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Migrants at the Greek island of Lesbos. © IOM 2016

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Introduction

*Solon Ardittis and Frank Laczko*¹

Welcome to the new issue of *Migration Policy Practice*, which focuses primarily on issues of labour market integration of migrants in Europe. In particular, this special issue summarizes a selection of presentations from the recent Network “Integration through Qualification (IQ)” symposium on labour market integration of immigrants in Germany and Europe that was held in Berlin on 6 April 2016.

The first article, by Fabian Junge and Liam Patuzzi (Agency for the Development of Professional Education (Entwicklungsgesellschaft für berufliche Bildung)), outlines the main conclusions of the IQ symposium. This includes a call to all decision makers in Europe to include long-term integration challenges into relevant policies and to approach migrant integration issues through their labour market dimensions. Ultimately, however, one of the symposium’s conclusions is that integration programmes require commitment, patience and resilience over a long period of time.

The second article, by Pedro Calado (High Commissioner for Migration of Portugal), discusses Portugal’s vision and policies on migrant integration. As from 2007, Portugal has been adopting the Action Plans for Immigrant Integration, which define the roles and particular measures of each relevant ministry. Portugal’s policies are also based on the Strategic Plan for Migration, which outlines some 106 practical measures on migrant integration.

The third article, by Bernd Parusel (Swedish Migration Agency), discusses Sweden’s policies on labour market integration of refugees, which are often regarded as progressive and ambitious. Sweden’s integration policy aims to ensure equal rights, obligations and opportunities for all, irrespective of ethnic and

cultural background, and every step of the reception process for newly arrived immigrants is focused on them finding a job.

The fourth article, by Alessandra Venturini (University of Turin and Migration Policy Centre, European University Institute), discusses migrants’ roles in innovation policies in Europe. The article stresses, in particular, that any policy that favours the admission of highly skilled workers, particularly through the European Union’s Blue Card scheme, should be pursued and encouraged.

In addition to the above presentations from the IQ symposium, this issue of *Migration Policy Practice* includes: an article by Sabrina Juran (Population and Development Branch of the United Nations Population Fund) on international migration seen through the lens of Amartya Sen’s capability approach; and an article by Julia Black, Ann Singleton and Arezo Malakooti (IOM Global Migration Data Analysis Centre) which discusses IOM’s latest findings on migrant deaths on the Central Mediterranean route.

We wish to thank all the contributors to this issue of *Migration Policy Practice*, and in particular Fabian Junge and Liam Patuzzi, for inviting selected participants from the IQ symposium to prepare articles for this journal. The editors would also like to encourage readers to spare a couple of minutes to participate in a survey, which aims to help us identify our readers’ profiles, the institutions they represent and their primary interests in our journal. Should you wish to participate in this survey, please [click here](#). ■

¹ Solon Ardittis is Managing Director of Eurasyllum Ltd. Frank Laczko is Head of the Global Migration Data Analysis Centre (GMDAC) at the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in Berlin. They are the co-editors of *Migration Policy Practice*.



Integration at the Crossroads of Employment: Report of the IQ Symposium “Labour Market Integration of Immigrants in Germany and Europe” *Fabian Junge and Liam Patuzzi*¹

Throughout Europe, the sharp increase in refugee immigration since mid-2015 has sparked profound challenges, cutting across policy areas and levels of government. While the major receiving countries have been struggling to organize humane and orderly reception, the relationship between governments has often been polemic and contentious over issues such as border management and asylum quotas.

In an attempt to counteract these heated tones, the symposium “Labour Market Integration of Immigrants in Germany and Europe”, held on 6 April in Berlin, intended to enable a constructive European debate on the longer-term challenge of integration. The event was hosted by the German Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and the Network “Integration through Qualification (IQ)”, in cooperation with Metropolis. About 150 participants from government, administration, civil society and academia attended the event, mostly from Germany, as well as from other European and non-European countries. Speakers included Thorben Albrecht, State Secretary at the German Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs; Howard Duncan, Executive Head of Metropolis; Naika Foroutan, professor at the Berlin Institute for Integration and Migration Research (BIM); Elizabeth Collett, director of the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) Europe; and Thomas Liebig, Senior Migration Expert at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).²

The aim of the symposium was to seize the opportunity offered by the current political momentum around migration and asylum in order to examine the broader state of integration policy in Germany and Europe. Although refugees were in the spotlight, the labour market situation of immigrants in general was

also discussed. The main geographical focus was on developments in Germany, a country that urgently needs to devise effective integration paths for the high number of refugees who have settled in the country since last summer.³

Info Box: Network “Integration through Qualification (IQ)”

The symposium “Labour Market Integration of Immigrants” was co-hosted by the Network “Integration through Qualification (IQ)”. Since 2005, the Network IQ has aimed to improve labour market access for migrants in Germany. With around 380 projects nationwide, the Network IQ works in the following three fields of action: counselling on credential recognition; job training for migrants; and development of intercultural competence for public institutions and the private sector. The Network IQ is funded by the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and the European Social Fund. The Federal Ministry for Education and Research and the Federal Employment Agency are strategic partners.

This conference report summarizes the main aspects discussed at the IQ symposium. For the sake of simplification, they are organized into two discursive levels characterized by mutual interaction, and also by some degree of contradiction and asymmetry: policy and politics.

Policy: Coordination, leadership, early intervention and long-term investments

In her keynote speech, MPI Director Elizabeth Collett presented the strong variation in the level of labour market participation of immigrants in selected European countries, based on the results of

1 Liam Patuzzi and Fabian Junge are project officers at the Agency for the Development of Professional Education (Entwicklungsgesellschaft für berufliche Bildung, EBB), which is responsible for the national-level coordination of the Network “Integration through Qualification (IQ)” in Germany.

2 The programme and the full list of speakers are available at: www.netzwerk-iq.de/symposium-en.html

3 According to the Institute for Employment Research (Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung, IAB), 1,092,000 refugees were registered by the German immigration authority in 2015, of whom 810,000 are currently still in Germany. See: IAB, *Typisierung von Flüchtlingsgruppen nach Alter und Bildungsstand*, Aktuelle Berichte 6/2016 (Nuremberg, IAB, 2016) (available only in German).

a multi-country study conducted by the MPI and the International Labour Organization (ILO).⁴ Beyond all the differences observed between States, the study points at barriers to the labour market participation of immigrants that can be found in most of Europe. They can be grouped into two main categories, which were both addressed at the symposium: 1) barriers related to the skill capital and the individual resources of migrants; and 2) barriers related to the degree of coordination and “openness” of labour market actors, such as low institutional transparency or discriminatory practices.

Labour and Social Affairs Secretary Thorben Albrecht briefly outlined Germany’s integration policy progress in the past decade. Particularly since 2005, the federal government has been very active in establishing a legislative framework to improve the integration of resident migrants and in increasing Germany’s attractiveness as a destination for skilled foreigners. In Secretary Albrecht’s view, these steps forward, combined with a robust labour market, are a reason for optimism with regard to Germany’s ability to bring a large number of refugees into employment. While there is no doubt that this process will take time and considerable public investment, it may also hold significant economic potential for a country whose working-age population and skill base are shrinking due to demographic developments.

In a day of intense exchange, several steps for the improvement of the labour market situation of immigrants were identified, many of them focusing specifically on the present political priority of refugee integration:

- **Ensuring an early start of integration measures:** As OECD Senior Migration Expert Thomas Liebigh remarked, it is important to make integration services available at an early stage upon arrival, not only to immigrants with a stable residence status but also to asylum-seekers with good prospects of being granted refugee rights. A basic integration package, including language courses with a vocational component, the assessment of professional skills and training schemes, should be accessible nationwide. Provisional

estimates suggest that up to 30 per cent of the refugees coming to Germany in 2015 have formal qualifications.⁵ Many more are expected to have informal or non-formal competencies, as a result of work experience for example. Hence, investing in early skill assessment and credential recognition becomes essential. In countries like Germany and Sweden, fast-track integration channels for refugees with professional skills in high demand are being developed and rolled out nationwide, but complex challenges remain. In the highly formalized German system of professional education, for instance, the validation of non-formal skills is still fraught with difficulties.

- **Investing in long-term integration paths:** Bringing refugees into employment is a process that requires several years and that needs to be supported and monitored even after the first entry into work. Sustainable integration can only be reached if career advancement is made possible, as Collett underlined. The economic benefit for the host country can only be tapped if skills are developed and consolidated over time.
- **Ensuring systematic policy learning and scaling up good models:** The habit of funding small-scale and short-term projects with poor evaluation, which is widespread in many European countries as well as at the European Union level, needs to be revised. A lot of knowledge and experience gets lost in what Jan Rath (University of Amsterdam) referred to as “the project carousel”. It is much more productive to identify effective approaches and subsequently scale them up and/or channel them into mainstream services.
- **Collecting empirical evidence in order to recognize potential and to build on it:** In order to devise integration policies that are driven by facts rather than by misconceptions, the availability of good data (both on the migrant population and on the effectiveness of policies) is crucial, as Jon Simmons (UK Home Office) pointed out. The lack of solid statistics about the sociodemographic characteristics of recent refugees is one of the main hindrances to devising adequate policy responses in countries of arrival, including Germany. Having a detailed picture of the target group offers essential indications to policymakers.

4 The research project “The Labour Market Integration of New Immigrants in Europe: Analysis and Policy Evaluation” was conducted between 2012 and 2014 by the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) and ILO-MIGRANT, with funding from the European Commission.

5 IAB, *Flüchtlinge und andere Migranten am deutschen Arbeitsmarkt: Der Stand im September 2015*, IAB-Aktuelle Berichte 14/2015 (Nuremberg, IAB, 2015) (available only in German).

For instance, first estimates show that a large percentage of recent refugees in Germany are very young,⁶ which clearly points at the need for strong investments in vocational education and training. The highly regarded dual apprenticeship system in Germany can prove an invaluable resource in this context, as Secretary Albrecht and Professor Foroutan stressed.

- **Strengthening the intercultural awareness and openness of public employment services, employers and other labour market stakeholders:** The high unemployment rate of qualified foreigners throughout Europe⁷ hints at barriers to the labour market that go beyond the skill capital of migrants. Sandra Kerr (Business in the Community, United Kingdom) raised the issue of discrimination and unconscious bias in the recruitment practices of employers, while Michael van der Cammen (Federal Employment Agency, Germany) provided an insight into the process of intercultural opening in his organization. These and other contributors shared the view that integration and adaptation efforts cannot be expected only from migrants but also from labour market actors and the host society.
- **Improving the coordination of actors:** The panellist agreed that, with regard to government, the key is striking a good balance between distributing integration policy responsibilities across portfolios and providing clear institutional leadership. If integration policy competence is a prerogative of only a few ministries, policy objectives, and measures risk to be biased and partial. Along this line, Wilhelm Adamy (Confederation of German Trade Unions) criticized the predominance of security concerns that, in his opinion, characterize the integration policy in Germany, due to the central role of the Federal Ministry of the Interior.

Allowing a degree of regional autonomy within one country can foster policy experimentation and innovation, as Vanessa Ahuja (Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Germany) pointed out. Liebig, however, warned that regional peculiarities should not come at the detriment of unitary national standards in the provision of support: integration success should not depend on an immigrant's place of residence.

As the positive example of Portugal shows, a fruitful combination of a whole-of-government approach and effective coordination and leadership can be reached through the right institutional setup. In this country, the High Commissioner for Migration directly responding to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers has enough institutional leverage to reach effective interministerial cooperation. At the local level, this has resulted in the creation of one-stop shops for immigrants: a successful model that by now is internationally well known, but that, in face of the present scenario, still carries great inspirational power.

Lastly, the involvement of non-governmental actors is also crucial. While civil society organizations, migrant associations and labour unions were all mentioned as important partners, a special accent was placed on the role of employers. Employers determine the demand of the labour market and are the decisive gatekeepers into work: therefore, it is essential to inform them, to consult with them, and to involve them in the design and provision of integration regulations and support. Ultimately, the successful integration of refugees into employment will depend on employers' contribution to creating sustainable integration paths, such as through the provision of internships, in-house training and advancement opportunities.

Politics: Establishing a narrative of solidarity and inclusion

A greater degree of controversy was reached when the discussion moved to the level of politics. Here, the term is used in a broad sense, as the domain in which the question of national identity is posed and the meaning of integration is negotiated.

Professor Foroutan expressed her concern about what she considers a remarkable setback in the political narrative on integration in Germany since the start of the so-called "refugee crisis". In her opinion, the new

6 About 30 per cent of all asylum-seekers in Germany in 2015 were between 16 and 25 years old. See: IAB, *Typisierung von Flüchtlingsgruppen nach Alter und Bildungsstand*, Aktuelle Berichte 6/2016 (Nuremberg, IAB, 2016) (available only in German).

7 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)/European Union, *Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015: Settling In* (Paris, OECD Publishing, 2015).

integration law planned by the federal government⁸ epitomizes this trend, as its stipulations regarding possible sanctions carry the implicit accusation that refugees are unwilling to integrate into the host society. Thus, a historic opportunity was missed to define integration as the guiding principle of a modern democracy based on solidarity and equal access to participation, Professor Foroutan observed.

In response, Secretary Albrecht highlighted the positive sides of the law. Leaving aside the level of policy, where it establishes a broader provision of integration services and improves their accessibility for certain groups, it also represents a big step forward in the political discourse, as it acknowledges the fact that a large portion of recent refugees will stay in Germany and they must be given the chance to take part in society.

Commenting on the integration debate in Germany and the United Kingdom, Simmons called for a less emotional and more pragmatic approach based on factual evidence. Heating the debate carries the risk of creating rigid ideological divisions, which are not helpful in designing good policy or for the political climate. The fears that immigration sparks in some sections of the population should not simply be dismissed. Rather, they should be countered by making the entire population feel included in the change that is taking place and that the government is trying to shape.

Despite the differences of opinion, the speakers agreed that the discussion on integration should be embedded in the broader debate on inequality. Placing too strong an accent on target groups defined by ethnicity and nationality may lead us to neglect the fact that barriers, disadvantages and exclusionary dynamics in the labour market often depend more strongly on other factors, such as income and social class.

Conclusion

All in all, the IQ symposium stayed true to its main goals: on one hand, urging decision makers throughout Europe to include long-term integration challenges into their view; on the other, sending out the signal that European cooperation carries important potential in this policy area. Approaching integration by focusing on its labour-market dimension, which is inherently solution oriented, helped to bring about a factual and productive discussion.

Inevitably, not all important aspects could be addressed with the same depth. The symposium was clearly characterized by a predominance of government perspectives, even though there was broad agreement that government cannot single-handedly manage the challenges at stake. Future exchange on this topic should more strongly include other standpoints, particularly from the employers' side.

Ultimately, participants agreed that integration needs commitment, patience and resilience over a long period of time. In his closing remarks, Jan Rath, European Co-chair of Metropolis, argued that obstacles, frictions, perceived setbacks and apparent immobility all belong to the dynamic of this process. Integration may be moving on slowly at times, but it is always moving on. This is not to suggest that difficulties should just be passively endured; on the contrary, it is vital to address them, but with a confident look into the future. ■

The fears that immigration sparks in some sections of the population should not simply be dismissed. Rather, they should be countered by making the entire population feel included in the change that is taking place and that the government is trying to shape.

8 Shortly after the IQ symposium, on 13 April, the governing coalition agreed on the main cornerstones of the integration law. The draft bill was approved by the cabinet on 25 May, and was debated by the German Parliament on 3 June. See: *Deutsche Welle*, "Merkel presents new refugee integration law as 'milestone'" (25 May 2016), available from www.dw.com/en/merkel-presents-new-refugee-integration-law-as-milestone/a-19281722



Migration and integration from a holistic perspective: Experiences from Portugal

Pedro Calado¹

Although the proportion of the foreign population in Portugal is moderate (3% of the total population – of whom 1% are nationals of the European Union), settlement of immigrants has been raising new challenges since the beginning of this century. As a result, major investment in the development of integration policies and in the reinforcement of the integration services provided by the public administration was made. The policies and approaches adopted led to the international recognition of Portugal as one of the countries with the best integration policies (Huddleston et al., 2015; Huddleston, Niessen et al., 2011; Niessen et al., 2007; UNDP, 2009; IOM, 2010). In 2011, the High Commission for Migration (Alto Comissariado para as Migrações, I.P., ACM), the Portuguese public institute with the interministerial and interdepartmental mission of promoting the integration of immigrants, also received the first prize in the European Public Sector Award in 2011.²

The work carried out by the ACM is founded on a global and integrated vision of the migration phenomenon. Portugal foresees immigration as an opportunity for development in which integration plays a key role in building a society that recognizes immigrants' economic, demographic, social and cultural contributions.

The Portuguese vision of migrant integration is inspired in the historical experience of the Portuguese throughout the world and time. The cultural and social experience of the 4.5 million citizens of the Portuguese diaspora is a relevant part of the explanation for the adoption of an intercultural society model, where different cultural and religious systems not only coexist but also interact. This model is based on the mutual respect of immigrants and the host society within the limits of the rule of law. Interculturality strengthens peace and social cohesion through dialogue and equality, preventing the “clash of civilizations” and social tensions from disjunction between different communities.

In 2014, the ACM was renamed³ and its mission was extended to include migrants themselves. This means that, in some areas, the work carried out has been expanded to the refugees and asylum-seekers and also to the Portuguese emigrants, a work carried out in close cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, mostly by reinforcing their connection to Portugal. It thus became a public institution to manage migration as a whole and to promote the integration of migrants comprehensively, namely by providing support services for all migrants.

Being a country that traditionally has not received many asylum requests, according to data from the Immigration and Borders Service and the Portuguese Council for Refugees, Portugal received 772 requests until October 2015. This presents an increase of 126 per cent in relation with the same period in 2014.⁴ Portugal extended the same answers to the context of the refugee crisis and is coherent in its humanistic and intercultural approach to this new inflow. In recognition of this solidarity crisis, several strategies were defined to raise awareness and prevent discrimination (e.g. dissemination of brochures on myths and facts about refugees). Additionally, a holistic answer (e.g. housing, education, work, health, language) was defined – in articulation with civil society organizations and municipalities. Refugees are expected to integrate into Portuguese local communities (and not be concentrated in centres for refugees or large urban concentrations). In May 2016, Portugal was one of the three European countries that had relocated more refugees, guaranteeing its part of the civilizational challenge that Europe is facing.

The Portuguese experience based its success on establishing a cross-cutting government agency. The ACM mainly focuses on the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of integration plans, outlining measures to be implemented by the

1 Pedro Calado is the High Commissioner for Migration of Portugal.

2 European Public Sector Award 2011, under theme 2, “Opening up the Public Sector through Collaborative Governance”.

3 Previously referred to as the High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue.

4 For more details, contact the Immigration and Borders Service (www.sef.pt) and the Portuguese Council for Refugees (www.cpr.pt).

different relevant ministries for immigrants, and the service provision of the National Immigrant Support Centres (the one-stop shops). The one-stop shops were created in 2004, and bring together a number of services and public institutions with which immigrants need to engage in their integration into the communities. Through shared responsibility and partnership among various government levels, the centres host eight different ministry services under the same roof.

Portugal has clarified the integration policy options since 2007 through the Action Plans for Immigrant Integration, where each relevant ministry's role and measures are defined. The scope of this instrument was widened and reinforced after 2014, in line with the updated mission of the ACM, in the Strategic Plan for Migration.⁵ The Plan follows the holistic approach and involves all ministries, being defined around 106 practical measures and organized into thematic sections. The Plan was publicly discussed, and civil society – including immigrant associations – was highly mobilized to give inputs.

Additionally, Portugal has been defining several relevant measures for raising public awareness of welcoming and integration of migrants and for the promotion of interculturality, such as: reinforcing information systems and support; supporting policies with facts through the Migration Observatory; influencing public opinion towards tolerance and diversity (namely through the journalism awards and publication of book collections).

Portugal created in 2002 the Immigration Observatory, which was renamed Migration Observatory⁶ in 2014, as part of the ACM. Investment in integration monitoring can guarantee policies that provide a more effective response to migrant needs, but mainly it is an efficient way to better invest resources. Improving statistical sources and administrative data, and fomenting government decisions to promote the evaluation of the measures and policies and ultimately assess their effectiveness can be a challenge. To tackle this, the Observatory promotes dialogue between academia and political decision makers on the definition, discussion and evaluation of public policies, including ethnic and racial discrimination issues, in order to

deconstruct myths, representations, and stereotypes about immigrants and immigration in general. At the end of 2014, the Observatory launched *Immigration in Numbers*, a new book collection which includes a special chapter on racial and ethnic discrimination in the first volume (data from the past decade, 2001–2012).

Empowerment as a success factor for improving the integration of migrants

Aside from the already described structure, one of the most important factors for improving the integration of migrants has been the active participation of migrants in the design of integration policies. Aiming to empower and increase migrants' sense of co-responsibility and belonging, Portugal has been promoting the participation of migrant communities in the implementation of integration policies, contributing to a state of mutual transformation. Some of the measures taken include the incorporation of intercultural mediators (with migrant background) in public administration services, the support – at the technical and financial levels – and empowerment of migrant associations and migrant leaders (131 associations recognized), and the participation in the discussion and validation of migration policies in the Consultative Council for Migration.⁷ The Council is the body for consultation, support, and participation in the definition of broad lines of action of the ACM and in decision-making, ensuring the participation and collaboration of public and private entities in the definition and implementation of migration policies. It provides a space and opportunity for discussion and collaboration, with representatives from migrant communities, working side by side with representatives from ministries, social partners, trade unions, employers, private foundations and others.

Main challenges

After all the investments made over the past decade, the economic and financial crises created added challenges for policymakers. These included the risk of a shift in public opinion regarding migration issues, the vulnerability of migrants as a group (the unemployment rates increased and the families' incomes decreased), and the potential negative impact on the public budget allocated to integration policies.

5 See www.acm.gov.pt/-/plano-estrategico-para-as-migracoes-pem-

6 See www.om.acm.gov.pt/

7 Created in 1998 under the name Consultative Council for Immigration Affairs.

Despite the economic stagnation, unemployment growth and the public deficit, it is important to acknowledge that the Portuguese society has been able to positively continue to welcome and integrate migrants. According to the 2015 Eurobarometer survey,⁸ only 3 per cent of the surveyed Portuguese considered immigration a problem (compared with 23% for the EU-28 average), unemployment being the most important topic of concern in Portugal (63%, compared with 42% in the EU-28), followed by the economic situation (28%, compared with 21% in the EU-28). This positive attitude towards immigration continues to be very important in terms of public debate and legislative activity. Portugal shows a global social calm in relation to the questions of immigration, demonstrated through a lack of serious cases of xenophobia, racism or basic general hostility felt by immigrants. Furthermore, political parties have not used immigration as a political topic of debate, nor has an anti-immigrant sentiment developed into public opinion.

Several services were reinforced and policies were developed to protect the most vulnerable migrants. To combat the immigrant unemployment growth (as it happened for nationals) and the decrease in income for immigrant families, the ACM created and reinforced several employment programmes. One is the Intervention Programme for Unemployed Immigrants, which strives to facilitate the social, cultural and professional insertion of the immigrant population legally residing in Portugal through special vocational training, adult education and training courses, occupational programmes, and access to the job centre services. There are also employment support offices in the National Immigrant Support Centres, which seek to support job offers and professional training to immigrants. Several social programmes and services were also reinforced (e.g. social support offices in the National Immigrant Support Centres, voluntary return programme). The ACM created a support programme for immigrant entrepreneurship, valuing the potential of the entrepreneurship of many immigrants and making training courses and technical support available in the definition of business plans and access to microcredit for migrants who want to create their own jobs and/or an alternative to unemployment. The Strategic

Plan for Migration continues to strengthen and consolidate measures to support migrant population, including concern for the economic framework. Family reunification and the welcoming process during this global crisis were simplified by extending the range of documents which immigrants can produce as proof of income.

Acknowledging the importance (and even the reinforcement) of the integration of immigrants, Portugal started to benefit from European Funds in the past years to upscale its integration services and/or maintain its efficiency in the context of economic and financial crises and public budget cutting. Hence, despite all challenges, Portugal continued its work in this area with the fundamental support of European Funds (e.g. European Social Fund and European Fund for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals), assuring the continuity of the work carried out in the last decades.

Conclusion

Portugal is recognized for its integration policies following an intercultural model and extends these to all migratory cases, including to refugees and asylum-seekers. Its success is based on a whole-of-government approach, reflecting the complexity of integration in society, celebrated in national plans that outline the transversal goals of the government and the responsible entities accountable to reach them. The ACM has led the implementation of these plans and is responsible for the holistic prized one-stop-shop model. This integration approach is a two-way process, in which the migrant representatives actively participate in the definition of national policies and programmes. This relationship leads to an evolving mutual transformation where all sides detain a more comprehensive understanding of the inherent needs of their position. Presently, the main challenges are greatly affected by the ongoing financial crisis and include the integration of migrants into the labour market, recognizing the important role of the migrant community in contributing to the Portuguese society and maintaining the positive public opinion in regard to migration.

8 European Commission (EC), *Public Opinion in the European Union: Final Results*, Eurobarometer 83, Spring (Brussels, EC, 2015). Available from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb83/eb83_first_en.pdf

Portugal, on the basis of its experience in the past 20 years,⁹ has been supporting integration as a holistic challenge, based on a whole-of-government approach. The integration of migrants is a transversal process – reflecting the economic, political, juridical, health, cultural and social aspects of migrants' lives. This coherent process can be achieved only on the basis of partnership, coordination and common aims. This approach is beneficial for the effective realization of integration goals, and for migrants, in being provided with coherent and more efficient services.

Considering the growing migratory challenges, the Portuguese option was to have a national mechanism for the integration of migrants and to prioritize integration as a transversal folder, not limited to the management of migratory flows or labour market interests. The creation of a public deliverance structure, such as the ACM, was of absolute importance, therefore assuring that all horizontal levels of governance (different ministries and agencies) and also that the vertical levels of governance are mobilized (regional, local and third sector). Having an agency that is interministerial and responsible for the coordination of all stakeholders is very relevant for the outcomes achieved. ■

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Policies for labour market integration of refugees in Sweden

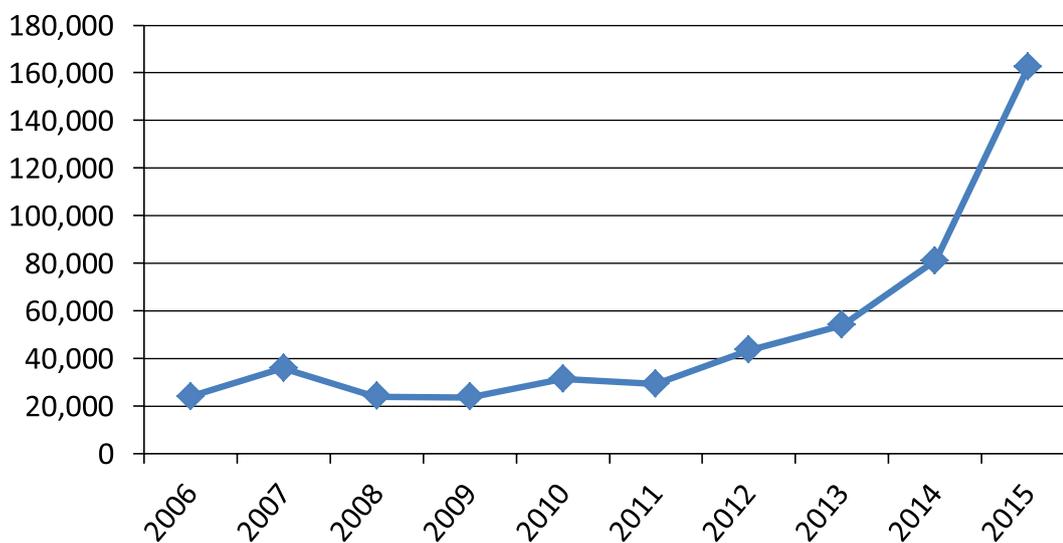
Bernd Parusel¹

Introduction: Sweden – a country of immigration

For several years now, Sweden has been one of the main immigration countries in Europe, and especially one that has provided permanent protection to a large number of refugees and people fleeing from war and conflict zones, especially from the Syrian Arab Republic, Afghanistan and Iraq. In 2015, Sweden had – despite its relatively small population of 9.8 million – the third highest number of asylum-seekers that were registered in a Member State of the European Union (EU) (163,000 asylum applicants), many more than larger Member States, such as France and the United Kingdom, had.

The protection rate for asylum-seekers in Sweden is relatively high, too, which means that a majority of those applying are indeed allowed to stay. In 2015, 72 per cent of all asylum decisions made at first instance were positive.² Latest population statistics show that in 2015, about 16.5 per cent of the Swedish population was born in another country,³ and according to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), about half of the foreign-born population originally came to Sweden as refugees or as family members of refugees.⁴

Figure 1: Asylum applications in Sweden, 2006–2015



Source: Swedish Migration Agency.

1 Dr Bernd Parusel is a migration expert at the Swedish Migration Agency. He has written this article in a personal capacity. The author wishes to thank Anton Ahlén of the Swedish Migration Studies Delegation (Delmi) for reviewing and improving this article.

2 Eurostat, “EU Member States granted protection to more than 330 000 asylum seekers in 2015”, 20 April 2016.

3 Source: Statistics Sweden [www.scb.se].

4 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), *Working Together: Skills and Labour Market Integration of Immigrants and Their Children in Sweden* (Paris, OECD Publishing, 2016), p. 13.

The large number of new refugee arrivals throughout recent years, and especially in 2015, constitutes a major challenge for Sweden. Despite emergency measures, there have been serious bottlenecks in the reception system for asylum-seekers, and the processing times for asylum applications are taking longer. As regards integration, there are problems, too, such as a dramatic shortage of affordable housing, which no longer only affects Sweden's bigger cities but even remoter regions of the country. This causes delays in the settlement process and immigrants' integration activities, such as language learning, training and job-searching.

The capacities of the labour market to absorb newly arrived beneficiaries of protection are also limited. According to a recent OECD study, one year following the end of the official introduction programme for new arrivals, which usually takes two years, only 22 per cent of low-educated men found employment. For women, the employment rate was a meager 8 per cent.⁵ In a similar vein, a report by the Swedish Migration Studies Delegation (Delmi) recently showed that only 30 per cent of all immigrants that arrived as refugees in 1997–1999 had a job after two years in Sweden, and even 10 years after their first arrival only 65 per cent were working.⁶ Other current challenges regarding integration in Sweden concern a lack of staff in schools, the health-care system and municipalities' social services, which all have to cope with augmented workloads.

Amid the refugee crisis in 2015–2016, the Government of Sweden declared that the country urgently needed a “respite” to cope with the many challenges arising from the arrival of asylum-seekers. Their number had to be drastically reduced, it was argued. Beneficiaries of protection would in the future only be granted temporary stay, and their right to family reunification would be limited to the minimum, as required by international and EU laws. At Sweden's Schengen borders, border checks were temporarily reintroduced and, since January 2016, bus, train and ferry companies are no longer allowed to carry passengers without identity documents from neighbouring Denmark to Sweden.⁷

At the same time, however, the integration policy of Sweden was also scaled up considerably. The Government made more funding available for integration measures, and a number of new initiatives were launched, especially to improve labour market inclusion. This article aims to provide an overview of labour market integration policy in Sweden. It looks both into the general preconditions and guiding principles for immigrant integration, and into specific measures for newly arrived beneficiaries of international protection.

Basic principles and preconditions for labour market integration

Swedish migration and integration policies are often regarded as progressive and ambitious,⁸ and despite the challenges mentioned and the recent turn towards a much more restrictive asylum policy, the Government still commits to a positive view of migration, highlighting potential gains instead of risks. On its website, the current minority government consisting of the Social Democratic Party and the Greens states that it wants to “ensure a long-term sustainable migration policy that safeguards the right of asylum and, within the framework of managed immigration, facilitates mobility across borders, promotes needs-based labour migration, harnesses and takes into account the effects of migration on development, and deepens European and international cooperation”.⁹

Among the public and in policy circles in Sweden, the integration of immigrants is mostly evaluated and discussed in terms of concrete, measurable successes and failures, such as labour market participation rates, migrants' access to housing, problems related to segregation, language acquisition or the uptake of social benefits. Symbolic or value-related matters, such as migrants' adaptation to the host country's traditions, as they manifest themselves in other countries in, for example, integration contracts or requirements to symbolically confess to become part

5 Ibid., 14.

6 P. Joyce, *Integrationspolitik och arbetsmarknad, kunskapsöversikt 2015:3* (Stockholm, Delegationen för Migrationsstudier, 2015), p. 29.

7 B. Parusel, “Sweden's U-turn on asylum”, *Forced Migration Review*, 52:89–90 (2016).

8 For example, the 2015 edition of the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), which evaluates and compares migration and integration policies in 38 countries, Sweden scored highest. See www.mipex.eu/

9 Government Offices of Sweden, “Migration policy objectives” (2014). Available from www.government.se/government-policy/migration/migration-policy-objectives/

of a national community, are of much less importance in Sweden.¹⁰

While the Scandinavian welfare state today is an eager advocate of free trade and a liberal market economy, also accepting growing income inequality, it still boasts a relatively large public sector and offers comprehensive social security systems. These are available to all registered inhabitants, irrespective of their nationality. A fundamental access principle for welfare is that anyone who stays, or can be expected to stay, in Sweden for one year or longer will enjoy the same social rights and claims as all other residents. This means that only migrants with short-term residency are excluded from the welfare community, and asylum-seekers, as long as their application for protection is pending.

Asylum-seekers normally have access to the labour market as long as they reveal their identity to the authorities. While rather few manage to actually find a job while waiting for a decision on their asylum request, those who do may find it easier to continue their integration trajectory once they are granted refugee or subsidiary protection status. When an asylum-seeker has worked in Sweden for at least four months, they may stay in Sweden as labour immigrants even in case the asylum application is rejected.¹¹ As regards preconditions for successful integration, another facilitating factor was that until recently beneficiaries of protection generally received permanent permits. Thus, they did not need to worry about their prospects to remain in Sweden.

The economic and labour market conditions in Sweden are certainly more favourable for integrating a large number of beneficiaries of protection than in many other countries. The economy is performing well, unemployment is small, and the State is able to increase funding for integration measures when needed.¹²

10 B. Parusel, *Focus Migration – Country Profile Sweden* (Osnabrück, Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies; Bonn, Federal Agency for Civic Education, 2015), p. 7. Available from www.bpb.de/system/files/dokument_pdf/Country%20Profile%20Sweden_2015_0.pdf

11 C. Calleman, “– Byta spår’ – Ett nålsöga mellan asyl och arbete”, in: *Arbetskraft från Hela Världen – Hur blev det med 2008 års Reform?* (C. Calleman and P. Herzfeld Olsson), Swedish Migration Studies Delegation (Delmi) Report 2015:9 (Stockholm, Delmi, 2015), pp. 290–331. Available from www.delmi.se/upl/files/123142.pdf

12 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), *Working Together: Skills and Labour Market Integration of Immigrants and Their Children in Sweden* (Paris, OECD Publishing, 2016), p. 17.

The integration system in a nutshell

For the Government of Sweden, the goal of its integration policy is to ensure equal rights, obligations and opportunities for all, irrespective of ethnic and cultural background. Labour market inclusion is a priority. “Work is the most important means for a person to become part of society,” the Government argues. Accordingly, every step of the reception process of newly arrived immigrants is to focus on them finding a job.¹³

The central legal framework for integration policies today is the Introduction Act of 2010.¹⁴ It transferred the overall responsibility for the integration of new arrivals from the municipalities to the Public Employment Service (Arbetsförmedlingen). Overall political responsibility for integration policies lies with the central government in Stockholm, where integration is regarded as a cross-ministerial task. There is no separate integration ministry anymore, but the Labour Market Ministry plays a coordinating role. Locally, the 290 Swedish municipalities carry out practical integration measures, not least language courses. They are supported by private actors and non-profit organizations.

The Introduction Act provides integration measures for all new arrivals of working age (20–64 years) who have been granted a residence permit as refugees or as entitled to subsidiary protection or national humanitarian statuses. Young unaccompanied migrants who are 18 or 19 years old, as well as family members of beneficiaries of protection, who have applied for family reunification within two years after the arrival of their sponsors, are also covered.

Once the asylum-seekers are granted a permit, they will have an appointment at the Public Employment Service, which is responsible for finding them a municipality for permanent settlement and for developing an individual integration plan. This plan normally foresees integration activities of 40 hours per week, for two years. At the centre of the integration plan is a language course (“Swedish for immigrants”), which is arranged by the respective municipality

13 Government Offices of Sweden, “Goals and visions of introduction of new arrivals” (2014). Available from www.government.se/government-policy/introduction-of-new-arrivals/goals-and-visions/

14 Law 2010:197 (“Lag om etableringsinsatser för vissa nyanlända invandrare”).

and accompanied by civic integration courses, internships or job training. Larger municipalities offer different types of language courses, including basic literacy courses, or specialized courses for people with certain skills, such as health care or crafts. If relevant, the Public Employment Service can also refer the person to institutions that can validate their qualifications obtained abroad. For each day an immigrant participates in the measures foreseen by the integration plan, he or she receives a daily allowance. Apart from reduced allowances, or losing them altogether, there are no sanctions in case of non-compliance.

New initiatives for better labour market integration

In 2015, the Government started opening up “fast tracks” into the labour market for newly arrived immigrants with education or skills in shortage occupations. To pave the way, the social partners can apply for funds for promotion and development measures. At this writing, fast tracks have been established for chefs (cooks), butchers, teachers, preschool teachers and several regulated professions within the health-care sector (e.g. doctors, nurses and dentists). The fast-track initiative is intended to boost labour market integration while at the same time alleviating skills shortages.

Additional funding was also made available in 2016 for the reception of newly arrived immigrants in the Swedish municipalities, to increase the Public Employment Service’s administrative capacities, and for offering asylum-seekers meaningful activities while they wait for a decision on their application. This is intended to speed up labour market integration once an individual is allowed to stay. Examples of such activities are early skills identification measures, internships or studies of the Swedish language.

As regards the validation of skills obtained abroad, the Public Employment Service is planning to include brief supplementary education measures into refugees’ individual integration plans, where appropriate. Even this is thought to speed up labour market participation, and to address the problem of immigrants working below their qualification levels (brain waste). Furthermore, the Government has established the “100 club”, an initiative that foresees that the Public Employment Service offers special package solutions to bigger companies that have a labour demand and want to contribute to the introduction of new arrivals.

When a company commits to employing at least 100 newly arrived refugees within three years, they can make use of special placement services and receive wage subsidies from the State.

While it is too early to judge the effectiveness of these new measures, it is clear that their success will, to a large degree, depend on whether the settlement process can be improved. Since early March 2016, it is not voluntary anymore for the 290 Swedish municipalities to accept beneficiaries of protection for settlement. Instead, new arrivals are now allocated through a flexible distribution key that takes into account, among other things, the characteristics of the local economy, unemployment, the size of the municipality and the degree to which it has previously accommodated asylum-seekers. The Government has declared that new arrivals should be brought closer to the more dynamic regions of Sweden, where it can be easier for them to find jobs. It is also hoped that the new settlement policy will boost the construction of new, affordable rental apartments, thus addressing the lack of housing for people with limited financial means, which affects not only immigrants but also the Swedish-born population.¹⁵

Among the political parties, labour market partners and civil society organizations, there has recently been an intensive debate about an alleged lack of “simple” jobs for immigrants in Sweden and about lowering salaries for unskilled work in order to speed up labour market participation. For a society that is still characterized by social democratic thinking, however, such a policy, which would inevitably mean widened income inequality and the emergence of an immigrant underclass, would be a drastic and controversial step to take.

Longer-term perspectives

As a consequence of the strongly increasing number of asylum-seekers in 2014 and after, Swedish society in general, and major key institutions such as the Migration Agency, the Employment Service, the Police and the municipalities in particular, have lately exhibited signs of overburdening and fatigue. The Government’s recent restrictive turnaround on asylum aims at making it possible for them to catch up with

15 Boverket, *Nyanländas boendesituation – delrapport, rapport: 2015:10*. (Karlskrona, Boverket, 2015).

their tasks. And indeed, as the number of incoming applicants decreased drastically in early 2016, the time seems right for improving existing systems and testing new ideas.

An obvious risk, however, is that the new policy to grant beneficiaries of protection temporary residence permits instead of permanent ones, and to limit their right to family reunification, will make integration more difficult, thus counteracting any positive initiatives on the integration policy side. A refugee who is uncertain about his or her longer-term perspective to remain, and who worries about family members left behind, is certainly less likely to wholeheartedly focus on establishing himself or herself in a new country than one that feels safe. The new Swedish policy is ambiguous in this regard; there is an obvious tension between immigration control objectives and integration policy targets.

As recently confirmed by the OECD, Sweden is in principle well prepared to address the challenges associated with high levels of protection-related immigration.¹⁶ This is true both regarding the availability of State funding, including wage subsidies, overall economic performance, and the integration and welfare structures already in place. Despite this, the public debate about immigration and integration is likely to intensify. In autumn 2015, the EU's Eurobarometer survey showed that 53 per cent of the Swedish population regarded immigration as the most pressing policy issue in their country, as compared with only 24 per cent during the year before.¹⁷ Given the salience of immigration and integration issues, related topics will remain high on policymakers' agendas for quite some time, and the exact future course of action in Sweden is difficult to predict. ■

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Migrants and migration policies for innovation in Europe

Alessandra Venturini¹

At present, migration is an issue difficult to address in Europe due to conflicting interests. On the one hand, the ageing European population creates a demand for immigration, and therefore Europe should look at the migration phenomenon in a positive and benevolent way and support an open migration policy that makes it easy for foreigners with skills in high demand to enter the region.

Population ageing in Europe

In Europe, the old-age dependency ratio – defined as the ratio between the population of the elderly (people aged 65 years or over) and the working-age population (people aged 20–64 years) – stood at around 30 per cent in 2015. This will increase rapidly to reach 45 per cent in 2050 (Fargues, 2015). The extension of life expectancy implies later mortality and an increase in the number of years a person is in good health; thus, the super-dependency ratio² – which is the ratio between the population of over 75-year-olds and the population of 20- to 74-year-olds – probably is more appropriate to measure the growing demand of the health-care sector. In 2015, the “super old aged” in Europe held 12 per cent of the population of 20- to 74-year-olds, and in 2050 the share will grow to 25 per cent. This growth increases the demand for workers in the health-care sector. Ageing of the population shows that the life expectancy of the elderly increases; however, it also indicates a reduction in the fertility rate, around 1.8 per cent in Europe, considered to be below replacement.³ This implies that without migration the stock of the population declines. However, the inflows of immigrants have been insufficient until now to compensate for the reduction in the native population. According to Fargues (2015), given the ageing of the population, inflows into Italy, Spain and Germany should at least double to compensate for the decline of the native population.

On the other hand, the fear that migrants take jobs away from natives (Brücker, 2012), and the former’s larger use of welfare compared with the latter’s, even if not supported by concrete scientific evidence (Barrett, 2012), create a negative sentiment among the public and push for a more restrictive and selective migration policy.

The Eurobarometer survey on public opinion (2015) has pointed out that the negative sentiment towards third-country migration increases with age: 52 per cent among the 15- to 24-year-olds expressed this sentiment; 58 per cent among the 25- to 39-year-olds; 63 per cent among the 40- to 54-year-olds; and 68 per cent among the 55-year-olds and older, whose proportion tends to increase.

Ageing of the population also leads to ageing of skills (Fargues and McCormick, 2013). With the extension of working life, workers’ knowledge become obsolete as time goes by, and the total amount of human capital declines and demand for young highly skilled workers arises. In the European debate, the role played by tertiary-educated migrants in advancing European innovation capacity seems the only way to underline the positive contribution of migration, because highly skilled migrants are also less contrasted by local population. These migrants have the reputation of not using the national welfare system and of not being competitive with low-skilled native workers. Europe needs to enhance its innovation capacity because it is lagging behind the United States as well as the new emerging countries such as the Republic of Korea, China and India, which have boomed in the past 10 years.

Innovation and human capital

Innovation

All countries search for the perfect recipe to spur innovation that assures the largest benefit at a more limited cost. The policy mix that spurs innovation is less clear. A little bit of investment in research and development is fundamental, but sometimes innovation blows without any public intervention (e.g. Google), so the role of government policies is less clear.

1 Alessandra Venturini is Chair Professor at the University of Turin and Deputy Director of the Migration Policy Centre (MPC), European University Institute (EUI), Florence, Italy.

2 This definition was first presented by Alessandra Venturini at her keynote speech during the International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion (IMISCOE) Conference in Madrid, August 2014. The definition was expanded in the presentation “The demand of caregivers”, by A. DiBartolomeo, S. Kalataryan, A. Venturini, delivered at the Conference on Demography, MPC, EUI, Florence, Italy, 4–5 February 2016.

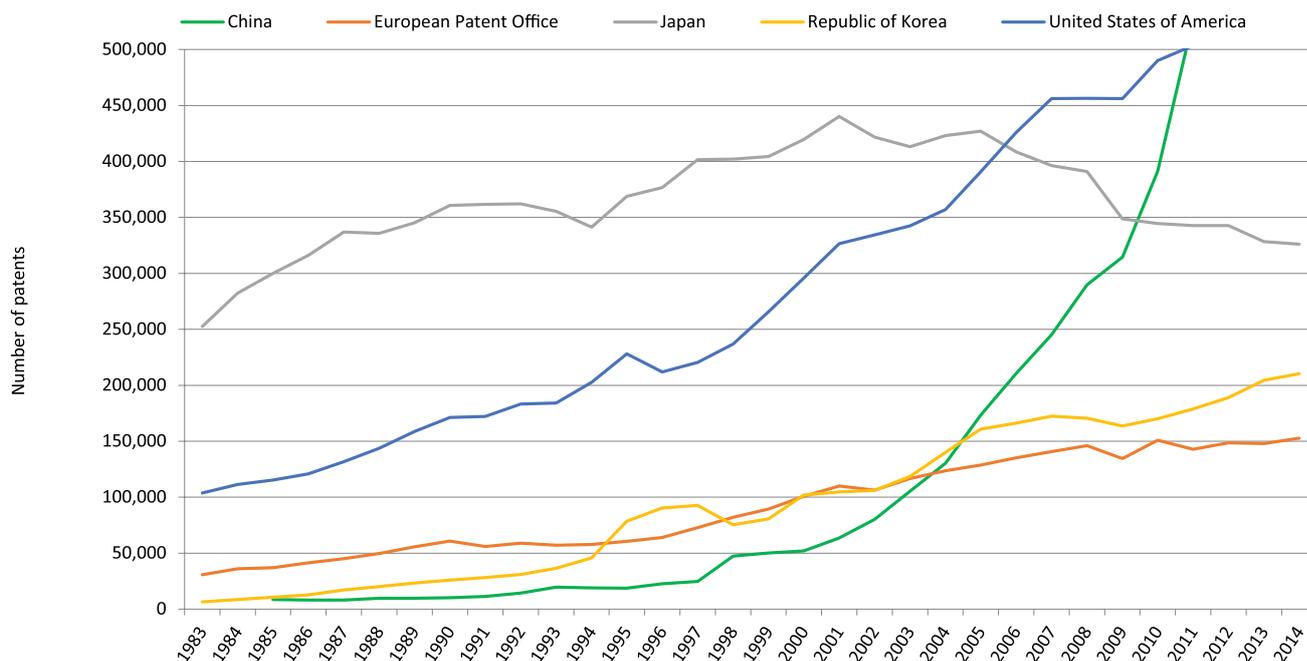
3 The fertility rate of 2 births per woman is considered sufficient to reproduce a society.

Government should formulate regulations that do not restrict innovative processes and should provide the human capital needed for innovation with investment in education, favouring the entrance of highly skilled foreign workers with solid education background (PhD and master's degree holders) in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM), or even encourage applications from foreign students to pursue further studies.

As defined in the *Oslo Manual*, which provides guidelines on collecting and interpreting innovation data, "...[i]nnovation is the implementation of a new or significantly improved product (good or service), or process, a new marketing method, or a new organisational method in business practices, workplace organisation or external relations."⁴

As innovation is an activity that involves constant change, measuring it is difficult. And if an innovation would be measured, what do we want to know? Do we want to understand if the potential innovation is more important than the ability of a country, a region, a sector or a firm to produce something new or introduce more efficient ways of doing things? Or is there something that can be patented as novelty, which provides royalties to the inventor? In this case, patents registered at patent offices are the best option for measuring innovation, since a high number of patents registered indicate increased innovations.⁵ Among the top five patent offices in the world, patent application trends in Europe are not encouraging (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Trends in patent applications in top five patent offices, 1983–2014



Source: World Intellectual Property Organization Statistics Database, 2011.

4 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and Eurostat, *Oslo Manual: Guidelines for Collecting and Interpreting Innovation Data – The Measurement of Scientific and Technological Activities*, third edition (Paris, OECD, 2005).

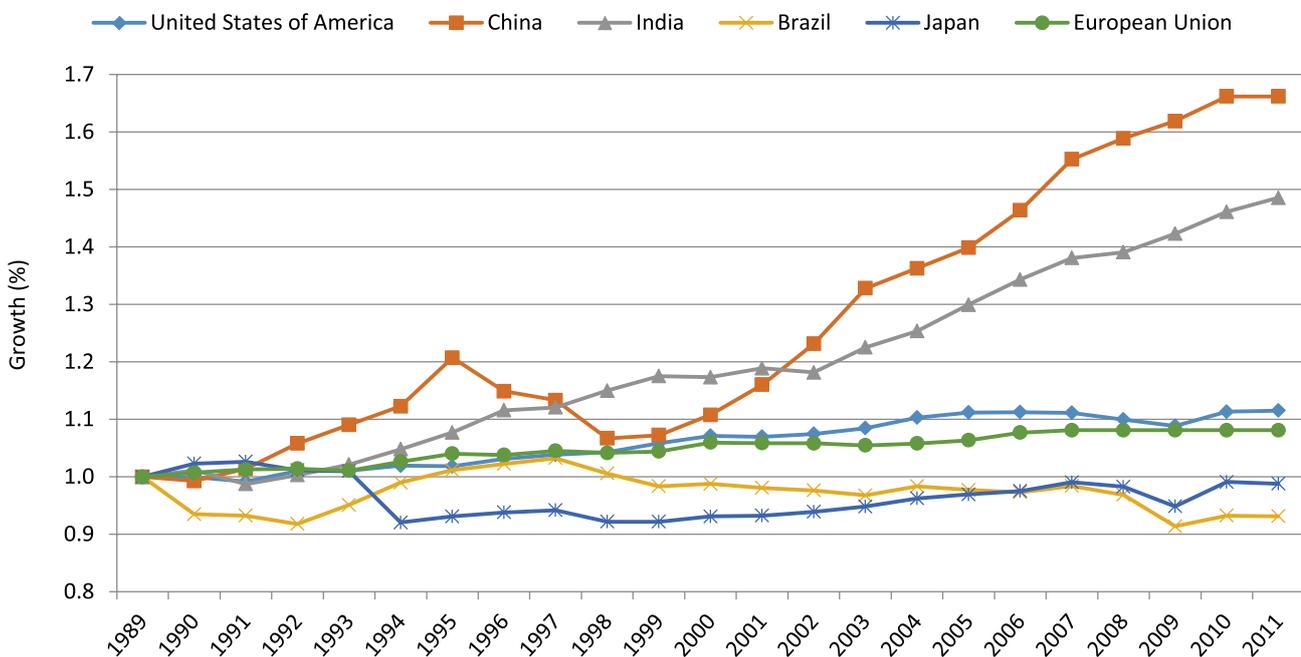
5 Not all patents deposited will be used. Some of them could be deposited only to stop a possible similar innovation or to protect an old one, which, however, after 30 or 50 years, will be of public domain. For this reason, to measure something closer to the implementation of an innovative process, the citation of patents is more used.

On the other hand, do we want to know the increase in employment and wages and thus in production at the national, regional or sectoral level? This second dimension is probably closer to what interests the policymakers and the citizens, that is, the positive effect of innovation on well-being redistribution to the population. If this is the case, probably the best measure is total factor productivity (TFP). In a production process, whatever growth in output that is not contributed by capital and labour is attributable

to TFP. In terms of TFP as a measure of innovation, the trends in Europe are not better than the patent registration trends. As shown in Figure 2, TFP growth in the European Union has not seen an increase from 1989.

It can be concluded that the two measures are interconnected. Patent is an indicator of innovation, and innovation increases TFP. A country that produces a lot of patents also holds high TFP growth.

Figure 2: Total factor productivity growth in the largest economies, 1989–2011



Source: Conference Board Total Economy Database and EU KLEMS Database.

Note: 1989 arbitrarily set to 1. The time series is constructed using this equation: $A(t+1) = A(t) (1 + \Delta A(t)/A(t))$.

Foreign workers

In an effort to understand what spurs innovation, a lot of studies focus on the contribution of foreign workers. There are three different cases in which foreign nationals drive innovation: foreigners as producers of patents; foreigners as collaborators in patent production; and foreigners boosting TFP growth.

In the United States of America, research has shown that a larger cap for the H1-B visa⁶ in the STEM fields has stimulated foreign patent producers (Hunt and Gauthier-Loiselle, 2010; Kerr and Lincoln, 2010; Gosh, Mayda and Ortega, 2016), and that foreigners outperform the natives in patent production.

Should the migration policy just focus on the access of STEM workers and tertiary-educated migrant workers to all the modern fields of studies? The evidence seems to stress that the former are important for

6 The H1-B visa is the most preferred visa type for foreign nationals who would like to work and live in the United States.

designing innovation while the latter are fundamental for diffusing innovation also in sectors different from the one in which the innovation was produced. Thus, migration policy should also favour the entrance of highly skilled foreign workers.

The empirical research that analyses the impact of highly skilled migrants is done at the regional, country, sector or firm level. Even if research at the firm level should be the most relevant, the results are very heterogeneous and very country specific. See, for instance, the study on the correlation between the diversity of migrants and innovation in Dutch and German firms in Ozgen et al. (2014), which shows that while diversity favours innovation in Germany, this is not the case in the Netherlands. In addition, although analyses at the firm level measure the benefits of migration for the firms, they disregard inter-firm mobility among migrant workers and knowledge exchanges from innovative firms, both of which might also benefit other firms in the same sector or region. For that reason, even if it is very interesting, firm-level research is not relevant for aggregate policy consideration.

Research at the regional or sectoral level is carried out according to three factors: the quantity of migrants (share of migrants); the quality of migrants (tertiary educated or not); and the diversity of countries of origin of migrants.

The share – **quantity** – of migrants⁷ has, in general, a positive effect on the production of patents and on TFP growth of destination countries (Ortega and Peri, 2014; Fassio, Kalantaryan and Venturini, 2015).

The share – **quality** – of tertiary-educated migrants⁸ has a positive effect on the innovations in some European countries in general (Gagliardi, 2015; Bosetti et al., 2015; Fassio, Montobbio and Venturini, 2015; Fassio, Kalantaryan and Venturini, 2015), but it does not have the same effect in all sectors. While the quantity of migrants has a positive effect on innovation in all sectors, the quality of migrants has a strong positive effect in the high tech sector but not in low tech and services sectors. In the manufacturing sector, the medium- and low-skilled workers are still

important for innovation (Fassio, Montobbio and Venturini, 2015; Fassio, Kalantaryan and Venturini, 2015).

As well, the **diversity of countries of origin**⁹ of migrants presents frequently a positive effect on the innovative performances of firms, regions and countries (Alesina, Harnoss and Rapoport, 2013; Ozgen, Nijkamp and Poot, 2012), but it has no positive impact at the sector level (Fassio, Kalantaryan and Venturini, 2015). The diversity of countries of origin does not seem a value added for innovation, while the positive effect at the country level is likely the result of the concentration of different ethnic groups in different sectors which complement each other. Many examples can be proposed, but there are more studies about the role of health-care and household workers (Cortés and Tessada, 2011; Barone and Mocetti, 2011; Farré, González and Ortega, 2011) who complement the highly skilled female native-born workers in the high tech sector.

Migration policy for innovation and growth

The research results are very important for policy design.

- The United States recipe seems simple – by mandating a large cap for the H1-B visa for STEM students, production and registration of patents increase. It is, however, very difficult to replicate this experience because other factors should be considered. For instance, the United States has an important language advantage – English is widely spoken worldwide, and it is thus less costly to move there and the workers are more productive. In addition, in the United States, there is a larger supply of highly skilled jobs, which favours the job match, and the wages offered are much higher than in Europe because in the United States taxes are lower and wage dispersion is higher.¹⁰

7 Share of migrants refers to the quantity of migrant workers by sector, region or country.

8 Share of tertiary-educated migrants is the number of tertiary-educated migrants out of the total migrants.

9 The diversity of countries of origin is, in general, measured by the diversity index based on the Simpson diversity index, which is equal to the probability that two entities taken randomly from the dataset of interest (with replacement) represent the same type. Its transformation (1 – Simpson Index) is the probability that the two entities represent different types and is called the Gini–Simpson index. In the context of our study, it implies the probability that two persons randomly taken in the sector have different origins (country of birth or citizenship).
$$\text{Diversity Index}_{jc} = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^N \text{Share}_{ijc}^2$$

10 In the United States, wage dispersion is twice that in Switzerland, Sweden and Belgium (ILO statistics, 2000).

The United States, in general, is the preferred destination for all migrant workers.

Taking these differences into account, it would be important to organize in Europe a more friendly access for foreign STEM workers with dedicated Blue Cards or national cards. At the same time, the outflows of STEM students could be reduced by providing more jobs and higher remuneration so that they will not have to look for better opportunities elsewhere.

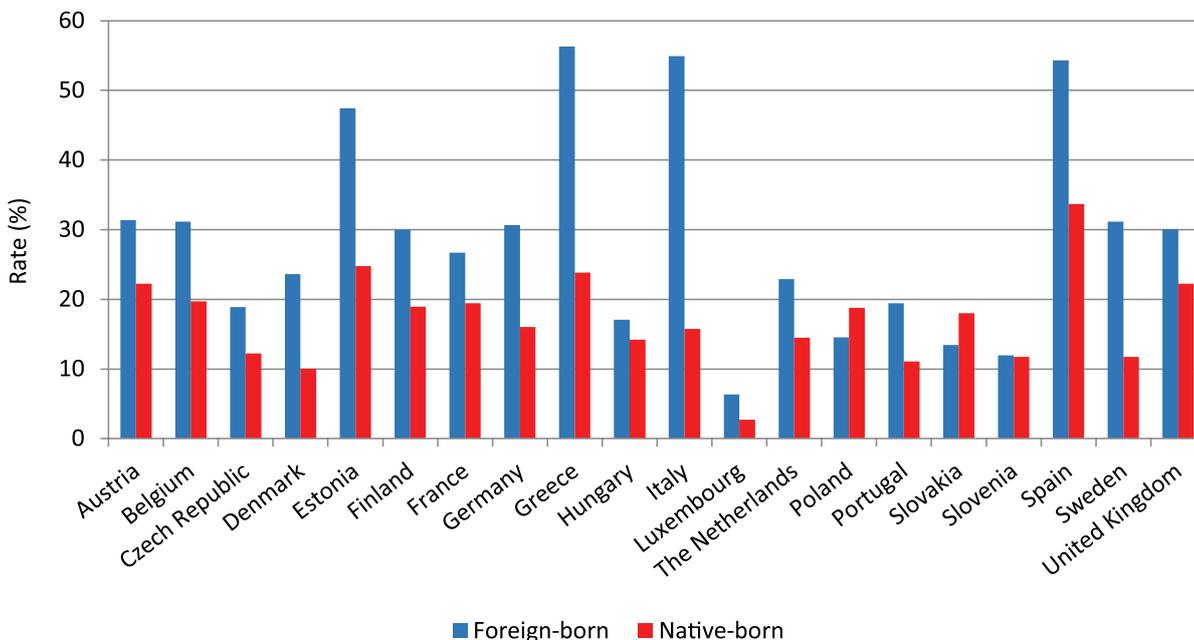
- Not only is the design of innovation important but also its diffusion, and tertiary-educated individuals are fundamental particularly in the high tech sector.

Thus, any policy that favours the entrance of highly skilled workers should be pursued. The Blue Card or similar national cards that favour the entrance of the highly skilled, or a points system that values the education of immigrants more

than any other characteristics, should be adopted. Even if this issue is already in the European agenda on migration, more attention should be devoted to the practical implementation of the policy. Frequently, in fact, small operational details reduce the effectiveness of the policy, which, in principle, responds to the demand of the employers and of the potential workers.

- The possibility to hire foreign students educated in the destination countries should also be considered and the possibility of a transition from school to work should be from the initial stages of negotiation with the sending country. This solution would also reduce the phenomenon called “brain waste” or “overqualification”¹¹ of migrants, in which the levels of educational attainment of migrants are higher than the levels of jobs available for them or they have been hired for. As shown in Figure 3, this phenomenon is prevalent in all destination countries.

Figure 3: Overqualification rates among foreign and native-born workers aged 15–64 by country of birth, 2012 and 2013



Source: OECD, *OECD Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015: Settling In* (Paris, OECD, 2015).

¹¹ OECD, *Settling in: OECD Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2012* (Paris, OECD, 2012).

This mismatch between the jobs of foreign workers and their educational attainment is not always due to discrimination. Frequently, mismatch happens because the studies undertaken by migrants in their countries of origin are not in demand in the destination countries, sometimes the quality of education is difficult to measure without a skills assessment, or migrant workers have limited knowledge of the language spoken in the destination country. Reduction of overqualification is an important objective of the migration policy, but apart from recognizing the educational attainment of foreigners, something can be done before they leave their home countries, such as by investing in career orientation in schools and taking up language courses. However, the only way to eliminate brain waste is to hire foreign students with skills, knowledge and experience that are more marketable in the destination countries.

- The diversity of inflows does not seem to be an ingredient of a successful recipe for enhancing production in all sectors. The national quota system for immigrants, for instance, which aims to assure the diversity of inflows, does not enhance production in the high tech sector. Migrants of different ethnic groups are concentrated in different sectors (Fassio, Kalantaryan and Venturini, 2015). When migrants from a particular sending country arrive at the destination country, they are usually employed in a certain sector, helping that particular sector boom. These migrants usually stay in that sector for the long term. When fellow workers from the same country join the first movers, the migratory chain begins; this subsequent batch of foreign workers are introduced in the same sector, thus a sector-ethnic clustering takes place without a migration policy intervention by the destination country. The diversity of countries of origin correspond to the diversity of ethnic concentration in sectors, which can result in a positive complementarity at the national or regional level but which does not need to be pushed at least for innovation reasons.
- Low- and medium-skilled migrants play an important role in spurring innovation in the manufacturing sector. Even if the manufacturing sector is declining in all European countries and manufacturing production has been shifted to developing countries, the manufacturing sector enhances its productivity by employing low- and medium-skilled workers. Productivity growth should therefore be taken into account in formulating migration policies, thus combining

high-, medium- and low-skilled inflows according to the variation of demand.

- The key role of education and training in spurring innovation has been emphasized. To help labour migration get good results, pre-departure training organized in the sending countries and bilateral agreements or partnership agreements between the sending and destination countries could be an extension of strict migration policies such as the Blue Card or the national card system in Europe. In the recent asylum-seeker and refugee emergency situation, many traditional instruments available for labour migrants are not applicable, but investment in language studies, skills assessment and specific training remain available and can be key priorities not only to favour the asylum integration in destination countries but also to use the potential human capital in the most profitable way. The research carried out by Jacobs (1969) about what happened in New York City after World War II is encouraging. After the war, many refugees from all over the world came to the city. New York then became a laboratory for innovation because foreign citizens brought with them diverse skills, knowledge and education, making New York one of the greatest cities in the world. This success story may be replicated at present time, but if high human capital does not exist currently investment in education and training is encouraged.

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International migration seen through the lens of Amartya Sen's capability approach

Sabrina Juran¹

Conventional labour market orientations towards migration and development do not address some important aspects of development. Amartya Sen's view of development as the expansion of freedoms or capabilities, and its focus on the lives people live and have reason to value, needs to be contrasted with this perspective. Sen conceptualizes development as a process of expanding the choices and freedoms people have reason to value. These freedoms depend on the time when and the place where they are made as well as on the individual. The same person, in different contexts, might value different choices or freedoms.² Sen understands poverty as a constraint on substantial freedoms, such as poor economic opportunities, including unemployment, low salaries, social deprivation, neglect of public facilities and intolerance.

For example, unemployment and non-employability result from the confines of the limited absorptive capacity of the labour market. To achieve higher levels of development and reduce poverty, various restrictions (unfreedoms) and barriers to freedom that people suffer have to be removed.³ This freedom-based context advances the concept of human development, allowing a deeper understanding of the migration and development nexus. The application of the capability approach also allows for a better assessment of international migration's inherent developmental features and the consequences for people's freedoms. Since it is "the combination of foundational analysis and pragmatic use that gives the capability approach its extensive reach,"⁴ it contrasts economic perspectives of development.

Voluntary migration itself can be understood as an exercise of the freedom to move. The functionings and consequences that migrants and their households can achieve by exercising their freedom to move depend on the context in which migration occurs as well as on the agency of the individual.

The capability approach is characterized by elasticity and internal pluralism that allows for its further elaboration and application into different spheres of research^{5,6} and thus provides the ideal framework to measure the contribution of international migration to human development.

Not limited to economic achievements, the capability approach is interested in various outcomes and considers all factors that lead to the life a person has reason to value. Sen points out that the "glorification of human beings as instruments of economic development cannot really be adequate."⁷ Migration scholars suggest that "a full understanding of contemporary migratory processes will not be achieved by relying on the tools of one discipline alone, or by focusing on a single level of analysis."⁸ The capability approach allows for the integration of different academic disciplines that address the issue of international migration from demographic, sociological, geographic, and economic perspectives. By recognizing the linkages between human well-being and economic, cultural, social, political, and environmental factors, the capability approach remains open to the inclusion of unlimited indicators. Sen does not impose rigid orthodoxy with a defined set of prescriptive methods.⁹

1 Sabrina Juran is a technical specialist at the Population and Development Branch of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). The views expressed in this paper are entirely those of the author and do not reflect those of her employer.

2 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Human Development Report 2009 – Overcoming Barriers: Human Mobility and Development* (New York, UNDP, 2009).

3 A. Sen, *Development as Freedom* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1999).

4 A. Sen, *Freedom, Rationality, and Social Choice: The Arrow Lectures and Other Essays* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 86.

5 A. Alkire, *Valuing Freedoms: Sen's Capability Approach and Poverty Reduction* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002).

6 I. Robeyns, "The capability approach: A theoretical survey", *Journal of Human Development*, 6(1):93–114 (2005).

7 A. Sen, "Development thinking at the beginning of the 21st century", paper presented at the conference on development thinking and practice, organized by the Inter-American Bank, Washington, D.C., 3–5 September 1996.

8 D.S. Massey et al., "Theories of international migration: A review and appraisal", *Population and Development Review*, 19(3):432 (1993).

9 S. Fukuda-Parr, "The human development paradigm: Operationalizing Sen's ideas on capabilities", *Feminist Economics*, 9(2–3):301–317 (2003).

Another strength of the capability approach is its possible division into various analytical layers.¹⁰ Despite its person-centred perspective on human development, it also considers the surrounding systems that prevail in the countries of origin and destination – including economic growth, investment in education and a flourishing social infrastructure – that shape developmental outcomes. Therefore, the capability approach allows for the explanation of international migration as a by-product of macro conditions, without ignoring the perspective of the individual. The migration process, including trajectory and settlement, is understood as a means to expand people’s freedoms.

One assumption is that the migratory experience expands the real freedoms a person enjoys. The migrant and the family that he or she either takes along or leaves behind expand their economic, political and social freedoms. However, since migration is a very selective process, mobility can provide ways to access and accumulate financial, human and social resources for some migrants. For others, the migratory experience might lead to the depletion of their assets. Another assumption is that the migration process is socially embedded and that, in part, outmigration risks the disruption of social ties in the country of origin, thus leaving this community with a defective social infrastructure.

The link between social capital and migration becomes clear when considering emigration as a loss of highly valuable social capital. The development of a productive social infrastructure is very labour-intensive, and the condition of national social capital is often obscured by high rates of emigration. However, the migration process itself relies on existing social ties along the migration corridor. While in transit or upon arrival, migrants develop new social relationships that can facilitate the migratory process. Longstanding migratory flows along a certain corridor provide the basis for social cohesion; transnational networks operate and become established. Through these networks, contact between migrants and their families and friends left behind can be maintained. Research on social networks in the migration process

shows that they also influence who moves and where to.¹¹ Transnational communities demonstrate “the importance of different localities in a migration process and how families and migrants conserve existing links and create new links between each other.”¹² By participating in established networks that span the migratory space or channel, the cost of migration is drastically reduced when the migrant gains access to facilitated sources of information, housing, employment or loans. Social networks mitigate the risks of crossing national borders, in particular in undocumented situations.¹³ Reductions in migratory costs provide poorer people with better opportunities and encourage their participation.¹⁴ Overtime the proportion of people with migration experience increases within a community. Migratory experiences accumulate among the community’s population, open attitudes and spread knowledge; social ties to migrants or returnees multiply. This in turn expands the pool of potential migrants.

Sen states that “development requires the removal of major sources of unfreedoms, poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or over-activity of repressive states.”¹⁵ He postulates that “economic unfreedom, in the form of extreme poverty, can make a person helpless prey in the violation of other kinds of freedom...and...can breed social unfreedom, just as social or political unfreedom can also foster economic unfreedom.”¹⁶ Migration provides a strategy to free oneself from these unfreedoms of economic, political and social development, and to augment and diversify the actual freedoms a person can possess. The possibility to choose migration as a freedom-enhancing strategy depends, however,

10 M. Biggeri, T. Jean-Francois and P. Bakhshi, “Le Teorie della Disabilità: Una Reinterpretazione Attraverso l’Approccio delle Capability di Amartya Sen”, in *Dalla Relazione di Cura alla Relazione di Prossimità: L’approccio delle Capability alle Persone con Disabilità* (edited by M. Biggeri and N. Bellanca), Collana Biòtopi (Naples, Liguori, 2010).

11 S. Thieme, *Social Networks and Migration: Far West Nepalese Labour Migrants in Delhi*, National Centre for Competence in Research (NCCR) North-South Dialogue (Berne, NCCR North-South, 2006).

12 Ibid., 11.

13 K. Espinosa and D. Massey, “Undocumented migration and the quantity and quality of social capital”, *Soziale Welt*, 12:141–162.

14 D. Massey, L. Goldring and J. Durand, “Continuities in transnational migration: An analysis of nineteen Mexican communities”, *American Journal of Sociology*, 99(6):1492–1533 (1994).

15 A. Sen, *Development as Freedom* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 3.

16 Ibid., 8.

on people's access to various forms of resources. These include economic, human, social, cultural and political capital, as well as the institutional context and geographic conditions within which it takes place. Such accessibility and ownership of assets play essential roles in the decision-making process of migration. On the one hand, they define the actual need for an individual or a household to pursue migration as a livelihood strategy. On the other hand, they determine if the potential migrant can afford the costs associated with emigration.¹⁷ While poor people in general are more disposed to emigrate with hopes of expanding opportunities, the poorest people do not migrate the most, because they lack the necessary financial and social resources. Households that are economically better off are more able to afford the costs associated with migration.^{18, 19, 20, 21}

While the capability approach is theoretically very well suited to describe development and poverty, its major challenge lies in its methodological application. The operability of Sen's approach has been questioned because of the difficulty to assess and measure valuable capabilities²² from the perspective of the actor.

However, Sen claims that while the freedom of well-being is reflected by a person's capability set, achievements of well-being should be measured at the level of functionings.²³ "The central claim of the

[c]apability [a]pproach is that whatever concept... one wants to consider, the informational base of this judgment must relate to the space of functionings and/or capabilities, depending on the issue at hand."²⁴ Along these lines, it is possible to conduct the analysis at the level of functionings including goods and material well-being, or at the level of achievements such as schooling, literacy and mortality rates.²⁵ Understanding capabilities and functionings as the evaluative space for human development and assigning an agency character to the individual implies the inclusion of diversity as one of the underlying characteristics of human beings.^{26, 27}

Given this evaluative aspect of the capability approach, key indicators will be defined at the level of functionings to measure improvement of well-being.²⁸ Only the proper identification of functionings for measurement will make the capability approach operational in linking migration and development. Poverty or the lack of development will be looked at in terms of deprivation of measurable achievements. "Deprivation has to be judged in comparison with the experience of others in the society."²⁹ Functionings are numerous and underlie subjective evaluation. As stated before, they vary among cultures and social groups, are gender- and age-sensitive, and may change during the course of time and migratory stage. For example, the capability of living a healthy human life of normal length – not dying prematurely or before one's life is so reduced as to be not worth living – reflects the actual social opportunities one has.³⁰

17 F.M. Antman, "The impact of migration on family left behind", discussion paper no. 6374 (Bonn, Forschungsinstitut zur Zukunft der Arbeit, 2012).

18 S. Acharya, "Labour migration in the transitional economies of South-East Asia", working paper on migration and urbanization (Bangkok, United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 2003).

19 G. Gonzalez-König, "Migration, remittances and income distribution", paper presented at II Simposio Internacional de Migración, Migración y Desarrollo, Las Remesas, segunda sesión, Tijuana, México, 2008.

20 R. Black, C. Natali and J. Skinner, "Migration and inequality", background paper, *Equity and Development: World Development Report 2006* (Sussex, Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty, University of Sussex, 2005).

21 F.M. Antman, "The impact of migration on family left behind", discussion paper no. 6374 (Bonn, Forschungsinstitut zur Zukunft der Arbeit, 2012).

22 D.A. Clark, "Capability approach", *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies* (edited by D.A. Clark) (Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, 2006).

23 I. Robeyns, "The capability approach: A theoretical survey", *Journal of Human Development*, 6(1):93–117 (2005).

24 S. Deneulin and L. Shahani, *An Introduction to the Human Development and Capability Approach: Freedom and Agency* (London, Human Development and Capability Association, 2009), p. 38.

25 J. Schischka, P. Dalziel and C. Saunders, "Applying Sen's capability approach to poverty alleviation programs: Twgmo case studies", *Journal of Human Development*, 9(2):229–246 (2008).

26 I. Robeyns, "The capability approach: A theoretical survey", *Journal of Human Development*, 6(1):93–117 (2005).

27 A. Sen, *Inequality Reexamined* (New York, Russell Sage Foundation; Cambridge, Harvard University, 1992).

28 S. Fukuda-Parr, "The human development paradigm: Operationalizing Sen's ideas on capabilities", *Feminist Economics*, 9(2–3):301–317 (2003).

29 A. Sen, "Poverty: An ordinal approach to measurement", *Econometrica*, 44(2):219–231 (1976).

30 M. Nussbaum, "Capabilities as fundamental entitlements: Sen and social justice", *Feminist Economics*, 9 (2–3):41 (2003).

Sen's theoretical framework stipulates important features that can be used to conceptualize and evaluate social and developmental arrangements and change, such as the phenomenon of international migration. Including different rationales and objectives that people have created given their environmental conditions create complexities, which require the application of a cultural perspective when looking at development.^{31, 32} ■

**Migration provides a strategy
to free oneself from these
unfreedoms of economic,
political and social development,
and to augment and diversify
the actual freedoms a person
can possess.**

31 The application of the culture lens is aimed at strengthening cultural diversity and analysing and evaluating whether visions, practices, policies and programmes incorporate and promote the principles enshrined in the declarations and conventions with respect to culture.

32 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (Paris, UNESCO, 2001).



The Central Mediterranean route: Deadlier than ever

Julia Black, Ann Singleton and Arezo Malakooti¹

1 in 23 die in the Mediterranean in the first five months of 2016

During the first five months of 2016, 1 in every 23 migrants has died attempting the journey across the Central Mediterranean to Europe. This represents a drastic worsening of the death toll. Since the beginning of 2014, the overall ratio of deaths to the number of migrant crossings has been 1 in 50. For 2015, it was 1 in 53. This ratio of deaths to attempted crossings worsened further in April and May 2016 when 1 migrant died for every 17 attempted crossings. This was 5 per cent of the total number of people who attempted the journey across the Central Mediterranean during these two months. These estimated figures, using the same methodology and sources since the beginning of 2014, indicate an increasingly deadly route, despite the widespread media attention and public and policy awareness of this continuing humanitarian disaster.

This briefing aims to achieve the following: (a) examine the available data on rising numbers of deaths and

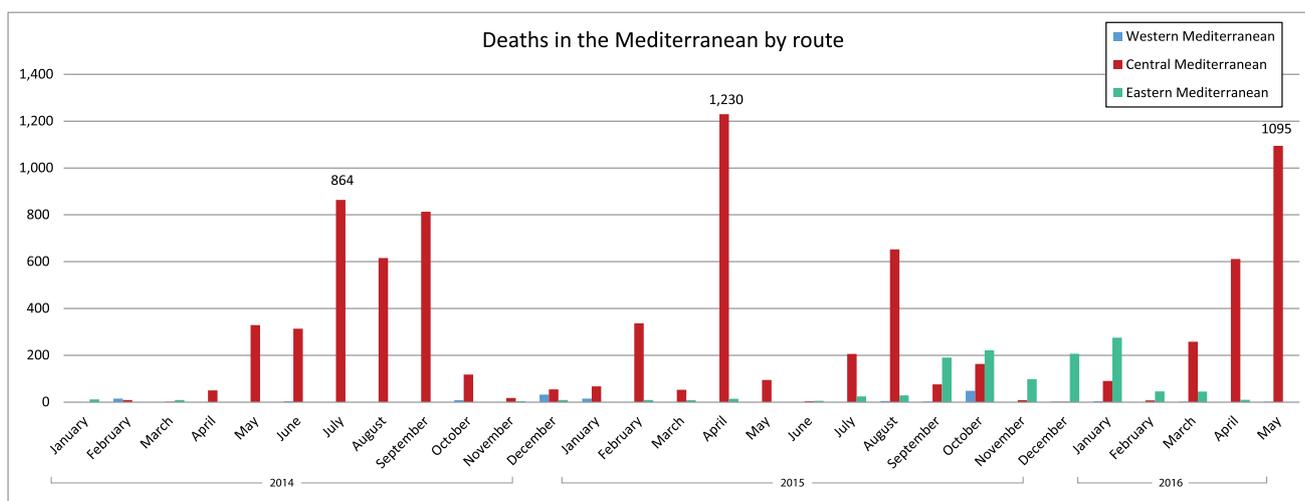
arrivals; (b) analyse the changing routes towards the departure points for this dangerous sea journey into Europe; and (c) investigate how patterns and trends have changed during the period between January 2014 and the end of May 2016.

How many migrants have died?

Monthly totals of deaths in the Central Mediterranean, January 2014–May 2016

Figure 1 indicates the deaths and disappearances by month on each Mediterranean route. Compared to other routes, death while attempting to cross the Central Mediterranean occurs at disproportionately high levels to the number of people attempting the crossing. Since 2014, 17 of every 20 migrant deaths in the Mediterranean have occurred on the Central Mediterranean route, which accounts for just over a quarter of arrivals during the same period. For every 50 migrants who have attempted the dangerous crossing since 2014, 1 has died. Recent months have become more deadly, however; more people have died in the

Figure 1: Migrant deaths and disappearances in the Mediterranean by route, January 2014–May 2016



Source: Missing Migrants Project.

¹ Julia Black, Consultant for the Missing Migrants Project, GMDAC; Ann Singleton, Senior Adviser of GMDAC and Arezo Malakooti, Senior Research and Data Analyst of GMDAC.

Central Mediterranean in the first five months of 2016 than the equivalent period in any other year. Similarly, the ratio of deaths per attempted crossing has more than doubled from 2015 to the first five months of 2016, from 0.18 per cent of crossings to 0.43 per cent. This represents a shift from 1 death in 53 attempted crossings to 1 in 23 on this route.

Largest incidents in the Central Mediterranean, 1 January 2014–31 May 2016

In the Mediterranean from 2014 to the end of May 2016, 9,492 people are estimated to have died or are thought to be missing. Within these total numbers, more than 20 incidents since 2014 have each resulted in over 100 deaths, totaling 6,406 dead and missing. All these incidents took place along the Central Mediterranean route (Figure 2). These large shipwrecks make up more than half of all deaths in the Mediterranean, with overloading of the boats, rather than bad weather, being thought to be a significant causal factor.

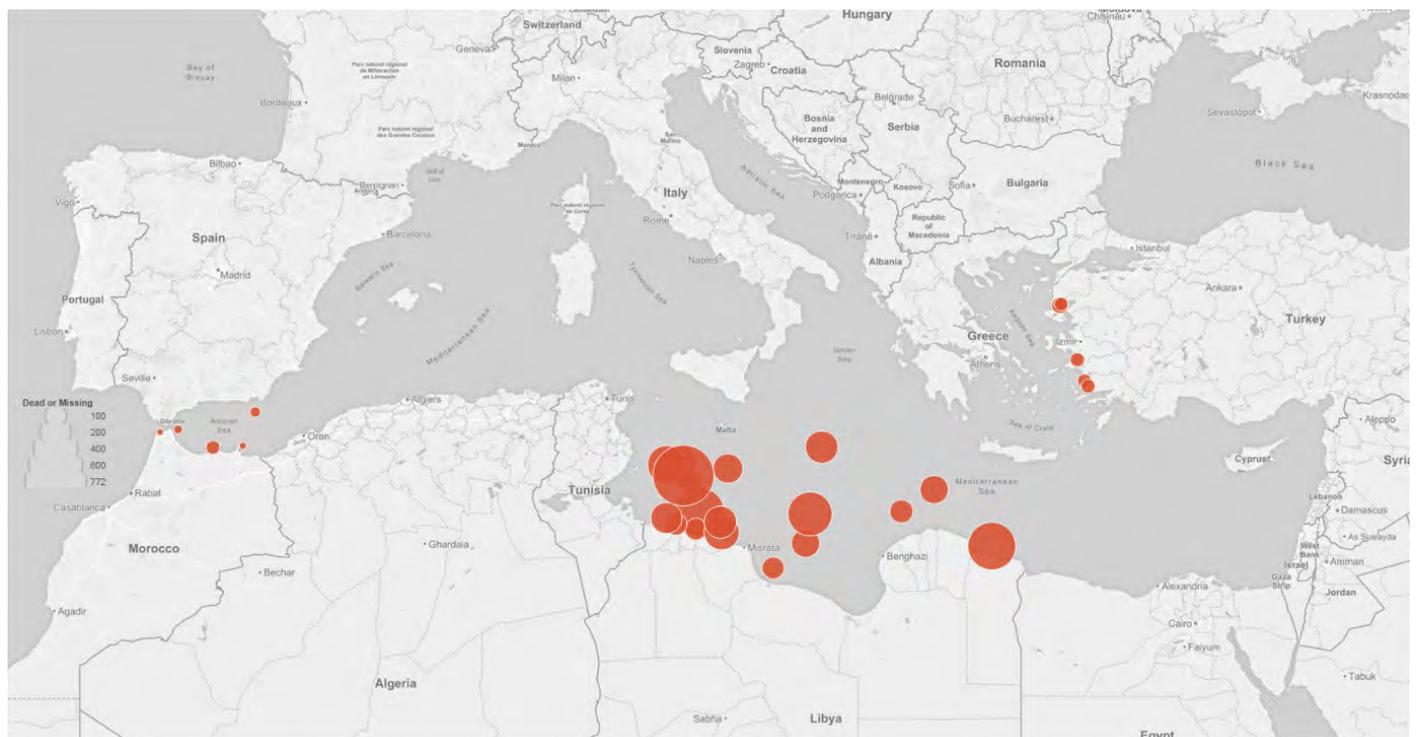
When hundreds of migrants die during shipwrecks, many bodies are never recovered. It is estimated that more than 6,000 bodies remain unrecovered in the

Mediterranean from incidents between 2014 and May 2016. Reports of large numbers of bodies being washed up on the shores of North Africa indicate that shipwrecks occur without leaving any traces. In July 2015, more than 100 bodies were found in Tajoura, Libya, with no major shipwreck having been recorded for three months previously. Smaller numbers of bodies have been found on the shores of Libya and Tunisia, with no reports of a shipwreck, on more than half a dozen occasions. It is likely that the Central Mediterranean route is even more deadly than already reported.

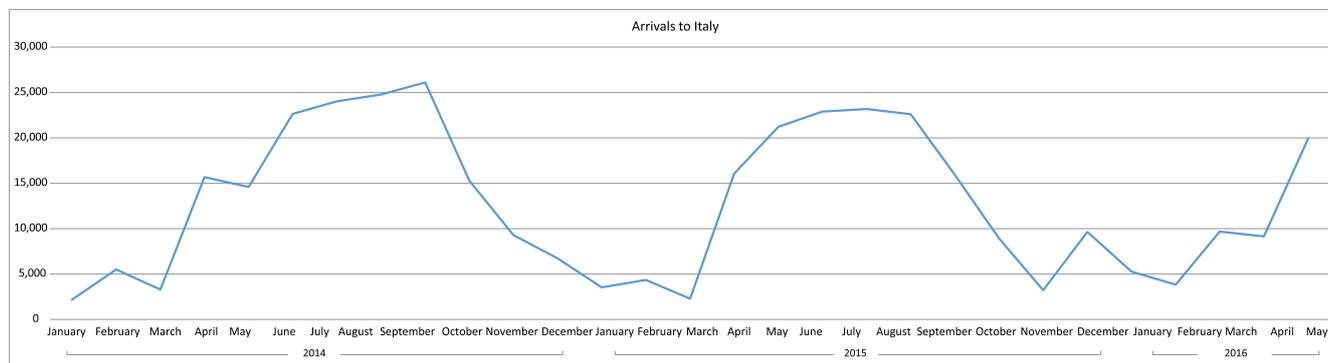
Arrivals

The increased numbers and ratio of deaths to attempted crossings of the central route accompany what appears to be a very recent rise in arrivals. Since the end of 2013, more than 300,000 people have arrived in Europe via the Central Mediterranean route from North Africa to Italy and Malta (most arriving in Italy). In 2014, there were 170,100 arrivals, as conflicts in Europe’s immediate vicinity escalated. In 2015, numbers arriving via this route fell to 153,842, while 847,930 migrants and refugees reached Greece across the Eastern Mediterranean. Following the

Figure 2: Incidents with highest reported migrant fatalities by route, January 2014–May 2016



Source: Missing Migrants Project.

Figure 3: Monthly arrivals to Italy, January 2014–May 2016

Source: IOM Italy.

unprecedented spike in arrivals in 2014, numbers fell by 9.5 per cent in 2015. This was mainly due to the instability in Libya, which made the country more dangerous for migrants and led to higher numbers across the Eastern Mediterranean.² Figure 3 indicates the monthly breakdown of arrivals in Italy from January 2014 to May 2016.

It is now known that in the first five months of 2016, 47,851 migrants arrived in Italy. This was in total almost the same number as for the equivalent period in 2015 (47,452). However, a significant change occurred in April, when – for the first time since May 2015 – more people arrived in Italy than in Greece. Since March 2016, arrivals in Greece have fallen by 90 per cent compared with May 2015. April and May 2016 saw 29,474 arrivals in Italy, compared to 5,661 arrivals in Greece. These figures show that the number of migrants attempting this route is rising again.

Numbers of women arriving in Italy increased in 2015

As the total number of arrivals have risen, the proportion of women appears to be increasing. In 2015, the number of women arriving in Italy via the Mediterranean totaled 21,434, an increase from 18,180 in 2014. Women made up 14 per cent of arrivals to Italy in 2015, compared with 10 per cent in 2014.

Arrivals of children fell as the proportion of unaccompanied minors remained the same

The pattern of arrivals of children is mixed. The number of minors travelling to Italy via the sea borders fell between 2014 and 2015, from 26,122 to 16,478, including (respectively) 13,026 and 12,360 unaccompanied minors. While the overall proportion of children fell from 15 per cent to 11 per cent during these two years, there is also an indication of higher numbers of unaccompanied minors, as their proportion of the total stayed the same, at around 8 per cent.

Falling numbers in the Eastern Mediterranean, rising numbers of arrivals on the Central Mediterranean route

In 2015, the number of arrivals in Italy via the Central Mediterranean fell for the first time since 2012, due in large part to the rise of the Eastern Mediterranean as the predominant route used by Syrian migrants. Though Eritrean arrivals increased in 2015 to 25 per cent of the overall flows, the number of Syrians fell to 7,448, which is 5 per cent of the total arrivals in Italy that year. During the same period, 499,495 Syrians arrived in Greece via the Eastern Mediterranean.

Changing suite of countries of origin

In addition to the changing situation for Syrians, arrivals in Europe via the Central Mediterranean have seen a shift in the suite of other countries of origin since 2010. Before 2012, most migrants who arrived in Italy via the Mediterranean were from North Africa; between 2010 and 2012, Tunisians made up at least

² A. Malakooti, *Migration Trends in the Mediterranean: Connecting the Dots* (Altai Consulting for IOM Middle East and North Africa Regional Office, Cairo, 2015). Available from http://publications.iom.int/system/files/altai_migration_trends_across_the_mediterranean.pdf

15 per cent of these flows. Arrivals in Italy then more than doubled in 2013, in large part due to the arrival of 11,307 Syrians and 9,834 Eritreans, representing respective increases from 582 and 1,612 in 2012.

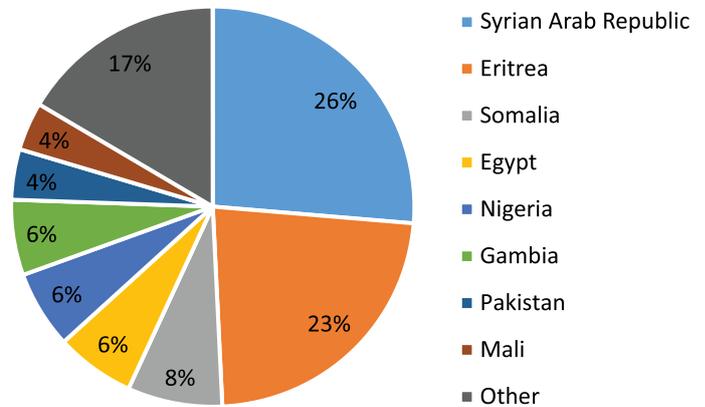
In the following year, 2014, numbers crossing the Central Mediterranean increased again, this time triple the number of the previous year. Despite the overall increase in numbers, the distribution by major countries of origin remained largely the same. In 2014, 42,323 Syrians comprised 25 per cent of the numbers arriving in Italy, compared to 26 per cent in 2013. Similarly, 34,329 Eritrean migrants represented 20 per cent of arrivals in Italy in 2014, the same proportion seen the year before. Fewer Egyptians arrived in 2014 and 2015 than in 2013, when they comprised 6 per cent of arrivals in Italy. Contrastingly, significant numbers of Sudanese arrived in Italy in 2015, making up 6 per cent of the flows. Similarly, Nigerian arrivals increased in 2015, from less than 6 per cent of the total in 2013 and 2014 to nearly 15 per cent of arrivals in Italy in 2016 (Figure 4).

Routes from North Africa to Europe

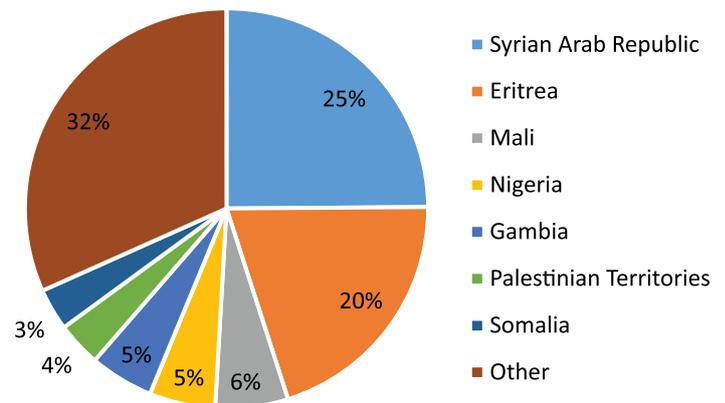
Migrants arriving in Italy from Libya are predominantly from East Africa, West Africa and the Syrian Arab Republic, though numbers from the Syrian Arab Republic fell in 2015 and 2016. Historically, the rise in number of arrivals via the Central Mediterranean route was first associated in 2014 with an increase in the number of North African departure points to Europe. The majority of boat departures from North Africa occurred from the Libyan coast, with additional departure points in Tunisia and Egypt. The main boat departure points from Libya in 2014 and 2015 were beachheads within 50 km of Tripoli, including Zwarah and Zawiya. Some migrants also depart from Benghazi. The major departure points from Egypt are around Alexandria, between El Hamam to the west and Damietta to the east. Boat arrivals to Italy from Egypt were mainly Eritreans, Palestinians, Egyptians and Syrians, though again the number of Syrian migrants decreased in 2015 and 2016. The frequency of use of these departure points is thought to depend on the level and intensity of border control operations at different points on the northern coast.³

Figure 4: Country of origin of migrant arrivals in Italy, 2013–2015

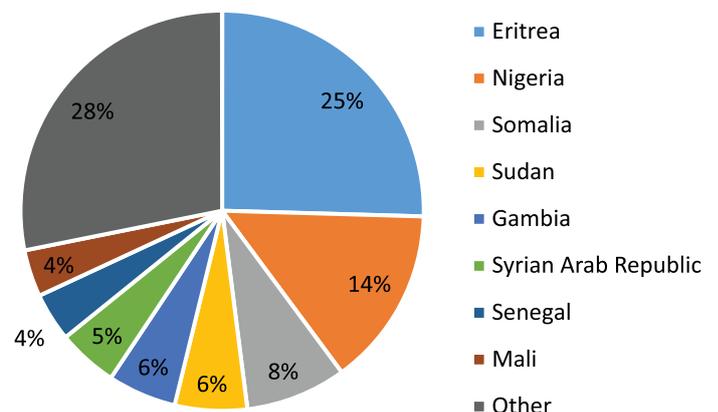
2013: 42,925 arrivals to Italy



2014: 170,100 arrivals to Italy

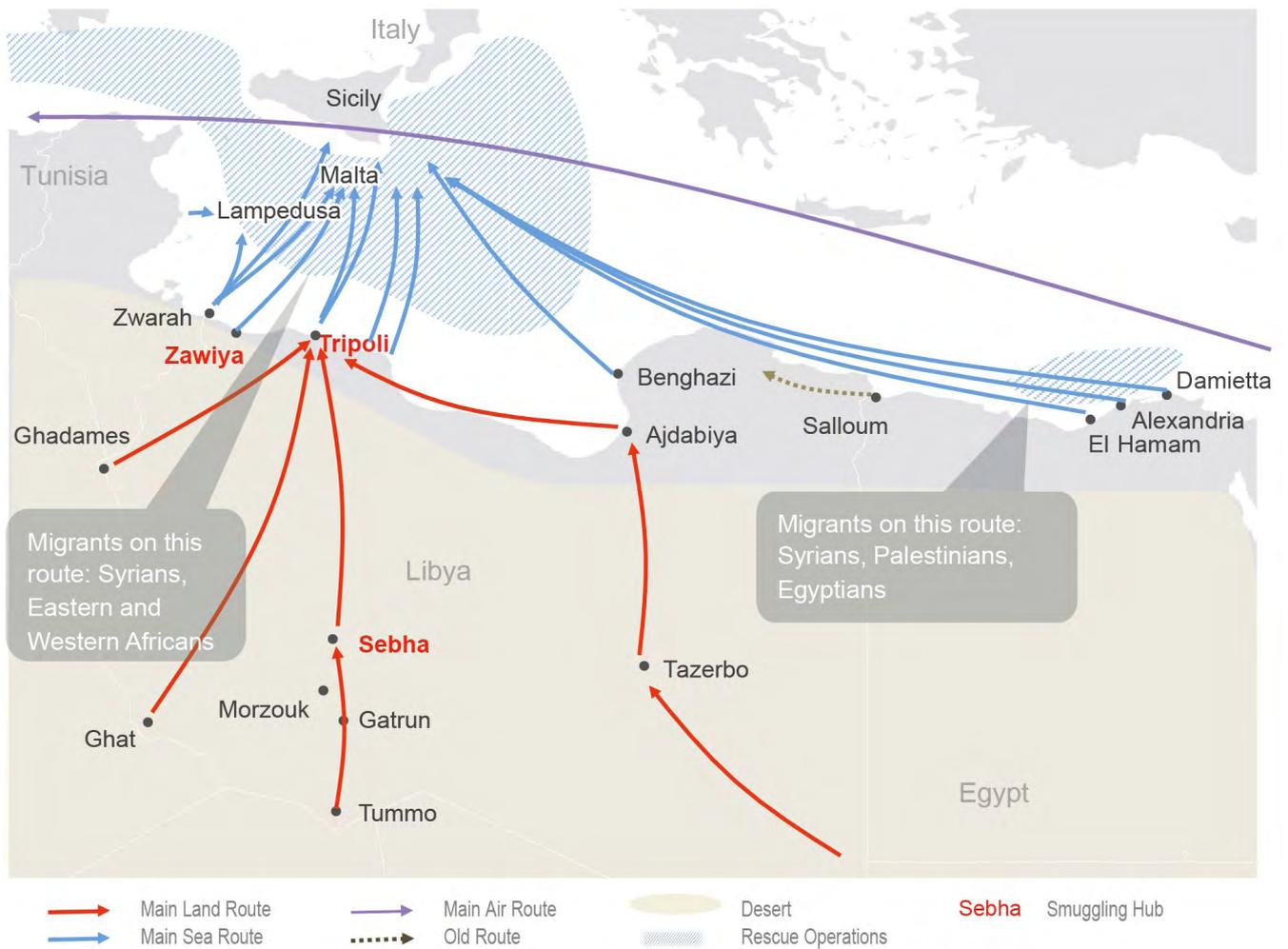


2015: 153,842 arrivals to Italy



3 Ibid.

Map 1: Main migration routes from North Africa to Europe



Taken from 'Migration Trends Across the Mediterranean: Connecting the Dots' by Altai Consulting/IOM

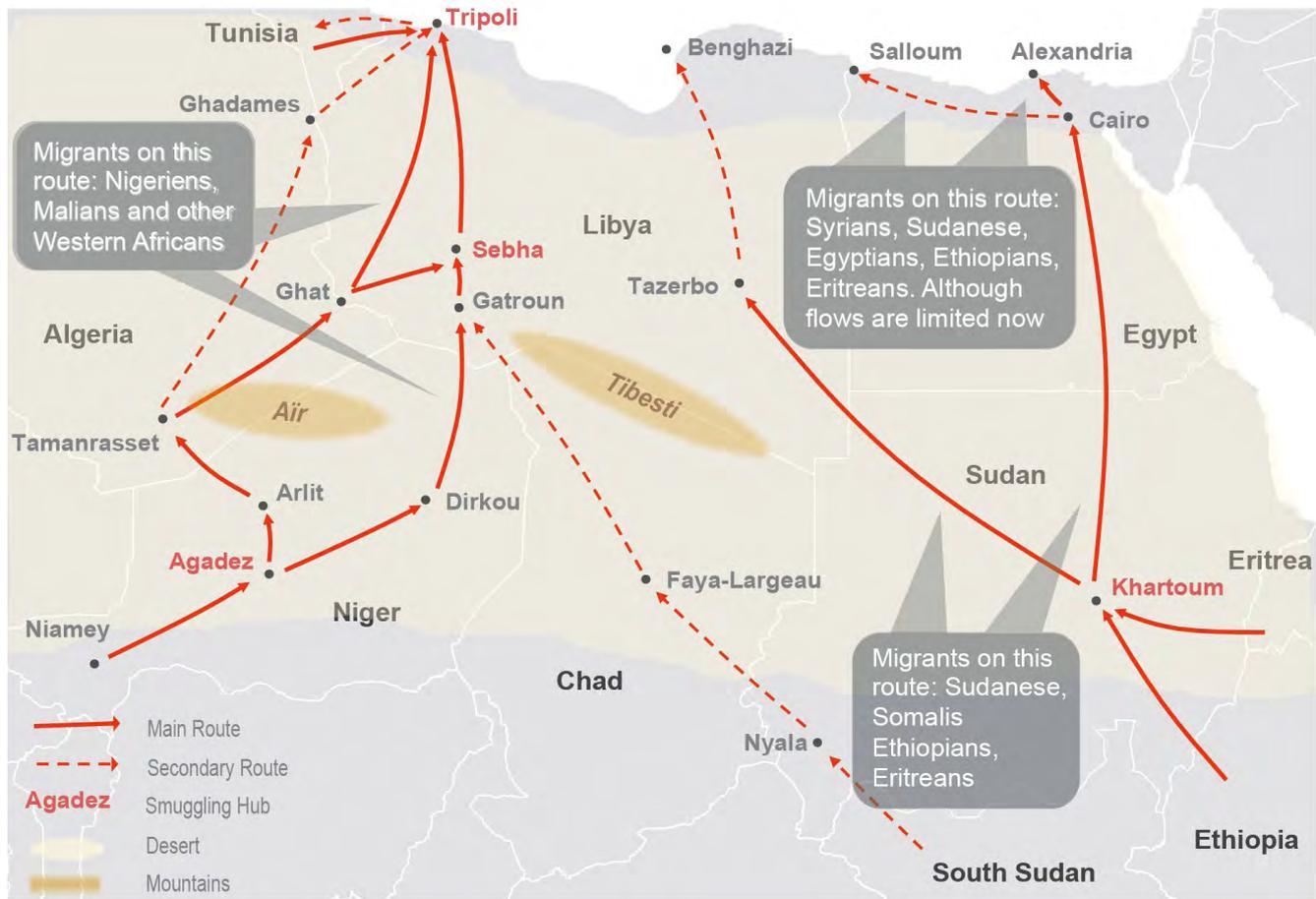
Source: Malakooti, 2015.

Historically, some Syrian migrants arrived by air to Algeria, Egypt and Libya, which previously had no visa requirements for Syrians. The numbers of Syrians travelling by air into Libya decreased during the 2014 crisis, but has since risen again. However, Egypt and Algeria now require visas from Syrian passport holders, which stopped these movements. Generally, the number of Syrians who arrived in Italy in 2015 and the first quarter of 2016 were much lower than preceding years, due to the increasing difficulties of travel to North Africa and the comparative ease (until recent months) of the Eastern Mediterranean crossing.

Routes to North Africa towards the Central Mediterranean

Libya is traditionally the main country of departure on the Central Mediterranean routes, although Egypt has become a more common transit point in recent years. There are several major routes into Libya. Migrants from Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan travel from the east, through the Horn of Africa, to Khartoum and then to Libya via its south-eastern borders. Another migratory route is through Chad to Sebha, in South-western Libya. Nigerian, Malian, and other Western African migrants take the routes through Niger, which lead north to Libya either directly or via Algeria. There

Map 2: Main migration routes to North Africa on the Central Mediterranean route



Taken from 'Migration Trends Across the Mediterranean: Connecting the Dots' by Altai Consulting/IOM

Source: Malakooti, 2015.

is also a route from Egypt to Libya via Salloum that is taken by fewer migrants than on the other routes to Libya. This route is frequented by Egyptians, Eritreans, Ethiopians, Sudanese and Syrians.

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Conclusions

The available data on routes towards the Central Mediterranean and on deaths and arrivals indicate that since the end of March 2016, there have been rising numbers both of arrivals and deaths, with an increase in the number of large incidents and an unprecedented death toll for the last week of May 2016. This briefing seeks to inform policymakers and the general public of this change, in the context of previous and emerging European Union and national government policy interventions. The deadly events taking place in the Mediterranean are increasingly concentrated in the Central Mediterranean, a route that has become more significant with the effective closure of the Eastern Mediterranean route and the overland Western Balkans route, the implementation of the European Union–Turkey agreement, the relative porosity of borders in Libya and the increasingly dangerous conditions for the migrants living there.

All these factors are thought to drive and influence the desperate choices made by migrants, along the various routes to the Central Mediterranean and which result in the increased number of arrivals on this route. With the closure of the Eastern Mediterranean route and the extreme dangers posed by the Central Mediterranean crossing, the numbers presented here seem to support warnings from officials and commentators of a major humanitarian crisis.

Note on data used in this brief

Timely data on migration are often scarce, making it difficult for decision makers to develop effective migration policies. The creation of the Global Migration Data Analysis Centre (GMDAC) in Berlin, Germany, is IOM's response to growing calls for comprehensive data on global migration trends. This series of data briefings is a step towards better analysis and communication of available data, which is needed to promote a better understanding of migration.

The data used in this brief are based on methodologies developed to maximize accuracy and timeliness. Data on migrant arrivals are collected by IOM from national sources on registrations – in this brief, the Italian Ministry of the Interior and the Hellenic Coast Guard – and take into account government sources and local estimates from IOM staff on the ground. Data on migrant deaths are sourced from IOM's Missing Migrants Project, which collates information from national authorities, media reports, non-governmental organizations and local estimates from IOM staff. However, it is important to keep in mind that because of the irregular nature of migration discussed in this briefing, it is not possible to have precisely accurate numbers. All numbers used in this briefing should be seen as approximations, which nonetheless reflect the scale and trends of migration. For further reading, see: A. Malakooti, *Migration Trends in the Mediterranean: Connecting the Dots* (Altai Consulting for IOM Middle East and North Africa Regional Office, Cairo, 2015). Available from <http://publications.iom.int/books/migration-trends-across-mediterranean-connecting-dots>

Crowdfunding for migration, asylum and human rights projects worldwide

Create new futures

Fund your business, development, humanitarian or research project through your Diaspora and other supporters and benefactors



Crowdfunding is an increasingly popular and successful mechanism to generate funding for worthwhile projects and initiatives.

MigFunder (www.migfunder.com/), the first and only crowdfunding platform dedicated solely to migration, refugee and human rights initiatives worldwide, was launched a few months ago.

The platform caters to migrants looking to create (or grow) their businesses abroad or in their countries of origin, as well as to migrant organizations, public agencies, non-governmental organizations, and individuals looking to launch a development or humanitarian initiative in support of immigrant and refugee communities worldwide, or a research project/conference in the field of migration, asylum or human rights policy.

This is a pioneering initiative that will contribute potentially to reducing the effects of budget cuts and underfunding in major refugee, migration

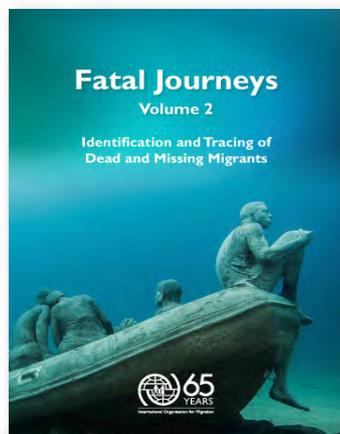
and human rights programmes around the world. MigFunder was established by a group of European migration policy experts, including former senior government officials, reputable researchers and IT developers, who set out to extend the facilities and benefits of a crowdfunding platform to the specific needs of immigration, refugee and human rights affairs worldwide.

MigFunder targets, primarily but not exclusively, members of the diaspora who are willing and able to support viable business projects from their compatriots, as well as development, humanitarian and research initiatives in the countries of immigration or origin.

Current campaigns on MigFunder originate from organizations such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM), Doctors of the World, the Migrant Offshore Aid Station (MOAS), Business in the Community Ireland and Quist Solicitors, among others. Most are concerned with the current refugee crisis.

For any further information, or to submit a campaign, please contact
Solon Ardittis (sardittis@migfunder.com) or **Don Ingham** (dingham@migfunder.com).

Publications



Fatal Journeys Volume 2: Identification and tracing of dead and missing migrants

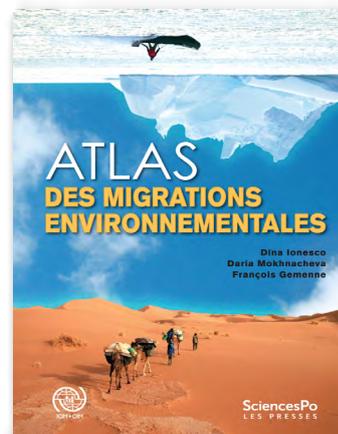
2016/108 pages/English

ISBN 978-92-9068-721-4 • E-ISBN 978-92-1-058234-6

Over 5,400 people are estimated to have lost their lives on migratory routes around the world in 2015, and the first half of 2016 has only seen the numbers increase. The Mediterranean alone witnessed a record number of at least 3,770 deaths in 2015, with numbers climbing in 2016. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimates that over the last two decades, more than 60,000 migrants have died trying to reach their destinations, and this only includes deaths for which there is some record. Often occurring far from the public eye, an unknown number of deaths go unrecorded.

In addition to the tragedy of loss of life, the majority of those who die are never identified. Their bodies may not ever be recovered, and even among those whose bodies are found, most are buried with at best a number – not a name. Each unidentified migrant represents a missing person for a family. Left without certainty as to the fate of their loved one, families may search for years or lifetimes, never fully able to grieve their loss.

This second volume in IOM's series of global reports on migrant deaths, *Fatal Journeys Vol. 2: Identification and Tracing of Dead and Missing Migrants*, has two main objectives. First, it provides an in-depth analysis of available data on migrant deaths for 2015. Data on the number and profile of dead and missing migrants are presented for different regions of the world, drawing upon the data collected through IOM's Missing Migrants Project. Second, the report examines the challenges facing families and authorities seeking to identify and trace missing migrants. The study compares practices in different parts of the world, and identifies a number of innovative measures that could potentially be replicated elsewhere.



Atlas des migrations environnementales

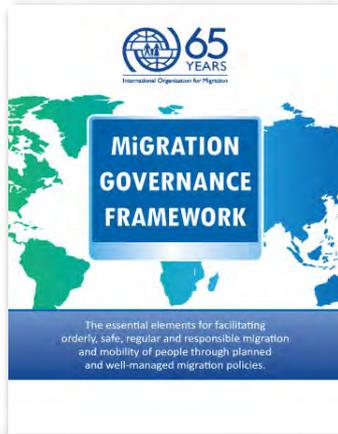
2016/152 pages/French

ISBN 2-7246-1655-3

Catastrophes géophysiques ou météorologiques, hausse du niveau des mers, désertification, dégradation des écosystèmes : chaque année, des millions de personnes quittent leurs terres pour des raisons environnementales. Un phénomène que le changement climatique en cours ne va qu'amplifier.

À l'aide de plus de 100 cartes, graphiques et diagrammes et de nombreuses études de cas concrets, cet ouvrage pionnier, coordonné par trois des meilleurs experts des migrations environnementales, dresse un état des lieux inédit et propose des pistes pour répondre à ce grand défi du XXI^e siècle.

Car mieux comprendre ces migrations, c'est mettre au jour la manière dont les causes environnementales se mêlent à d'autres facteurs – politiques, socioéconomiques, psychologiques – qui poussent les individus à la migration temporaire ou à l'exode. C'est anticiper les mouvements de population et permettre leur accompagnement raisonné. C'est contribuer à l'indispensable adaptation aux conséquences du changement climatique.



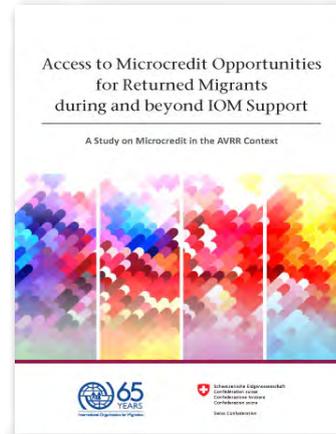
Migration Governance Framework

2016/8 pages

English / French / Spanish

There is a clear and increasingly sought relationship between emergency, rehabilitation and development, and migration is relevant and a key component of all. The international community recognizes that emergency assistance should be provided in ways that support long-term development to ensure smooth transition from relief to rehabilitation. At the same time, economic growth and sustainable development are essential for prevention of, preparedness and resilience against natural disasters and other emergencies.

Migration is a growing trend, yet there has so far not been an agreed document that clearly presents the elements of good governance of human mobility. IOM's Migration Governance Framework seeks to present, in a consolidated, coherent and comprehensive way, a set of three principles and three objectives which, if respected and fulfilled, would ensure that migration is humane, orderly, and benefits migrants and society.



Access to Microcredit Opportunities for Returned Migrants during and beyond IOM Support

2016/64 pages/English

With the present study, IOM Bern wanted to explore the availability of microcredit as an additional source of financing for reintegration projects that are implemented within the framework of an IOM assisted voluntary return and reintegration (AVRR) programme. The accessibility of microcredits to returned migrants was examined in five target countries: the Islamic Republic of Iran, Mongolia, Nigeria, Senegal and Sri Lanka. In the first step, the situations of the national microcredit markets were analysed, considering that the general availability of microcredits and their accessibility influence returnees' chances to be part of a microcredit scheme. In the second step, migration-specific challenges for applicants for a microcredit were identified. In the third step, recommendations to IOM and the Swiss State Secretariat for Migration were formulated. On one hand, these recommendations aim to serve as suggestions on how to include the concept of microcredit into future AVRR programme work. On the other hand, the recommendations aim to serve as guidelines on how to include information about microcredit into pre-departure counselling.

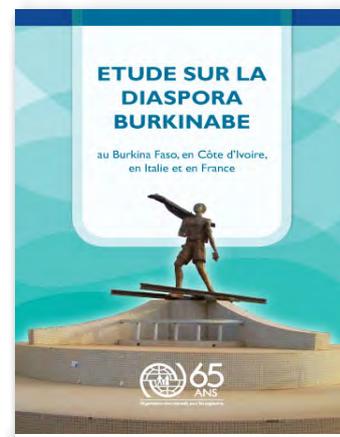


If we leave we are killed
2016/152 pages/English

Lessons Learned from South Sudan Protection of Civilian Sites 2014-2015 is a snapshot and analysis of the formulation and administration of protection of civilian sites gathered from interviews of IDPs, stakeholders, partners and decision makers.

Violence broke out in South Sudan in December 2013, forcing tens of thousands of internally displaced persons (IDPs) to seek protection at UN peacekeeping bases, leading to an unprecedented situation for both the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and humanitarian agencies. Due to the scale of violence of the crisis, the desperate and immediate needs in the newly termed protection of civilian (PoC) sites have been overwhelming and required considerable flexibility to save lives and mitigate the impacts of the conflict.

The PoC sites have been a considerable achievement for UNMISS, which is protecting more than 200,000 IDPs on a daily basis. Despite the success of the PoC sites as a protection mechanism, much debate has arisen over their sustainability and the resources they demand from the mission. This unique situation has led to considerable differences between stakeholders that function under very different systems and mandates. Significant challenges in the coordination of the response, both between humanitarian agencies and with UNMISS, and the need to define the differing roles and responsibilities have necessitated the establishment of guidelines and synchronized mechanisms to facilitate effective processes.



Etude sur la Diaspora Burkinabe au Burkina Faso, en Côte d'Ivoire, en Italie et en France
2016/142 pages/French

Réputé être un « réservoir abondant de main-d'œuvre » durant la période coloniale, une « Terre des Hommes » pour sa contribution aux efforts de guerre de la Première et de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, le Burkina Faso (ancienne Haute-Volta) a fait l'objet de très nombreuses études et recherches sur le fait migratoire. Néanmoins, la présente recherche, par son objet d'étude, par l'envergure de son terrain et par la diversité des thèmes abordés, constitue une première du genre au Burkina Faso.

Cette présente recherche a été initiée par le Bureau-Pays de l'Organisation internationale pour les migrations (OIM) de Ouagadougou, avec l'appui financier du Fonds de l'OIM pour le développement, dans le cadre du projet de « recherche et de renforcement des capacités pour une gestion stratégique des migrations au Burkina Faso et de la diaspora burkinabè ».

Ce projet vise à renforcer les capacités du Gouvernement du Burkina Faso pour une meilleure gestion des migrations et de la diaspora burkinabè. Œuvre conjointe entre l'OIM et le Gouvernement burkinabè, il comporte plusieurs activités dont la réalisation d'une étude sur la diaspora burkinabè au Burkina Faso et dans trois pays que sont la Côte d'Ivoire, la France et l'Italie.



Migration, Environment and Climate Change: Policy Brief Series Issue 5 | Vol. 2 | May 2016

2016/8 pages
ISSN 2410-4930
English

Brazil has witnessed an increased level of human mobility due to environmental change. According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, between 2008 and 2014, Brazil was among the countries with the highest numbers of internally displaced persons. Furthermore, the country is one of the top destinations of cross-border displaced persons by disasters in the region. However, the country lacks migration laws and policies to cope with the increasing number of displaced persons.

This policy brief aims at identifying these gaps in the Brazilian law and related policies concerning migration caused by disaster, climate change or other environmental changes and provides a comprehensive overview on existing law and policies. Some recommendations to solve these gaps are presented.

MPP Readers' Survey

Migration Policy Practice (MPP) was launched three years ago and the editors would now like to invite readers to spare a couple of minutes to participate in a short readers' satisfaction survey.

The purpose of this survey, which can be taken anonymously, is to help us identify our readers' profiles, the institutions they represent and their primary interests in our journal. The survey's responses will contribute, in particular, to adjusting and improving, as appropriate, *MPP's* content and style, and thus the reader's experience.

Should you wish to participate in this survey, please [click here](#).

Thank you.





Call for authors/Submission guidelines

Since its launch in October 2011, *Migration Policy Practice* has published over 110 articles by senior policymakers and distinguished migration policy experts from all over the world.

Past authors have included, inter alia:

Eric Adja, Director General of the International Migrants Remittances Observatory (IMRO) and Special Adviser to the President of Benin; *John K. Bingham*, Global Coordinator of civil society activities in the United Nations High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development and the Global Forum on Migration and Development; *Ambassador Eva Åkerman Börje*, Chair of the GFMD 2013-2014; *Mark Cully*, Chief Economist at the Australian Department of Immigration and Border Protection; *António Guterres*, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; *Khalid Koser*, Chair of the World Economic Forum Global Agenda Council on Migration; *Khalid Malik*, Director of the Human Development Report Office, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); *Cecilia Mamlström*, EU Commissioner for Home Affairs; *Ali Mansoor*, Chair of the GFMD 2012; *Andrew Middleton*, Director of Culture, Recreation and Migrant Statistics, Australian Bureau of Statistics; *Najat Maalla M'Jid*, United Nations Special Rapporteur on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography; *Robert A. Mocny*, Director of US-VISIT, US Department of Homeland Security; *Imelda M. Nicolas*, Secretary of the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO), Office of the President of the Philippines; *Ignacio Packer*, Secretary General of the Terre des Hommes International Federation; *Kelly Ryan* (Coordinator of the Intergovernmental Consultations on Migration, Asylum and Refugees – IGC, Geneva); *Martin Schulz*, President of the European Parliament; *David Smith*, Director of Surveys and Reporting, Australian Department of Immigration and Border Protection; *Sir Peter D. Sutherland*, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Migration; *Ambassador William Lacy Swing*, Director General of the International Organization for Migration (IOM); *Myria Vassiliadou*, EU Anti-Trafficking Coordinator, European Commission; *Catherine Wiesner*, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration, US Department of State.

Migration Policy Practice welcomes submissions from policymakers worldwide. As a general rule, articles should:

- Not exceed five pages and be written in a non-academic and reader-friendly style.
- Cover any area of migration policy but discuss, as far as possible, particular solutions, policy options or best practice relating to the themes covered.
- Provide, as often as applicable, lessons that can be replicated or adapted by relevant public administrations, or civil society, in other countries.

Articles giving account of evaluations of specific migration policies and interventions, including both evaluation findings and innovative evaluation methodologies, are particularly welcome.

To discuss any aspect of the journal, or to submit an article, please contact:

- **Solon Ardittis** (sardittis@eurasylum.org); and
- **Frank Laczko** (flaczko@iom.int)