

**European Member States'
preference to pick the best and
talented migrants over large
waves of immigrants to tackle
demographic challenges**

Bachelor Thesis

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Abstract

Demographic change in Europe is one of the major concerns of the 21st century. The challenges caused by the demographic change are numerous but the focus is put on the phenomenon of a declining workforce. Europe's declining workforce threatens economic growth as well as innovation and solutions are highly debated in politics. As one possible and compared to other measures fast solution, the concept of Replacement Migration was stimulated by the UN Population division in 2000 and enjoys considerable attention since then. This is especially due to the great opportunity it offers but also to the social and cultural concerns that are brought with it.

This paper takes a closer look at how national governments evaluate and use the often criticized concept of RM to tackle the phenomenon of a shrinking workforce and whether this perception is determined by the degree of workforce decline in the respective MS. The following research question emerges:

„To what extent does a shrinking workforce in EU countries explain the extent to which the governments of these countries emphasize RM? “

In order to answer this question, a comparative policy analysis was conducted among four European MS, namely Germany, France, Poland and the UK. By studying official governmental documents, the analysis observes the MS migration legislation with regard to its openness and possible support for RM and puts it in relation to the MS workforce development.

The comparative policy analysis proves the theory right in saying that MS are rather opposed to the concept of RM due to social and cultural concerns. Although the analysis could not find a perfect relationship between the variable degree of workforce decline and use of RM, a clear tendency could be observed that MS with a rather severe workforce decline implement comparably more migration friendly policies while countries that won't face a workforce decline within the next decades, are more likely to drive a harsh migration policy. The research let's assume that a third variable, namely public opinion could be a better explanation for the willingness of MS to use RM as a solution to the phenomenon of a shrinking workforce.

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List of Abbreviations

COM	European Commission
EU	European Union
MS	Member States
RM	Replacement Migration
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US	United States of America

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1. Introduction

Demographic change in Europe is one of the major concerns of the 21st century. The combination of low fertility and increasing life expectancy has the effect that Europe's age pyramid reverses. Due to that, the European workforce (people aged between 20 and 64), the key source for innovation and effective competition, is shrinking at a frightening rate (Leibold & Voelpel, 2006) (Table 1). Migration is today seen as the most decisive factor that influences Europe's population. According to population projections from the COM, without the assumed net migration inflow, Europe's population would start shrinking from this year onwards (Commission, 2009) (Table 2). Growing labour market participation rates (increasing female and older worker employment rates) will balance the ageing effect until around 2018 (Eurofound, 2010). From 2018 onward a shortage of high and low qualified workers can be expected (Alphametrics, 2005).

There are several opportunities to tackle demographic change, like increasing fertility, promoting employment, raising productivity and finally, receiving and integrating immigrants. Experts see the latter as one of the most significant and important factors that could help Europe, at least theoretically, to overcome the negative implications that the demographic change has on the labor market. (Table 3) The concept of RM is often seen as a possible solution for the deficit and structural imbalance of the European labour force. The main driver of this discussion was the UN Population Division, a report on RM published in 2000 that analyses what levels of immigration are needed to provide a constant number or ratio of workers. Although highly recommended by international institutions like the UN and the EU, nation states are still cautious in implementing policies in regard to RM.

The EU states: *"In the short to mid-term, labour immigration can – as part of Lisbon Strategy's comprehensive package of measures aimed at increasing the competitiveness of the EU economy – positively contribute to tackling the effects of this demographic evolution, and will prove crucial to satisfying current and future labour market needs and thus ensure economic sustainability and growth"* (Commission, 2005)

This thesis aims at finding out the until now very unresolved issue of how national governments actually evaluate and use RM. Already existing literature fails to look at the MS perception to migration as a solution but most often only highlights the problem of a shrinking workforce and evaluates the different solutions. RM is often criticized, so it would be interesting to see how RM is actually incorporated in MS migration policies as often

described as a quick fix for challenges of the demographic change. This thesis will analyze differences in the use of RM among the MS and whether these can be explained by the different degrees of workforce shrinking in the countries. This paper contributes to the discussion stimulated by the UN Population Division with a comparative case study of policy documents of four MS. The central question that emerges is:

„To what extent does a shrinking workforce in EU countries explain the extent to which the governments of these countries emphasize RM? “

Sub-questions that are necessary to address in order to answer the central research question are:

1. To what extent is workforce decline a problem in EU countries?
2. To what extent do the countries actually see workforce decline as a problem?
3. To what extent do European countries support RM as a solution to a shrinking workforce?
4. What is the relationship between workforce decline and RM?

In order to answer the research question, the analysis will be conducted along the following sections.

Chapter 2 will provide the theoretical framework that is based on already existing research on population decline, labour shortage and RM. The phenomenon of a shrinking workforce and the concept of RM are defined and discussed critically.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology of this thesis. The research approach, strategy, method of data collection and analysis are described. In order to research the objective to empirically answer the main research question, an analytical scheme is developed and data collected. The analytical scheme is based on the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2. To give a brief summary, the comparison of the four MS will be based on a number of policy documents that shed light on the MS migration legislation. For analyzing the independent variable, so answering the first and second question already existing statistics will be studied, presented in a table and further elaborated by looking at the semantic of lines of articles consulted for this thesis and the policy documents under study for the dependent variable. The operationalization of the dependent variable is more complex. For answering the third and fourth question, the migration policies of the MS will be studied and

put in comparison by making an in-depth text interpretation along categories developed in the theoretical part of this paper that include several key words presented in the analytical scheme.

Chapter 4 constitutes the actual analysis of the thesis that is based on the foregoing theory and methodology part of the thesis.

Chapter 5 is the conclusion to the thesis. This section includes a short summary of the overall thesis and gives the answer to the main research question. It ends with a section about the contributions of this study and its implications for future research.

The reason to choose exactly this topic for the thesis is that it is interesting to explore the possibilities migration politics has to outweigh the negative implications of this demographic change. In existing literature, RM was discussed and tested as a solution to Europe's shrinking workforce. Others had a look at the EU's and governments position to this solution but these publications were mainly a reaction to the 2000 UN Population Division and might be outdated. What will differentiate this thesis from earlier work is that it will compare the different opinions in a very objective manner and look in more depth to what extent the four countries, Germany, the UK, France and Poland are actually using RM today as a solution by implementing policies. In order to see whether differences in the use of RM are explained by the degree of workforce decline, MS were chosen facing quite diverse demographic situations.

2. Europe's shrinking workforce and its theoretical solution 'Replacement Migration'

In this section the theoretical background underlying the research is present. The key concepts of 'Workforce Shrinking' and 'Replacement Migration' are explained which is necessary to answer whether a relationship between the use of RM and the degree of workforce decline exists. This chapter defines the phenomenon of a shrinking workforce and afterwards specifies the concept of RM. By observing how already existing literature evaluates the concept of RM theoretical assumptions can be made in regard to the research question. It will be interesting to see whether RM is actually debated critically and why so many negative opinions exist. The final aim of this section is to use the findings and incorporate them into categories that will be used for analyzing the two variables under study.

2.1. Workforce shrinking

The demographic change has a significant impact on the size of various age groups, including populations at working age (Malmberg, 2006). This means that “demographic developments, next to labour market trends and labour force participation rates, determine the size of the future workforce as well as the number of retired people” (Malmberg, 2006). A shrinking workforce is defined as a decline in the working age population, causing a deficit in the ratio of young to old. This trend is already starting to be felt, especially in key sectors of the more advanced economies but will be stretch to other fields in the next decades (Howse, 2006). A main reason for that is that the cohorts of workforce entry age start to contract. Howse sees the main driver for the currently felt trend in the fact that skilled workers of the baby-boom generation retire and in the demand for appropriately qualified labour in the more ‘high-tech’ sectors of the more advances economies like IT and health care (Howse, 2006).

Governments are looking for solutions for the problems of skills shortage that the ageing and shrinking population contributes to, as it significantly threatens the welfare of the overall population. On the one hand the workforce decline is a problem for businesses that may have to leave, shrink or close because of this shortage resulting in difficulties to recruit. On the other hand it is a big problem for governments as fewer workers mean less tax money just when the dependency ratio is rising. Some researchers believe that shrinking populations in Europe will lead to an economic crisis, because there will not be enough workers and consumers to fuel economic growth and support retirees. Migration would be necessary here to keep companies competitive, prop up shaky pension systems and ensure economic growth.

Briefly the problem is described as followed: The causes for a workforce shrinking are that firstly, there a too few young people who replenish the labor force, secondly, there is a lack in people taking the tasks and responsibilities of citizens and thirdly, there are people missing to help provide for those who will be then too young or too old to work. There is a growing burden of dependency that population ageing imposes on the economically active population. A shrinking workforce furthermore has a negative impact on the average living standard, on the prosperity of a population and on the financial sustainability of their public pension schemes (Howse, 2006). It threatens the capacity of economies to sustain the growth rates that underpin their prosperity (Howse, 2006). To prevent the phenomenon of a shrinking workforce and its negative effects on the economy and welfare system,

governments have two options that are not mutually exclusive. First of all, this is increasing the overall size of the population to create a larger pool of people who can possibly be recruited. This can be achieved by either migration or by increasing fertility. The other option is trying to recruit a greater proportion of the already existing population into the workforce. This can be done by increasing age and sex-specific labour force participation rates (e.g. higher retirement age). According to Bo Malmberg's 2006 calculations, in the absence of mass migration only the combination of Scandinavian labour force participation rates for all EU countries plus the rise in retirement age by 10 years until 2050 could compensate for the impact of the demographic trends in the workforce (Malmberg, 2006).

Cangiano differentiates here a little more, saying that there is a significant difference between the EU MS in regard to the degree of the workforce shrinking. In his view, countries with a moderately low fertility such as France and the UK are less concerned with the shrinking workforce, even in the absence of migration. Here the positive natural change slows down the overall population decline. Furthermore, in some EU countries there is a significant scope for increasing labour force participation rates, particularly for the youth, women and older workers. Interestingly, this is the case for some of the countries experiencing the greatest labour force shrinking e.g. Italy (Cangiano, 2010). All in all, there is wide variation across EU countries in regard to the demographic trends and also in respect to participation and unemployment levels. Cangiano emphasizes therefore the need to find a country specific solution to tackle the problem of a declining workforce instead of going for a common approach (Cangiano, 2010).

2.2. Replacement Migration

In the following, the academic debate about the topic of RM is presented. All information with regard to the policy debate in the EU MS can be found in the analysis part of this thesis.

"Replacement migration refers to the international migration that would be needed to offset declines in the size of a population, declines in the population of working age, as well as to offset the overall ageing of a population" (United Nation, 2000). The concept of RM was especially stimulated by the United Nation Population Division in 2000 and is highly discussed since then. The Population Division analyzed the possible role for immigration in mitigating economic, social and fiscal effects of population decline and asked the question whether RM is a solution to the new demographic phenomenon, namely extremely low

fertility. To the UN, migration is the most malleable option to cope with demographic change, as fertility will not return to replacement level and increased mortality is of course not an option (United Nation, 2000). Also the EU has argued strongly in favor of immigration as without migration, the old age dependency ratio will increase significantly, placing unbearable loads on the pension and health care system. Still many experts believe that RM can only be successful in form of continuous streams that are increasing in time. The reason for that is that populations of immigrants and their descendants are also subject to ageing processes as they typically adapt to the values of the host societies (Korcelli, 2004).

According to Bermingham, “immigration levels to offset declines in total populations and working-age populations might be feasible, though probably not without severe cultural disruptions” (Bermingham, 2001). This makes him conclude that immigration is not even remotely possible as a solution to this problem, as to the huge number of immigrants needed to hold the current ratios and recent or current levels of the working age population (Bermingham, 2001).

In contrast to that, Bo Malmberg states in his article that “Labour migration might compensate the whole gap” developing in the European workforce but adds that “this would lead to net immigration well above European levels of the last decades (Malmberg, 2006). Although from a mere quantitative point, demographic and migratory arbitrage between Europe and its neighboring regions would be possible, according to Malmberg, these numbers of migration might be beyond Europe’s integration capacity (Malmberg, 2006). He furthermore emphasizes the effect of much larger ethno-cultural and religious heterogeneity resulting and coming along with pro-active immigration policies (Malmberg, 2006).

In his article “Replacement Migration” Keely states that migration is nowhere near as effective as fertility as a policy lever to increase or decrease a population over time (Keely, 2009). He explains this as migration is effective only once, whereas fertility can contribute multiple offspring. Furthermore, not only the size of the migrant flows but also the age and sex structures of a migrant population are of major importance. By referring to an article of Espenshade, Bouvier and Arthur from 1982, he shows that claiming that constant immigration would result in ever increasing population is false but that in a below replacement fertility population with fixed fertility and mortality schedules, any constant number of annual immigrants with a fixed age distribution will eventually result in a stationary population (Keely, 2009). Keely furthermore puts emphasis on the issue of social

integration of the possible migration flows and the “interest of policy makers in maintaining such items as language and culture, as immigration raises issues about the role of ethnicity on national identity and the social and political sway of racial, ethnic and religious identities” (Keely, 2009). So Keely focuses on politically acceptable levels of migration in order to safeguard that descendants from the initial population would not eventually disappear. As a conclusion, Keely sees RM as only one policy option among many, e.g. next to labour force participation, increase in retirement age and fiscal impacts. “Whether, to what extent and in what manner RM will be used depends on a countries vision, about what is important for their society and culture, as well as their capacity to develop and implement effective policy, to achieve those ends” (Keely, 2009).

Comparable thoughts are expressed by Espenshade, saying ‘the volume of immigration that is needed to achieve any of these targets, may be socially and politically unacceptable’ (Espenshade, 2001). Reasons for that are e.g. worries over loss of national identity. In the same manner, Coleman sees the necessity that problems like “Some immigrant groups are now very successful, others remain marginalized, subject to high levels of discrimination, unemployment, poverty and, in the younger generation, disproportionate under-achievement and involvement in crime” are resolved before any further discussion of mass immigration is appropriate. Coleman sees also an indirect implication of rejecting the concept of RM in the fact that a “sceptical yet pragmatic attitude towards international migration seems to be evolving in Western European countries” (Coleman, 2002). This attitude is supported by the negative experiences of the 1980s and the early 1990s, when a marked increase in the immigration to Western Europe could be observed, both from the Third World countries and the Central and Eastern Europe. The official reasons for this wave of migration were political, though in fact it was mainly driven by economic factors. Coleman (2002) states “Europe has already experienced one mass migration episode (...), which however failed to prevent population ageing, and while some of its aspects are positively evaluated in economic terms, the overall implications are not positive, both for immigrants and host societies” (Coleman, 2002).

Despite the opinions above, it can be observed recently that more and more experts from the field of economy, demography and politics in the Western Europe opt for opening the national borders for legal migration. This concerns mostly highly educated and qualified workers that are either currently needed or will be in demand soon. Still, these attitudes

must be differentiated from support for RM, as these proposed changes in legal migration policy is not aimed at attracting large migration flows for demographic reasons, but only aims at selective migration. Selective migration contrasts RM, as it solely aims at matching the present and future needs of the labour market. From a demographic point of view, these additional numbers of immigrants attracted, would have a rather small effect on the demographic structure of the host country, but would support the competitiveness of national economies on the world market.

The following section will look in more detail at what existing literature observed in regard to the overall position of European MS in regard to RM. By looking at how other authors evaluate the MS use of and perception to RM, the basis will be laid for building the analytical scheme, which will be used for the analysis of the MS policies.

2.3. Conclusion

According to the majority of authors, migration is by no means the 'non plus ultra' solution and will only partly compensate for Europe's shrinking workforce. This lets conclude that although in theory RM is an effective policy tool, the EU MS might have a very negative position to it and its use, due to social and cultural concerns. For the analysis, the expectations are, to find rather no signs of support for RM. There are two most important factors that the use of RM depend upon. Firstly, the success of immigration integration in the country and the level of immigrants that are acceptable to the governments and citizens. Secondly, the current degree of declining workforce.

This paper will focus on the second aspect underlined by Cangiano, stating that there is a significant difference between the EU MS with regard to the degree of the workforce shrinking. This aspect will be taken as the independent variable for this research. In Cangiano's view, countries with a moderately low fertility (UK and France) are less concerned with the shrinking workforce, even in the absence of migration. Also, Keely has a point in saying that each country needs to decide on their own with regard to their capacity whether RM is an acceptable means for coping with demographic challenges. This is why one could expect the reality to be different than hypothesized by the various authors. The increase in labour shortage let's assume, that although most MS might be generally opposed to large immigration inflows, there will be countries having no other choice than supporting RM in order to fight a shrinking workforce threatening economic growth. It becomes obvious

that measures to reform the labour market (e.g. participation rates) have their limits. All this leads to the main hypothesis of this research, namely:

H1: If a country's workforce decline is quite advanced, it is more likely to support and use RM as policy solution, while a country with a moderate or no workforce decline is more likely to be opposed to RM as a policy response.

Saying that migration streams have an impact not only by their size but also by means of the age and sex structure because of potential future fertility impact on the society, Keely raises the important issue that it does not only depend on how many but especially who is migrating. Testing the hypothesis, it will be essential to differentiate between selective migration and RM. Therefore a focus must be put on observing what group of immigrants is welcomed by the MS. The second issue is the overall attitude towards RM expressed by the actors. These two factors will work as a basis to build an analytical scheme that will be used for the analysis.

Already existing literature does not give an answer to the RQ underlying this research. Authors have mainly discussed RM in a critical manner by saying that it is not a solution which implies or let's conclude that there will be no use of this concept by the MS. This could be a paradox as obviously, migration plays a huge role in actual MS policies implemented as a reaction to demographic challenges. This research intends to find out if that is actually the case and in what relation the degree of workforce decline stands to this as an explanatory factor. In the following part, an appropriate methodology including the analytical scheme is designed.

3. Methodology

The overall aim of this research is to find out about the attitude of four EU MS with regard to RM and to what extent the implementation of this concept in migration policy is determined by the country's degree of a shrinking workforce. In the following section I will present the methodology used for my research. Firstly, I will outline the case selection which explains why the actors were chosen for the research. Afterwards, it is explained which data is going to be analyzed and how this data is collected. This is followed by a discussion of the data sources, the operationalization of the variables and the method of analysis. The research

design chosen for this study is a qualitative research method, namely a comparative case study. What will be conducted is a qualitative analysis of relevant policy documents with regard to the field of migration.

3.1. Case Selection

The comparative study will look at four cases, namely Germany, France, the UK and Poland. These countries are selected through purposive sampling, based on the fact that they are confronted with different situations, with regard to the phenomenon of a shrinking workforce. Germany, the UK and France have a similar cultural and economic background but Germany is facing a much more server workforce decline than the UK and France. While in Germany, already today the workforce shrinking has started, the UK and France will probably be confronted with this trend in the next decades. The UK is furthermore selected as it always maintained a distinctive position on borders and visas as manifest in its opt-out of the Schengen arrangements. In absolute numbers France, the UK and Germany belong to the “Old immigration countries” with the highest net migration. Only in Germany, this huge amount of migration is not large enough to stop population decline. Poland, as a rather new member of the European family has a special position by not belonging to the most popular destination countries for foreigners coming to Europe, but faces just as Germany the necessity to open its borders to immigrants, due to the economic implications of an ageing population and a tight situation on the labour market.

The reason for analyzing exactly these cases is that they show best whether there are differences between MS migration policies and whether this difference can be explained by the degree of workforce decline. The reduction to four countries may still allow for drawing conclusion on an overall attitude of EU MS, as they were chosen to represent specific types of countries. Firstly, there is Poland as a new and small MS with a rather moderate economic growth and a moderate but waved workforce shrinking. Germany represents those countries with a well working economy but facing severe demographic challenges. France and the UK are representatives for countries where the demographic change is not felt to a high degree until now. The policy documents studied were published by the actor responsible for migration in the respective case. In Germany, the branch responsible for migration legislation is the ‘Federal Office for Migration and Refugees’, for the UK, it is the ‘UK Home Office’ responsible for immigration and asylum policy under the leadership of the Secretary

of State for the Home Department. For France it is the 'Ministry of Immigration, Integration, National Identity and Co-Development' that develop general immigration policies. In Poland, it is the 'Migration Policy Department of the Ministry of the Interior and Administration' that is in charge.

3.2. Data Collection

For the following policy analysis, official MS documents were used. These are for example governmental publications, official papers and policies from the MS under study or EU policies and documents that offer valuable information about its MS. These include official replies of governments to the 'United Nations Population' inquiries, national reports to the European Migration Network, policies on the issue of migration, official statements and material provided by governmental agencies as well as the world press. The information on policies used in this thesis derive from various sources, but mainly different Eurostat data sources, the EU website (www.europa.eu) or the governmental homepages of the four MS. The database on 'population and social conditions' was used for gathering the most relevant data for demographic changes and statistics on the workforce shrinking of the different MS were retrieved from the World Factbook. Secondary sources such as scientific articles, newspaper articles and relevant books were used to get a broader knowledge about the issue at hand.

In order to ensure that the most recent policies in the field of migration are analyzed, only policy documents published later than 2010 are taken as a basis for the comparison. Still, to get an overall impression about the countries' developments with regard to migration policies and to find out about recent debates, it is important to have a look at older material (before 2010) and very new sources as well. The overall data analyzed cover the period between 2005 and 2012. By analyzing a sample of relevant policy documents with regard to RM, sufficient information will be gathered to observe the MS position in this area of research. The analysis will concentrate on official governmental documents of the respective policies, as they show the official standpoints of the MS. They are prepared for the public to summarize and give knowledge about the issue discussed. Another advantage is that these official documents are written in a comparable manner which simplifies the comparison of its content. A qualitative data collection best suits this research project because governmental documents as well as the other sources mentioned cover the topic in a way

which reflects reality and are not biased by personal opinions of authors. All in all, these documents give a valuable impression on the actor's position and action. A list of documents selected for the analysis can be found in the appendix (Table 4).

3.3. Data Analysis

The following section explains how the policy analysis is conducted. It will be explained how the data is used and how the variables are operationalized. The concepts of a shrinking workforce and RM are transferred into concrete items that will be made measurable by introducing keywords which will be used for analyzing the policy documents.

As a research strategy, it will be started with an extensive reading of the collected material and on the basis of that decided on the most relevant documents that give the best view of the actor's position and measures taken with regard to RM. For analyzing the independent variable, namely the current degree of workforce shrinking of the four countries, already existing statistics will be observed, and summarized in the first section of the comparative analysis. As there is no valuable data on prospected workforce development, the numbers of the overall population development will be used as an indicator for the direction the workforce will take. The past numbers show that this assumption proofed right although the development going in the same direction varies sometime in its degree. As an example, the workforce decline could be more severe than the overall population decline. The findings will be presented in a table and further elaborated by looking at the semantic of lines of articles consulted for this thesis giving a rather objective view, and the policy documents under study for the dependent variable. With these two strategies, the section will answer the first and second sub-question, so to find out how the overall demographic situation in the respective countries is and whether a need for high or low-skilled workers caused by the shrinking workforce exists.

The operationalization of the dependent variable is more complex. For answering the third sub-question, the migration policies of Germany, France, Poland and the UK will be studied by making an in-depth text interpretation along categories developed in the theoretical part of this paper that include several key words presented in the analytical scheme. Simultaneously the cases will be put in comparison. The categories are 'general political debate in MS', 'overall position to migration', and the 'overall development in regard to legal migration'. It will be looked at whether a 'quota system on migration flow'

exists, and at the category 'inflow of migration', 'permanent resident conditions', 'length of residency' and 'group of migrants attracted'. Finally, there are the categories 'recognition of skills and qualifications', 'bureaucratic difficulties', 'attempts to stop illegal migration' and the 'general conditions for migration'. The appendix includes a list that explains how these categories are being made measurable (Table 5).

A table at the end of the analysis will summarize the findings of the dependent variable and will help to see a pattern among the actor's policies and whether the MS has a rather positive or negative position to RM. In order to rate the different actors in each category, it is important to pay attention to language formulations and expression and to read between the lines. Within the analysis of the two variables, the first three sub-questions underlying the research question will be answered. As a final step, the findings of the dependent variable 'use of RM' are put in relation to the findings of the independent variable, the 'degree of workforce shrinking' in order to answer the fourth sub-question. To illustrate the findings, again a table will be designed, that shows clearly whether a relationship between the two variables under study exists. To clarify the data collection and analysis, an analytical scheme based on the theoretical framework is presented in the appendix (Figure 1).

Summing up, the comparison of the four MS will be based on a number of policy documents that shed light on the MS migration legislation. While for analyzing the independent variable mainly already existing statistics will be studied, for the dependent variable it will be important to intensively look at the semantic of lines of articles consulted for this thesis and the policy documents under study. The migration policies of the MS will be studied and put in comparison by making an in-depth text interpretation along categories developed in the theoretical part of this paper that include several key words presented in the analytical scheme. As it cannot be expected to find clear statements on how the concept of RM is evaluated by the actors, it will be essential to read between the lines and interpret the different measures taken in migration policies of the MS to make a conclusion about the perception and use of RM among the countries.

4. Comparative Analysis

This chapter represents the empirical part of the thesis and aims at reconstructing the positions of the four actors under study along the categories developed in the methodology part of the thesis. During the analysis of the two variables under study, the four sub-questions underlying the main research question will be answered. The first section looks at the questions: ‘To what extent is workforce decline a problem in EU countries?’ and ‘To what extent do the countries actually see workforce decline as a problem?’. The second section will give an answer to the question: ‘To what extent is RM as a solution to a shrinking workforce supported by EU countries?’ and will finally take up on the question of ‘What is the relationship between workforce decline and RM?, which will be further elaborated in the conclusion part of this thesis. By answering the above mentioned questions, it will be observed if theory proves right in saying that RM is not desirable and supported by MS or whether it is indeed an effective solution, especially for countries facing a severe workforce decline.

4.1. Demographic trends vary among EU Member States

The shrinking workforce in the MS is observed by looking at statistics of three features of this concept. These are the past population development, the expected future developments and the degree of labour shortage which is interpreted from the development of the workforce. All three features will be analyzed by looking at already existing data retrieved mainly from the World Factbook. The findings will be presented in a table and further elaborated afterwards to answer the first sub-question, namely: To what extent is workforce decline a problem in EU countries? The second half of this section will answer the second sub-question, namely: To what extent do the countries actually see workforce decline as a problem? While in the first section, the analysis is done by interpreting the statistics, this second section will look at the semantic of lines of articles consulted for this thesis and the policy documents under study for the dependent variable.

Table 6: Summary on data on independent variable. Source Eurostat for population development and World Factbook for workforce development

	UK	France	Germany	Poland
Population development (2003 to 2011)	Rise 2003: 59.435.480 2011: 62.498.612	Rise 2003: 61.864.088 2011: 65.048.412	Decline 2003: 82.536.680 2011: 81.751.602	Waved 2003: 38.218.531 2008: 38.125.479 2011: 38.200.037
Projected population development (2015 to 2045)	Rise 2015: 64.147.689 2025: 68.350.294 2035: 71.873.751 2045: 74.962.147	Rise 2015: 66.358.014 2025: 69.125.300 2035: 71.344.846 2045: 72.772.778	Decline 2015: 80.953.582 2025: 79.077.629 2035: 76.478.036 2045: 72.913.997	Waved 2015: 38.369.400 2025: 38.121.117 2035: 26.656.824 2045: 35.343.356
Workforce development (2003 to 2010)	Rise 2003: 29.600.000 2007: 30.890.000 2010: 31.450.000	Rise 2003: 27.390.000 2007: 27.910.000 2010: 28.210.000	Peak in 2006, now decline 2003: 42.630.000 2007: 43.540.000 2010: 43.350.000	Waved 2003: 16.920.000 2007: 16.860.000 2010: 17.000.000

While the majority of the European countries will probably continue to have some population growth until 2025 (Muenz, 2007), Germany already records a decline of its population (-0.5 in 2006 (Malmberg, 2006)). The government already stated in 2000 that it is having significant concerns with the working age group and that it sees the fertility level too low (United Nation, 2000). In the next decade there will be a significant decrease of the 20-34 and 35-49 age groups leading to the contraction of the workforce (Cangiano, 2010). According to the projected population numbers, Germany's population will steadily decrease during the next decades and to an even stronger extent for the working age population. The UK is in a better position as experts estimated that the size of its population with no additional net migration will level off at 65.7 million over the next two decades and eventually start declining around 2035 (Cangiano, 2012). In 2000, in contrast to Germany, the UK was not belonging to those countries most concerned with population decline and still saw its fertility level as satisfactory (United Nation, 2000). In the UK, compared to Germany, there will only be a moderate decrease of the 20-34 and 35-49 age groups leading to a contraction of the workforce (Cangiano, 2010). A steady increase is projected, both for the overall population and for the working age population, while the opposite trend is felt in Europe as a whole (Mulley, 2010). "This is because the UK is already experiencing a high level of migration, considerably more than it 'needs'. The UK also enjoys a relatively benign fertility regime, which ensures that projected declines in any sector of the population are small" (Coleman, 2002). This is similar for France, which will experience a steady population and workforce increase during the next decades. Countries like Poland, belonging to the

Eastern European states, are already experiencing generally a natural decline in their populations and furthermore are no net receiver of migrants. Additionally, in Poland the natural decline is further compounded by net outward migration to the older EU MS. Still, the numbers show that the population development in Poland is difficult to interpret, as there are many ups and downs that make it hard to predict a certain trend. An explanation for the ups and down of the Polish population and workforce development could be the decrease in number of Poles departure compared to the first years of this decade. The negative net migration becomes recently smaller due to significant limitations of numbers of Poles going abroad.

Over the next two decades the working-age population is expected to decline in all four countries, so this seems an unavoidable trend which only differs in its starting point. In both absolute and relative terms, the largest decrease is projected for Germany. In France and the UK, the statistics show that there won't be a shift from natural increase to natural decrease within the next years. Projections show that this shift could possibly happen in the UK some when after 2040 (Howse, 2006). In European comparison, the UK and France maintaining positive natural change belong to the only countries that can avoid a substantial decline of their workforce between 2010 and 2050 by increasing participation rates without a large increase in immigration, while in MS with persistently low-fertility such as Germany and Poland, only a combination of effective labour market reforms and high levels of immigration could be a solution. These findings can also be observed in the government's perception to the demographic change as in the German and Polish government and to a lesser extent also in France the issue of a declining workforce is already highly debated, there are other issues, like the economic crisis and the high unemployment rates, that raise concerns in the UK.

Summing up, the main findings of this analysis is that the variation across EU countries in terms of demographic trends and participation/unemployment levels can expect to result in variations in regard to the demand for 'compensatory' immigration. This in combination with the presented government views let's assume, that different degrees of using RM will be observed in the analysis of the dependent variable in the next section.

4.2. MS priority to Selective Migration over Replacement Migration

For some time now it has been significantly harder to find employees, particularly highly qualified ones. So migration is often deemed necessary in order to maintain a normal population level and workforce. The next section explores the MS policies with regard to migration. The section will show if cultural and political opposition is too great as the theory part of this thesis let's assume or whether countries experiencing a severe workforce decline like Germany and to some extent Poland, are supporting RM as a policy solution. The reason for that could lie in RM being a fast fix and so an effective measure that could make desperate governments disregard social and cultural concerns. The analysis of the concept of RM will be conducted along the categories explained in the methodology part and will give an answer to the third sub-question underlying this research, namely: To what extent do European countries support RM as a solution to a shrinking workforce?

The UK, just as Germany and France, sees itself as an immigration country and decided in the last years to put an emphasis on supporting integrating of immigrants and a stronger regulation of further migration. Measures in the UK aim at reducing the number of longer term migrants coming to the UK, saying "the pressure to reduce net migration number to "tens of thousands" will continue..." (Travis, 2012), but continue to attract high quality migrants for shorter periods to ensure that only the most skilled migrants were allowed to come to the UK and also ensure a better matching of skills to job vacancies or special needs. Especially important to mention is that the UK is the only MS that does not only try to decrease the overall immigration number but that the aim, besides attracting the brightest and the best, is to also limit economic migrants in general (Pendry, 2010). This can be seen in the discussion of implementing annual limits on the number of economic migrants under Tier 1 and 2 and actually introducing interim limits on applicants (Pendry, 2010). The British government aims at breaking the link between temporary and permanent migration due to concerns that it was too easy to obtain permanent status having been in the UK on a temporary basis (Pendry, 2010). New measures try to ensure that migrants who enter temporary (particularly students) do actually return home at the end of their stay and only those with the most to contribute are allowed to remain permanently. The change in the Tier 2 income threshold of 50.000€ if coming no longer than 12 months, and 30.000€ when coming for less than 12 months, shows the direction the UK government is going (Pendry, 2010). With regard to foreign students, creating a more selective system by

replacing the 'post study work route' with a new more limited 'graduate entrepreneur' specialist category, the UK tries to identify the brightest and the best who are making the greatest contribution to the UK, all others have to leave after graduation (Pendry, 2010).

Changes planned for permanent residence are, setting a minimum income threshold of between 38.500€ and 61.000€, below which migrants who legally come to work in Britain will lose the right to apply for a permanent residence permit after 5 years (Travis, 2012). These changes mean that skilled workers coming to the UK under Tier 2 of the points-based system will no longer be able to settle in the UK simply based on the amount of time they have spend in the UK. Skilled temporary workers need to earn at least 44.000€ to apply for settlement, only those applying for jobs that are at shortages, scientist and researchers in PhD level roles can be excepted from that threshold (Pendry, 2010). Temporary permission to enter and remain in the UK will be capped at 6 years, to reinforce the temporary nature of Tier 2 (Pendry, 2010). In UK, there is furthermore no specific scheme for employment of unskilled third country nationals as those who are no designated skilled occupations are ineligible for admission under the general labour migration categories (Tier 1 and 2). Until now, there are no plans to activate the Tier 3 that regards low skilled immigrants. "While it is important that low-skilled jobs are filled, there are hundreds of thousands of British people who could be doing them instead of a migrant" (Pendry, 2010). Although all MS try to prevent illegal migration, there are comparably strong attempts in this by the British government. The UK tries to improve returns procedures and policies, increase return capacity and develop sustainable assisted voluntary return programmes. The downward trend on every route to long term immigration is a clear indicator for the UK standing in stark contrast to the idea of RM which cannot be observed in any of the other MS policies.

The difference to Germany and Poland here is that the UK government is in a much better position with regard to the degree of the shrinking workforce, as they have more options to choose from and more time to implement measures. With the changes in migration policy, someone gets the impression that in case of the UK, you are allowed to come, stay as long as you like and bring everyone and marry everyone, as long as you are a wealthy resident. This shows a quite extreme policy direction and is as far from RM as one could imagine. The guiding principle behind UK's migration policy, is that only highly qualified migrants and furthermore only for a certain period should be allowed to gain residency in UK. This raises the question whether, with the background of the demographic

change that the UK will face sooner or later, this extreme political strategy of attracting only highly educated and temporary immigrants appears outdated.

A rather similar behavior can be observed in regard to France but it must be emphasized that the policy documents under study show that France, is generally more migration friendly than the UK, which can be especially seen in regard to the formulations chosen but also to actual measures taken. Although being blessed with a high fertility rate, France is at least acknowledging the future challenges caused by the demographic change. France encourage labour migration flows to meet requirement needs in professions that require a certain level of qualifications and also in professions that have obvious and sustained labour force requirements (EMN F. n., 2010). France has traditionally been a country with a fairly open border policy, but there have been recent efforts, as reflected in a July 2006 law, to restrict the immigration of unskilled workers and persons who would become a burden on the French State. Although focusing on skilled labour migration, in terms of long term residence and students, they have migration friendlier measures than the UK. For example the French government offers opportunities to students by granted a six-month's renewable visa to look for and take up work in France. (EMN F. n., 2010). These attempts aim at attracting foreign students coming to France to pursue higher education and gives the student the possibility to fill qualified vacancies in the French labour market.

Still, especially the perception to the desirable number of migrants entering the country is similar to the UK, home secretary Claude Guéant announced at the beginning of 2012 that he wanted to "reduce the number of legal immigrants which includes individuals coming to France on work and study visas and those seeking asylum annually from 200,000 to 180,000, a 10% decrease" and stating further: "what is at stake is the cohesion and the equilibrium of our society and our ability to maintain our tradition of welcoming migrants" (Allemandou, 2012). This statement goes very much in line with Keely's position presented in the theory part that a country is only willing to accept amounts of immigrants that it can successfully integrate. The German and Polish policies under study give no indication of aims to decrease the overall number of migrants, but especially in case of Poland they rather underline the importance of migrants for the labour market and economic growth. In contrast to that, the French government is, following the UK example, discussing to introduce a quota system that would fix a number of immigrants allowed to enter France in one year, based on skills and origins to keep the number of visas issued at five percent below

the last years number. The same extra attempts in regard to illegal migration observed in the UK can be partly seen in the case of France by increasing the number of expulsions of illegal immigrants and increasing the capacity of detention centers.

In European comparison, France shows generally a rather tough policy in regard to family reunion, labour market access, political participation, access to nationality and long term residence. Among the measures “for better management of the flow of immigrants” announced by Guéant are a toughening of the conditions necessary to obtain French citizenship and of the rules allowing an immigrant living in France to be joined by family members. The French government is putting emphasis on improving integration and promoting the French identity. Therefore, immigrants have to sign a so called ‘welcome and integration’ contract and take French language and civic courses (EMN F. n., 2010). The normally required five-year period for applying for permanent residence permit may be reduced to two years if the foreign-born person integrated exceptionally well and successfully performed two years of higher education in France (EMN F. n., 2010). This describes a quite stark contrast to the requirements in the UK, where the link between working and staying permanent is broken but goes more in line with the conditions set by the German government.

Although confronted with the strongest workforce decline, Germany’s ‘Bundesregierung’ seem to be still resistant to the idea of RM. The ‘Bundesregierung’ states that “zielgerichtete Migrationspolitik kann helfen, Engpässe am Arbeitsmarkt besser zu bewältigen” (BMI, 2011) but still emphasizes the need to increase the participation rates and supports the integration of already residing immigrants. This is one part of RM but leaves out the issue of immigrating also low-skilled workers and generally large numbers of migrants. The government aims at making Germany more attractive for high-qualified immigrants and therefore implemented the EU Blue Card. In Germany the Blue card holder has the right of permanent residence after working only two years (EMN G. n., 2010). This is a major improvement as the last policy included a minimum of 5 years of work, which is also the rule in most other MS. Very high qualified migrants with a salary of 48.000 Euro get a permanent residence right away (EMN G. n., 2010). These changes are a great sign for Germany to become more immigration friendly and trying to attract more, mostly high-qualified workers, to the national labour market. Especially in comparison with the UK, aiming at breaking the link between working and settlement, here Germany drives a strategy that

supports the hypothesis that the more severe the workforce shrinking is, the more measures are taken to become more attractive for immigrants.

In general, also having similar financial thresholds for granting the EU Blue card the German government has the lowest required years before applying for permanent residence permit, which is very hard to get in the UK no matter how long the migrant had worked there. All MS show similar measures in regard to language requirements before applying for permanent residence and family reunification. This aims at promoting integration, protecting public services as well as forced marriages and ensure that partners are equipped to play a full part in the MS life. While this seem authentic in case of Germany, in the UK, one could assume that these new requirements are mainly aimed at effective regulation of family migration, as this would go in line with the review of current routes to permanent residency in the UK aiming at breaking the link between temporary migration and permanent settlement. “Importing economic dependency on the British state is unacceptable”...“bringing people to this country who can play no role in the life of this country is equally unacceptable.” (Travis, 2012). In France a similar behavior can be observed. It seems like there is a trend in France to stem family migration which is supported by procedures that test a minimum level of French language and knowledge about the main French constitutional principles and values. Standing in strong contrast to RM, the rules for family reunification are further tightened by raising the required years for several procedures. Limited access to residence and citizenship like in the UK and France show furthermore little support for the ideas behind RM.

Coming back to Germany, in terms of employment conditions, the focus is put on only attracting high skilled workers. This is especially underlined by saying “Zuwanderung zu un- und geringfügig qualifizierten Beschäftigungen wird nur befristet zugelassen... Ein Daueraufenthalt ist bei diesem Aufenthaltswitz ausgeschlossen” (AufenthG, 2008). The access for low-skilled migrants to the German labour market is highly restricted since the 1973 ‘Anwerbestop’ policy which put a hold on recruiting (EMN G. n., 2010). It becomes obvious that the chance of permanent residence is only possible for a high qualified immigrant. Germany is becoming more open and easier to excess for qualified migrants by several simplifications and less bureaucratic burdens. Also more transparent and systematic criteria are introduced for granting the right of residence. Since 2005, residence permits for foreign students are prolonged for one year after graduation in order to enable the student

to find adequate employment (EMN G. n., 2010) which is even more generous than the French legislation. The goal of these measures is to enable qualified foreign students to remain in Germany, which is in stark contrast to the British policy. As in Germany not only very highly qualified workers are tried to be attracted, Germany shows a less selective behaviour. Germany is, like all four MS, aiming at improving the assessment and recognition of professional qualifications and degrees obtained abroad in a more simple procedure. The major aim of these changes is to exploit the labour market potential of immigrants better. Due to its friendlier residence conditions, simplified access for long-term migrants and students, Germany can be seen more in line with RM than the UK and France. Still it cannot be called a proponent of RM which is especially astonishing with the severe workforce decline taking place in Germany.

Poland goes generally more in line with the measures taken by the German government and can be seen as having the migration friendliest policies. This is strongly related to the demographic challenges the country is confronted with. The emigration of young and skilled Polish citizens and the fact that Poland is not a popular destination for foreigners seeking work in the EU, brings them in a disadvantaged position. This forces them to drive a rather migration friendly policy in order to sustain competitiveness which can be seen in its comparably low requirements in all migration routes. Students are automatically allowed to stay in Poland and even assisted in seeking the right work within their education qualifications (EMN P. n., 2010). With regard to employment, the so called 'simplified system' came into force that intends to support an employer's intention to employ a foreigner (EMN P. n., 2010). With this new procedure, citizens of Poland's neighboring countries are entitled to work up to 6 months during a period of 12 consecutive months without the need to obtain a residence or work permit (EMN P. n., 2010). These nationals falling under this procedure are excluded from the usually conducted labour market test. Further reforms of the Polish migration policy aim at facilitating and promoting legal temporary migration and establishing the mechanism for systematic monitoring of supply and demand in the labour market (EMN P. n., 2010).

Although experiencing a severe workforce decline, European countries are in general less receptive to large waves of immigrants but only allow for migration on meeting skills criteria. The government perception to RM of all four MS does not differ significantly but putting a lot of attention to the semantic of lines and the expressions chosen by the

governments, a rather migration friendly or hostile position can be observed and a certain degree of differentiation can be made between the four MS.

The interesting finding here is that the ranking that could be observed for the independent variable workforce shrinking, namely Germany and Poland facing a workforce decline while France and the UK will not within the next decades, is similar to the ranking that results from analyzing the dependent variable use of RM, namely that Germany and Poland are comparably more migration friendly, while France and the UK have a rather negative perception to migration. In terms of the ranking that could developed here (The UK – France - Germany - Poland) the UK stands in strongest contrast to the ideas behind RM while Poland shows the most signs for support. The findings are very much in line with the authors presented in the theoretical part, as it could be supported that MS are very cautious in implementing policies in regard to RM, probably mostly due to the negative perception that the public has and less driven by the degree of workforce decline.

1.3. Conclusion

This section sums up the key findings of the analysis and aims at giving a first outlook to the answer of the fourth sub-question, namely: What is the relationship between workforce decline and RM? All MS can be defined as supporting selective labour migration that contributes economic growth but they all do not directly express to support RM, which would imply allowing large migration flows, including attracting low-skilled workers, long term and being generally migration friendly.

Summing up, the UK migration policy stands in stark contrast to the concepts and ideas of RM and can be seen as the strictest in comparison to France, Poland and Germany. The analysis shows that there are only minor differences in the policies implemented by the three actors, but these definitely support the direction of the hypothesis proposed in the theory part of this thesis. In order to give an answer to the third sub-question, a table is designed that illustrate the findings of the analysis. This shows that the hypothesis is supported and a relationship exists between the variable workforce decline and the support for RM. Although there is a clear tendency that countries facing a severe workforce decline are generally more migration friendly, the analysis showed that the theory was right in predicting that the concept of RM as a whole is not supported by any of the MS under study.

Table 7: Summary of the findings on the relationship between the independent and dependent variable

	UK	France	Germany	Poland
Workforce development	Increase	Increase	Decline	Waved due to certain factors but overall decline
Perceived problem of workforce decline	Sees no problem	Acknowledges future problem	Acknowledges problem but mainly in regard to high skilled	Acknowledges problems in regard to both high and low skilled
Support for RM	No	No	Moderate	Moderate

The findings of the table above will be further elaborated in the next section, namely the conclusion of this thesis.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

5.1. Putting findings into perspective

In the following section an answer will be given to the overall research question underlying this thesis, namely: “To what extent does a shrinking workforce in EU countries explain the extent to which the governments of these countries emphasize RM?”

The theory hypothesizes that MS are rather opposed to RM due to several reasons. This can be supported after conducting this research. Although there can be seen a sort of relationship between workforce decline and support for RM, as a country like the UK, not facing workforce decline is taking a very negative position to migration in general while a country like Germany, seems to be aware of its situation and tries to find a way to allow for increased migration to fill vacancies. Still it becomes obvious that there is possibly another variable that has even more influence on the use of RM then the current degree of workforce shrinking has. This would be the variable public opinion. As there is a clear tendency that countries already facing a workforce decline are generally more immigration friendly which can be seen e.g. in lower requirements for permanent residency and easier access for skilled workers and students, it still become obvious that a country like Germany tries to find a balance between attracting more immigrants to fill vacancies in the labour market but that their attention is also strongly put on issues like integration. This goes in line with what theory predicted, as countries are only allowing for migration that is culturally and socially acceptable, which requires successful integration of the foreigners.

Answering the main research question, the research showed that the degree of the shrinking workforce in a country definitely explains the extent to which a government is willing to use RM, but only partly. Countries with a severe workforce decline are forced to take different measures than MS with a moderate workforce shrinking or a decline that won't take place in the next decades. A country like France can e.g. still count on its high fertility rate and a country like the UK, where traditionally a high net migration existed but also a positive natural change maintained, the future shrinking workforce can mostly be avoided by measures that increase participation rates and retirement age. UK and France obviously have the possibility to wait with implementing unpopular policies to avoid significant contraction of the working age population, as here only modest or no migration is necessary. Compared to that in countries like Germany and Poland, confronted with a very different situation in regard to the degree of a shrinking workforce and where the fertility is very low, these measures won't be enough and action is needed right away, therefore the theory says, migration is only one solution among many but in case of an already severe workforce shrinking, it is the only that is effective right away. In case of Germany and Poland, only a combination of effective labour market reforms and high levels of immigration could show success in tackling the shrinking workforce.

Indeed, RM is in the minds of politicians but not directly supported by any government, which could be explained by a third variable, which is public opinion. Until now immigration is still often based on two principles. Firstly, the immigration is still commonly restricted to highly qualified labour and secondly the length of stay should be temporary. The conditions, rules and legislations in this respect differ slightly, which can be an indicator for slightly more or less support for RM. This is why a tendency could be observed during this research, so that one can say that especially the French and British immigration policy stands in clear contrast to the concept of RM while Germany and also Poland, try to find the right balance between accepting large migration flows the country would desperately need and ensuring to take actions that are in line with the citizens opinions.

Until today, workforce decline is mostly in regard to skilled job therefore it is understandable that countries are only looking for high skilled immigrants to have enough people to fill these vacancies. But studies show that these vacancies will soon be also in the low-skilled sector. Due to the fact that attracting low-skilled immigrants is strongly more opposed by the native populations, explains the trend through all four MS that immigration

becomes easier, but only for high-skilled workers. The attraction of low-skilled labour is completely ignored and in most MS, even suspended. There is a clear promotion of selective migration among the MS, which aims at attracting the most valuable and high skilled immigrants and not RM which would include attracting all kinds of immigrants, and most importantly a large amount of them to meet demographic deficits. Recently there have been a lot of changes in migration legislation in all MS. Most are measures to facilitate labour migration that is beneficial to national economies and concentrates on attracting highly skilled workers. Common are facilitated procedures and abbreviated waiting times for the acquisition of residence and work permits and enhanced rights for highly skilled workers in the field of family reunification.

Summing up, yes there is a tendency but no perfect relationship between workforce decline and use of RM that can be taken to make conclusions about other MS. I can partly support the hypothesis that countries where the workforce shrinking is already quite advanced, RM is more likely to be seen and used as a solution, while countries where the workforce shrinking is not very acute, RM is not very popular possibly due to an overall opposition of the citizens in regard to large flows of migration. It seems like there are playing to many variables an important role, as for example a countries history in regard to migration, as this has a strong influence on the public opinion. As politicians are always intending to be reelected, the variable public opinion seems to be even stronger than the variable workforce decline. It must be said that the variable of public opinion might have had a very important role to play in this research and could have biased the outcome of this study. There are obviously limits to this study and the findings could encourage conducting a research in regard to the variable public opinion as this could be a better explanation for the degree of support for RM. It must be research whether a country with a only a moderate degree of workforce shrinking in combination with a public that is quite open and positive to migration flows would be more in favour of RM then a country facing similar workforce shrinking but a very immigration unfriendly public.

5.2. Contribution of this study and implications for future research

Taking into account the existing literature on this topic, the findings of the research are not very surprising and are in line with most opinions expressed by the various authors. Still, the difference between the four actors' migration policies showed a clear tendency how the

attitude toward RM could change in the future, as countries simply won't have the freedom to close their borders from large scale immigration, as their demographic situation will force them to open. Germany as a country where the shrinking of the workforce is already quite advanced is clearly more open to an idea like RM. So maybe some authors like Coleman and Keely have been too fast in saying that RM is by no means a solution to a shrinking workforce and maybe, in times when more and more MS face actual workforce decline, the general opinion to RM will change. The example of Poland and to some extent Germany shows an increase in willingness to make use of some aspects of RM. Coleman and Malmberg argue that RM is a theoretical concept and cannot be applied in the migration policy pursued by individual countries and cannot underpin the development of measures to solve social and economic problems arising from population ageing. Although this explains the huge political debate about this issue, especially in countries with an acute workforce decline. Here Keely has a point, saying "Whether, to what extent and in what manner RM will be used depends on a country's vision about what is important for their society and culture, as well as their capacity to develop and implement effective policy to achieve those ends" (Keely, 2009). MS facing demographic challenges intend to find effective policies, e.g. in regard to better integration that will allow for the needed migration flows in the end.

Somehow, those measures proposed by authors arguing against RM are not sufficiently effective and have their limits and politicians end up in a debate about migration over and over again. It is not possible to reach a participation or employment level of 100% and we definitely cannot exceed it. These limits underline the importance of RM as a major solution to the current demographic trends. Authors like Espenshade have given too much weight to issues of social and cultural concerns with regard to RM, and ignored the desperate situation many MS governments are situated in to cope with demographic challenges. This research showed that governments seem more willing to actually use migration and especially will be a lot more willing in the future than any of these authors expected. Looking at the actual measures taken and comparing them, give valuable insights into the actual behavior and position of the actors. These insights of course support the from the authors expected resistance with regard to social and cultural concerns resulting from allowing large flows of migration, but it could be proved wrong that there is a general opposition in regard to migration. It could be strongly used as an effective measure, compared to alternative solutions, to cope with actual workforce decline. Of course, these alternative measures were

the very first policy response of the actors, but the cases of Germany and Poland showed that measures of increasing participation rates and retirement age are not sufficient at all and only migration could lead to effects that are hoped for.

The finding supports most of the already existing theory but proves, that governments seem to get more and more in a situation where they need to ignore old rules and perceptions and need to adjust to the current situation of an acute workforce decline. A new way of thinking is required and it seems like social and cultural concerns in regard to RM disappear when confronted with the social and cultural concerns of a declining workforce. Keely's opinion that 'Europe does not seem poised to embrace immigration as a policy tool to address economic and demographic challenges, given the social and cultural concerns swirling around the topic of immigration' proves to be a very old and not up to date opinion when looking at the recent policies in all four cases, where migration is generally highly debated. This is an example of this discrepancies between what the research showed about the actor's opinion and the one presented within the literature review.

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7. Appendix

Figure 1 – Analytical Scheme

Shrinking workforce

Concrete feature

Key words

- overall population decline

- low fertility/natural population change
- demographic challenges
- effects on economic growth

- degree of labour shortage

- labour shortage
- skills mismatch
- need for high-skilled workers
- need for low-skilled workers

Replacement Migration

Concrete feature

Key words

- prevent a decline of the overall population

- recognition of demographic challenges
- improving demographic structure
- continued immigration
- acceptable size of migration inflow

- maintain a constant number of people in the productive age by continued and large scale immigration

- quota of annual immigrants
- Reduction/ increase in net migration
- length of residency (temporary or long-term immigrants)
- acceptance of migration

-expected effects on economy

- ensure long term competitiveness and future of its social model
- recognize and support migrants' contribution to economic growth
- fill vacancies
- economic migration (Controlling and limiting migration to economic needs)

- migration policies

- overall political position to migration (migration friendly or
- policy development of legal migration (more or less strict)
- recognition of skills and qualifications
- bureaucratic difficulties (simplification of the administrative procedures)
- permanent residence conditions: rules and rights for permanent residence (income threshold, required years of work, learn language, knowledge about country)
- Conditions for migration: Employment, Self employment, Seasonal workers, Family reunification, Studies, Training

- migrant population

- Group of migrants attracted
- Attracting low- skilled workers
- Attracting high- skilled workers
- Special treatment for migrant workers for shortage jobs
- Attempts to stop illegal migration

Table 1 - Projected working age population and total employment, EU25, 2002–2050 Source: Eurofound

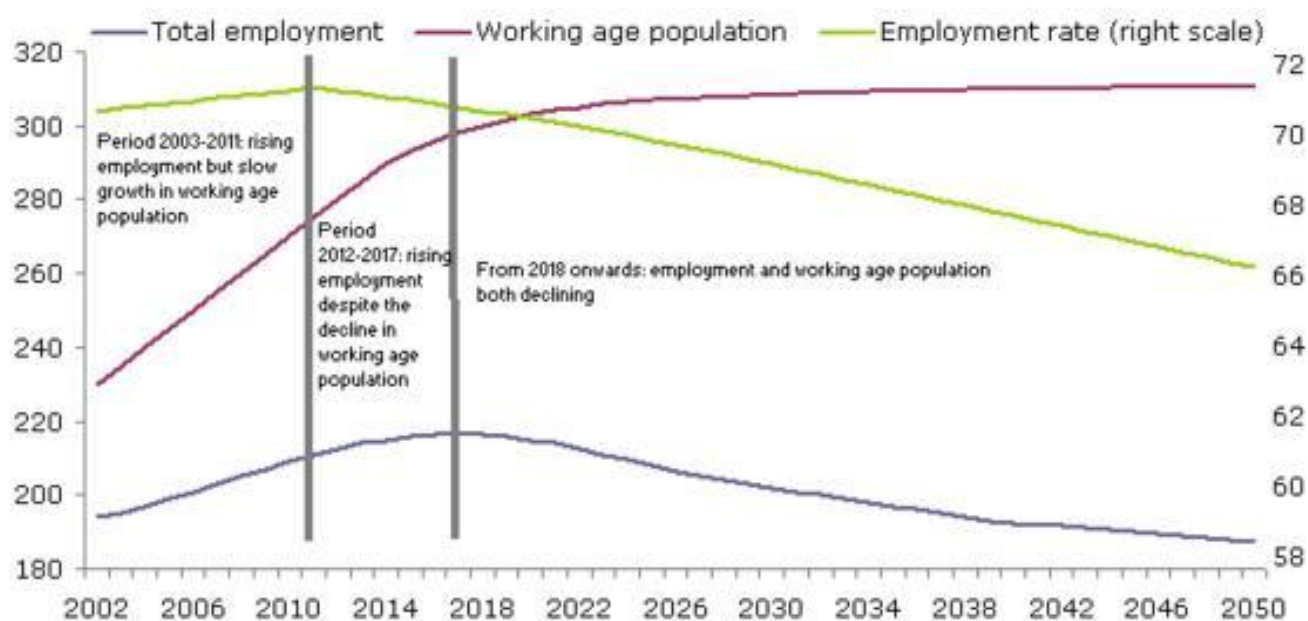


Table 2 - Population size of EU27 with and without immigration, 2008–2061 Source: Eurofound

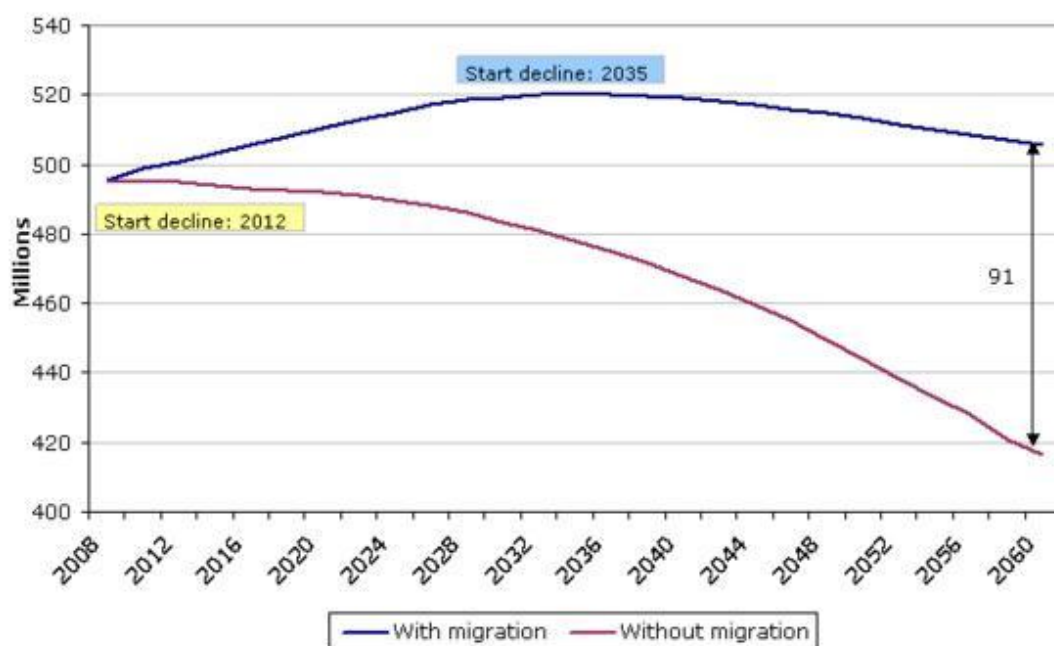


Table 3: Population of working age and migration, 2004-2050. Source: COM (2007)/Eurostat population projections

Table 4.15 Population of working age and migration, 2004-2050				
	Non-EU immigrants as % of pop. 2000-2004	Projected decline in the population of working age 2010-2050	Immigration assumed under the baseline scenario 2050	III/(II + III)
	I (%)	II (thous.)	III (thous.)	IV
BE	0.35	616.0	921.1	0.60
BG	0.32	2 160.6	- 295.6	- 0.16
CZ	0.32	1 932.6	473.1	0.20
DK	0.40	281.5	281.4	0.50
DE	0.55	11 263.5	7 442.7	0.40
EE	0.08	201.0	19.1	0.09
IE	0.38	- 242.3	431.5	2.28
EL	0.09	1 577.8	1 047.1	0.40
ES	0.98	7 202.0	4 178.7	0.37
FR	0.09	2 433.6	2 347.2	0.49
IT	0.41	9 508.7	4 672.4	0.33
CY	1.00	- 52.6	164.1	1.47
LV	0.04	378.7	28.5	0.07
LT	0.07	483.5	37.6	0.07
LU	0.59	- 64.6	133.9	1.93
HU	0.16	1 495.3	515.2	0.26
MT	0.07	- 16.4	84.9	1.24
NL	0.37	611.6	1 491.7	0.71
AT	0.76	730.1	957.2	0.57
PL	:	6 745.1	417.5	0.06
PT	0.12	1 521.6	522.4	0.26
RO	0.02	4 521.7	- 368.3	- 0.09
SI	0.37	322.8	189.0	0.37
SK	0.05	991.5	91.9	0.08
FI	0.15	452.6	198.6	0.31
SE	0.37	- 136.0	961.8	1.16
UK	0.43	2 003.8	4 697.6	0.70

Source: Eurostat population projections.

Table 4 – List of most relevant documents

- COM(2005) 669 final
- COM(2007): Europe's demographic future: Facts and figures on challenges and opportunities
- COM(2009): Ageing Communication: a renewed strategy for tackling Europe's demographic challenge
- COM(2011) 248 final
- COM(2011) 291 final
- Migrationsbericht 2010: des Bundesamtes für Migration und Flüchtlinge im Auftrag der Bundesregierung
- Demografiebericht 2011: Bericht der Bundesregierung zur demografischen Lage und künftigen Entwicklung des Landes
- Gesetz über den Aufenthalt, die Erwerbstätigkeit und die Integration von Ausländern im Bundesgebiet (Aufenthaltsgesetz - AufenthG)
- Annual Policy Report of Germany for the EMN – 2010
- Tier 1 (General) of the Points Based System – Policy Guidance. Home Office, UK Border Agency.
- Tier 2 of the Points Based System – Policy Guidance. Home Office, UK Border Agency. Version 06/12
- Tier 5 (Temporary Worker) of the Points-Based System – Policy Guidance. Home Office, UK Border Agency.
- The UK Borders Act 2007.
- The Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act 2009.
- Annual Policy Report of the UK for the EMN – 2010
- Annual Policy Report of France for the EMN - 2010
- Code regarding Entry, Residence and Asylum of 1 January 2010
- The Labour code of 2008
- Annual Policy Report of Poland for the EMN – 2010
- Satisfying labour demand through migration in Poland. EMN Study for Poland - 2010

Table 5 - Operationalization of the dependent variable

<p>The general political debate in MS category will look at the first section of EMN annual reports of the MS. Traditionally, the first part gives a quick summary on most recent political debate in that respective MS. Written by the governmental representative, this section will give the subjective view of the government in regard to most recent political development. This category shows whether migration and especially the concept of RM is discussed and to what degree. Keywords that will be looked for are e.g. low fertility, natural population change, demographic challenges, unemployment, labour shortage and economic/financial crisis.</p>
<p>In order to measure the overall position with regard to migration it will be important to read between the lines studying the MS policies. What needs to be found out here is the more general perception to migration. The tone will be an important aspect here to see whether the actor is more migration friendly or hostile. No government will directly say that it is generally against migration, but with regard to how the statements are formulated and how much weight is given to certain aspects (e.g. fighting illegal migration, or supporting undeveloped nations in order to prevent migrant to come) will give insights in the more general position the actor has. Keywords that will be looked for are e.g. increasing/decreasing number of migrants, maintain a constant number of people in the productive age, prevent a decline of the overall population, continued and large scale immigration improving demographic structure, fill vacancies/continued immigration, acceptance of migration, controlling and limiting migration to economic needs, openness, recognize and support migrants contribution to economic growth, ensure long term competitiveness and future of its social model and fighting/preventing illegal migration.</p>
<p>The overall development in regard to legal migration is measured by looking at the development between 2007 and 2012. The values here are whether the government has become stricter stayed the same or became less strict in regard to legal migration policy. Therefore not only the policy documents are consulted but also newspaper articles that often inform the public about rather harsh policy changes. Keywords that will be looked for are e.g. tightening, simplifying, reducing, increasing, openness, becoming stricter, harsh, hostile, and friendly.</p>
<p>In the category quota system on migration flow, it will be observed whether a quota system exists, the MS is thinking about implementing such a system or if there is no quota on the</p>

number of migrants allowed to enter the country. So the values here are yes, no and a recent discussion on implementing quota and will give valuable insight in the perception to RM, as supporting a quota system on immigration is a clear indicator against RM. Keywords that will be looked for are e.g. increasing/reducing net migration, limits and quota of annual immigrants.

With regard to the category **inflow of migration**, here it will be observed whether the existing legislation supports a general migration inflow or whether there is no support of increasing net migration, both low- and high- skilled. So it will be look at measures that either aim at increasing or decreasing the overall migration number. Keywords that will be looked for are e.g. reduction/ increase in net migration, limits, stop inflow, migration needed and attractiveness for foreigners.

The category **permanent resident conditions** is the most complex one as it looks at several aspects. One the one hand it includes the overall settlement conditions, namely the required income threshold in the countries for settlement and the years of work required for applicants. Both the income threshold and the required years will be measures by looking at the numbers in comparison to the other MS. This category will also look at the requirements in regard to learning the language and culture of the respective MS. Furthermore it will look at the general mood of the actor in regard to linking working and settlement. The values here are whether settlement conditions are immigration friendly or whether the policy aims at breaking the link between working and settlement. Keywords that will be looked for are e.g. minimum income threshold, rules and rights for (losing) permanent residency, required years, knowledge about language and culture and tests.

The category **length of residency** will look at what sort of migration is supported by the actor. The values here are long- term or short- term migration. Only looking for temporary migrants that leave the country after contributing to its economic growth, would be an indicator for low support of RM, while seeking for migrants staying long term and granting the chance of settlement would show support for RM. Keywords that will be looked for are e.g. temporary or long-term immigrants, leaving the country after temporary stay, seasonal workers, visitors, facilitating residence conditions.

The category **group of migrants attracted** looks at exactly what type of migrants a country is attracting with their migration policy. One can differentiate here between high- or low-skilled workers. Furthermore, it will be observed whether special treatment for migrant

workers for shortage jobs exists. Keywords that will be looked for are e.g. incentives, attracting/need for high qualified workers, attracting low qualified workers, labour shortage, skills mismatch, seasonal workers, nationalities, neighboring countries.

The next category is the **recognition of skills and qualifications** which looks at measures that improve the chance of foreign professionals to seek and find jobs in the respective country for their trained position. Often it is the case that qualifications and degrees are not accepted which leads to a majority of foreigners not being able to take up their originally learned profession. Keywords that will be looked for are e.g. simplifying recognition, effective system, network to provide information, bureaucratic burden, under qualified, losing talent, foreign qualifications and skills.

The category **bureaucratic difficulties** has a more detailed look at what foreigner seeking work in the respective MS have to expect in term of bureaucratic burdens. The simplification of the administrative procedures plays an important role in attracting especially high skilled foreigners. A MS with very low bureaucratic burden is in an advantaged position in the race of talent. Furthermore, countries that do not intend to simplify their administration procedures seem to be generally more immigration hostile. Keywords that will be looked for are e.g. simplifying, facilitation, offering incentives, bureaucratic burden, becoming more attractive and migration friendly.

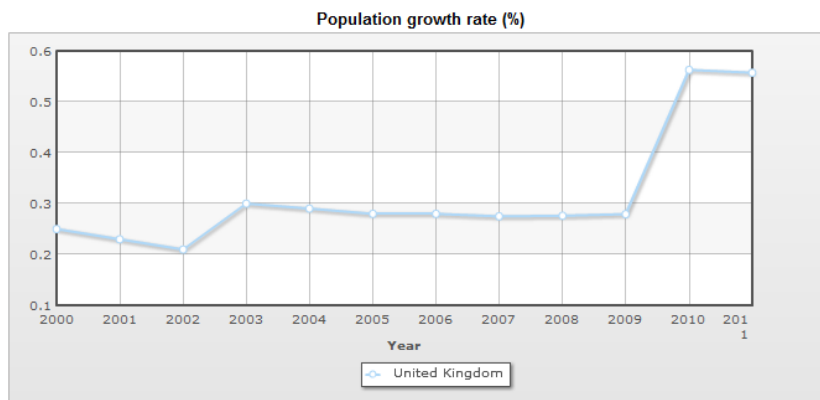
The category **attempts to stop illegal migration** observes the actors measures and statements with regard to getting illegal immigrants out of the country and furthermore looks at measures that prevent migrants from leaving their home nation. A country that puts a lot of effort to these issues can be seen as rather less supportive of RM.

The last category **general conditions for migration** is the most complex category and summarizes the different rules incorporated in the migration policies of the four actors. Here the aspects of employment, self employment, seasonal workers, family reunification, studies and training are observed in more detail. The most important issues and key words to look at here will be the conditions for family reunification in terms of who is allowed to bring spouse, after how many years of marriage, are their financial thresholds, time granted after study to find a job, and in regard to employment, self employment and seasonal employment, how long these foreigners are allowed to stay.

Data on the independent variable

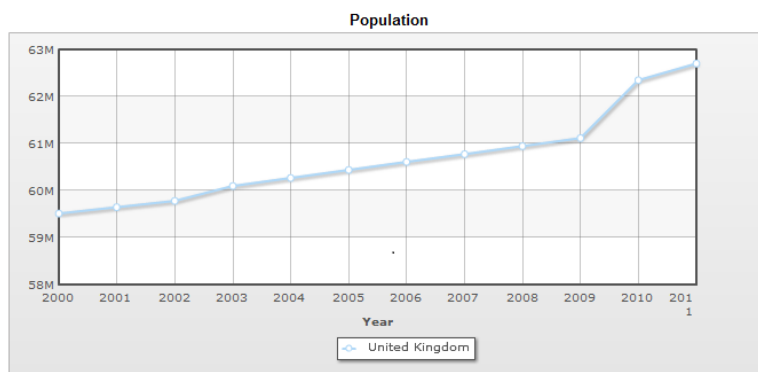
Statistics on Population and workforce development for each of the four MS. Source: World Factbook

UK: Table 8-10



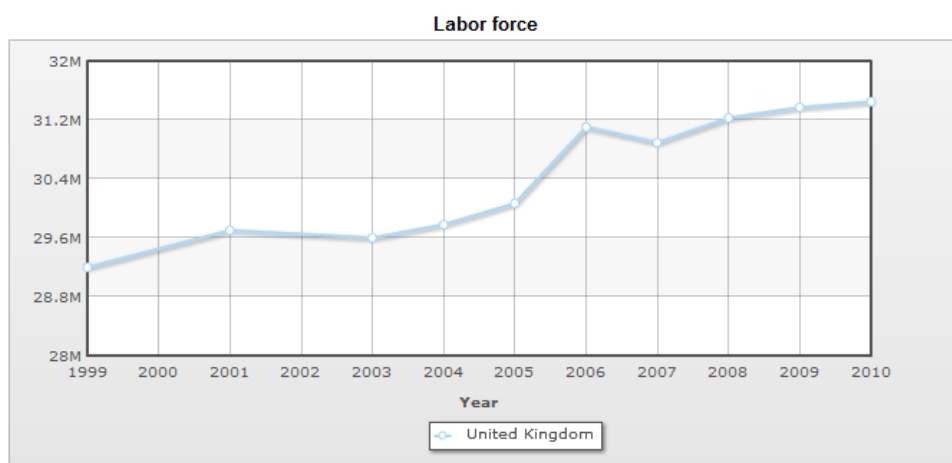
Waiting

Country	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
United Kingdom	0.25	0.23	0.21	0.3	0.29	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.56	0.56



Waiting

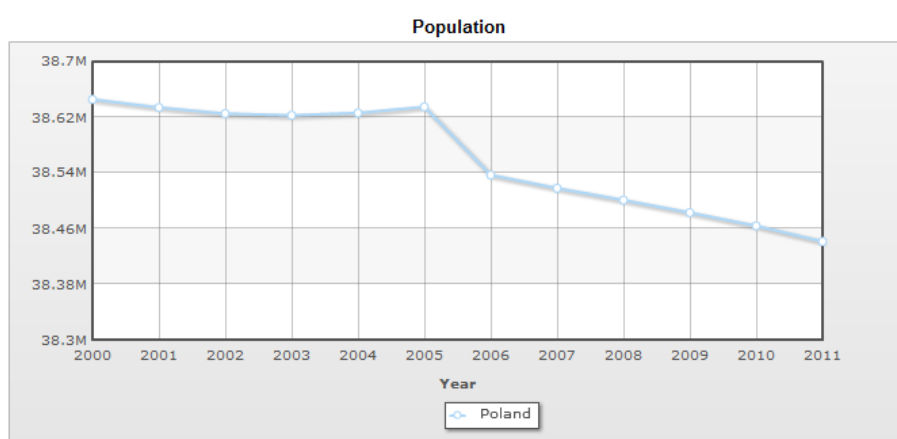
Country	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
United Kingdom	59,511,460	59,647,790	59,778,000	60,094,650	60,270,710	60,441,460	60,609,150	60,776,240	60,943,910	61,113,200	62,348,450	62,698,360



Waiting

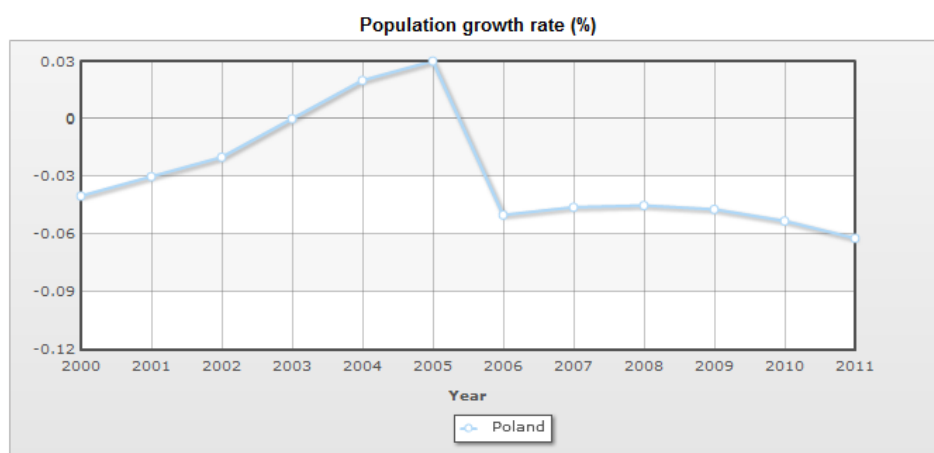
Country	1999	2001	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
United Kingdom	29,200,000	29,700,000	29,600,000	29,780,000	30,070,000	31,100,000	30,890,000	31,230,000	31,370,000	31,450,000

Poland: Table 11-13



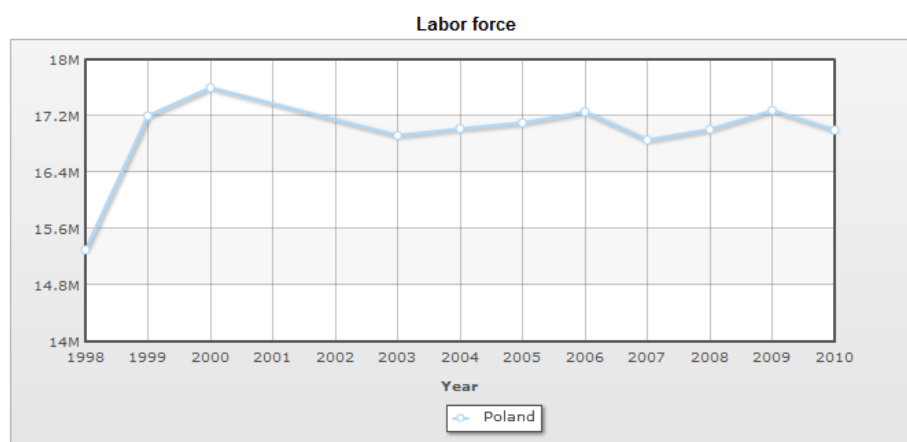
Waiting

Country	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Poland	38,646,020	38,633,910	38,625,480	38,622,660	38,626,350	38,635,140	38,536,870	38,518,240	38,500,700	38,482,920	38,463,690	38,441,590



Waiting

Country	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Poland	-0.04	-0.03	-0.02	0	0.02	0.03	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05	-0.06

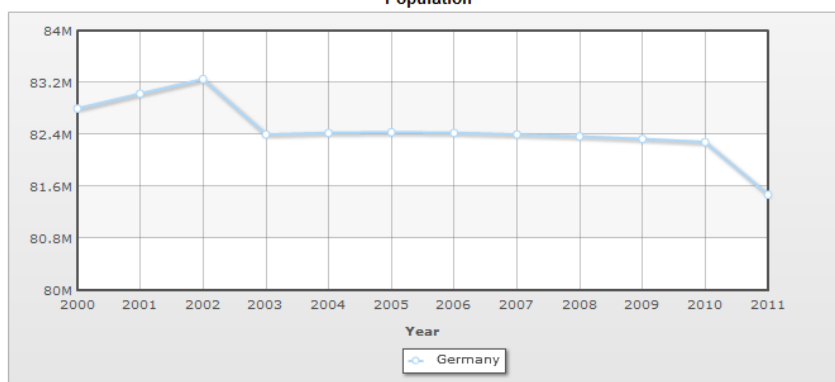


Waiting

Country	1998	1999	2000	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Poland	15,300,000	17,200,000	17,600,000	16,920,000	17,020,000	17,100,000	17,260,000	16,860,000	17,010,000	17,280,000	17,000,000

Germany: Table 14-16

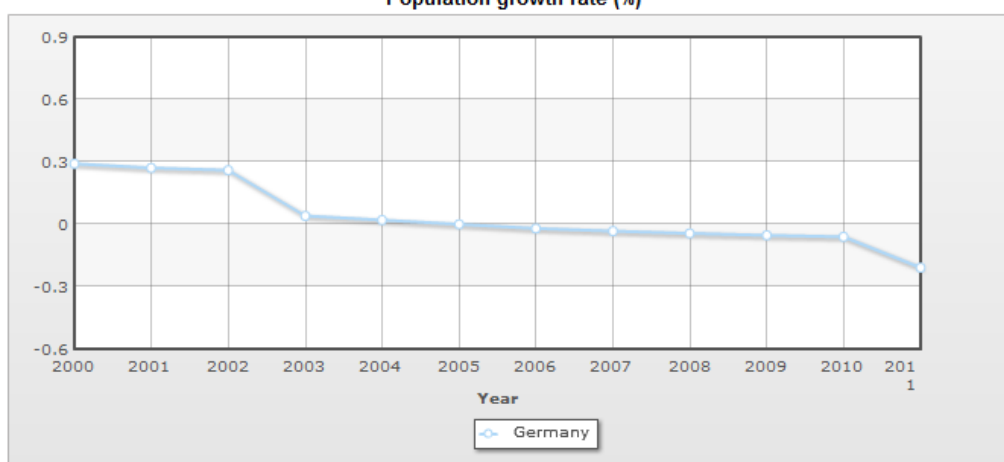
Population



Waiting

Country	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Germany	82,797,410	83,029,540	83,251,850	82,398,330	82,424,610	82,431,390	82,422,300	82,400,990	82,369,550	82,329,760	82,282,990	81,471,830

Population growth rate (%)



Waiting

Country	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Germany	0.29	0.27	0.26	0.04	0.02	0	-0.02	-0.03	-0.04	-0.05	-0.06	-0.21

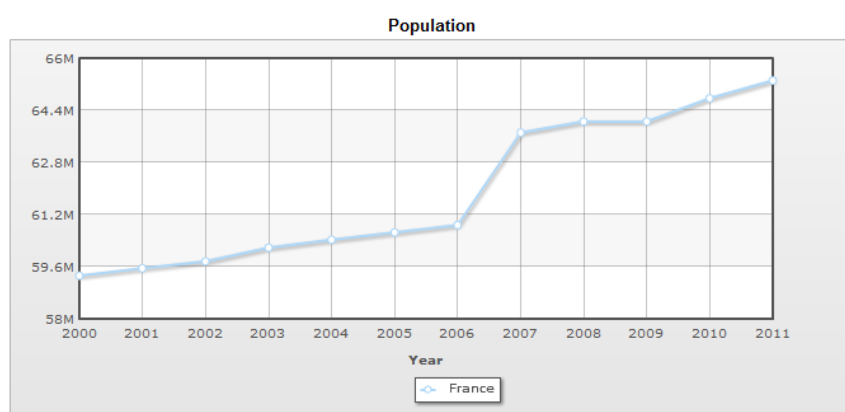
Labor force



Waiting

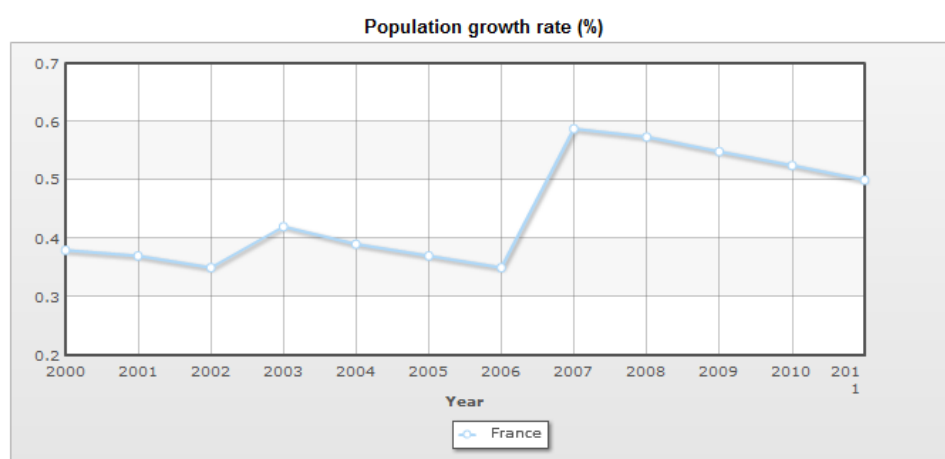
Country	1999	2001	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Germany	40,500,000	41,900,000	42,630,000	42,630,000	43,320,000	43,660,000	43,540,000	43,600,000	43,500,000	43,350,000

France: Table 17-19



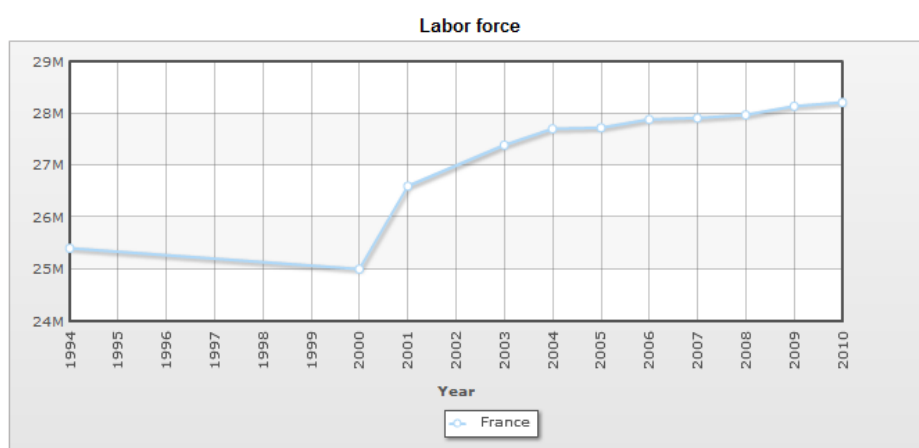
Waiting

Country	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
France	59,329,690	59,551,230	59,765,980	60,180,530	60,424,210	60,656,180	60,876,140	63,713,930	64,057,790	64,057,790	64,768,390	65,312,250



Waiting

Country	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
France	0.38	0.37	0.35	0.42	0.39	0.37	0.35	0.59	0.57	0.55	0.53	0.5



Waiting

Country	1994	2000	2001	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
France	25,400,000	25,000,000	26,600,000	27,390,000	27,700,000	27,720,000	27,880,000	27,910,000	27,970,000	28,140,000	28,210,000

Data on dependent variable

Table 20: Table used for analysis of dependent variable 'use of RM'

	UK	France	Germany	Poland
General political debate in MS	Unemployment and crisis, fear of migration that could increase these problems	Integration and labour migration and French identity	Labour shortage and migration as possible solution	Demographic change and labour shortage
Recognition of demographic challenges	No	Recognizes future need	Yes, native workforce ages and fertility rate declines	Yes, recognition of ageing population and tighter situation on labour market
Overall position to migration	Rather negative (only pro controlled, temporary and high skilled migration)	Rather negative (very selective migration policy)	Rather positive but focus on high skilled migrants and improving participation rate of already residing immigrants	Positive
Aim for net migration number	Decrease (to tens of thousands) especially for long term but also economic (high skilled) migrants in general	Decrease (of about 10% annually	Increase but focus on skilled	Increase
Quota system on migration flow	Under discussion and already interim limits set	Under discussion	No	No
Overall legal migration policy development	More strict	Depends on aspect	Less strict	Less strict
Permanent resident conditions	Very hard	Moderate	Easy	Easy
- Income threshold/financial means	Tier 2: 50.000€ if coming no longer than 12 months, 30.000€ when coming for less than 12 months		Very high qualified migrants with a salary of 48.000 Euro get a permanent residence right away	
- Required years	After 5 years with a certain income	after 5 years of residence	after 2 years of residence/work minimum period of a marriage between a foreigner and a German citizens entitles the partner to an independent right of residence in case of a divorce is to be increased from two to three years	
- Learning language and culture	basic knowledge of language is required	basic knowledge of language and the main French constitutional principles and values is required.	basic knowledge of language is required	basic knowledge of language is required

		Immigrants have to sign a so called 'welcome and integration' contract and take French language and civic courses		
Recognition of skills and qualifications	Simplified	Simplified	Simplified	Simplified
Bureaucratic difficulties / administrative procedures	Simplification for high skilled migrants	Simplification for high skilled migrants	Simplification for high skilled migrants	Simplification for all migrants
Length of residency	Short term, temporary permission to enter and remain in the UK will be capped at 6 years, to reinforce the temporary nature of Tier 2	Rather pro short term but no clear indication	Rather pro long term but no clear indication besides: "Zuwanderung zu un- und geringfügig qualifizierten Beschäftigungen wird nur befristet zugelassen... Ein Daueraufenthalt ist bei diesem Aufenthaltswitzweck ausgeschlossen" (AufenthG, 2008).	Rather long term but no clear indication. Numbers give impression: 97 080 foreigners had valid residence cards, with 43 766 holding short-term residence cards (for 1 to 2 years) and 53 292 long-term residence cards.
Group of migrants attracted <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Attracting low- skilled workers - Attracting high skilled workers 	<p>No legal economic migration for low skilled workers. The so called Tier 3 of the Point Based system was suspended. The UK operates two strictly temporary labour migration schemes in the low skilled sector, the seasonal and Agricultural Work Scheme and the Sectors- based scheme</p> <p>Yes, but only very high skilled. Changes to Tier 1 and 2 which imply a "simpler route for very high skilled workers without Masters degrees, greater flexibility for short term transfers by multinational companies and more protection against the use of such transfers to fill long-term vacancies</p>	<p>No, further restrict the immigration of unskilled foreigners</p> <p>Yes</p>	<p>No, access for low-skilled migrants to the German labour market by non EU, non EEA and non Swiss nationals is highly restricted since the 1973 'Anwerbestop' policy</p> <p>Yes, simplifying and fasten the process of accession for high qualified migrants by leaving out the so called "Vorrangprüfung"</p>	<p>Moderate, foreign is getting a work permit and can provide a salary not lower than the salary of national performing comparable work. This permit is issued for a max. period of 3 years and can be renewed for periods up to 3 years</p> <p>Yes</p>

- Special treatment for migrant workers for shortage jobs	that should go to resident workers Yes but resident labour market testing requirements for employers of Tier 2 migrants were tightened. Tier 2 is for skilled workers filling a specific vacancy, that employers were unable to fill from resident labour force and occupations that are on the shortage occupation list.	Yes, facilitate the recruitment of immigrant workers with needed skills or qualifications. For the simplification, the so called 'skills and talent' and 'project-based employee' residents permits were introduced that are valid for 3 years	Yes	Yes
Attempts to stop illegal migration	Very strong	Very strong	Moderate	Moderate
General conditions for migration	Hard	Moderate	Easy to moderate	Easy
- Employment	Hard	Moderate, the employment contract has to offer remuneration of at least 1.5 times the average annual salary. Recently opened its borders to foreign (non EU) workers via a number of reforms	Easy, the employment contract has to offer remuneration of at least 1.5 times the average annual salary Blue Card granted: 44.000€ job offer or 33.000€ in shortage jobs. working two years, the Blue card holder has the right of permanent residence	Easy, 'simplified system' came into force that intends to support an employer's intention to employ a foreigner. With this new procedure, citizens of Poland's neighboring countries are entitled to work up to 6 months during a period of 12 consecutive months without the need to obtain a residence or work permit
- Seasonal workers	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate, residence permits for seasonal workers are valid for a maximum of six months. Maximum period for which unqualified or low qualified seasonal workers may be employed in Germany was extended from four to six months per year Moderate	Easy, seasonal workers get a national visa for maximum of six months per year
- Family reunification	Hard, further tightened by underlining that family reunification is only possible if the family is not dependent on benefits. minimum household	Hard, further tightened by underlining that family reunification is only possible if the family is not dependent on		Easy

	income of 32.000€ to bring an overseas born spouse into the country	benefits. Furthermore, an immigrant has to wait 18 months instead of 12 to apply to bring family members and a family member that does not respect the basic principles of family life in France will not be allowed to enter. New is that spouses of French citizens must wait 3 years instead of the before 2 before applying for a 10-year residence permit. 4 years of marriage are required for the spouse of a citizens before applying for citizenship.		
- Studies	Hard, creating more selective system by replace the 'post study work route' with a new more limited 'graduate entrepreneur' specialist category Hard	Moderate, granted a six- month's renewable visa to look for and take up work in France	Easy, visa for foreign students are granted in a fast track procedure, to get residence permit. Since 2005, residences permits are prolonged for one year after graduation to find adequate employment	Easy, graduates are automatically allowed to stay in Poland and even assisted in seeking the right work in regard to their education qualifications
- Training		Moderate	Easy, developed a law of the recognition of foreign vocational training. Furthermore migrants finishing a vocational training are allowed to stay and work in the trained profession	Easy