Asylum Migration and Destination Choice in Western Europe

Workshop on the Economics of Forced Migration December 9-10, 2005, Cambridge, MA

Dr Eric Neumayer
London School of Economics

Three relevant papers of mine:

- Bogus Refugees? The Determinants of Asylum Migration to Western Europe, International Studies Quarterly 49 (4), 2005, pp. 389-409
- Asylum Destination Choice: What Makes some European Countries more Attractive than Others?, European Union Politics, 5 (2), 2004, pp. 155-180
- Asylum Recognition Rates in Western Europe Their Determinants, Variation and Lack of Convergence, Journal of Conflict Resolution, 49 (1), 2005, pp. 43-66

Asylum applications in industrialized countries, 1980 to 1999 (in thousands)

Country	1980-84	1985-89	1990-94	1995-99	1980-99	% of Total 1980-99	1980-99 per million inhabitants
Total	793.83	1495.63	3373.32	2751.78	8414.55		
Northern America	201.16	368.97	673.67	773.27	2017.08	23.97	
Europe, of which:	592.03	1125.17	2650.99	1933.40	6301.59	74.89	
Austria	63.24	64.44	76.16	53.53	257.37	3.06	31.81
Belgium	14.48	32.11	87.02	93.39	226.99	2.70	22.20
Denmark	5.60	29.98	44.78	37.79	118.15	1.40	22.18
Finland	0.07	0.33	11.37	6.92	18.69	0.22	3.62
France	106.34	178.66	184.59	112.26	581.86	6.91	9.93
Germany	249.65	455.25	1337.19	542.41	2584.51	30.71	31.48
Greece	6.44	23.99	12.80	11.81	55.04	0.65	5.22
Italy	11.59	19.64	37.62	48.75	117.59	1.40	2.04
Ireland	-	-	0.52	17.84	18.36	0.22	4.89
Netherlands	8.78	46.36	151.14	170.39	376.66	4.48	23.83
Norway	0.75	23.20	30.02	24.04	78.01	0.93	17.49
Portugal	4.34	1.27	3.87	1.69	11.17	0.13	1.12
Spain	5.38	15.71	53.10	30.44	104.63	1.24	2.65
Sweden	41.93	97.14	197.01	48.54	384.62	4.57	43.42
Switzerland	29.70	70.31	136.30	146.37	382.69	4.55	53.15
United Kingdom	17.47	28.55	150.85	223.27	420.13	4.99	7.06

Bogus Refugees? The Determinants of Asylum Migration to Western Europe

- 1982-1999, aggregate origin-country specific number of asylum seekers in Western Europe
- Migration networks and geographical proximity as important facilitators
- Besides economic factors, political factors such as **oppressive regimes**, human rights abuse, violent conflict and state failure are also important determinants
- No evidence for a migration hump

Asylum Destination Choice: What Makes some European Countries more Attractive than Others?

• 1982-99, share of asylum seekers from origin country coming to country relative to all asylum seekers from origin country coming to Western Europe, normalised by destination country population size

Share of total aggregate number of asylum seekers (normalised by population in destination country).

	1982-84	1985-87	1988-90	1991-93	1994-96	1997-99	1982-99	1982-99 Diff. to average
Austria	20.7%	12.3%	13.9%	9.8%	6.5%	6.5%	11.6%	5.23
Belgium	7.8%	8.4%	6.4%	9.2%	10.2%	9.7%	8.6%	2.23
Denmark	11.0%	9.2%	7.6%	6.8%	8.6%	6.9%	8.3%	1.93
Finland	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	1.5%	1.1%	1.2%	0.7%	-5.67
France	15.0%	11.2%	9.3%	4.8%	3.9%	3.2%	7.9%	1.53
Germany	12.9%	13.8%	12.3%	20.4%	18.2%	14.7%	15.4%	9.03
Greece	1.7%	3.9%	3.4%	1.3%	1.2%	1.3%	2.1%	-4.27
Ireland	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0.1%	1.0%	3.4%	1.5%	-4.87
Italy	1.4%	1.1%	0.4%	0.9%	0.4%	0.3%	0.8%	-5.57
Luxembourg	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1.8%	6.7%	4.3%	-2.07
Netherlands	2.8%	4.4%	5.1%	6.3%	13.4%	12.9%	7.5%	1.13
Norway	n.a.	7.9%	6.7%	5.7%	3.8%	4.2%	5.7%	-0.67
Portugal	0.9%	0.4%	0.2%	0.5%	0.4%	0.2%	0.5%	-5.87
Spain	1.4%	1.0%	0.9%	1.1%	1.6%	1.1%	1.2%	-5.17
Sweden	12.7%	13.9%	12.9%	14.0%	8.9%	5.9%	11.4%	5.03
Switzerland	19.8%	18.2%	20.7%	16.2%	16.2%	18.7%	18.3%	11.93
UK	2.2%	1.2%	1.2%	1.9%	4.2%	4.3%	2.5%	-3.87
Sum	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
CoV	0.9339	0.8254	0.8981	0.9877	0.9577	0.8938	0.8556	

Average share of asylum seekers by country of origin (normalised by population in destination country).

	1982-84	1985-87	1988-90	1991-93	1994-96	1997-99	1982-99	Diff. to average 1982-99
Austria	6.2%	6.0%	4.6%	3.5%	2.8%	3.1%	4.4%	-1.69
Belgium	3.9%	6.5%	6.8%	9.8%	12.3%	12.9%	8.7%	2.61
Denmark	1.4%	3.8%	3.6%	5.7%	6.5%	5.0%	4.3%	-1.79
Finland	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%	1.0%	1.3%	1.3%	0.7%	-5.39
France	33.0%	32.4%	25.3%	13.9%	10.7%	9.5%	20.8%	14.71
Germany	13.7%	14.3%	11.1%	22.1%	17.9%	15.0%	15.7%	9.61
Greece	0.9%	1.4%	1.4%	0.5%	0.3%	0.2%	0.8%	-5.29
Ireland	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0.2%	0.7%	3.6%	1.5%	-4.59
Italy	2.4%	1.7%	0.8%	0.4%	0.4%	0.3%	1.0%	-5.09
Luxembourg	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0.3%	1.0%	0.6%	-5.49
Netherlands	2.9%	5.8%	8.7%	8.6%	14.3%	13.2%	8.9%	2.81
Norway	n.a.	5.1%	4.1%	3.3%	3.1%	3.4%	3.8%	-2.29
Portugal	3.3%	1.9%	0.8%	0.3%	0.3%	0.4%	1.2%	-4.89
Spain	4.0%	5.1%	2.2%	3.8%	6.9%	3.8%	4.3%	-1.79
Sweden	4.0%	4.1%	16.6%	12.7%	9.9%	10.5%	9.6%	3.51
Switzerland	19.7%	12.2%	9.4%	8.5%	7.6%	11.7%	11.5%	5.41
UK	9.7%	3.3%	5.2%	6.0%	5.0%	5.3%	5.8%	-0.29
Sum	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
CoV	1.214	1.164	1.018	0.978	0.939	0.867	0.953	

Main results:

- Economic factors ambiguous: **GDP p.c.** (+), growth (-), unemployment rate insign.
- Policy measures important: Recognition rate (+), Schengen-dummy (-), **Share of right-wing populist parties** (-)
- Geography/history matters: colonial links
 (+), common language (+), distance (-)
- Path dependency: Past asylumshare (+)

Asylum Recognition Rates in Western Europe - Their Determinants, Variation and Lack of Convergence

- Rate of successful decisions (not applications), 1980-99:
 - 1. Full refugee status
 - 2. Full refugee status or other allowance to remain

Main results (1):

- Recognition rates systematically vary with respect to regime type, human rights abuse, armed conflict and events of genocide/politicide in countries of origin
- Full recognition rate varies with destination GDP p.c. (-), unemployment rate (-) and number of origin-specific past asylum seeker normalised by destination population (combined recognition rate varies only with GDP p.c.)

Main results (2):

• Enormous and non-convergent variation in origin-specific recognition rates across Western European countries, no matter whether unweighted or weighted by the relative importance of origin countries

Recognition (combine			Recognition rates	
year	unweighted	weighted	(full protection status only) unweighted	weighted
1980	0.80	1.24	0.85	1.27
1981	0.61	0.72	0.65	0.76
1982	0.91	0.69	0.97	0.76
1983	0.99	0.78	1.00	0.83
1984	1.06	0.78	1.09	0.85
1985	1.04	0.95	1.07	1.04
1986	1.18	0.94	1.25	1.12
1987	1.30	0.97	1.42	1.16
1988	1.25	1.06	1.33	1.11
1989	1.31	1.15	1.40	1.28
1990	1.34	1.24	1.67	1.63
1991	1.42	1.37	1.68	1.55
1992	1.43	1.38	1.64	1.75
1993	1.60	1.42	1.78	1.66
1994	1.47	1.12	1.69	1.52
1995	1.41	0.99	1.76	1.49
1996	1.40	1.11	1.75	1.56
1997	1.34	1.02	1.70	1.46
1998	1.27	0.89	1.72	1.38
1999	1.36	0.86	1.70	1.29

Summary of overall results (1)

- Policies can be employed to deter asylum seekers
- Bogus refugee image likely misleading
- Tackling the root causes of asylum migration requires promotion of economic development, democracy, respect for human rights and peaceful conflict resolution in origin countries

Summary of overall results (2)

- Some attractors are not open to policy influence (language, colonial links, geographical proximity)
- Policy makers are rightly concerned about network effects
- Recognition rate determination has aspects of fairness, but enormous cross-country variation makes recognition changes resemble a lottery and mockery of a common EU asylum policy