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International Migration

Trends, determinants and policy effects

Hein de Haas
heindehaas.org



International Migration Trends, determinants and policy effects

Hein de Haas

University of Amsterdam, h.g.dehaas@uva.nl

Mathias Czalka

Danube University Krems, mathias.czalka@donau-uni.ac.at

Marie-Laurence Flahaux

University of Oxford, Institut de Recherche pour le Développement,
marie-laurence.flahaux@qeh.ox.ac.uk

Edo Mahendra

University of Oxford, edo.mahendra@wolfson.ox.ac.uk

Katharina Natter

University of Amsterdam, k.natter@uva.nl

Simona Vezzoli

University of Amsterdam, s.vezzoli@uva.nl

María Villares-Varela

University of Southampton, m.villares-varela@soton.ac.uk

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The determinants of international migration

A theoretical and empirical assessment of policy, origin and destination effects

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European Research Council (ERC)

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EC's Seventh Framework Programme

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MADE

Migration *as* Development

How processes of development and social transformation shape human migration

European Research Council (ERC)

2015-2020

EC's Seventh Framework Programme

Support for Frontier Research



DEMIG Databases

- **DEMIG C2C:** bilateral flows by country of residence (COR), citizenship (COC), birth (COB); 34 countries, 1946-2011, ≈50,000 dyads.
- **DEMIG TOTAL:** Total immigration, emigration and net migration, citizens and foreigners, 163 countries, from 1820.
- **DEMIG POLICY:** 6,500 migration policy changes, 45 countries, 1946-2013, coded by (i) policy area; (ii) policy tool; (iii) migrant category; (iv) geographical origin; also covers *emigration policies*
- **DEMIG VISA:** Global panel (196*196 countries) of bilateral entry visa and exit permit requirements, full coverage 1973-2014.



International Migration Institute

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DEMIG data and DEMIG-IMI working papers



IN THIS SECTION

DEMIG data

[DEMIG C2C data](#)

[DEMIG POLICY data](#)

[DEMIG TOTAL data](#)

EUMAGINE data

THEMIS data



DEMIG C2C data

The DEMIG C2C (country-to-country) database contains bilateral migration flow data for 34 reporting countries and from up to 236 countries over the 1946–2011 period. It includes data for inflows, outflows and net flows, respectively for citizens, foreigners and/or citizens and foreigners combined, depending on the reporting countries. The DEMIG C2C database was compiled through extensive data collection and digitalisation of historical national statistics as well as current electronic sources. It provides a unique opportunity to construct migration flows from many origin countries to the 34 reporting countries, as well as return flows.



DEMIG POLICY data

DEMIG POLICY tracks more than 6,500 migration policy changes enacted by 45 countries around the world mostly in the 1945–2013 period. The policy measures are coded according to the policy area and migrant group targeted, as well as the change in restrictiveness they introduce in the existing legal system. The database allows for both quantitative and qualitative research on the long-term evolution and effectiveness of migration policies.



DEMIG TOTAL data

DEMIG TOTAL reports immigration, emigration and net migration flows for up to 161 countries covering various periods of time from the early 1800s to 2011, disaggregating total flows of citizens and foreigners whenever possible. The database allows for quantitative analysis of the long-term evolution of international migration.

How effective are migration policies?

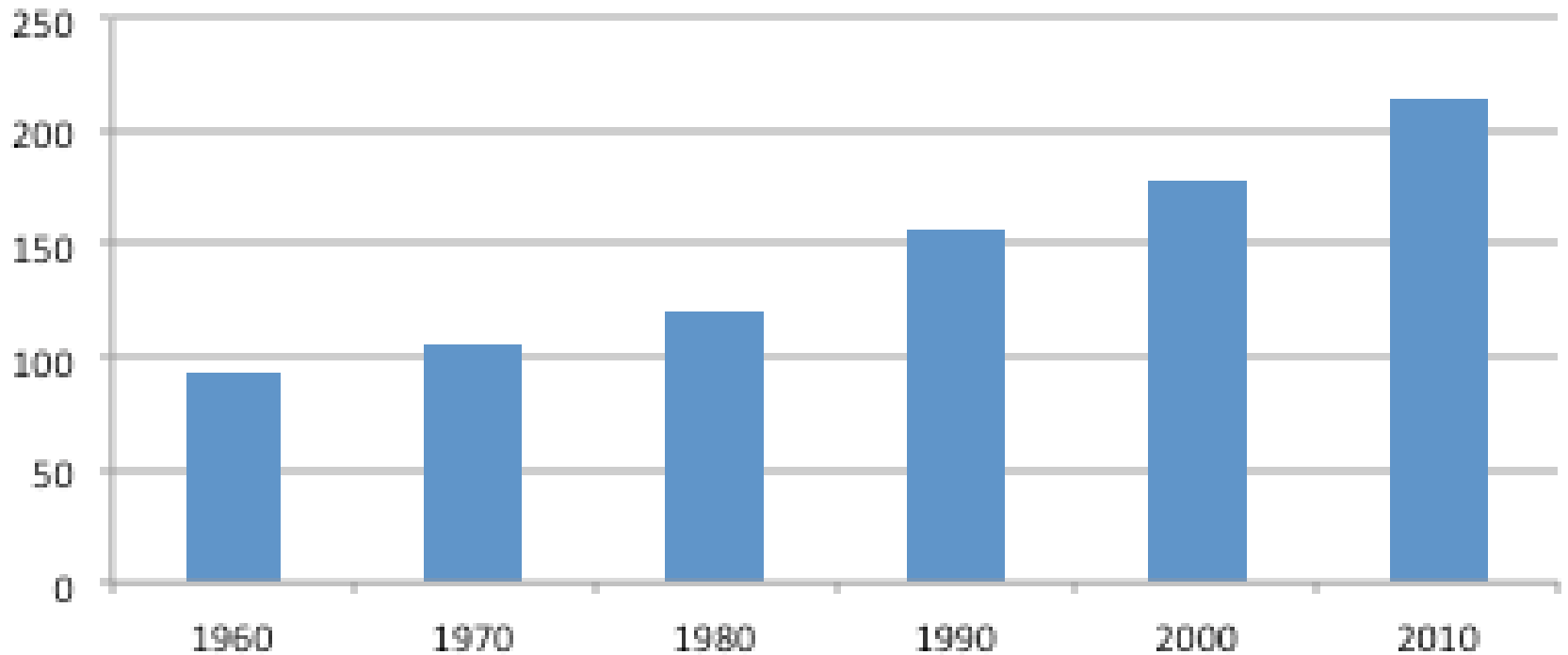
Between political claims making and migration realities

Research questions

1. What has been the nature and structure and evolution of global migration in the 1950-2010 period?
2. How can shifts in global migration patterns be explained from processes of development and social transformation in origin and destination countries?
3. What has been the nature and evolution of immigration and emigration policies in the 1950-2010 period?
4. What are the effects of migration policies and border regimes on the (i) volume, (ii) timing, (iii) duration, (iv) direction and (v) composition of migration?

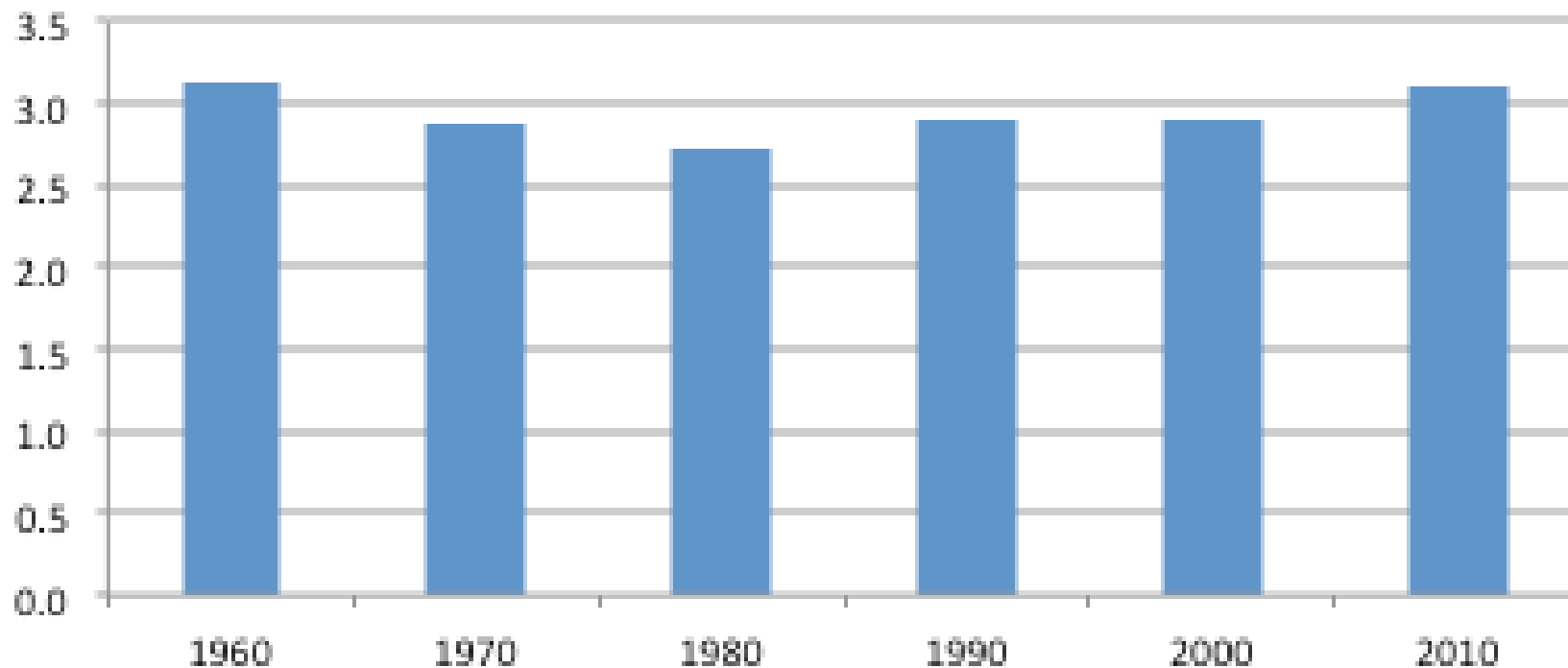
1. Global migration trends

International migrants worldwide

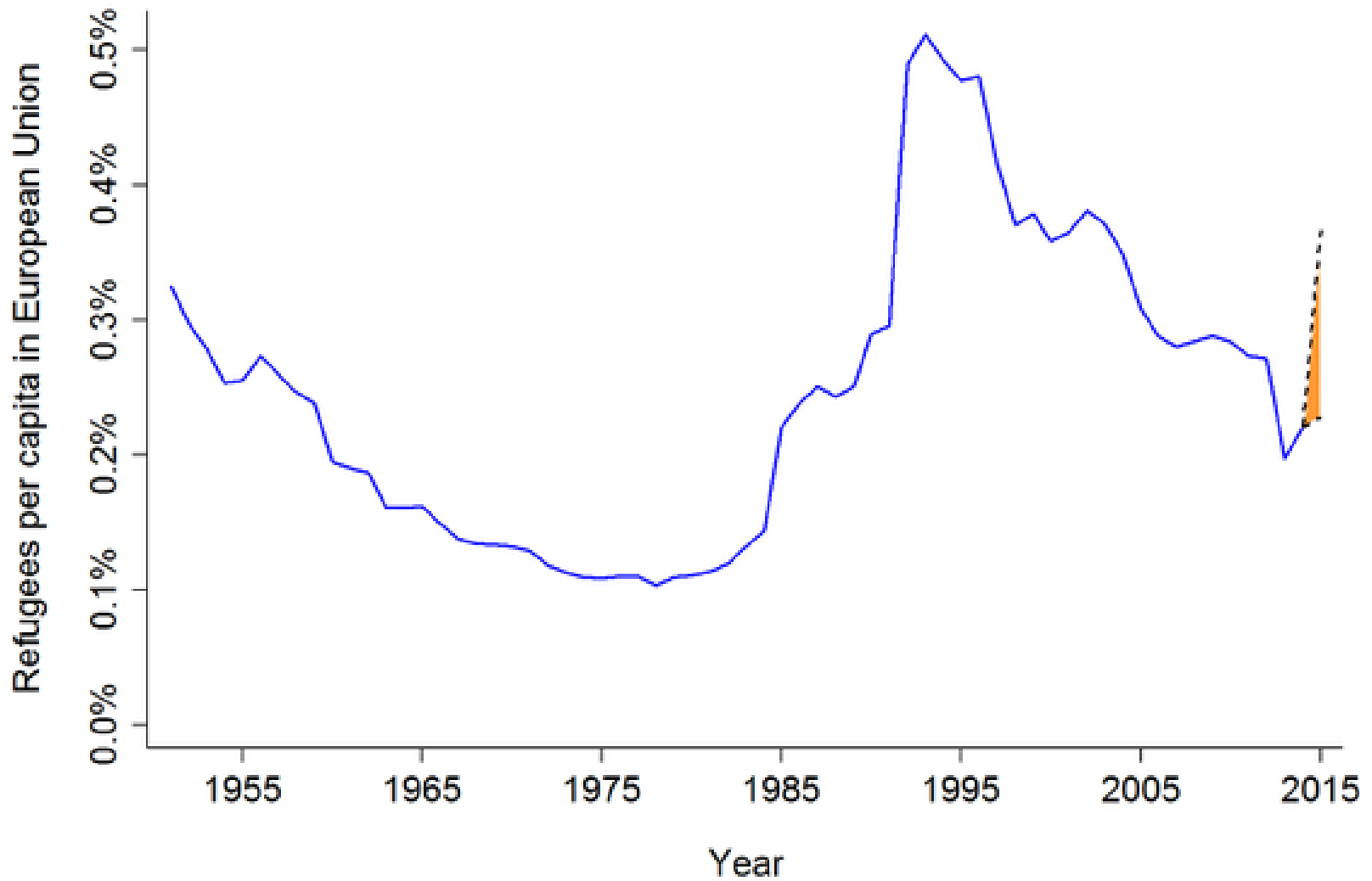


Data sources: UN Population Division, Global Bilateral Migration Database
© Hein de Haas 2015

International migrants as a percentage of world population



Data sources: UN Population Division, Global Bilateral Migration Database
© Hein de Haas 2015



Source: Centre for Global Development

Neither exodus, nor
invasion

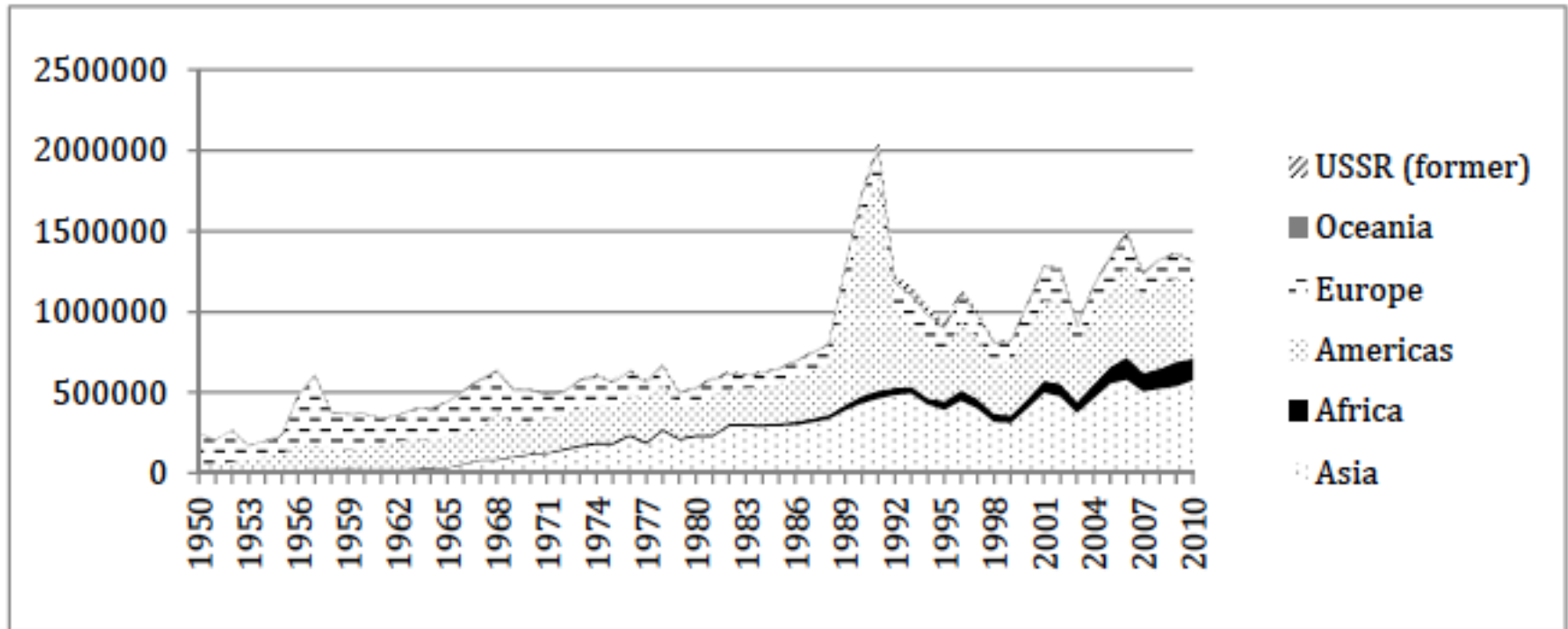
So, what has changed?

1. Global migration trends

1. Global migration trends

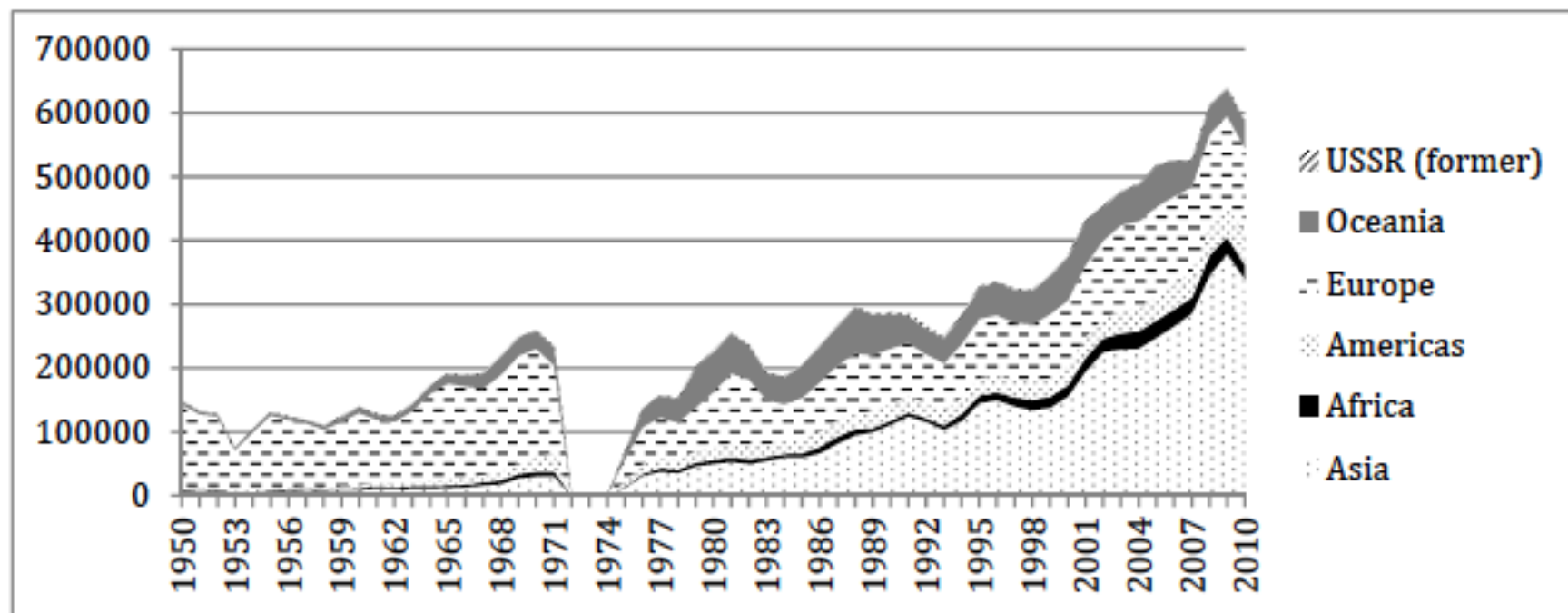
- Global migration reversal

Figure 2. *Estimated annual migration to Canada and USA by region of origin, 1950-2010*



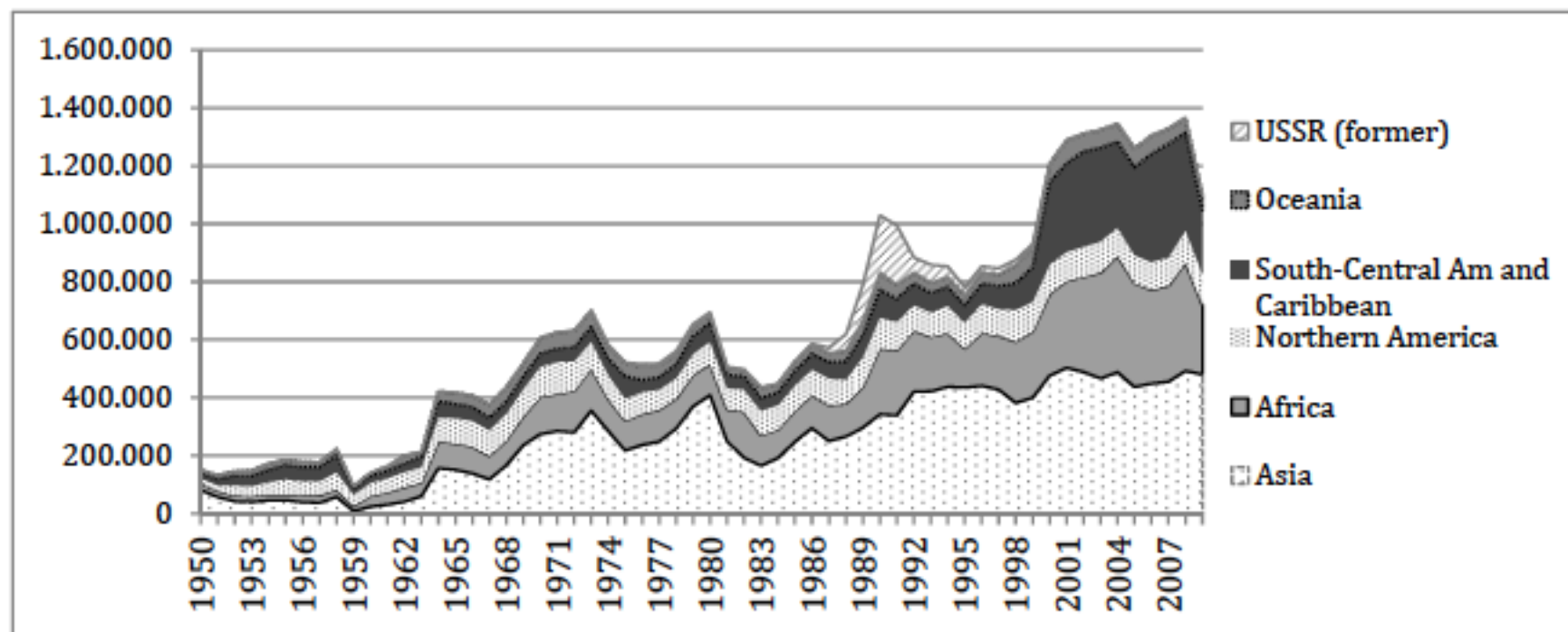
Source: DEMIG C2C Database

Figure 3. *Estimated annual migration to Australia/New Zealand by region of origin, 1950-2010^B*



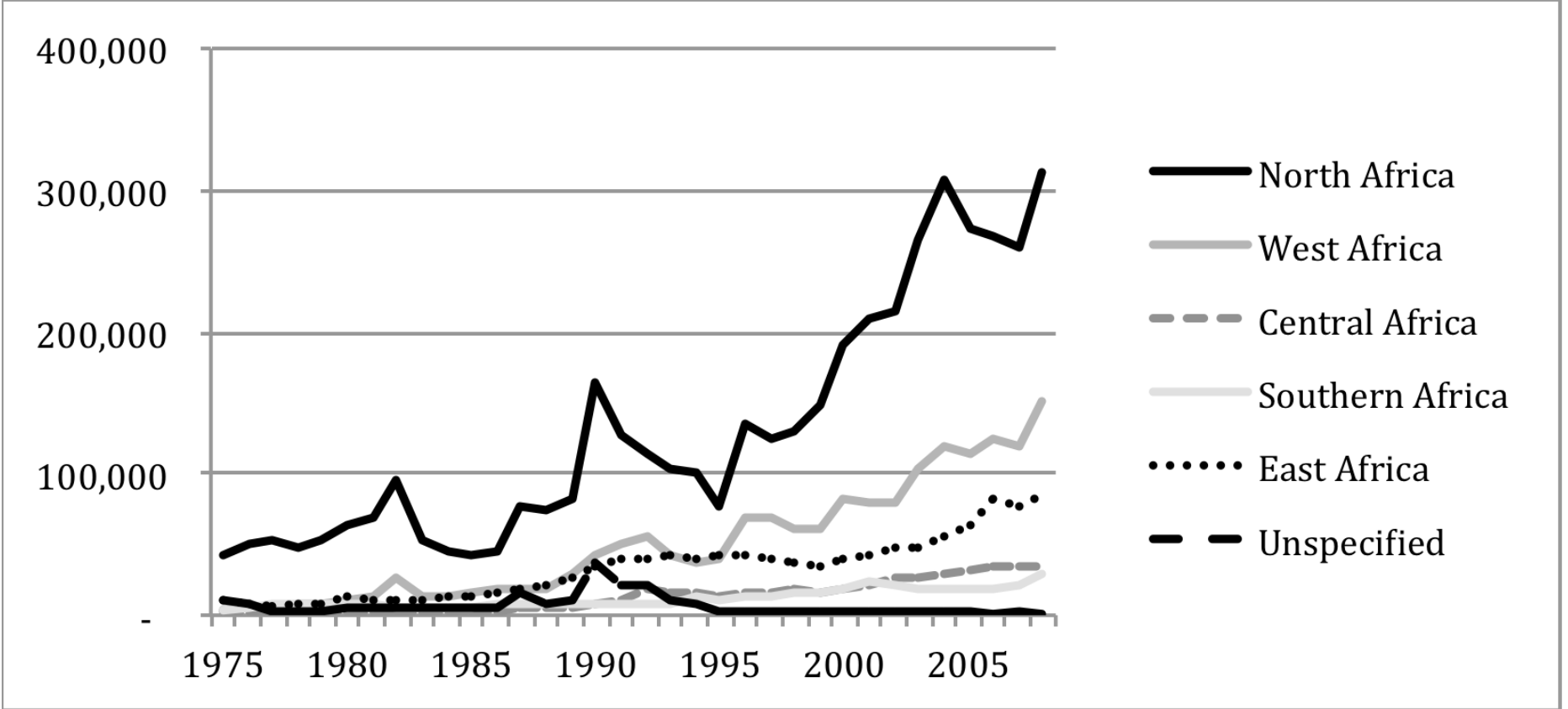
Source: DEMIG C2C Database

Figure 1. *Estimated annual migration to EU15 countries¹ by region of origin, 1950-2008*



Source: DEMIG C2C Database

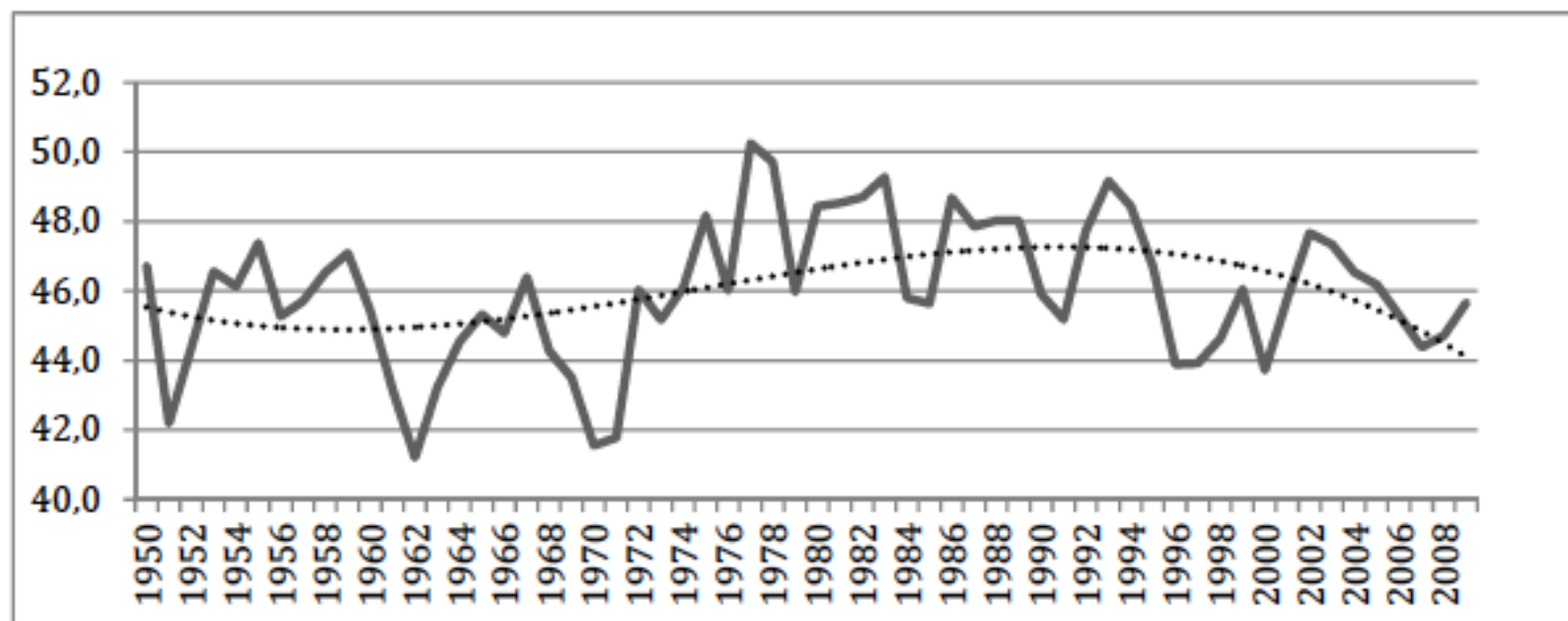
Figure 5. Emigration from Africa to OECD destination countries, by region of origin, 1975-2010



Source: Flahaux and De Haas 2016, based on DEMIG C2C flow data



Figure 4. Women as percentage of total immigration, average of 28 reporting countries 1950-2009



Source: DEMIG C2C Database. Trend line: third order polynomial.

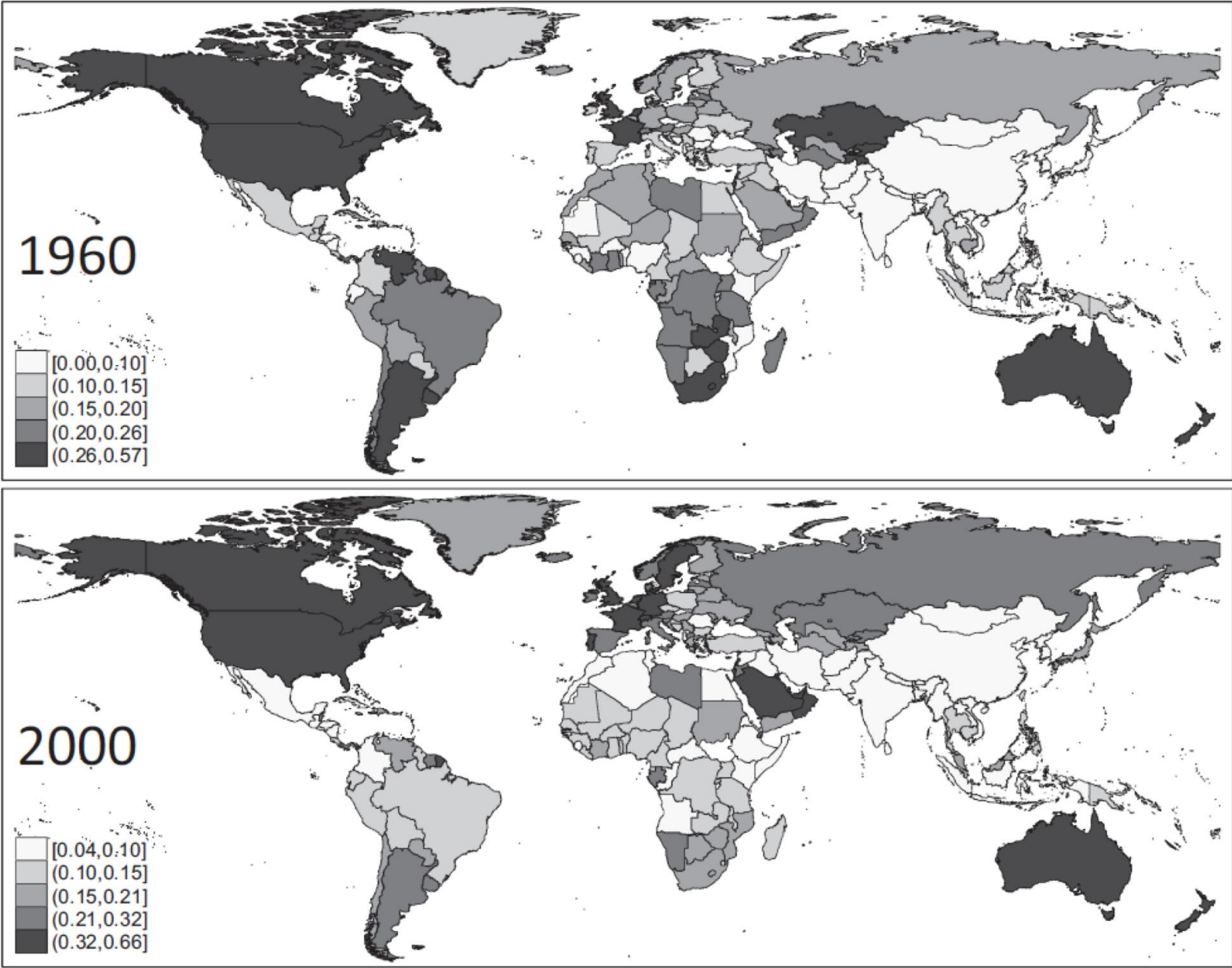
1. Global migration trends

- ‘Global migration reversal’

1. Global migration trends

- ‘Global migration reversal’
- Increasing concentration of migration

Figure 3. *Immigration Diversification Index Scores in 1960 and 2000*



Source: Czaika and de Haas 2014

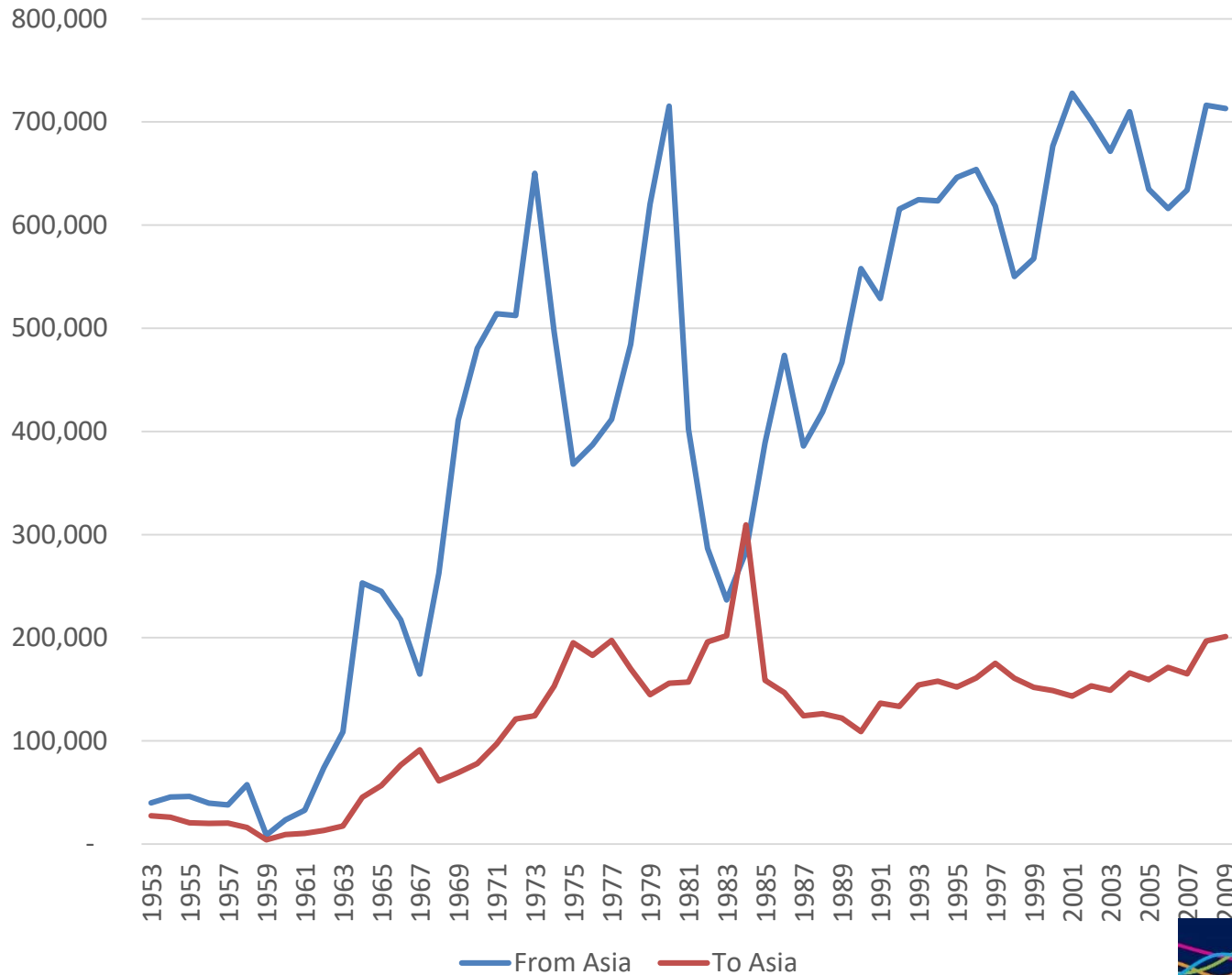
1. Global migration trends

- ‘Global migration reversal’
- Growing concentration of migration in shrinking number of prime destinations

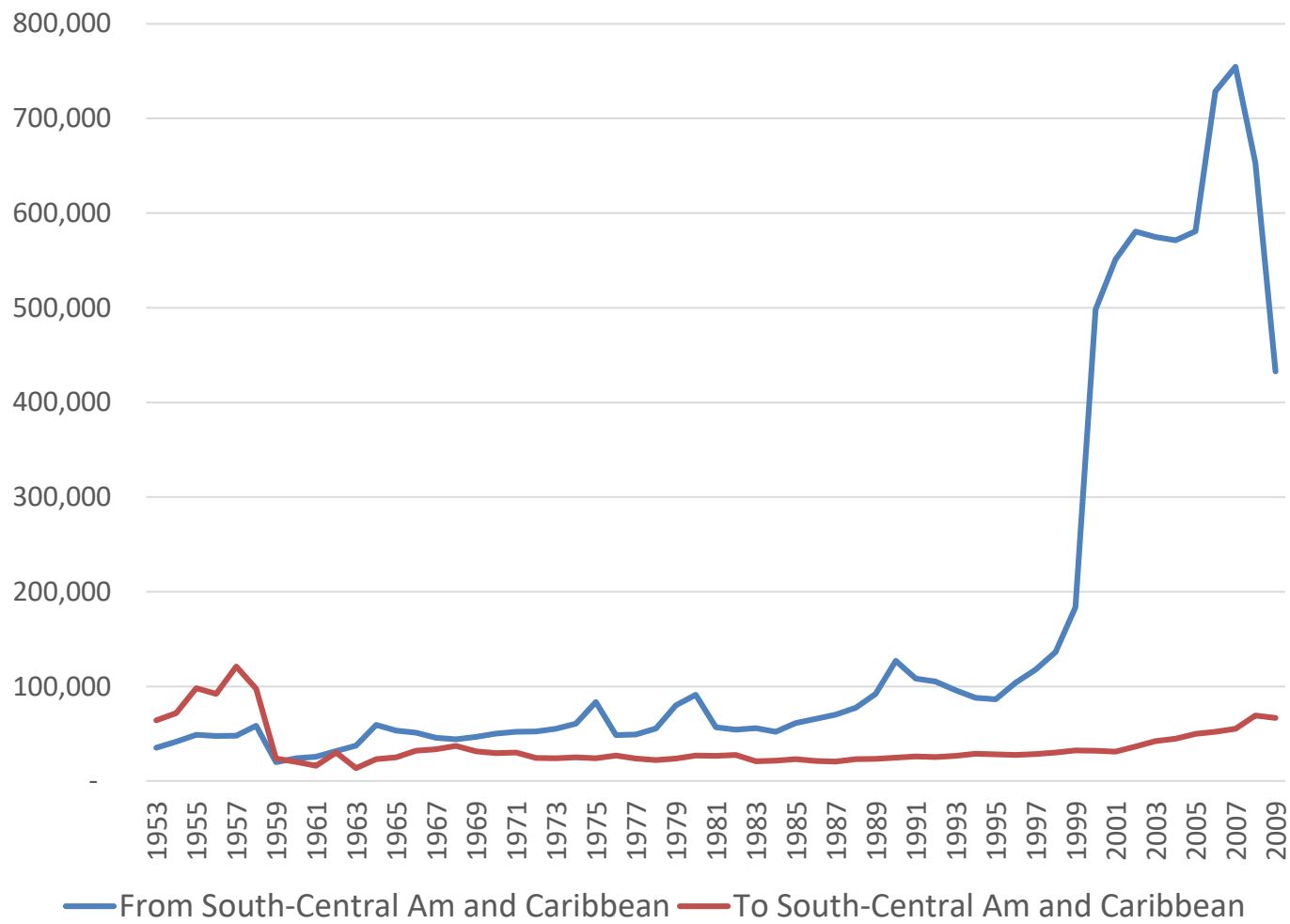
1. Global migration trends

- 'Global migration reversal'
- Growing concentration of migration in shrinking number of prime destinations
- Decreasing circulation (?)

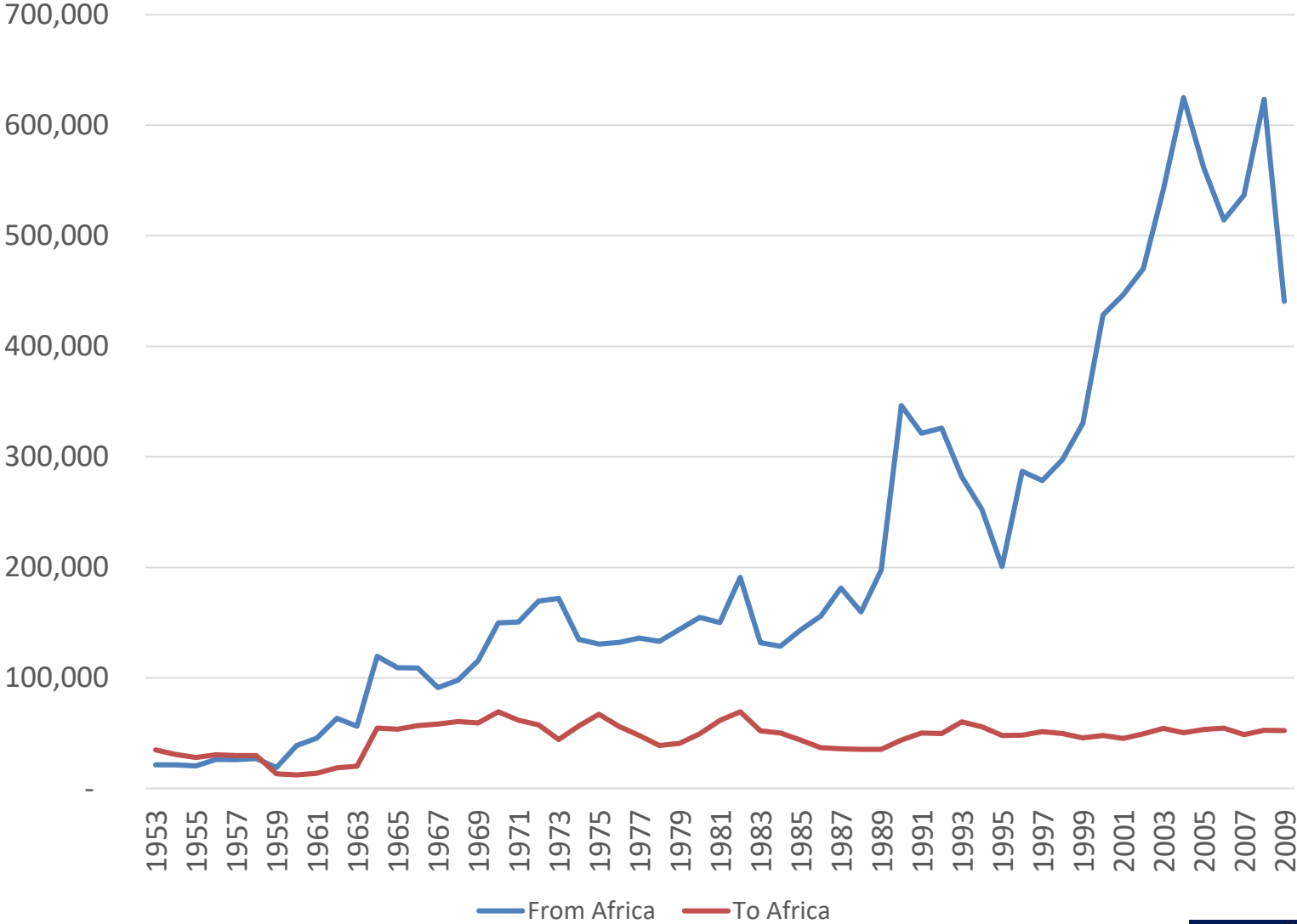
Asian migration to and from EU12



South-Central American-Car migration to and from EU12



African migration to and from EU12

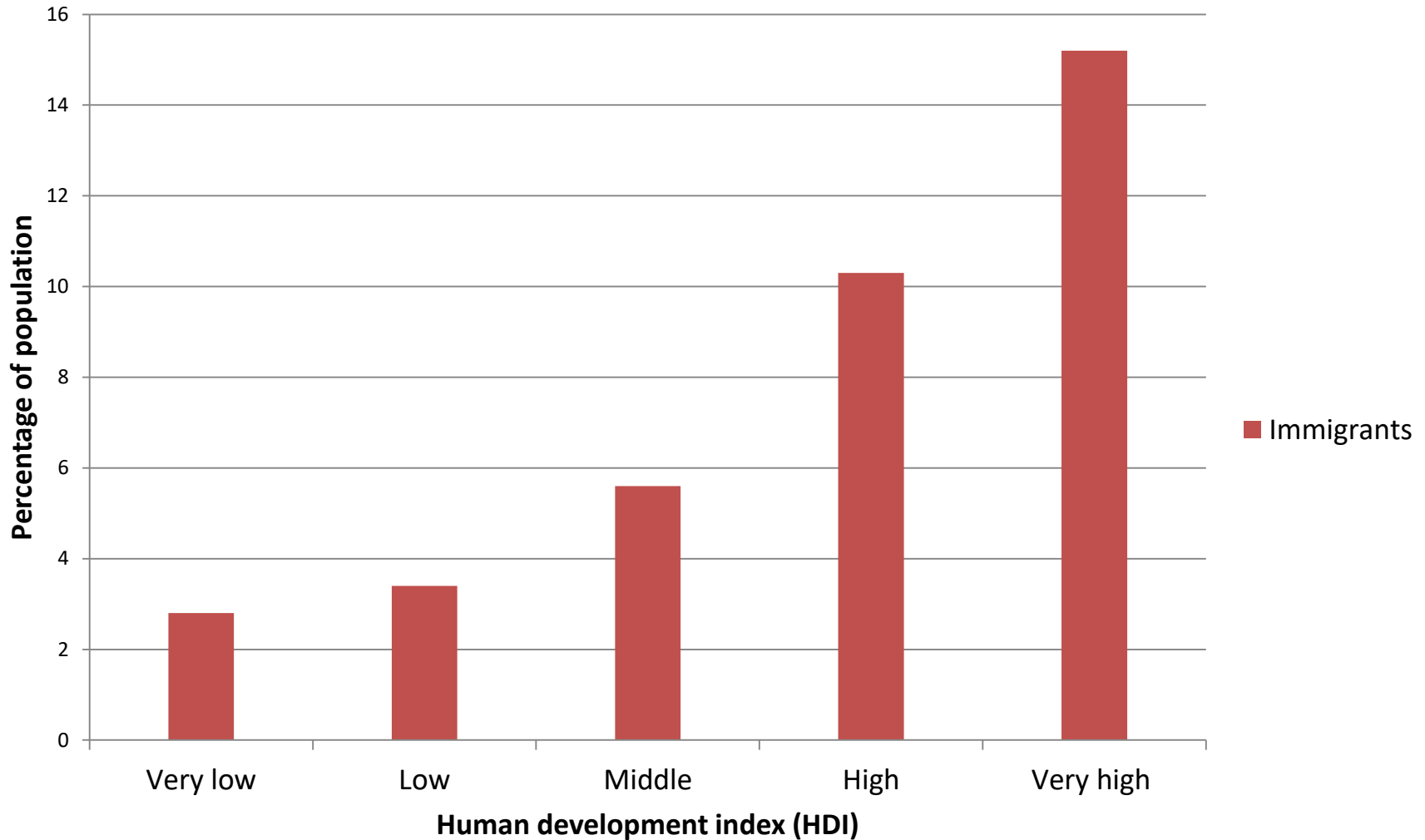


2. Migration determinants

Beyond 'push-pull'

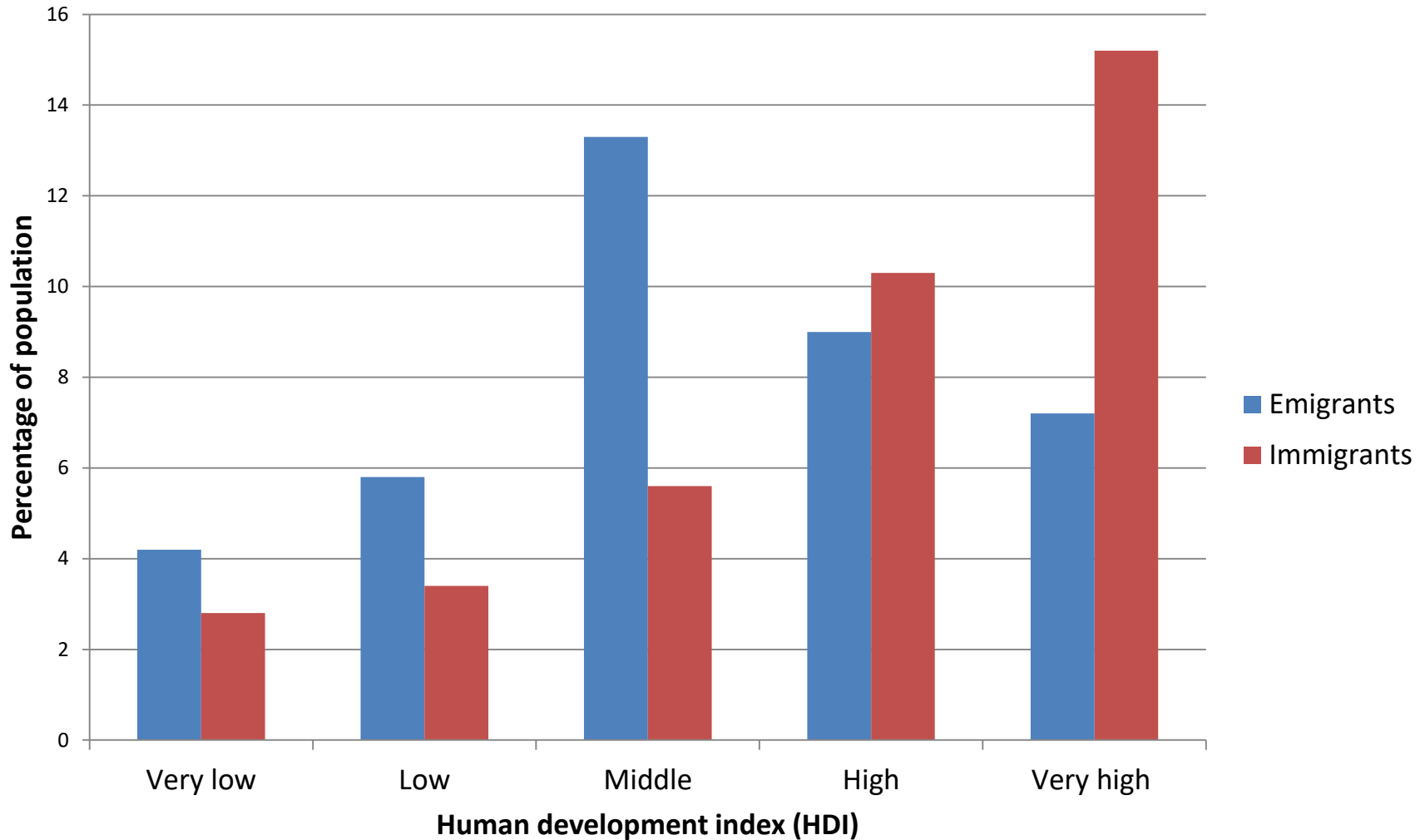
The need to reconceptualize migration as an *intrinsic* part of larger development processes

The developmental drivers of migration



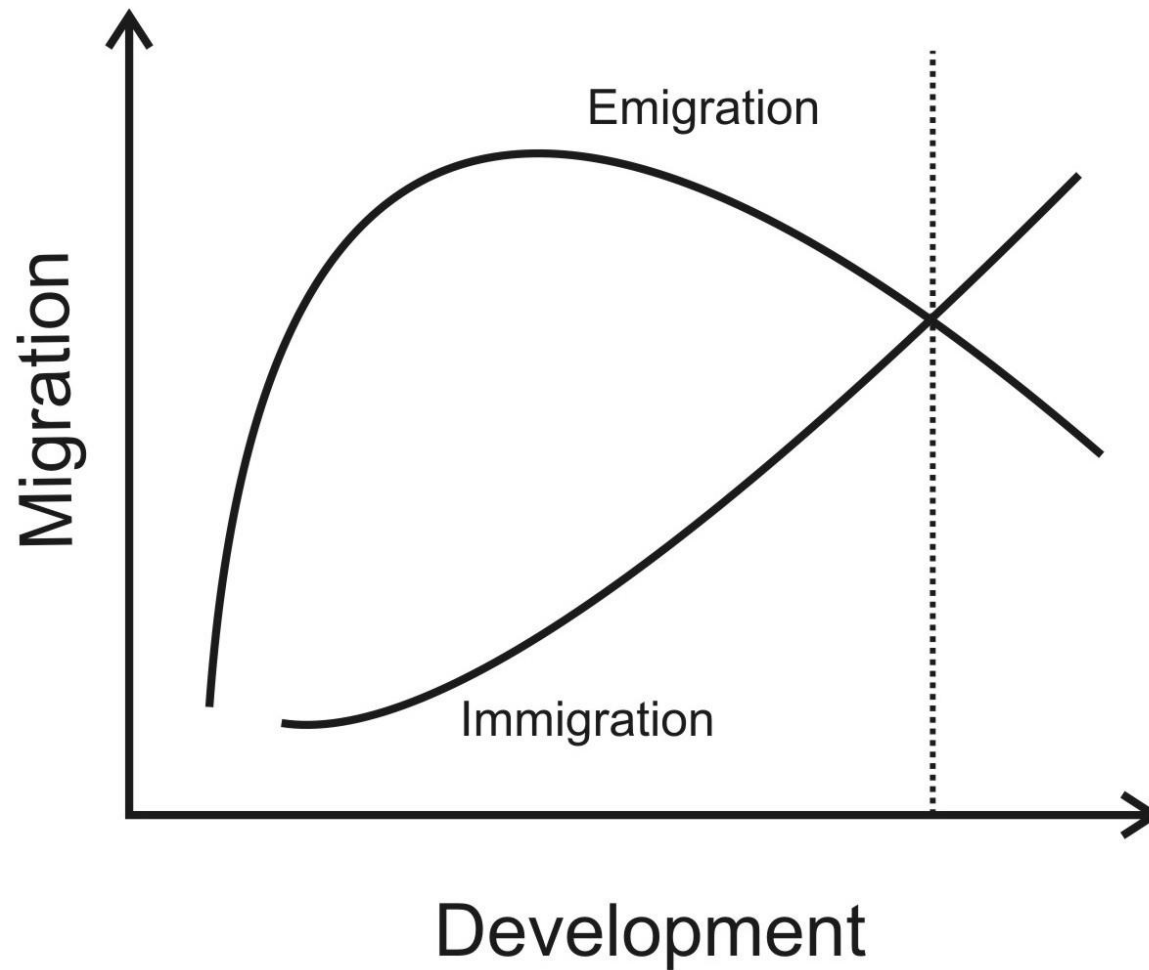
Source: de Haas, Hein 2010. *Migration transitions: a theoretical and empirical inquiry into the developmental drivers of international migration*. IMI/DEMIG Working Paper, University of Oxford

The developmental drivers of migration



Source: de Haas, Hein 2010. *Migration transitions: a theoretical and empirical inquiry into the developmental drivers of international migration*. IMI/DEMIG Working Paper, University of Oxford

Migration transition theory



Source: de Haas, H. (2010). *Migration transitions: a theoretical and empirical inquiry into the developmental drivers of international migration*. Oxford, Working Paper No 24, International Migration Institute, University of Oxford.

Micro

Development tends to initially increase people's capabilities and aspirations to migrate

Micro

Development tends to initially increase people's capabilities and aspirations to migrate

Macro

The increasing structural complexity of labour markets and increasing levels of educational and occupational specialization generate higher migration levels

2. Migration determinants

- Destination country labour demand and economic cycles
- Non-linear relation between development and emigration, but need to understand significant variations
- No significant effect of demographic factors on emigration
- International inequality is neither a sufficient nor a necessary condition for significant migration to occur
- Urban growth and international emigration are partly substitutes
- Ambiguous effect of political factors, environmental stress, education, and social welfare

3. The nature and evolution of migration policies

Between rhetoric and practice

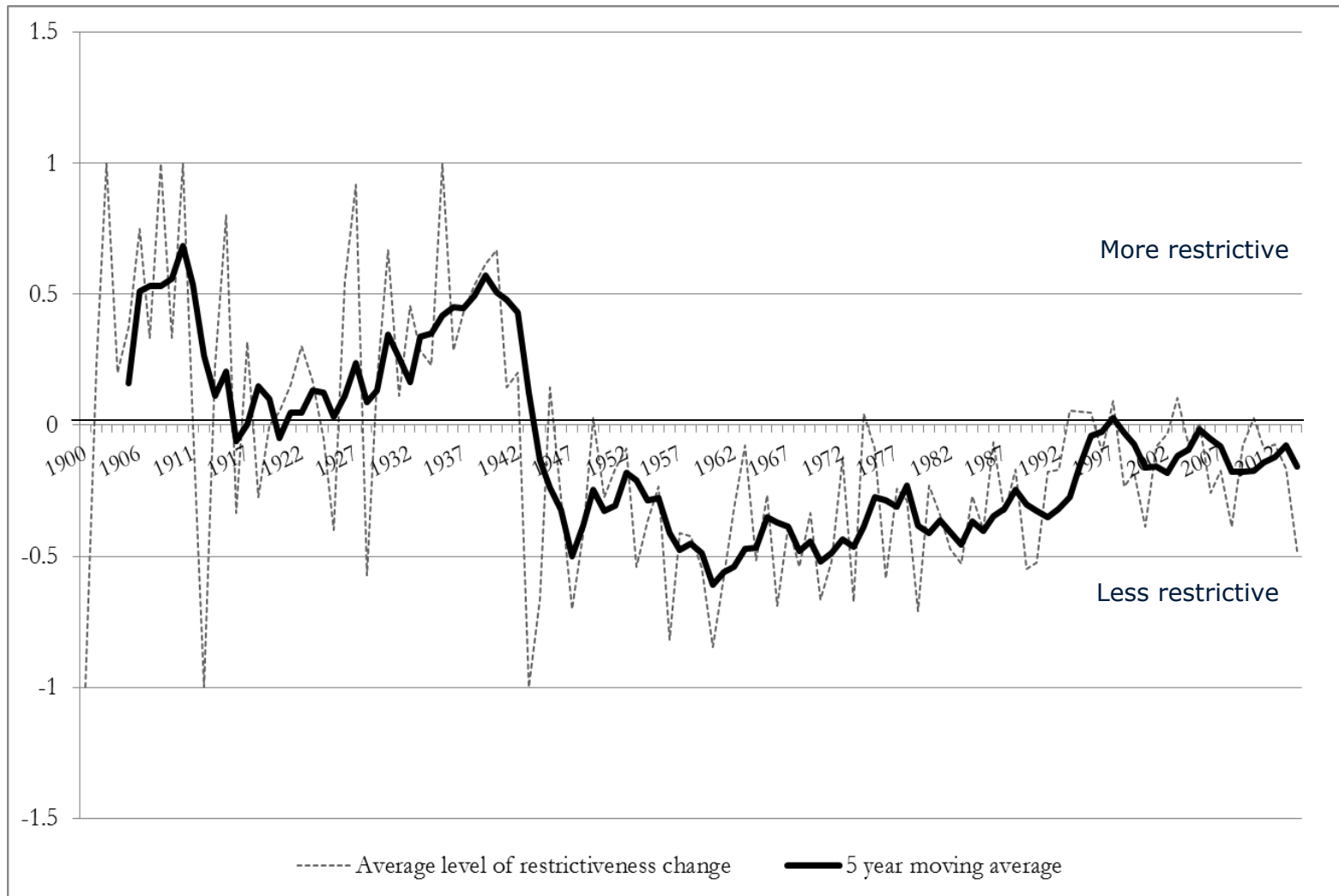
Have migration policies really become more restrictive?

Have migration policies really become more restrictive?

‘Client politics’ (Freeman)

‘Embedded constraints’ (Hollifield)

Average yearly change in migration policy restrictiveness, 1900-2014



Source: de Haas, Hein, Katharina Natter, and Simona Vezzoli. 2016 *Growing restrictiveness or changing selection? The nature and evolution of migration policies*. International Migration Review.

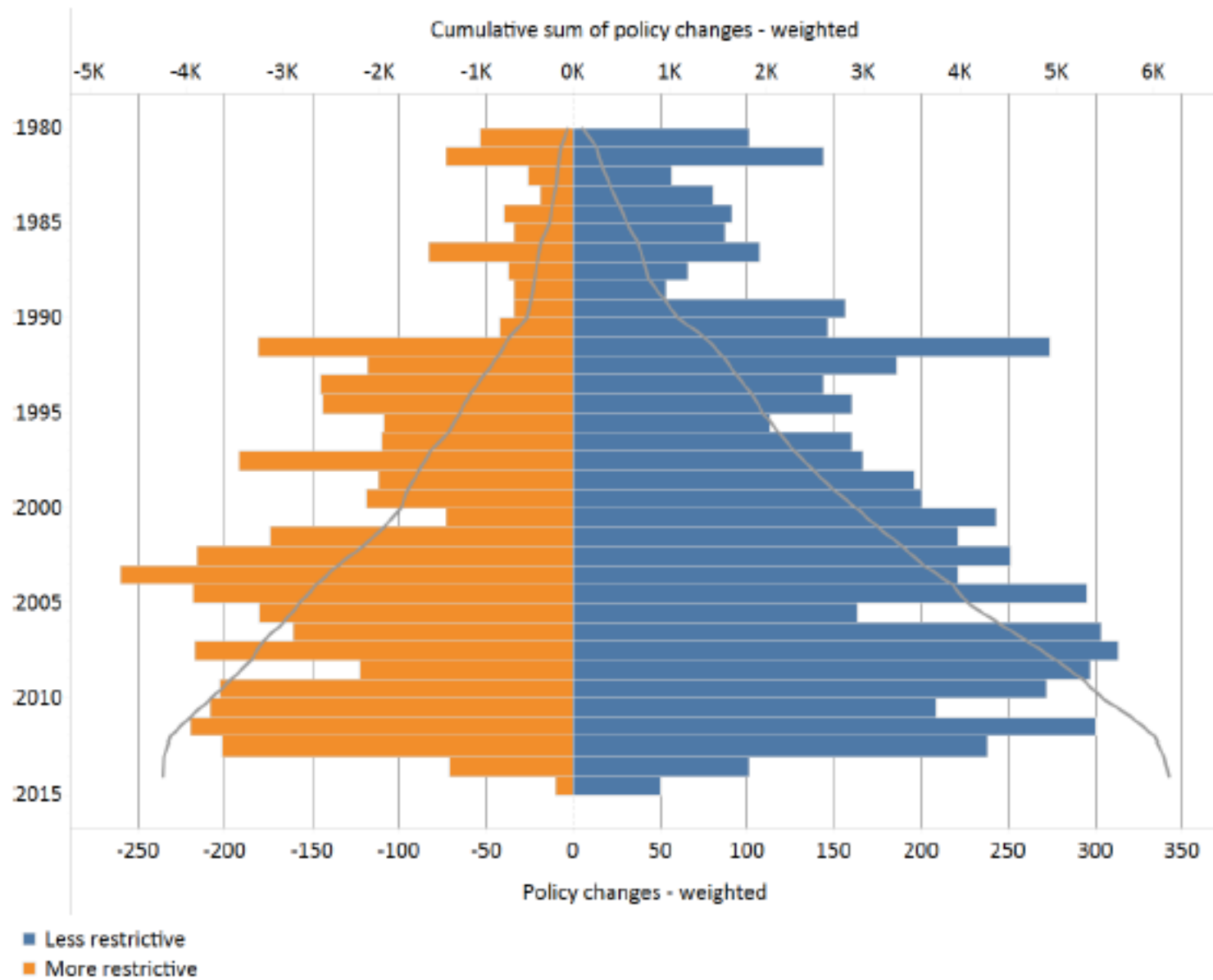
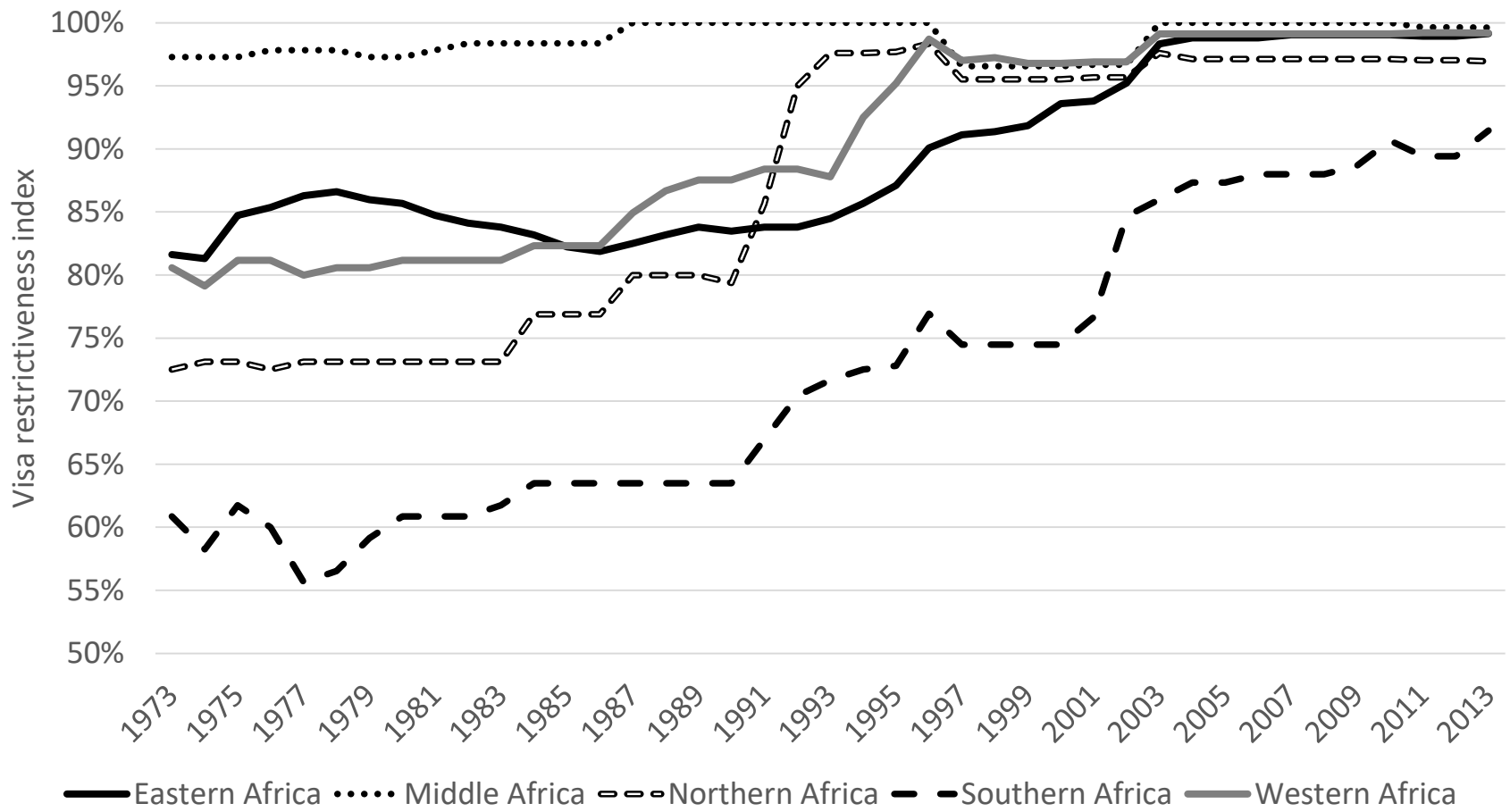


Figure 18 Aggregate policy changes, 1980-2014, Bars show changes in each year. The lines are the cumulative sums of changes. Source: own elaboration based on DEMIG data.

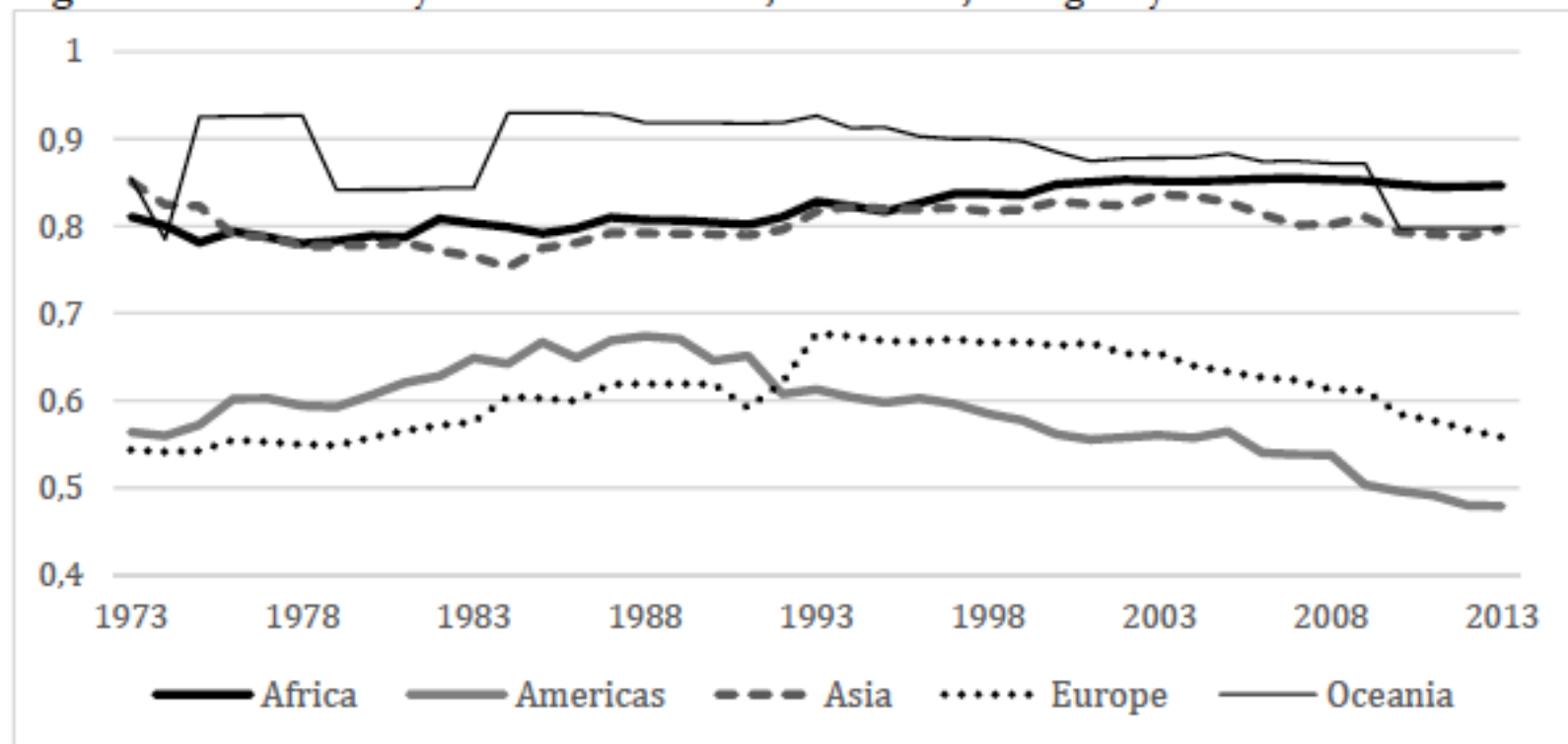
Visa restrictiveness of OECD countries for African nationals



Source: **DEMIG VISA** database. See Marie-Laurence Flahaux and Hein de Haas (2014 forthcoming) *Migration from, to and within Africa: The role of development and states*. DEMIG Working Paper

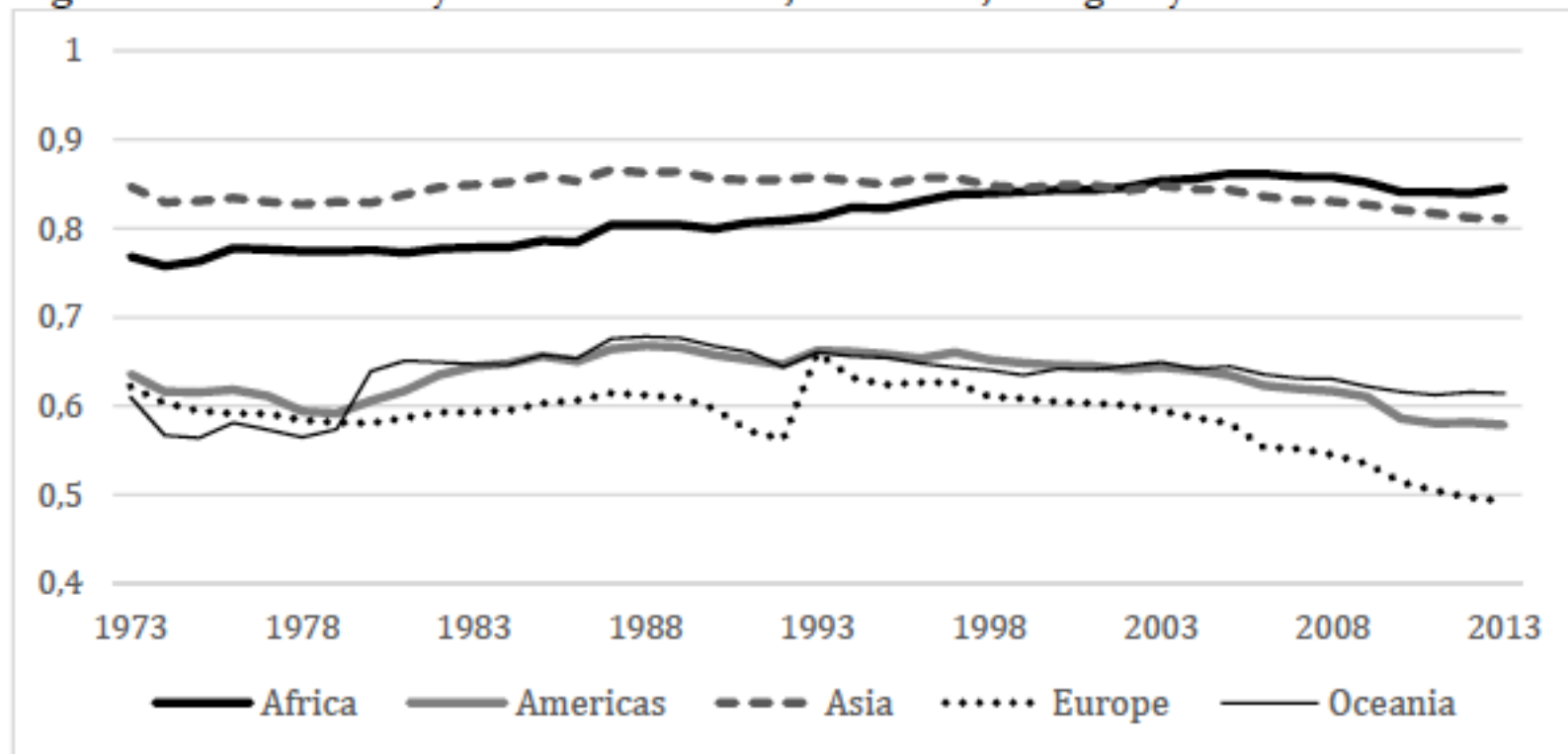


Figure 13. Inbound entry visa restrictiveness¹⁴, 1973–2013, averages by continent



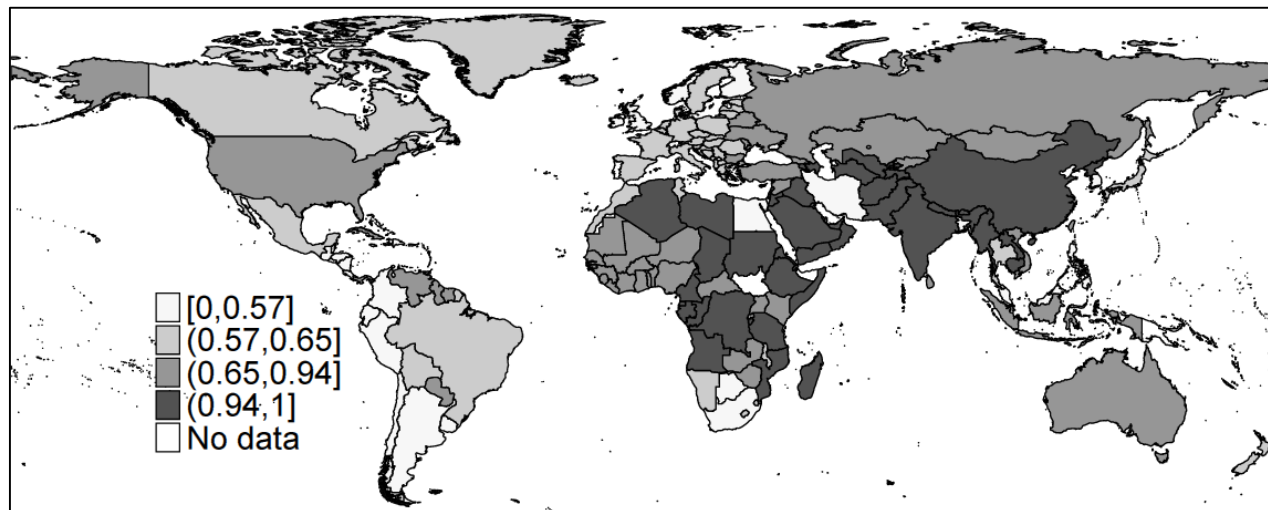
Source: Czaika, de Haas, Villares-Varela 2017, based on DEMIG VISA data

Figure 14 Outbound entry visa restrictiveness¹⁵, 1973–2013, averages by continent



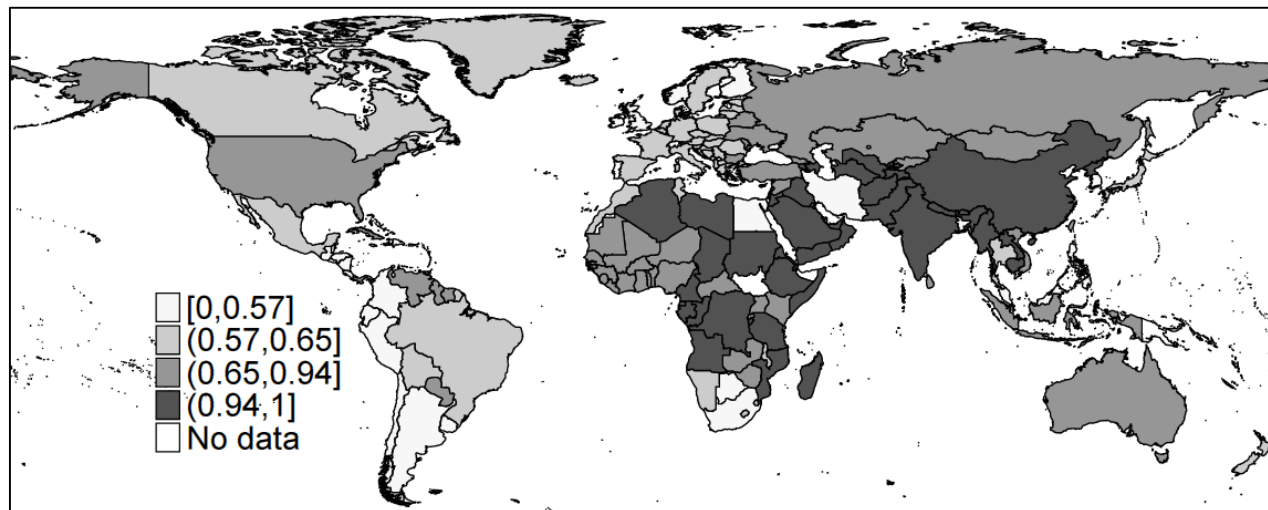
Source: Czaika, de Haas, Villares-Varela 2017, based on DEMIG VISA data

Inbound visa restrictiveness, 2000s

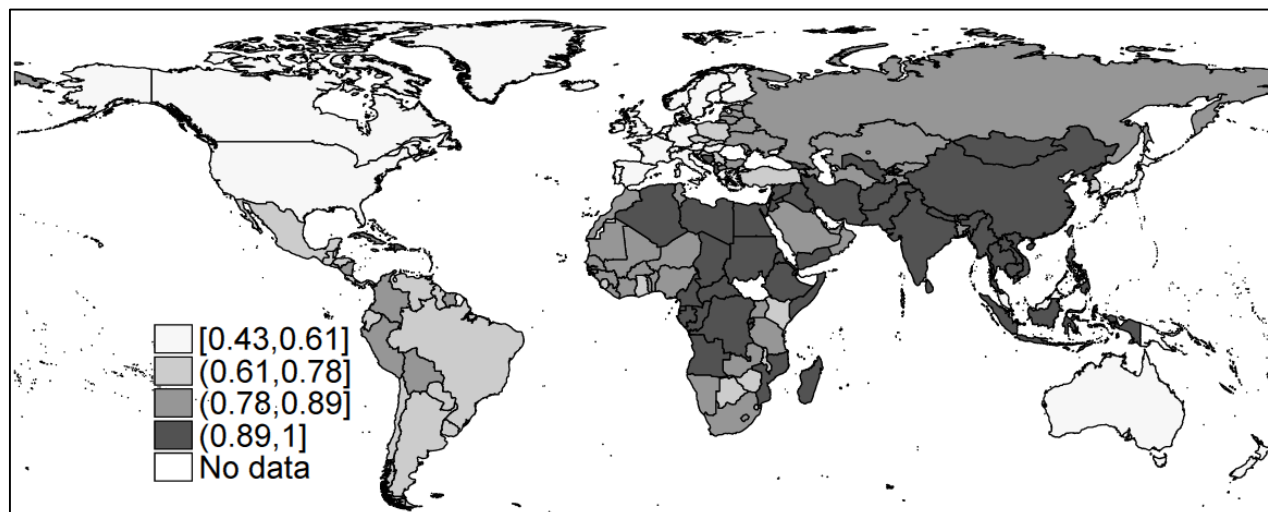


Mathias Czaika, Hein de Haas, María Villares-Varela (2018) *The global evolution of travel visa regimes. An analysis based on the DEMIG VISA Database. Population and Development Review.*

Inbound visa restrictiveness, 2000s



Outbound visa restrictiveness, 2000s



Mathias Czaika, Hein de Haas, María Villares-Varela (2018) *The global evolution of travel visa regimes. An analysis based on the DEMIG VISA Database. Population and Development Review.*

3. Migration policy trends

- Immigration policies have generally liberalized
- Modern immigration policies are about selection rather than numbers (filters rather than taps)
- The general increase in migrant rights has coincided with attempts prevent the arrival of vulnerable migrant groups (through visa policies and border controls)

The effectiveness of migration policies

Are borders beyond control? (Bhagwati 2003)

Are borders beyond control?

No, *but*

The capacity of policies to 'steer' migration
is limited, and

Are borders beyond control?

No, *but*

The capacity of policies to 'steer' migration
is limited, and

under certain circumstances, migration
restrictions have unintended, sometimes
counterproductive consequences, exposing
fundamental policy dilemmas

‘Substitution effects’

Unintended consequences of immigration restrictions

Source: Hein de Haas (2011) *The determinants of international migration: conceptualizing policy, origin and destination effects*. DEMIG Working Paper #2



‘Substitution effects’

Unintended consequences of immigration restrictions

1. Categorical substitution (category jumping)

Source: Hein de Haas (2011) *The determinants of international migration: conceptualizing policy, origin and destination effects*. DEMIG Working Paper #2

‘Substitution effects’

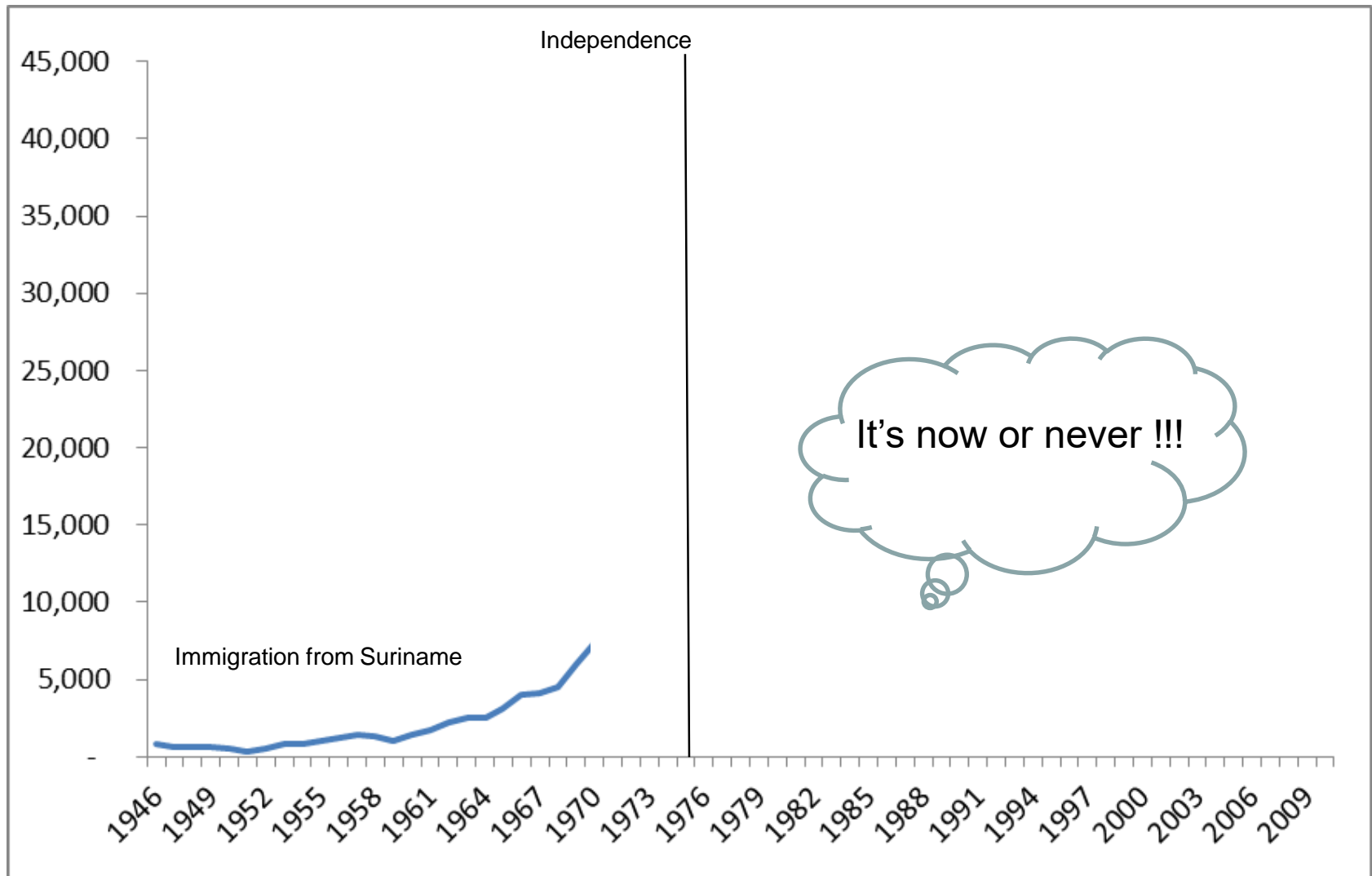
Unintended consequences of immigration restrictions

1. Categorical substitution (category jumping)

2. Inter-temporal substitution

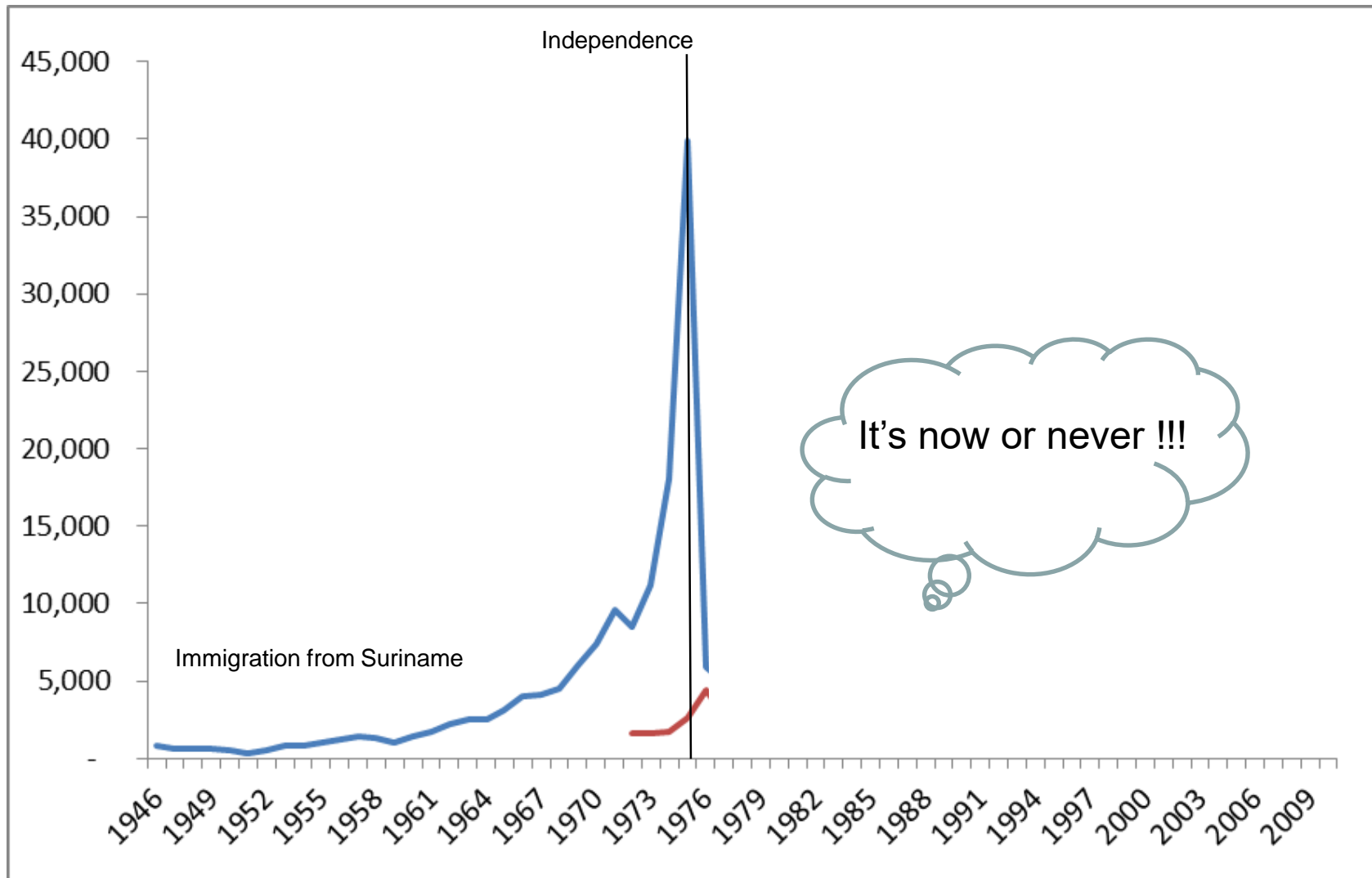
Source: Hein de Haas (2011) *The determinants of international migration: conceptualizing policy, origin and destination effects*. DEMIG Working Paper #2

How the Dutch government stimulated unwanted migration from Suriname



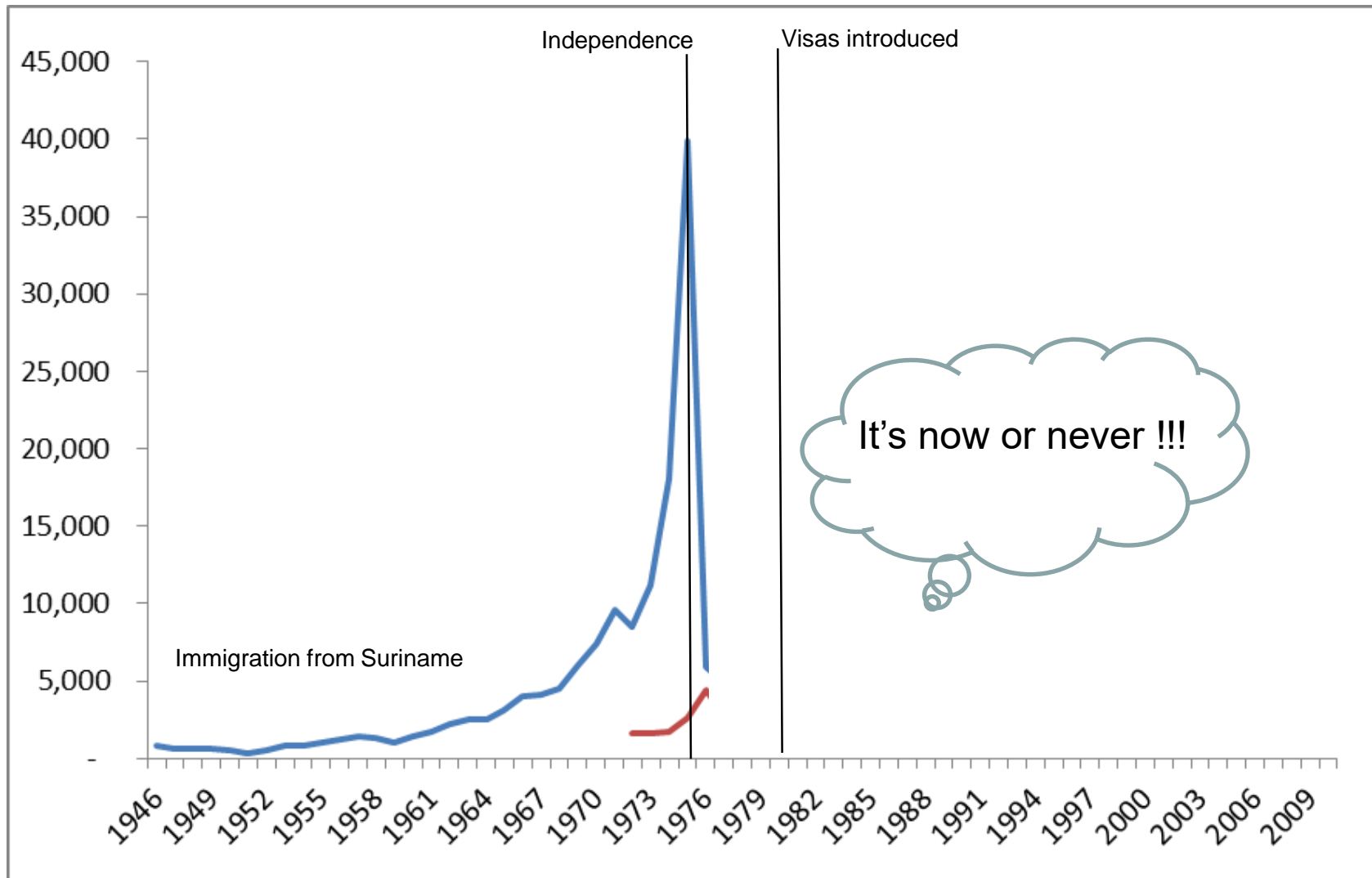
Source: Simona Vezzoli (2014) *The evolution of Surinamese emigration across and beyond independence: the role of origin and destination states*. DEMIG Working Paper.

How the Dutch government stimulated unwanted migration from Suriname



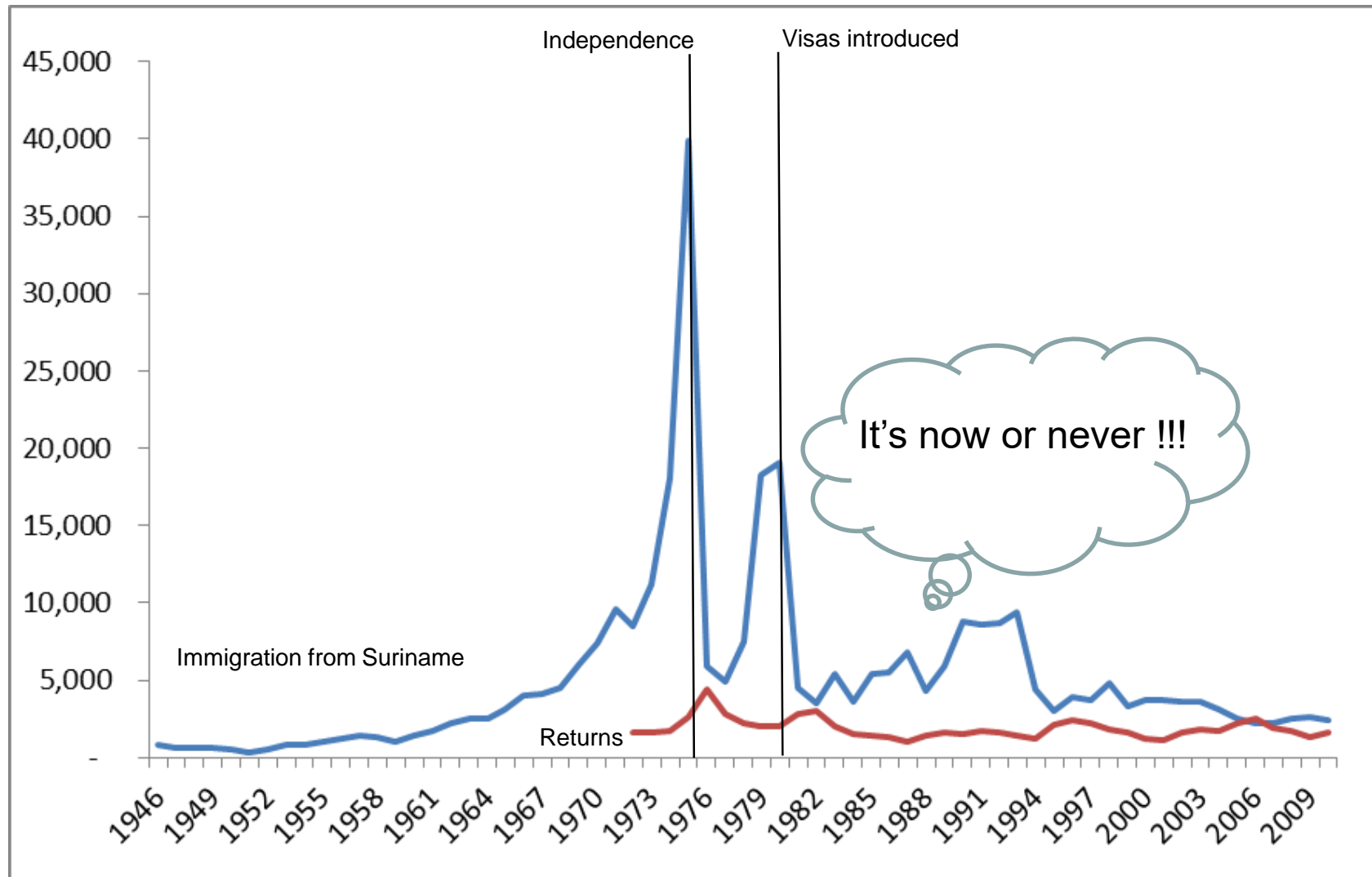
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How the Dutch government stimulated unwanted migration from Suriname



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‘Substitution effects’

Unintended consequences of immigration restrictions

1. Categorical substitution (category jumping)

2. Inter-temporal substitution (‘now or never’ migration)

Source: Hein de Haas (2011) *The determinants of international migration: conceptualizing policy, origin and destination effects*. DEMIG Working Paper #2



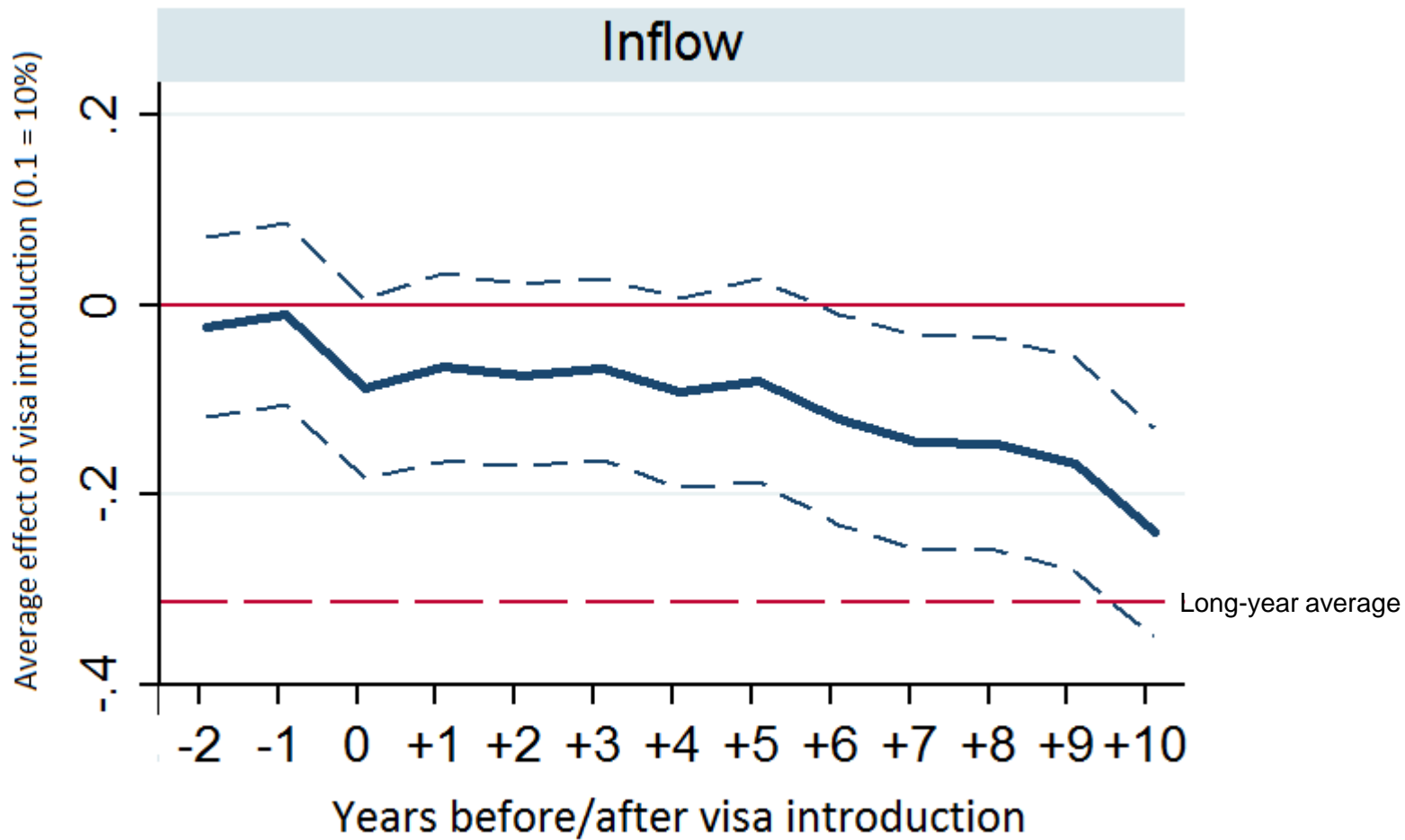
‘Substitution effects’

Unintended consequences of immigration restrictions

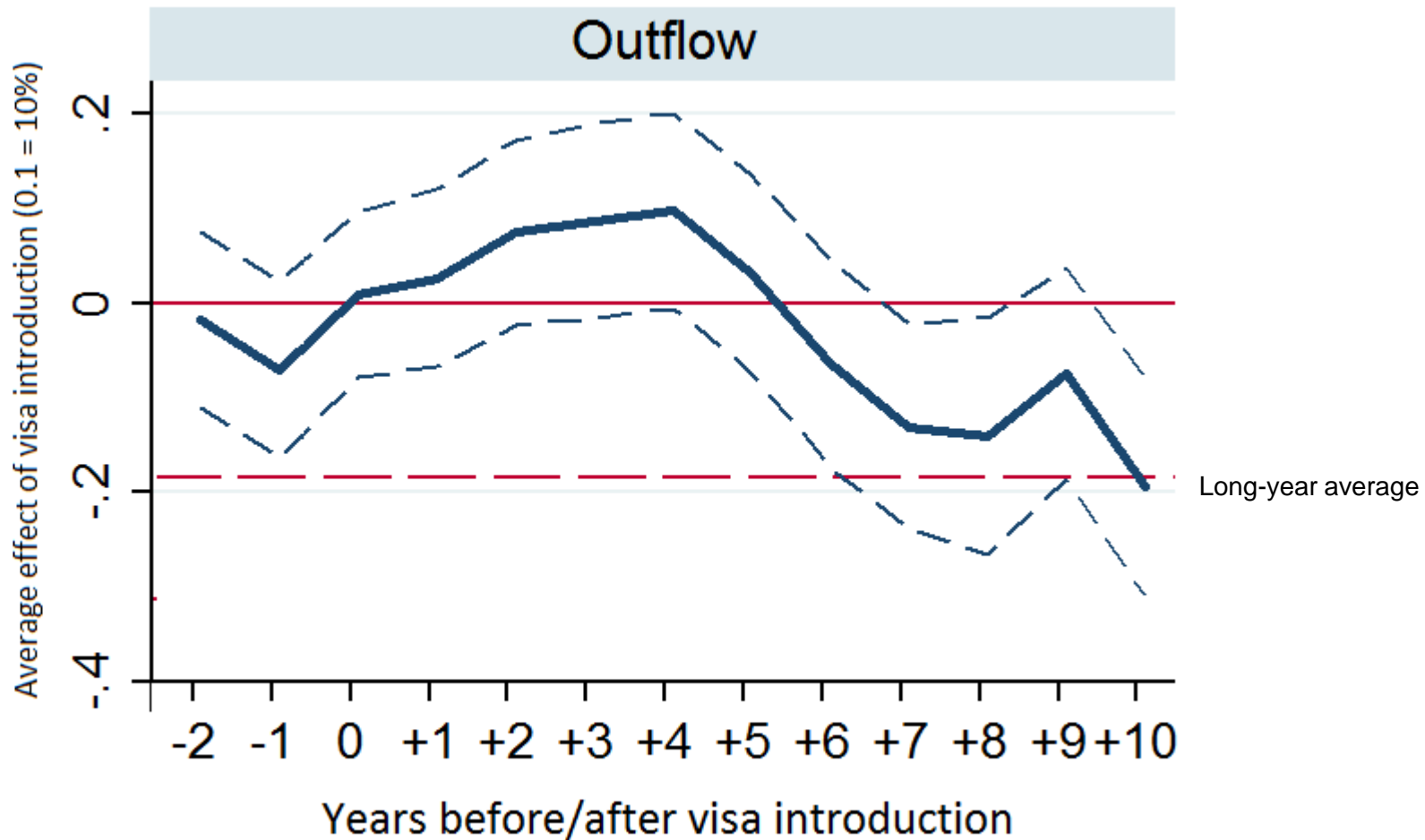
1. Categorical substitution (category jumping)
2. Inter-temporal substitution (‘now or never’ migration)
3. **Reverse flow substitution** (interrupting circulation)

Source: Hein de Haas (2011) *The determinants of international migration: conceptualizing policy, origin and destination effects*. DEMIG Working Paper #2

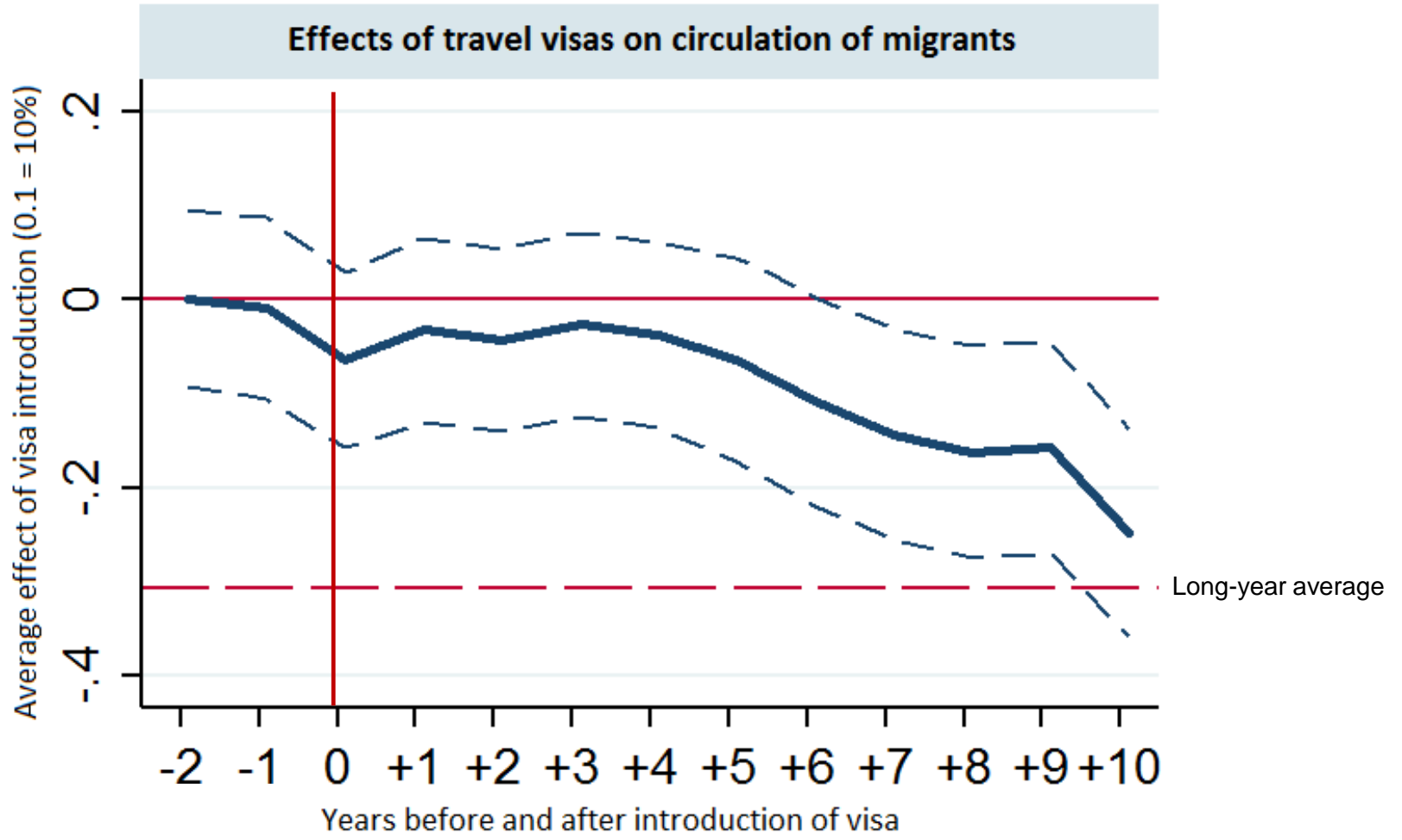




Czaika, M. and de Haas, H., 2017. The effect of visas on migration processes. *International Migration Review*, 51(4), pp.893-926.



Czaika, M. and de Haas, H., 2017. The effect of visas on migration processes. *International Migration Review*, 51(4), pp.893-926.



Czaika, M. and de Haas, H., 2017. The effect of visas on migration processes. *International Migration Review*, 51(4), pp.893-926.

Central policy dilemma:

Restrictions interrupt circulation and
disrupt economic 'elasticity' of migration

‘Substitution effects’

Unintended consequences of immigration restrictions

1. **Categorical substitution** (category jumping)
2. **Inter-temporal substitution** (‘now or never’ migration)
3. **Reverse flow substitution** (interrupting circulation)

Source: Hein de Haas (2011) *The determinants of international migration: conceptualizing policy, origin and destination effects*. DEMIG Working Paper #2

‘Substitution effects’

Unintended consequences of immigration restrictions

1. **Categorical substitution** (category jumping)
2. **Inter-temporal substitution** (‘now or never’ migration)
3. **Reverse flow substitution** (interrupting circulation)
4. **Spatial substitution** (spatial diversion, ‘balloon’ effects)

Source: Hein de Haas (2011) *The determinants of international migration: conceptualizing policy, origin and destination effects*. DEMIG Working Paper #2

Overland and maritime migration routes to North Africa, the Middle East and Western Europe

Countries

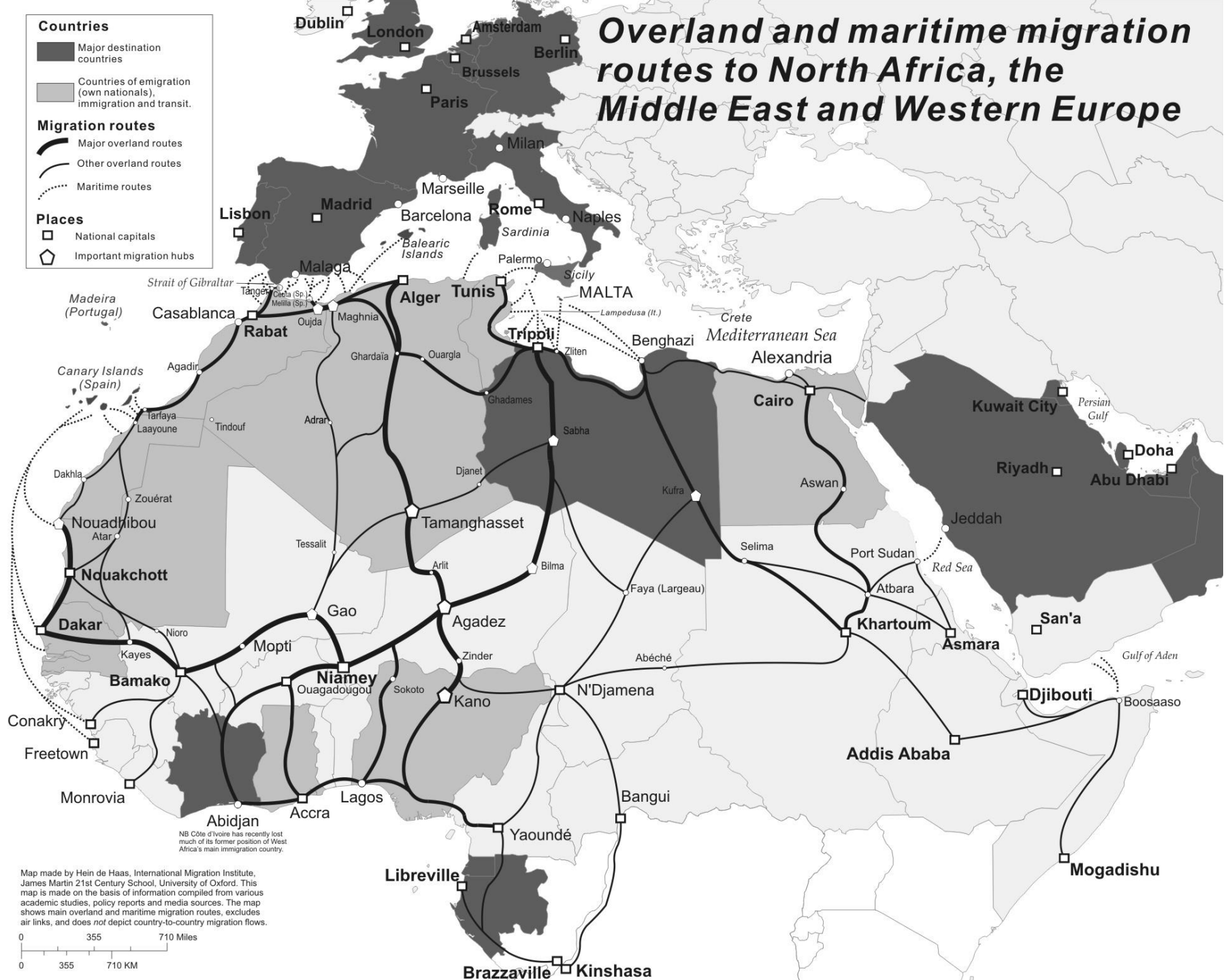
- Major destination countries
- Countries of emigration (own nationals), immigration and transit.

Migration routes

- Major overland routes
- Other overland routes
- Maritime routes

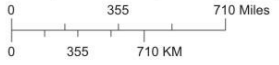
Places

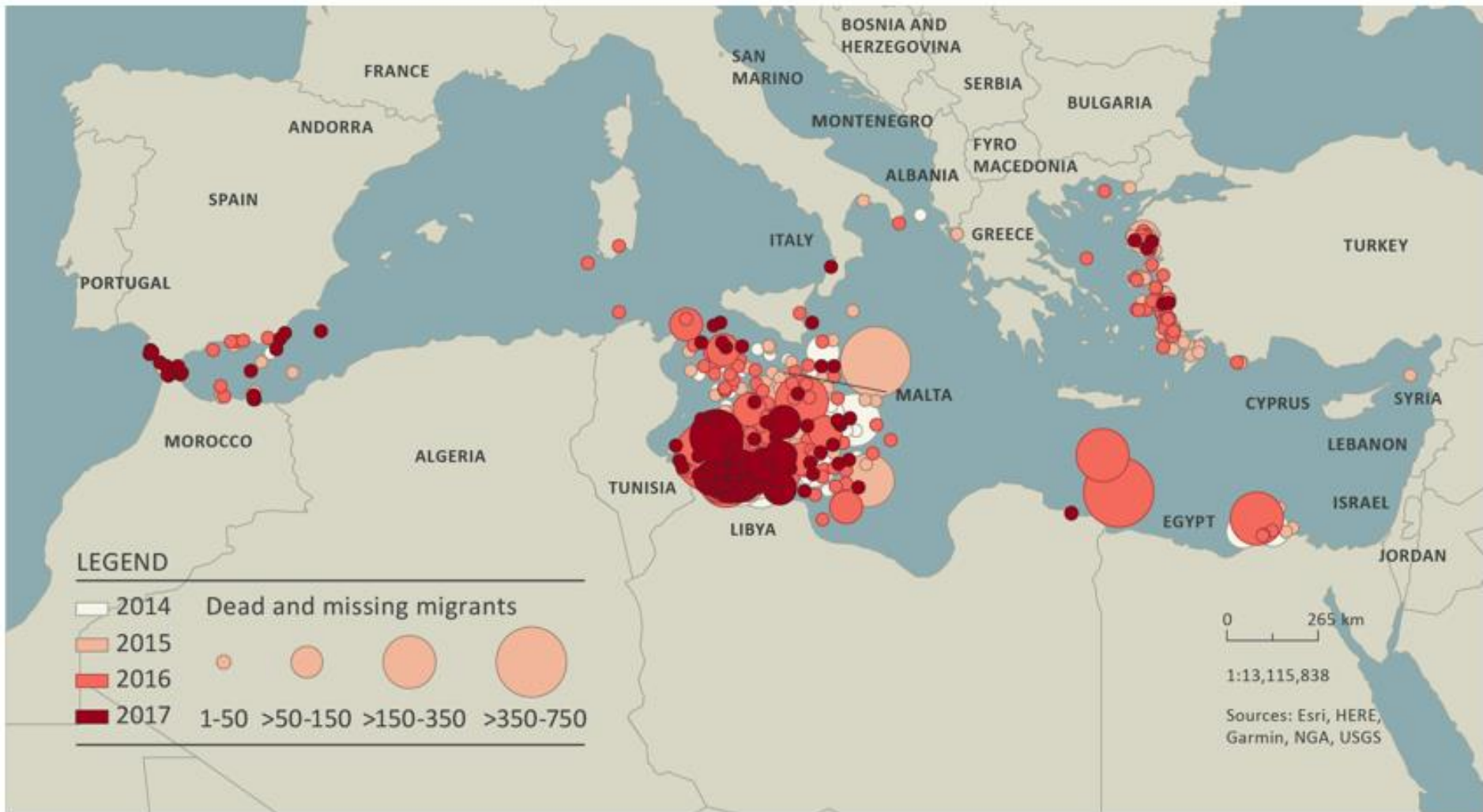
- National capitals
- Important migration hubs



NB Côte d'Ivoire has recently lost much of its former position of West Africa's main immigration country.

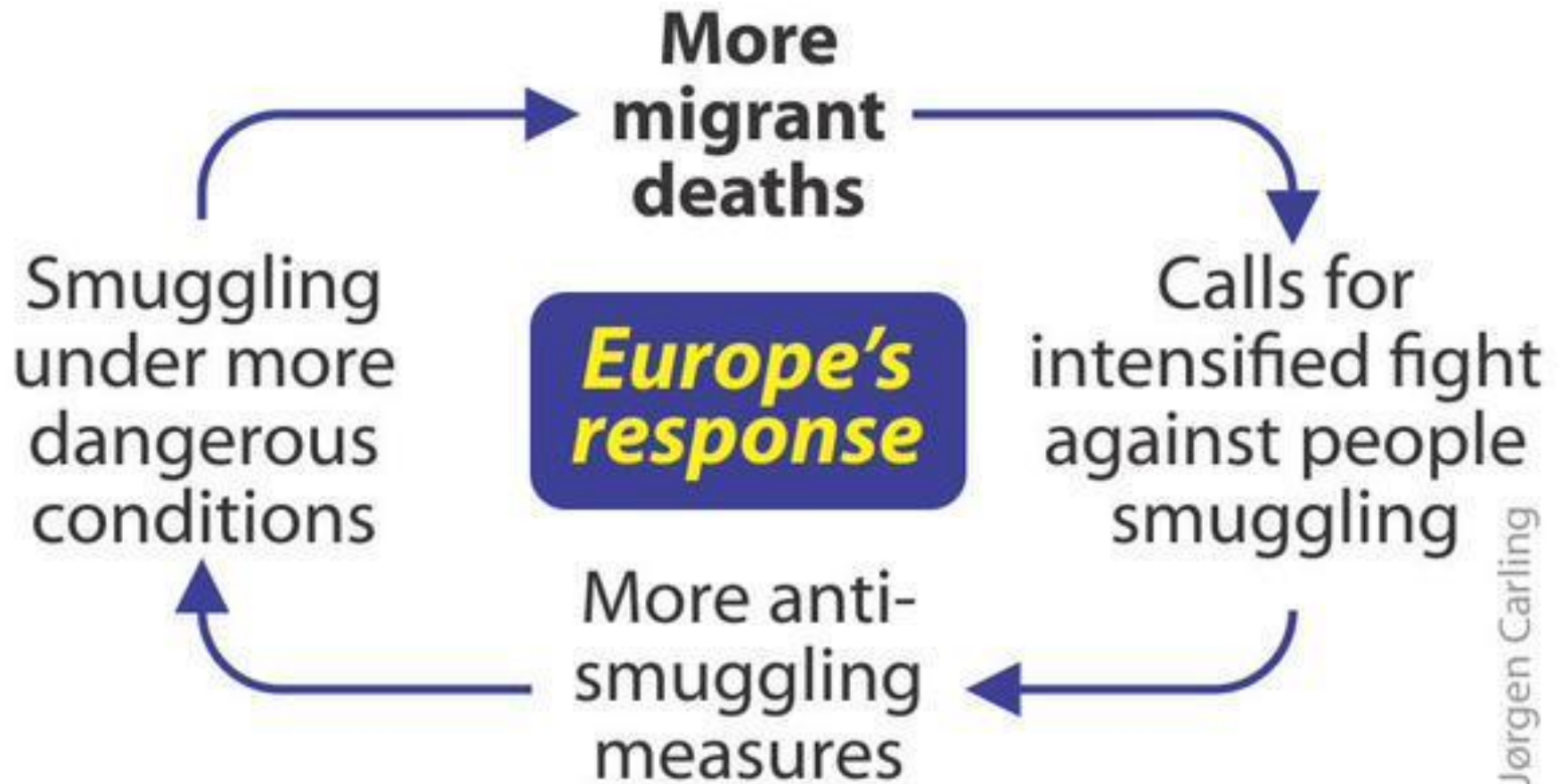
Map made by Hein de Haas, International Migration Institute, James Martin 21st Century School, University of Oxford. This map is made on the basis of information compiled from various academic studies, policy reports and media sources. The map shows main overland and maritime migration routes, excludes air links, and does not depict country-to-country migration flows.





Source: Missing migrants project. IOM

The conundrum of 25 years of 'Fortress Europe'



‘Substitution effects’

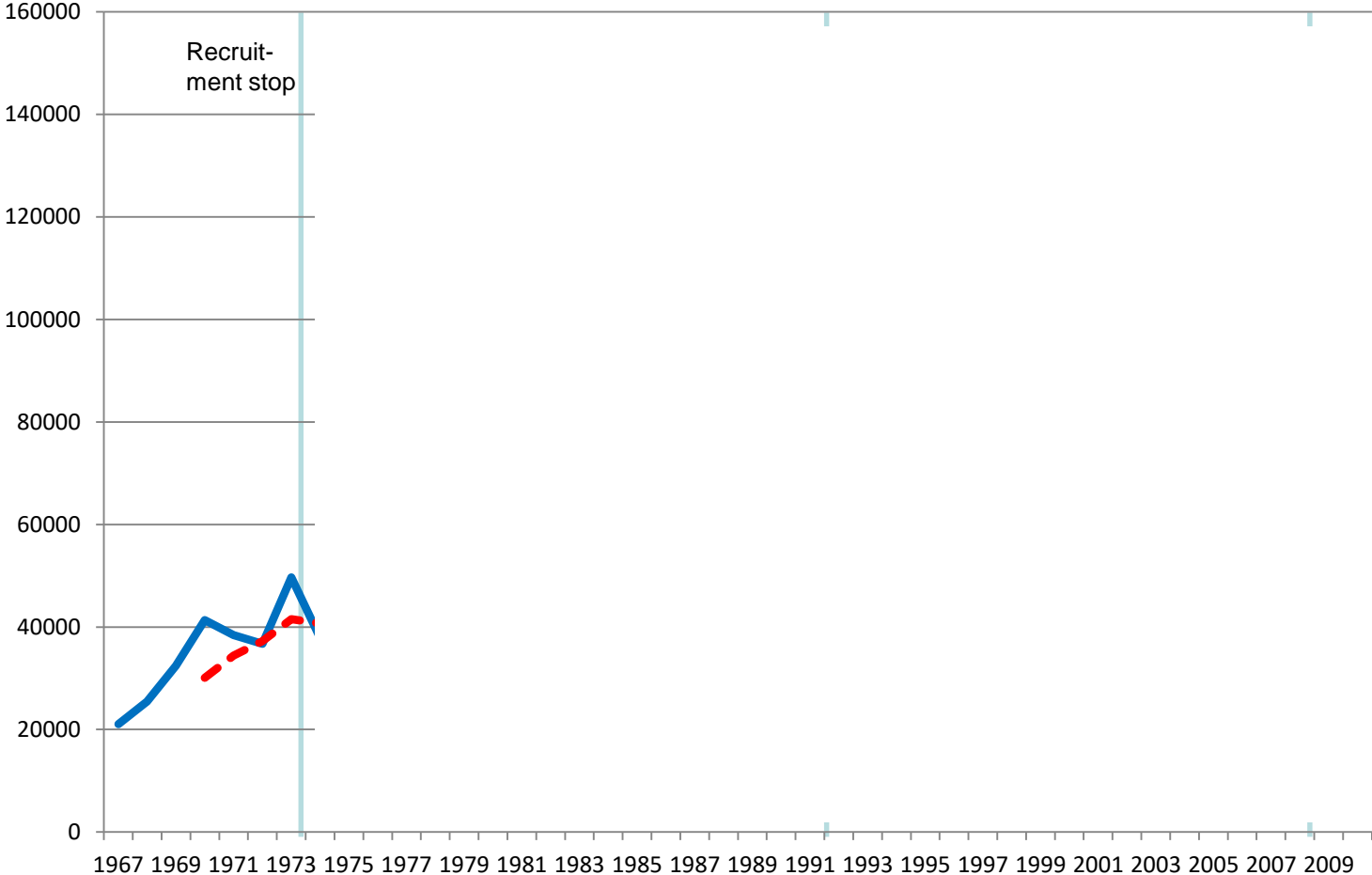
Unintended consequences of immigration restrictions

- 1. Categorical substitution** (category jumping)
- 2. Inter-temporal substitution** (‘now or never’ migration)
- 3. Reverse flow substitution** (interrupting circulation)
- 4. Spatial substitution** (spatial diversion, ‘waterbed’ effects)

Source: Hein de Haas (2011) *The determinants of international migration: conceptualizing policy, origin and destination effects*. DEMIG Working Paper #2

When ill-conceived policies become counterproductive...

Moroccan emigration to OECD countries



DEMIG C2C database - www.imi.ox.ac.uk

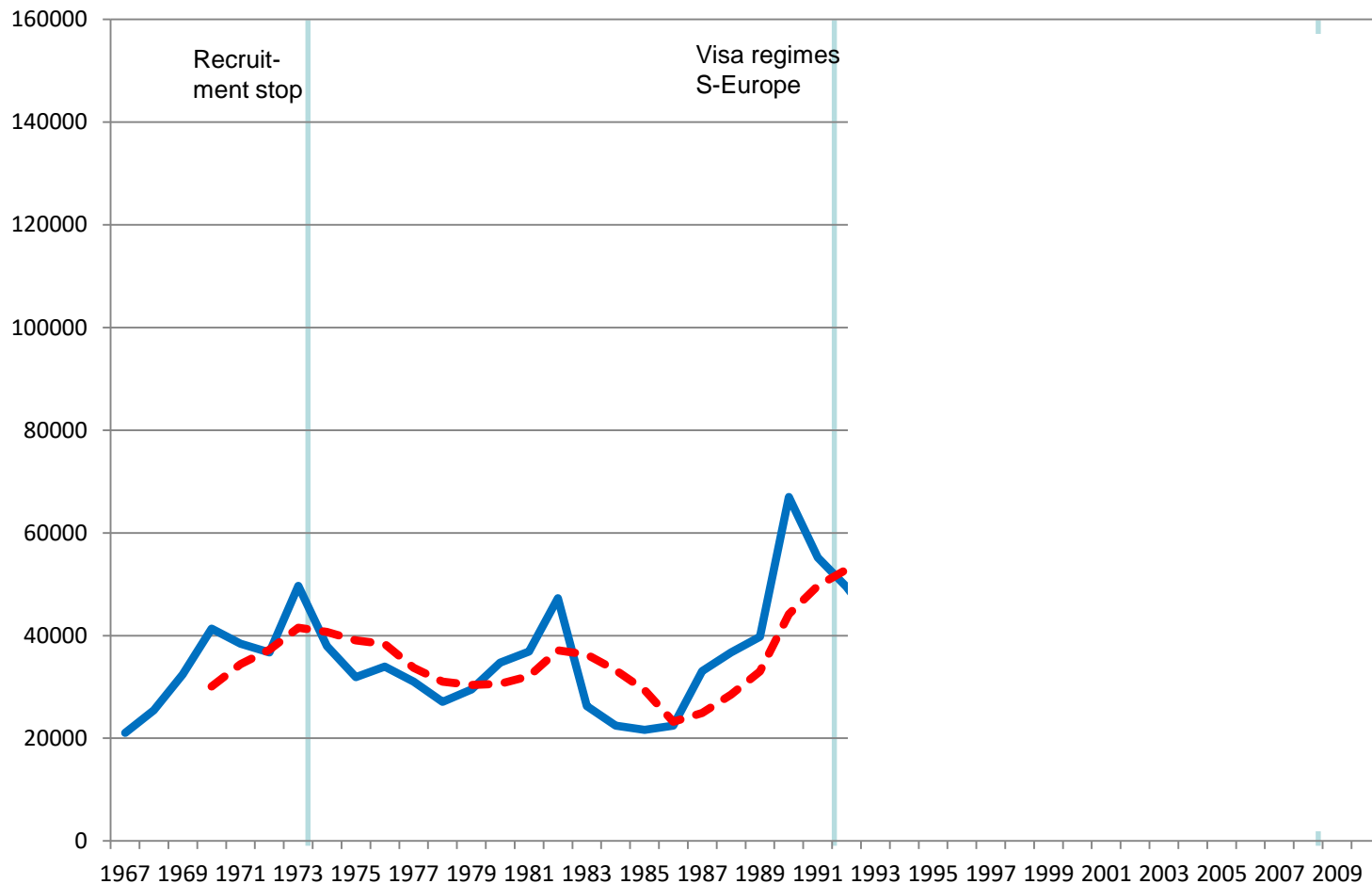
Estimation de l'émigration basée sur les chiffres d'immigration des pays de destination:

FR, BE, NL, IT, ES, DE, DK, NO, FI, AT, CH, US, CA, AU

Ligne rouge = moyenne glissante sur 4 ans



Moroccan emigration to OECD countries



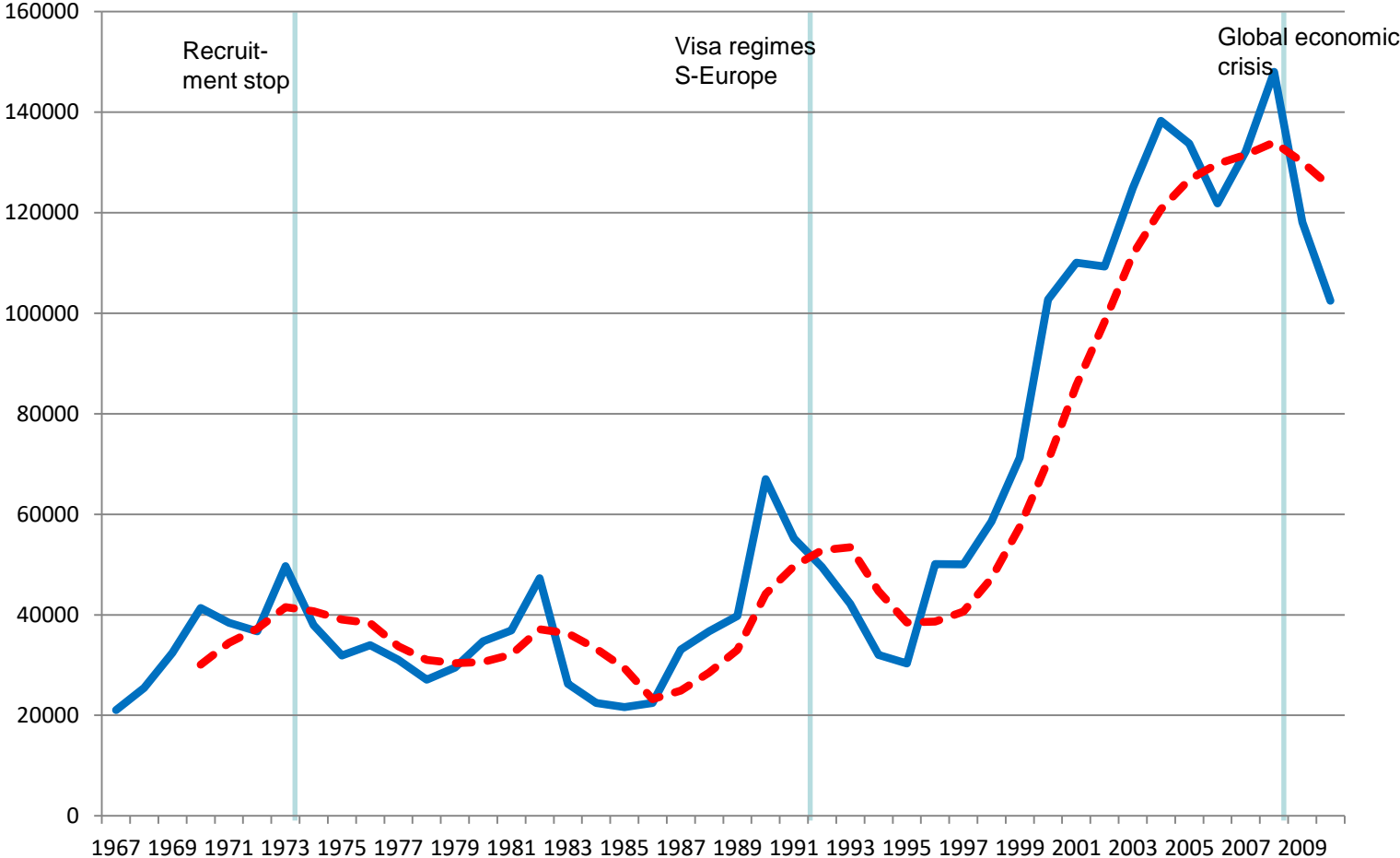
DEMIG C2C database - www.imi.ox.ac.uk

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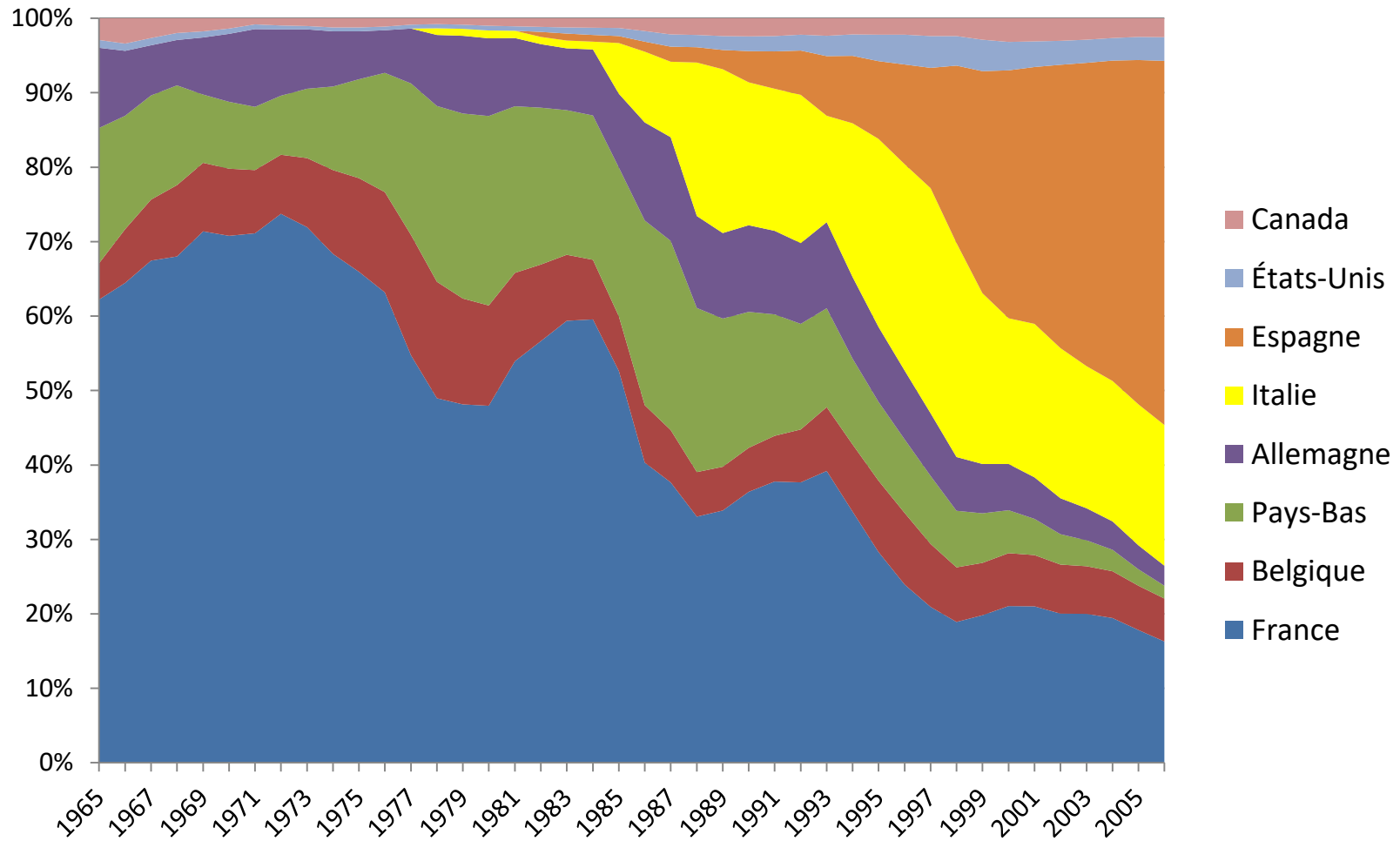
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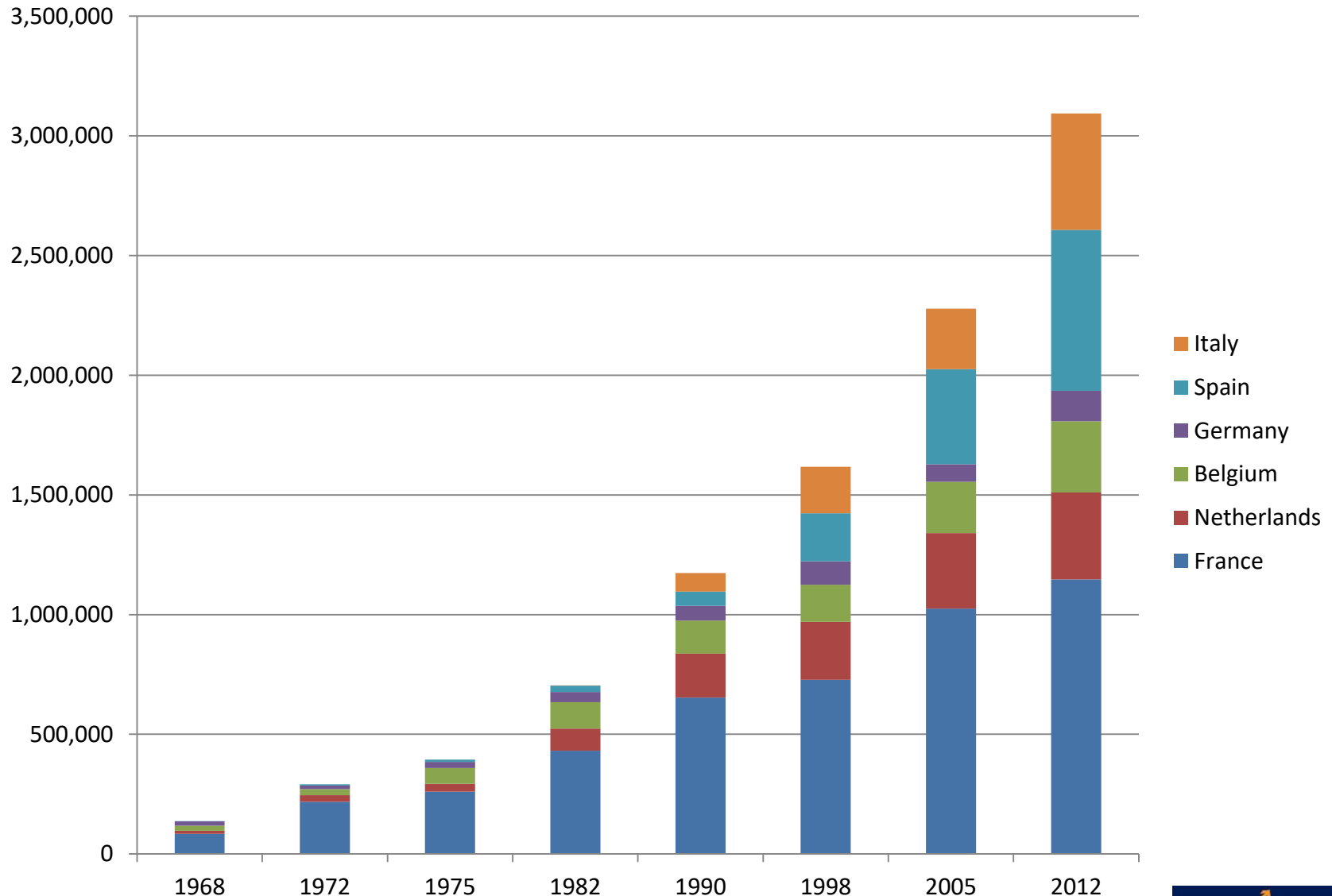


Geographical diversification of Moroccan migration



Source: DEMIG C2C database - www.imi.ox.ac.uk
 Estimation des tendances basées sur une moyenne glissante sur 5 ans
 des statistiques d'immigration de FR, BE, NL, IT, ES, US, CA

Moroccan diaspora



Source: de Haas, H. (2014). Un siècle de migrations marocaines : transformations, transitions et perspectives d'avenir. In M. Berriane (Ed.), *Marocains de l'Extérieur* (pp. 61-92). Rabat: Fondation Hassan II pour les Marocains Résidant à l'Étranger.

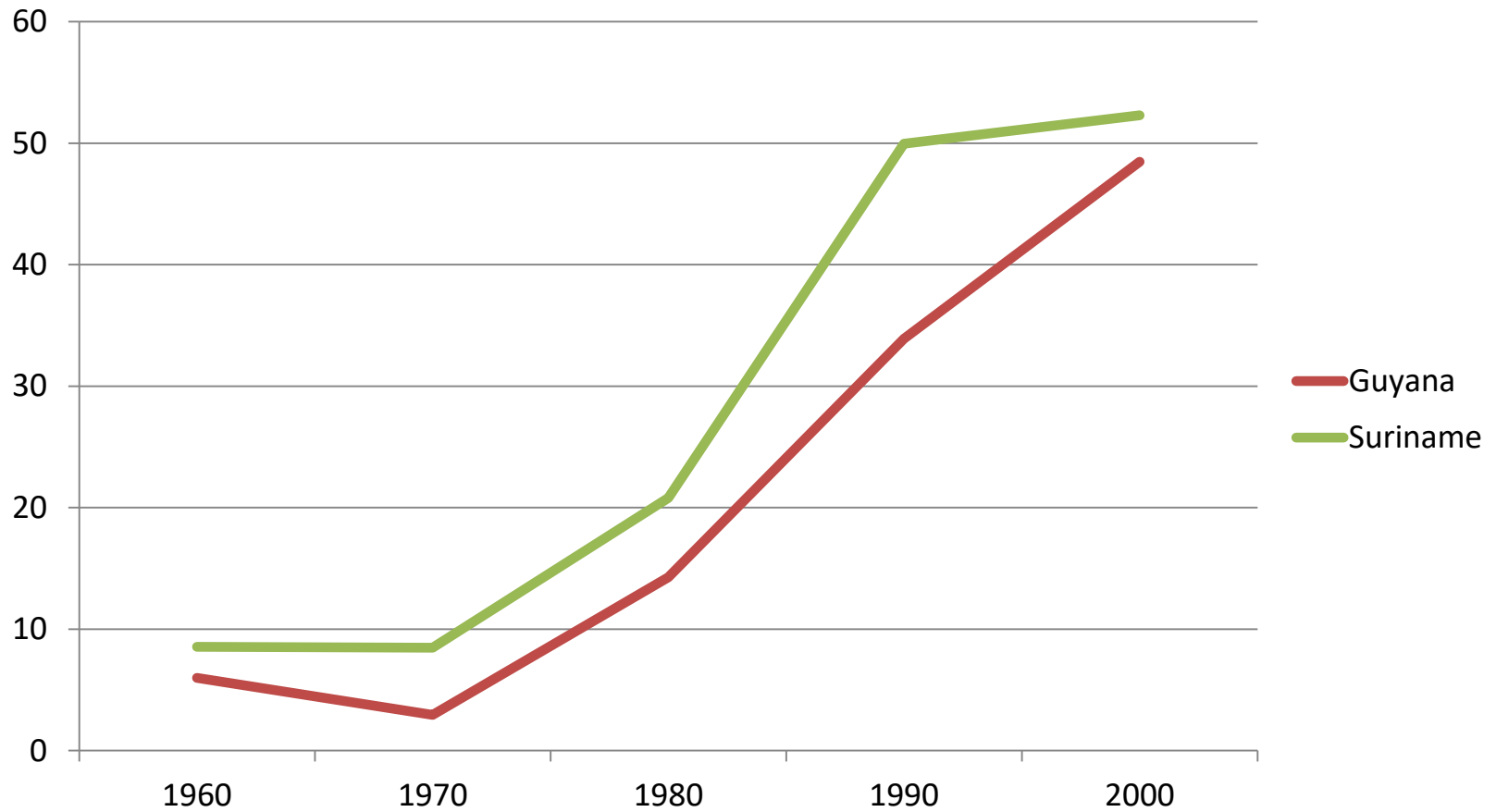
Free and restricted migration dynamics

The three “Guyanas”



The migration control paradox

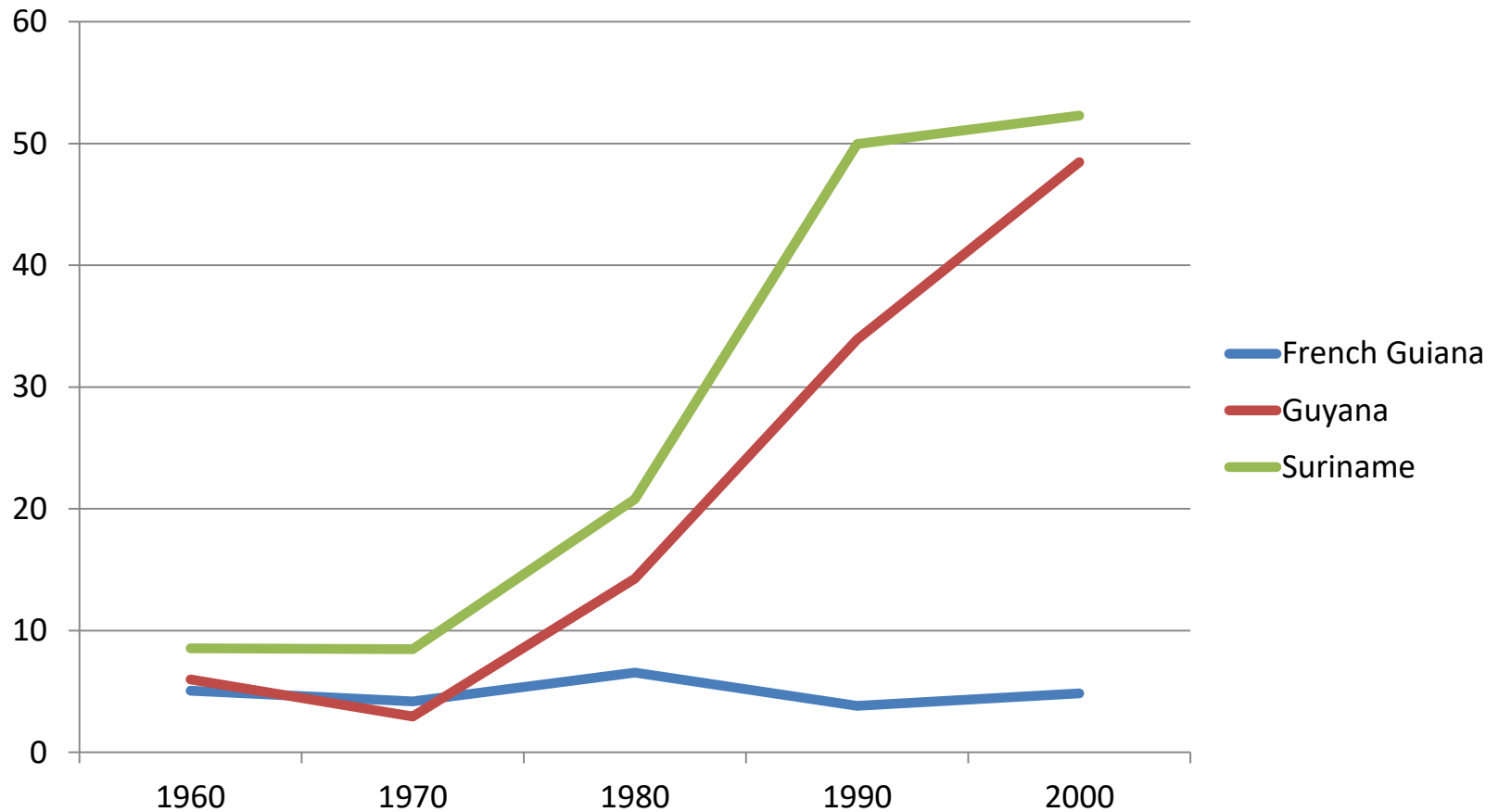
Percentage of population abroad



Source: Vezzoli 2015

The migration control paradox

Percentage of population abroad



Source: Vezzoli 2015

Final considerations

- ✧ Governments have a legitimate desire to regulate migration, but they need to look at *effectiveness*
- ✧ Liberal immigration policies do not necessarily lead to mass migration and ill-conceived migration restrictions can be counterproductive.
- ✧ *Key policy dilemma*: wish to reduce inflows is difficult to reconcile with wish to encourage return and circulation
- ✧ *Fundamental dilemma*: General trend towards economic liberalization seems at odds with the wish to curb immigration
- ✧ Migration is driven by processes of development and social transformation that largely lie beyond the reach of migration policies.



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DEMIG data and IMI working papers

