statistically. Decisions to migrate are increasingly influenced by networks between migrants, non-migrants and inhabitants in the destination country and are intended to improve family income or minimize risks. The southern and eastern Mediterranean region is no longer just a region of emmigration. It is also a transit region and has now become a destination for inward migration from less developed neighbouring regions.

With the increase in the number of asylum seekers, refugees and undocumented migrants (cf. ICMPD 2004; UNHCR 2007) since the 1990s, these migration flows are increasingly perceived as a threat by many Europeans. Many EU countries have responded by tightening their immigration and residence laws, while others consider immigration into

Mediterranean – Statistical survey II

Crude net migration rate (net migrants per thousand population)			Net number of migrants (1,000)		Inter- national migrants (%)	Growth rate of migrant stock (%)	Human development index (HDI)		GDP per capita annual growth rate (%)	GDP per capita (PPP US\$)
1980/85	1990/95	2000/05	1990/95	2000/05	2005	2005	1990	2005	1990-2005	2005
-0.3	-25.4	-7.0	-409	-110	2.6	1.5	0.70	0.80	5.2	5316
0.8	-0.4	-0.9	-50	-140	0.7	-0.6	0.65	0.73	1.1	7062
-1.1	-51.8	6.0	-1000	115	1.0	-17.1	-	0.80	12.7	-
1.2	6.7	4.4	153	100	14.5	1.4	0.81	0.85	2.6	13042
-0.8	4.5	7.1	16	29	13.9	7.4	0.85	0.90	2.3	22699
-1.6	-2.1	-1.5	-600	-525	0.2	-0.4	0.58	0.71	2.4	4337
1.0	1.5	2.4	424	722	10.7	0.6	0.91	0.95	1.6	30386
1.3	9.0	2.8	470	154	8.8	5.7	0.88	0.93	2.5	23381
0.1	19.6	3.6	484	115	39.6	3.3	0.87	0.93	1.5	25864
-0.5	2.0	3.9	573	1125	4.3	8.7	0.89	0.94	1.3	28529
-14.1	14.2		230		18.4	0.9	0.69	0.77	2.8	5584
10.7	0.4	0.4	10	10	10.6	2.0	-	0.82	-	-
4.3	2.9	4.6	5	9	2.7	4.1	0.83	0.88	2.7	19189
-5.6	5.0	-24.5	15	-78	4.9***	-6***	-	-	4.3**	7250**
-0.5	-3.5	-3.7	-450	-550	0.4	2.4	0.55	0.65	1.5	4555
2.2	0.1	0.6	1	11	45.4	3.5	-	0.73	-2.9	-
1.9	3.9	2.2	38	22	8.5	-0.8	0.85	0.92	3.2	22273
-0.8	1.5	13.6	292	2846	11.1	21.6	0.90	0.95	2.5	27169
-1.7	-1.0	2.3	-70	200	5.2	1.7	0.65	0.72	1.4	3808
-0.7	-0.5	-0.6	-22	-29	0.4	0.0	0.66	0.77	3.3	8371
0.8	0.4	-0.1	109	-30	1.8	1.1	0.68	0.78	1.7	8407
-0.3	-0.1	5.3	-7	276	7.3	3.7	0.86	0.90	2.1	20410

** GDP per capita base year 2006, GDP per capita growth 2005 (World Bank)

*** International migrants and growth rate of migrant stock for Serbia and Montenegro.

GDP Gross domestic product
PPP Purchasing power parity

Tab. 1b: A statistical overview of the Mediterranean
Source: UN 2006c, 2007, UNDP 2008

the labour market generally positively and, like Italy, Spain and Greece, have repeatedly regularised undocumented migration flows. The expansion of the EU and the related regulations governing freedom of residence for EU citizens have created an internal migration space within the EU referred to as “Fortress Europe” in the media (cf. MEYER 2007). The Mediterranean has thus increasingly become a boundary, separating regions at different stages of development and with divergent demographic developments – a combination reminiscent of the US-Mexican border. While the EU is striving to manage migration selectively, its southern neighbours are interested in using migration to boost their own development. Now focusing on migration issues, the *Euro-Mediterranean Partnership* wants to unite these opposing interests (cf. GCIM 2005; UN 2006a/b) to benefit all those concerned.

This essay presents an overview of the changes to the migration system in

the Mediterranean region with respect to Europe. The article describes a migratory patterns in the Mediterranean region and presents an overview of the foreign population in these countries based on selected examples and puts current migration trends into the context of regional development differences and divergent demographic developments in the region (Tab. 1). It also analyses and interprets the different goals of the Mediterranean neighbouring states’ current migration policies (as provided to the UN Population Division by various countries). This analysis is closely related to the current international debate on the results of the *Global Commission on International Migration* and the *Global Forum on Migration and Development* regarding the relationship between international migration and development or migration management with transnational cooperation, and in terms of possible future trends in international migration in the Mediterranean region.

The analysis of international migratory movements is limited by the availability of migration and population statistics. Comparable and uniform migration statistics are not available for every country: There are great differences in both the definition and recording of migration processes and migrants (BILSBORROW 1997; POULAIN 2006), which has to be taken into account when interpreting migration patterns.⁴ The following data can be used as a basis: the harmonised results of the World Population Prospects (UN 2007), the indicators of the Human Development Report from the UN Development Programme (UNDP 2008), the report on World Population Policies from the UN Population Division (UN 2008), UNHCR statistics (2007), migration and population statistics from the Council of

⁴ Owing to a lack of statistical data, the British and Spanish areas of Grenada, Ceuta and Melilla are not looked at separately here despite being particularly important in the study of illegal migration in the Mediterranean region.

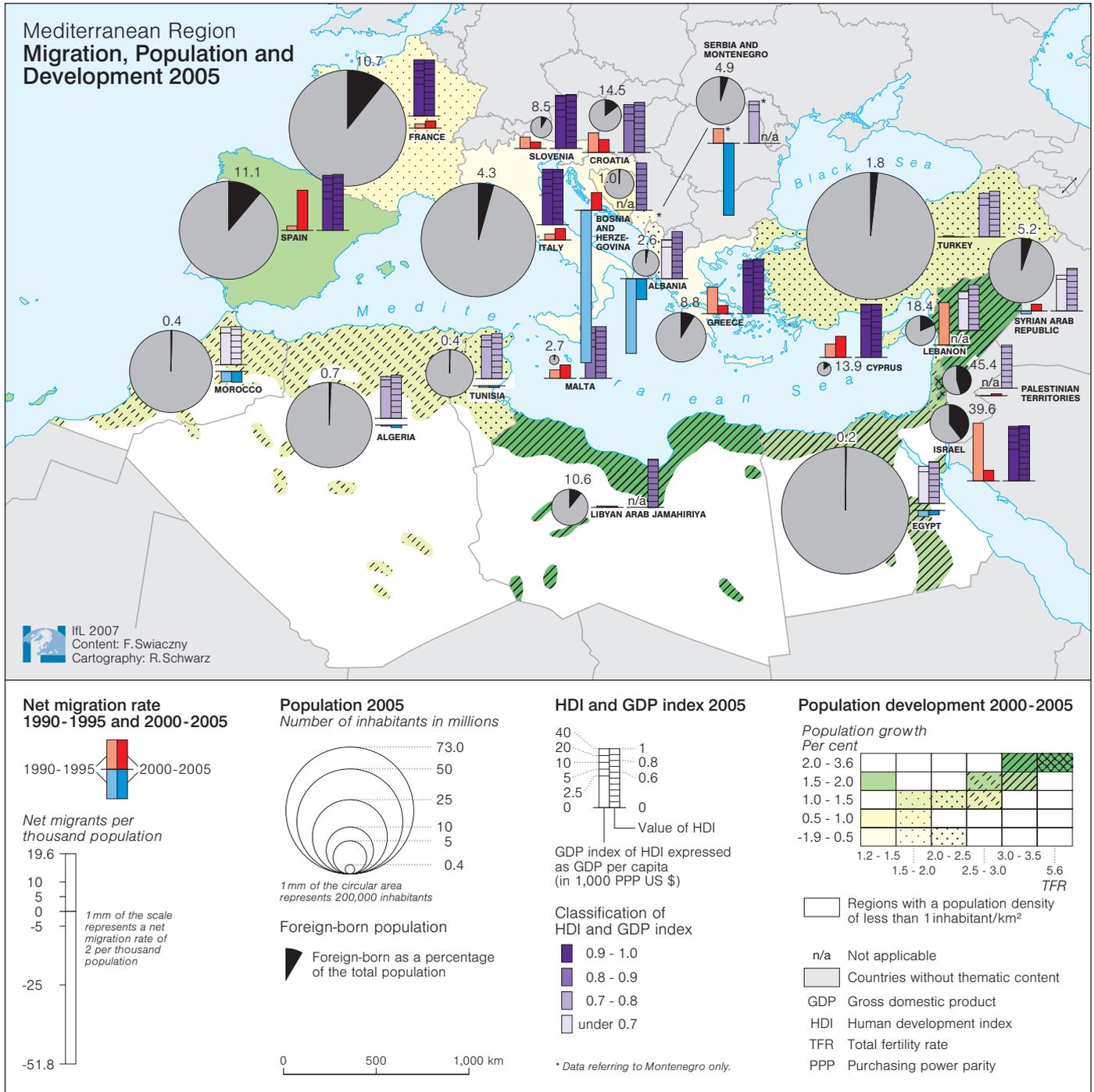


Fig. 1: Migration, Population and Development in the Mediterranean 2005

Source: UN World Population Prospects/World Migration Stocks; UN DP Human Development Report, own calculations

Europe (COUNCIL OF EUROPE 2006) and EUROSTAT (2006) and national statistics from the source countries.

Migration in the Mediterranean countries – patterns and structures

After the end of the Second World War, large parts of the Mediterranean region were losing population due to emigration, such as southern Italy in the 1950s and Spain, Greece, Portugal, Yugoslavia and Turkey in later years. Along with the European sending countries, the North

African countries of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia also played a key role (cf. KING 1995). Central and northern Europe and the Arabian Peninsula experienced population increases through migration from the Mediterranean region. On an international scale, relatively stable structures were already established with-in which the large migratory movements took place. “Pioneers” opened up migration channels, enabling chain migration on which the future migration system was structured (cf. SALT 1989). In 1973, at the height of the labour migration from

the south to the industrial centres of the north and before the worldwide recession took hold, clear migration patterns could be identified in Europe. The sending countries were on the periphery: northern Finland and the north of Ireland, Portugal, parts of Spain, southern Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey in the south of Europe as well as Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia in the southern Mediterranean region. Emigration from Portugal and Spain was primarily directed toward France. Emigrants from southern Italy moved in two main streams to Germany

and Switzerland and a smaller number to France. Germany was an important destination for “guest workers” from the former Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. A smaller number of emigrants moved simultaneously from the former Yugoslavia to Austria and from Turkey to Belgium and the Netherlands. Most emigrants from Northern Africa migrated to France with a few Moroccans moving to Belgium and the Netherlands as well. At this time, most immigrants in Britain had come from Ireland and not from the Mediterranean region, and those in Sweden came from Finland (cf. KING 1995). In the 1980s, the world’s migratory flows shifted again. Along with the USA, which mainly received migrants from Asia and Central America, the Arabian Peninsula was one of the main destinations for migrants. In Europe, south-to-north migration declined rapidly and some guest workers returned to their native countries. At that time, the south of Europe became a destination for inward migration from its southern hinterlands (cf. SALT 1989).

The changes to migration patterns since the 1980s can be seen on Fig. 1, which uses internationally comparable datasets from the UN to show the net migration balance per 1,000 inhabitants on average for the periods 1990/95 and 2000/2005. The changes in migration flows and structures of the resulting foreign population are analysed in detail in the following sections, based on national statistical data for selected Mediterranean countries.⁵

Northern Mediterranean region

In the northern European Mediterranean region, former emigration countries have now become immigration countries, as described above and shown in Fig. 1 – with the exception of France. This change is most clearly documented by Spain, which is used here as an example for the respective group of countries. Until the mid-1990s, an average of 30,000 to 35,000 persons immigrated to Spain annually. Over the past ten years, however, immigration has seen a sharp increase of more than 25-fold – around 841,000 immigrants were registered in 2006. Spain thus had the highest number

⁵ The post-Yugoslavian states and Albania are not looked at here owing to the poor-quality data and the special developments concerning migration and refugee movements and affecting the number and structure foreign nationals in the respective populations.

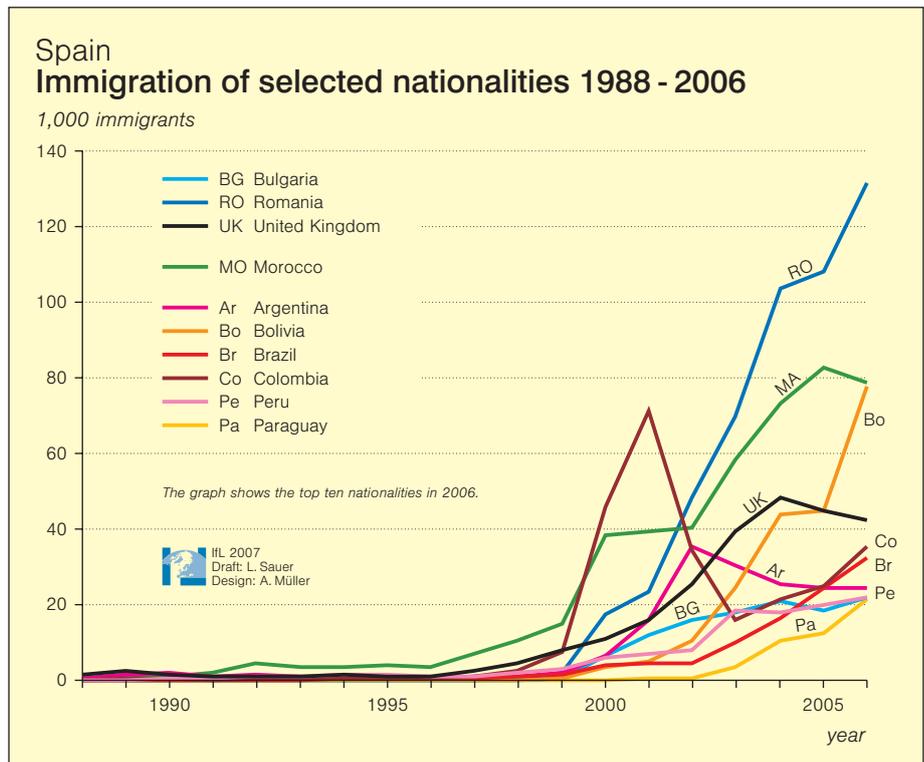


Fig. 2: Immigration to Spain showing the top ten nationalities in 2006, 1988-2006
Source: EUROSTAT

of immigrants within the EU-25 for the first time (EUROSTAT 2006). Until the mid-1990s, a large percentage of immigrants were returning Spanish guest workers and immigrants from Morocco. Since 2000 migration flows to Spain became more heterogeneous and more nationalities were concerned (CACHÓN RODRÍGUEZ 2006, p. 177). In 2006, immigration flows consisted mainly of foreign nationals with about 38 per cent from South and Central America and the Caribbean and 11 per cent from the Maghreb, Libya and Egypt (Fig. 2).

While high immigration and emigration figures are being recorded in the northern and central European states, emigration from Spain is comparatively low at present. The other northern Mediterranean states from which migrant labourers were also recruited in the 1950s and 1960s are recording similar changes. While the outward migration of the countries’ own nationals is falling sharply and former guest workers are returning to their home countries, these countries are also becoming attractive destinations in their own right for migrants from other states.

The northern Mediterranean countries still have low levels of (documented) immigrants – by European standards – and a highly heterogeneous foreign population, an outcome closely linked to

decades of immigration and emigration flows affecting this region. Persons from the southern and eastern Mediterranean countries make up a large percentage of the foreign population. At the same time, other nationalities are becoming more significant, such as people from South America (Ecuador, Colombia, Argentina and Bolivia) in Spain and Chinese and other Asian nationalities in Italy and Greece (Tab. 2).

Italy and Spain attract high levels of immigrants due to their rapid economic modernisation over the past decades. In spite of high levels of unemployment, these changes led to labour shortages in certain labour-intensive sectors. Immigrants filled these positions. Migrants now work on plantations and in greenhouses or clean houses for low wages. In the Euro-Mediterranean zone, there is a strong informal sector and a broad underground economy with job opportunities for (undocumented) migrants in restaurants, as hawkers, in the building industry and in fishing and fish processing (SANTEL 2001; LINDNER 2008, p. 34). Furthermore the Mediterranean’s extensive maritime borders provide opportunities for undocumented entry into the EU. Knowledge of language and culture also plays a role in current migration flows. The same applies to former colonial relationships that can cause or

Mediterranean EU members
Foreigners by nationality around 2000
 The top ten nationalities; last available year

Spain (2006)		France* (1999)		Italy (2006)		Greece (2005)	
Population	43 758 250	Population	55 520 688	Population	58 751 711	Population	11 082 751
Foreign nationals	4 002 509	Foreign born persons	4 306 094	Foreign nationals	2 670 514	Foreign nationals	553 100
<i>thereof citizens of (in percent)</i>		<i>thereof foreign born (in percent)</i>		<i>thereof citizens of (in percent)</i>		<i>thereof citizens of (in percent)</i>	
Morocco	13.57	Algeria	13.33	Albania	13.06	Albania	61.65
Ecuador	11.49	Portugal	13.28	Morocco	11.97	Bulgaria	5.04
Romania	9.70	Other European countries	13.21	Romania	11.14	Romania	3.42
Colombia	6.66	Morocco	12.13	China (incl. Hong Kong)	4.79	Russian Federation	3.18
United Kingdom	6.24	Other African countries	9.13	Ukraine	4.01	Georgia	3.06
Argentina	3.89	Italy	8.79	Philippines	3.36	Poland	2.91
Germany	3.43	Spain	7.34	Tunisia	3.13	Ukraine	2.21
Bolivia	3.25	Other Asian countries	5.02	Serbia/Montenegro	2.40	Cyprus	1.99
Italy	2.63	Tunisia	4.68	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	2.37	Philippines	1.61
Bulgaria	2.55	Turkey	4.04	Ecuador	2.32	United Kingdom	1.39

* Figures based on country of birth instead of nationality.

Tab. 2: Selected countries from the northern Mediterranean region and the top ten nationalities of foreigners (last available year)

Source: National statistics agencies, for Spain and Italy the population register is used as a base, for France the last available census and for Greece the European Union Labour Force Survey

foster migration flows (GÉDAP & BIVS 2006) and to political measures in the receiving countries. The regularisation and liberalisation programmes in Spain, Italy and Greece have contributed to the growth of the registered foreign population and to changes in their composition. The northern Mediterranean countries are preferred destinations of retirement migrants from Northern and Central Europe (cf. KING 1998, 2000).

Southern and eastern Mediterranean region

Until the 1990s, the migration flows in the southern and eastern countries of the Mediterranean were clearly defined: These countries were all emigration countries, with the exception of Libya and Israel (Tab. 3). The countries had policies promoting the emigration of their own citizens to fight unemployment and gain foreign currencies through remittance transfers. They also encouraged emigration, reasoning that returning migrants would help to spread human capital and the knowledge they gained abroad. Emigration was thus an integral part of their growth and development strategies (FARGUES 2007).

These countries differ only in terms of the migrants' destinations. The majority of migrants from the Maghreb states live in Europe and North America. The most important European destination country by far is France, followed by Spain

and Italy (FARGUES 2007). Persons from the eastern Mediterranean countries (especially Egypt and Palestine) migrated primarily to the adjacent oil-producing countries, such as Libya, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait, and Bahrain. While emigration remains important, the southern and eastern Mediterranean region is currently also characterised by inward migration. Migration to Israel and Turkey is particularly pronounced – both countries have more than one million registered foreign residents. The number of foreigners living in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia is fewer than 100,000 persons, and just over 100,000 foreigners are registered in Egypt. Most foreigners in Egypt come from neighbouring countries of the Mediterranean region and from sub-Saharan Africa (Tab. 4).

However, this data probably underestimates the actual number of foreigners residing in these countries. Beside the officially registered foreign citizens a large number of refugees live in Egypt, Algeria and Syria. According to UNHCR information, there were 105,000 refugees in Egypt, 95,000 in Algeria, and 520,000 in Syria at the end of 2006 (UNHCR 2007).

Due to their proximity to the northern Mediterranean countries, Morocco, Tunisia and Libya in North Africa and Lebanon and Turkey in the eastern Mediterranean region are important transit countries in this region. The In-

ternational Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) estimates that an annual 100,000 to 120,000 irregular migrants cross the Mediterranean, of whom 35,000 persons come from sub-Saharan Africa, 55,000 persons from the southern and eastern Mediterranean region and 30,000 persons from other, mainly Asian, states (ICMPD 2004, p. 8).

In spite of the severely limited data in some cases, four regional migration patterns can be identified in the Mediterranean region:

The northern European Mediterranean region has been experiencing a decline in emigration, the return migration of its own citizens, and increasing levels of immigration since the 1990s with a low percentage of (registered) foreigners and very heterogeneous countries of origin (compared to traditional immigration countries).

The southern Mediterranean region of the Maghreb, which is a sending, transit and receiving region for international migrants, currently has a low percentage of (registered) foreigners.

The eastern Mediterranean region is also a sending, transit and receiving region for international migrants, but – also owing to the large number of intra-regional refugees – has a higher percentage of foreigners.

Albania and the countries of the former Yugoslavia are special cases. Their migration patterns and the struc-

Emigrants from southern and eastern Mediterranean countries around 2000

	Countries of destination			Total
	European countries	Arab countries	Other countries	
Egypt (2000)	436 000	1 912 729	388 000	2 736 729
Algeria (1995)	991 796	66 398	14 052	1 072 246
Jordan (2004)*				29 397
Lebanon (2001)	157 030	123 966	325 604	606 600
Morocco (2005)	2 718 711	213 034	253 641	3 185 386
Palestinian territories (2002)**	295 075	4 180 673	231 723	4 707 471
Tunisia	779 200	128 900	25 800	933 900
Turkey	3 033 000	108 000	379 000	3 520 000

* Jordan does not provide data classified by destination country.

** All Palestinians living in foreign countries are included in the figure for Europe except for those in the Gulf region and the USA.

Israel and Syria do not provide statistics on the number of citizens living in foreign countries.

Tab. 3: Emigrants from selected countries of the southern and eastern Mediterranean region

Source: Estimates by the embassies of the source countries, quotation from FARGUES 2007, p. 384

ture of their foreign populations were influenced by the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the resulting movement of refugees and migrants due to political conflicts.

Migration in the context of demographic change and development

The migration processes described in the previous section and presented in Fig. 1 illustrate demographic and economic changes in the Mediterranean countries. The economic and demographic gap between the EU states and the rest of the Mediterranean has widened considerably since the 1990s in some cases (Tab. 1). This has been caused by economic growth of southern Europe (measured in part by the Human Development Index), a far lower fertility rate in countries such as Italy and Spain, as well as the ageing of the population and its overall decline. Some countries in the south of Europe which have lagged behind concerning the demographic transition are by now also experiencing lower fertility rates and ageing of their populations. The decline in TFR in North African countries by more than one child per woman be-

Southern and eastern Mediterranean countries Foreigners by nationality around 2000 The top ten nationalities, last available year

Morocco (2005)		Algeria (1998)		Tunisia (2004)		Egypt (1996)		Turkey* (2000)	
Population		Population		Population		Population		Population	
Foreign nationals	62 348	Foreign nationals	71 609	Foreign nationals	35 192	Foreign nationals	115 589	Foreign born persons	1 278 700
<i>thereof citizens of (in percent)</i>		<i>thereof citizens of (in percent)</i>		<i>thereof citizens of (in percent)</i>		<i>thereof citizens of (in percent)</i>		<i>thereof foreign born (in percent)</i>	
France	28.54	Morocco	26.06	Algeria	27.31	Palestinian territories	24.78	Bulgaria	37.60
Algeria	18.57	Tunisia	11.72	Morocco	18.08	Sudan	9.52	Germany	21.39
Spain	5.07	Egypt	8.30	France	13.11	Germany	6.08	Greece	4.63
Tunisia	2.98	Mali	5.81	Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	4.94	Russian Federation	5.84	Netherlands	1.70
Senegal	2.38	United Arab Emirates	5.79	Italy	4.43	USA	4.19	Russian Federation	1.56
Italy	2.14	Palestinian territories	5.29	Germany	2.84	Syria	3.30	United Kingdom	1.48
Mauritania	2.10	Saudi Arabia	4.26	Egypt	1.91	Italy	2.92	France	1.31
Congo	2.06	France	3.66	Côte d'Ivoire	1.73	Saudi Arabia	2.85	Austria	1.12
USA	1.73	Iraq	3.41	Mauritania	1.18	Yemen	2.41	USA	1.06
Syria	1.60	Sahrawi Arab DR	2.48	Other countries	24.46	Jordan	2.12	Iran	1.02

* Figures based on country of birth instead of nationality.

Tab. 4: Selected countries of the southern and eastern Mediterranean region and the top ten nationalities of foreigners (last available year)
Source: National statistics agencies, last available census

tween 1990/95 and 2000/2005 deserves particular mention, although Tunisia had already reached replacement level fertility with a TFR of 2.1 children per woman in 2000/2005. However, this decline in fertility has very little impact on the population growth of the countries in question because of the demographic momentum of the young populations. The population growth is still high to very high in all southern and eastern Mediterranean neighbouring states while it is generally low in the northern Mediterranean region and – without immigration – will become negative in the future (UN 2007). The migratory pressure directed toward Europe caused by this demographic gradient will thus continue for the foreseeable future, although there is no simple cause and effect relationship for future migration (cf. GOLINI et al. 1993; SALT 1996).

Migration in the southern and eastern Mediterranean countries does not play a major role in overall population figures – despite the inward and transit migration to some areas – and the percentage of foreigners in the population will remain low, with the exception of Libya, Israel and countries affected by refugees in the eastern Mediterranean region. The same applies to the impact of migration on demographic development. If the net migration balances are looked at in relation to natural growth, a very different picture emerges in Europe than in the developing countries of the south. At present, the inward migration surplus per 1,000 population in Europe more or less balances out the negative natural balance, while the outward migration surplus in the source countries barely causes a stir in the demographics. According to the UN Population Division's 2006 Revision of the World Population Prospects, the population of Europe is already declining (2008) and positive net migration will no longer compensate for a population whose natural growth is also declining (cf. SWIACZNY 2006).

The patterns of development – shown by the Human Development Index on Fig. 1 – which is determined to a large extent by the gross domestic product per capita along with life expectancy and literacy, also shows a clear north-south gradient. Both the Human Development Index and GDP per capita clearly correlate with the net migration balance per 1,000 population in the Mediterranean region on average for the period

2000/2005. A high level of development and a high gross domestic product per capita are linked to high inward migration and vice versa, while economic growth barely shows a correlation with net migration between 1990 and 2005 (cf. JENISSEN 2003; VANDERMOTTEN 1997). The gap in absolute wealth and development has more of an effect on migration decisions in the Mediterranean than economic dynamics. The question as to whether enough attractive jobs can be created in future for the increasing young populations in the southern and eastern Mediterranean countries to compensate for the emigratory pressure remains unclear. The difference in wealth is not likely to be significantly reduced in the medium term after all. Established networks facilitate migration to Europe and will continue to make it attractive in the future. The transit migration in the southern and eastern Mediterranean neighbouring countries indicates that migratory pressure is shifting further into the southern and eastern parts of the Mediterranean hinterland. A lack of political stability and poor governance offer no prospect for positive developments and can therefore create additional migratory pressure. This also applies to ecological risks such as the threat of water shortages in many regions. Future migration and its related circumstances, e.g. documented versus undocumented migration, are a large extent dependent on political conditions to.

Migration policies

Migration policies provide the political framework for the migration processes described above. In comparing 2007 data to data from mid-1990, the 2007 Revision of the United Nations World Population Policies states the following:

- (1) The number of governments wanting to maintain the level of immigration to their countries increased.
- (2) The number of governments wanting to lower the level of immigration to their countries decreased.
- (3) At the same time, policies intended to raise immigration figures in individual countries barely changed.

Thus, countries worldwide seemed to have become less restrictive in 2007 than in 1996 in terms of immigration policies (Fig. 3). In the Mediterranean region, the following could be observed over the same time span: While Greece, Italy, Slovenia and Spain followed im-

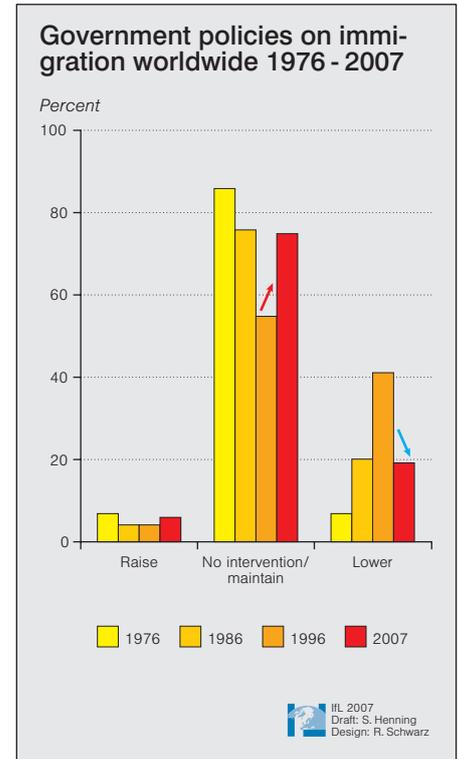


Fig. 3. Government policies on immigration worldwide, 1976, 1986, 1996, 2007
Source: UN 2008

migration policies aimed at lowering immigration flows in 1996, the same countries had policies in place in 2007 that aimed at maintaining current levels of immigration. In comparison, Egypt, France, Lebanon, Libya, Turkey and Cyprus formed a heterogeneous group of countries in both 1996 and 2007, trying to lower migration levels (Tab. 5).

In 2000/2005, a total fertility rate below replacement level fertility was estimated for countries aiming to maintain immigration levels (Greece, Italy, Slovenia and Spain) (UN 2007). The countries that were attempting to lower levels of immigration in 1996 and 2007 have, on the other hand, above replacement level fertility (Egypt 3.2 and Libya 3.0 children 2000/2005) or around replacement level fertility (Lebanon 2.3 and Turkey 2.2). Cyprus and France are the only countries, which have a fertility rate of less than 2.1 children per woman, but still want to lower immigration levels. However, the fertility rates of France and Cyprus remain above the very low values of Italy or Greece.

This clear coincidence shows that immigration policies in the Mediterranean region cannot be regarded separately from the demographic changes of the countries concerned. Confronted with the problem of declining or consistently

Mediterranean countries				
Government policies on immigration 1976-2007				
country	1976	1986	1996	2007
Albania	Maintain	Maintain	Maintain	Maintain
Algeria	Maintain	Maintain	Maintain	Maintain
Bosnia and Hercegovina			No intervention	Maintain
Croatia			No intervention	Maintain
Cyprus	Maintain	Maintain	Lower	Lower
Egypt	Maintain	Maintain	Lower	Lower
France	Maintain	Lower	Lower	Lower
Greece	Maintain	Lower	Lower	Maintain
Israel	Raise	Raise	Raise	Raise
Italy	Maintain	Lower	Lower	Maintain
Lebanon	Maintain	Maintain	Lower	Lower
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	Raise	Lower	Lower	Lower
Malta	Maintain	Maintain	Maintain	Maintain
Montenegro				Maintain
Morocco	Maintain	Maintain	No intervention	Lower
Portugal	Maintain	Maintain	Lower	Maintain
Slovenia			Lower	Maintain
Spain	Maintain	Lower	Lower	Maintain
Syrian Arab Republic	Maintain	Maintain	Maintain	Maintain
Turkey	Maintain	Maintain	Lower	Lower

Tab. 5: Policies on immigration by country in the Mediterranean region in 1976, 1986, 1996, 2007

Source: UN 2008

low fertility rates and higher life expectancy and the resulting ageing population, many countries obviously regard immigration as a means to counteract the demographic, social and economic changes. According to the UN Population Division (UN 2001), however, only very high immigration figures can prevent a decline in population and continuous population ageing in the long run. Immigration can thus slow down the shrinking and ageing of a population, but it cannot reverse the process completely. Ageing populations, labour shortages, the globally expanding economy and a greater understanding of the potential positive impact of immigration for the receiving countries are seen as reasons for the less restrictive immigration policies in recent years. Progress in transport and communications has made it easier for immigrants to overcome migration barriers.

Outlook

The topic of international migration has been linked ever more strongly to social, economic and political themes at both national and international levels over the past years. It has therefore become

the subject of worldwide, regional and bilateral initiatives⁶. In 2004, a general conference of the *International Labour Organisation* was centred on migration and discussions are also being held on migration issues as part of the GATS negotiations of the *World Trade Organisation*. In 2006, the *High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development* (HLD) was held during the plenary meeting of the UN for the first time in its history. As a result of the international negotiations, it has been accepted that within a suitable political framework, international migration can have a positive impact on both sending and receiving countries. Since the majority of the governments were in favour of continuing the dialogue, it was agreed to hold an annual meeting of the *Global Forum on Migration and Development* (GFMD) in the future. In 2007, this meeting was held for the first time in Brussels, which will be followed by a meeting in Manila in 2008.

⁶ For a full listing of recommendations for international conferences in the field of international migrations since 1990, see UN 2006a.

The development potential of international migration is best realised – also according to the international consensus reached during the HLD – if migration takes place within a legal framework, which guarantees safety for those concerned as well as for the sending and receiving countries. But migration should not replace long-term development strategies and must always be embedded in extensive development goals at international, national and regional levels.

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Dipl.-Geogr. FRANK SWIACZNY
Dr. LENORE SAUER
Bundesinstitut für Bevölkerungsforschung
Federal Institute for Population Research
Friedrich-Ebert-Allee 4
65185 Wiesbaden
Germany
lenore.sauer@destatis.de
frank.swiaczny@destatis.de

SABINE HENNING Ph.D.
UN Population Division
Two UN Plaza, DC2-1978
New York, NY 10017
USA
hennings@un.org