## **Migration Review 1999**

Migration in- and outflows to and from Germany

December 1999

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### Preface by the Federal Government's Commissioner for Foreigners' Issues

Dear reader,

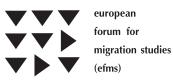
In our country, public debate on migration inflows and outflows tends to be rather agitated but lacking in facts. Expressions such as immigration flood, waves of immigrants or refugees and overflowing vessels always appear to be ready at hand. In my view, however, this nautical imagery is quite uncalled for. On the contrary, it is my hope that we will be able to add some matter-offactness to this debate. Therefore our first priority should be to present the facts as they are. The following migration report sets out to achieve this aim. The facts and figures presented here provide proof for two observations: We are faced with considerable immigration to Germany. But we are also faced with high-level mobility of foreign as well as German nationals, which transcends national borders. The political process will have to adjust to that.

Refusing to acknowledge the fact of immigration is the equivalent of renouncing public action in this area, notwithstanding the fact that the regulation of future migration inflows and the social integration of migrants constitute one of the main future tasks our society has to cope with. An industrialised nation situated in the heart of Europe will always experience migration inflows (and outflows) of labour, family members, EU-citizens, Aussiedler (ethnic German immigrants) and refugees. What is more, such a nation is dependent on migrants – for economical, demographic as well as, in a world marked by globalisation, social and cultural reasons.

The debate about a modern immigration and integration policy has only just begun – among the general public as well as in politics. Our priority should be to discuss these issues in a calm and matter-of-fact manner based on well-established facts and figures. The following report shows, however, that such facts are still not available for some of the aspects concerned. On account of that, one can only warn against drawing any rash conclusions. We should not decide on our response to these developments before an agreement has been reached on how to characterise the current situation, on the aims migration and integration policies should try to achieve, and on the possible effects of different measures. One has to bear in mind, for example, that the decision in 1973 to cease all recruitment agreements for foreign labour did not lead to a decrease in the foreign population resident in Germany, but, on the contrary, to an increase, as foreign workers encouraged their families to join them in Germany on account of the expiration of recruitment agreements. In the future, we must put a stop to migration policies based on trial and error.

We will have to find ways of rendering migration inflows socially acceptable and link them to sufficient offers that encourage integration. Above all, we need a social climate that allows for factual debate and detracts from widespread fears of supposedly excessive migration inflows. It is my hope that this report will be able to make a contribution to that.

Marieluise Beck



Harald W. Lederer, Roland Rau, Stefan Rühl

# **Migration Review 1999**

Migration in- and outflows to and from Germany

On behalf of the Federal Government's Commissioner for Foreigners' Issues

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### Preface

In 1997, the Federal Government's Commissioner for Foreigners' Issues published Migration and Integration in Numbers, a handbook compiled by the european forum for migration studies. The great demand for this handbook and its subsequently published CD-ROM version have clearly demonstrated the need widely felt among experts and the general public to have access to detailed and comprehensive data on the migration processes occurring in our country. As migration processes are volatile and always subject to swift changes, it is essential to follow the latest developments and to up-date existing data continuously. Migration Report 1999 has been drawn up by the european forum for migration studies in answer to that need, providing a compact and easily accessible outline of migration processes in Germany, focussing on migration in its totality as well as on individual types of migration. In order to provide a complete picture of migration, this outline has investigated both migration inflows and outflows. This is of particular importance as the public and many politicians often tend to overlook or underestimate the latter aspect, i.e. the migration outflows.

In presenting the various figures and data we have always given special attention to the procedures that have been applied for collecting them, thus drawing attention to the question concerning which conclusions these data and figures permit or do not permit us to draw. With migration being one of the major topics of public discourse today, **Migration Report 1999** has been written with a broad readership in mind. More specifically, it is aimed at politicians, media representatives, public authorities and other administrative bodies, political parties, trade unions and special-interest groups, commissioners and councils for foreigners, social workers, migrants' organisations, university or school teachers and students – in short, anyone who deals with migration issues and its effects on society in their work or studies.

In order to facilitate a deeper understanding of migration processes in Germany, regular migration reports should become an integral part of a continuous system of social reporting on migration processes.

Bamberg, November 1999

Prof. Dr. Friedrich Heckmann (Director of **european forum for migration studies**)

#### Abstract

This migration report has been published for the first time and deals with migration flows to and from Germany in the 1990's, with particular emphasis on the years 1997 and 1998. It aims at an analysis of the following aspects of migration: the quantitative proportions of migration flows as well as migrants' age structure, sex ratio, countries of destination and source countries. It also provides a detailed account of the different types of migration according to the number of people involved in each type.

The years 1997 and 1998 have witnessed a "slowing-down" in the rate of migration flows – especially when compared to the early Nineties. This is due to the fact that, first, the number of asylum seekers as well as that of Spätaussiedler (ethnic German immigrants) has reached its lowest level since 1987. Secondly, in 1997 and 1998, migration outflows of foreign nationals from Germany have been considerably more frequent than inflows to Germany. Our analysis has also come to the conclusion that in the 1990's the larger part of foreign migrants, especially war and civil war refugees from former Yugoslavia, have not settled down in Germany permanently, but have left the country again after a limited period of time.

Other important findings were that:

– compared with the early Nineties, the number of **applicants for political asylum** as well as the number of **Spätaussiedler** (ethnic German immigrants) have both fallen to approximately 100,000 new entries each in 1998.

– both the **migration of EU-nationals** (migration between Germany and other EU countries) and the **migration of spouses and other family members** of resident foreigners constitute only a small part of migration flows, with both numbers not having changed significantly during the past few years.

– employment quotas for **foreign contract workers** have been reduced continuously, with only some 30,000 people working on that basis in Germany in 1998.

– the number of **refugees** from former Yugoslavia who have taken residence in Germany, which reached its highest level of 350,000 in 1996, has been falling continuously.

– nevertheless, **comparing** the scale of migration inflows to Germany with that to other **European countries** over the last decade in per-capita terms, Germany ranks third in the whole of Europe, third only to Luxembourg and Switzer-land.

This report also comes to the conclusion that, from a methodological point of view, current statistical data on migration processes are rather unsatisfactory. For example, the official statistics on entries and departures do not differentiate between the different immigrant groups. This is why the purpose of this report is also to give several specific recommendations on how to remove some of the deficits found in the official statistics.



### Introduction

Migration is not a phenomenon new to German history. On the contrary, migration has always been an important aspect of Germany's social history, starting with the migration of Germans to Eastern and Southeast Europe in the early Middle Ages, continuing with the emigration of several million Germans to North and South America in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and carrying on right up to the present. This report focuses on migration flows in Germany during the nineties, with particular emphasis on the latest data available for 1997 and 1998.

Migration not only refers to migration inflow, but also includes migration outflow.<sup>1</sup> Migration refers to individuals or groups relocating over greater distances for the purpose of changing their main sphere of life. Such relocations that also involve the crossing of national borders are the main characteristic of international migration. The term 'migration' is going to be used in the following as referring to international migration in the sense given above. This definition does not include other forms of relocation such as those connected with leisure activities, travelling, sports, tourism and commuting. Public discourse has repeatedly overlooked the fact that this definition of migration also comprises Spätaussiedler (ethnic German immigrants: cf. Chapter 2.3). Therefore the term 'migrant' should not be confused with the term 'foreigner' (cf. Chapter 5).

### 1. Outline of all migration processes in the Federal Republic of Germany in the 1990's

This chapter gives an outline of the quantitative aspects of migration processes over the last decade. It also includes some remarks on the collection of statistical data on migration processes. The main sources are the official **statistics on entries and departures**, which were first established in the 1950's and are based on the records of local registration offices. Each resident of Germany is required to fill in an official registration form at his or her local registration office every time he or she changes residence.<sup>2</sup> The data are then compiled by the Statistical Offices of the Laender and edited by the Federal Statistical Office.

Definition of migration

<sup>1) &</sup>quot;Zuwanderung" (migration inflows) and "Abwanderung" (migration outflows) are the terms preferred in the German discourse since they are regarded as less biased than the terms "Einwanderung" (immigration) and "Auswanderung" (emigration).

<sup>2)</sup> Every inhabitant is required by the Federal Registration Law to notify authorities within one week if they plan to change residence for more than two months (with the exception of foreign military staff stationed in Germany, diplomatic and consular staff with their families and tourists, who are not required to register and are therefore not included in official entries and departures statistics). Authorities record the following information when a person is registered: last and future place of residence, sex, marital status, gainful employment (yes or no), date of birth, nationality and religion.

Therefore, it has to be noted that the official statistics on entries and departures are not based on migrants as such (persons), but on the number of changes of residence across German national borders (cases). This restricts the quality of these statistics as every person relocating across German borders **more than once** within twelve months will be counted repeatedly in these statistics (once per relocation). Thus, the number of recorded migrations will always be slightly higher than the number of actual migrants for that year. Another effect is that the official statistics provide no information on the **duration** of migrants' residence in Germany. Consequently, German statistics differ from that of international migration statistics, where the migrants' (intended) duration of stay is considered to be an essential criterion for defining migration.

The following two examples will serve as an illustration of the differences between the German entry and departure statistics and other migration statistics which follow the "classical" format: German entry and departure statistics do not treat people living abroad for a limited period of time only (e.g. students) differently from people emigrating permanently. Conversely, foreign migrants entering German for a short time only (e.g. as seasonal workers) will be treated in the same way as people entering Germany with the intention of settling down there permanently.

Moreover, the official numbers tend to underestimate the number of migration outflows, especially those involving foreign nationals, as they often refrain from notifying local authorities when they leave Germany. Some of the returning migrants simply forget to contact the authorities or regard it as unnecessary. There are often long delays before local authorities are notified of these departures.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, the official statistics tend to underestimate the scale of migration outflows for each year.

Probably the greatest shortcoming of the official entries and departures statistics is their failure to differentiate between different **types of migration** (as they do not distinguish between different forms of entry). For this reason, it is impossible to determine whether someone entering Germany from Poland enters as a Spätausssiedler (ethnic German immigrant) or a seasonal worker. The chances are that Spätausssiedler will remain in German territory permanently, whereas contract workers will have to return to their countries of origin after three months, at the latest.

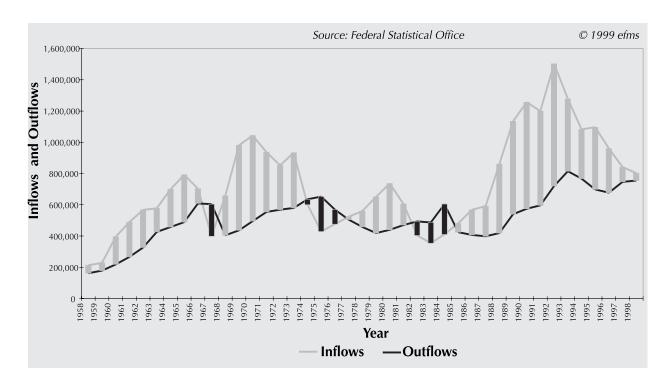
It should be noted that the official entries and departures statistics only record people who register/de-register with local authorities; they do not include people entering or leaving the country illegally, who naturally try to avoid any contact with the authorities. The scale of illegal immigration is therefore very hard to determine indeed (cf. Lederer 1999).

The following illustration shows the historical development of inflows and outflows across German national borders between 1958 and 1998.<sup>4</sup>

German statistics on migration inflows overestimate number of migrants

<sup>3)</sup> In these cases, local authorities will deregister persons themselves.

<sup>4)</sup> Up to the end of 1990, the data only cover Western Germany including West Berlin



# Illustration 1: In- and outflows of migrants across German national borders: 1958 – 1998

Almost 30 million people have migrated to Germany over the last 40 years (from 1959 to 1998). Conversely, over 21 million people have migrated from Germany to other countries during that period. Accordingly net migration for the period from 1959 to 1998 – i.e. the difference between inflows and outflows – amounts to +8,753 million people.

The illustration given above shows that migration moves in cycles. With the exception of three shorter periods (1967, 1975/77 and between 1982 and 1984), net migration has always been positive (i.e. more entries than departures). Migration research has often linked the three periods characterised by negative net migration to the downward economic trend prevalent during these periods. This interrelationship, however, has weakened since the late 1980's, with migration processes being induced by domestic job markets to a lesser extent only.

The majority of people migrating to Germany do not settle down permanently.

year	inflows				outflows	net migration (inflows - outflows)		
	total	foreign nationals	percentage	total	foreign nationals	percentage	total	foreign nationals
1991	1,198,978	925,345	77.2	596,455	497,540	83.4	+602,523	+427,805
1992	1,502,198	1,211,348	80.6	720,127	614,956	85.4	+782,071	+596,392
1993	1,277,408	989,847	77.5	815,312	710,659	87.2	+462,096	+279,188
1994	1,082,553	777,516	71.8	767,555	629,275	82.0	+314,998	+148,241
1995	1,096,048	792,701	72.3	698,113	567,441	81.3	+397,935	+225,260
1996	959,691	707,954	73.8	677,494	559,064	82.5	+282,197	+148,890
1997	840,633	615,298	73.2	746,969	637,066	85.3	+93,664	-21,768
1998	802,456	605,500	75.5	755,358	638,955	84.6	+47,098	-33,455
						Source:F	ederal Stati	stical Office

Table 1: Migration in- and outflows across German national borders: 1991 – 1998<sup>1</sup>

\_\_\_\_\_\_

1) German national territory as from October 3<sup>"</sup> 1990. Including migration flows labelled "unknown" and "no information available".

In the 1990's as well, the majority of migrants stayed in Germany for a limited period of time only. A large number of in- and outflows have been taking place during the last few years. The last eight years (1991–1998) have seen migration inflows of 8.8 million migrants in total. These high migration figures result from an increased number of entries by Spätaussiedler (ethnic German immigrants; cf. Chapter 2.3), an increased number of asylum seekers (cf. Chapter 2.5), war and civil war refugees from former Yugoslavia (cf. Chapter 2.6) and large numbers of temporary migrant workers from non-EU countries, especially contract and seasonal workers (cf. Chapter 2.7). Considering the scale of these migration figures one should not forget that a large number of entries often interrelates with an increased number of departures. During the period given (1991–1998), almost 5.8 million residents of Germany moved their main residence abroad. There have been net migration inflows of almost 3 million people over the last eight years.

Foreign nationals constitute the majority of migrants: They are involved in almost 80% of all migration processes. The inflows of German nationals, however, should not be overlooked: On the one hand, this group comprises people legally recognised as Spätaussiedler (ethnic German immigrants; cf. Chapter 2.3)<sup>5</sup>, on the other, it also comprises return migration flows of German sthat have lived abroad for some time. Migration inflows of German nationals increased continuously from less than 100,000 in the late eighties to more than 400,000 in 1994 (cf. Appendix: Illustration 18). Parallel to that

<sup>5)</sup> The official statistics on entries and departures usually record Spätaussiedler as German nationals.



development, migration outflows of German nationals have also been rising since 1989 (cf. Chapter 4).

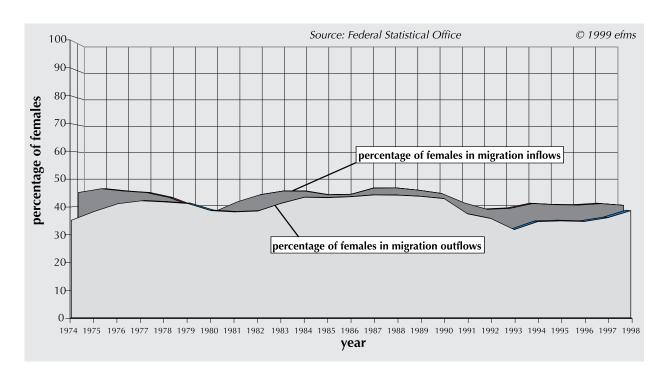
The years 1997 and 1998, on the other hand, have witnessed a "slowingdown" in the rate of migration flows. According to the official statistics, slightly more than 800,000 people migrated to Germany in 1998. At the same time, a quite considerable number of people left Germany, amounting to more than 755,000 people in 1998. The resulting net migration of + 47,000 people is rather small (1997: + 94,000). There are two main reasons for this decrease in net migration: first, total migration inflows have fallen; secondly, the number of foreign nationals leaving Germany has exceeded the number of foreign nationals migrating to Germany. In 1998, 606,000 foreign nationals migrated to Germany, whereas 639,000 left the country; this results in a negative net migration of - 33,000 foreign nationals for 1998. The main reason for this development is the large number of war refugees from Bosnia returning to their home country or migrating to other countries (cf. Chapter 2.6).

The years 1997 and 1998 have witnessed a "slowing-down" in the rate of migration flows.

#### 1.1 Sex ratio and age structure

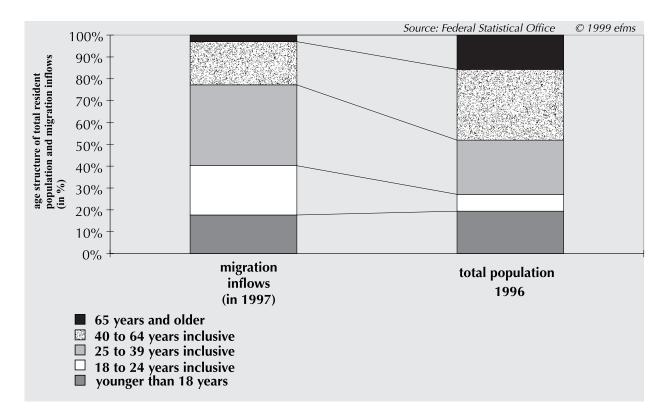
The demographic development of a population depends on three factors: mortality, fertility and migration. As far as migration is concerned it is not only the absolute number of migrants that is demographically relevant, but also the age structure of the migrant population. The three following illustrations show the composition of migration flows in terms of sex ratio and age structure.

Illustration 2: Percentage of females in migration in- and outflows: 1974 – 1998



There are less women than men involved in both migration inflows and outflows. The percentage of women involved has remained fairly stable, but it has always been slightly higher in migration inflows (40% approximately) than in outflows (35% approximately).

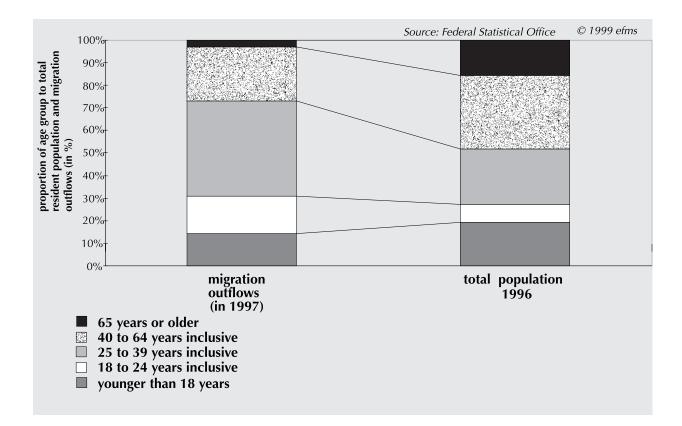
Illustration 3: Age structure of migration inflows compared to total resident population in 1997 (in %)



Migration inflows have a markedly "younger" age structure. As regards age structure, the composition of migration inflows differs fundamentally from that of the total resident population (German and foreign nationals). Migration inflows are characterized by a **high percentage of younger and middle-aged people** (between 18 and 40 years): in 1997, more than two thirds (77.2%) were younger than 40 years, compared to 51.9% of the total population. Conversely, only 3.0% of migration inflows were 65 years or older, compared to 15.7% of the total population. There is only little difference, however, in the age group of people that are 17 years old or younger (17.7% of migration inflows compared to 19.4% of total population).

The data can be summed up as follows: People migrating to Germany are – on average – younger than the resident population and therefore contribute to "rejuvenating" German society. Migration thus counteracts the demographic problem of a disproportionate number of old people, and this in turn could have a positive effect on stabilising social security systems provided migrants are integrated into the job market.





# Illustration 4: Age structure of migration outflows and total resident population in 1997 (in %)

Migration outflows present a similar picture: almost three fourths (73.2%) of that group were younger than 40 years, compared to 51.9% of the total population. The percentage of minors, on the other hand, was smaller in the migrant group (compared to the total population), so that the effect which migration has on "improving" society's age structure is partly lost as a result of migration outflows.

The age structure of migration outflows is "young", too.

#### 1.2 Source countries and countries of destination

Studying the source countries and countries of destination of migration flows in the 1990's, one finds that the majority of migration processes from and to Germany originate from or head for other European countries (European Union and non-EU countries): in 1998, for example, about two thirds of people migrating to Germany originated from other European countries.

Comparing net migration flows for different world regions, it can be seen that the largest imbalance occurs between Germany and Asia: In 1998, there were 144,907 entries from Asia, in comparison with 73,236 departures; this results in a net migration with Asia of +71,671 in 1998 (cf. Illustration 5).

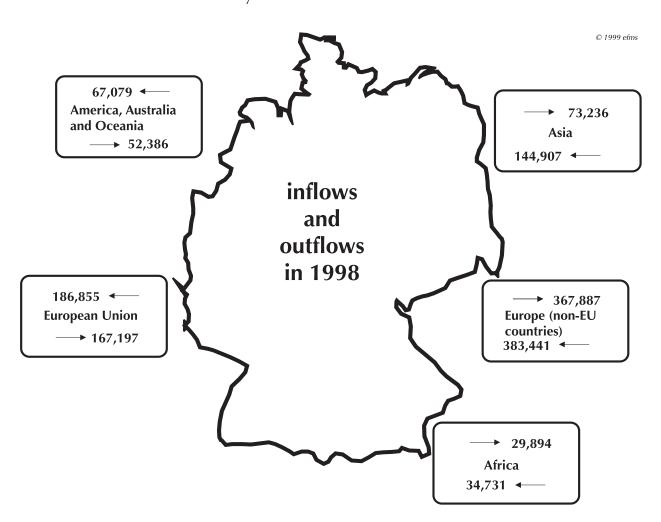
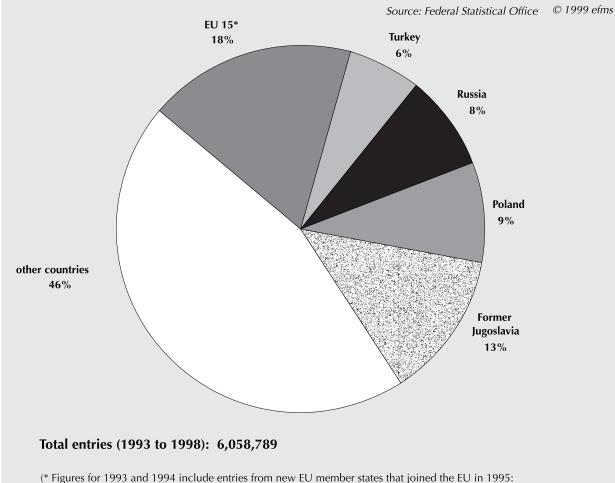


Illustration 5: Migration in- and outflows in the Federal Republic of Germany: 1998

In order to provide a more detailed account of migrants' source countries, we have added up the migration inflows for the **last six years** (from 1993 to 1998) and categorised them according to the main countries or regions of origin of the migrants involved. This has been done in order to show medium-term developments in that area. Migration outflows will then be considered in Illustration 7.





# Illustration 6: Accumulated migration inflows (1993 – 1998): main source countries

(\* Figures for 1993 and 1994 include entries from new EU member states that joined the EU in 1995: Finland, Austria and Sweden)

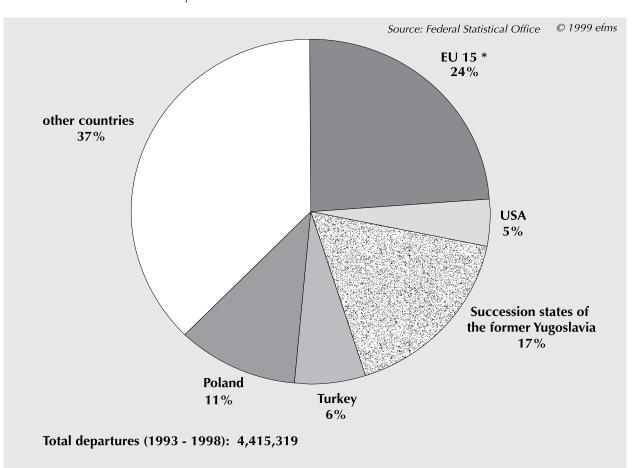
During the last six years, the number of people migrating to Germany from Poland and Russia has nearly equalled the number of entries from countries within the European Union. During the last six years, Russia has been the country of origin for almost half a million migrants, most of them being Spätaussiedler (cf. Chapter 2.3). Many of the migrants from Poland (approx. 535,000) entered the country as contract or seasonal workers with a temporary residence permit only (cf. Chapter 2.7).<sup>6</sup> Yugoslavia and its succession states

<sup>6)</sup> As mentioned above, the case of Poland underlines the fact that the data provided by the official entry and departure statistics cannot be taken for granted: According to the official statistics, there were "only" 85,615 entries from Poland in 1997, notwithstanding the fact that the Federal Labour Institute has recorded 200,000 Polish seasonal workers for that year – who are all obliged under German law to register with municipal authorities – as well as 21,000 contract workers from Poland (cf. Chapter 2.7). This inconsistency in the statistics indicates that the official statistics on entries and departures are not sufficient for investigating various "types of migration",

have been among the main source countries for more than 25 years. The increased migration inflows from these territories in the early 1990's were due to the wars and civil wars raging there after the collapse of the former multiethnic state (cf. Chapter 2.6). As for Turkey, the great majority of entries were spouses of former migrants (cf. Chapter 2.2) and asylum seekers (cf. Chapter 2.5).

In the past, most of the migrants originated from just a few countries, particularly from the countries officially recognised as recruitment countries (for foreign labour): Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Morocco, Tunisia and Yugoslavia. The last years, however, have presented a rather different picture, with 46% of migration inflows not originating from one of the five main source countries, resulting in a **diversification in migrants' source countries**.

Illustration 7: Accumulated migration outflows according to country of destination: 1993 – 1998



(\* Figures for 1993 and 1994 include entries from new EU member states that joined the EU in 1995: Finland, Austria and Sweden)

which, however, is an important category in migration research.



4.5 million departures have been recorded over the last six years, compared to more than 6 million entries. The main destinations of people departing were the following: EU countries, the succession states of the former Yugoslavia, Poland, Turkey and the United States of America.

In the case of the former Yugoslavia, more than 750,000 people migrated to Germany during the period in question, but there has also been return migration to Yugoslavia of almost the same number. Whereas many refugees had entered Germany in the early 1990's to escape from war and civil war, they returned to their home countries in the following years or were forced by the authorities to leave Germany (cf. Chapter 2.6).

### 2. Migrant populations

The data presented so far has clearly shown that it is essential to differentiate migration inflows as to the legal status of the different migrant populations involved. The various **types of migration** inflows differ in their mode of entering Germany as well as in their legal residence status. Entering Germany as a Spätaussiedler (ethnic German immigrant) or as an asylum seeker, for example, makes a world of difference. Immigration and residence regulations have a major effect on migrants' socio-economic status.<sup>7</sup> As for Germany, one has to distinguish between the following types of migration inflows (cf. Illustration 8):

– EU-internal migration,

- family migration of non-EU nationals
- inflows of Spätaussiedler (ethnic German immigrants)
- inflows of Jewish people from the former Soviet Union

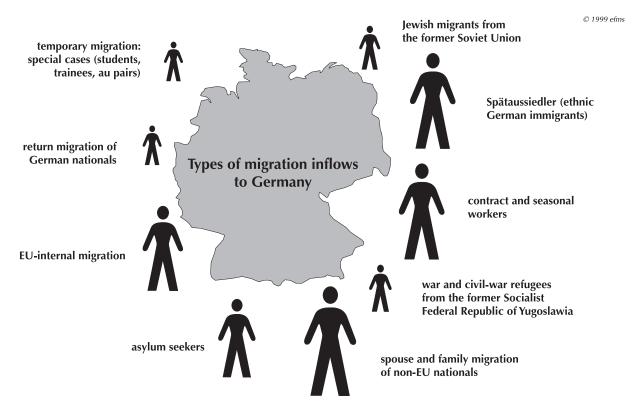
– inflows of asylum seekers and refugees under the Geneva Convention for Refugees

- war, civil-war and "de-facto" refugees from the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

- contract, seasonal and other temporary workers from non-EU States.

Types of migration inflows

<sup>7)</sup> Another reason for differentiating different types of migration inflows is that although individual migrant groups have repeatedly been the focus of public discourse (e.g. Spätaussiedler, asylum seekers, refugees), the general public finds it sometimes difficult to draw a clear distinction between different groups of migrants.



#### Illustration 8: Types of migration inflows to Germany in the 1990's

This illustration only gives a rough approximation of the scale of the various migration types; for detailed numbers please cf. the following paragraphs and tables.

#### 2.1 EU-internal migration

EU-internal migration refers to migration flows of EU nationals from and to EU countries. The following paragraphs will give an outline of EU-internal migration from a German perspective; i.e. the main focus lies on migration inand outflows between Germany and other EU countries. As the official statistics do not provide a separate category for EU-internal migration, its scale has had to be ascertained by analysing the general entries and departures statistics for the relevant source countries and countries of destination.

EU nationals enjoy freedom of movement within the European Union, provided certain requirements are given. Working persons (employees, self-employed persons etc.) and their families, in particular, enjoy this privilege. The EU definition of family members is wider than the one used in the German Foreigners Act (cf. Chapter 2.2). The right to family migration includes the following family members:



#### - spouses,

– direct descendants (children, grandchildren) who are younger than 21 years and

– other relations in a direct line, i.e. direct descendants (e.g. older children) or ancestors (e.g. grandparents), if an EU national entitled to freedom of movement provides for their maintenance.

This definition of family members that are entitled to family migration is wider than the one used for family migration processes of non-EU nationals (cf. Chapter 2.2).

Europe's development from an economic community to a European Union has given EU nationals and members of their families the right of freedom of movement within the EU, even if their stay in another EU-country is not economically motivated. One condition, however, is that they must be able to support themselves financially.

Table 2: Entries and departures from and to EU countries compared to entries and departures from and to non-EU countries: 1990 – 1998

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
EU-countries	164,915	173,190	166,910	163,143	185,442	204,613	201,417	180,432	167,197
of which: foreign nationals	139,618	147,396	140,806	136,689	158,761	177,240	172,483	155,667	137,275
non-EU countries	1,091,335	1,009,737	1,322,539	1,104,861	884,595	891,435	758,274	660,201	635,259
Total	1,256,250	1,182,927	1,489,449	1,268,004	1,070,037	1,096,048	959,691	840,633	802,456

#### migration inflows

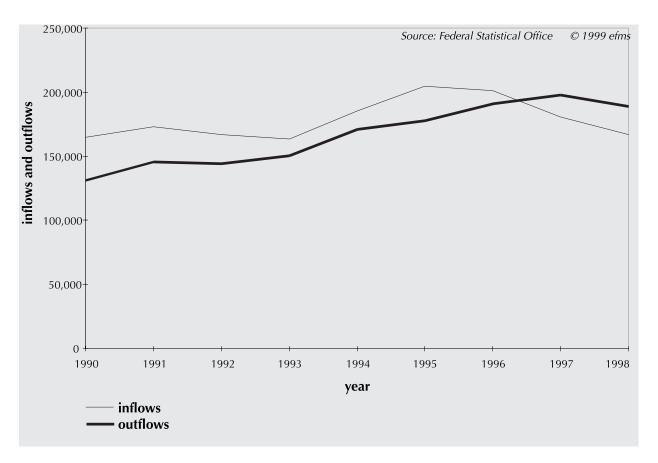
#### migration outflows

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
EU-countries	130,986	145,703	143,983	150,641	171,082	177,024	191,027	197,969	186,855
of which: foreign nationals	100,886	114,578	111,814	116,335	133,369	139,581	153,895	159,604	146,077
non-EU countries	443,392	436,537	557,441	646,218	569,444	521,089	486,467	549,000	568,503
Total	574,378	582,240	701,424	796,859	740,526	698,113	677,494	746,969	755,358

Sources: Federal Statistical Office and own calculations

1) European Union refers to the 15 EU Member States as of 1995. In- and outflows from and to the three Member States that joined the EU in 1995 (Austria, Finland, Sweden) have been added for the previous years as well. 2) comprises the "unknown" category

3) as of 1990: the "old" Laender



# Illustration 9: Migration in- and outflows from and to EU countries: 1990 – 1998

As stated in Chapter 1, the migration flows from and to **non-EU countries** have the strongest impact on all migration processes. EU-internal migration, on the other hand, has only a small share thereof: slightly more than one fifth of all entries and approximately one fourth of all departures occurred between EU countries in 1998. In absolute figures, the **number of migrants** from other EU countries has remained fairly stable over the last few years, oscillating between 163,143 (1993) and 204,613 (1995). Quantitatively, migrants from Italy still form the largest group of EU-internal migration inflows (365,000 for the years 1993–1998; cf. Table 12 in the Appendix), followed by migrants from Portugal, France, Greece and the United Kingdom.

Departures to other EU countries present a similar picture: **migration outflows** rose to almost 200,000 during the years 1990–1997. For the last two years, outflows to other EU countries have exceeded inflows from these countries, i.e. there has been a negative net migration between Germany and the other fourteen EU countries over the last two years.

#### 2.2 Spouse and family migration of non-EU nationals

The regulations for spouse and family migrations of German residents or foreign residents of Germany are to be found in Germany's Foreigners Act, or, if applicable, in EU Law (EEC Residence Law: for EU citizens entitled to freedom of movement).<sup>8</sup> The Foreigners Act grants the right of joining one's family in Germany only to members of the core family (with some exceptions in case of hardship). Thus, it is mainly the children and spouses of German and foreign residents who are entitled to join the rest of their family in Germany. According to the legal status of the spouse or family member resident in Germany, the law differentiates between various entitlements and matters of administrative discretion. For example, foreign children can join a parent until they come of age, provided that their parent is a German national. If the parent is a foreign national, however, this entitlement expires as soon as the child reaches the age of 16.

The official entries and departures statistics do not contain all the data relevant to family and spouse migration, as they do not distinguish between different types of migration. The visa statistics of the Foreign Ministry, on the other hand, offer a valuable starting point. They record all the cases where German embassies abroad have granted permission for a spouse or other family member to migrate to Germany.

It is generally required that a German embassy abroad, after obtaining the consent of the appropriate local authority for foreigners, grants a visa before a spouse or other family member has the right to enter Germany.<sup>9</sup> The following table shows the number of visas granted for the purpose of joining one's family in Germany:

*<sup>8)</sup>* Among migrants joining their family one has to distinguish between EU citizens and non-EU nationals. Our report has subsumed the former group within EU-internal migration flows (cf. Chapter 2.1).

*<sup>9)</sup>* This principle applies to all foreign nationals, with the exception of e.g. EU and US citizens. Municipal authorities for foreigners, however, are under some conditions entitled to grant a residence permit for people who have entered Germany with a tourist visa or for a short stay only. These cases are not recorded in the Foreign Ministry statistics. Therefore it is impossible to give any exact numbers for this particular group.

Inflows of	1996	%	1997	%	1998	%		
wives whose husbands are foreign nationals	18,253	33.3	20,266	32.8	19,275	30.6		
husbands whose wives are foreign nationals	9,479	17.3	8,770	14.2	7,990	12.7		
foreign children under age	11,593	21.1	14,868	24.1	14,591	23.2		
foreign wives of German nationals	8,603	15.7	9,905	16.0	13,098	20.8		
foreign husbands of German nationals	6,958	12.7	7,931	12.8	8,038	12.8		
Total	54,886	100.0	61,740	100.0	62,992	100.0		
of which: from Turkey	22,245	40.5	26,590	43.1	21,055	33.4		
Source: Foreign Mir								

Table 3: Visas granted for the purpose of joining one's family: 1996	)
- 1998	

1) We have not differentiated between foreign nationals (up to the age of 16) an German nationals (up to the age of 18) joining their families in Germany.

In more than two thirds of all cases of family migration, spouses joined their husbands or wifes in Germany. The statistics, which have been in place since 1996 only, record spouse and family migrations at a scale of 55,000 to 63,000 per year, the main source country<sup>10</sup> being Turkey: The number of successful applications submitted to German diplomatic missions in Turkey have been fairly stable, fluctuating between 21,055 in 1998 and 26,590 in 1997. Thus in 1998 only one third of all spouse and family migrations originated in Turkey (33.4%).

Analysing the figures for 1998 as to the "type of family migration" involved, it becomes obvious that spouse migration (of third-country nationals married to German or foreign nationals) has been the prevalent type: over three fourths (77.8%) of all cases resulted from marriages. By comparison, less than 15,000 children under 18 entered Germany in order to join their parents. This indicates that by now the majority of migrants live in Germany with their children.

<sup>10)</sup> The visa statistics do not record the nationality of the applicant, they just refer to the place where the application has been submitted (e.g. the German Embassy in Ankara). We can assume, however, that Turkish nationals will normally submit their applications at German diplomatic missions in Turkey. But the statistics also comprise cases where applications were submitted to diplomatic missions situated in countries whose nationals are not required to obtain a visa before entering Germany (e.g. in France). These cases probably concern non-EU nationals of countries with a visa requirement who are residents of another country (without visa requirement) and apply there for spouse or family migration to Germany (e.g. Turkish nationals who are residents of France); they are, however, relatively small in number.

#### 2.3 Spätaussiedler (Ethnic German immigrants)

Spätaussiedler are ethnic Germans (according to Art. 116 Basic Law) from territories within the former Soviet Union and other (mostly Eastern European) countries such as Poland and Romania.<sup>11</sup> In 1993, a quota was imposed on migration inflows of Spätaussiedler: Since then, the Bundesverwaltungsamt, the federal administrative office responsible for the admission of Spätaussiedler, is not entitled to issue more than 225,000 admission documents per year.<sup>12</sup>

Spätaussiedler have to prove during the admission procedure that they are of German descent, that they have been socialised, particularly with respect to their language acquisition, in a German family environment (parents or relatives) and that they have acknowledged German national customs and traditions. Spätaussiedler have a constitutionally guaranteed right to be granted naturalisation<sup>13</sup>, which also applies to their spouses and children, even if they are not of German descent. Today, due to the increasing number of interethnic marriages, a considerable part of these family members are of non-German descent.<sup>14</sup>

Under normal circumstances, Spätaussiedler have to stay in their country of origin while their application is being processed. If the conditions for admission have been fulfilled and the Land concerned gives its consent, the Bundesverwaltungsamt issues an admission document, which – in connection with an entry visa – entitles its holder to enter Germany. These admission documents remain valid without any temporal limitation, so that – once granted – the entitlement to enter Germany does not expire. On their entry to Germany the Spätaussiedler are distributed among the individual Laender according to fixed quotas.

The Bundesverwaltungsamt records entries of Spätaussiedler per person. In most cases, Spätaussiedler plan to stay in Germany permanently.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11)</sup> Other source countries are the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Estonia, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Albania and China.

*<sup>12</sup>*) This number equals the average number of entries for 1991 and 1992. The Bundesrat (Upper House of Parliament) has introduced a bill aimed at balancing the federal budget (Bundesrat - document 473/99); it proposes a reduction in the number of annual entries of Spätaussiedler, bringing them in line with the number of actual entries in 1998, which equalled 103,000 people. *13*) Due to recent changes in the Nationality Act, Spätaussiedler will be granted German citizenship automatically in future (cf. §§ 7, 40a STAG [Nationality Act]).

<sup>14)</sup> The Bundesverwaltungsamt does not have any statistics on non-German family members of Spätaussiedler.

 $<sup>\</sup>overline{15}$ ) There are no separate statistics on transit or return migrations of Spätaussiedler, as they fall within the statistical category of German nationals.

Source territory:	1990	<b>1991</b> <sup>°</sup>	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	<b>1999</b> <sup>°</sup>
Poland	133,872	40,129	17,742	5,431	2,440	1,677	1,175	687	488	179
Former Soviet Union	147,950	147,320	195,576	207,347	213,214	209,409	172,181	131,895	101,550	39,246
Yugoslawia	961	450	207	120	182	178	77	34	14	11
Rumänien	111,150	32,178	16,146	5,811	6,615	6,519	4,284	1,777	1,005	314
Former CSSR	1,708	927	460	134	95	62	14	10	16	8
Hungary	1,336	952	354	37	42	43	14	16	4	0
other countries	96	39	80	8	3	10	6	0	3	0
Total	397,073	221,995	230,565	218,888	222,591	217,898	177,751	134,419	103,080	39,758

Table 4: Migration inflows of Spätaussiedler according to source
territory: 1990 – 1999

Sources: Bundesverwaltungsamt, KLD-Letter on Ethnic Germans (Catholic Camp Service), compiled by efms

1) Including Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina Macedonia, which all gained independence in 1992 and 1993 respectively.

2) "other countries" plus inflows to Germany via a third country.

3) Figures after January 1, 1991 are for East and West Germany together.

4) Half-year figures (as of June 30, 1999)

Since 1990, almost 2 million Spätaussiedler have migrated to Gernany. Since the early Nineties, almost 2 million Spätaussiedler have migrated to Germany. The inflow of Spätaussiedler reached its climax in 1990 (397,073) and has dropped ever since to 103,080 in 1998, i.e. to about a quarter of the number for 1990. The half-year figures for 1999 indicate a further reduction (39,758).

The composition of the Spätaussiedler population (according to their source countries) has changed considerably over the last years. In 1990, for example, 133,872 Spätaussiedler came from Poland, forming the second-largest group of Spätaussiedler. In 1998, on the contrary, only 488 Spätaussiedler from Poland entered Germany, which equals about half a per cent of all entries by Spätaussiedler. The group originating in the former Soviet Union, on the other hand, has remained the largest group throughout the Nineties. In 1998, more than 98% of all Spätaussiedler came from the territories of the former Soviet Union.

As can be gathered from Table 14 and Illustration 25 in the Appendix, entries of Spätaussiedler, together with inflows of foreign nationals, have had a "rejuvenating" effect on the age structure of German society.

### \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

### 2.4 Inflows of Jewish migrants from the territory of the former Soviet Union

The last government of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) initiated a policy aimed at facilitating entries of Jewish people from the Soviet Union. After reunification, the united Germany continued with this practice. On 9 January 1991, the German federal government and the Laender finalised an agreement on the admission of Jewish citizens of the former Soviet Union, which was modelled on the "Act concerning measures for refugees admitted in the context of humanitarian-relief operations" (the so-called Quota-Refugees Act: "Kontingentsflüchtlingsgesetz").<sup>16</sup> Legislators refrained from setting any quota for this type of migration inflows, but they stipulated that each case should be reviewed individually before granting admission. Additionally, the so-called "geordnete" (well-ordered) admission procedure came into force on 15 February 1991, which stated that all Jewish people wishing to migrate to Germany have to apply for an entry visa at a German embassy or diplomatic mission. This application has to be submitted in the succession state of the Soviet Union in which they are residents.

In accordance with the Quota-Refugees Act, the legal status of these migrants is similar to that of people having been granted political asylum (including, e.g., unlimited residence entitlement, work permit, provision of education grants). Additionally, Jewish migrants are offered a German language course when they enter Germany. During the first six months they also receive an integration benefit which is funded by the Federal Government.

On entering Germany, every member of this group is registered by the Bundesverwaltungsamt in Cologne (the federal administrative agency which is also responsible for the admission of Spätaussiedler). The following figures summarise the number of entries of this group for each year; they do not allow us to draw any inferences about the duration of their stay in Germany or possible transit migrations (e.g. to Israel or the USA).

*<sup>16</sup>*) This Act was passed in 1980 in response to the refugee crisis occurring in South-East Asia at that time (boat people). On the basis of this law, Germany allowed some 37,000 people from Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Chile, Argentina, Cuba and Iraq (Kurdish migrants) to enter Germany. These migration processes have not been included in this report as there have not been any such inflows over the last years (cf. Lederer 1997: 305f).

Year	Inflows
until December 31, 1993	25,132
1994	8,811
1995	15,184
1996	15,959
1997	19,437
1998	17,788

Table 5: Inflows of Jewish people from the former Soviet Union: 1993 – 1998

Sources: Federal Ministry of Interior and own calculations

1) Entries from 1990 to December 31, 1993: among them 8,535 so-called "older" cases that did not enter Germany on the basis of the "well-ordered" admission procedure.

All in all, 102,311 Jewish people from the former Soviet Union migrated to Germany from 1990 to December 31, 1998. The number of inflows averaged 15,000 to 20,000 migrants each for the last four years.

#### 2.5 Migration inflows of asylum seekers

Germany's constitution (the Basic Law) guarantees the right of asylum to persons persecuted for political reasons (Art. 16a Basic Law). The Federal Office for the Recognition of Foreign Refugees (BAFl) is responsible for deciding on asylum applications. If the BAFl rejects the application of asylum seekers, their right to have the underlying decision reviewed by an administrative court of law is also constitutionally guaranteed.

Apart from the right of asylum for political reasons according to Art. 16a Basic Law, there is also the possibility of granting what is colloquially referred to as the "little asylum", which is based on the Geneva Convention for Refugees. According to Art.51 Par.1 Foreigners Act, foreign nationals whose "life or liberty are endangered because of their race, religion, nationality, their affiliation to a particular social group or their political beliefs" in their country of origin are granted protection against deportation.<sup>17</sup>

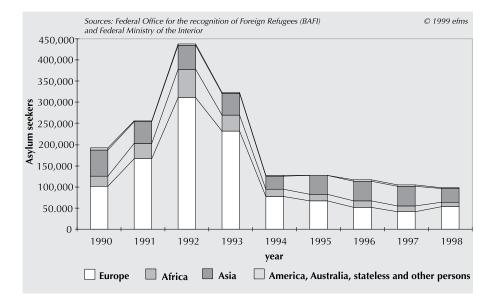
The administrative statistics of the BAFI are the main source for data on asylum seekers. The BAFI records all applicants through its branch offices and compiles person-based statistics on entries of asylum applicants. It should be noted here that the statistics on entries (cf. Chapter 1) did not record all asylum seekers prior to 1993; registration of asylum seekers only took place in all the Laender from 1993 onwards.

Annual inflows of Jews averaged 15,000 to 20,000 people

<sup>17)</sup> Amendments to the Foreigners Act as of January 1, 1991 led to the re-introduction of the term "refugees" as defined by the Geneva Convention. The BAFI is also responsible for granting refugee status.

#### \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

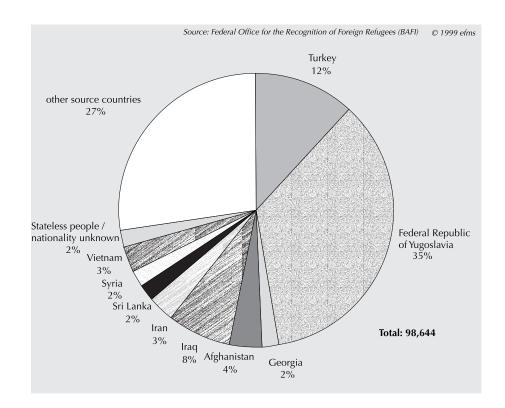
# Illustration 10: Asylum applicants according to source continents: 1990 – 1998



Between 1990 and 1999 (half-year), more than 1.8 million people applied for political asylum in Germany, the majority being Europeans.<sup>18</sup> Amendments to asylum-relevant laws in 1993 have led to a continuous decrease in the number of asylum applications. In 1998, 98,644 persons submitted an application for political asylum, the lowest annual figure since 1987. In the first half of 1999, 46,457 persons applied for political asylum in Germany.

In 1998, the number of applications for political asylum dropped to its lowest point since 1987.

*<sup>18</sup>*) The BAFI statistics only began to differentiate between initial and follow-up applications in 1995. For the years after 1995 the statistics just reveal the numbers for initial applications.



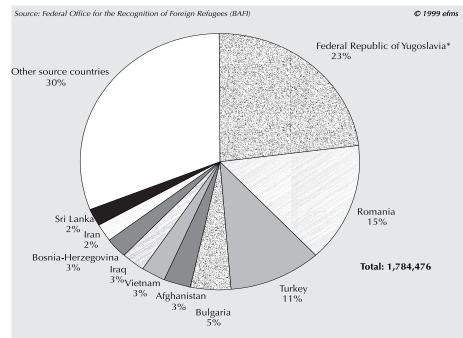
# Illustration 11: Asylum applicants (initial applications) in 1998 according to the 10 most frequent source countries

In 1998, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was the main source country of asylum seekers. The majority of them originated from Kosovo (cf. Table 6). The number of applicants from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia fell from 115,395 in 1992 to 34,979 in 1998, but the latter number still equals more than 35% of all asylum seekers for that year. Every eighth asylum seeker came from Turkey in 1998 (11,754), most of them Kurds (cf. Table 6), followed by asylum seekers from Iraq (7,435), Afghanistan (3,768) and Iran (2,955).

Summing up the figures for the Nineties, the ten most frequent source countries of asylum seekers were as follows:

### \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

# Illustration 12: Asylum applicants (1990 – 1998: accumulated) according to the 10 most frequent source countries



\* Since 1992: Serbia and Montenegro. Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Slowenia (since 1993) and Macedonia (since 1993) were counted separately. The 1992 figure for Yugoslavia still includes asylum applicants from Macedonia.

In the 1990's, about one fourth of all asylum seekers came from the territory of the former Yugoslavia, particularly the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnia Herzegovina, due to the persistent war and civil war situation there. Turkey has also been among the main source countries of asylum applicants. In addition, a large number of people from Romania (and Bulgaria) applied for asylum in Germany in the early 1990's. Since the mid-Nineties, however, there have been hardly any applicants from these two countries, due to these countries' democratic and constitutional progress, the reform of the German asylum law concerning safe countries of origin, and bilateral agreements on taking back asylum applicants. Accordingly, the number of asylum seekers from Romania decreased from 103,787 in 1992 to 341 in 1998.

Since the mid-Nineties, the BAFl statistics do not only reveal the countries of origin, but also – for the main source countries – the ethnic origin of asylum applicants. This is due to the fact that there are several source countries where members of a specific ethnic group form a large part of all asylum seekers from that particular country.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19)</sup> According to the Federal Office for the Recognition of Foreign Refugees (BAFI), the ethnic origin of asylum applicants is first recorded when the personal file for an applicant is opened. The BAFI personnel deciding on applications try to verify the statements made by applicants by questioning them during a personal hearing. Then the data on ethnic origin are recorded in the BAFI statistics, making it the only statistics which record that type of data.

Table 6: Ethnic origins of asylum applicants from the three main source countries: 1995 – 1998

Country of origin	1995	1996	1997	1998
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	26,227	18,085	14,789	34,979
of which: Kosovar Albanians	21,980	15,706	12,538	30,794
%	83.8	86.8	84.8	88.0
Türkey	25,514	23,814	16,840	11,754
of which: Kurds	20,877	19,301	13,791	9,774
%	81.8	81.0	81.9	83.2
Iraq	6,880	10,842	14,088	7,435
of which: Kurds			10,017	4,137
%			71.1	55.6

Source: Federal Office for the Recognition of Foreign Refugees (BAFI)

1) The ethnic origin of asylum applicants from Iraq has been recorded since 1997 only.

During the last four years, the large majority of asylum applicants from the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were indeed Kosovar Albanians, at a rate fluctuating between 83,8% (1995) and 88,0% (1998). The greatest part of asylum applicants from Turkey and Iraq, on the other hand, is of Kurdish origin. As for Turkey, the proportion of Kurdish asylum seekers originating from its territory has remained fairly stable between 1995 and 1998 (from 81,0% to 83,2%). By contrast, the proportion of Kurdish asylum seekers from Iraq plummeted from 71,1% in 1997 to 55,6% in 1998.

The Federal Office for the Recognition of Foreign Refugees (BAFI) compiles two **statistics on asylum applicants**, one focussing on inflows of asylum seekers into Germany, the other one on administrative cases, i.e. the number and outcome of asylum applications processed by the BAFI (cf. Table 7). These two statistics are incompatible, as applications are often not processed and decided on in the year of their submission (e.g. asylum application in 1997, final decision reached in 1998).<sup>20</sup>

*<sup>20)</sup>* Another factor that detracts from the compatibility of these two statistics is the complex structure of the assessment proceedings, including the possible judicial reviews before administrative courts. With authorities and courts lacking the necessary capacity to process a large number of applications in the early Nineties, a considerable backlog of cases developed, which, however, could be reduced since. As for September 30, 1999, the number of pending cases at the BAFI still amounted to 71,747 initial and follow-up applications, and to 213,038 pending cases at administrative courts of first instance (as of May 31, 1999). [cf. www.bafl.de]



year	number of decisions	entitled to political Asylum according to Art.16/16a Basic Law	%	obstacles to deportation according to Art. 51(1) Foreigners Act	% <sup>*</sup>	Rejected	% <sup>³</sup>	other completed cases	%
1990	148,842	6,518	4.4	n.a.	n.a.	116,268	78.1	26,056	17.5
1991	168,023	11,597	6.9	n.a.	n.a.	128,820	76.7	27,606	16.4
1992	216,356	9,189	4.2	n.a.	n.a.	163,637	75.6	43,530	20.1
1993	513,561	16,396	3.2	n.a.	n.a.	347,991	67.8	149,174	29.0
1994 <sup>°</sup>	352,572	25,578	7.3	9,986	2.8	238,386	67.6	78,622	22.3
1995	200,188	18,100	9.0	5,368	2.7	117,939	58.9	58,781	29.4
1996	194,451	14,389	7.4	9,611	4.9	126,652	65.1	43,799	22.5
1997	170,801	8,443	4.9	9,779	5.7	101,886	59.7	50,693	29.7
1998	147,391	5,883	4.0	5,437	3.7	91,700	62.2	44,371	30.1
1999 <sup>°</sup>	62,007	2,221	3.6	3,379	5.4	39,784	64.2	16,623	26.8

# Table 7: Decisions of the Federal Office for the Recognition of Foreign Refugees between 1990 and 1999

Sources: Federal Office for the Recognition of Foreign Refugees (BAFI: Statistics on Administrative Cases), V. Pollern (1991-1999), compiled by efms

1) In order to obtain the rate of approval, the total of individual cases is divided by the number of people entitled to asylum.

2) Proportion of asylum seekers protected against deportation in relation to the number of decisions on persons.

3) Proportion of rejected applications deportation in relation to total number of decisions on persons.

4) This category comprises, among other things, withdrawn applications (e.g. Because of return or transit migration) and follow-up applications.

5) Proportion of "other completed cases" to total of decisions on persons.

6) People protected against deportation according to Art. 51 (1) Foreigners Act have been recorded separately since April 1994 only. In previous years, they had a share of 0.3 to 0.5% of all decisions.

7) Half-year figures (as of June 30,1999)

Between 1990 and 1999 (half-year), the BAFI has decided more than 2.2 million applications. The recognition rate has been constantly below 10% during the Nineties.<sup>21</sup> In addition to decisions on political asylum, there are also approvals according to Art.51 Foreigners Act, which varied between 2.7% and 5.7%. The cases where recognition was granted or withdrawn by administrative courts are not included in these statistics, so they have to be added separately.<sup>22</sup>

In summary, it can be said that only relatively few asylum applicants are granted the right of legal residence after their cases have been completed. Since 1990, slightly more than 160,000 asylum applicants have been recog-

No information available on whereabouts of asylum seekers; many of them leave German territory again

<sup>21)</sup> The recognition rates differed widely depending on individual countries of origin.

<sup>22)</sup> The two recognition rates mentioned cannot simply be added up as they have been compiled on a different basis (Lederer 1997: 288ff, 294)

nised by the BAFI as being entitled to political asylum according to Art.16a Basic Law or have otherwise been granted a residence allowance according to Art.51 Par.1 Foreigners Act. The majority of persons that have entered Germany as asylum applicants and whose applications have been rejected have either left German territory again or are staying in Germany without a secure right of residence and therefore remain under an obligation to leave the country. The latter fall into the category of "de-facto" refugees.

The Federal Ministry of the Interior stated that there were 360,000 **de-facto refugees resident in Germany in 1997**. The group of de-facto refugees comprises "persons that have either submitted no application for political asylum or whose application has been rejected, but whose deportation has been suspended for humanitarian, political or legal reasons" (Federal Government's Commissioner for Foreigners' Issues 1999: 26).<sup>23</sup> The high number of de-facto refugees resident in Germany can also be gathered from the statistics on the legal residence status of non-German residents: At the end of 1998, almost 285,000 persons lived in Germany on the basis of a toleration certificate, i.e. in principle under the obligation to leave the country. There are no exact figures on asylum seekers whose applications have been rejected, as their whereabouts are often not made known to the authorities.<sup>24</sup>

The number of de-facto refugees has increased considerably, particularly over the last few years. In part, this can be accounted for by the high standards set by the Federal Administrative Court for acknowledging political persecution, i.e. persecution by the state.<sup>25</sup>

If the asylum application of a person has been finally rejected and if he or she has not been issued with a toleration certificate, the asylum seeker has to leave the country. If this person refuses to leave the country (or chooses to go underground), he or she can be **deported** or taken into custody for the purpose of deportation (cf. Table 17 in the Appendix), subject to several further conditions. Between 1990 and 1998, more than 180,000 rejected asylum applicants who did not comply with the order to leave the country were deported. The number of deportations rose continuously from 1990 to 1994, with a sharp increase between 1992 (10,798 deportations) and 1993 (36,165 deportations). The number of deportations has been falling since 1994, to a level of 16,217 in 1998.

<sup>23)</sup> The cases according to §51 par.1 Foreigners act mentioned above ("little asylum") do not fall into this category.

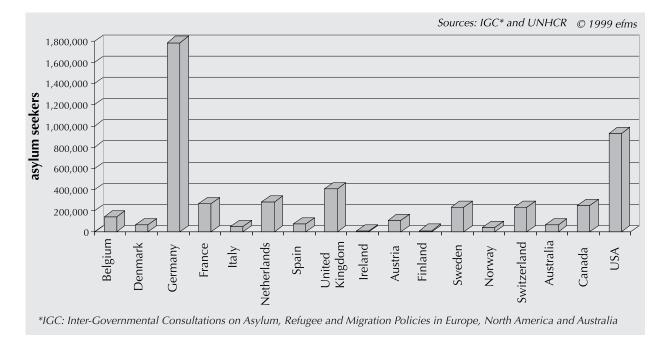
<sup>24)</sup> As these insufficient data show, the introduction of statistics on the whereabouts of asylum seekers whose application procedure has been completed would be essential, as has already been suggested by EU Statistical Office (eurostat 1994: 7).

*<sup>25</sup>*) Comparing the recognition procedures for political asylum in European countries, there is an increasing number of voices speaking of a "lack of protection" for specific refugee groups in Germany, e.g. those from Somalia, Algeria and Afghanistan, whose persecution is not recognised because it is not perpetrated by the state.

Asylum: an international perspective

In the following we will attempt to compare the inflows of asylum seekers to several European countries, the United States, Canada and Australia. The scope of such a comparison is severely limited by the different definitions, laws and empirical methods applied in respective countries.

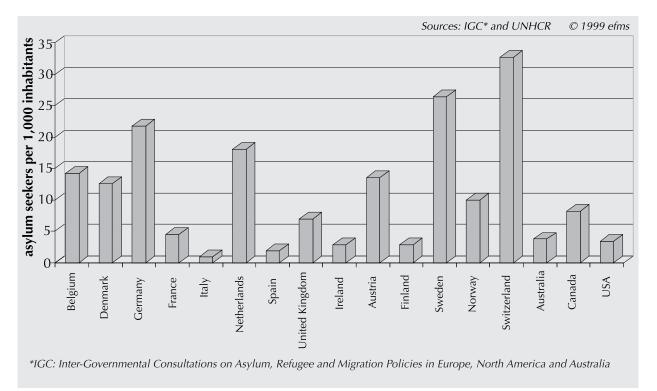
Illustration 13: Asylum applicants in selected countries (1990 – 1999: accumulated)



An international comparison between 1990 and 1998 shows that Germany has been the country with the largest inflows of asylum applicants (1,784,476), followed by the US (928,896), the United Kingdom (405,589), France (267,332), Switzerland (236,654) and Sweden (233,823).

These figures, however, should not be taken in absolute terms, they have also to be seen in context of the overall population of respective countries:

Illustration 14: Asylum applicants in selected countries per 1,000 of total population (1990 – 1999: accumulated)



Relating the inflows of asylum seekers to the total population of respective countries, Germany ranks third after Switzerland and Sweden. Seen in relation to the total population of respective countries, both Switzerland and Sweden had larger inflows of asylum seekers than Germany (between 1990 and 1998).

### 2.6 War, civil war and de-facto refugees from the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

The amendments to the German Asylum Law, which came into force on July 1, 1993, created a separate legal status for war and civil war refugees that is unconnected to political asylum procedures (§32a Foreigners Act). Its aim is to grant refugees temporary protection in Germany as long as the conditions leading to their admission prevail. For that purpose, the Federal Government and the Laender have to agree unanimously on the source territories to which this rule is to apply. War and civil war refugees can be granted a residence authorisation on this basis.

The status of war or civil war refugees respectively was not applied to refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, due to differing opinions among the Federal Government and the Laender as to the necessary funding. Only those refugees that had escaped prosecution in Kosovo and entered Germany later than April 1999 were recognised as refugees according to §32a Foreigners Act. The majority of refugees from Kosovo submitted asylum applications that were rejected if they entered Germany before March 1999. They thus received the status of so-called de-facto refugees, i.e. persons who, for humanitarian or political reasons, are not forced to return to their home country.

#### Refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina

Whereas refugees from Kosovo were the first group to be recognised as civil war refugees according to §32 Foreigners Act, the majority of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina stayed in Germany on the basis of a toleration certificate according to §54 Foreigners Act, which only grants a relatively insecure legal status, following an agreement between the Laender and the Federal Ministry of the Interior to suspend deportations. A large number of refugees' relatives and friends resident in Germany signed documents according to §54 Foreigners Act, which obliged them to meet all the expenses resulting from the stay of respective refugees in Germany.

This rather uncoordinated admission of refugees led to an unequal distribution of refugees among the individual Laender. The city-states Berlin and Hamburg and other Laender such as Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria experienced disproportionate inflows of war and civil war refugees (in relation to their overall population). What is more, there was no centralised and standardised statistical procedure to record refugees, which led to some insecurity as to their exact numbers. The figures published by the Federal Ministry of the Interior were based on partly insufficient information provided by the individual Laender. The data therefore lacked consistency (cf. Lederer 1997: 309ff).

It can be stated, however, that more than 300,000 refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina stayed in Germany between 1994 and 1996, the highest number being reached in 1994 with approximately 350,000 refugees (cf. Table 8 on the following page).

Laender	1996	%	1999	%
Baden-Württemberg <sup>*</sup>	60,000	17.4	9,713	13.0
Bavaria	71,000	20.6	4,256	5.7
Berlin	32,000	9.3	15,000	20.1
Brandenburg	2,000	0.6	386	0.5
Bremen	3,000	0.9	689	0.9
Hamburg	12,500	3.6	3,360	4.5
Hesse	35,000	10.1	10,013	13.4
Mecklenburg-West Pommerania	1,000	0.3	88	0.1
Lower Saxony	23,000	6.7	2,906	3.9
North Rhine-Westphalia	75,000	21.7	22,850	30.6
Rhineland-Palatinate	17,500	5.1	2,785	3.7
Saarland	4,000	1.2	1,047	1.4
Saxony	2,000	0.6	300	0.4
Saxony-Anhalt	2,000	0.6	256	0.3
Schleswig-Holstein	4,000	1.2	1,050	1.4
Thuringia	1,000	0.3	61	0.1
total	345,000	100.0	74,760	100.0

Table 8: Inflows of war and civil war refugees from Bosnia Herzegovina to German Laender: 1996 and mid-1999

Sources: Federal Ministry of the Interior, Federal Government Commissioner for the Return of Refugees, Re-integration and Collateral Reconstruction in Bosnia and Herzegovina

1) Figures according to the Federal Ministry of the Interior, as of January 1996. It is unclear whether these figures also comprise the approx. 30,000 asylsum seekers from Bosnia.

2) For 1999: as of May 31, 1999

3) For 1999: as of December 31, 1998

4) For 1999: as of April 30, 1999

Following the end of the armed conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, German authorities commenced with the forced repatriation of refugees on October 1, 1996. According to the Federal Ministry of the Interior, 91,918 refugees from Bosnia Herzegovina were still residents of Germany at that time. At the end of June 1999, the "Federal Government Commissioner for the Return of Refugees, Re-integration and Collateral Reconstruction in Bosnia and Herzegovina"

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

pegged the number of refugees still resident in Germany at 74,760.<sup>26</sup>

In the meantime, the number has dropped from 350,000 in 1996 to almost a fifth (some 75,000 refugees) in mid-1999. The largest number of returning refugees left Bavaria: in mid-1999, 4,256 refugees (6.0%) still lived in Bavaria, compared to 71,000 in 1996.

### Admission of refugees from Kosovo

Until June 11, 1999, 14,689 Kosovar refugees that had been evacuated from Macedonia were admitted to Germany, where they were granted the status of civil war refugees according to §32a Foreigners Act. The distribution of refugees among the Laender was carried out according to the quota system introduced for the initial distribution of asylum seekers, as stated in §45 of the Law on Asylum Procedure (AsylVfG). The Federal Office for the Recognition of Foreign Refugees was responsible for their registration and distribution. The voluntary return of civil war refugees began after a cease-fire had been reached in Kosovo.

In addition, 17,715 persons from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia entered Germany as **asylum seekers** during the first half of 1999, the majority of them Kosovars (cf. Chapter 2.5). According to BAFI data, 83.2% of these asylum seekers from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia stated Kosovo as their source territory. So most of them were probably ethnic Albanians. The Federal Office for the Recognition of Foreign Refugees deferred decisions on the applications of these asylum seekers until the end of the war. Since the cease-fire, a growing number of ethnic Serbs from Kosovo has also submitted applications for political asylum in Germany.

During the last few years in particular, an increasing number of Kosovars has applied for asylum in Germany. Most of these applications, however, were rejected. In addition, there were also Kosovars who had entered Germany illegally and didn't apply for asylum, but whose deportation was suspended because of the war.<sup>27</sup> All in all, according to information provided by the Federal Ministry of the Interior, some 180,000 refugees lived in Germany in mid-1999 on the basis of a toleration certificate, i.e. under a general obligation to leave the country again.

Some 75,000 refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina are still in Germany.

*<sup>26</sup>*) According to the Federal Ministry of the Interior, 76,868 persons were still in Germany as of May 31, 1999. These figures were given on the basis of the Central Register for Foreigners and registration data provided by the Laender.

<sup>27)</sup> Following an agreement reached by the Council of Interior Ministers of the Laender, ethnic Albanian refugees from Kosovo who have not applied for political asylum and whose deportation has been suspended have been distributed among the Laender since July 1,1999 in accordance with the quota system introduced for the initial distribution of asylum seekers.

The data on war and civil war refugees from the territory of the former Yugoslavia, as outlined above, clearly show the five main **causes** underlying the increased inflows of refugees to Germany in the 1990's:

1. The unexpected end of East-West conflict, which facilitated migration inflows from the former socialist countries of Eastern and Central Europe.

2. The severe military conflicts and ethnic dislocations on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, which continued until mid-1999.

3. Due to the fact that Germany already has existing family and other social networks of migrants, which developed, for example, through the so-called guest-worker migration, many migrants prefer joining their family or friends in Germany to entering other countries where no such relationships exist (migration networks); for this reason, the majority of refugees from Yugoslavia headed for Germany.

4. The humanitarian crises that have remained unresolved in the main source countries of refugees, such as Turkey, Iraq, Sri Lanka and Afghanistan.

5. Finally, in the context of the aspects just mentioned, one should not forget the simple fact that Germany, apart from its economic prosperity and the ensuing attractiveness, is situated on the eastern border of the European Union in its current form and is such the first stopping point within the EU for refugees who enter Western Europe by the overland route via Eastern European countries.



# 2.7 Contract, seasonal and other temporary workers from non-EU states

After recruitment agreements for foreign workers expired on November 21, 1973, Germany did not admit any workers from abroad for several years. During that period, migrant workers from non-EU countries were not permitted to enter Germany for the purpose of seeking employment. Towards the end of the 1980's, however, several branches of the German economy, the high general unemployment in Germany notwithstanding, registered a lack of workers (e.g. in agriculture and the hotel and restaurant trade). This situation marked the beginning of renewed, though limited recruitment. Foreign policy also played a role in this development. Allowing some further recruitment was, above all, meant to take some pressure off potential migration inflows from Central and Eastern Europe. Additionally, it was also regarded as a contribution to consolidating the economic reforms which some Central and Eastern European countries had embarked upon. In contrast to the regulations formerly applied to "guest workers", the residence allowances for Eastern European workers are strictly limited to the duration of their employment, thus excluding any legal possibility of permanent immigration and residence. The main regulations are those relating to "contract" and "seasonal" workers.

#### Contract workers

Contract workers are employed by companies located outside Germany and are permitted to work in Germany on the basis of service contracts. German and foreign companies co-operate in production in such a manner that the (foreign) employees of foreign sub-contractors carry out part of the work. Bilateral agreements with Central and Eastern European countries form the legal basis of this type of co-operation.<sup>28</sup> The agreements lay down fixed annual quotas for workers from these countries. The majority of them are employed in the construction industry. The agreements allow non-EU citizens to work in Germany for a period of up to three years. After its expiration, workers have to stay in their home countries for a period of equal duration before they are permitted to return to Germany as contract workers again.

The wages of contract workers have to follow German pay agreements. Contract workers are not obliged to pay any contributions to German social security, they just have to pay what the regulations of their respective home countries call for. On account of that, the wages of contract workers are considerably lower compared to those of German employees. Contract workers are allocated through various labour exchanges, depending on their country of origin. Statistical registration is carried out by the Federal Office of Employment. Its statistics, however, do not record inflows of workers, they just give monthly figures on the total number of contract workers employed in Germany.<sup>29</sup>

Contract and seasonal workers are allowed to enter Germany for a limited time only.

<sup>28)</sup> Germany has entered into bilateral agreements with Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech and the Slovak Republic, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, Hungary and Turkey. Due to the right to freedom of movement established within the European Union, contract workers from EU countries are entitled to enter Germany without any limitation. 29) It is therefore not possible to state exactly the number of contract workers entering Germany each year. The possibilities of transferring employment data into inflow data are severely restricted, as contract workers stay in Germany for two to three years. Therefore employment figures cannot be equalled to annual entries.

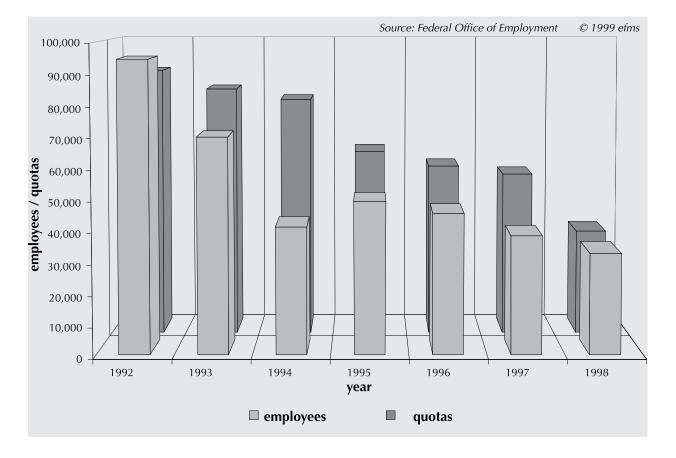


Illustration 15: Contract workers: quotas and actual employment: 1992 – 1998

Both the quotas and the number of employment contracts have been drastically reduced since 1992. While some 95,000 persons were employed as contract workers in Germany in 1992, the number for 1998 amounted to less than a third of that (approximately 33,000). The main countries of origin were and still are Poland and Hungary.

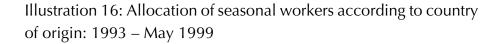
#### Seasonal workers

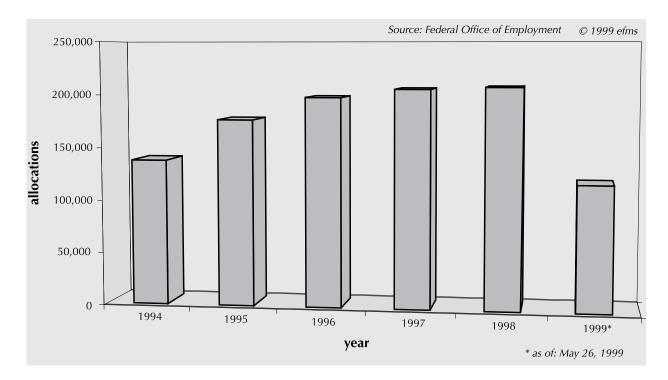
Since 1991, seasonal works can be granted work permits for a period of up to three months in order to take up employment in Germany. The majority of seasonal workers are either employed in agriculture and forestry or in the hotel and restaurant trade. Similar to contract workers, bilateral agreements with foreign employment administrations form the legal basis of this type of employment.<sup>30</sup> No general quotas have been introduced for seasonal workers.

*<sup>30)</sup>* Agreements have been concluded with Hungary, Poland, the Czech and the Slovak Republic, Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia (suspended since 1993 in accordance with UN embargo), Croatia and Slovenia.

German labour exchanges, however, have first to determine whether suitable employees from Germany or nationals from other countries with a comparable legal status (e.g. EU-nationals) can be found to fill these posts, as they have a prior entitlement to be employed (employment dependent on the labour market).

The Central Office for Labour Allocation (ZAV) of the Federal Office of Employment is responsible for allocating workforce. It is possible for German employers to recruit personnel already known to them. The Federal Office of Employment also registers the number of allocations.<sup>31</sup>





*<sup>31)</sup>* The statistics record the number of allocations, not the number of entries. Therefore the number of seasonal workers entering Germany each year cannot be derived directly from these figures.

The number of foreign seasonal labour employed in Germany has increased since 1991. While allocations for 1991 amounted to almost 130,000, they rose to more than 200,000 in 1998. The number is not expected to fall for 1999, as more than 118,000 workers had already been allocated by the end of May.<sup>32</sup> Poland is the most important country of origin.

Apart from contract and seasonal workers, there are also allocation procedures for several other segments of the labour market, which are, however, of little quantitative importance:

1. A job qualification programme has been established for **young foreign labour from Central and Eastern Europe**. In the context of this programme 3,000 to 5,000 people are admitted to Germany each year for a maximum period of 18 months.

2. Qualified **nursing staff** (for hospitals and old people's homes) are granted work permits without temporal limitation. For that purpose, bilateral agreements have been concluded with Slovenia and Croatia.

3. Nationals of certain countries can be excluded from the suspension imposed on recruitment, for example citizens of Israel, Japan, Canada, the USA and Switzerland.

4. Other exceptions have been granted to **certain professionals** with specific qualifications, such as teaching staff for foreign languages, chefs, scientists, managerial staff, pastoral workers, nursing staff, artists, variety artistes, photographic models, mannequins, professional athletes and coaches.

5. Additionally, young people under 25 working as **au-pairs** are granted work permits for the duration of up to twelve months. Similar regulations have been established for **pupils and students** doing vacation work or practical training in connection with their university courses.

### 3. Migration inflows in a European perspective

All western industrialised countries have recently experienced migration inflows. The scope of inflows to individual countries has been compared frequently, in particular among EU countries. It should be noted, however, that there are severe limitations to comparisons of that kind:

First of all, the **criteria** applied **to define persons as migrants** differ considerably among various countries. Most definitions require that the duration of residence in the country of destination should exceed one year at least, but some countries base their definition on the intended duration of stay, others on the actual duration of residence. Germany, by contrast, just registers changes of residence across national borders. There are also countries that do not compile any migration statistics at all (e.g. France).

What is more, none of the EU countries has been able to account fully for asylum seekers and refugees in their general statistics on migration in- and

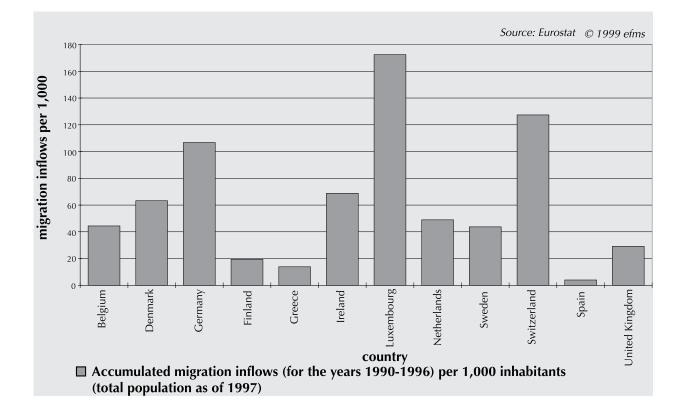
*<sup>32</sup>*) It has to be added that this figure gives the total of all allocation procedures. Since 1994, the statistics have also recorded cancellations, reducing the actual number of seasonal workers somewhat.

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outflows, nor to identify them as a separate statistical group (cf. Eurostat 1994: 7).

Finally, it is important to note that discussions on migration should **not refer to absolute figures only**. In absolute figures, Germany has undoubtedly had the largest migration inflows of all European countries (cf. Illustration 35 and Table 21 in the appendix). But migration inflows should also be considered in relation to the total population of the host country. Furthermore, it is not recommendable to restrict comparisons to a single year only, one should rather take several subsequent years into consideration to be able to trace medium-term developments. As can be seen in the following, we have therefore tried to compile migration data for the years 1990 to 1996<sup>33</sup> and related them to the total population of respective countries.<sup>34</sup>

Illustration 17: Accumulated migration inflows to countries of the European Union and Switzerland per 1,000 inhabitants: 1990 – 1996



<sup>33)</sup> The latest figures provided by Eurostat refer to the year 1996.

<sup>34)</sup> In demographics, this indicator is termed "immigration rate".

In an international perspective, Germany has a high rate of migration inflows. All the limitations mentioned notwithstanding, the illustration given above clearly shows that during the 1990's Germany has been third to Luxembourg and Switzerland only (which is not an EU Member State) in terms of migration inflows per-capita (among European countries). Another remarkable fact is that Ireland, which has long been the classic example of an emigration country, has now become one of the countries characterised by migration inflows.

The illustration given above does not show links between migrants' countries of origin and their destinations. **Migratory relationships** between certain countries of origin and destination have often **developed during the course of history**: for example, the majority of people from Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco that have migrated to Europe have settled in France. Of all European countries, the United Kingdom has experienced the greatest inflows of people from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Some historical migration links do also exist for Germany although it lacks a colonial heritage: Germany saw inflows of Spätaussiedler (ethnic Germans) from Eastern Europe and Central Asia, inflows of Turks, Greeks and citizens of the former Yugoslavia. Recently, however, there has been a trend in Europe of ethnic groups increasingly settling in "**untypical countries**", i.e. countries where no such traditional links exist.

### 4. Summary of migration outflows from Germany

Most discussions on migration processes focus on migration inflows alone. The corresponding migration outflows, on the other hand, are frequently overlooked or just remain unmentioned. This state of affairs has also been one of the factors contributing to fears among the general public of excessive immigration inflows.

Parallel to the increasing migration inflows that Germany has experienced since the end of the 1980's, the country has also, after some delay, seen increasing migration outflows. As outlined in Chapter 1, almost 5.8 million foreign and German nationals left the country between 1991 and 1998, the majority of them being returning war and civil war refugees, rejected asylum applicants and labour from Eastern Europe. But there has also been an increasing number of guest workers and their families leaving Germany, some of them migrating repeatedly back and forth between Germany and their respective countries of origin. It remains to be seen whether this will lead to the establishment of what academics refer to as "trans-national migration" (e.g. Pries 1997). At any rate, the various migration processes mentioned above have led to migration **outflows** of foreign nationals from Germany **exceeding inflows** to Germany **during the years 1997 and 1998**.

Deportations of foreign nationals constitute a special form of migration outflows that should also be mentioned in this context. According to the Federal Ministry of the Interior, the number of deportations has fluctuated between 10,850 (1990) and 53,043 (1994). The figure for 1998 was pegged at 38,479.

A considerable number of **German nationals** also leave the Federal Republic of Germany for longer periods or for good. Since the 1970's, migration outflows of German nationals had continually fluctuated between 50,000 and

There have also been considerable migration outflows of foreign and German nationals.



65,000, only to increase sharply to more than 100,000 per year after 1989.<sup>35</sup> In 1998, approximately 115,000 German nationals left Germany (cf. Illustration 19 in the Appendix). The reasons for that development can only be guessed at, but it can be assumed that these outflows comprise emigrants "in the traditional sense" (e.g. to the USA) as well as "temporary" migrants and their families, for example technicians, managers, business-people, doctors, retirees and students.<sup>36</sup>

Migration outflows from Germany constitute an area long neglected in migration research; there are hardly any studies on this type of migration and the underlying motivation structures.

### 5. The stock of foreign nationals

The figures on the stock of foreign nationals resident in Germany are published regularly at a **certain date** (e.g. December 31).<sup>37</sup> The underlying definition of 'foreigner' is a legal one, not to be confused with the term 'migrant' as defined in Chapter 1. This legal definition of 'foreigner' comprises all non-German nationals whose permanent place of residence lies within German territory. It thus includes migration inflows of foreign nationals as well as their offspring, even if born in Germany: Of the 7.4 million foreign nationals resident in Germany, 1,631,724 (22.3%) were born in Germany (as of December 31, 1998); of Germany's total foreign population of 7.3 million people, 1,631,724 (22.3%) were born in Germany (as of December 31, 1998). For this reason, it is important to distinguish between statistics on foreign nationals and statistics on migration flows.

Nevertheless, the foreign population statistics do reflect – among other aspects – **migration inflows in an accumulated form**. But the scope of the foreign population does not only depend on migration inflows, fertility and mortality rates, it also reflects **naturalisation regulations**. France's statistics on foreign nationals, for example, tend to underestimate migration inflows as naturalisation procedures in France are quite liberal and swift. Naturalisations of foreign nationals in Germany, on the other hand, require rather lengthy procedures, leading to a naturalisation rate lower than the European average. Conversely, the proportion of foreign nationals that have been residents of Germany for a long time but do still not have a German passport is rather high. By contrast, Spätaussiedler (ethnic Germans) are naturalised without any delay, in spite of being – by definition – migrants.

Accordingly, migration inflows based on the foreign resident population are misleading in two respects: The foreign population figures **underestimate** migration inflows by excluding inflows of Spätaussiedler (ethnic Germans), but they **overestimate** migration inflows – in an international perspective – It is important to differentiate between figures for foreign residents (stock) and migration flows (inflows and outflows)

*<sup>35)</sup>* One reason being that the reduction of allied forces stationed in Germany led to an increasing number of German wives and children of foreign military staff leaving the country with their husbands or fathers.

*<sup>36)</sup>* It can be assumed that the statistics on migration outflows do not record this group fully, as many of the people concerned fail to de-register when they leave Germany and retain an additional place of residence in Germany.

*<sup>37</sup>*) The statistics on migration in- and outflows, on the other hand, cover a certain period of time (e.g. one year).

firstly, by including some 100,000 children that are born to foreign nationals in Germany each year, and secondly, because of the low number of naturalisations.

Foreign nationals are registered not only with local authorities but also with the **Central Register for Foreigners** (as part of the Federal Administrative Office in Cologne). The register collects data on foreign nationals staying in Germany for more than three months. It receives the relevant personal data from local authorities. Parts of the processed data are then passed on to the Federal Statistical Office at the end of each year and published there.<sup>38</sup>

Table 9: Foreign nationals and total population of Germany: 1991 – 1998

year	total population	foreign population	percentage of foreign nationals	change in foreign population (in%)
1991 3	80,274,600	5,882,267	7.3	-
1992	80,974,600	6,495,792	8.0	+10.4
1993	81,338,100	6,878,117	8.5	+5.9
1994	81,538,600	6,990,510	8.6	+1.6
1995	81,817,500	7,173,866	8.8	+2.6
1996	82,012,200	7,314,046	8.9	+2.0
1997	82,057,400	7,365,833	9.0	+0.7
1998	82,037,000	7,319,593	8.9	-0.6

Source: Federal Statistical Office; compiled by efms

1) set date: December 31

2) Annual change, i,e, compared to previous year

3) figures for December 31, 1991 and the following years refer

to German territory as of October 3, 1990,

At the end of 1998, a total of 7,320 million persons of foreign nationality lived in Germany. This equals 8.9% of the total population; in other words,

At the end of 1998, Germany had 7,320 million residents of foreign nationality.

*<sup>38</sup>*) The data compiled by the Central Register for Foreigners are not free from distortions on systematic errors: For example, they overestimate the number of foreign nationals for most years. The results of the census carried out on May 25, 1987 have shown the forward projection of population figures has led to errors at the scope of approximately 400,000 people; according to the Central Register for Foreigners, 4.535 millions foreign nationals lived in Germany (as of June 30, 1987); the census, however, came up with the number of 4.146 foreign nationals. One of the reasons for this discrepancy probably lies in the fact that, in the case of transit or return migrations, foreign nationals often refrain from deregistering officially. Therefore, these persons continue to be included in the statistics on population stock, and not – as mentioned in Chapter 1 – registered by the statistics on migration outflows (cf. Schmid 1993: 26ff).



every eleventh resident of Germany does not possess German citizenship.<sup>39</sup> The number of foreign nationals has slightly fallen (by 0.6%) compared to the previous year – due in particular to high migration outflows. For the first time in ten years, there has been a decrease in the proportion of foreign residents of Germany.

The majority of foreign nationals living in Germany possess permanent **residence documents**. As can be gathered from Table 23 in the Appendix, more than 4.6 million people have secure residence documents (residence permits and entitlements). An additional 1.8 million are EU-nationals with a right of residence according to European law. Table 24 in the Appendix states the number of foreign **students**. Concerning the latter group one has to keep in mind that these statistics include foreign nationals born in Germany as well as persons entering Germany for the purpose of attending university.

### 6. Recommendations

As can be gathered from previous chapters, migration in- and outflows and the social integration of migrants will continue to rank among the top issues of politics and public discourse in Germany. Therefore, statistical data that are both up-to-date and detailed are absolutely essential for political planning, decision-making, evaluations and as the factual basis of public discourse. In order to enable societies to register fluctuations in migration processes, to evaluate and respond to them as quickly as possible, comprehensive and problem-orientated population and migration statistics are indispensable. In particular the migration processes outlined here constitute one of the central factors underlying population change. This migration report, however, has shown that, in contrast to the other two central demographic parameters, viz. "fertility" and "mortality", the statistical registration of migration flows still lacks precision.

In summary, one has to draw the conclusion that, from a methodological point of view, the official statistic on migration in- and outflows are not specific enough, especially insofar as various **types of migration inflows** are concerned.<sup>40</sup> What is more, the different official statistics on migration lack compatibility; the statistics on migration inflows, for example, are based on entries and departures (cases), whereas most special statistics (e.g. on Spätaussiedler) are based on persons. The statistics have also repeatedly been published after long delays, which is rather surprising in view of the latest technology available in data processing and communication. As a consequence, the figures were out of date.

*<sup>39</sup>*) Persons having citizenship both of Germany and another country are registered as Germans and therefore form no part of these statistics.

<sup>40)</sup> Another inconsistency becomes apparent when one compares the total number for immigration inflows provided by the official statistics with the accumulated number for the different types of migration as given in the various special statistics (cf. Chapters 2.1 to 2.7). The figures for the different forms of migration inflows add up to 631,000 people having entered Germany in 1998 (EU-internal migration: 125,000; family and spouse migration: 63,000; Spätaussiedler: 103,000; asylum seekers: 99,000; Jewish migrants: 18,000; contract workers: 15,000 estimated; seasonal workers: 208,000). By contrast, the number provided by the official statistics on migration inflows amounts to 803,000. One can only speculate on the reasons for the resulting difference of no less than 172,000 people (more than one fifth of all migration inflows!).

The last years have seen some improvements in this state of affairs, but there still is a rather unsatisfactory delay of several months in the publication of many statistics.

These shortcomings, combined with the ensuing (incomplete) presentations provided by the official statistics, produce a **distorted picture**, which again is an obstacle to a comprehensive evaluation of migration in- and outflows of all the groups involved. Public discourse, for example, rarely registers the fact that both immigration inflows and outflows are relevant.

The deficits of the statistics compiled on migration processes in Germany have already been the subject of two parliamentary bills introduced in the German Bundestag, which stated that the statistics published by the Federal Government hardly meet the requirements given above (German Bundestag Printed Matter 12/5361 (1993) and 14/1550 (1999)). It therefore seems appropriate to examine migration statistics critically in order to provide some recommendations concerning possible improvements.

First of all, as demanded in the two parliamentary bills mentioned above, all the various statistics that have so far been compiled and published separately should be collated and brought together in one **comprehensive migration report**. Secondly, it is necessary to develop comprehensive migration statistics that distinguish between different forms of **migration inflows**. The following migration categories (forms of migration) should be included in such comprehensive statistics:

- spouse and family migration processes
- EU-internal migration
- asylum applicants
- refugees according to the Geneva Convention
- war and civil-war refugees
- de-facto refugees
- Spätaussiedler (ethnic Germans)
- Jewish migrants from the territories of the former Soviet Union
- contract workers
- seasonal workers
- return migration of German nationals
- students and people in job training
- other special forms of migration inflows (e.g. specialist chefs).

On the basis of this **legal** (and sociological-demographic) differentiation, it would be possible, for example, to determine precisely the proportion of family migration processes in relation to all migration inflows. In addition, the age structure of persons entering Germany through family migration could be examined; this would facilitate planning of the infrastructure needed for under-age migrants, for example. Statistics differentiating between types of migration would also help to elucidate the quantitative importance of labour entering Germany for a limited time only (e.g. seasonal workers) in relation to total migration inflows. If migration statistics also included information on the legal status of migrants, medium-term predictions could be made as to whether the migrants concerned are likely to **stay permanently or return** after

It is vital to differentiate between different forms of migration inflows

#### some time.

Another critical point in the official migration statistics concerns their **international comparability**, especially with statistics published by other EU countries. The various definition criteria applied in different countries, however, make any comparison virtually impossible.

Therefore, bearing in mind the objections raised above, the authors of this report would like to put forward the following concrete **recommendations**:

1. It is a positive fact that the Federal Republic of Germany publishes statistics on migration in- and outflows in one format, which comprise data for all the German Länder. It would be of advantage, however, if these statistics were based on **migrants** (**persons**) instead of migration cases. This would avoid registering multiple migrations of the same persons over and over again and thus reduce total migration figures.

2. In order to be able to record the legal status of migration inflows (forms of migration), a useful starting point would be for authorities to include information on the legal status in the registration procedure; the officials involved could then fill in the legal basis on which foreign nationals have entered the country on their forms.

3. Some of the statistical resources available for recording migration processes could be put to a better use. The **Central Register for Foreigners** in particular could play a more central role in this respect. The Register, for example, could help to determine the scope of migration inflows staying in the country for more than one year.<sup>41</sup>

4. As a contribution to democratic discourse on migration matters, a **comprehensive and annotated migration report** should be published each year, which could have a similar format to our report and include information on all the groups of migrants involved. It is of particular importance that all the migration indicators used in such a report should be transparent, problem-orientated and comprehensible.

5. When such an integrated and comprehensive reporting system on migration (in accordance with the remarks made in 1-3 above) has been established, some of the special statistics (and even the census) could be **dispensed** with.

6. Finally, taking the growing interdependence and the progressive convergence of European political processes into consideration, it is essential to make migration statistics comparable and establish **a European standard**.

In view of the ongoing debate on amendments to **immigration laws**, politicians, administrations and the public all need **detailed information** concerning how many people are migrating to Germany and on which legal basis. Such information, including detailed data on migration outflows as well, should be an indispensible condition for all immigration legislation. This entails the establishment of an up-to-date, modern and problem-orientated reporting system on migration processes, which should also ensure the protection of the privacy rights of migrants.

<sup>41)</sup> The United Nations refer to this group of migrants as "long-term migrants". Several countries resort to this term in their migration statistics

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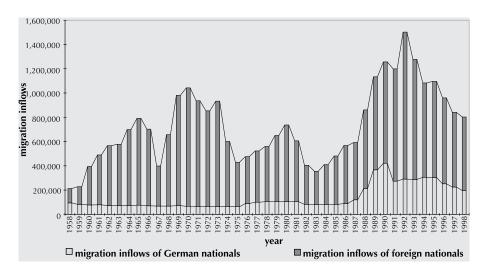
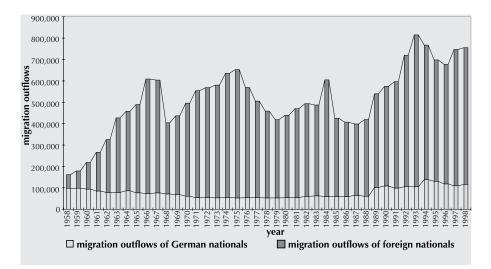


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### 1.1 Sex ratio and age structure

Table 10: Migration in- and outflows according to sex: 1990 – 1998

year		migration	inflows			migration	outflows		
	male	female	% of females	total	male	female	% of females	total	
1990	695,231	561,019	44.7	1,256,250	327,796	246,582	42.9	574,378	
1991	696,279	486,648	41.1	1,182,927	364,116	218,124	37.5	582,240	
1992	911,771	577,678	38.8	1,489,449	450,544	250,880	35.8	701,424	
1993	771,018	496,986	39.2	1,268,004	543,675	253,184	31.8	796,859	
1994	631,596	438,441	41.0	1,070,037	483,819	256,707	34.7	740,526	
1995	651,809	444,239	40.5	1,096,048	454,260	243,853	34.9	698,113	
1996	571,876	387,815	40.4	959,691	442,324	235,170	34.7	677,494	
1997	496,540	344,093	40.9	840,633	477,595	269,374	36.1	746,969	
1998	351,044	236,855	40.3	587,899	351,387	221,058	38.6	572,445	

Source: Federal Statistical Office

German territory as from October 3, 1990.
 Proportion of females in %
 As of: end of 3<sup>°</sup> quarter 1998

Table 11: Migration in- and outflows according to age<sup>1</sup>: 1990 – 1997

year	younger than 18 years	18 to 24 years inclusive	25 to 39 years inclusive	40 to 64 years inclusive	65 years or older	total						
migration inflows												
1991	273,997	244,815	421,629	207,015	35,471	1,182,927						
1992	326,292	321,925	549,644	253,622	37,966	1,489,449						
1993	264,767	266,855	472,953	225,842	37,587	1,268,004						
1994	219,467	214,676	390,628	208,364	36,902	1,070,037						
1995	222,080	223,318	400,098	214,674	35,878	1,096,048						
1996	182,704	209,205	354,299	185,667	27,816	959,691						
1997	148,479	189,530	311,197	165,989	25,438	840,633						
		migration	outflows									
1991	92,098	105,419	234,615	131,098	19,010	582,240						
1992	117,614	127,246	281,589	154,631	20,344	701,424						
1993	116,463	147,831	336,427	177,622	18,516	796,859						
1994	108,776	132,277	311,480	166,536	21,457	740,526						
1995	95,878	119,218	295,688	165,405	21,924	698,113						
1996	86,780	119,370	287,011	163,487	20,846	677,494						
1997	105,582	125,848	315,369	177,117	23,053	746,969						
			Sou	ce: Federal Stat	istical Office: co	mpiled by efms						

Source: Federal Statistical Office; compiled by efms

1) migration flows where no information on country of origin and destination is available

#### country of origin 1990 **1991**<sup>'</sup> 1992 1993 1994 1995 1996 1997 1998 Europe 1,042,232 985,870 1,163,538 942,518 755,936 762,772 644,373 553,772 550,638 of which: Germans 385,779 230,801 155,306 153,773 148,034 152,792 126,343 114,905 108,204 EU-Countries 140,614 150,543 143,516 140,721 163,118 204,613 201,417 180,432 167,197 Belgium 4,332 4,521 4,445 4,386 4,395 4,518 4,688 4,742 4,587 Bosnia-Herzegovina 75,678 107,422 68,698 55,473 11,185 6,971 8,484 Bulgaria 11,193 17,420 31,523 27,350 10,478 8,165 6,433 6,485 5,336 Denmark 3,148 3,534 4,104 4,354 4,266 3,765 3,373 3,087 3,071 Estonia (from 1992) 1,236 1,683 1,684 1,852 1,598 1,329 1,126 Finland 2,212 2,271 3,087 3,144 4,025 4,146 3,392 3,227 2,869 France 17,158 17,701 18,715 18,590 19,055 20,374 21,157 20,458 20,222 Greece 27,589 29,332 24,599 19,093 19,796 21,200 19,840 17,305 18,855 United Kingdom 18,071 20,174 21,110 19,826 19,833 20,065 19,016 16,477 15,953 Ireland 3,878 5,837 6,389 4.914 4,725 5,485 5,426 4,130 3,299 38,372 41,557 Italy 34,238 41,249 48,510 39,679 32,801 50,642 37,660 Yugoslavia 66,484 222,824 267,000 141,924 63,481 54.418 43,148 31,425 60,144 Croatia 38,839 26,177 16,831 15,127 12,486 10,219 10,056 Latvia (from 1992) 1.534 2,800 2.389 2,443 2.546 2,433 2.516 Lithuania (from 1992) 1,436 2,495 2,860 3,290 3,201 2,686 2,423 Luxembourg 1,068 1,111 1,132 1,052 1,138 1,190 1,233 1,316 1,064 Moldavia (from 1992) 1,270 2,131 2,436 2,810 2,776 2,010 2,027 Netherlands 9,821 9,949 10,444 11,185 11,613 12,328 12,232 10,941 10,597 Norway 1,701 1,702 1,705 1,930 2,046 1,605 1,365 1,360 1,238 Austria 15,543 14,190 14,308 13,822 14,432 18,669 16,898 16,490 13,802 Poland 300,693 145,663 143,709 81,740 88,132 99,706 91,314 85,615 82,049 of which: Germans 99,802 17,276 11,983 6,623 9,486 12,468 13,909 14,401 15,943 Portugal 7,805 11,489 10,825 13,799 27,708 31,355 32,864 27,205 19.509 Romania 174,388 84,165 121,291 86,559 34,567 27,217 19,263 16,509 18,491 22,752 of which: Germans 96,236 11,475 4,953 3,187 2,403 2,194 2,262 1,459 Russia (from 1992) 84,509 85,451 103,408 107,377 83,378 67,178 58,633 of which: Germans 69.965 59,901 56,362 74,391 51,496 42,363 37,297 Sweden 3,420 3,478 3,817 3,735 4,109 4,378 4,088 4,074 4,136 Switzerland 7.428 8,027 8,823 8.417 7,612 7.943 7.938 7,696 7,687 Slovakia 6,953 6,687 7,830 6,587 7,000 6,580 Slowenia (from 1992) -2,860 2.960 2.534 2,591 2.253 1,913 2.098 USSR (till 1991) 192,820 195,272 of which: Germans 155,855 156.299 -Spain 8,065 8,523 8,952 9,272 9,426 10,911 11,839 12,174 12,691 Czech Republic 11,602 10,377 10,832 9,596 8,448 8,632 CSSR<sup>°</sup> 16,948 24,438 37,295 3,523 1,252 1,623 1,380 1,116 950 Turkey 84,592 82,818 81,404 68,618 64,811 74,558 74,344 57,148 49,901 Ukraine (from 1992) 9,018 15,112 17,568 18,514 16,707 15,486 16,562 Hungary 16,708 25,676 28,652 24,853 19,803 19,487 17,333 11,942 14,036 2,352 Belarus (from 1992) 2,174 2,402 2,105 1,998 2.082 2.036

### 1.2 Source countries and countries of destination

Table 12: Migration inflows according to source countries 1990–98

country of	1990	<b>1991</b> <sup>°</sup>	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	
Africa	44,600	52,761	74,012	57,657	38,113	36,680	39,734	36,767	34,731	
Morocco	5,634	6,094	6,596	5,317	3,997	3,782	4,304	4,142	4,513	
America	51,133	52,174	53,363	45,639	43,764	45,506	48,111	46,578	49,039	
USA	31,919	31,614	33,743	27,606	25,687	26,177	27,225	26,168	27,322	
Asia	107,377	83,539	189,086	213,820	224,035	228,549	206,593	183,068	144,907	
India	8,527	8,079	7,676	6,370	5,183	6,301	6,735	5,556	4,984	
Iran	12,603	8,143	5,842	5,942	6,585	6,846	7,815	6,300	5,547	
Israel	1,858	2,555	1,684	1,368	1,205	1,246	1,246	1,289	1,256	
Japan	5,783	6,209	6,017	5,694	5,068	5,278	5,535	5,290	5,519	
Australia and										
Oceania	3,827	3,779	3,854	3,109	2,921	3,122	3,332	3,101	3,347	
Country unknown	7,081	4,804	5,596	5,261	5,268	5,547	6,235	6,542	6,897	
total	1,256,250	1,198,978	1,502,198	1,277,408	1,082,553	1,096,048	959,691	840,633	802,456	
of which: Germans	420,547	262,436	281,847	281,132	296,108	303,347	251,737	225,335	196,956	
	Source: Federal Statistical Office									

1) Including Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia, which have all gained independence in 1992 and 1993 respectively. Yugoslavia in 1992 comprises Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro, from 1993 only Serbia

and 1993 respectively. Yugoslavia in 1992 comprises Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro, from 1993 only Serbia and Montenegro.
2) German territory as of October 3, 1990.
3) From 1992 including Asian succesion states of the former Soviet Union.
4) Including Greece (EC-Member since 1981), Spain and Portugal (EC-Member since 1986): EU 12. From 1995 including Finland, Austria and Sweden: EU 15.
5) From 1992 including "territory of the former Soviet Union" (1992: 48.959; 1993: 60.397; 1994: 34.878; 1995: 26.457).
6) Although the CSFR has ceased to exist since 1993, inflows are still registered as inflows from the CSFR.

country of destination	1990	1991 <sup>°</sup>	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Europe	426,926	440,891	562,569	642,479	552,622	505,349	499,628	568,896	554,742
of which: foreigners	384,015	398,245	518,350	591,914	496,738	447,297	442,066	509,158	490,956
EU-countries	112,191	124,314	123,946	130,108	149,434	155,444	191,027	197,969	186,855
Belgium	4,323	4,401	4,494	4,476	5,136	4,827	4,940	4,936	4,926
Bosnia-Herzegovina	-	-	4,223	10,409	16,629	15,803	27,363	84,119	97,739
Bulgaria	1,965	3,555	10,887	35,017	18,000	10,445	7,067	6,368	4,879
Denmark	2,066	2,465	2,625	3,647	4,232	4,194	4,097	3,863	3,809
Estonia (from 1992)	-	-	329	665	864	986	898	951	839
Finland	1,691	1,820	1,819	2,373	2,887	3,348	3,725	3,361	3,116
France	14,594	16,944	17,214	17,593	19,155	19,296	19,480	20,606	20,325
Greece	15,243	16,258	17,102	18,358	20,167	20,268	21,044	22,678	20,845
UK + Northern Ireland	12,819	14,220	15,361	16,711	20,191	19,142	20,922	21,184	19,769
Ireland	2,569	5,084	4,189	4,238	4,675	5,092	6,458	5,561	4,337
Iceland	225	285	259	306	332	351	329	360	k,A,
Italy	37,004	39,207	35,405	33,524	34,970	36,602	39,404	40,758	39,867
of which: foreigners	34,129	36,371	32,727	30,945	32,172	33,969	36,841	37,937	36,837
Yugoslavia	38,854	53,571	95,720	73,763	62,557	40,620	34,469	44,691	45,281
Croatia	-	-	28,709	25,229	28,750	22,273	17,499	19,210	19,816
Latvia (from 1992)	-	-	426	1,118	1,663	1,284	1,278	1,483	1,442
Lithuania (from 1992)	-	-	460	1,136	1,792	2,028	2,047	1,876	1,663
Luxembourg	964	1,071	1,074	1,232	1,230	1,128	1,298	1,272	1,335
Moldavia (from 1992)	-	-	70	368	973	974	1,090	697	744
Netherlands	9,083	10,278	10,626	11,976	12,058	11,165	11,103	11,291	10,909
Norway	1,064	1,269	1,313	1,535	1,647	1,938	1,590	1,754	1,957
Austria	14,697	17,137	15,692	15,032	15,152	14,430	14,537	15,025	14,377
Poland	162,130	118,029	112,062	104,789	70,322	77,004	78,889	79,062	70,626
Portugal	3,794	4,901	5,655	7,249	15,218	21,505	26,261	27,382	22,853
Romania	16,144	30,710	52,367	102,506	44,889	25,706	17,114	14,078	14,003
Russia (from 1992)	-	-	6,650	11,375	15,359	17,202	15,137	12,902	11,688
Sweden	2,407	2,432	2,526	3,128	3,609	3,802	4,088	4,482	4,382
Switzerland	8,002	8,288	8,544	8,311	8,691	8,970	8,852	9,179	10,011
Slovakia	-	-	-	7,165	4,585	7,230	6,249	6,194	5,982
Slovenia (from 1992)	-	-	1,671	2,321	2,899	2,605	2,575	2,424	2,315
USSR (till 1991)	12,133	12,987	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Spain	9,732	9,485	10,201	11,104	12,402	12,225	13,670	15,570	16,205
of which: foreigners	6,111	6,189	6,503	7,126	7,626	7,154	8,215	9,248	8,848
Czech Republic	-	-	-	14,375	9,947	9,598	8,963	8,776	7,500
CSSR	10,095	13,475	25,573	4,778	1,703	1,850	1,467	1,387	882
Turkey	35,866	36,763	41,038	47,115	47,174	44,129	44,615	47,120	46,255
of which: foreigners	35,114	36,134	40,316	46,286	46,363	43,221	43,534	45,978	45,142
Ukraine (from 1992)	_	-	901	3,562	5,785	6,205	4,618	4,487	4,238
Hungary	8,954	15,278	21,627	25,597	22,525	19,338	17,603	15,796	12,805
Belarus (from 1992)	.,	.,	438	745	1,053	1,221	998	1,128	1,032

## Table 13: Outflows according to countries of destination: 1990–98

country of destination	1990	<b>1991</b> <sup>°</sup>	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Africa	17,747	25,332	30,639	41,701	38,494	28,450	25,499	27,121	29,894
America	42,078	44,936	44,566	44,517	46,866	45,686	45,527	52,999	61,922
USA	26,142	29,057	29,928	29,348	31,079	29,285	29,377	35,866	42,880
of which: Germans	14,541	16,471	13,767	12,766	13,904	13,270	13,420	14,259	14,518
Asia	36,249	49,614	43,205	60,464	63,694	66,256	72,791	73,111	73,236
Australia and Oceania	3,343	3,258	3,268	3,699	4,332	4,532	4,258	4,471	5,157
Country unknown	48,035	18,209	17,177	3,999	34,518	23,931	21,086	14,516	12,952
total	574,378	582,240	701,424	796,859	740,526	698,113	677,494	746,969	755,358

Source: Federal Statistical Office

Including Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia, which have all gained independence in 1992 and 1993 respectively. Yugoslavia in 1992 comprises Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro, from 1993 only Serbia and Montenegro.
 German territory as of October 3, 1990.
 From 1992 including Asian succession states of the former Soviet Union.
 Including Greece (EC-Member since 1981), Spain and Portugal (EC-Member since 1986): EU 12. From 1995 including Finland, Austria and Sweden: EU 15.
 From 1992 including "territory of the former Soviet Union" (1992: 48.959; 1993: 60.397; 1994: 34.878; 1995: 26.457).
 Although the CSFR has ceased to exist since 1993, outflows are still existenced exactly and the state of the since to the state of the since to the state of the since to the since to the state of the since to the since to the state of the since to the since

6) Although the CSFR has ceased to exist since 1993, outflows are still registered as outflows to the CSFR.

### 2. Migrant populations

### 2.1 EU-internal migration

Illustration 20: Migration in- and outflows of foreign nationals from and to EU-countries: 1990 – 1998

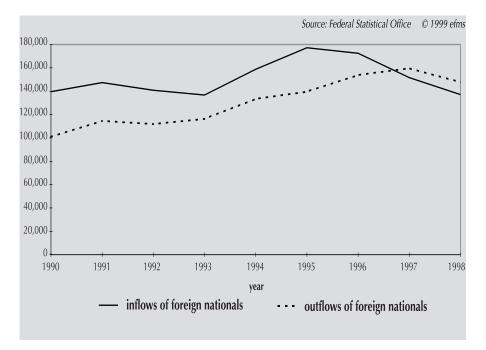
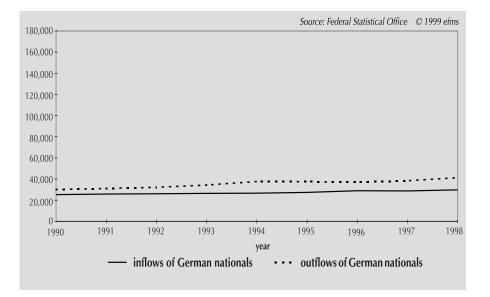
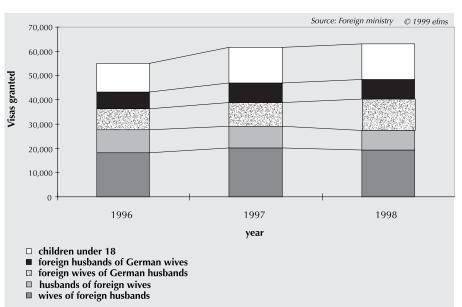


Illustration 21: Migration in- and outflows of German nationals from and to EU-countries: 1990 – 1998

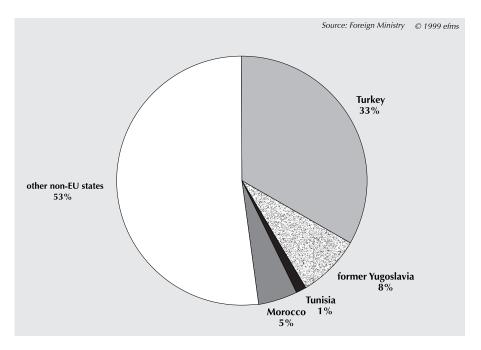




### 2.2 Spouse and family migration of non-EU nationals

Illustration 22: Visas granted for the purpose of family or spouse migration: 1996 – 1998

Illustration 23: Visas granted for the purpose of family or spouse migration according to country of origin: 1998



### 2.3 Spätaussiedler (Ethnic German immigrants)

Illustration 24: Migration inflows of Spätaussiedler according to country of origin: 1985 – 1998

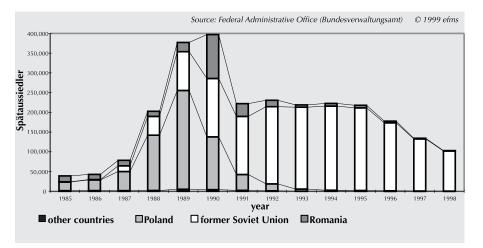
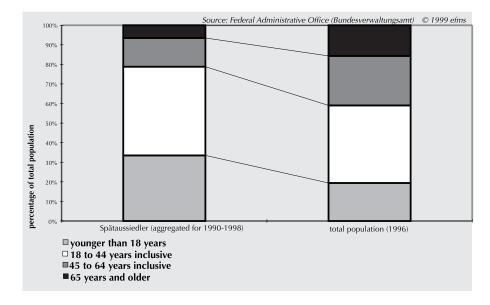


Table 14: Migration inflows of Spätaussiedler according to age: 1990 – 1998

year	younger than 18 years	%	18 to 44 years inclusive	%	45 to 64 years inclusive	%	65 years or older	%	total
1990	105,302	28.4	171,505	46.2	71,723	19.3	22,297	6.0	397,073
1991	71,268	32.1	98,320	44.3	38,612	17.4	13,795	6.2	221,995
1992	81,188	35.2	99,045	43.0	34,620	15.0	15,712	6.8	230,565
1993	76,519	35.0	94,871	43.3	31,360	14.3	16,138	7.4	218,888
1994	76,739	34.5	98,124	44.1	31,147	14.0	16,581	7.4	222,591
1995	74,822	34.3	97,257	44.6	30,327	13.9	15,492	7.1	217,898
1996	59,564	33.5	80,545	45.3	26,056	14.7	11,586	6.5	177,751
1997	43,442	32.3	60,111	44.7	21,085	15.7	9,781	7.3	134,419
1998	32,837	31.9	46,777	45.3	16,564	16.1	6,902	6.7	103,080
Source: Federal Adiministrative	e Office (Bun	desverw	altungsamt),	own co	mpilation				

1) figures before 1990 only comprise inflows to West Germany

Illustration 25: Age structure of Spätaussiedler having migrated to Germany between 1990 and 1998 compared to total resident population of Germany as of 1996



year	Poland	former USSR	Romania	other territory	total
1991	66,956	445,198	40,632	4,758	557,544
%	12.0	79.8	7.3	0,9	100.0
1992	26,684	356,233	15,277	4,181	402,375
%	6.6	88.5	3.8	1.0	100.0
1993	10,396	223,368	5,991	1,423	241,178
%	4.3	92.6	2.5	0.6	100.0
1994	4,042	228,938	3,495	816	237,291
%	1.7	96.5	1.5	0.3	100.0
1995	2,266	254,609	2,909	772	260,556
%	0.9	97.7	1.1	0.3	100.0
1996	1,409	164,396	2,466	487	168,758
%	0.8	97.4	1.5	0.3	100.0
1997	815	144,611	1,760	391	147,577
%	0.6	98.0	1.2	0.3	100.0
1998	535	97,996	1,369	521	100,421
%	0.5	97.6	1.4	0.5	100.0

Table 15: Admission applications of Spätaussiedler according to source territory: 1991 – 1998

Source: Federal Ministry of the Interior; own compilation

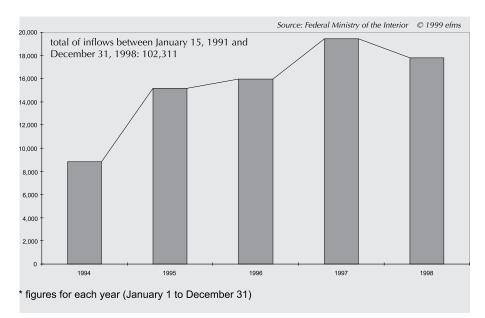
1) Since 1991, applications have to be admitted in the source territory.

Source: Federal Ministry of the Interior © 1999 efms 600,000 500,000 applications 300,000-200,000 100,000 0 1991 1992 1993 1994 1996 1997 1998 1995 vear Poland □ other territories Romania □former USSR

Illustration 26: Spätaussiedler: applications for admission according to source territories: 1991 – 1998

# 2.4 Inflows of Jewish migrants from the territory of the former Soviet Union

Illustration 27: Migration inflows of Jewish persons from the former Soviet Union: 1994 – 1998\*



### 2.5 Migration inflows of asylum seekers

Table 16: Asylum applicants from selected source countries: 1990 – 1999

country of origin	1990	%	1991	%	1992	%	1993	%	1994	%	1995	%	1996	%	1997	%	1998	%	1999	0/0
Europe	101,631	52.6	166,662	65.1	310,529	70.9	232,678	72.1	77,170	60.7	67,411	52.7	51,936	44.6	41,541	39.8	52,778	53.5		
of which: Poland	9,155	4.7	3,448	1.3	4,212	1.0	1,670	0.5	326	0.3	119	0.1	137	0.1	151	0.1	49	0.0		
Romania	35,345	18.3	40,504	15.8	103,787	23.7	73,717	22.9	9,581	7.5	3,522	2.8	1,395	1.2	794	0.8	341	0.3		
Turkey	22,082	11.4	23,877	9.3	28,327	6.5	19,104	5.9	19,118	15.0	25,514	19.9	23,814	20.5	16,840	16.1	11,754	11.9	4,301	9.3
Bulgaria	8,341	4.3	12,056	4.7	31,540	7.2	22,547	7.0	3,367	2.6	1,152	0.9	940	0.8	761	0.7	172	0.2		
Yugoslavia	22,114	11.5	74,854	29.2	115,395	26.3	73,476	22.5	30,404	23.9	26,227	20.5	18,085	15.5	14,789	14.2	34,979	35.5	17,715	38.1
Bosnia-Herzegovina			1	1	6,197	1.4	21,240	6.6	7,297	5.7	4,932	3.9	1,939	1.7	1,668	1.6	1,533	1.6	875	1.9
Russian Federation			5,690	2.2	10,833	2.5	5,280	1.6	1,304	1.0	1,436	3.9	1,345	1.2	1,196	1.1	867	0.9		
Georgia															2,916	2.8	1,979	2.0		
Africa	24,210	12.5	36,094	14.1	67,408	15.4	37,570	11.6	17,341	13.6	14,374	11.2	15,520	13.3	14,126	13.5	11,458	11.6		
of which: Ethiopia	2,068	1.1	3,096	1.2	1,592	0.4	688	0.2	946	0.7	1,168	0.9	1,292	1.1	878	0.8	373	0.4		
Algeria	1,035	0.5	1,388	0.5	7,669	1.8	11,262	3.5	2,784	2.2	1,447	1.1	1,417	1.2	1,586	1.5	1,572	1.6		
Ghana	3,786	2	4,541	1.8	6,994	1.6	1,973	0.6	300	0.2	275	0.2	277	0.2	369	0.4	308	0.3		
Nigeria	5,399	2.8	8,358	3.3	10,486	2.4	1,083	0.3	838	0.7	1,164	0.9	1,687	1.4	1,137	1.1	664	0.7		
Togo			810	0.3	4,052	0.9	2,892	0.9	3,488	2.7	994	0.8	961	0.8	1,074	1.0	722	0.7		
Congo	1,389	0.7	2,134	0.8	8,305	1.9	2,896	0.9	1,579	1.2	2,546	2.0	2,971	2.6	1,920	1.8	948	1.0		
America and																				
Australia	402	0.2	293	0.1	356	0.1	287	0.1	214	0.2	235	0.2	380	0.3	436	0.4	262	0.3		
Asia	60,900	31.5	50,612	19.8	56,480	12.9	50,209	15.6	31,249	24.6	45,815	35.8	45,634	39.2	45,549	43.6	31,971	32.4		
of which: Afghanistan	7,348	3.8	7,337	2.9	6,351	1.4	5,506	1.7	5,642	4.4	7,515	5.9	5,663	4.9	4,735	4.5	3,768	3.8	2,042	4.4
Armenia			1	1	1	1	6,469	2.0	2,127	1.7	3,383	2.6	3,510	3.0	2,488	2.4	1,655	1.7	1,233	2.7
Bangladesh	482	0.2	1,228	0.5	2,395	0.5	1,166	0.4	678	0.5	994	0.8	934	0.8	1,278	1.2	541	0.5		
India	5,612	2.9	5,523	2.2	5,798	1.3	3,807	1.2	1,768	1.4	2,691	2.1	2,772	2.4	1,860	1.8	1,491	1.5		
Iraq	707	0.4	1,384	0.5	1,484	0.3	1,246	0.4	2,066	1.6	6,880	5.4	10,842	9.3	14,088	13.5	7,435	7.5	3,502	7.5
Iran	7,271	3.8	8,643	3.4	3,834	0.9	2,664	0.8	3,445	2.7	3,908	3.1	4,809	4.1	3,838	3.7	2,955	3.0	1,397	3.0
Lebanon	16,229	8.4	4,887	1.9	5,622	1.3	2,449	0.8	1,456	1.1	1,126	0.9	1,132	1.0	964	0.9	604	0.6		
Pakistan	3,983	2.1	4,364	1.7	5,215	1.2	2,753	0.9	2,030	1.6	3,116	2.4	2,596	2.2	2,316	2.2	1,520	1.5		
Sri Lanka	3,793	2	5,623	2.2	5,303	1.2	3,280	1.0	4,813	3.8	6,048	4.7	4,982	4.3	3,989	3.8	1,982	2.0		
Syria	3,913	2	1,588	0.6	1,330	0.3	983	0.3	933	0.7	1,158	0.9	1,872	1.6	1,549	1.5	1,753	1.8	934	2.0
Vietnam	9,428	4.9	8,133	3.2	12,258	2.8	10,960	3.4	3,427	2.7	2,619	2.0	1,130	1.0	1,494	1.4	2,991	3.0	1,305	2.8
stateless persons and other	5,920	3.1	2,451	1.0	3,418	0.8	1,855	0.6	1,236	1.0	102	0.1	2,897	2.5	2,701	2.6	2,176	2.2	929	2.0
total	193,063	100.0	256,112	100.0	438,191	100.0	322,599	100.0	127,210	100.0	127,937	100.0	116,367	100.0	104,353 100.0	100.0	98,644	100.0	46,457	100.0
						S	source: Federal Office for the Recognition of Foreign Refugees, Federal Ministry of the Interior, von Pollern (1982-1999), own compilation	al Office	for the Rec	ognition	of Foreign .	Refugees	, Federal N	finistry .	of the Interi	or, von F	ollern (198	32-1999	, омп сот	vilation

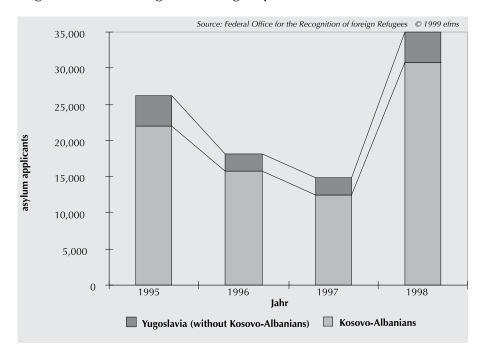
### Footnote for table 16: Asylum applicants from selected source countries: 1990 - 1999

 Figures from 1991 are for the whole of Germany
 From 1992: Serbia and Montenegro; from 1992, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Slowenia and Macedonia (since August 1993) are registered separately. The 1992 figure for Yugoslawia still comprises asylum applicants from Macedonia. 3) Figures until 1990 for Soviet Union, 1991 and 1992 for former Soviet Union or CIS respectively, from 1993

A sector of the secto

6) Since 1995, the BAFI statistics differentiate between initial and follow-up applications. For the years after 1995 the numbers for initial applications were used.

Illustration 28: Asylum applicants from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia according to ethnic group: 1995 – 1998



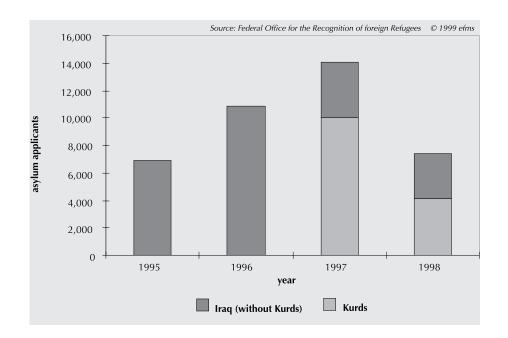
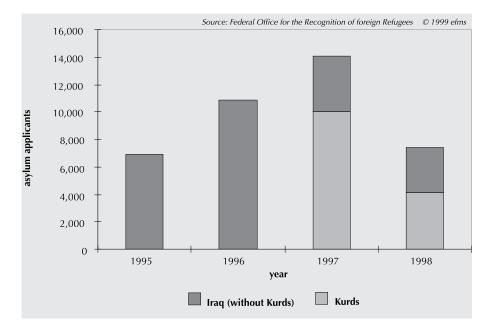


Illustration 29: Asylum applicants from Turkey according to ethnic group: 1995 – 1998

Illustration 30: Asylum applicants from Iraq according to ethnic group: 1995 – 1998



# Illustration 31: Decisions of the Federal Office for the Recognition of Foreign Refugees: 1990 – 1998

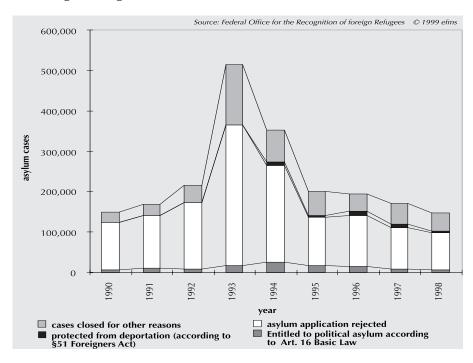
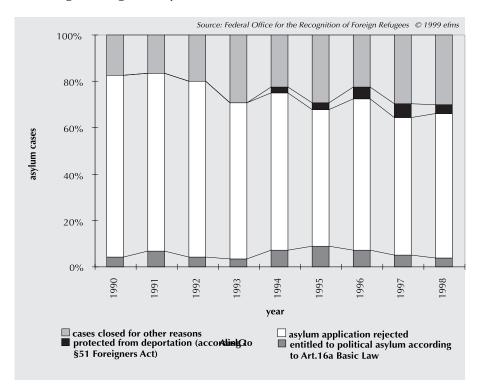


Illustration 32: Decisions of the Federal Office for the Recognition of Foreign Refugees in percent: 1990 – 1998



	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Baden-Württemberg	1,445	1,789	2,557	5,586	4,674	2,196	2,081	1,509	1,720
Bavaria	756	1,026	1,152	3,135	2,959	1,947	1,822	3,112	2,952
Berlin	122	155	223	1,398	1,606	809	654	926	
Brandenburg	-	15	393	3,167	2,987	1,352	1,025	1,025	956
Bremen	36	89	244	611	583	310	223	225	166
Hamburg	793	1,025	1,123	1,957	2,199	1,444	989	848	
Hesse	160	298	318	1,238	1,746	1,323	1,436	1,534	1,597
MecklWest Pomerania	-	8	95	1,005	1,198	605	327	453	451
Lower Saxony	506	735	1,194	3,888	3,215	2,001	1,339	1,822	1,961
North Rhine-Westphalia	1,243	2,234	1,990	6,627	7,298	4,851	3,250	3,543	2,717
Rhineland-Palatinate	511	525	555	2,231	1,736	909	785	956	975
Saarland	59	123	113	525	536	215	186	202	324
Saxony	-	5	178	2,019	2,854	1,926	758		911
Saxony-Anhalt	-	6	315	1,062	860	412	427	589	559
Schleswig-Holstein	230	199	302	969	773	491	351	287	293
Thuringia	-	-	46	747	959	696	775	714	635
total	5,861	8,232	10,798	36,165	36,183	21,487	16,428	17,745	16,217

Table 17: Deportations of rejected asylum applicants according to Laender: 1990 – 1998

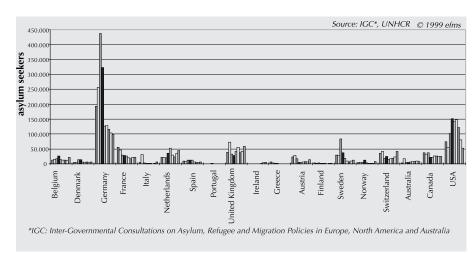
Source: Federal Ministry of the Interior

1) Figures from 1991 for the whole of Germany

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Belgium	13,000	15,200	17,398	26,281	14,456	11,648	12,412	11,575	21,965
Denmark	5,300	4,600	13,884	14,347	6,651	5,104	5,893	5,100	5,699
Germany	193,000	256,000	438,191	322,599	127,210	127,937	116,367	104,353	98,644
France	56,000	46,500	28,872	28,466	25,884	20,415	17,405	21,416	22,374
Italy	4,700	31,700	2,589	1,571	1,844	1,752	681	1,712	6,939
Netherlands	21,200	21,600	20,346	35,399	52,576	29,258	22,857	34,443	45,217
Spain	8,600	8,100	11,712	12,645	11,901	5,678	4,730	4,975	6,639
Portugal	75	255	686	2,090	767	457			
United Kingdom	38,200	73,400	32,300	28,000	42,201	54,988	37,000	41,500	58,000
Ireland			39	91	362	424	1,179	3,882	4,626
Greece	6,200	2,650	2,000	900					
Austria	22,800	27,300	16,238	4,744	5,082	5,920	6,991	6,719	13,805
Finland	2,500	2,100	3,634	2,023	836	854	711	973	1,272
Sweden	29,000	27,300	84,018	37,581	18,640	9,047	5,774	9,619	12,844
Norway	4,000	4,600	5,238	12,876	3,379	1,460	1,778	2,277	8,277
Switzerland	36,000	41,600	17,960	24,739	16,134	17,021	18,001	23,897	41,302
Australia	3,800	17,000	4,114	4,589	6,229	7,556	8,436	9,672	7,992
Canada	36,735	32,347	37,748	21,140	22,042	25,817	25,633	24,329	24,937
USA	73,637	56,310	101,569	151,788	142,508	147,870	122,643	79,803	52,081
				Sourc	e: IGC (A	nnual Repo	ort), UNH	CR, own co	ompilation

### Table 18: Asylum applicants in selected countries: 1990 – 1998<sup>1</sup>

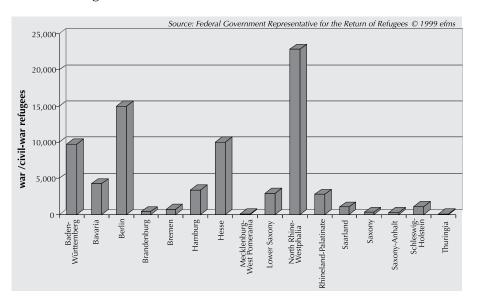
Most of the figures for 1991 are rounded to 100, as there are minor contradictions in the sources given above.
 The figures provided refer to applications themselves only, they do not comprise other family members.



# Illustration 33: Asylum applicants in selected countries: 1990 - 1998

### 2.6 War, civil war and de-facto refugees from the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

Illustration 34: War and civil war refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina according to Laender: mid-1999



### 2.7 Contract, seasonal and other temporary workers from non-EU states

Table 19: Contract workers according to source countries: 1992 -1998

country of origin	guota 19	92 Iabour	19 guota	93 Iabour	19 guota	94 Iabour	19 guota	95 Iabour
Bosnia-Herzegovina	400	49	370	1,272	1,030	1,172	990	989
Bulgaria	4,000	1,968	3,850	3,802	3,740	2,353	1,660	1,866
Yugoslawia	9,920	8,862	7,790	2,657	1,730	15	1,650	-
Croatia	2,000	298	1,850	4,792	5,260	5,296	5,010	4,542
Latvia	400	0	400	181	380	236	370	146
Macedonia	200	-	190	472	490	667	480	712
Austria	-	730	-	902	-	-	-	-
Poland	35,170	51,176	33,180	19,771	31,710	13,774	22,560	24,499
Romania	7,000	7,785	6,630	13,542	6,360	2,196	4,150	276
Switzerland	-	67	-	352	-	572	-	235
Slovakia	-	-	-	414	2,690	1,427	1,570	2,036
Slovenia	1,000	321	930	1,805	2,010	1,350	1,920	1,184
Czch Republic	8,250	10,701	7,880	4,113	4,970	1,693	2,890	2,150
Turkey	7,000	441	6,480	1,454	6,100	1,575	5,800	1,603
Hungary	14,000	12,432	13,664	14,449	13,220	8,890	12,870	9,165
other countries	-	72	-	159	-	0	-	9
total	89,340	94,902	83,214	70,137	79,690	41,216	61,920	49,412

country of origin	19		19		19	
	quota	labour	quota	labour	quota	labour
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1,010	682	960	511	580	687
Bulgaria	1,690	989	1,610	1,229	800	688
Yugoslavia	1,680		1,600	0	1,510	0
Croatia	5,100	4,375	4,850	3,604	2,750	2,780
Latvia	380	179	370	274	240	167
Macedonia	490	194	470	112	290	185
Austria	-	-	-	-	-	-
Poland	22,900	24,423	21,790	21,184	14,817	16,942
Romania	4,220	15	4,020	966	1,900	2,631
Switzerland	-	123	-	-	-	-
Slovakia	1,600	1,250	1,500	1,206	750	943
Slovenia	1,960	974	1,870	680	1,100	660
Czech Republic	2,940	1,947	2,810	1,439	2,000	1,060
Turkey	5,890	1,591	5,600	1,429	2,640	1,103
Hungary	6,990	8,993	6,650	5,813	5,261	5,036
other countries	-	19	-	-	-	-
total	56,850	45,753	54,100	38,447	34,638	32,882

Source: Federal Labour Ministry, own calculations

Yearly average of workers
 No governmental agreements on foreign labour were concluded with Finland, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Spain, USA, Liechtenstein, Israel and Canada.
 From 1992, workers were registered separately for individual republics. From May 1993 the quota was suspended due to the UN-embargo.
 Figures from 1992 to July 1993 refer to CSFR, from August 1993 separate registration for Czech Republic and Slovakia.
 In contrast to the figures for labour employed in Germany, which refer to annual averages (calendar year), the quotas are registered as from October 1 to September 30 of the following year.

county of origin	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998 ໍ	1999
CSFR	13,478	27,988	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Yugoslavia	32,214	37,430	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Poland	78,594	136,882	143,861	136,659	170,576	196,278	202,198	187,690	103,236
Croatia	-	-	6,984	5,753	5,574	5,732	5,839	3,946	3,818
Slovakia	-	-	7,781	3,465	5,443	6,255	6,365	5,031	3,765
Czech Republic	-	-	12,027	3,939	3,722	3,391	2,347	1,956	1,075
Hungary	4,402	7,235	5,346	2,458	2,841	3,516	3,572	2,878	2,461
Romania	-	2,907	3,853	2,272	3,879	4,975	4,961	5,865	4,015
Slovenia	-	-	1,114	601	600	559	466	342	161
Bulgaria	-	-	71	70	131	188	203	219	151
total	128,688	212,442	181,037	155,217	192,766	220,894	225,951	231,810	123,703
cancellations	not recorded	not recorded	not recorded	-17,398	-16,176	-22,970	-20,085	-23,883	-5,021
net allocations				137,819	176,590	197,924	205,866	207,927	118,682
					Source	: Federal L	abour Mini	stry, own c	alculations

Table 20: Allocations of seasonal workers according to source countries: 1991 - 1999

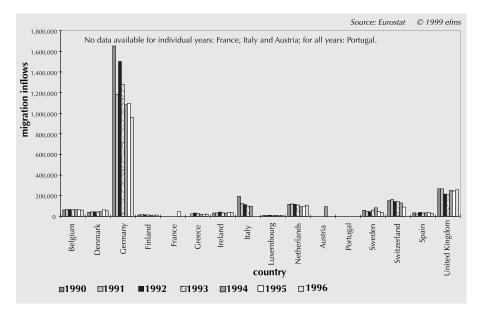
Figures until 1993 refer to CSFR, after 1993 separate registration for Czech Republic and Slovakia.
 Until 1993 Yugoslavia, after 1993 figures for individual republics, quota for Yugoslavia has been suspended due to the UN-embargo.
 For Bulgaria jobs in hotel and restaurant trade only.
 Of which 6,348 net allocations for fun fair workers.
 As of May 26, 1999, of which 4,562 fun fair workers.

### 3. Migration inflows in a European perspective

Table 21: Migration inflows to countries of the European Union and Switzerland for the years 1990 - 1996

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Belgium	62,662	67,460	66,763	63,749	66,147	62,950	61,522
Denmark	40,715	43,567	43,377	43,400	44,961	63,187	54,445
Germany	1,651,593	1,182,927	1,502,198	1,277,408	1,082,553	1,096,048	959,691
Finland	13,558	19,001	14,554	14,975	11,611	12,222	13,294
France	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	46,645	n.a.
Greece	n.a.	24,436	32,132	27,129	18,287	20,859	22,214
Ireland	33,000	33,300	40,900	35,000	31,500	38,400	39,200
Italy	194,088	126,935	113,916	100,401	99,105	46,886	n.a.
Luxembourg	10,281	10,913	10,696	9,857	10,030	10,325	10,027
Netherlands	117,350	120,249	116,926	110,559	92,142	96,099	108,749
Austria	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	95,193	n.a.	n.a.
Portugal	n.a.						
Sweden	60,048	49,731	45,419	61,872	83,598	45,887	39,895
Switzerland	154,244	163,827	143,736	144,537	130,188	113,966	n.a.
Spain	33,966	24,320	38,882	33,026	34,123	36,092	29,895
United Kingdom	267,000	267,000	216,000	209,000	253,000	245,000	258,000
						Source: E	urostat 1999

### Illustration 35: Migration inflows to selected countries of the European Union and Switzerland: 1990 - 1996



1996 9,000,000 Source: Eurostat © 1999 efms 8,000,000 **migration** 5,000,000 5,000,000 4,000,000 3,000,000 2,000,000 1,000,000 0 Ireland Finland Greece Sweden Spain Germany Luxembourg Netherlands Switzerland United Kingdom Denmark Belgium

Illustration 36: Accumulated migration inflows to countries of the European Union and Switzerland per 1,000 inhabitants: 1990 – 1996

# 5. The stock of foreign nationals

Table 22: Foreign nationals and total population of Germany: 1951 – 1998

year	total population	foreign nationals	percentage of foreign nationals	change of foreign population (%)
1951	50,808,900	506,000	1.0	-
1961 *	56,174,800	686,200	1.2	+35.6
1967	59,926,000	1,806,653	3.0	+163.3
1968	60,345,300	1,924,229	3.2	+6.5
1969	61,069,000	2,381,061	3.9	+23.7
1970	60,650,600	2,976,497	4.9	+25.0
1971	61,502,500	3,438,711	5.6	+15.5
1972	61,776,700	3,526,568	5.7	+2.6
1973	62,090,100	3,966,200	6.4	+12.5
1974	62,048,100	4,127,366	6.7	+4.1
1975	61,746,000	4,089,594	6.6	-0.9
1976	61,489,600	3,948,337	6.4	-3.5
1977	61,389,000	3,948,278	6.4	-0.0
1978	61,331,900	3,981,061	6.5	+0.8
1979	61,402,200	4,143,836	6.7	+4.1
1980	61,653,100	4,453,308	7.2	+7.5
1981	61,719,200	4,629,729	7.5	+4.0
1982	61,604,100	4,666,917	7.6	+0.8
1983	61,370,800	4,534,863	7.4	-2.8
1984	61,089,100	4,363,648	7.1	-3.8
1985	61,020,500	4,378,942	7.2	+0.4
1986	61,140,500	4,512,679	7.4	+3.1
1987	61,238,100	4,240,532	6.9	-6.0
1988	61,715,100	4,489,105	7.3	+5.9
1989	62,679,000	4,845,882	7.7	+7.9
1990	63,725,700	5,342,532	8.4	+10.2
1991 <sup>°</sup>	80,274,600	5,882,267	7.3	+10.1
1992	80,974,600	6,495,792	8.0	+10.4
1993	81,338,100	6,878,117	8.5	+5.9
1994	81,538,600	6,990,510	8.6	+1.6
1995	81,817,500	7,173,866	8.8	+2.6
1996	82,012,200	7,314,046	8.9	+2.0
1997	82,057,400	7,365,833	9.0	+0.7
1998	82,037,000	7,319,593	8.9	-0.6

Source: Federal Statistical Office, own compilation

Footnote for table 22: Foreign nationals and total population of Germany: 1951 – 1998

1) Total population for the years 1967 to 1984 as of September 30; after 1985 as of December 31.

2) Foreign nationals for the years 1967 to 1984 as of September 30; after 1985 as of December 31.

3) Annual change as to preceding year; with the exception of the years 1961 to 1967, which refer to the years 1951 and 1961 respectively.

4) Figures as of October 1, 1951, and June 6, 1961 (census results) or December 31, 1971 respectively.

# Illustration 37: Foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany: 1967 – 1998

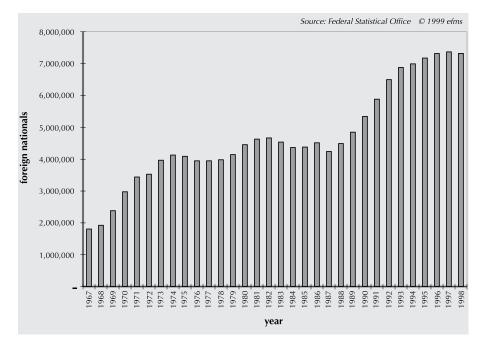


Table 23: Legal residence status of foreign nationals resident in Germany according to selected nationalities (as of December 31, 1998)

nationality	total "	residenc limited	e permit unlimited	legal reside residence entitlement	ence status residence allowance	residence authorisation	leave of residence	toleration certificate
Turkeyi	2,110,223	764,708	610,417	500,391	6,863	19,192	49,355	11,516
Yugoslavia	719,474	122,589	160,750	105,272	3,693	15,448	80,832	119,838
Bosnia-								
Herzegovina	190,119	37,638	18,398	16,596	2,483	11,334	7,618	69,768
Poland	283,604	88,424	60,989	6,903	41,637	10,157	2,236	1,478
Croatia	208,909	47,767	73,024	67,107	5,809	811	643	3,375
Iran	115,094	23,945	44,954	11,453	2,118	8,742	11,656	1,054
Romania	89,801	20,501	12,882	504	9,653	2,494	3,804	1,240
Vietnam	85,452	19,605	26,614	1,370	1,139	4,903	4,260	13,832
Morocco	82,748	32,576	23,545	10,344	4,527	206	581	365
Afghanistan	68,267	7,459	12,668	246	287	14,057	14,937	10,651
Sri Lanka	58,309	14,690	12,439	2,263	283	5,405	11,955	2,389
Hungary	51,905	11,251	13,136	3,815	14,443	417	219	81
Lebanon	55,074	12,054	7,312	329	490	16,447	4,305	5,788
Tunisia	24,549	8,862	6,940	3,406	1,044	131	407	111
total	7,319,593	1,775,339	1,985,030	849,259	206,379	164,570	283,612	284,767

Source: Federal Government Commissioner for Foreigners and Integration, Federal Administrative Office (Central Register for Foreigners)

Includes all people registered at that date by the Central Register for Foreigners as nationals of Yugoslavia.
 The totals of all columns differ, in part considerably, from the totals provided for respective countries; e.g. the legal residence status of some 150,000 Turks or of 43% of all Romanian nationals is not accounted for.
 The difference between the sum resulting from the various columns for legal status and the total figure given in the first column can in part be explained by the fact that EU-nationals have their own legal residence status.

nationality	total			university	<sup>,</sup> faculties		
, ,		languages and cultural studies	law, economics and social sciences	mathematics and natural sciences	engineering	medicine	agriculture, forestry, dietetics
Turkey	23,031	3,349	8,805	2,629	6,146	1,522	107
Iran	8,451	937	1,255	1,665	2,671	1,544	181
Greece	7,998	2,111	2,354	1,071	1,115	851	44
Austria	6,298	1,545	2,190	864	945	172	120
Italy	6,092	2,432	1,604	579	897	136	65
France	6,077	2,639	1,753	475	814	62	42
Poland	5,965	2,084	2,391	420	493	142	44
China	5,017	947	1,086	1,199	1,342	131	98
Morocco	4,946	539	623	898	2,700	66	63
Spain	4,891	1,956	1,345	412	722	105	64
Korea	4,868	1,826	720	398	349	136	56
total	158,435	39,588	42,591	21,216	32,544	9,261	2,641
of which: Bildungsinländer	54,719	8,424	17,751	6,968	13,754	3,805	455

Table 24: Foreign students of the ten main countries of origin according to university faculties (former West Germany: winter semester 1997/1998)

Source: Federal Government Commissioner for Foreigners and Integration, Federal Statistical Office

1) Foreign nationals are not registered as foreign students if they have taken their university entrance exams in Germany (so-called "Bildungsinländer").

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