



CENTRE OF
MIGRATION
RESEARCH

Mediterranean and Eastern European Countries
as New Immigration Destinations in the European Union
VI European Commission Framework Programme



Kraków

3-5 June 2009

Conference Paper

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Synthesis report

“Old” Immigration Countries

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Vienna, 31/05/2009

1 Introduction

As the representative of Austria I have to summarize the main characteristics of "old immigration" countries. What are old immigration countries and what are the communalities among them? This task is to some extent brave and heroic because migration is embedded into the political and economic circumstances and therefore very different. However, IDEA is essentially a comparative project and aims to identify significant and meaningful groups of migration receiving countries in Europe to gain a better understanding of the latter's implications for policy and its development. The selection of the countries follows a specific observation: In the course of their immigration experience, receiving countries go through a migration transition changing from emigration to a dominant immigration situation.

2 Conceptual framework

The first point which has to be clarified is the definition of an old immigration country. The notion "immigration country" plays an important role in the public debate and it signals a change in the perception, however there is no commonly accepted definition. At least there are two different approaches: one defines immigration country as a declared self perception. The political elite and the population approve and agree that immigration is part of a nation building process. If the real number of immigrants is high or low does not play a significant role, the general idea is important.

The other approach is more based on statistics. Immigration countries are defined by the surplus of immigration over emigration and by a positive net migration. It is assumed that the positive net migration is not a single event and the exception of the rule but more or less a steady state situation. There are no thresholds defined how many years the net migration has to be positive to label a country as an immigration country but it is obvious that the majority of years in a given period has to show a positive balance.

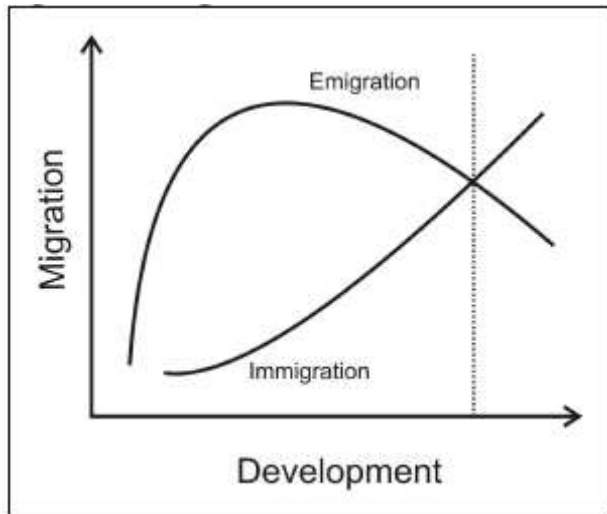
Between the statistical definition of an immigration country and the self perception there could be a discrepancy. Germany for example has to be categorized since the end of the 50s

or 60s as an immigration country but the acceptance as such by the law, the population and the politicians emerged just recently at the beginning of the 21st century. Austria experienced the same situation and the excess of immigration over emigration since the 60s but the statistical fact is not accepted by the public without reservation. However, in the project IDEA the statistical definition is used to delineate an immigration country.

The second point which has to be clarified is the attribute "old". What is an old immigration country? In the IDEA context old is relative term and not an absolute number of years. The surplus of immigration over emigration happened somewhere in the past without declaring exactly when. But the attribute "old" implies that also "young" immigration countries exist where the excess from immigration over emigration is a more recent phenomenon. The terminology of "old immigration countries" is linked inevitably and mandatory with a time dependent process. The basic assumption in IDEA is the idea that European countries are shifting from emigration to immigration situations and from young to old.

This basic assumption leads to the concept of migration transition as a notion that societies and countries tend to go with economic restructuring, social change and demographic transitions through a sequence of initially increasing emigration, the coexistence of significant but diminishing emigration and increasing immigration to eventually become net immigration countries (de Haas 2009). The concept of migration transition is similar to the model of migration transition developed by Zelinsky (1971). Zelinsky assumed four different stages of a societal development with a different amount of migration and different dominant types. In the pre industrialized stage the general level of mobility was low and some rural-urban migration dominated. In the industrial stage the level of mobility increased especially the migration from the countryside to the cities. In the post industrial era inter urban and suburban migration increased and in the advanced society migration stagnated and was substituted by other forms of mobility (commuting, circulation).

Figure 1: The migration transition



Source. De Haas 2009

The concept of migration transition is less abstract and more interwoven with concrete independent processes. Three main processes have to be emphasized: The first one is the demographic development generally described with the demographic transition model (Thompson 1929, van Kaa 19xx). The essential argument in the context of the shift of the emigration to immigration is the decline of fertility. Decreasing numbers of births lead after a time delay to a decreasing numbers of school leavers and entries into the labour market. An economic growth and productivity gain less or equal to a working time reduction lead inevitably to an increase in labour demand. One possible consequence is the increase of the employment rate (especially of the female labour force) but there are legal and practical obstacles. Another consequence and a more likely one is the recruiting of foreign labour. Birth decline, decrease of the native work force and at least an economic system which do not shrink is a strong driving force of the shift.

The second major process is the economic growth which goes hand in hand with the demographic transition. The jobless growth over a long period is neither observable nor likely. Especially due to the structural changes from an industrial economy to a service based economy more labourers are employed. Productivity gains in the service sector are limited and the qualities of the services are connected to human beings and not to machines. Especially in branches like tourism, health and personal services economic growth lead automatically to an increase in the work force.

Finally the more and more pronounced labour market segmentation is a permanent source for further immigration. Well developed labour markets tend to divide the entire market in a primary and a secondary segment. In the primary segment the well educated labourers are employed who are the source of the enterprise specific knowledge. These well educated labourers receive high wages and show stable careers. In the secondary labour market segment the less qualified jobs are concentrated. Labourers are paid worse, their careers are unstable and they have to take over the risk of being unemployed. With the higher qualification of the native population more and more school leavers are trying to enter the primary segment and leave the jobs in the secondary segment vacant. So, segmentation and higher qualification is a permanent source for immigration especially when there is a decreasing or at least stable labour force and a growing economy.

A shrinking and ageing labour force, a growing economy and a segmentation of the labour market stimulate immigration. All European countries which are affected by those processes are attached by the shift from emigration to immigration. That is obvious and mandatory. However, going into the concrete empirical examples one can observe significant changes from one country to the other.

3 Diversity of “old” immigration countries

In 2007 the entire population of the EU27 was around 497 mio, the foreign population counted 31 mio which is a proportion of 6%. The entire inflow from outside of the EU27 is around 2,1 mio, the outflow is 0,5 mio and the net migration 1,6 mio. EU-internal migrants are not included respectively their net balance within the EU is by definition zero. Following the definition of an immigration country Europe in the border of the EU27 is therefore an immigration continent however not an old one.

Four countries are selected – Germany, France, UK and Austria. In a very comprehensive way the development from an emigration country to an immigration country will be described. The description is based on literature and on the UN-data for the population prognosis which offers long term net migration.

3.1 Germany

Germany is without any doubt – in statistical terms – an “old” immigration country dating back to the last quarter of the 19th century. The main driver during the 19th century was the economic upswing in the Western part of the German Reich which exceeds the demographic

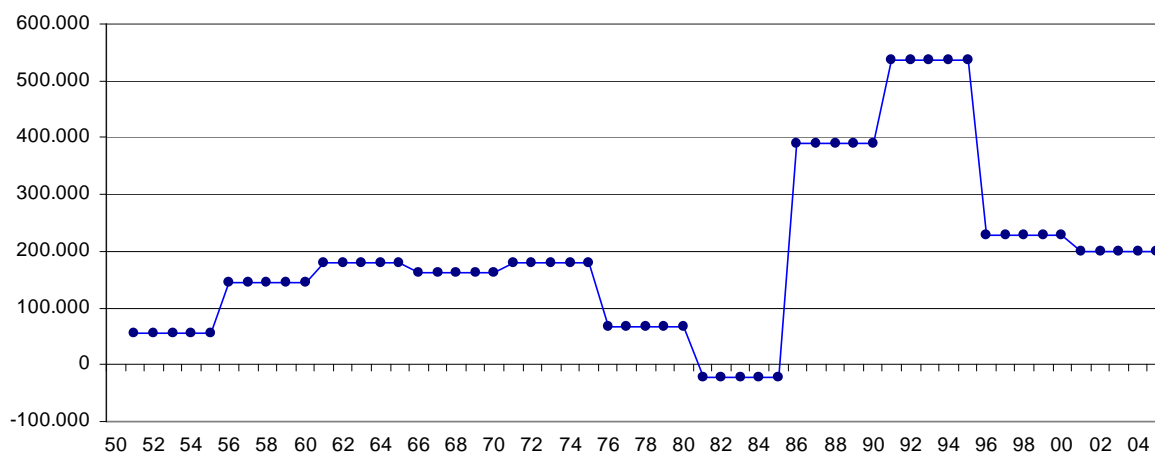
growth. With the industrialization of the Ruhr Area and the urban centres, Germany became a prominent target country for migrants especially from the Eastern parts of Europe. The Polish immigrants constituted an important minority population until the eve of the First World War and counterbalanced the emigration of Germans to the USA which decreased significantly at the end of the 19th century (cf. Bade 1996).

In the interwar period the international migration decreased because the traditional immigration countries – especially the USA – started to limit the number of the newly arrivals. Labour migration came to an end and ethnic and racial motivated migration gain importance. Especially in the 1930s the expulsion of the Jewish population marked the dominance of emigration over immigration.

The first years after the Second World War were characterised by large-scale immigration to Germany. These immigrants were German refugees (Vertriebene) from the Eastern parts of the former "German Reich", from Eastern European countries and from the Soviet Union. According to the 1950 Census, when the forced resettlements came to an end, 7.9 mio refugees and expellees were resident in the Federal Republic of Germany and 3.6 mio in the German Democratic Republic. In the same period (1945–1950), about ten million people (forced labourers, prisoners of war and concentration camp prisoners) left Germany and returned to their countries of origin.

With the integration of the German refugees, the start of the German "Wirtschaftswunder", and smaller cohorts of those born during the war and the years after, Germany began to react to the shortage by recruiting labour migrants from the South. Between 1955 and 1968, the German government signed recruitment agreements with several Mediterranean countries. However, the number of foreigners living in Germany rose after 1961 when the GDR's closed its borders to the West and cut off the flow of workers from East Germany (cf. Rühl 2008).

Figure 1: Net migration in Germany, 1950–2005



Source: United Nations population division, own design.

In total, about 14 mio workers (“guest workers”) from the recruitment countries entered Germany between 1955 and 1973 in order to take up an employment mostly in the automobile, steel and electric industry and coal mining. Many of these recruited workers returned to their countries of origin before 1973 when the German government declared a halt to recruitment in response to the oil shortage and subsequent economic crisis. For those who stayed, the ban may have been an incentive to settle in Germany permanently, as the new legal regulations prevented them from re-entering Germany after a temporary return to their country of origin (see Cyrus 2005: 9; Bauer, Dietz, Zimmermann & Zwintz 2005: 206–207).

The period between the halt of recruitment and the end of the 1980s was primarily characterised by migration through family reunification. No new labour recruitment was necessary because of the economic slowdown and the integration of the first baby boomers in the employment systems which were responsible for the increase in the workforce. High unemployment, a growing labour force and a slow economic growth were the circumstances until the end of the 80s.

The political changes in Central and Eastern Europe (i.e. the fall of the Iron Curtain) at the end of the 1980s triggered a new period of migration to Germany. The number of foreigners moving to Germany increased significantly, exceeding the number of those leaving. A large proportion of these incoming migrants were asylum seekers and ethnic Germans (Aussiedler). The political system reacted with a restriction of the right to asylum, a simplifying of the existing set of migration regulations and a privilege for highly skilled migrants. Another

reaction was the significant change in the German Nationality Law with the introduction of elements of a *ius soli* and the self declaration of Germany as an immigration country.

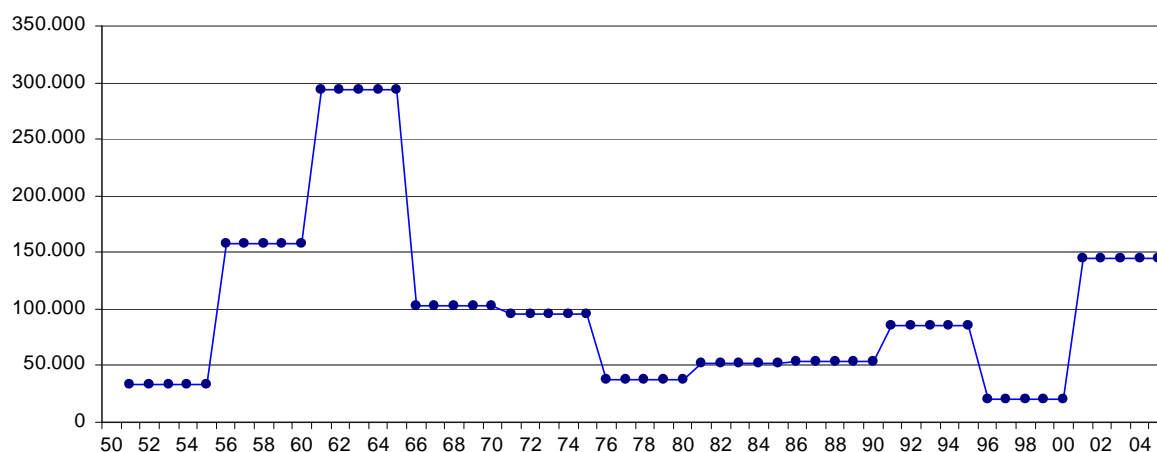
During the whole period from the beginning of the 50s until the end of 2010 the net migration was positive. Only the a few years around 1975 and 1980 the migration balance turned negative. At the end of 2007 about 7,3 mio people living in Germany held a foreign nationality, the share is around 8 per cent of the total population and the current migration balance is around 50.000. Germany is undisputedly an old immigration country but with more than one turning point from emigration to immigration.

3.2 France

Another old immigration country is France, and it has been one since many decades. The shift from an emigration to an immigration situation dates back very long ago. France never was a country of mass emigration on the scale of its European neighbours in the 19th century and it was already a major importer of labour before World War I. France has received successive waves of immigrants who arrived in the country from the second half of the nineteenth century in order to offset the very slow population growth. The early demographic transition with significant fertility decline in combination with the industrial revolution, created a strong demand for new immigrant workers in France. During the 19th century and the interwar period France has continued to fill many gaps in the labour force by immigrants and has actively recruited and received immigrants (cf. Ogden 1995, Thierry 2008)

After the Second World War, France resumed the active recruitment of immigrants that it first started during the inter-war period. From 1946, after the freedom of movement was granted to the Algerian population, a massive wave of "French Muslim" workers arrived from Algeria. The Office National d'Immigration (ONI) signed a first recruitment agreement with Italy in 1947. Heading a colonial empire, France was attractive for emigrants from the African colonies after the Second World War.

Figure 2: Net migration in France, 1950–2005



Source: United Nations population division, own design.

The peak period of recruitment and net migration started in the middle of the 1950s. The decolonisation process initiated in 1956 further increased immigration, with the return of populations of French descent from the lost territories. Several million civil servants, soldiers, and settlers of European origin had moved to the colonies held by France. Following the independence of these colonies, many Frenchmen moved back permanently to their countries of origin. Thus, the average of around 300.000 people per year immigrating into France in the first five years of the 1960s is also a result of the Algerian War and Algeria's subsequent independence. Moreover, a large number of native Algerians, who at the time were French citizens, moved to France to live and work there.

Like in Austria and Germany the 1960s were a period of unprecedented economic growth and the recruitment of unskilled labour became important. And like in Austria and Germany too the oil crisis and the economic slowdown stopped further active recruitment. New legislation introduced in 1974 made it more difficult for immigrant workers to enter the country. However, this development coincided with the recognition of the right to family reunion, resulting in large-scale family migration, thanks to which net migration has never fallen to zero or below. The immigrant population has thus continued to grow at least as fast as the native population.

The fall of the iron curtain and the period of economic upswing during the 90s brought some increase in the net migration but not as significant as it was in Germany. Migration control became more and more important in French policy as well as in the incentives to reduce illegal entries. The government policy towards new arrivals has become tighter over the past

two decades beginning with Mitterand from 1981 onwards and ending with Sarkozy nowadays.

However, around 3.5 mio foreign citizens are currently residing in France, while 6.5 mio residents were born abroad. This means that almost half of those born abroad hold a French citizenship, which can, on the one hand, be explained by the fact that a large number of the immigrants originate from French colonies. On the other hand, it has always been much easier for immigrants to receive citizenship in France than in Germany. While the immigrants residing in West Germany almost exclusively originate from Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, the immigrants residing in France have come from the entire Mediterranean region, including Portugal, Spain, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Italy. Over the entire period from 1950s until 2007 the net migration was positive (2007: +73.000) and therefore there is no doubt to declare France as an old immigration country and the turning point from emigration to immigration dates back in the second half of the 19th century.

3.3 United Kingdom

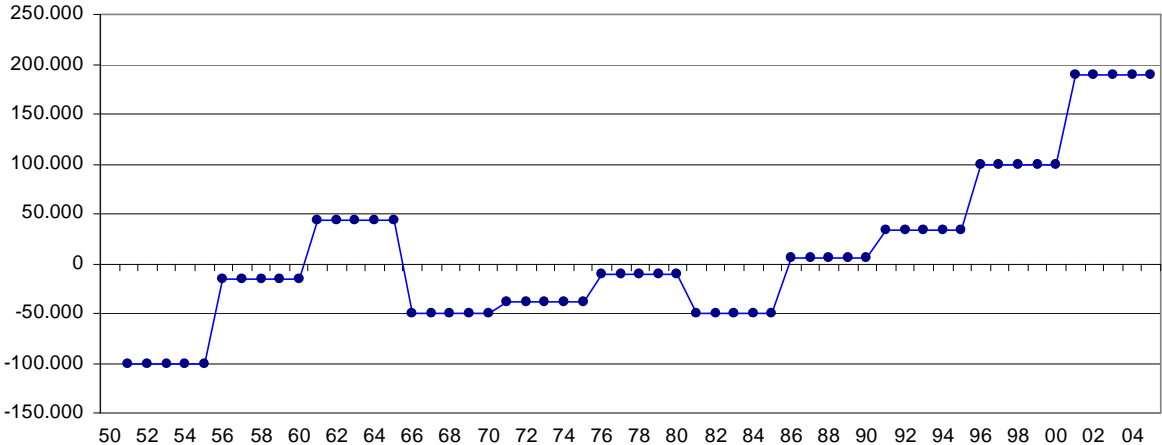
Britain is to some extent an exception. Britain has never considered itself as a country of immigration (Coleman 1994). One of the reasons for this perception is that Britain has always been a country of emigration: "Throughout its history it has exported population, particularly to its English-speaking former colonial territories and dominions, both those that broke away – the United States and the Republic of South Africa – and those that remained within the Old Commonwealth – Canada, Australia, and New Zealand" (Coleman 1994: 37). Emigration was seen as an instrument to export unemployment and poverty and to strengthen the Commonwealth as a multinational but English-speaking power. In 1922 the Empire Settlement Act was decreed to promote emigration. The Overseas Migration Board, founded in 1953, served a similar purpose. Political power through expansion of the territory can be seen as one of the general principles in UK in contrast to the French paradigm which emphasizes the growing population within the given territorial limits (cf. Sturm-Martin 2001).

In addition, Britain is not, and never was, a country actively recruiting immigrants. On the contrary, the British government was always more concerned with limiting the immigration of certain groups. After the Second World War, despite labour shortages and the need to rebuild the country, the government, unlike many European counterparts, did not try to attract migrant workers. Labour migrants from the former overseas colonies arrived without Britain

introducing any special policy measures. The first "wave" came from citizens of Jamaica who had been working in UK during the war and who were unable to find jobs when they returned to the West Indies. But until the 1960s the migration balance remained negatively which was always in line with the self perception as an emigration country.

When the immigration from India and Pakistan reached a high level from the 1960s onwards the legislation reacted to control and to slow down immigration very early. The net migration turned once again to a negative value until the first half of the 1980s. Since the second half of the 1980s the immigration exceeded emigration. Labour migrants from the EU (since 1973 UK became a member), a growing number of asylum seekers (as a consequence of the more restrictive policy in other European countries) and the family migration from the Commonwealth countries were the main reason for this shift. In 2004 UK became the main target for migrants from the new accession countries (especially from Poland and Lithuania).

Figure 3: Net migration in the UK, 1950–2005



Source: United Nations population division, own design.

In 2007, the number of foreign population rose to 4 mio and the net migration doubled to +400.000. Immigration became one of the main political issues in the country, and was a central axis of the Conservative Party campaign in the 2005 general election.¹ The self perception does not changed in a parallel way and UK was surprised by the increase of

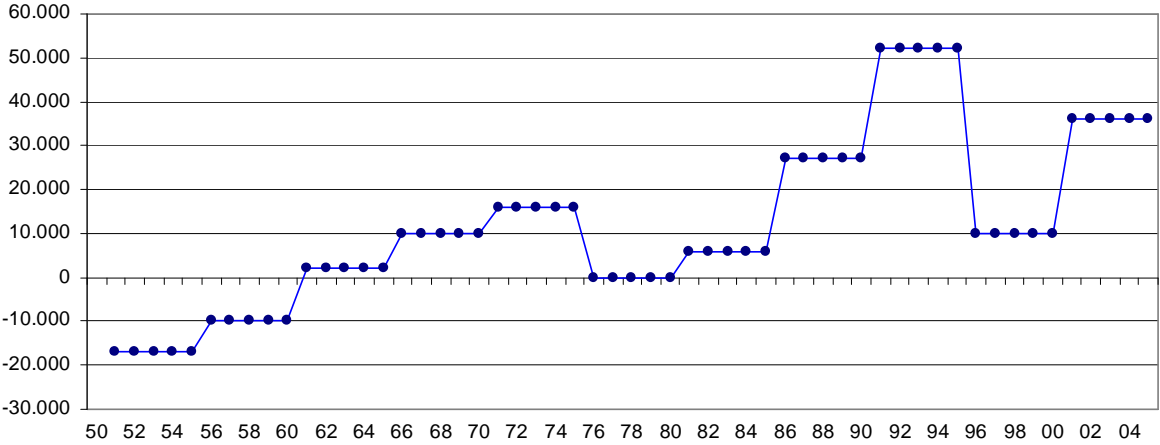
¹ The attacks of July 2005, plotted by UK-born Muslims, have also raised questions about the linkage between immigration and terrorism and Britain's identity, though the terrorists were born and raised in the UK. Reconsiderations of British identity have also led to a questioning of firmly established multicultural policies in the country.

immigration during the last years. However, applying the definition used UK become an immigration country in a statistical way but the turning point from emigration to immigration lies back only two decades.

3.4 Austria

Austria – defined in the boundaries of the Republic of Austria – has been characterized by immigration within the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy which was in the late 19th century a country of emigration. That does demonstrate how complicated territorial linkages are in the historical perspective and how difficult it is to apply the notion of immigration and emigration countries. With the beginning of the 20th century, Austria-Hungary was one of the most important countries of origin for the overseas migration to the USA. At the same time immigrants from Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Galicia arrived in great numbers and settled down in the fast growing capital, Vienna.

Figure 4: Net migration in Austria, 1950–2005



Source: United Nations population division, own design.

In the 1950s Austria was still characterized by a surplus of emigration. The economic upswing happened later than in Germany and many Austrians left the country to work abroad. Higher wages and better employment opportunities were the main reasons for the emigration especially to Germany and Switzerland. With the return of the allied troops to UK and to the USA – to lesser extent to France – so called war brides left the country and moved to the home countries of their husbands.

With the economic upswing in the early 1960s and the entry of the smaller cohorts of the 1940s born population Austria started to recruit foreign workers in Southern and South-

Eastern Europe systematically, since the Cold War and the Iron Curtain had cut off its traditional reservoirs for labour migrants from Eastern Europe. However, the workers coming from Italy, Greece, Spain, Yugoslavia, and Turkey were not necessarily perceived as immigrants. Rather, the Austrian and German policies at the time were guided by the idea that the labour migrants should enter their countries for a limited period of time in order to fill the labour shortages resulting from economic growth.

The motto of the active recruiting was "rotation", which implied short-term help through foreign labour when there was demand, but also a return home when this demand decreased. Foreign workers were supposed to behave like spinning tops on the domestic labour market. They should come and go, if possible alone and without families, and be very flexible both occupationally and geographically. This would bring maximum benefits to German and Austrian businesses while relieving society from fundamental questions of integration, which were inevitable when labour migrants began to settle. Neither their countries of origin nor their countries of destination regarded these migrants as permanent emigrants or immigrants respectively, and therefore did not count them as such.

The phase of rapid growth in Western Europe in the 1950s and 1960s was followed by an economic slump in the 1970s, which also brought the recruitment of foreign workers to a halt. As a result of the oil price shock and the entry of baby boomers in the labour market the fight for jobs became harder. Foreign workers came to be seen as a threat, and their presence was discussed publicly. The end of active recruitment seems to have been a clear signal that those who wanted to stay would have to attain permanent residence. For this reason, the total foreign population residing in Austria rose much more significantly than the number of foreign citizens working there.

Labour migration from Turkey and Yugoslavia began to increase again with a renewed phase of economic growth in the mid-1980s. At the same time, the political changes in the communist countries led to a growing number of people from Eastern and South-Eastern Europe seeking political asylum in Austria, since they could not know at the time that these changes would be lasting and irreversible. The immigration "exploded" in the first half of the 1990s and led to more restrictive asylum and labour migration laws. The laws were effectively as it can be observed by a decrease of the net migration.

The turning point from an emigration to an immigration country can be fixed with the start of the guestworker recruitment in the beginning of the 1960s. Since then the net migration was always positive and only some years after 1973 saw a negative balance. The size of the

immigrant population in Austria currently amounts to 830,000 (2007) with a share of foreign citizens of 10 per cent in the total population. In 2007 14.9 per cent of the Austrian population were born abroad. The large majority of population recognizes the immigration as a necessary supplement to a demographically decreasing working population. The public is not surprised anymore and the number of votes for the right wing political party who operates with xenophobic paroles remains stable.

4 General empirical findings

The short description of the migration development of four selected "old immigration countries" shows some similarities and some differences. Similar is the fact that recently in all four countries the immigration exceeds emigration affirming the status as immigration countries. However, the turning point differs and the description shows that many turning points in different directions can be assumed.

The short case studies proof furthermore that the demand for labour constitutes the major determinant of immigration flows. The demand itself is depending on the overall economic development, on the degree of the segmentation of the labour market and the dominant sectors. External events may play a special role that leads towards an above-average increase in the demand for labour (such as world championships or Olympic Games) or towards a decrease (oil-price shock in 1973).

In all four countries the demographic development in relation with the economic development could be demonstrated as important. The entry of the baby boomers of the early 1960s in the employment system is a factor for reducing the recruitment in the second half of the 1970s. In all countries and during all historical periods the numbers of birth and after a time lag the number of school leavers are important background variables for the migration regulations. Decreasing numbers of births lead towards dropping numbers of entries into the labour market and to an increasing demand for new labour migrants.

What can be also shown is the time lagging of political and legislative reactions. This legislation gap seems to be one of the regularities accompanying the shift from emigration to immigration. This term refers to the time lag between the new immigration situation and the reaction of the political system. Austria only began four decades after the start of the guest worker migration with the decree of an integration law. The same holds true for Germany. The iron curtain was teared down and the numbers of asylum seekers increased significantly

but it takes some years that policy and legislation recognized and arranged the new situation. The numbers of asylum seekers goes up very fast in Germany in the 1980s and early 1990s but Germany needs some years to reformulate the asylum procedure (Asylkompromiss). This clearly indicates how controversial and complicated the political debate on migration can be. UK is searching for decades for the sustainable mixture of limiting the immigration and preserving the idea of shared responsibility for all members of the Commonwealth. For many years, Germany and Austria try to find a compromise between the needs of the economy and the agreement of the population to accept more migrants. International migration is not only a function of regional wage differences, but also of societal and political "digestibility".

The short description of the migration development of four selected "old immigration countries" also shows the importance of the historical framing and its effects on emigration and immigration. The colonial past is of extreme importance to explain the geographical pattern of the immigration. International migration happens within a political, cultural and economic system and offers explanation why the Algerians got to France and the Indians to UK. The importance of the historical framing can also be observed by the inflow of asylum seekers which vary extremely from year to year. The inflow of asylum seekers and refugees fluctuates considerably and does not depend on the needs of the labour market, but on political or other crisis in nearer or farther countries.

Finally the short description demonstrates the "long durée" of certain historical events and political decision which are influencing the events and decision of the next period. The erection of the Berlin wall influenced the guest worker migration to Germany, the fall of the iron curtain determined the migration legislation afterwards or the membership of UK to the EU in 1973 give rise to the Polish migration after the enlargement of 2004.

5 Conclusion

The establishment of "old" immigration countries assumes a time dependent process, a migration transition. Parallel with economic restructuring, social change and demographic transitions emigration and immigration go through a sequence of stages which lead eventually to a net immigration situation. One can divide this transition process into a preliminary stage, a take off stage and an adaption stage but there is no automatism that one stage is followed by another. In the preliminary stage emigration is more important than immigration but emigration starts to decline rapidly. In the take-off stage the significant immigration starts due

to a further growing economy or due to a loss of population (negative birth balance). In the adaption stage immigration is recognized and accepted as a necessary supplement to a demographically decreasing working population.

The model of the migration transition assumes a general shift from an emigration to an immigration situation in European countries. It is a useful concept to analyse migration history following a general guideline. It can be used fruitfully as a reporting grid to make country reports more parallel and better comparable. However it is not a concept determining the number and the timing of phases from an emigration to an immigration country. And – more important – it is not a teleological concept implying a certain and fixed path of development. After an adaption stage a new take off phase could happen as well as a preliminary phase. The concept is not a proper instrument to forecast which is extremely difficult in migration research but it is useful to structure the ex-post analysis. Better than nothing – I would say – migration research is full of simple descriptions and lacking conceptual thinking and our concept could help!

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