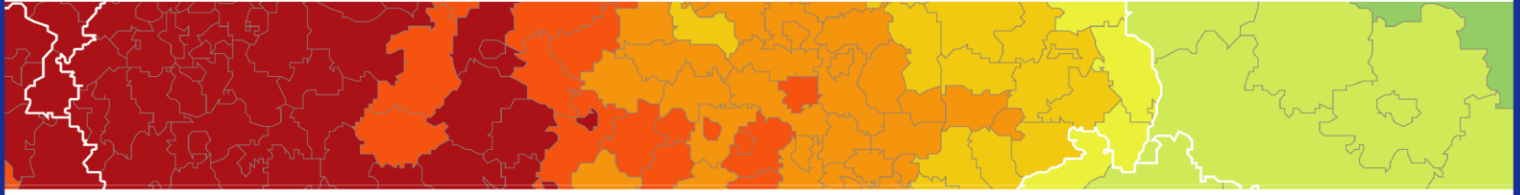


Inspire policy making by territorial evidence



MIGRATUP - Territorial and Urban Potentials Connected to Migration and Refugee Flows

Targeted Analysis

Main Report

Version 14/09/2018

This targeted analysis activity is conducted within the framework of the ESPON 2020 Cooperation Programme, partly financed by the European Regional Development Fund.

The ESPON EGTC is the Single Beneficiary of the ESPON 2020 Cooperation Programme. The Single Operation within the programme is implemented by the ESPON EGTC and co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund, the EU Member States and the Partner States, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland.

This delivery does not necessarily reflect the opinion of the members of the ESPON 2020 Monitoring Committee.

Authors

Main Contributors:

Stefano Bianchini, Marco Borraccetti, Marco Zoppi, University of Bologna (UNIBO); Paola Cavanna, Institute for Central-Eastern and Balkan Europe (IECOB)

Project Support Team:

Ugo Poli, Stefano Volpicelli, Lajos Boros, Zoltán Kovács, Central European Initiative (CEI); Marie-Noelle Duquenne, Byron Kotzamanis, Laboratory of Demographic and Social Analyses, University of Thessaly (UTH-LDSA); Eda Gemi, Luljeta Minxhozi, Selami Xhepa, European University of Tirana (UET); Marco Dubbini, Elisa Magnani, Matteo Proto, University of Bologna (UNIBO); Anna Lucia Colleo, Filippo Pistocchi, Francesco Privitera, Institute for Central-Eastern and Balkan Europe (IECOB)

Advisory Group

Lead Stakeholder: Lodovico Gherardi, Region Emilia-Romagna, Managing Authority (MA) of the Interreg VB Adrion.

ESPON EGTC: Martin Gauk (project expert), Johannes Kiersch (financial expert)

Stakeholders

Region Friuli-Venezia Giulia, MA of the Interreg Cooperation program VA Italy-Slovenia; Region Puglia, MA of the Interreg Cooperation programme VA Italy-Albania; Bratislava Self-Governing Region, MA of the Interact Programme; Ministry of Finance (Hungary), MA of the Danube Transnational programme; MA of the Balkan-Mediterranean Interreg Programme.

Technical Support

Vassilis Pappas (UTH-LDSA), Michele Pigliucci (University of Rome "Tor Vergata").

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Contact: info@espon.eu

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Abbreviations

CoI	Countries of Interest
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DDR	Deutsche Demokratische Republik (German Democratic Republic)
EMS	EU macro-regional Strategies
ESPON	European Territorial Observatory Network
ETC	European Territorial Cooperation
EU	European Union
EUSAIR	European Strategy for the Adriatic and Ionian Region
EUSDR	European Strategy for the Danube Region
EU28+	EU Member States plus Iceland, Norway, Liechtenstein and Switzerland
EUROSTAT	Statistical Office of the European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
FVG	Friuli Venezia-Giulia Region (Italy)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
ICS	International Consortium for Solidarity
IDP	Internally displaced Person
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MCRs	Macro-Regions
MRS	Macro-Regional Strategies
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PPS	Purchasing Power Standards
SEE	South-east Europe
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
UAM	Unaccompanied minor
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WB	Western Balkans
WBQ	Western Balkans Quarterly

1 Introduction

The intense migration flows peaking in 2015, and the subsequent events, represented a watershed moment for Europe and its neighbours, which have led towards a re-definition of the cohesion challenges and opportunities in the area. These migration flows have primarily regarded asylum seekers and allegedly prospective asylum applicants fleeing war-torn and poverty-stricken countries such as Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan: in the course of the last five years, media outlets have reported images from old and new geographies of migration, including the tragedy of those migrants drowned in the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas; the arrivals on the shores of Lampedusa and the Greek eastern islands; the transit camps in Idomeni (Greece) and Mórahalom (Hungary), together with the long lines of people walking across the Balkans and the Danubian basin towards central and northern Europe; the encampments of stranded migrants in Calais (the port connecting France to the United Kingdom) and Ventimiglia (Italy, at the border with France); the crossing attempts at the Eurotunnel (between France and the UK), or again at the Brenner passage (at the border between Italy and Austria). From shorelines to snowy mountain pathways, and whether seated on inflatable boats, or hiding in lorry transporting, or walking barefoot, migrants have profoundly affected debates in Europe.

Yet, this research shows that economic migration was, too, an important component of the flows, which often found its origin precisely in Europe's neighbourhood: most notably, in the Western Balkans. The peculiar combination of historical and economic dynamics in the area suggests the need to treat migration as a long-term process with diverse and mixed origins, whose characteristics vary according to the contexts.

The repercussions of 2015 flows have thus also contributed enormously to the geopolitical redefinition of the countries composing the Adriatic-Ionian and Danube macro-regions, the focus areas of this targeted analysis. The unfolding of events showed the interdependence of the macro-regional countries in handling of migration challenges, and highlighted - unfortunately - that macro-regional cooperation still presents relevant limitations to be addressed. Among the causes for this state of affairs, there are more and less known territorial cohesion factors that this report will focus on: first of all, the research team has investigated the types of migration flows characterizing the Adriatic-Ionian and Danube macro-regions, shedding light on the fact that migration is embedded in the socio-economic dynamics of the concerned areas. Secondly, the team has analysed territorial socio-economic performances, to reflect on their attractiveness and also to propose an outline of the common obstacles and opportunities lying ahead. Remarkably, depopulation and ageing population are territorial developments that many areas are facing or bound to face in the next years. This scenario clearly implies the need for a thorough reconsideration of existing migration management tools, towards a more efficient matching between needs and skills, as this report will suggest through selected case studies. The results of this research will hopefully inform future policies for a better-integrated macro-regional approach in the Adriatic and Danube

basins as well as surrounding areas, which could support the goals of territorial cohesion, reduction of inequalities and – last but not least - security. Not by chance, in February 2018 the EC has in fact underlined that the “*prospect of EU membership for the Western Balkans is in the Union’s very own political, security and economic interest [...] A credible accession perspective is the key driver of transformation in the region and thus enhances our collective integration, security, prosperity and social wellbeing*”.¹ Within this framework, the role of EU and non-EU countries in the Danube region has proved to be equally crucial in the perspective of addressing the collective efforts towards more security, prosperity and social wellbeing. This report will point out that security and prosperity can be best achieved if existing challenges are tackled with the instruments provided by territorial cohesion policies and through a strengthened socio-cultural cooperation.

As a response to increased migratory, mobility and security challenges, on June 2018 the Commission proposes to almost triple funding for migration and border management to €34.9 billion (2021-2027), as compared to €13 billion in the previous period. The effective protection of the EU’s external borders is understood as a crucial element to manage migration and to maintain a Schengen area without internal border controls. This has been recently reiterated by the European Council on 28th June 2018². *Inter alia*, EU leaders agreed to step up efforts to stop migrant smugglers operating out of Libya or elsewhere and to fully implement the EU-Turkey Statement, preventing new crossings from Turkey and bringing the flows to a halt. They also reaffirmed the need to continue working closely with Western Balkans partners³.

1.1 Background information

This study provides territorial analyses of most of the countries included within the two EU macro-regional Strategies (EMS) for the Adriatic-Ionian (EUSAIR) and the Danube (EUSDR). It brings into focus also two additional countries of interest (CoI), which are not part of either of the above areas: Kosovo (under UN Security Council Resolution 1244) and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). The team considers such resulting territorial focus to be functional for a comprehensive analysis of both territorial potentials as well as the impact of the different, yet simultaneous, flows of migrants and refugees, which as a matter of fact interest both the two macro-regions and the CoI. In terms of territorial potentials, the two macro-regions and CoI present crucial challenges that EU Strategies and cooperation initiatives have to tackle jointly. However, despite the existing potential for multi-level

¹ https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/communication-credible-enlargement-perspective-western-balkans_en.pdf

² <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/european-council/2018/06/28-29/>

³ The Western Balkans remain an important transit area for irregular migrants moving from Turkey towards Western Europe. A new route is recently (2018) travelled by migrants across Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. In addition, as pointed out by Frontex (2018) Serbia now offers visa-free travel options to new third countries that makes it more attractive for migrants to reach the EU.

transnational cooperation that could lead to stimulating new economic, cultural, and environmental preservation initiatives, there are still numerous obstacles to date preventing the achievement of an effective integration within EU political and socio-economic structures. These obstacles cannot be overlooked since, as underlined by previous projects, policy actions should always be responsive to the places where they are supposed to act (see section 1.3). Building further on the recommendations of previous studies, the team has analysed the reasons for the very low levels of macro-regional integration, which can be sectioned in the following three components:

a. *Political issues*: The persistence of strong nationalist tendencies bubbling under the surface result in a modest and rather ineffective reconciliation process, with the consequence of fostering instability and insecurity. The legacy of profound political changes and conflict, ethno-national 'unmixing' of population, and of the treatment of minorities are all responsible for causing migration and replacement across the area (Cugusi and Stocchiero, 2016). Instances of border dispute international settlement (e.g. the Sutorina region), ongoing contestations (e.g. the Prevlaka peninsula) and tensed ethnic relations (e.g. Transylvania region) are all further signals for the deep national divisions accumulated during the 20th century. Such unresolved questions keep feeding varying levels of mistrust between the countries of the macro-regions, eventually preventing the empathic vision of a shared future.

b. *Economic issues*: Both EUSDR and EUSAIR are characterized by large socio-economic disparities, as they include internally the wealthiest but also some of the poorest regions in the overall EU MRS, with considerable gaps between them that inevitably generate robust East/South-East to West migration flows and relevant brain drain effects⁴. Weak infrastructures and meagre budget available to public administrations also characterize much part of these areas. This scenario is aggravated by the missing harmonization of the competences attributed to the various actors in the local administration (which could facilitate a more effective cooperation in a shared, transnational framework). Also, there is a poor valorisation of the sea as a potential factor of interest for regional development.

c. *Socio-cultural aspects*: Despite the presence of more than 50 UNESCO sites (among the highest concentration in the world) attesting a reciprocal cultural influence and a vibrant intercultural regional environment (well symbolized by their multiple historical legacies and even the multi-state distribution of some sites), there seems to be a scarce knowledge of such shared cultural and environmental heritage with, therefore, a weak impact on their sense of a sophisticated commonality. In fact, regional reconciliation, stabilisation and integration – in one word prosperity – depend also on the types of narrative that are entertained at the cultural level.

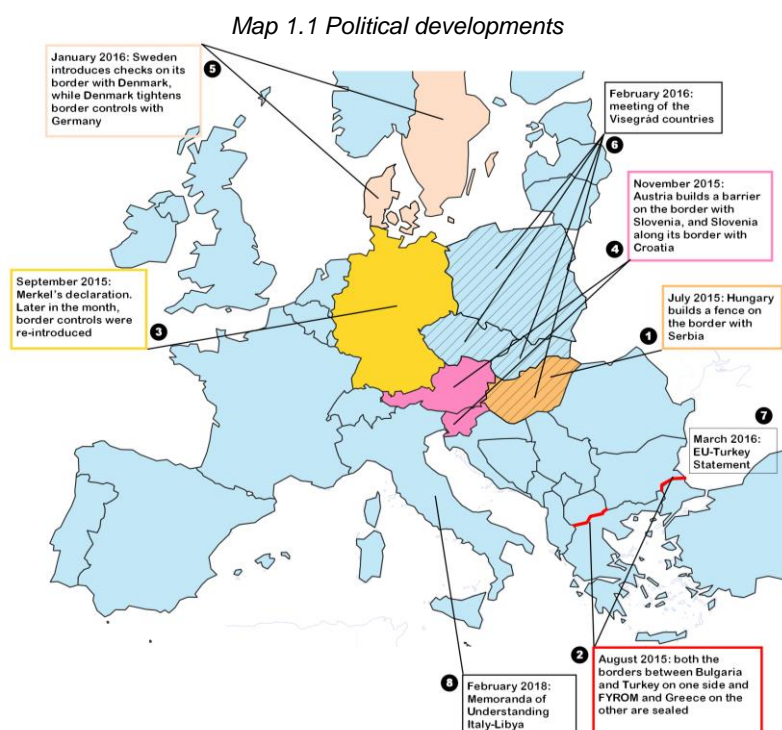
Migration flows within and between the focus area represent the other thematic field of paramount analytical interest for this study. There is a recognized stable tradition of migration across the regions, stemming from the political reorganization that followed the collapse of former Yugoslavia first, and of the EU integration process afterwards (starting with Slovenian negotiations in 1998), whose effects scholars and observers have largely analysed in the past

⁴ Consider for example the disparity between GDP per capita in Purchasing Power Standards (PPS) in Veri, Albania (6.500 Euro) or Severozapaden, Bulgaria (8.400 euro) and one of the richest regions, Oberbayern (including Munich) with 51.400 Euro GDP per capita in PPS (EUROSTAT 2014-2015). The difference is eight-fold, and five-fold respectively.

years⁵. Yet, recent expressions of regional dynamism deserve more attention: in fact, the increasing multiplicity of recent migratory patterns is rather unprecedented and suggests the existence of intimate connections with past as well as ongoing regional and global developments (Black et al., 2010; Zbinden et al., 2016). The most recent example of such dynamism is the so-called refugee crisis, which begun in 2013 in the aftermath of the Syrian civil war and peaked in 2015 putting the Balkan Route in the spotlight at the international level as the pathway to Europe. This has also raised new concerns for security and for the governance of migration (section 1.2). Nevertheless, this study will bring evidence of other migration patterns that have affected the macro-regions for the last three decades, within a context that endures local, macro-regional and global dynamics, from EU integration, through socio-economic disparities, to turmoil and political instability in neighbouring areas. Such a context calls for a wide-ranging as well as informed approach to manage diversity, in order to identify suitable policies and activities for economic, social and territorial cohesion, so to sustain sound EU MRS.

1.2 Policy context

Main policy developments and specific measures adopted by individual countries over the time reference have been described in the Scientific Report, while a summary map is herein presented in order to briefly set the migration analyses within the broader geopolitical context.



⁵ But it can be pursued elsewhere: see for example Krasteva et al., 2010.

1.3 Evidence from existing studies

Several researches elaborated in the past few years have contributed to the formulation of methodologies and to the gathering of evidence for the delineation of the socio-economic potentials of territories located within the macro-regions. Some limitations and bottlenecks yet persist and need to be addressed properly. This section provides a list of those previous projects that have been most inspiring for the present work, according to the thematic areas they were concerned with: *demography, attractiveness, economic performance* in territorial perspective.

The **ESPON DEMIFER project** (2008-2010) has delivered significant insights into the topic of demography and its territorial impact. The project underlined that many territories retrieve in trends like severe population decline, ageing and shrinking of the labour force common challenges to cohesion to be tackled. In one of the project policy briefs, findings indicate: *“Without changes in the levels of fertility, mortality and migration, 60% of European regions will experience population decline by 2050. In addition, if labour force participation rates do not change, the size of the labour force will decline in 75% of the regions until 2050”* (ESPON, 2011c: 1). Against this backdrop, DEMIFER highlights immigration as the main force capable of influencing European population change trends towards younger and more active population, although it notes that integration policies need to be developed accordingly. Even though the present research has not engaged in projections, it shares the same concern for socio-demographic aspects of the territories under examination, as well as for the impact of migration flows. In this respect, the methodology implemented by DEMIFER to delineate territorial typologies capable of representing the ‘demographic pluralism’ across Europe has been a source of inspiration for the present project.

Although the findings and policy recommendations of the **ESPON ITAN project** (2013-2015) were of limited use for the development of the present project, the project documentation has offered the team evidence to reflect on the themes of territorial inequalities and demographic and labour dynamics. Moreover, synergies do exist between the projects in relation to migration flows, socio-economic dynamics, and analysis of territorial potentials, and both projects can be of relevance for those interested in such matters.

The **ESPON ATTREG project** (2010-2013) has developed a pioneering work on the question of territorial attractiveness intended as a key concept in territorial cohesion strategies. Given that the analysis of attractiveness is also among the tasks of this study, it was deemed useful to reflect on the research approach and findings of ATTREG. In the formulation given by ATTREG (2013: 22), attractiveness is *“a characteristic of places that varies spatially according to its constituting natural and environmental, social, cultural and economic components”*. More specifically, attractiveness is conceptualized as the outcome of the interaction between a set of ‘audiences’ (defined in terms of their mobility patterns); a set of ‘endowment’ factors (or territorial capital that determine attractiveness); and finally, a set of ‘processes’ through which the territorial capital is effectively mobilised to reach a specific

audience. This combination of assets is eventually capable of influencing regional and local developments, and of attracting migration flows into regions. In fact, ATTREG (2013: 13) concludes that there is no simple relationship between economic growth and increases in attractiveness: the latter depends on the existing forms of territorial capital and the ways they are utilised. In other words, ATTREG sheds light on diversity, in terms of territorial potential yet also of 'forms of mobility'. This consideration has been central in the present study, which delves indeed into the different types of migration flows in the macro-regions, as well as the different needs of territories (e.g. rural and urban areas). Equally important, ATTREG finds that high attractiveness can be counterproductive when incoming flows are not embedded in the local context. Hence, to avoid both problems of low and high attractiveness, the policy recommendations elaborated by ATTREG (2013: 14) suggest two strategies: one 'demand-led' and the other 'supply-led'. In the former, local authorities should promote policies for the development of territorial capital and its mobilization for attracting resident population and short and mid-term migrants (e.g. infrastructure; services; attention to education and human capital). In the latter, the focus is on the skill gaps suffered by specific territories, which should lead to processes aiming at attracting specific, skilled audiences (for example, via partnerships between sending and receiving regions). What said closely resembles the relation between migrants' skills and territorial needs pursued in this research, and the team intends to build on ATTREG experience to recommend a more integrated policy framework in these regards.

The **ESPON ECR2 project** (2012-2014) has explored the geography of the recent economic crisis affecting Europe through the lens of resilience, that is, "*the ability of a regional economy to withstand, absorb or overcome an internal or external economic shock*" (ECR 2014: ii). Clearly enough, assessing the territorial ability to react and adapt to changing economic circumstances has also relevant implications for the study of migration flows between and within the macro-regions of our interest (e.g. return migration in Albania in the aftermath of the crisis). ECR2, thus, shares thematic areas of interests with this study. The ECR2 team has identified four components that are more likely to influence the degree of resilience of a given territory, which are: businesses, economy and the business environment; people and the population; place-based characteristics; and community or societal characteristics. Similarly to what recommended by ATTREG, ECR2 too suggests that "*policy actions should be shaped by the places in which they are to act*" (ESPON, 2014: 49). Two main reasons seem to support this contention: the shocks themselves, and their effects, vary across time and space, thus requiring place-shaped solutions. Secondly, locally-based actions can at times work better to meet the specific needs of local economies. At the same time, the project suggests that improved management of crisis requires resilience to be built on the integration of national and sub-national approaches, with risks being shared across territories with the scope of limiting the absolute effects on particular individuals or localities. These policy recommendations target fundamental aspects for a regional socio-economic system that needs tools to resist economic shocks and ensure territorial 'resilience', such as the support

of innovation and the building of flexible capacities. The project also anticipates the investigation of certain issues that are relevant for the present project, showing that territories across Europe are still coping with the same challenges: in particular, this is the case of the development of skills for the participation in the labour market.

Moreover, the team has taken stock of analyses and recommendations deriving from other several recent project, reports and studies that provided valuable information for the development of the present project. We would like to mention especially:

- The paper “How the Western Balkans can catch up” of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development underlines challenges in the way of making of the Western Balkans a more attractive region for international investments. The paper recognizes “significant unexploited potential in areas such as trade integration, transport infrastructure, energy development and innovation” (Sanfey et al., 2016: 3), and points out that some of the regional features, e.g. prospective EU membership, macroeconomic stability, strategic geographic location, diverse economies, favourable fiscal regimes, low labour costs represent clear factors for boosting attractiveness.
- The study “Labour Mobility as a Factor of Development in South-East Europe”, prepared jointly by IOM and the Regional Cooperation Council (RCC) has the merit of put labour migration at the centre of the discussion. The emerging picture is that cross-border labour mobility, which mainly appears in the seasonal form connected to tourism, is an important instrument for the regional socio-economic development, to be promoted and implemented (IOM and RCC, 2015: 13). In the policy recommendations, the study emphasizes the need to facilitate mobility within the region; to harmonise data on migration and also to create a sound statistical database about demographic and socio-economic characteristics of migrants (IOM and RCC, 2015: 106). The latter recommendation especially, will be echoed also in the present project as data gaps are still considerable.
- The South East Europe Regular Economic Report series (World Bank Group) offer a clear-cut outline of economic performances in the six South East European countries (SEE6), and of the major risks to further growth for the region. Both reports of Fall 2015 and Spring 2016 indicate, among other things, unemployment, emigration and ageing has issues hampering growth, and these have been useful to frame our understanding of attractiveness in both macro-regions and Col.
- Finally, the report “Working Together for Local Integration of Migrants and Refugees” was issued by OECD in mid-April 2018, when the project was in advanced phase of development. The team has nevertheless acknowledged the recommendations therein contained for applying a functional territorial perspective on integration, which means paying attention to the structure of regional economies and the characteristics of hosting communities (OECD, 2018: 24). In this sense, the present research prides itself on having explored already, through case studies, a variety of specific socio-economic contexts, which includes border areas, rural areas, urban centres (the OECD report includes a focus on 12 cities, and additional surveys on migrant integration from a total of 72 cities): the variety pursued in our study offers a comparative view of different settings, and provides place-based solutions addressing, among other things, both territorial dispersal mechanisms of asylum seekers as well as the need to “match migrant skills with economic and job opportunities” at the local level, as underlined by OECD (2018: 153).

2 Data and data sources

This study has performed an analysis of the main migration dynamics taking place in the two macro-regions and CoI. As mentioned earlier, the investigated flows are characterized by diversity and multidirectionality, and for this reason the team has found profitable to introduce a distinction between: 1. internal flows within each country; 2. internal flows within the macro-regions and CoI; 3. external flows to the macro-regions and CoI; 4. Secondary, or onward migrations of those who have been denied protection status. The team has accessed existing databases and other sources to retrieve data on the four types of flows, in fulfilment of the requirements set forth in the project Task 1. The overall outcome of data collection, and the territorial level to which data were available is summarized in Table 2.1:

Table 2.1 Overview of data availability according to flows and territorial level

Country	Internal flows within each country	Internal flows within the macro-regions and CoI	External flows to the macro-regions and CoI	Secondary, or onward migrations
Albania	NUTS3	-	NUTS0	-
Austria	NUTS3	-	NUTS0	NUTS0
Bosnia and Herzegovina	-	-	NUTS0	-
Bulgaria	NUTS3	-	NUTS0	NUTS0
Croatia	NUTS3	NUTS0	NUTS0	NUTS0
Czech Republic	NUTS3	-	NUTS0	NUTS0
FYROM	NUTS3	-	NUTS0	-
Germany	NUTS3	-	NUTS0	NUTS0
Greece	NUTS3	-	NUTS0	NUTS0
Hungary	NUTS3	-	NUTS0	NUTS0
Italy	NUTS3	NUTS0	NUTS0	NUTS0
Kosovo*	-	-	NUTS0	-
Moldova	-	-	NUTS0	-
Montenegro	NUTS3	-	NUTS0	-
Romania	NUTS3	-	NUTS0	NUTS0
Serbia	-	-	NUTS0	NUTS0
Slovakia	NUTS3	NUTS0	NUTS0	NUTS0
Slovenia	NUTS3	NUTS0	NUTS0	NUTS0

In consideration of the challenges deriving from the comparison of different migration flows through datasets originating at various sources, project partners have agreed to adopt specific temporal and geographical boundaries to guarantee the consistency of the analysis elaborated in this report. More specifically, year 2015 was selected as ending point of the project temporal scope in view of ensuring the highest degree of comparability in relation to both internal flows and the other flow types (data were found to be fragmented after that). The analysis was expanded further to keep track of the developments occurred in the last two years only when data were sufficiently meaningful for a sound comparison. As for the geographic scopes, the team has decided not to take into consideration for systematic

analysis all macro-regional territories. In particular, Austria and Germany were covered mainly in their dimension of preferred destination countries, and thus in terms of the asylum applications they have received, recognized and rejected (Sections 3.1.3 and 3.1.4), leaving aside the analysis of internal migration, which we found less relevant to pursue in relation to the tasks. Investigating the diversity in mobility patterns characterizing the other macro-regional territories emerged instead as a priority for the team, because these flows have been often overlooked, and their connections ignored. Finally, areas from Ukraine and Moldova were excluded from most of the analysis due to the lack of comparable data but are nevertheless covered in specific sections of this Report. The following sub-sections are concerned with the description of the phase of data collection, underlining both limits encountered during the process, as well as the choices made with the aim of elaborating analyses and maps regarding each flow.

2.1 Internal migration within each country

Knowledge about internal migration is essential for policy makers, academics and planners alike to identify patterns of population redistribution in a specific year (or over a certain period), and to reconnect them to territorial performances. In this study, internal mobility refers to the rate of net migration, calculated per 1,000 inhabitants through the residual method. Net migration is the difference between the number of immigrants and the number of emigrants from a given region during the year (it is therefore negative when the number of emigrants exceeds the number of immigrants). These data are collected by Eurostat for most of the countries under scrutiny. Net migration rate was preferred as indicator to statistics on residence change made available by national statistical offices because of the following two challenges: firstly, the registration of residence change is, in most cases, a non-compulsory act, and consequently data do not ever represent the full scope of movements that actually took place in a given year. Secondly, not all statistical offices compile and make available datasets on internal migration, and even fewer are the countries for which this data exist prior to 2015: as result, statistics are accessible only for the last few years. Therefore, the team is sure that in the future, the compilation of harmonised statistics about internal migration will make possible the realization of promising mid-term territorial analysis based on residence change. Nevertheless, figures on registered changes of residence have been incorporated in this Report to provide demographic information on internal migrants in 2015 as well as urban trends.

The team has pursued a specific focus on 2015 data for internal migration at NUTS 3, which are provided by Eurostat for most countries (as showed in Table 2.1), in order to underline features for comparative purposes. Moreover, the team has complemented the above with an analysis of urban/rural dynamics in each country, resorting again to last census data as starting point, yet with 2015 data on registered changes of residence. These figures, gathered from national statistical offices as ending point, allowed to cover some of the countries

missing in the Eurostat database. This time, also last census data elaborated prior to 2011 were used, because this allowed the team to work equally on all countries and produce meaningful comparisons of resident population trends over time.

2.2 Internal migration within the two macro-regions

The second type of flows identified by the research team concerns the dynamics of legal migration within the countries of the two macro-regions, mainly recorded by Eurostat. Despite the high relevance of such targeted phenomenon, in fact, mapping efforts were hampered by the scarce data available for this type of flow. So, there are six Eurostat datasets that turn useful here, and all of them are methodologically tied to the reported change of usual residence from one country to the other:

- Immigration, by: a) citizenship; b) by country of birth; c) by country of previous residence (for each of the three, age group and sex specifications are also available).
- Emigration, by: a) citizenship; b) by country of birth; c) by country of next residence (for each of the three, age group and sex specifications are also available).

The limitations that come with the datasets above pertain the target and the scope of the phenomena that is possible to map with this information: in fact, both immigration and emigration of a) and b) type are indefinite about the territorial origin of the reported flow. In other words, these datasets do not specify if immigrants/emigrants were actually moving from/to one of these countries, or from/to any other country in the world, that means, outside the area under our scrutiny. For this reason, this information was deemed too ambiguous and not instrumental for the development of the project task. The team has instead resorted to the indication of the country of previous residence, which ensures reliable information on the territorial origin of the flows concerning the macro-regions and Col. Scope is the second aforementioned limitation: in fact, these datasets provide only limited coverage of the team's targeted countries, namely Croatia, Italy and Slovenia. The team could not overcome the other blank spots and will report the lack of information accordingly in the final Policy Recommendations.

2.3 External migration into the two macro-regions

The team uses the expression 'external migration' to refer primarily to those migration flows directed towards central and northern Europe that find their origin outside the two macro-regions and Col. Flows across the Balkan Route, during the 'migration crisis' peaking in 2015, occupy a golden spot in this respect. However, in section 3.1.4 it will be showed that asylum seekers came also from South-eastern European countries. This is an important element to consider, for the understanding of macro-regional socio-economic dynamics. It is useful to remark that the analysis of external flows performed by the team included statistics on both asylum migration (i.e. those who lodged an asylum application) and illegal entries. The team has not considered figures on 'intra-EU mobility', or mobility for the purposes of tourism and

education, because these typologies present substantial differences in origin, aims, socio-economics aspects, and are often subjected to different legal provisions (see Annex 1). There are different kinds of sources that can be used for investigating flows of asylum seekers that entered, transited the two macro-regions and Col in the attempt to reach the desired destination countries. The table below represents a summary of available sources:

Legend for Table 2.4		
Type	Time	Country
<i>r</i> = report	<i>m</i> = monthly-based	n.a. = not applicable
<i>d</i> = dataset	<i>y</i> = yearly-based	(X) = country availability depends on the specific report consulted
<i>q</i> = qualitative data	<i>p</i> = periodic	
<i>i</i> = infographic		

Table 2.2 Sources for external migration flows

				AT	AL	BA	BG	CZ	DE	HR	MK	GR	HU	IT	MD	ME	RO	SK	SI	RS	XK	
Source	Name	Type	Time																			
AIDA	Statistical Update: Dublin	<i>r</i>	<i>m; y</i>	√	X	X	√	X	√	√	X	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	X	X	
	Country Reports	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>	√	X	X	√	X	√	√	X	√	√	√	X	X	√	X	√	√	√	X
EASO	Latest Asylum trends	<i>r; d</i>	<i>m</i>	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
	Country Reports	<i>r</i>	<i>y</i>	X	√	√	X	X	X	X	√	X	X	X	X	√	X	X	X	√	√	√
EC	Implementation of EU-Turkey Statement	<i>d</i>	<i>m</i>	√	X	X	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	X	X	X
EUROSTAT	Asylum applicants (reporting country)	<i>d</i>	<i>y</i>	√	X	X	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	X	X	X
	Asylum applicants (citizenship)	<i>d</i>	<i>y</i>	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
	Dublin statistics	<i>d</i>	<i>y</i>	√	X	X	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	X	X	X
FRONTEX	FRAN	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)
	WB Risk Analysis Network	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)
IOM	DTM's Flow Monitoring Surveys	<i>r; q</i>	<i>p</i>	X	X	X	√	X	X	√	√	√	√	√	X	(√)	(√)	X	X	√	X	X
	World Migration Report	<i>r</i>	<i>y</i>	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)	(√)
OECD	Indicators of Immigrant Integration	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>	√	X	X	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	X	X	X
UNDESA	International Migration Report	<i>r</i>	<i>y</i>	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
UNHCR	Persons of concern	<i>d</i>	<i>y</i>	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
	Asylum Seekers	<i>d</i>	<i>y</i>	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
	Asylum Seekers (monthly data)	<i>d</i>	<i>m</i>	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
	Demographics	<i>d</i>	<i>y</i>	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
	Resettlement	<i>i</i>	<i>y</i>	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
	Time Series	<i>d</i>	<i>y</i>	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
	Sea Arrivals	<i>i</i>	<i>y; m</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	√	X	√	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

The description of data and sources accessed for completing this sub-task requires a further discussion about data characteristics and intrinsic limitations in coverage and availability. A good point to start such discussion is the distinction between the two types of external migration that is possible to track through databases: asylum migration and irregular migration.

2.3.1 Flows of asylum seekers

While several of the sources listed in Table 2.2 have been referenced throughout the report, for the specific purpose of this task, the team turned to the following available data sources:

- “Asylum and first time asylum applicants by citizenship, age and sex Annual aggregated data (rounded) [migr_asyappctza]”, provided by Eurostat. These data enable to map incoming flows and to distinguish between those who submitted their application for the first time and those who have replicated their application after an unsuccessful attempt.
- Data on population of concern. In this respect, the data provided by UNHCR are of paramount importance, as the UN Organisation is in charge of collecting, and recollecting from governments, basic information on refugees and on persons in refugee-like situations. The dataset “demographics”, for example, covers information broken down by sex and age, as well as by location within the country of residence since 2000, when this information is available. In most cases, these individuals fall under the rubric of “persons of concern” to the UNHCR: at the global level, this so-defined population has increased from 21 million registered at the end of 2005 to about 65.6 million at the end of 2016. It is important to underline that this definition includes also internally displaced persons, i.e. “a person who has been forced to flee or to leave his/her home or place of habitual residence without crossing an internationally recognised State border” (cf. Appendix 1). In the territories of the macro-regions, this means that the population of concern includes also those hundred thousand individuals who were displaced by inter-ethnic violence, human rights violations and armed conflict during the 1990s. Acknowledging the definition of the population of concern is, thus, very important in the framework of this research, as the inclusion of this group may not be sufficient to properly catch the migration flows that peaked in 2015. For this reason, it is important to incorporate also the UNHCR dataset indicated in the next point.
- The UNHCR “applied during the year” dataset allows to focus on the total number of asylum applications lodged in any given year and to visualize the flow, and to perform consistent comparison with data on the population of concern.
- Finally, UNHCR reports also monthly data disaggregation for asylum applications, which can be also very useful for the purpose of analysing the impact of migration policies on flows. However, the team has decided to leave this one out, since data for most countries are kept confidential to protect the anonymity of individuals.

2.3.2 Irregular migration

The assessment of irregular migration is “*by definition, problematic since we are dealing with a phenomenon that is outside the control of States*” (Vespe et al., 2017: 26). Migration can be, or become, ‘irregular’ with reference to *travel* (those crossing international borders without the requisite documentation, e.g. visa); to *residence* (those remaining in a country after the expire

of the legal basis to stay, or “overstayers”; to *work* (those working in a given country without the necessary work permit) (EC, 2016: 39). For the purpose of the task, the team has considered irregular migration in terms of illegal or clandestine entries, that is, with reference to travel. The main data set to measure illegal migration in the regions of our interest is provided by Frontex, while additional information can be obtained also through Eurostat.

- Frontex gives account of clandestine entries (i.e. detections) at EU external borders for specific routes and borders, indicating the top three nationalities of detected migrants. In addition, it is possible to extract information on facilitators, illegal stays, refusals of entry, asylum claims, document fraud, which however were not contemplated in the present study. The major limitation to keep in mind when handling data on detections lies in the fact that illegal border crossings between border-crossing points refer to the event in itself, and not to the person: since the same person can cross, irregularly, several borders, and can do so several times, there is a concrete issue of double-counting (Vespe et al., 2017: 27). A second limitation consists in the risk of conflating the definitions of “irregular migrants” and “irregular migration”: the former, in fact, usually refers to the status of people in a given country, i.e. the phenomenon, for which a less stigmatizing expression could be “undocumented migrant” (cf. Annex 1), while the latter catches specifically the irregularity of the migration into a country, i.e. the event. Finally, the very idea of irregularity is not immutable, but depends on the legislative framework in the country analysed (think of regularisation programmes).
- Eurostat provides eight datasets of interest with annual update (i.e. third country nationals refused entry at the external borders; third country nationals found to be illegally present; third country nationals ordered to leave; third country nationals returned following an order to leave; third-country nationals who have left the territory by type of return and citizenship; by type of assistance received and citizenship; by type of agreement procedure and citizenship; by destination country and citizenship).

2.4 Secondary movements of rejected asylum applicants

Following the inputs emerged during a meeting with the Lead Stakeholder, the team has decided en route to include a preliminary analysis of a further flow, as further proof of the high dynamism of the two macro-regions and Col: the flow of rejected asylum applicants supposedly moving reversely or elsewhere within the macro-regions. This flow originated when thousands of citizens of Balkan countries joined the route towards Central and Northern Europe and lodged asylum applications in central and northern European countries, but were subsequently rejected on the ground that they came from safe third countries. It is noteworthy that in 2016 a third of all decisions issued in appeal regarded applicants of Albania, Kosovo (under UN Security Council Resolution 1244) and Serbia, with low recognition rates (EASO, 2018). Considering the nature of the flow, project partners agreed that a more accurate analysis should expand the temporal scope to 2016. The team believes that secondary movements represent the single most relevant development in the fluid migration scenario characterizing the two macro-regions and Col and recommends therefore more targeted research on the topic (see Section 5). Data for this last type of flow come from the Eurostat dataset titled “Asylum and first time asylum applicants by citizenship, age and sex. Annual

aggregated data (rounded)", from which different elaborations were made. Countries were selected among the ones that have received more asylum applications in 2015: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Sweden. Among the top sending countries, literature has highlighted the case of Albania: even if the country does not belong formally to the Balkan Route, in 2015 Albanians represented the second largest group of asylum applicants in Germany after Syrians (Hackaj et al., 2016). With the support of the existing research as well as the additional documentation that we have received from the Lead Stakeholder, the team has engaged in a brief analysis as well as in cartographic activities that can be useful to put in focus the scale of the phenomenon for next targeted studies.

2.5 Temporal scope in the analysis of migration flows

In view of using different data sources that are related to the various migration dynamics presented above, the team has endeavoured in harmonizing data in terms of temporal scope, as indicating in the table:

Table 2.3 Temporal scopes of flows analysis

Type of flow	I. Internal migration in each country	II. Internal migration (macro-regions and CoI)	III. External migration	IV. Secondary movements
Temporal scope	2015 (census year – 2015 for urban dynamics)	2008-2015	2008-15 (2016-17 when relevant)	2008-15 (2016 when relevant)

2008 was selected as starting year of analysis, both because it provided a sufficient arc of time for mid-term analysis, and because datasets became fragmented beyond that year. An exception was made in the description of urban dynamics (within flow type I), where starting years depend on the year in which the last census at the national level was carried out.

2015 represented the ending year of analysis for all flow types, with the aim of facilitating comparisons. Here too, exceptions were made for flow types III and IV, since data availability on the one hand, and the unfolding of events on the other, made interesting to consider most recent figures (up to 2016 and 2017).

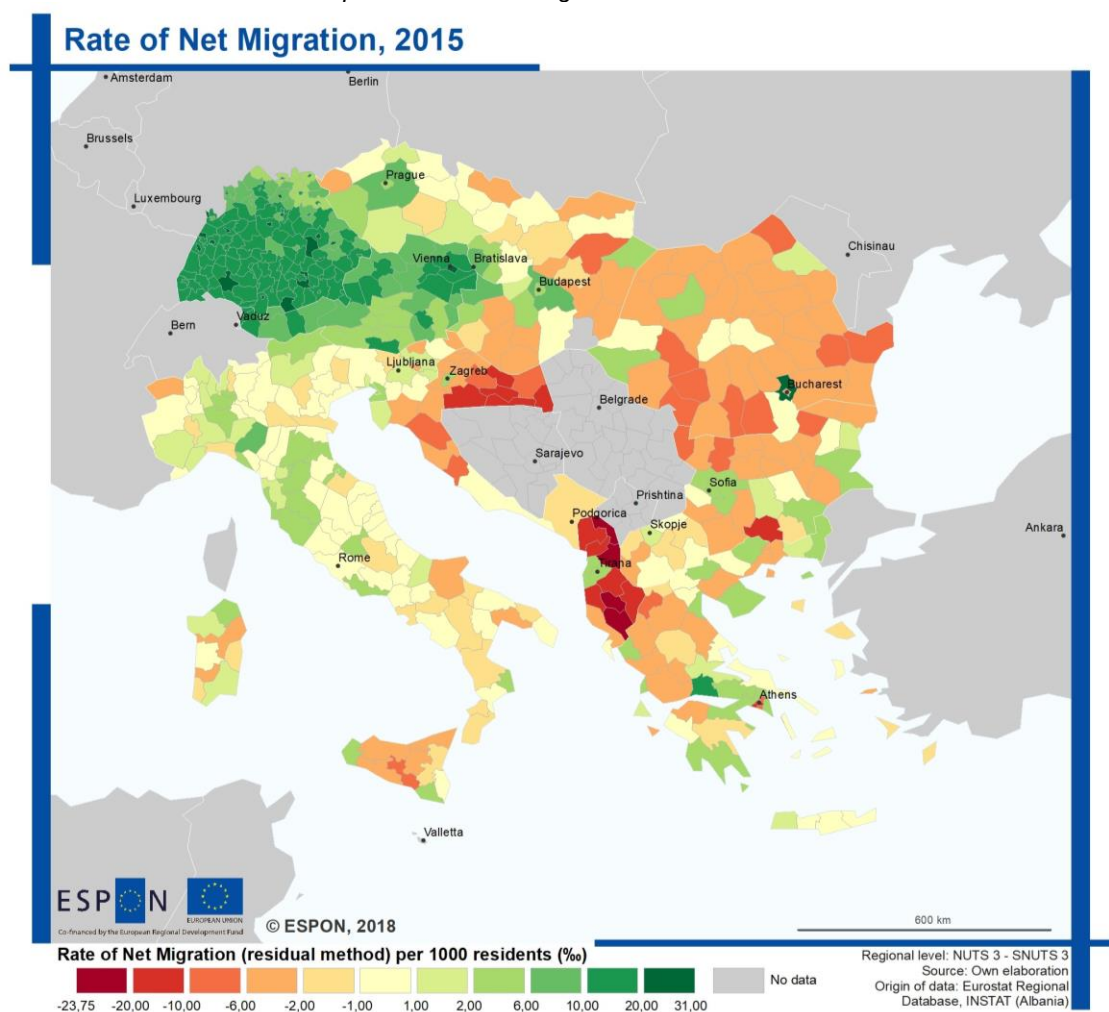
3 Results from previous tasks

This chapter provides a comprehensive view of results of Tasks 1, 2, 3 and 4.

3.1 Task 1: A comparative analysis of the recent migration and refugee flows in the two macro-regions

3.1.1 Type I - Internal flows within each country

Map 3.1 Net internal migration rate at NUTS 3



These are the main findings that can be observed at the territorial level:

- Map 3.1 at NUTS 2 level reports the average rate of natural increase, to give an indication of population growth based only on births and deaths excluding the effects of migration. We observe that positive rates are associated especially with NUTS 2 territories of Southeast Europe, where those countries that could be mapped display the highest rates. Czech Republic and few scattered areas in Central Europe show also positive values, while most of the other areas under analysis are characterized instead by slightly negative or negative rates (the most negative rates are recorded in Northwestern and Northern Central in Bulgaria; Liguria in Italy; Southern Transdanubia and Southern Great Plain in Hungary; South-West Oltenia and South – Muntenia in Romania).

- Generally, there is a remarkable movement of people towards cities, which is clearly visible in both Maps 3.2 and 3.3 focusing on internal migration in 2015 (respectively at NUTS 2 and 3 levels): all NUTS 3 including the capital city in fact present a positive rate (however, in Map 3.3 one can note that Athens and Bucharest both recorded negative rates of net migration in 2015).

More specifically, we observe the following patterns of migration:

- Internal migration along the south-north axis, like the well-known case of **Italy** (the most negative rates are those of Caltanissetta, Enna, Nuoro, while the dark green NUTS 3 correspond to Parma, Bologna and Firenze); in **Croatia**, internal migration is prevalently from eastern regions towards either Zagreb or the coastal Istria County in the western part of the country (the only two NUTS 3 that recorded positive values).
- In the majority of cases, it is possible to note centripetal tendencies, corresponding to increasing urbanization, to the disadvantage of rural areas: this is the case of **Albania** (10 out of the country's 12 NUTS 3 present negative values); the **Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)**; **Kosovo (under UN Security Council Resolution 1244)**, **Romania**, **Serbia**, **Slovakia**: in these countries, capital cities and the surrounding areas and/or few large cities have especially attracted most of the total residence changes recorded in 2015.
- In the other countries, internal migration patterns are of a mixed kind because several NUTS 3 display positive values besides the capital (e.g. Kyustendil and Varna in **Bulgaria**; Středočeský kraj in **Czech Republic**; Győr-Moson-Sopron and Fejér counties in **Hungary**; Posavska and Savinjska in **Slovenia**).
- All NUTS 3 territories of **Austria** and **Germany** are characterized by positive and very positive rates of net migration.

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 propose a comparative analysis of available data on age and gender of internal migrants based on registered changes of residence. In bold, it is reported the share of those aged 20-39 on the total number of internal migrants registered in 2015 by each country under our scrutiny. These are the main findings from the socio-demographic point of view:

- In 2015, approximately one in two internal migrants in each country was aged between 20-39. In particular, the age group 25-29 results being the cross-national demographic segment most inclined to move internally, never representing less than 10.7% of the total registered flow (as in the case of Bulgaria), and going up to top 23.9%, as for the case of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) in 2015. These two countries represent, respectively, the ones with the lowest and highest share of internal migrants below the age of 40.
- The shares would become even more consistent, if one could reconnect the minors who were registered as having changed residence to their respective parents, through a focus on family households.
- The breakdown of data according to gender underlines that in all countries, women aged between 20-39 have been more prone to migrate than men in the same age class. In some countries, the difference is not particularly noticeable (such as Italy and Slovenia), while the gap is much more evident in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) and Serbia.

Table 3.1 Internal migrants, comparative overview of age in 2015

	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	Tot. 20-39		20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	Tot. 20-39
AL	19.2	17.6	11.0	7.0	54.8	IT**	-	-	-	-	47.0
AT	16.2	16.3	12.2	8.0	52.7	MD***	-	-	-	-	-
BA	12.6	15.8	11.1	8.2	47.7	ME	11.9	16.7	13.2	9.6	51.4
BG	9.1	10.7	8.2	7.3	35.3	MK	19.4	23.9	17.9	10.3	71.5
CZ	7.4	14.4	14.0	10.5	46.3	RO	9.9	16.0	11.8	9.0	46.7
DE*	-	-	-	-	41.5	RS	10.2	15.5	13.2	9.4	48.3
EL***	-	-	-	-	-	SI	14.3	15.2	13.0	9.5	52.0
HR	9.1	15.9	13.0	9.2	47.2	SK	8.1	14.9	14.3	10.7	48.0
HU	10.7	12.4	11.1	10.3	44.5	XK***	-	-	-	-	-

SOURCE: National Statistical Offices. *Age group is 18-30 **Age group is 18-39 ***Not available at NTO

Table 3.2 Internal migrants, comparative overview of gender in 2015

	Tot. 20-39	% Males	% Females		Tot. 20-39	% Males	% Females
AL	20.330	36.0	64.0	IT**	604.263	49.1	50.9
AT	419.081	53.1	46.9	MD***	-	-	-
BA	15.757	36.0	64.0	ME	2.227	39.3	60.7
BG	42.110	43.7	56.3	MK	4.488	20.5	79.5
CZ	36.338	44.1	55.9	RO	168.793	-	-
DE*	832.812	54.4	45.6	RS	60.579	38.8	61.2
EL***	-	-	-	SI	56.743	47.9	52.1
HR	36.025	40.3	59.7	SK	43.850	43.3	56.7
HU	220.403	44.2	55.8	XK***	8.972	-	-

SOURCE: National Statistical Offices. *Age group is 18-30 **Age group is 18-39 ***Not available at NTO

Finally, this section provides findings about selected insights at the city and regional level, which are presented for each country with the purpose of shedding light into urbanization and depopulation dynamics. This information is based on population change and census data obtained from national statistical offices (all tables are reported in Annex 2).

- **Austria** represents a strong case of urbanization: most of its largest and medium-sized cities have been growing in the last two decades. Depopulation affects few medium-sized cities and many small villages. Particularly noticeable is the case of Graz, which has received one fifth of its 2015 population just since 2001.
- In **Albania**, urbanization and depopulation trends are visible through the analysis of ongoing demographic dynamics in major cities. In fact, it is possible to note that only the capital city of Tirana and the cities of Vlorë and Durrës (the main port) are undergoing significant urbanization. The same trends can also be seen through the analysis of population change at NUTS 2 level. As it emerges, only the territorial unit including Tirana and Elbasan (Qender) is experiencing an increase in its population.
- In **Bosnia and Herzegovina**, data suggest that the vast majority of internal movements take place within each of the two entities and the District of Brčko, while only a small percentage of the total flow is composed of those people who moved from one entity to the other. Since available data are scarce, also due to ongoing political contestations of statistical figures, it is not possible to carry out a more detailed analysis at the territorial and urban level.

- The urban migration context in **Bulgaria** presents two main features. On one hand, it is quite unbalanced on the side of depopulation: out of all the municipalities recorded, 224 are those that have decreased their population between 2011 and 2015, 31 those that grew, and one city that maintained a perfect population balance. On the other hand, only two large and one medium cities are among the mentioned 31 with positive balance (Sofia, Plovdiv and Kardzhali), while the remaining part is composed by small cities and villages. Data limited to year 2015 show that all changes of residence concerned movement towards six districts only: Sofia, Burgas, Plovdiv, Varna and Haskovo. All others have registered negative internal migration trends.
- In **Croatia**, the analysis of urban dynamics shows that only the capital city and the city of Dubrovnik have been growing, while limited urbanization, and mostly depopulation, are characterizing instead the largest centers of the country. Internal migrations between 2011 and 2015 are comprised between the 68,839 changes of residence recorded in 2012, and the peak of 80,736 recorded in 2014. Internal migrations display a medium range, as the relative majority (41%) of changes regarded movements between counties (*županija*). In 2015, only the city of Zagreb and the County of Istria have registered a positive net in changes of residence. The disparity between population change and internal migration net suggests also that many are those emigrating abroad (29,600 in 2015).
- The majority (58.6%) of **Czech** municipalities has experienced a growth of their resident population between 2011 and 2015. However, the sharpest trends of both urbanization and depopulation concerned small cities and villages. Medium-sized cities, those ones with a population ranging from 30,000 to 90,000, show an overwhelming tendency to slight population decline (-1.7% on average), while the largest cities such as Prague, Brno, Ostrava, Plzeň and Liberec were characterized by moderate change comprised between the +2% of the capital and the -2.6% of Ostrava.
- The next country in focus is the **Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)**. Population changes at NUTS 3 occurred between 2002 (year of the last census) and 2015 suggest that Skopje and Vardar regions, among the richest of the country, have increased their residents (+21.8% and +12.6% respectively). East and Pelagonia regions were instead those with the most negative trend (-2.5% and -2.8%). Large cities like Skopje, Kumanovo, Tetovo and Strumica have attracted most of internal migrants from other municipalities: the prevalent urbanization trend observable across the countries of the macro-regions is thus generally confirmed, as medium-sized cities are affected only by moderate depopulation, while the phenomenon is more visible in small urban centres. The focus on 2015 data on internal migration shows however that Skopje region dominates internal flows, being the only NUTS 3 with a positive net for changes of residence (+1,049).
- Urban cities in **Germany** and especially in the southern states of Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria have gone through sustained increment of residents, and in 2015 Freiburg, Munich and Regensburg have grown at higher rates than the capital Berlin. The same mentioned cities are also part to some of the NUTS 3 displaying the highest values of population density across both macro-regions.
- Data at the county level (NUTS 3) for **Hungary** bring light to a polarized migratory context, in the sense that between 2011 and 2015, only 3 county out of 20 increased, to some extent, their resident population (these regions are Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg; Győr-Moson-Sopron and Budapest). Narrowing down the focus to changes of residence in year 2015 alone, data present few exceptions to what outlined above, since also the NUTS 3 of Fejér, Vas and Komárom-Esztergom have recorded a positive internal migration net.

- In **Italy**, the capital city of Rome and some of the largest cities present positive trends of growth in residential population; Bologna, Palermo and Venezia have experienced a significant loss of population, while few other large cities (e.g. Catania, Bari, Livorno, Piacenza and Verona) have not been particularly affected by either in- or out-flows. About 100 municipalities have suffered a depopulation rate of -20% or above in the period 2011-2015, and their median population is 2,600 inhabitants. When looking at data on internal migration at NUTS 3 level (provinces), figures are not much different: Milano, Roma, Bologna, Firenze and Torino have been the top internal migrants' destinations in 2015. A number of other provinces – Varese, Verona, Parma, Como, Trento and others – all in Northern Italy, are placed right after. Napoli, Palermo, Foggia, Reggio di Calabria (all in Southern Italy) are the worst performing with about -20,000 combined negative net. In terms of regions (NUTS 2), Lombardia, Emilia-Romagna, Toscana, Lazio, Veneto are the ones with most positive internal migration net for 2015, while at the bottom Campania, Sicilia, Puglia and Campania are found.
- For what concerns **Kosovo** (under UN Security Council Resolution 1244), the analysis brings to the surface a quite peculiar path of internal migration phenomena since the last census: first of all, the capital city has not been leading the urbanization process, although it holds the second place in this respect. In all other major urban centers, depopulation trends are visible in the five years analysed. The same trends are generally less pronounced among mid-sized cities (with a population between 30,000 and 70,000); however, strong differences exist (see Table 4.7). Finally, several small cities (population below 10,000) have registered a growth in residents for the same period. The specific focus on 2015 data for internal migration (that allows to exclude the possible impact of migrations involving other countries as well as natural factors of population change) reveals that Prishtinë/Priština, Fushë Kosovë/Kosovo Polje, Prizren and Ferizaj/Uroševac are the four cities where more incoming changes of residence have been recorded.
- The analysis of population change in **Montenegro** highlights a polarisation of migration dynamics: in fact, few municipalities alone have managed to attract migratory inflows, while most of the cities have reduced their inhabitants in the last years, even to a notable degree. Focusing on 2015, internal migration statistics reports that the capital city Podgorica has attracted the 38.4% of all reported internal migrants in that year. The city of Bar follows with 12.6 of the same total. The highest negative balance was recorded in Bijelo Polje (-381 residents in 2015, equal to 8.8% of total internal flows).
- The internal movement of **Serbian** citizens is particularly difficult to understand, since it seems to follow contradictory drives. A team of Serbian scholars has elaborated for IOM and UNDP interesting additional data to reconstruct the past few years of international migration flows (Bobić, Anđelković, and Kanazir 2015). In 2013, only 34 municipalities recorded positive migration balance, 12 of them in the Belgrade region and in the city of Novi Sad in Vojvodina. Pull factors for mobility, the study found out, are predominantly the aspiration for employment and better life conditions or weddings, but also the healthcare quality and educational opportunities encourage mobility (Bobić, Anđelković, and Kanazir 2015, 67). Despite what could be expected – given the fast development of Belgrade as regional hub for many national and international economic players, mainly in the area of services – the capital city does not seem to rule internal migratory flows. According to the 2015 National Statistics, immigration to Belgrade and Vojvodina, which are the two most developed areas of the country, amounts at 78.813 individuals, which is almost equalized by the opposite flow, from Belgrade and Vojvodina (71,727). When we consider the general north/south-bound movements, we see the same ratio (migration to Southern Serbia is 45.659; migration from Southern Serbia is 52,745).

Therefore, it has to be underlined that these figures are far from providing a clear picture. One of the reason, which is common to many of the countries under our scrutiny, is that most of the people leave their places of origin unregistered, and mostly for a short period.

- The analysis of **Slovakian** dynamics was carried on at the district level in order to have comparable data. Statistics reveal that migratory phenomena are rather “balanced”, as most districts are comprised between +4.0% and -2.0% values of population change. The top-four districts increasing their population are those of Bratislava and its surroundings, while the strongest depopulation trends were found in Brezno, Snina and Poltár. In 2015, internal migration figures indicate that Bratislava and Trnava were the two only areas generating a positive net.
- Out of the 210 **Slovenian** municipalities, 86 were those becoming more populated until 2015. Ljubljana holds a central role in urbanization dynamics, followed by Kranj. The average depopulation trend for the other municipalities has been -2.2%. Internal migration trajectories in 2015 pinpoint the key attracting role of the capital and its surroundings, with little positive net values also for NUTS 3 Savinjska and Posavska.

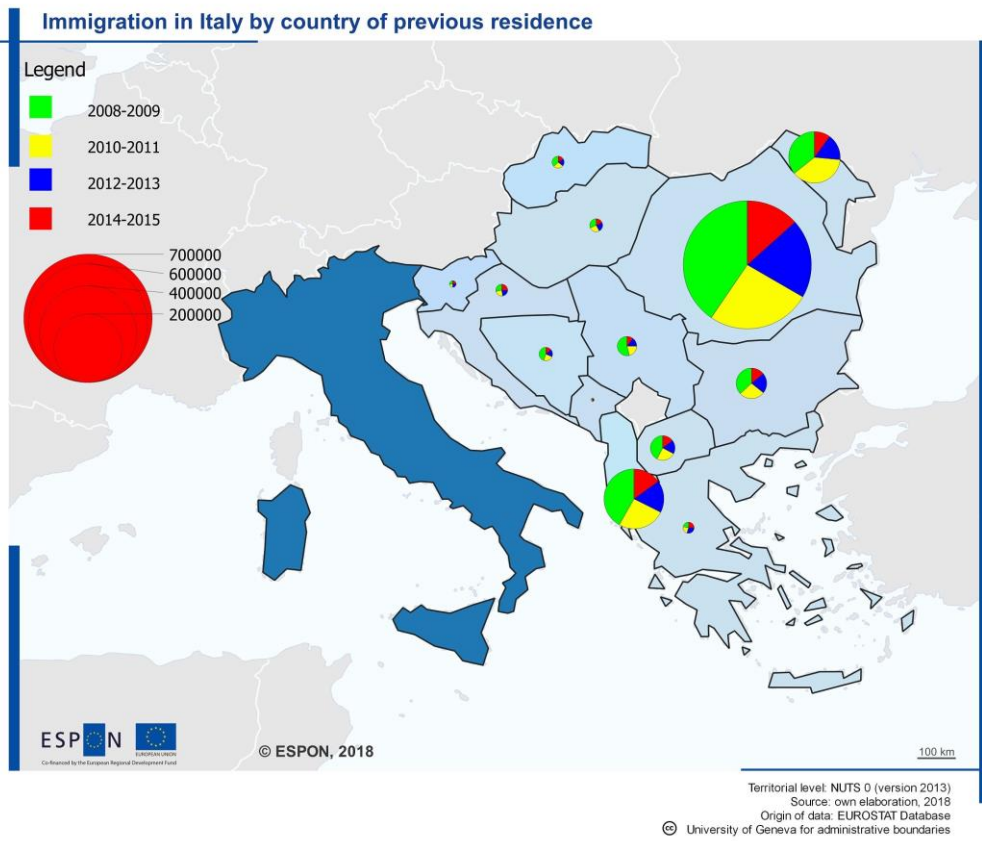
3.1.2 Type II - Internal flows within the macro-regions

Due to the lack of data collection at the level of public authorities, the cartographic production for this second type of flow had to be limited to Italy, Croatia, Slovakia and Slovenia. These are the findings of our data collection for flows, type II, concerning the period 2008-2015:

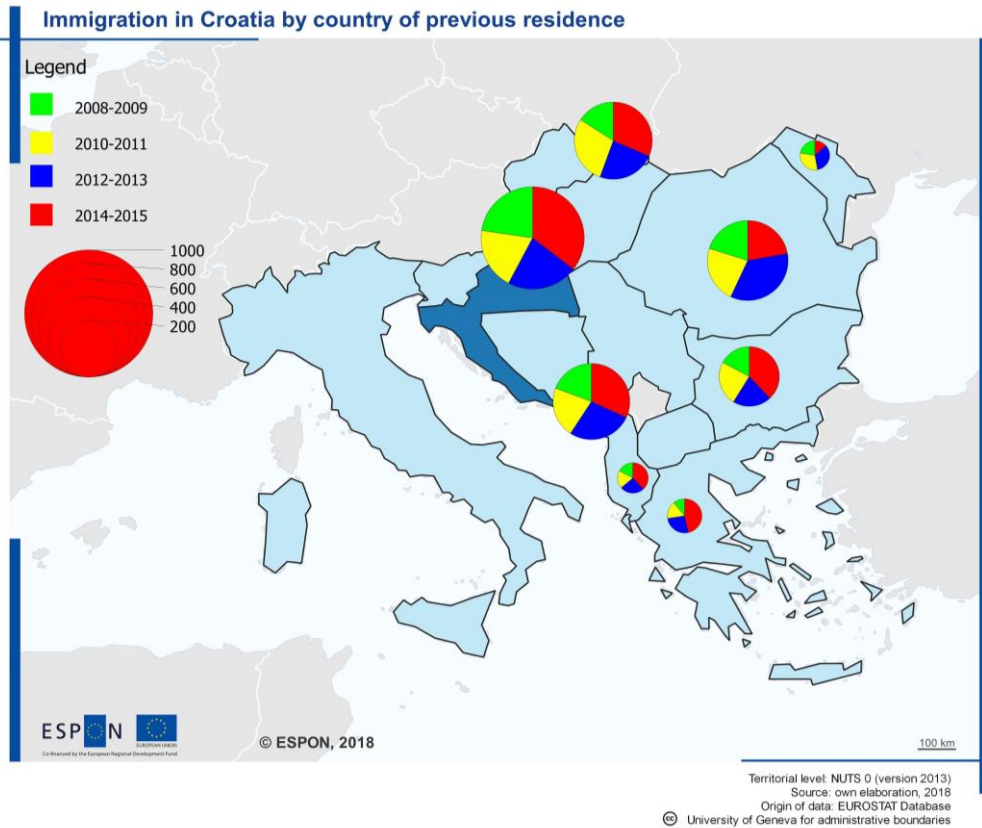
- In the case of Italy (Map 3.2), the large proportion of registered immigrants previously resided in Romania, Albania and Moldova.
- As for Croatia (Map 3.3), people that moved in, have previously resided mostly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, followed by Germany and Serbia.
- In Slovakia (Map 3.4), mobility originating in neighbour Czech Republic is predominant (32%), followed almost equally by previous residents of Hungary and Romania.
- More than 40% of the people who moved in Slovenia came from Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Serbia and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) are other two relevant countries of previous residence (Map 3.5).
- According to IOM data related to regional regular migration in the sub-period 2009-2013, flows were mainly determined by economic, educational or family reunification reasons⁶.

⁶ See Slobodan Cvejić and Marija Babović, *Migracioni tokovi u zemljama zapadnog Balkana*, IOM, Belgrade, 7 Nov. 2014.

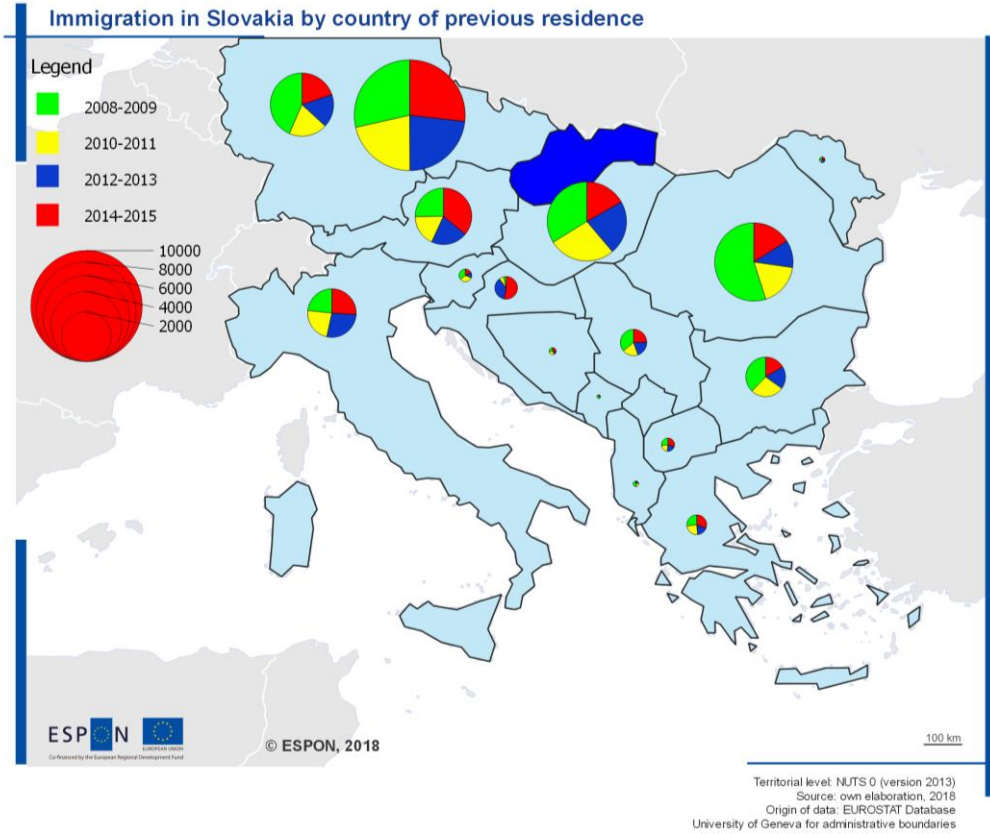
Map 3.2 Immigration in Italy by previous residence, 2008-2015



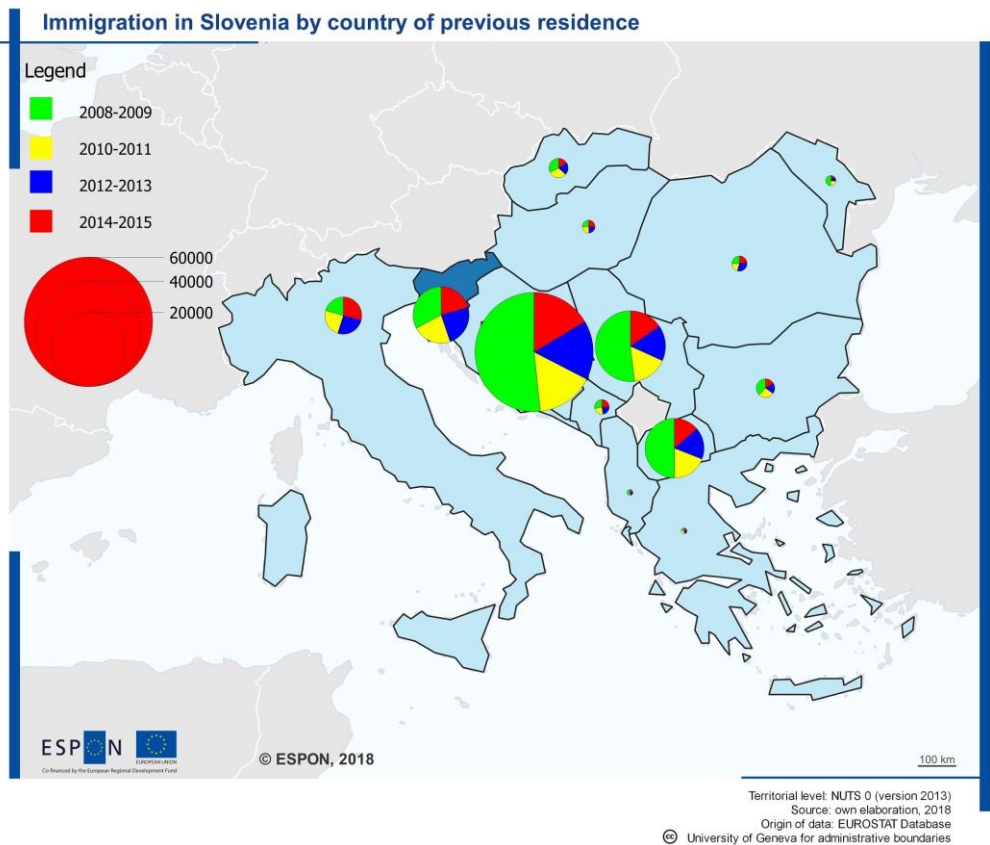
Map 3.3 Immigration in Croatia by previous residence, 2008-2015



Map 3.4 Immigration in Slovakia by previous residence, 2008-2015



Map 3.5 Immigration in Slovenia by previous residence, 2008-2015



Despite the absence of clear figures about many countries of the two macro-regions and Col, a number of relevant dynamics can be nevertheless noted through the help of available information from secondary sources. While some of this information are not directly comparable with those used for the elaboration of maps and tables in this Report (due to methodological or temporal incongruency), they allow to describe at least the main observable short-term trends, which can nevertheless turn useful for policymaking and analysis purposes.

As eloquently summarized by the World Bank's Fall 2015 Regular Economic Report, the six South-Eastern countries (SEE6) "are among the top migrant-sending regions in the world" (WB, 2015: 21). Since the early 1990s, at least five million people have left their countries to move to the EU, and the share of the region's emigrants in relation to their country population was comprised between 25% and 31% in 2013 (Vračić, 2018: 4). Several studies point out a multitude of reasons for migration from WB countries to EU countries ranging from economic aspects to more perspective-related reasons. Although the economies of the region have witnessed positive growth, it has not been considerable to significantly impact the economy. For instance, the real GDP growth of the region has been around 3%. In 2015, Kosovo (under UN Security Council Resolution 1244) marked the highest growth rate with 4.1% of real GDP. Albania marked the lowest growth in 2015 with about 2.2%, while Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) and Montenegro grew by 3.8% and 3.4%, respectively.

However, migration dynamics within the Adriatic-Ionian macro-region include also return flows: this is particular relevant for the case of Albania. Since the beginning of the 2000s it became evident how the initial flows of Albanian migrants to neighbouring countries was increasingly generating a stream of returnees who, often after multiple moves back and forth, had decided to settle back in Albania (Kilic et al., 2007). According to INSTAT, 139,000 or 4.9% of Albanian population ever residing abroad returned after 2001⁷. These returnees tend to be relatively young, and of working age.

There are substantial migration flows also within the Danube macro-region, which are triggered by regional differences in wealth and quality of life. This is no surprise as the macro-region contains the poorest NUTS2 region of the EU, Severozapaden in Bulgaria with 8,400 Euro GDP per capita in Purchasing Power Standards (PPS), and one of the richest regions, Oberbayern (including Munich) with 51,400 Euro GDP per capita in PPS. The five-fold difference between the richest and poorest parts of the macro-region inevitably generated robust East to West migration flows after the collapse of communism, and especially after the EU accession of Romania and Bulgaria in 2007. In the wake of the EU-expansions of 2004 and 2007, many 'old' EU-Member States apprehended negative consequences due to increasing migration from the new to the old Member States. Especially Germany and Austria

⁷https://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/stats/documents/ece/ces/ge.10/2014/mtg1/presentations/22._Albania_Return_migration.pdf

(parts of the Danube Region) were concerned, as both countries received significant migration flows from Central and Eastern Europe after 1989-90, and especially after the accession of the new member-states. Migration from the eastern regions of the Danube zone to the western parts further intensified after the 2008 financial crisis.

Austria, the other well-off country of the Danube Region, experienced similar immigration waves after the eastern extension of the EU. Austria (together with Germany, Belgium and Denmark) also made use of the full duration of seven years before granting full freedom of movement to the new EU citizens from Central and Eastern Europe, which was 1st May 2011 for the new EU members of 2004, and 1st January 2014 for the new EU members of 2007 (Bulgaria and Romania). Nevertheless, this restriction had little effects: between 2007 and 2016, Austria received 730,582 migrants from other EU member-states. Among them, two Danube Zone countries, i.e. Romania (172,949) and Hungary (101,331) had the lion share (37.5%). In the case of Hungary, the real figures on economic migrants can be significantly higher, due to the geographical vicinity and opportunities for daily commuting and other forms of migration (seasonal, circulation etc.).

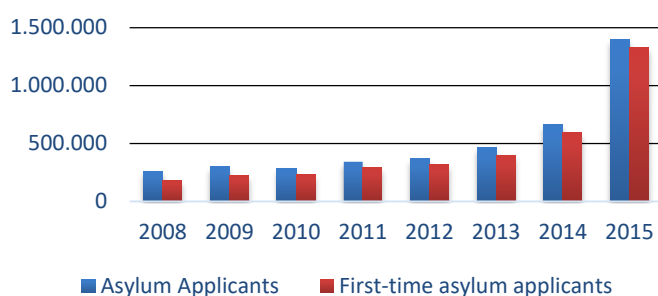
Hungary itself received considerable migration flows after the turn of the millennium and the subsequent opening up of national borders. On the eve of the last census (October 2011), Hungary with ca. 10 million inhabitants had 143,197 foreign citizens (excluding dual citizens) and 383,236 foreign-born citizens. For both groups, the majority are ethnic Hungarians who migrated to Hungary from the neighbouring countries (Romania, Ukraine, Serbia) from those territories, which were separated from the country after the Treaty of Trianon (1920). The share of better-educated and skilled people is clearly above average among these migrants and they have no language or cultural barrier. The country is in a desperate situation due to the lack of skilled labour, which in some professions (e.g. medical doctors, nurses, engineers) aggravated after EU accession in 2004. According to Eurostat, ca. 400 thousand Hungarians were working in other EU Member States in 2016. Thus, it can be said that the emigration of Hungarians is more or less counterbalanced by inflow from the neighbouring countries. This type of migration strategy (replacement of Hungarians by Hungarians) has always been integral part of the migration policies of the post-communist Hungarian governments.

3.1.3 Type III - External flows to the macro-regions

The following are the most important findings in relation to external flows:

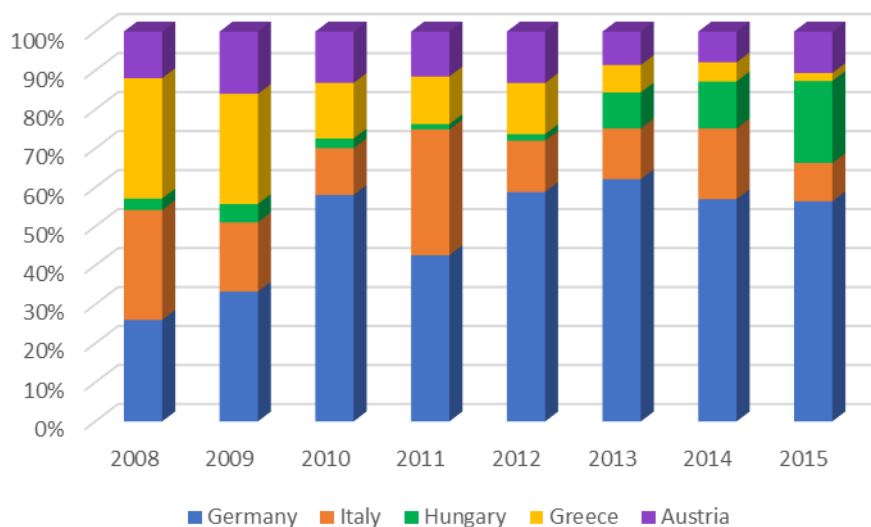
- The five-top recipient EU28+ countries throughout the 2008-2015 temporal span were Germany (25.6% of the total); France (11.4%); Sweden (11%); Italy (7.1%); and Hungary (6.2%). The 2015 apex is captured in the table below:

Table 3.3 Total asylum applicants in EU28+, 2008-2015



With respect to the two macro-regions and the two Col, it is useful to display UNHCR figures divided in two parts: in the first one, we report the asylum applications received by the top-four receiving countries only, and in the second part all the others. This distinction ensures a meaningful comparison between countries that have recorded very different numbers of asylum applications: in fact, the first five countries in Table 3.4 account alone for as much as the 94% (around 1,950,000) of the total applications lodged in the area under scrutiny.

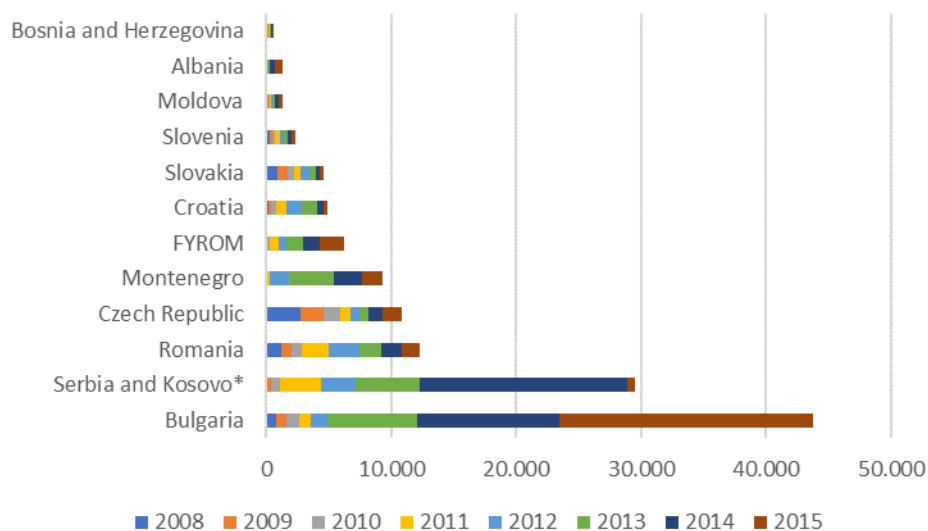
Table 3.4 Asylum applications lodged in Austria, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy per year



- In contrast to previous years, when the Mediterranean Route was most common, since 2013 Greece and Italy became less prominent, both because flows redirected to the Balkan Route and because these countries exercised less attractiveness on migrants. The complementary aspect emerging from Table 3.4 is that Hungary became increasingly interested by the migration route, rising up to represent alone the 20.3% of all applications submitted in 2015 in the countries under our interest (i.e. 177,340 applications).

- In the remaining countries (Table 3.5), the same set of data reveals that 2014 was the year in which most asylum applications were received in aggregated terms (some 36,390) followed by 2015 and 2013. Applications were unequally shared between countries, with Bulgaria and Serbia and Kosovo (under UN Security Council Resolution 1244) surpassing by far most of the other macro-regional, where overall application rates remained rather low (especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Moldova and Slovenia). In fact, it has been explained that migrants “are not interested in applying for asylum in these countries; they use the asylum systems maintained by these countries as a vehicle to help them reach their final destinations in Western Europe” (Šalamon, 2016: 152).

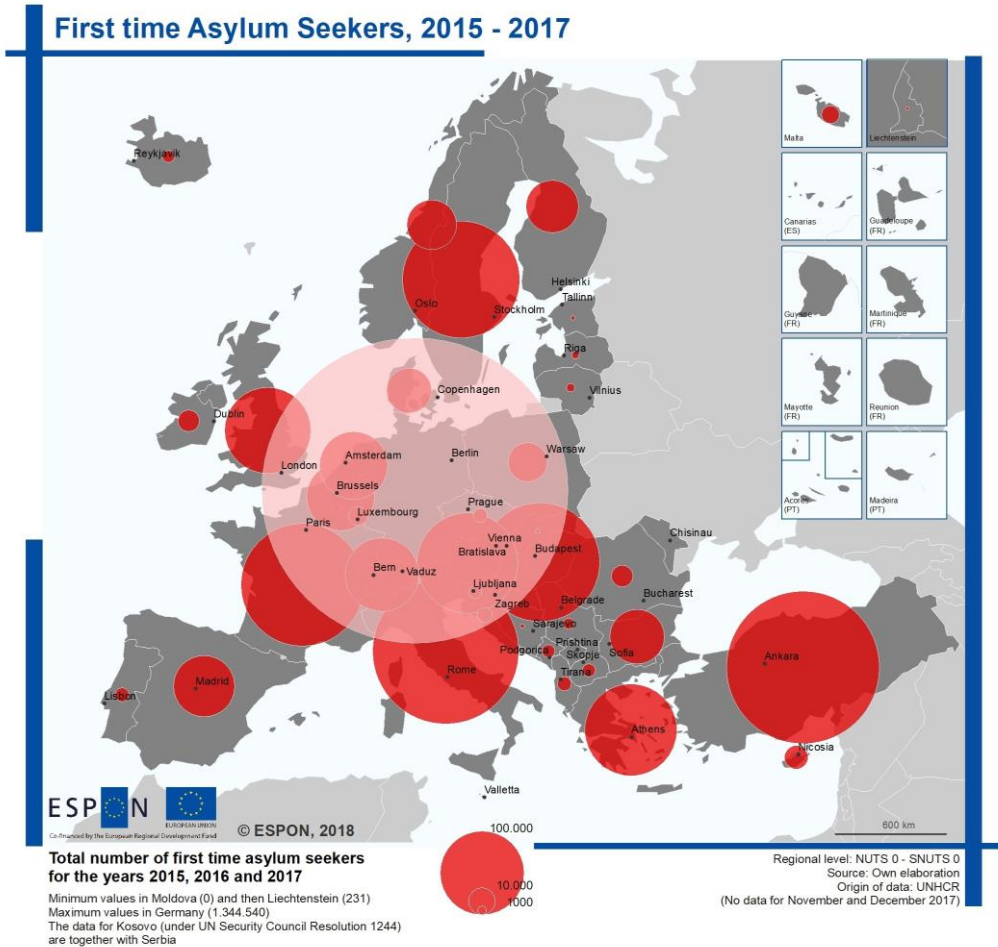
Table 3.5 Asylum applications lodged in selected countries, 2008-2015



Considering the centrality of migration flows for the future of politics and policies at the European level, expanding the temporal scope of our overview of asylum applications is instrumental for the development of a well-informed debate. Map 3.7 below reports the aggregated data for the period 2015-2017 (Individuals repeating their application have been excluded at this time to provide a better visualization of the flow), and brings to light that:

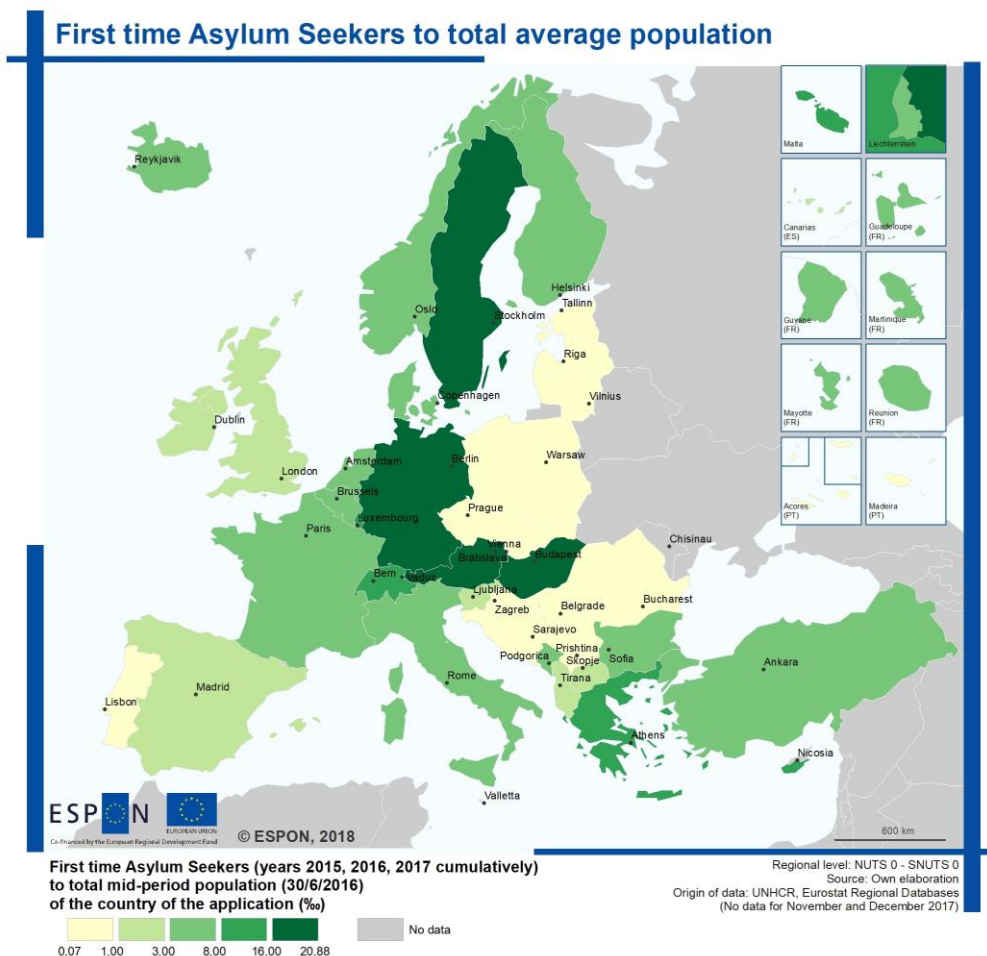
- In the period considered, central and northern European countries remained main destination countries for first time asylum seekers.
- Hungary was the most affected transit country.
- Several macro-regional countries, and both Col, present an extremely low number of applicants in aggregated terms, in the range of few thousands first time asylum seekers or less. This triggers important questions of territorial attractiveness; efficiency of asylum procedures and integration policies; governments’ willingness to manage migration or interest in “passing on the people to neighbours further along the route” (EC, 2015: 2).

Map 3.6 First time asylum seekers by country, 2015-2017



In strict connection with the previous map, Map 3.8 illustrates the relation between the same category (first time asylum seekers for a period of 3 years, UNHCR data) and the total population of each country (Eurostat data) at the middle point of the same period (i.e. 30/6/2016). The 38 represented countries have received 3,479,978 first time asylum seekers between 2015 and 2017, against a population that at the middle of this period amounted to 622,267,548. Through the formula: first time asylum seekers/middle population *1,000, we obtain the average rate of 5.59, that is to say, the asylum seekers applying for the first time represented 5.59 per thousand (‰) of the total population of the 38 countries at the middle of the period under consideration. What does Map 3.8 show? The map provides cartographic evidence about each country's positioning in respect to that average rate: the rate for Hungary is 20.9‰ (almost four times more than the average of the 38 countries; 20.0‰ for Sweden; 16.8‰ for Austria; 16.3‰ for Germany; the same rate is 0.78‰ for Croatia (seven times lower than the average); 0.34‰ for Romania; 0.26‰ for Czech Republic; and 0.08‰ for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Map 3.7 First time asylum seekers in relation to country population, 2015-2017



Who are the asylum applicants crossing the Western Balkans?

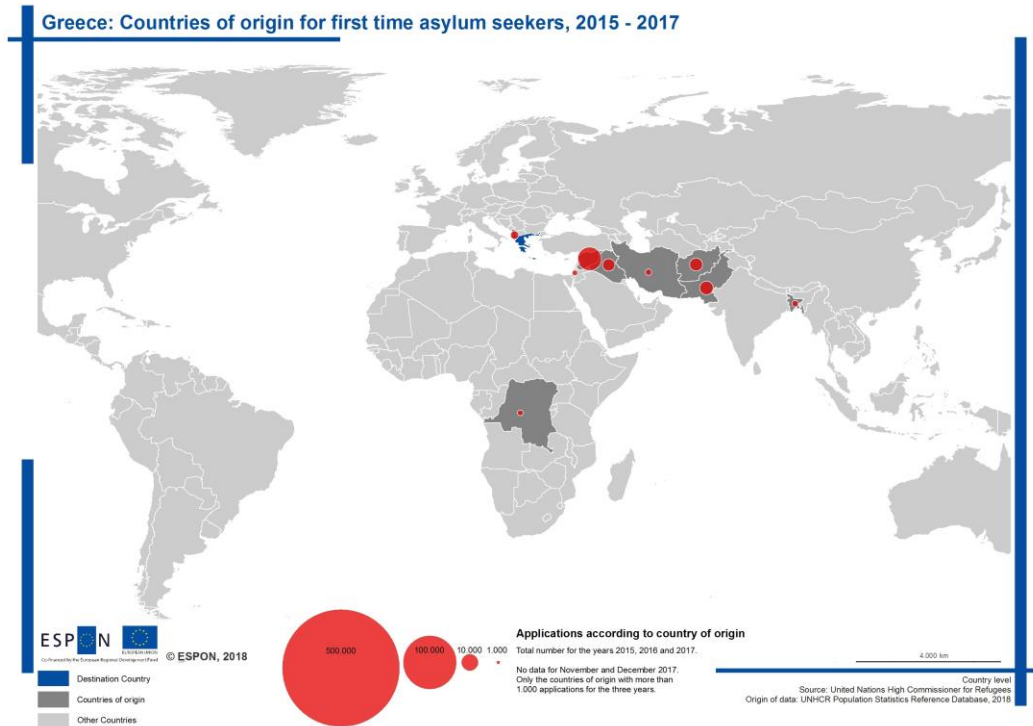
- According to UNHCR demographics data on persons of concern, the majority have been young adults (aged 18-34), with males outnumbering females (except for Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as Serbia). Croatia, Slovenia and Romania present the lowest number of females in external flows (respectively, 24%, 28% and 30%). Particularly, against a general negative trend in flows in Bosnia and Herzegovina, females represented the 57% of the total number of refugees in 2016. Females outweigh males also in Serbia, though only for 0.5%. It may be interesting to note also the situation in Albania, where males doubled females in 2014 whereas males and females were almost the same in numbers during 2016. However, the gender balance has remained uneven throughout the whole period under scrutiny in the two macro-regions. Adults aged 18-59 make up the largest portion in all the countries under study. Yet, the number of minors has remained steady in most countries, while it has grown in Albania and in Croatia and it dropped in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In particular, in Albania from 56 in 2014 (10%) to 3,711 in 2016 (48%) while in Croatia from 44 in 2014 (18%) to 177 in 2016 (22%). On the opposite, in Bosnia and Herzegovina minors have decreased from 809 in 2014 (12%) to 378 in 2016 (7%). We lack to a great extent info on education and professional skills. We can gain some (partial) information on education utilizing qualitative sources.
- According to interviews conducted by IOM in 2017, over half of respondents reported having completed secondary education while 13% reported not having obtained any formal level of education (+9% than in the same period of 2016). People mainly reported relying on stable sources of income before leaving their country of origin (except

Afghans) and having taken debts to finance their journey. However, overall levels of reliance on stable employment are lower than those observed in December 2015 (IOM 2018).

- According to overall arrivals data from UNHCR, Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq are the most represented countries both in 2015 and in 2016.
- Germany remained the most popular country of intended destination in 2016 (65% of the respondents) but the percentage decreased to 28% in 2017. At this time, individuals on the Balkan Route were more likely to report France (14%), Sweden (10%) and Italy (7%) as countries of intended destination. An increase in other countries has been found (mainly Norway, Austria and Denmark).

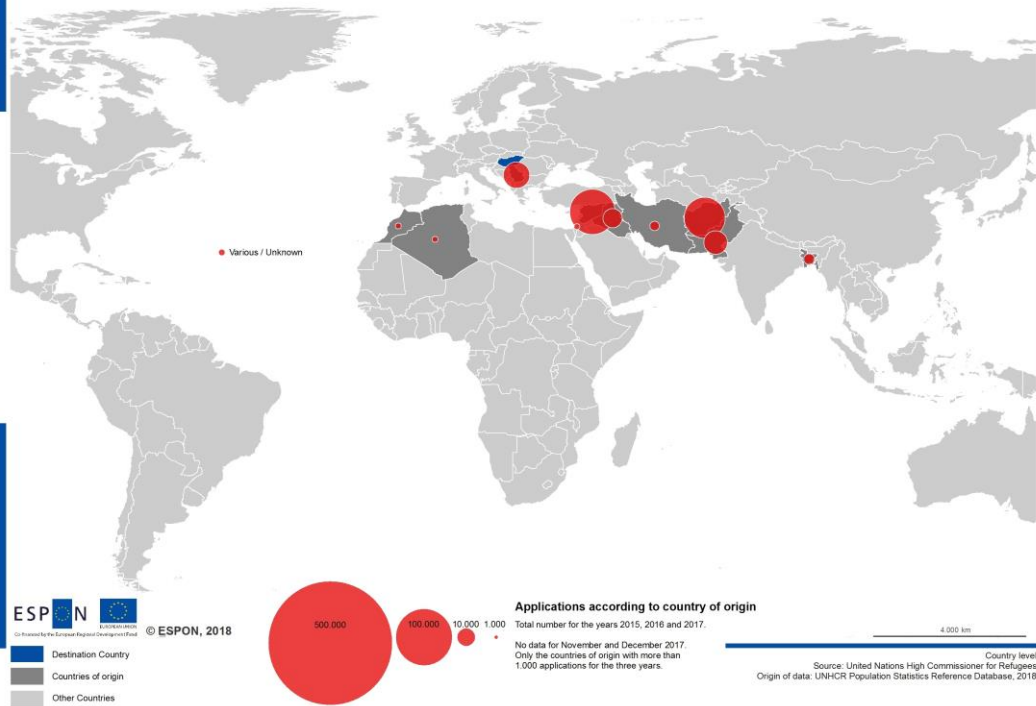
The following thematic maps focus on asylum applicants according to their country of origin and application in the period 2015-2017. These maps are meant to provide insights on arrival countries in the Balkan route (Greece, which received land and sea flows from Turkey); on transit countries (the prominent case of Hungary); and on countries of final destination (Germany). Other thematic maps can be found in the Scientific Report and in Annex 3.

Map 3.8 Greece: countries of origin for asylum seekers



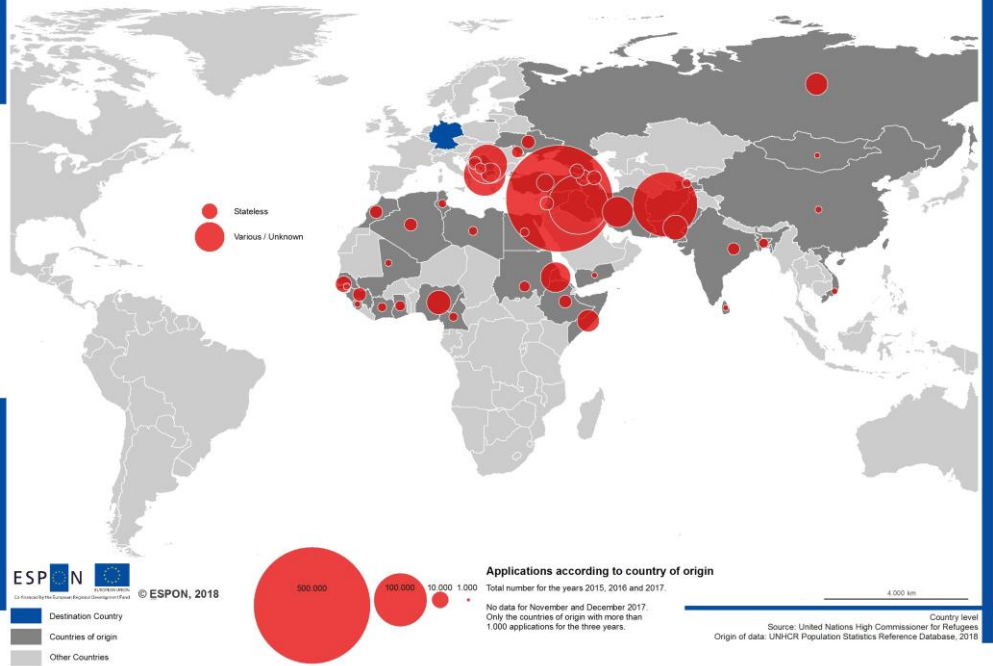
Map 3.9 Hungary: countries of origin for asylum seekers

Hungary: Countries of origin for first time asylum seekers, 2015 - 2017

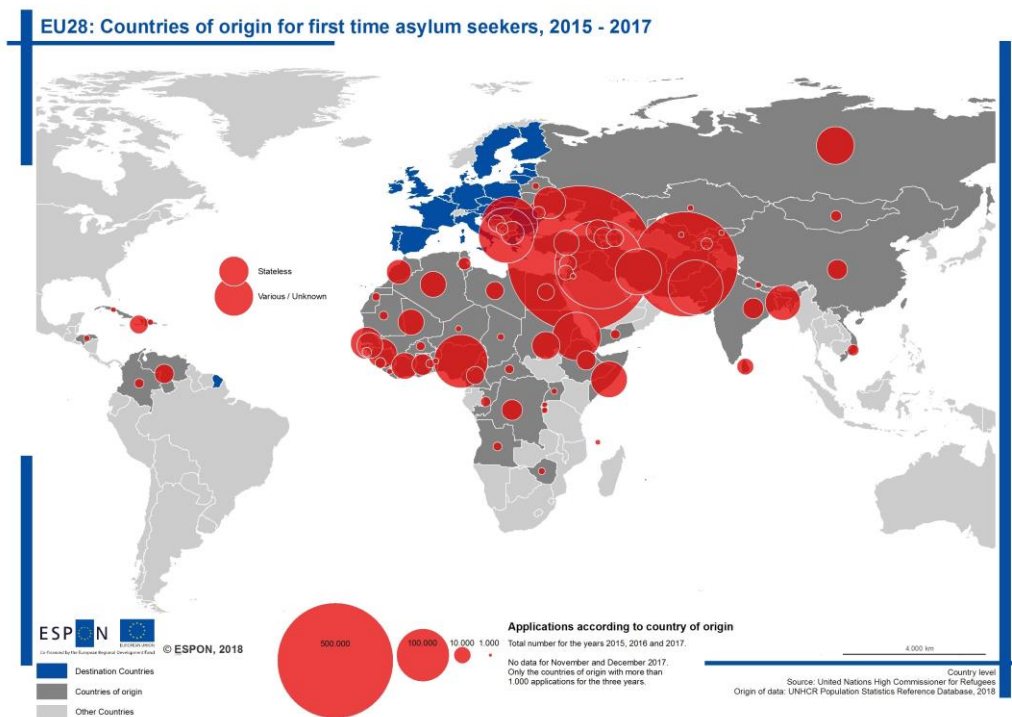


Map 3.10 Germany: countries of origin for asylum seekers

Germany: Countries of origin for first time asylum seekers, 2015 - 2017



Map 3.11 EU28: countries of origin for asylum seekers



Irregular migration – Detected illegal crossings of state borders are part and parcel of external flows to and through the macro-regions and Col. The Frontex Western Balkans Quarterly (WBQ) publication series reviews the number of detected illegal crossings at specific borders along the Balkan Route. It is interesting to note the impact on flows of Hungary’s border barriers, which reduced the number of detections on the border with Serbia from 142,918 (in the third quarter of 2015) to just 1,267 (fourth quarter of the same year). Moreover, the same barriers are linked to the increment in detections (+500%) of migrants entering illegally Croatia from Serbia between the same two quarters of 2015. One can also note that despite the formally-declared closure of the Route in March 2016, according to WBQ, detections remain significant along all the Western Balkan and neighbouring countries land borders (almost 45,000 detections between April to December 2016 and more than 25,000 throughout 2017). In particular, detections of illegal border crossings by SEE6 citizens have remained stable also in the aftermath of the EU-Turkey statement: 37.4% of detections in 2017 concerned nationals of Albania, Kosovo (under UN Security Council Resolution 1244) and Serbia.

3.1.4 Type IV - Secondary movements of rejected asylum applicants

Even though data about the destination of secondary movements are still scarce, this project intends to provide some insights on the flow’s features, anticipating what is believed to be an important topic for future studies of migration dynamics in the macro-regions and Col. First of all, available data allows the team to outline the entity of the flow in question, through Eurostat

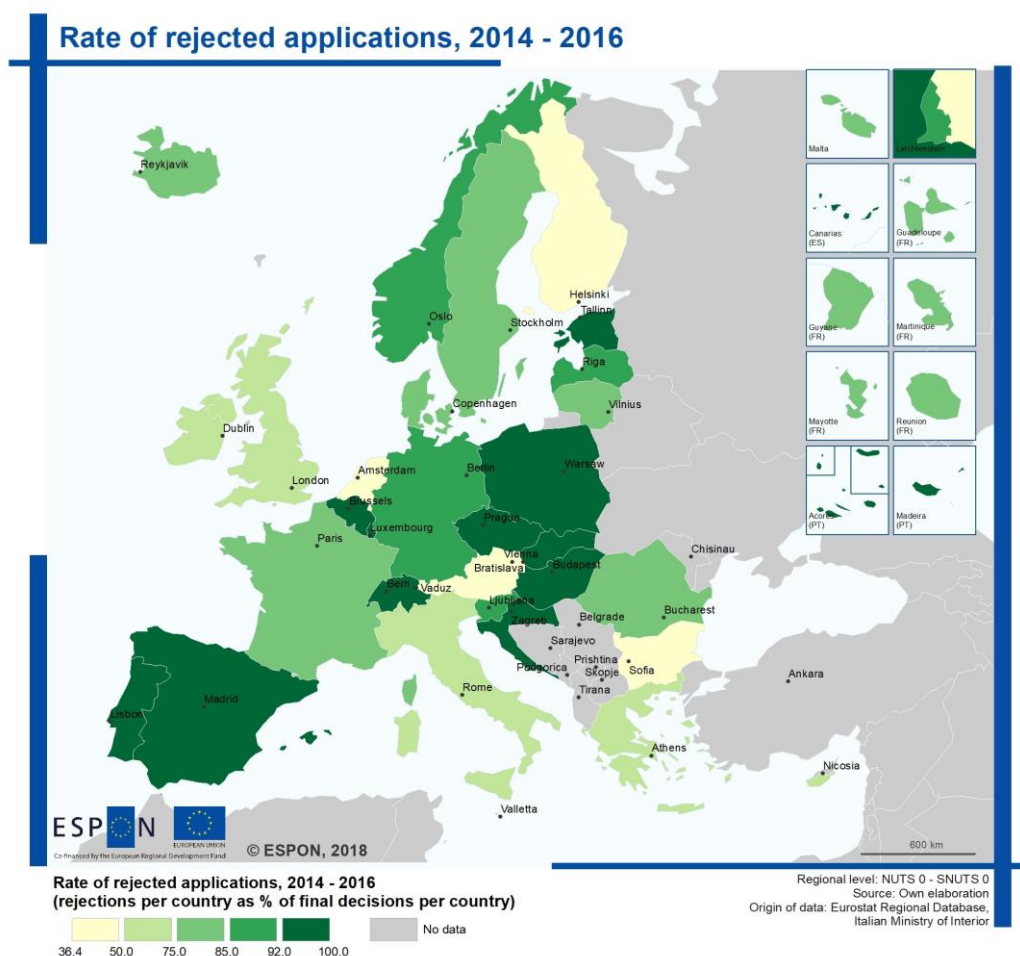
yearly statistics on “Final decisions on applications by citizenship”, from which the team extrapolated only decisions ended with rejection.

Table 3.6 Instances of asylum applications ended with rejection (SOURCE: Eurostat)

	2014	2015	2016
EU28+	120,070	158,990	190,185
Afghanistan	4,225	2,640	8,265
Iraq	2,430	1,520	5,555
Pakistan	6,320	7,200	8,885
Syria	1,205	965	1,345
Total (share of EU28+)	14,180 (11.0%)	12,325 (7.7%)	24,050 (12.6%)

Secondly, Eurostat data on rejection decisions are suitable to create intuitive maps that visualize both the rejection rate in each country (Map 3.12) and the location index for rejected applications at the European level (Map 3.13). Map 3.15 shows that rejection rates were higher in Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary (at least 92%), comparatively lower in Austria, Germany and Romania (between 85% and 91%); in Italy and Greece (75%-84%). The lowest rates in the overall period 2014-2016 were recorded in Austria and Bulgaria (below 50%).

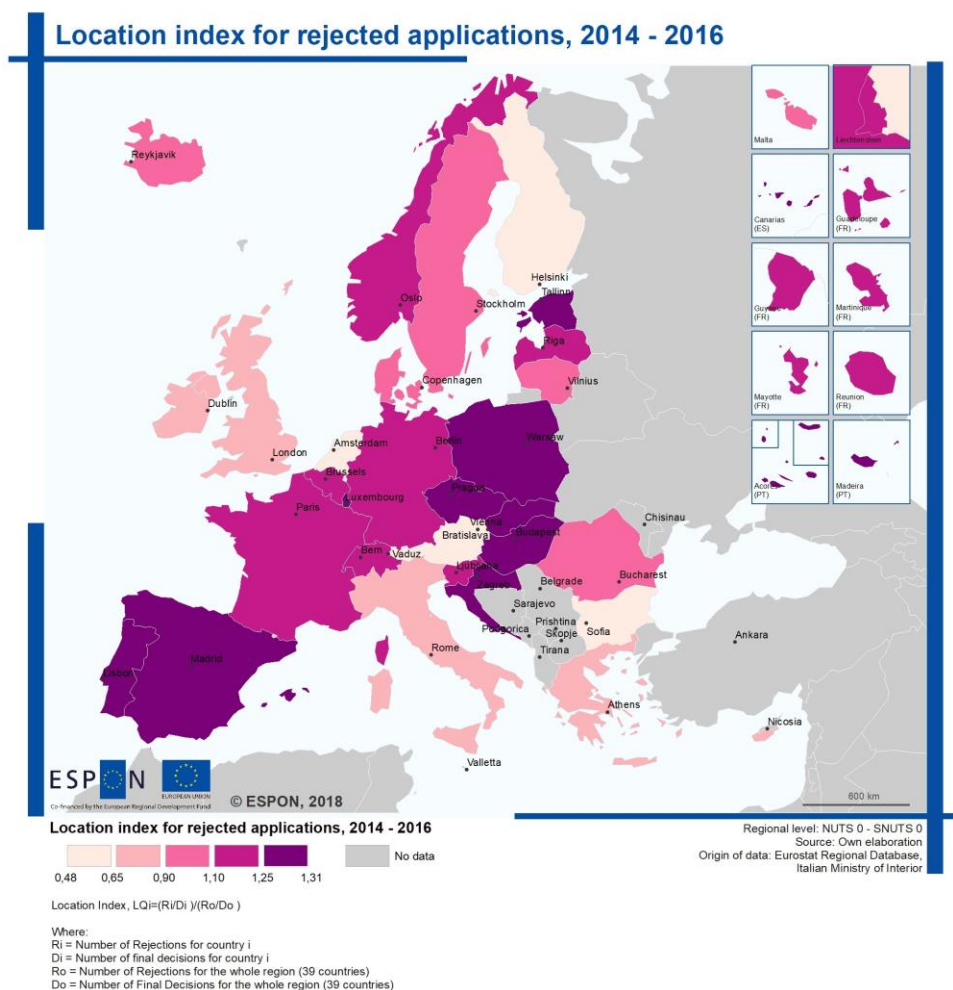
Map 3.12 Rate of rejected applications, 2014-2016



The location index represented in map 3.13 puts in relation rejection rates at the national level one with the other, showing to what extent a country exceeded (dark purple) or fell below

(light purple) the median value obtained by dividing the number of rejections by the number of final decisions.

Map 3.13 Location index for rejected applications, 2014-2016



As it is possible to evince from Table 3.6, the share of rejected applications for the top citizenships of application remains low during the three years considered: therefore, the team has investigated which groups were most likely to receive a rejection as final decision on their applications. It emerged that citizens from SEE6 countries were among those: these are the main findings, that we present here with the goal of stimulating more well-informed research on the subject, especially since these flows are “expected to continue” in reason of structural as well as economic problems existing in several SEE6 countries especially (Hackaj et al., 2016: 8):

- Data indicate that in the peak year 2015 alone, some 200,000, or 15% of the total asylum applicants in EU28 were citizens of “SEE6” countries.
- Taken together, SEE6 citizens result to be among the top applicants for international protection in EU28+ countries. In the overall 2008-2016 period, they represented jointly the second group of asylum applicants (651,000) after citizens of Syria (957,000) and ahead of Afghani (577,000), Iraqis (395,000) and Pakistanis (209,000).
- In the overall 2008-2016 period, Germany was the top recipient country of asylum applications from SEE6 countries (346,000, 53%). It was followed by France (12%), Sweden (7%) and Belgium (6%).

- A noticeable feature is that SEE6 citizens are likely to repeat their asylum application after that a final decision has been taken on a previous application in the same country – compared to other non-EU28 applicants. Eurostat data provide evidence that apart from 2010, citizens of SEE6 countries are more prone to replicate they application, up to four times more than the average of other non-EU citizens, as it was recorded in 2015.
- This is particularly the case of the citizens of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), Kosovo (under UN Security Council Resolution 1244), and Serbia.
- The reiteration tendency seems to be linked to the flow's "seasonality" already identified in other reports (EASO, 2015: 6) and characterizing also other flows such as the circular migration from Albania to Greece or the "back-and-forth" movements in other sub-regional migration dynamics (Hatziprolopiou and Markova, 2015).

In absolute terms, Kosovars are the prevalent group of asylum applicants between 2008-2016, followed by Serbians and by a growing number of Albanians who, in 2016, have been the most numerous group of asylum applicants (45% of the total from the selected SEE6 countries).

3.1.5 Comparative analysis of flows

In addition to the information provided so far for each of the four flows, it possible to present some comparative findings of this study:

- Internal migrations to each country (flow type I) have affected unevenly the countries under our scrutiny: The twenty-five NUTS 3 with most negative rates in 2015 are all located in **Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia and Greece**, while the list of positively performing NUTS 3 is dominated on top by **German and Austrian** territories, which display higher values than many capital cities across the macro-regions. Moreover, if we apply a basic calculation – resident population at 1st January 2015 on the total amount of yearly recorded changes of residence – we see, on the basis of the available data, that **Austria, Germany, Slovenia and Hungary**, have been the countries most interested by this type of movements in the last years. Respectively, at least one every 11, 13, 19 and 20 residents has changed his/her residence in 2015. **Italy, Croatia, Romania, Serbia, Bulgaria and Slovakia** form a second group of countries slightly less concerned by internal migrations, ranging from 1/47 to 1/60 rates of change of residence. **Albania** follows at the level of 1 declared change of residence every 78 residents. Recorded changes of residence become increasingly fewer in 2015 for **Bosnia and Herzegovina (1/117), Montenegro (1/144), Czech Republic (1/175) and Kosovo (under UN Security Council Resolution 1244)** with 1/201. According to data available, **Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)** was the country with fewer changes of residence in 2015, accounting for one registered internal migrant every 330 residents.
- A similar indicative calculation method for flow type 2 – resident population at 1st January 2015 on the total amount of yearly recorded changes of residence from macro-regional countries and Col – underlines that in Slovenia there has been a new resident immigrant from one of the said countries every 164 inhabitants. This figure is quite higher than the other three analysed countries and suggests that macro-regional movements are particular intense in Slovenia. Consider that in Croatia, the figure is one new macro-regional resident every 461 inhabitants; in Italy, one every 780, while in Slovakia one new macro-regional resident every 1.324 inhabitants has established his/her usual residence in the country.
- In relation to comparisons of flow type 3 (external migration), we can consider the evolution of the total population of concern (as defined by UNHCR) on the total resident population at 1st January for the overall period 2008-2015. Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo (under UN Security Council Resolution 1244), Serbia (data for these two countries are presented together) and Montenegro have experienced a remarkable presence of such population on their territory in the analysed time frame, although in sharp decline over time. This is not a surprise since the population of concern includes by definition also internal displaced persons: these are the residents that were forced by

the war in the 1990s to leave their home, yet without crossing national borders, and represent the major component of the population of concern in the countries above. In 2015, the ratio indicates respectively a person of concern every 24, 34 and 39 inhabitants. Next in line are Austria (1/62) and Germany (1/122): both countries registered their peak in numbers in 2015. Greece (1/210), Hungary (1/239) and Croatia (1/241) come after. However, despite their close average value, these three countries have moved in different directions: Croatia's population of concern drastically dropped from 32,800 in 2008 to 17,500 in 2015 (similarly to the first group of countries), while in Greece and Hungary it has raised instead (from 40.500 to 51.600 in Greece; from 10.500 to 41.000 in Hungary). This reflects the different territorial role held within international migration routes. Hungary in particular has moved from being fairly untouched by such dynamics (2008-2013), to become one of the countries most affected (and certainly the most rapidly affected). Bulgaria (1/276), Italy (1/339), Albania (1/345) and Moldova (1/638) can be seen as the first group of countries where the persons of concern per capita ratio is less pressing, again with the peak in 2015. The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) (1/1.329) has almost halved its persons of concern over the analysed years (reaching 1.557 in 2015), resulting in a smaller presence of persons of concern. Even smaller in 2015 were those of Czech Republic (1/1.890), Slovakia (1/2.082), Slovenia (1.2835) and Romania (1/6.031).

- Finally, the analysis of flow type 4 suggests that the several thousand applicants who have been denied protection status have performed, since 2015, secondary movements that need to be analyzed by further researches, in order to grasp useful information about territorial attractiveness and other factors that impacted on their onwards mobility patterns.

3.2 Task 2: Identifying and measuring “attractiveness”

Globalization involves all aspects of territorial performances (in either a positive or a negative way). Territories, in fact, are progressively included in – or excluded from – processes with a global dimension, and this in turn produces tangible consequences at the local levels. So, economic crises, geopolitical imbalances, or again economic growth or geopolitical security continually modify and reshape territories and their complexity, also in terms of administration, jurisdiction, policymaking, from the nation to local levels. A territory, though “apparently” not attractive in a global dimension, can appear indeed attractive or play an important role of attraction in a regional or small-scale perspective. Therefore, migration flows require to be explained not only as a social, but also as a geographical process, because they strictly connect at least two places and are performed in a precise inter-space. The reasons that lie behind the choice to migrate are very complex and are normally included in a set of variables, that should represent the complexity of this phenomenon, and that are globally called “push - pull” factors⁸.

Pull factors include both objective and subjective components. Among the first, and accountable mainly for theoretical purposes, we may count the labour market and the wage

⁸ However, recent sociological and economic theories have tried to explain in a more systemic way the reasons that lead to the choice of migrating; among these, the dual labour market theory suggests that migration may better be understood as a process of economic globalization and transnational market penetration (Massey et al., 1993). Individual choices are any longer concerned: rather, it is the labour demand that pull migrants, as a collective group, to migrate. Globalization itself, however, has created a double labour demand market, with the skilled workers of the western societies having more and more access to higher level jobs, leaving the more unskilled occupations to immigrants, who will accept that condition which (apparently) offer them a higher prestige and social climbing compared to their original society (Arango, 2003; Samers, 2012).

market, labour standards and the presence of minimum wage legislations⁹, unemployment rate and the percentage of low-wage earners¹⁰, national or per capita GDP or, even better, the Human Development Index, health and education systems, the old age dependency rate¹¹, as well as the geographical proximity and the spatial accessibility (measured by the percentage of infrastructures and structures), that are also decisive for the definition of the so called political, juridical, and cultural accessibility. All these territorial tools on the one hand can contribute to the territorial cohesion (that is a complex indicator with both a social and economic perspective), on the other hand they can improve the perception of a territory from outside, that means its image. According to ILO¹², three main legal indicators for decent work should be considered: working time, maternity protection and minimum wages. The relevant indicators are:

- for working time: maximum hours of work and paid annual leave;
- for maternity protection: maternity leave (including weeks of leave, replacement rate and coverage), paternity and parental leave;
- for minimum wages: minimum wage setting procedure and level.

Among subjective factors, focusing on the migrants' perspective, other aspects are even more valuable, such as the presence of a native or compatriot community already in place, with its hospitality and subsistence networks, the presence of a healthy labour market, with unskilled positions to be taken, the existence of legislation on family reunification, the role women may play in the new society, etc. What emerges very clearly is that the pull factors are not any longer left to individual preferences; rather they have become more global aspects that connect people, institution and the market forces all over the planet.

Attractiveness may be connected to several socio-economic indicators, but our analysis will focus only on 3 parameters taken from the NUTS 2 indicators present on the Eurostat Database. Of the several indicators that could offer a good contribution to the identification of attractiveness patterns, only a limited amount is present on the Eurostat Database for all the countries of the area and updated to the year 2015. As an example, schooling is updated only to 2012 and cannot thus be of use for an analysis of the 2015 situation. Other indicators, such as the number of active enterprises, the population at risk of poverty or suffering severe deprivation and the number of available beds in hospitals are available only for too a limited number of countries to be of use for a full comparison between our countries. As a consequence, the analysis has focused on 3 main indicators: **life expectancy, employment of the active population (20-64), and population density (see Annex 4)** which are available for 8 countries in the area: Greece, Croatia, Italy, Hungary, Romania, Slovenia,

⁹ <http://www.ilo.org/global/standards/subjects-covered-by-international-labour-standards/wages/lang-en/index.htm>; http://www.ilo.org/dyn/travail/travmain.IIndicators?p_lang=en

¹⁰ http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Wages_and_labour_costs#Gross_wages.2FEarnings

¹¹ <http://hdr.undp.org/en/data>

¹² http://www.ilo.org/dyn/travail/travmain.IIndicators?p_lang=en

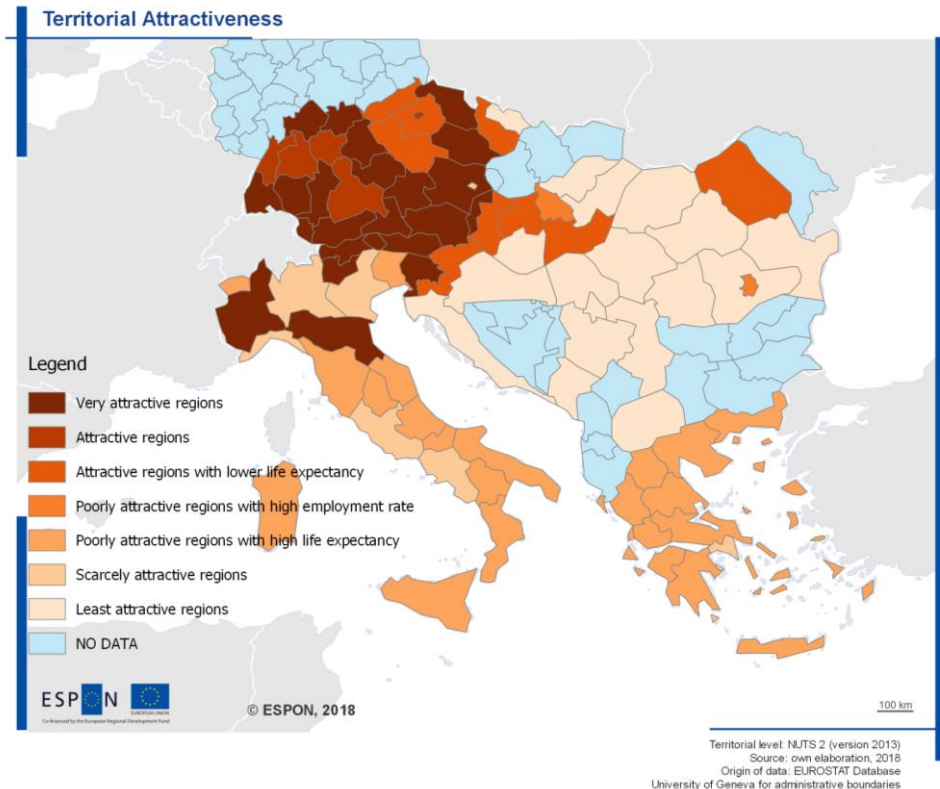
Montenegro, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). After calculating the average for each one of the 3 indicators, each region has been attributed either a positive (+1) or negative (-1) value depending on the performance of the specific indicator (higher or lower than the average). After crossing these data, a set of 8 typologies was identified, each with a specific level of attractiveness (see Annex 4 for details on calculations).

- Area 1. **Very attractive regions** (High life expectancy, low density, high employment rate). They show life expectancy over the average, low population density and thus opportunities for the settlement of newcomers, high employment rate, which shows a dynamic job market.
- Area 2. **Attractive regions** (High life expectancy, high density, high employment rate) They show life expectancy above the average, high population density and high employment rate: the attraction of the dynamic job market is also high, exceeding the limits imposed by a high density.
- Area 3. **Attractive regions with lower life expectancy** (Low life expectancy, low density, high employment rate). Life expectancy is below the average, but density is low and employment high: it is believed that higher job opportunities overrun higher life expectancy as a factor of attractiveness.
- Area 4. **Poorly attractive regions with high employment rate** (Low life expectancy, high density, high employment rate). Life expectancy is below the average, density is high but the job market shows good performances.
- Area 5. **Poorly attractive regions with high life expectancy** (High life expectancy, low density, low employment rate). Life expectancy is above the average and population density is low, while the employment rate is below the average.
- Area 6. **Scarcely attractive regions** (High life expectancy, high density, low employment rate). Life expectancy is above the average, population density is higher than the average, but the employment rate is below the average.
- Area 7. **Least attractive regions** (Low life expectancy, low density, low employment rate). Life expectancy is low, population density is low and also the employment rate is very low, so these regions show very poor attractiveness.
- Area 8. **Non-attractive regions** (Low life expectancy, high density, low employment rate). Life expectancy is below the average, density is high and the job market shows poor performances.

The proposed model is based on the main assumption that, faced with the choice of higher life expectancy and high availability of employment, most people would choose job opportunities believing that this could impact positively on the access to assets and services connected to higher life expectancy. After defining the 8 areas, each NUTS 2 region was attributed a value from 1 to 8, which has allowed the cartographic representation¹³.

¹³ Please note that data concerning territories in Northern Germany are available, but were not contemplated in our analysis as they are not part of the Danube macro-region.

Map 3.14 Map of territorial attractiveness



As it can be easily evinced from the map, the most attractive NUTS 2 are:

- most of the territories in Austria and Germany (Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria);
- the two regions of Severovýchod and Jihovýchod in Czech Republic;
- Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano/Bozen, Provincia Autonoma di Trento, Piemonte and Emilia-Romagna in Italy; and
- Zahodna Slovenija in Slovenia.

As for the weakest NUTS 2 in respect to the attractiveness analysis here proposed, these are:

- all NUTS 2 of Croatia and Serbia;
- Montenegro and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM);
- most of Romanian territories (excluding Nord-Est and Bucuresti – Ilfov);
- parts of Hungary (e.g. in the Great Plain and North); and
- Moravskoslezsko in Czech Republic.

If we compare these weaknesses with some data presented in the previous task, we may observe that Sud-Vest Oltenia tends not only to show the least attractiveness, but it also presents very limited natural increase of its population together with a limited migration flow, which may lead to a general decrease of its territorial attractiveness. On the other hand Montenegro and FYROM show an increase in their natural population, thus allowing us to imagine (despite the fact that we do not have data for net migration at the NUTS 2 level for the latter), that in the future they might show a similar increase in social and economic features such as life expectancy and employment that might increase their territorial attractiveness. As for Serbia, we do not have precise data on its natural increase, and we observe that its net migration rate is quite diversified from the northern and southern part of

the country, so its future performance in respect to attractiveness may depend on territorial policies that tackle both occupation and social life, in order to increase its life expectancy.

The analysis could benefit greatly from a wider availability of other socio-economic indicators, which are either lacking at the NUTS 2 level or incomplete on the Eurostat Database. The team recommends an effort for the collection of such data. Data demonstrate that regions with a more dynamic economy are more competitive and can attract labour-force from outside. One of the immediate results is a wide process of urbanization, primarily linked to the depopulation of the countryside. This last phenomenon means abandonment and socio-economic “desertification” of peripheral areas: these areas could be considered as repulsive, because derelict areas are inefficient, insecure, and poor. On the contrary, in some cases, they represent a challenge, and manage to attract migrants, who can be crucial for the regeneration and development of such areas, with – for example – potential beneficial effects for the hydrogeological stability and sustainable agricultural developments.

3.3 Task 3: Challenges and opportunities

Following what said in the previous paragraph, it emerges that the management of migration flows can have direct implications for the established market and social rules. The challenges that the management of migrant flows has to face lie within the sphere of social security and labour market/wages. More precisely, the said challenges may be connected to the increasing unskilled labour force – and their propensity to accept lower wages. This may ingenerate repercussion on both sides of the labour market, subsequently impacting on the social inclusion of both migrants and resident communities. In this respect, it would be of great importance that all countries in the macro-regions would sign the UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (1990). To date, not surprisingly, in the macro-regional and Col space only Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina have ratified it, while Serbia and Montenegro have signed but not ratified it¹⁴. However, it is well known, ratification is only the first step towards implementation. The principle of equal treatment between migrant and national workers needs to be incorporated into domestic law and labour migration or social security agreements. Migrants must be equally represented in the public sector, which is a major share of the job market in many EU countries and should be extensively included in the exploitation of social benefits. More immigrants naturalise in countries where naturalisation policies are more open.

This is the real challenge for the future – not only for the area of our scrutiny. The opportunities offered by migration consist in the increase of the labour force, especially in those countries that are experiencing an increased ageing of the resident population, such as most of the regions in Northern Italy and Slovenia and some regions in Hungary and Romania

¹⁴ Worldwide, in fact, only 51 States are party to this Convention, which has therefore reached so little agreement and represents one of the least ratified UN treaties.

(the same ones indicated in the previous paragraph in the typologies 1-3). Of course, well-educated or highly skilled immigrants are often overqualified for their job. Easier and more accessible recognition procedures, course equivalence and European cooperation could facilitate the recognition of qualifications and skills. However, risks of misunderstanding and social inclusion are significant, when it comes to including in the receiving society groups with different cultural, social and economic background. Even more so, when part of the political sphere emphasizes these arguments in terms of incompatibility, rather than looking for strategies of coexistence and new syncretism: the main challenge is connected to inclusiveness. Immigrants are a critical target group for the EU's overall strategy on social inclusion and fighting poverty. As a predominant concept, social inclusion can be a priority for national integration policies and research. Basic income, housing, and good health are all related to other areas of integration and may be moreover pre-conditions for immigrants' participation in society. In this regard, the Council of Europe has launched an Action Plan on Building Inclusive Societies (2016-2019) that aims to assist member states in managing Europe's diversity through smart policies fostering mutual understanding and respect. It is organised around activities in the fields of education, anti-discrimination and effective inclusion. Though the plan is too recent to evaluate its impacts on the selected area, still it may suggest future lines of investigation in both the content and the geographical area of the present study. This approach may have the potential to become a useful toolkit to integrate EU policies directed at protecting migrants and refugees.

3.4 Task 4: Definition and mapping of typologies

In order to identify territorial typologies aimed at highlighting the different socio-economic conditions and thus the attractiveness of the sub regions, we here propose a model analysis that draws upon 3 indicators that the Eurostat database offers at the NUTS 2 level. On the basis of a crossed analysis of the 3 indicators, several countries of the target area have been divided into 8 regional typologies. The methodological approach to get to this proposed model focuses on a wide research on the Eurostat Database, that has carried to the identification of a limited amount of data for a limited number of countries. The reason for this limitation is connected to the fact that some of the indicators that might have been particularly useful in order to identify socio-economic typologies of regions, were not available at the NUTS 2 level, nor were those available offered for the most recent years. Data representing the active enterprises, the activity rate of the population, the population at risk of poverty and that affected by severe material deprivation, or the distribution of doctors and the availability of beds in hospitals, as an example, are present only for every limited amount of countries and sometimes not even for all the NUTS 2 areas for a specific country; other data, especially those connected to school enrolment, are available only for a limited timespan (2012). This is surely a main limit and a specific area for further implementation on the part of the Eurostat database. As a consequence, the typological model that we present is necessarily based on

available data for the following countries: Greece, Italy, Hungary, Romania, Slovenia, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). A set of 3 indicators was eventually selected in respect to year 2015, with the main goal of identifying both economic and social aspects: age structure, unemployment index and per capita GDP ppp (see maps below). For each indicator, the average was then calculated and each NUTS 2 region was labelled either with a positive or negative value (+1; -1) when its indicator was higher or lower than the average, respectively, in order to create a matrix that would allow a better understanding of the territorial phenomena analysed. Finally, a set of 8 typological regions was identified, each one representing a specific case of territorial development. Here follows a description of each typology:

- **Region 1. Mature regions.** (High average age; low unemployment, high GDP). They possess a strong economy, showing low unemployment and high per capita GDP, but are declining from a demographic point of view, with elevated average age.
- **Region 2. Expanding regions.** (Low average age; low unemployment, high GDP) Their economy shows good performances, with high GDP and low unemployment, and their population is young so that, in complex, they show an expanding trend.
- **Region 3. Mature regions with high unemployment.** (High average age; high unemployment; high GDP) Like mature regions they possess an ageing population, high GDP, but a high level of unemployment.
- **Region 4. Expanding regions with high unemployment.** (Low average age; high unemployment; high GDP). They possess a young population with high GDP but show a negative trend in respect to employment.
- **Region 5. Expanding young regions.** (Low average age; low unemployment; low GDP) They have a young population with a positive trend in employment but low GDP.
- **Region 6. Declining young regions.** (Low average age; high unemployment; low GDP) They possess a young population but negative economic trends, connected to high unemployment and low GDP.
- **Region 7. Stagnating regions.** (High average age; low unemployment; low GDP) They have an ageing population, with low GDP but positive trend in employment.
- **Region 8. Declining regions.** (High average age; high unemployment; low GDP). They possess an ageing population, with high unemployment trends and low GDP.

Typologies have been subsequently mapped with the following results:

Map 3.15 Territorial Typologies



As a consequence of the limited presence of the chosen indicators on the Eurostat database, only 6 countries allowed a full analysis (Greece, Italy, Hungary, Romania, Slovenia, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia), but data for some other countries of the area were drawn either from national statistics or UNDP (Albania, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovakia, Kosovo under UN Security Council Resolution 1244), thus allowing a wider perspective on the regional typologies. Among the weakest territorial regions, we may count:

- nearly all of Greece's NUTS 2;
- Jadranska Hrvatska in Croatia;
- several regions in Southern Italy: Molise, Puglia, Basilicata, Calabria, Sicilia and Sardegna

Among the most mature regions from a territorial development perspective, we may count:

- Burgenland, Niederösterreich, Kärnten and Steiermark in Austria;
- all mapped German NUTS 2;
- all of Central and Northern Italy: Piemonte, Valle d'Aosta/Vallée d'Aoste, Liguria, Lombardia, Provincia Autonoma di Trento, Veneto, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Emilia-Romagna, Toscana, Umbria, Marche.

It is likely to expect that the weakest regions will continue experience constraints to their social and economic development in the future, unless some territorial planning is carried out not only at a national level, but also at the macro-regional scale.

4 Task 5: case study analysis, main results

A sample of case studies have been selected to deepen understanding of territorial experiences that engage with addressing territorial challenges by means of an active management of migration flows and offer of integration measures. Operationally, eight case studies have been identified in close collaboration with project stakeholders. For each of them a short description of the context (i.e. starting conditions, concrete actions performed, integration objectives) is provided together with the reason for such a choice. Moreover, the findings are integrated in the existing literature when this is available. Interviews have been carried around three main themes: i. local data on migration and refugee flows; ii. challenges and opportunities for the specific territory; and iii. specific policy recommendations drawn from the case study. As expected, this case study analysis is closely connected to Task 2 of the study, i.e. with the need to identify key territorial features that are believed to attract migrants and refugees.

COUNTRY	LOCATIONS	ACTORS INVOLVED
Greece	Athens	11 face-to-face interviews (authorities; international organizations; and NGO)
Hungary	Budapest and its urban region	6 face-to-face interviews (international organizations; NGOs; and researchers)
Southern Hungary	Mórahalom district	8 face-to-face interviews (authorities; NGOs; and experts)
Serbia	Belgrade, whole country	1 face-to-face interview (NGO) 1 e-mail interview (international organization) 1 focus group (academics)
Italy (FVG) - Slovenia	Borders between Gorizia/Gorica and Trieste/Koper	8 face-to-face interviews (NGOs; Authorities; Researchers; Private and Public Stakeholders)
Italy: Calabria	Villages of Riace, Badolato, Sant'Alessio in Aspromonte and Satriano in Calabria	4 e-mails interviews (academics/experts)
Italy: Emilia-Romagna	Rural areas: provinces in Emilia-Romagna	5 interviews (authorities; international organizations; academics/experts; and entrepreneurs)
Western Balkans	Albania, Montenegro, Kosovo* and FYROM	19 face-to-face interviews (authorities; international organizations; NGOs; academics/experts)

This section intends to provide a reasoned overview of the main results obtained through the eight case studies. Indeed, the aim of the research was to gain a better understanding about (i) local migration and refugee flows and (ii) attractiveness and territories' needs, also for the purpose of checking whether lessons could be learned and applied to the two MCRs under scrutiny. A common feature is the complex picture coming out by the analysis in terms of

migration and refugees flows which often have two opposite directions: large outflows of young locals in search of better job opportunities in other (northern) European countries and immigration of third-country nationals looking for a safe place where to settle. However, some countries (e.g. Hungary) also attract immigrants to fill the labour shortage in certain booming sectors of the economy. As a result, considerable intraregional movements also occur. The loss of young people often means less innovative businesses, thus contributing to cause a decrease in services provided by the state (see the Italian case studies).

Despite notable progress in statistical figures on migration and refugees flows in recent years, what clearly emerged is that accurate data about who migrants are, why they come and leave, their level of education and their skills are greatly missing. Enhanced knowledge of migrants' profile is understood as a starting point to match skills with available job opportunities, also for the purpose of avoiding a long-lasting loss of human capital. In such a process recognition of foreign qualification is extremely important as pointed out by the Budapest case study. Thus, **more attention should be given to skills assessment and qualification recognition including the development of new tools for skills assessment.**

The case study interviews accentuated the high risk of mental and physical health issues. While medical conditions are assessed on arrival, mental health needs are often not duly addressed, despite the likelihood of serious trauma before and during migration, which could also be worsened by the extremely long process for their application to be assessed. This might emerge as a problem in the long-term. **Special attention should be paid at protecting physical and mental health of both migrants and refugees. The vulnerability of and trauma experienced needs to be early considered, particularly in relation to providing free health services.**

Migration, international protection and integration have been largely regulated and debated at the EU and state level. Yet, migration and refugee flows, whether rural-to-urban or urban-to-urban, link cities and villages across and between regions. Indeed, it is up to cities and villages to provide basic services and housing to asylum seekers and refugees. Attractiveness may behave differently according to the different territories. For example, cities attract migrants because of the services provided and in reason of a greater availability of jobs or being transit hubs for refugees seeking to reach other countries (e.g. Athens and Budapest). Indeed, nowadays cities are called to play a crucial role in making migration an asset for local development. However, as the Italian case studies have showed, rural villages may offer an easier process towards integration. Here, affordable housing opportunities may be found together with an essential life style, also increasing mutual understanding and fostering a sense of belonging to a community. Yet, on the long run, the lack of stable jobs might push people to move again. **Both cities and small villages need to have policies that build resilience and promote integration. Moreover, it would be useful to establish a fund at the EU level to which municipalities willing to welcome asylum seekers and refugees can have direct access.**

Transport infrastructure and job opportunities are two fundamental aspects to attract people. The role of ethnic diaspora has been cited as a tool to make the integration process smoother, though not essential. For example, asylum seekers did not consider staying in Morahalom because of the economic situation of the area and because of the lack of migrant networks. For the long-term integration further investment on basic services are needed

Tourism and agriculture have been cited by many respondents as sectors where migrants and refugees might integrate (Greece, Hungary and Italy). Though exploitation has been referred as a concern with regards to the agricultural sector both in Hungary and Italy.

Targeted training should be provided both for locals and migrants, also as a way to strengthen social cohesion. While the case study focusing on Budapest stressed the crucial role of the national government, the Riace case study pointed out that local authorities, in close collaboration with higher levels governments, can play a vital role in attracting newcomers and facilitating their effective integration in the host society. Though, sometimes the match between territorial needs and migrants' skill happens spontaneously based on the word of mouth (see the case of rural areas in Emilia-Romagna, Italy).

5 Policy recommendations

Building further on data collection, territorial typologies and case studies, a number of specific policy recommendations are made for improving migration management in the Adriatic-Ionian and Danube macro-regions, also taking into account territorial needs in the framework of the EUSAIR and EUSDR strategy and the ETC programmes.

5.1 Data gaps

The team believes that the data gaps observed on the different migration dynamics represent a serious limitation for the development of more effective policies. Data should be seen indeed as pre-requisite for such task. Therefore, before looking into the specific recommendations formulated as outputs of our analysis, it is useful to provide an overview of data shortcomings and means to improve it. As for internal migration, most of the countries provide data at NUTS 3 level or at levels that can be adjusted into NUTS 3 administrative units. However, since in most of the countries the notification of residence change is not a compulsory act, the scope of the flow of internal migrants cannot be fully assessed. To partially overcome this limitation and obtain a more complete picture, the team recommends:

- The digitalization (again, non-compulsory) of residence change procedures, in a way that would give citizens the possibility to register their movement online. This is predicted to encourage many to do so.

As recently reiterated by the first objective of the UN Global Compact for Migration (2018), accurate and aggregate data on international migration are crucial to evidence-based policy making and well-informed public discourse, especially since this allows for effective monitoring and evaluation over time. Current data available at the Eurostat database for analysing flows II, i.e. changes of places of usual residence, are scarce and limited to few countries. Considering the remarkable entity of macro-regional movements, for which several studies provide evidence, the team recommends that:

- More efforts are put in place at national statistical offices to start collecting and distributing data on immigrants (by country of previous residence) and emigrants (by country of next residence), consistently with Eurostat guidelines. Existing data should be harmonized and made available.
- Current categorizations available at Eurostat (Immigration by: citizenship; country of birth; country of previous residence. Emigration by: citizenship; country of birth; country of next residence) are ambiguous in terms of territorial origin of the immigrant/emigrant (see Section 2.2). Database improvements should make possible data crossing to retrieve, for example, also the territorial origin of those immigrants/emigrants born or holding citizenship of a specific country. By the same token, datasets about countries of previous/next residence should also specify country of birth and/or citizenship of the person moving.

Moreover, the team recommends that:

- Data on International migrant stock (revision 2017) elaborated by UNDESA should be expanded to cover also regional levels (at least NUTS 2).
- The European Union Labour Force Survey (EU LFS) should expand to include all EU candidate and potential candidate countries. Currently, EU LFS is conducted in the 28 Member States of the European Union, 3 countries of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and 2 candidate countries (the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM and Montenegro). Efforts should

ensure that also statistics from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Albania, Kosovo (under UN Security Council Resolution 1244), which all collect such data, are harmonized and included in the database. A good example, in this sense, is the OECD Database on Migrants in OECD Regions, which covers socio-demographic characteristics of the foreign-born population; information on the educational level of the foreign-born population; and on the integration outcomes of migrants, with a focus on labour market integration. This information is available also at regional levels (Territorial Level 2).

Yet, the most impeding data gap concerns asylum seekers. The study recommends:

- The elaboration of an instrument, common to all authorities in the macro-regions and possibly to the entire EU, for the systematic collection of information about skills and education of asylum seekers.
- The identification of the asylum seeker in a database that allows to keep track of the same person over time.
- Improved collaboration and sharing of information among countries.
- Accordingly, migration-related funds at the EU level should better reflect collected data and focus more on (long-term) integration rather than first reception.

5.2 Migration and integration

In addition to the suggestions how to overcome the existing data gaps, the team observes that current discussions have led to a “securitization” of the migration debate that often stigmatizes immigrants and asylum seekers. However, evidence in this research show that the macro-regions are characterized by highly dynamic migration flows, within which recent migration and refugee flows do not appear as an emergency, but as one, comparatively even less consistent, typology of flows. Moreover, for the effects of macro-regional flows, many of the territorial analysed contexts are suffering from depopulation and lack of labour force, whether skilled or not. This section provides recommendations that can support future policymaking regarding migration governance and European Territorial Cohesion that can be implemented primarily in the stakeholder areas, and also in other European territories.

Cohesion programs authorities, managing authorities and policymakers in the field of migration should move further in the direction of policies that relate job opportunities with opportunities for integration and territorial growth. In fact, the huge inflows of migrants and asylum seekers to Europe, combined with the increasing awareness of socio-economic challenges faced by many territories across the two macro-regions and Col, suggests the need for a timely shift from controlling to managing migration. Managing migration flows implies the development of policies aimed primarily at linking challenges with opportunities and at promoting a paradigmatic change of approach from emergency to long-term planning. In these respects, the present study recommends:

- The realization of systematic surveys and databases containing socio-economic information about newcomers, which can be accessed and updated at any time by public authorities.
- The establishment of mechanisms for the matching of territorial needs with immigrants/asylum seekers skills, in order to estimate their employability in local markets and manage migration accordingly.

- Further promotion of the territorial dispersal and reception approach for asylum seekers integration, which provides instrumental social contexts for interactions with local residents.
- Implementing innovative methods for involving local communities facing division in relation to immigration or reception and integration of refugees, in order to present citizens with policy options and to get a more shared and rational view on the topic at stake, opening the way to a more consensual policy. For this task, the team proposes the application of deliberative democracy tools: in a nutshell, deliberation means that all participants can freely express their views, that arguments are well justified, that the meaning of the common good is debated, that arguments of others are respected, and that the force of the better argument prevails, although deliberation does not necessarily have to lead to consensus. These tools, which include public gathering and recurring discussions among key actors are meant to ensure legitimate political decisions for the common good deliberation in the various political arenas. In the course of a particular discussion the various deliberative elements may not always be present to the same extent, and they may even be totally absent. In some sequences, arguments may be better justified than in others. Respect for the arguments of others may vary over the course of a discussion. Debates about the common good may be more frequent in some parts of the discussion than in others. Openness for all actors to speak up freely may also vary as the discussion progresses. Methods of this kind can increase mutual understanding and trust in the social contexts of interaction between locals and immigrants/asylum seekers (e.g. opening of reception centres). In other words, once the local needs of the labour market have been identified, a joint resolution between newcomers and the local population should not only identify actions that benefit territorial cohesion, but also reassure local populations on the positive impact of integration on the local development of territories affected by demographic issues.

5.3 Territorial cohesion and attractiveness

- The differentiation of policies targeting urban and rural contexts, although aimed at the same goal of territorial cohesion. Challenges are in fact different. Evidence from both migration dynamics and case studies highlights that, especially in rural areas, the different forms of migration are essential for the survival of local economies (e.g. agriculture), for the countering of socio-demographic trends (e.g. ageing), and for preserving as well as valorising these territories (e.g. hydrogeological risks). Policies should support and promote the re-vitalization of rural and inner areas.
- As suggested in Task 2 and 4, the crossed analysis of attractiveness and typological classification at the NUTS 2 level highlights that while some areas tend to show a very poor attractiveness, accompanied by a small natural increase of its population and a limited migration flow, other areas show a positive trend in their natural population, thus allowing us to imagine that in the future they might show a similar increase in social and economic features such as life expectancy and employment. While in the first case there may be a general increase of their territorial isolation and abandonment, in the latter territorial attractiveness might increase.
- Moreover, we observe that some of the least attractive regions may be found among the regions that present the weakest socio-economic development as well, and that the two weaknesses combined might likely lead these areas to experience constraints to their territorial development in the future, thus obstructing cohesion, unless some territorial planning is carried out including both national and regional actions, taking into account institutions, stakeholders and the population. This would allow an effective implementation of the European Commission's Regional Development and Cohesion Policy for the years 2021-2027 which is especially aimed at empowering those regions that need to catch up with the rest of the EU in respect to territorial development.

- The team believes that the analysis herein presented might prove to be an effective starting point for the strategies that institutions and stakeholders will have to implement through the Cohesion Fund, in order to create a more innovative regional system; to create a smarter, greener, carbon free and more connected Europe, through innovation, digitisation, economic transformation and support to small and medium-sized businesses; investments in energy transition, renewables and actions against climate change. Also, it could contribute to a more social Europe, supporting quality employment, education, skills, social inclusion and equal access to healthcare both for EU citizens and migrants.
- Hopefully, this targeted analysis helped giving answers to some of the questions that are raised in the ESPON Policy Brief “Territorial dimension of future policies”, concerning the geographical principles of future policy interventions and the needs of specific areas; the regional and urban development challenges that have to be addressed in order to create new opportunities in key development fields; the need to identify methods and approaches aimed at increasing the efficiency of policy interventions, maximising the return on investment and developing synergies leading to innovative development solutions.
- moreover, our investigation is in line with the most recent OECD’s International Migration Division trends in evaluating the factors of attraction that a territory has on migrant flows and in promoting actions to tackle their uneven distribution in receiving countries, that sees them concentrating in urban areas. As suggested by OECD, such actions should focus on social/family and educational incentives, on supporting the employment market in rural areas and promoting more effective admission policies. To this, we add that the implementation of early integration strategies appears to be a key factor of success (Diaz Ramirez et al., 2018).

5.4 Case studies evidence and recommendations

- The loss of young people in rural areas lead to fewer innovative businesses and to a decrease in services provided by the State
- More attention should be given to skills assessment and qualification recognition, including the development of new tools for skills assessment. In fact, it emerges that accurate data about who migrants are, why they come and leave, their level of education and their skills are greatly missing.
- Enhanced knowledge of migrants’ profile is understood as a starting point to match skills with available job opportunities, also for the purpose of avoiding a long-lasting loss of human capital.
- Special attention should be paid at protecting physical and mental health of both migrants and refugees. The vulnerability of and trauma experienced needs to be early considered, particularly in relation to providing free health services.
- Cities and small villages are key actors for integration. Both need to have policies that build resilience and promote integration according to the local context. Nowadays cities are called to play a crucial role in making migration an asset for local development; yet, as the Italian case studies have showed, rural villages may offer an easier process towards integration. Here, affordable house opportunities may be found together with an essential life style, also increasing mutual understanding and fostering a sense of belonging to a community. However, in the long run, the lack of stable jobs might push people to move again if policies for economic growth are not enacted.
- It is recommended the establishment of an EU fund to which municipalities willing to welcome asylum seekers and refugees can have direct access.
- Transport, digital communication infrastructures and job opportunities are fundamental aspects both to attract people and avoid depopulation processes. Further investments on basic services are needed for long-term integration and for avoiding loss of territorial attractiveness (access to health services; housing; vocational counselling). This will attract migrants while benefitting the local community, thus strengthening social cohesion.
- Targeted training should be carried out following two main direction: on the one hand, by empowering migrants to strengthen their CV by including the variety of experiences they have in their own life (a documentation for this purpose has been tested by the project DI&DI supported by LLL project Leonardo and can be spread Europe-wide; on the other hand, training in specific sectors (e.g. tourism, agro-forestal sectors and environmental protection) should be provided both

for locals and migrants, as a way to both strengthen social cohesion and respond to specific territorial needs emerged from the interviews.

5.5 Proposal for further research in the project area of this activity

- Developing a study on secondary movements of rejected asylum seekers in central and northern Europe to assess emerging patterns of onward migration (including return) as well as factors determining the choice of next destination and the factors across states that motivate people to abscond.
- Developing more studies on the lack of attractiveness and asylum policy shortcomings in SEE6 countries, especially in relation to declining rural areas, where better territorial cohesion policies are needed for seizing economic development opportunities and improving their capacity to absorb migration shocks (contrary to what has happened in the recent migration crisis). On this note, the team remarks that more effective methodological tools and specific socio-economic indicators (implementing the NUTS 2 dataset on the Eurostat) would help achieving this scope.
- Extending some of the considerations emerged through the case studies in relation to territorial needs: a further project could deal especially with the task of creating territorial typologies on the ground of their needs, which however requires *ad hoc* data collection and indicators that are currently missing. Such endeavour is essential for the matching of territorial needs with migrants' skills, and can provide public authorities also with recommendations for supporting social innovation and the delivery of specific services tailored on emerging needs.
- Evaluating how migrations and migration studies could contribute to the territorial implementation of the European Commission's Regional Development and Cohesion Policy for the years 2021-2027, through social and economic qualitative and quantitative analysis as well as fieldwork research.
- Promoting a study on how the different regions in the target area comply with the cohesion strategies of the European Commission, focusing on innovation, carbon reduction and social integration, supporting the production of territorial models (at a local scale) that could offer effective implementation strategies for those areas identified as weakest and least attractive, in order to stop the territorial abandonment they suffer.
- Climate change and migration could be a general theme to consider for further targeted analyses, considering the rising relevance of environmental hazards and global warming.

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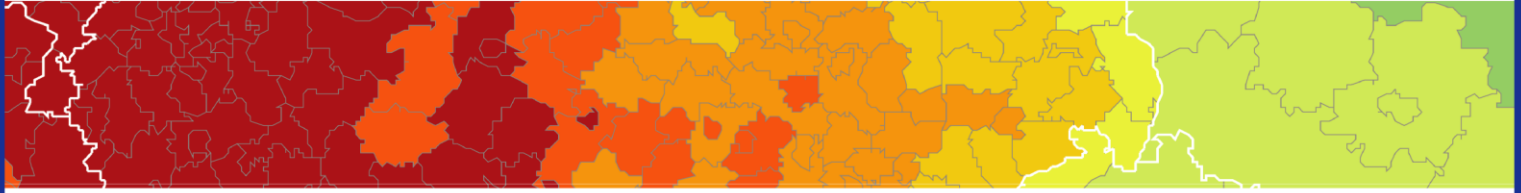
List of Annexes

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ESPON 2020 – More information

ESPON EGTC

4 rue Erasme, L-1468 Luxembourg - Grand Duchy of Luxembourg

Phone: +352 20 600 280

Email: info@espon.eu

www.espon.eu, [Twitter](#), [LinkedIn](#), [YouTube](#)

The ESPON EGTC is the Single Beneficiary of the ESPON 2020 Cooperation Programme. The Single Operation within the programme is implemented by the ESPON EGTC and co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund, the EU Member States and the Partner States, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland.