Assessment of National Migration Policies: An emerging picture on admissions, treatment and enforcement in developing and developed countries

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Abstract

This paper presents an internationally comparable assessment of several dimensions of migration policies as of early 2009. For a selected set of 28 countries, both developed and developing, we analyse the admission criteria, policies on integration and treatment of migrants, and efforts to enforce those policies. Irregular migration is a particular area of focus. The analysis distinguishes between different entry regimes, namely: labour migrants (high or low skilled, with a permanent or a temporary permit), those who move with a family-related visa, humanitarian migrants (asylum seekers and refugees), international visitors and international students. The data is drawn from an assessment by country experts as well as by desk-research of HDRO staff.

Keywords: Migration policies, admission, treatment, enforcement.

The Human Development Research Paper (HDRP) Series is a medium for sharing recent research commissioned to inform the global Human Development Report, which is published annually, and further research in the field of human development. The HDRP Series is a quick-disseminating, informal publication whose titles could subsequently be revised for publication as articles in professional journals or chapters in books. The authors include leading academics and practitioners from around the world, as well as UNDP researchers. The findings, interpretations and conclusions are strictly those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of UNDP or United Nations Member States. Moreover, the data may not be consistent with that presented in Human Development Reports.
1. Introduction

Being able to move is a constituent element of human development, and there are potential large gains to income, knowledge and other dimensions of human development to be obtained through migration. However whether people are able to move across international borders, under what conditions and how they fare after arrival depends at least in part upon the policy regimes in place. The relevant policies go beyond those governing admission, and certainly beyond those governing entry of the high skilled, to policies towards protection, treatment and access to services at destination. Nevertheless, up to now there has not been a comprehensive and systematic analysis of these three areas of migration policies (i.e., admission, treatment, and enforcement) in an internationally comparable way, covering not only different visa programmes but also developed and developing countries. This paper is an attempt to fill this gap.

It is useful to begin with a longer term perspective on migration policy regimes. Until the early 20th century, entry in any country was typically not subject to many administrative rules and screenings. Parallel to free entry, there was also the lack of legal/official recognition of citizenship, e.g., France, one of the countries known as a recipient of “traditional migration”, only introduced the notion of citizenship during 19th century; Australia, another traditional destination of international migrants, only created the notion of its own citizenship in the mid 20th century, in part due to the continuing colonial legacy. Since then, of course, a vastly complex set of rules and regulations has emerged, albeit with significant heterogeneity across countries. In undertaking background research for the HDR09, we needed to better understand the underlying patterns and nuances, and this paper describes the result of this research. In particular, we investigate the rules that different governments have in place to regulate the entry of international migrants into their territory, whether migrants are entitled to access basic services (e.g., health and education) as well as other civic and labour rights and obligations, and finally to understand and evaluate rules and practices of policy enforcement, in particular dealing with irregular immigrants. To address these questions, we drew upon a specially prepared database of national policies on international migration, built specifically for this paper, which allows comparable and systematic analysis.

This paper builds on existing literature in the area of international migration policies. OECD’s SOPEMI reports (OECD, 2007 and 2008), annual publications updating major trends and
changes in migration movements and policies in the member states of the organization. Lowell (2005) created an index of how competitive or controlled are migration policies towards temporary and permanent for specific visa programmes related with high-skilled migration in a set of 12 countries, 11 of which are considered developed, according to our classification. Cerna (2008) and Oxford Analytica (2007) expand the work of Lowell (2005) in two different directions: coverage of countries, and structure of indicators. Cerna constructs a High-Skilled Immigration Index for a total of 20 developed countries, 14 of which are EU member states. Oxford Analytica proposes a Labour Migration Policy Index for both high and low skilled migration, distinguishing between admission and entitlement indicators, with both macro and micro components, which is applied on a pilot basis to six developed countries.

To this literature, our study contributes in three primary dimensions. First, in its coverage of developing and other non-OECD countries, which comprise about half our sample and have hitherto been excluded due to lack of data. Second, the scope extends beyond questions of access (admission), to treatment of people after they arrive (entitlement and access to services), and enforcement of rules, in a much more comprehensive way that has been done to date. Third, the visa programmes being assessed include humanitarian and business categories, as well as entry regime for people seeking work. Our analysis also expands the visa categories that have been studied in the past, to include low skilled, various temporary flows, humanitarian (including asylum seekers and refugees), international students, and international visitors (either for business or tourism). We include those who are not in compliance – irregular migrants who represent up to about one quarter of all international migrants in today’s world. We devote particular focus to low skilled workers and those entering and living on an irregular basis.

The paper is organized as follows. In the next section we describe the sources of data for this assessment, and some key definitions. Section 3 presents the substantive findings, under the broad headings of access, treatment and enforcement, while Section 4 concludes. The Annex presents the questionnaire used to construct the database for this paper.
2. **Data and Definitions**

The assessment was undertaken for 28 countries, listed in Table 1, 14 of which are in the category of very high Human Development Index (HDI) according to the Human Development Report 2009 (UNDP, 2009) which we refer to as “developed countries”. The sample includes the following developing countries: Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Republic of Korea, Portugal, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, United Arab Emirates (UAE), United Kingdom (UK), and United States of America (USA). Countries with an HDI smaller than 0.9 are referred as “developing”. In this paper, there are 14 countries in these group: Chile, China, Costa Rica, Cote d’Ivoire, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Kazakhstan, Malaysia, Mexico, Morocco, Russian Federation, Thailand, and Turkey.

The country sample ranges from the largest countries in the world, viz China and India, through to the city state of Singapore and the UAE, both below five million in population. While attempting some representativeness across regions, we also deliberately sought to include countries where migration was an important feature of the national landscape. As Table 1 shows, the migrant share of the population is close to or above double figures in 11 of our countries, ranging as high as 70 percent (in the UAE). In virtually all cases, the rate of growth of the immigrant population exceeds the natural rate of population increase (for example, in Costa Rica, the former is around four times the latter, and in the UK, 14 times). Several of the countries also have high rates of emigration. Although this was not the focus of our assessment, one might expect that the presence of large shares of nationals abroad might sensitise a government to the needs and rights of migrants: for example, the reported emigration rate for Kazakhstan is 19.4 percent, for New Zealand close to 12 percent, and 16 percent for Portugal.
Table 1: Population dynamics and migration in our country sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Developed</th>
<th>Total population (millions)</th>
<th>Immigrants' share of population (%)</th>
<th>Rate of natural population increase (%)</th>
<th>Immigration annual rate of growth (%)</th>
<th>Emigration rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>82.3</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>127.4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea (Republic of)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Emirates</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>60.9</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>308.7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Developing</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>1,329.10</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Côte d’Ivoire</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>80.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>1,164.70</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>107.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>-4.5</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian Federation</td>
<td>141.9</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Notes: The rate of natural population increase is the proportion of population growth (or decline) determined exclusively by births and deaths; the emigration rate is the stock of emigrants at a particular point in time as a percentage of the sum of the resident population in the country of origin and the emigrant population.

Information was collected in two parallel and complementary efforts during early 2009: through a questionnaire answered by International Organization for Migration (IOM) country-level staff and other world-wide migration experts, and through internal desk-web research. The questionnaire, which is included in Appendix 1 below, was purposively designed to cover our three main areas of policy interest: admission, treatment, and enforcement. Most of the 84 questions were multiple-choice, but there were also open-ended questions to allow comments.
and explanations. On average, we received two sets of answers for each country, from different respondents, in a total of 55 completed questionnaires. All this information was triangulated and validated through desk research which drew on various sources, including: official websites from the government departments and national institutes of statistics, private agencies that assist potential migrants in the process, NGOs information, academic publications, and press articles. When the different sources gave us conflicting answers we either referred to the national laws (if the data referred to specific rules), asked the respondents for additional information, or, in the case of subjective judgements, we averaged the answers given.

One of the major challenges in the cross-country comparison relates with definitions. It is quickly apparent that each country has somewhat unique rules and terminology in the sphere of migration. However, it is important to identify common terms in order to undertake a systematic international comparison. To this end we developed and applied the following definitions:

- **High skilled** workers. Those whose job requires knowledge and experience equivalent to a higher education/university degree. When countries use occupation-shortages to identify skilled workers, we further distinguished occupations that require, higher post secondary education. A clear example comes from Australia, where there the migration policy does not distinguish between high and low skills, but rather according to demand whose criteria is made explicit under the General Skilled Migration programme. In order to make a comparison with other countries, we distinguish those occupations requiring education/experience equivalent to a higher university degree (which we consider skilled);

- **Low skilled** workers. Those whose job does not require knowledge and experience equivalent to a higher education/university degree. For example, the foreign labour workers coming under the Pacific Seasonal Worker Pilot Scheme of seasonal horticultural work in Australia are considered as falling within the low-skilled migration, as well as other with occupations in the General Skilled Migration programme that do not require higher education (e.g., bricklayer, cook, floor finisher, hairdresser, horse trainer);

- **Permanent** immigrants. Those who are not citizens but have authorization to stay indefinitely in the country where they have current residence;

- **Temporary** immigrant. Those who are not citizens nor have authorization to stay indefinitely in the country where they currently reside. At most, temporary migrants may have the
possibility to renew their permit of residence and/or work, but such permit has always a
definite validity.

3. Main findings

Our key findings highlight the contrasts between the access and treatment of people with high
versus low skills, which are in many senses replicated by the distinction between permanent and
temporary migrants. There are also some interesting aspects related to policy regimes in
developing countries – some of which may be traced back to fiscal constraints, but which may
also reflect that some governments have not yet fully recognized the role of migrants in the
economy and society.

As examined in detail in Cummins and Rodriguez (2009), in general, across many measures,
developing countries have lower median shares of foreign-born workers and lower protection of
migrant rights. Developed countries, which have more migrants, also tend to have rules that
provide for better treatment of migrants. This broad picture which emerges runs counter the
hypothesis of a negative relationship between the number of migrants a country can afford and
the rights that they are entitled, the *numbers versus rights hypothesis* described in Ruhs and
Martin (2008) and expanded in Ruhs (2009).

3.1 Access

The most commonly studied dimension of migration policy relates to access or admissions. We
asked our experts to assess a country’s openness relative to a set of concrete criteria -- viz, the
existence of numerical limits (quotas) for the different visas programmes, the requirements of
entry, and the international agreements on free movement --, and to classify the country on a
spectrum between totally closed and open.¹

¹ Respondents were asked to choose between four options, ranging from very closed to very open, which we
aggregated into two summary categories, closed and open. Later, we also add a fifth option, totally closed, for
countries whose law does not make any provision nor allow a certain visa programme, e.g., permanent labour
immigration in UAE.
We found striking differences as well as similarities between developed and developing countries. Among the latter, we identified that some of the restrictions commonly noted (and criticized) in developed countries are also present in many developing countries (figure 1).

Figure 1: Overall openness to international immigration

A clear pattern reflected in the data that arises from this analysis is the bias favouring high-skilled workers, in both developed and developing countries. We find that 92 percent of developing and all the developed countries in our sample were open to temporary skilled migrants; for permanent skilled migration, the corresponding figures were 62 and 93 percent. By way of contrast, regarding permanent migration of unskilled workers, 38 percent of developing and half of developed countries in our sample were closed. Among the countries which are “totally closed” to permanent migration – that is, without an entry legal visa on this basis -- are Republic of Korea for low skilled; and UAE, Egypt and India for both high and low skilled.
Countries have different mechanisms of screening immigrants. Several, including Australia, Canada and New Zealand, have a points system to evaluate the individual’s profile, in terms of education, occupation, language proficiency and age. This confers some transparency to what otherwise might seem an arbitrary selection process, although other countries attract large numbers of graduates without a point-based system. Points systems are common in developed countries, but not so much in developing. Other existing formal restrictions on entry include numerical limits (quotas) and requirements such as a previous job offer.

Outside of labour migration, we find that all countries accept migrants for family reasons, and indeed tend to be quite open to this route as well as to international students, tourists and business visitors. However, on the possibility for immigrants to bring their families and allow them to work, the picture is more varied. This was not allowed for temporary workers in two-thirds of the developing countries in our sample, and about 40 percent of developed countries. Even for permanent migrants, 40 percent of the developing countries allowed family members to come but not to work (which was true for only 15 percent of developed countries in our sample). Family reunification and marriage migration represent a significant share of inflows into virtually all OECD countries. Destination countries usually make a distinction between the different family relations for those coming under a family-related visa, usually making less strict rules for spouses and minor dependent children. For example, the Australian Family Stream Migration program has four main categories (partner, child, parent, and other family member of Australian or New Zealand’s citizens), and there are no test for skills or language ability to grant such visas, but rather the requirement of being sponsored by the close family relative.

In terms of humanitarian regimes, developed countries were evenly split between open and closed, while somewhat more (60 percent) of our developing country sample was described as closed. There is obviously a much larger literature on asylum rules and practices (e.g., Global IDP Project, 2004; McAdam, 2008; UNHCR, 2006 and 2007) which we do not even seek here to do justice to.

We are interested in whether people are able to renew and extend temporary visas, as an important recommendation which emerges from the HDR09 is the desirability of pathways to permanence. As figure 2 below shows, some countries (e.g., Australia, Egypt, Japan, Kazakhstan and Morocco) tend to make it more difficult or impossible to low skilled people to extend or
convert their temporary visa status. Most developed countries in our sample facilitate such transitions for high-skilled; and in most developing countries even high skilled people find it difficult to covert status, though they may extend. Developing countries also tend to limit such transitions for families. For example, for temporary migration to Mexico longer than 6 months, the most common visas are so-called FM2s, most commonly used for skilled workers, and FM3, mostly for low-skilled. One important different between these visas is that the former has provisions for permanent residence and citizenship, while latter does not, although it is renewable for up to five years.

Figure 2: How easy is to extend and convert temporary visas

![Graph showing the ease of extending and converting temporary visas for high skilled, low skilled, and families in developed and developing countries.]

Source: HDR questionnaire on National Migration Policies

Relatedly, we assessed whether migrants had the option to naturalize as a citizen of the country where they live. The broad picture is that naturalization is much less available in developing countries, where it is described as ‘impossible or very difficult” in about half of the cases, and difficult in the other half. Interestingly, in developed countries, access to citizenship for
economic and family migrants was described as “somewhat easy” in almost 80 percent of the countries. Table 2 summarises the results. This also shows that economic and family-related migrants find it easier to naturalize than foreigners with a humanitarian permit of residence.

Table 2: How easy is to obtain citizenship in the country of residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>developed economic and family immigrants</th>
<th>developing economic and family immigrants</th>
<th>developed humanitarian immigrants</th>
<th>developing humanitarian immigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>impossible or very</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>difficult</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>difficult, somewhat</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>difficult</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>easy, somewhat easy</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>easy</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: HDR questionnaire on National Migration Policies

On employment portability, switching among jobs is an important dimension of potential expansion of opportunities. And being unable to switch has sometimes been associated with abuse. We find that portability is typically allowed for permanent high-skilled migrants, but not for temporary low-skilled workers. However, there are signs of change, such as the one in the United Arab Emirates which has begun to offer transferable employment sponsorships in response to complaints of abuse from migrants. The Sweden’s recent labour immigration reform is a comprehensive example of employment and benefits portability, allowing for transferability of work permits, and giving migrants who lose their jobs a three months period to find work before the visa is revoked. Although a period of non-portability creates incentives for an employer to recruit a foreigner, it is possible to keep incentives while simultaneously including some flexibility in the system. An alternative would be to allow the migrant or another employer who wants to employ her to pay a fee reimbursing the original employer for recruitment costs.
3.2 Entitlements and treatment

Of course how migrants fare at their destination depends on factors beyond the mere fact of admission. In particular, we are interested in access to public health care services (preventive and emergency) and public schools; and entitlements to union membership, unemployment benefits, and family public allowances. The right to vote in national and local elections is also of interest as an important civic right. We analyse each of these dimensions in turn.

Here as elsewhere, we face the challenge that *de jure* rules and *de facto* practice may differ. Also, while the former may be better well-known and verifiable, the latter is difficult to assess and views tend to vary. We acknowledge that in some countries, there may be severe limitations on the overall quantity and quality provision, so the nature of access is not directly comparable. However, even in the absence of accurate and reliable information on these heterogeneous realities, it is valuable to assess the *de jure* situation of migrants.
Regarding access to public health services, our analysis suggests that while developed countries do allow access to preventive care from the outset for permanent migrants, this is much less often the case for temporary migrants (less than two thirds of the cases) and seldom for those with irregular status (only 7 percent of cases). However, in a number of countries, access was extended to migrants over time. Among developing countries – where the pressures on public services are likely larger in any case - it seems that migrants are more often excluded for immediate access. Only 40 percent of developing countries allowed temporary migrants access and none allowed those with irregular status, though about 30 percent of developing countries in our sample extended such access over time. For emergency health care, the access rates are much higher -- though of course this may be a relatively expensive way of ensuring that needs are met. Figure 4 summarises the patterns across developed and developing countries.

Figure 4: Migrants’ access to public healthcare

Source: HDR questionnaire on National Migration Policies
Developed countries allowed humanitarian migrants access to emergency services, but more restricted access to preventive services, whereas in the developing countries in our sample, access to public health services was even more restricted. For example, in Chile, legal immigrants may enroll in the public health system and use the facilities closer to their residence; while the emergency healthcare is guaranteed for all, regardless of their migration status. At the same time, since 2002, there has been an agreement with the Chilean Red Cross to provide primary healthcare for immigrants from Peru with low income, regardless of their legal status. In Costa Rica, for those who have a legal residence and a work permit have the healthcare provision ensured by employers’ contribution to health insurance. However, those who do not have any insurance may have to pay for the services. Refugees can obtain health insurance through national security plans, but they and their employers need to make monthly payments.

In contrast, in France, public hospitals provide health care services for all who do not have private insurance as well as to irregular migrants who live continuously in the country for more than 3 months. When irregular migrants can prove that they have lived in the country for more than 3 years, they can also have access to treatment outside public hospitals.

Turning to education, in some countries migrant children may not have access to state schools or their parents may be asked to pay higher fees. Developed countries are more likely to allow immediate access to schooling for all types of migrant—permanent, temporary, humanitarian and irregular (Figure 5). Yet over 40 percent of developed countries in our sample, including Singapore and Sweden, did not allow access to children with irregular status, while the same was true for over half the developing countries in the sample, including Egypt and India. Some specific cases include the United Arab Emirates where children with irregular migrant status do not have access to education services; Belgium where education is free and a right for every person, but not compulsory for irregular children; and Poland education for children between 6 and 18 years is a right and is compulsory, but children with irregular status cannot be counted for funding purposes, which may lead the school to decline to enroll such children.
We turn now to various forms of social welfare, beginning with unemployment benefits which are of interest during the current recession given evidence of disproportionate impacts of unemployment on migrants (HDRO-UNDP 2009, pp 41-42). Nearly all developed countries in our sample allow permanent migrants access either immediately or over time, whereas this was much less often the case in developing countries. It appears that temporary workers seldom have access to such benefits, especially in developing countries where only 15 percent of our sample granted such access; whereas about two-thirds of developed countries allowed access at least over time (see Figure 6). Some countries, including Australia and New Zealand, have imposed waiting periods before various benefits can be accessed. And in efforts to avoid welfare dependency, countries such as France and Germany require that applications for family

Figure 5: Migrants' access to public schooling

Source: HDR questionnaire on National Migration Policies
reunification demonstrate that the applicant has stable and sufficient income to support all family members without relying on state benefits.

More generally, migrants – especially those with temporary or irregular status – are excluded from social assistance like family allowances. For example over 90 percent of both developed and developing countries in our sample denied benefits to irregular migrants; temporary migrants were excluded in over half of the developed countries and three quarters of the developing countries in our sample. This may be traced back to concerns about welfare dependency and the political unpopularity of such access. At the same time, as we show in the HDR09 drawing from the analysis of Smeeding et al. (2009) using the Luxembourg Income Survey, social assistance plays a very important role in reducing rates of poverty in a number of countries, including France and Germany.

Figure 6: Access to unemployment and family allowances

Source: HDR questionnaire on National Migration Policies
France is an example of worker rights for migrants: all workers have minimal protection even if they are undocumented, namely: decent salary (minimum wage), payment for overtime, allowances foreseen by the collective agreement applicable to the business, compensation for annual paid holidays, and fixed compensation if the employment ends. Also, all workers, regardless of their residence permit situation, have the right to organize and be a member of a trade union.

Finally but not least, we turn to different aspects of civic rights. Our analysis found that voting in national elections was largely restricted to citizens, although several developed countries allow foreigners to vote in local elections (Figure 7). The Migrant Integration Policy Index (Migration Policy Group and British Council, 2007), which assesses the opportunities for migrants to participate in public life in terms of collective associations, voting in, and standing for local elections and support provided to migrant associations, found policies in Western Europe to be favourable to participation, but those in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe were less so. In Sweden any legal resident who has lived in the country for three years can vote in regional and local elections and stand for local elections, while in Spain foreigners can vote in local elections as long as they are registered as residents with their local authority.”
Figure 7: Voting rights of migrants

![Graph showing voting rights of migrants in developed and developing countries]

Source: HDR questionnaire on National Migration Policies

3.3 Enforcement

Of course the stated policy may differ from what happens in practice, significant variations exist in migration law enforcement across countries (Figure 8). In the United States, research has found that border enforcement varies over the economic cycle, increasing during recessions and easing during expansions. In South Africa, deportations more than doubled between 2002 and 2006 without a change in legislation, as the police force became more actively involved in enforcement. Our data suggests that while developing countries are somewhat less likely to enforce border controls and less likely to detain violators of immigration laws, other aspects of enforcement including raids by law enforcement agencies and random checks, as well as fines, are at least as frequent as in developed countries. Lower institutional capacity may explain part of this variation. Even after detection, developing countries are reportedly more likely to do
nothing or simply to impose fines on irregular migrants. In some countries, courts weigh family unity concerns and the strength of an immigrant’s ties to a country in deportation procedures.

Figure 8: Enforcement of migration policies

![Average scores* for interventions and procedures regarding irregular immigrants](image)

Source: HDR questionnaire on National Migration Policies

### 4. Conclusions

This paper has summarised the key findings which emerged from a specially commissioned survey of migration policies in three areas: admissions, integration and treatment, and enforcement. The assessment and the evaluation of the different rules and laws was done in an internationally comparable way across 28 developed and developing countries. In order to ensure comparability across countries, the existing visa programmes were aggregated into the major types of entry regimes: labour (high and low skilled, permanent and temporary), family, humanitarian, international visitors and students, and irregular migrants.

Our analysis found that for labour migration, countries are more open to high skilled migrants than low skilled, and to temporary rather than permanent workers. At the same time, developed countries are more open than developing ones to people with high skills, while for the low skilled our sample of developing countries tended to be relatively more open. We found that the renewal of temporary visas and conversion of temporary status into permanent, for high
skilled migrants and families is easier in developed countries than in developing, while there were not significant differences across countries for low skilled migrant workers on this front. In general it is easier to extend a temporary visa than to convert to permanent status.

Across our indicators of integration and treatment of migrants, the patterns which emerged highlighted some key inequalities. For example:

- permanent migrants are the more likely to be entitled to benefits and rights, irregular are the least entitled, and temporary and humanitarian migrants have intermediate levels of benefits;
- among labour migrants, the high skilled have more benefits and rights than low skilled;

In general, and perhaps not surprisingly in light of fiscal and institutional constraints, developed countries were more likely to grant access to services and benefits to international migrants than developing countries. However there were important exceptions on both sides – for example, Singapore on the developed country side and Costa Rica on the developing country side.

Finally, with respect to enforcement policies, our findings suggest that border controls are most commonly relied upon. At the same time, both detention and deportation were frequently used in at least 30 percent of our sample and both in developed and developing countries.

Given the importance of migration policies in impacting the potential human development outcomes of individual migrants and their families, as well as their communities in origin and destination, this paper is just a first step in the types of comprehensive analysis that could be extended. Avenues for future research could include larger coverage of countries and longer periods of time, and linking policies to outcomes, to help enable a better understanding of the roles of policies in different country contexts.
Bibliography


persons, and other persons of concern to the UNHCR. Field Information and Coordination Support Section, Division of Operational Services, UNHCR, Geneva.

Annex A: questionnaire on national migration policies

Questions 1 and 2 were for identification purposes.

Admission Policies
3. For highly skilled international immigrants with permanent status, are there numerical limits (quotas) on the number of visas issued to people from: (please consider the most granted type of visas only)
[Answer: yes/no]
• developed countries in the region?
• developing countries in the region?
• developed countries outside the region?
• developing countries outside the region?
• countries with special agreements/treaties?

4. Any comments.

5. For highly skilled international immigrants with temporary status, are there numerical limits (quotas) on the number of visas issued to people from: (please consider the most granted type of visas only)
[Answer: yes/no]
• developed countries in the region?
• developing countries in the region?
• developed countries outside the region?
• developing countries outside the region?
• countries with special agreements/treaties?

6. Any comments.

7. For highly skilled international labour immigrants coming for work/employment, which of the following conditions are requirements for obtaining a visa/entry clearance?
[Answer: mostly for permanent status/ mostly for temporary status/required for both status/ not applicable for any]
• A job offer from an employer in the receiving country
• Proof that no native with the relevant skills for the job is available or willing
• Proof that it is a professional category with shortage of workers
• Tests of professional certification/skills
• Tests on language ability or on the culture of the country
• Proof that the worker has funds to sustain herself/himself
• Point systems (individual profile is classified with “points” in several criteria which will enable her/him to be eligible to enter)
• Other

8. If you answered other above, please comment.

9. For low skilled international immigrants with permanent status, are there numerical limits (quotas) on the number of visas issued to people from: (please consider the most granted type of visas only)
[Answer: yes/no]
• developed countries in the region?
• developing countries in the region?
• developed countries outside the region?
• developing countries outside the region?
• countries with special agreements/treaties?

10. Any comments.

11. For low skilled international immigrants with temporary status, are there numerical limits (quotas) on the number of visas issued to people from: (please consider the most granted type of visas only)
[Answer: yes/no]
• developed countries in the region?
• developing countries in the region?
• developed countries outside the region?
• developing countries outside the region?
12. Any comments.

13. For low skilled international immigrants coming for work/employment, which of the following conditions are requirements for obtaining a visa/entry clearance?

[Answer: mostly for permanent status/ mostly for temporary status/required for both status/ not applicable for any]

- A job offer from an employer in the receiving country
- Proof that it is a professional category with shortage of workers
- Tests of professional certification/skills
- Tests on language ability or on the culture of the country
- Proof that the worker has funds to sustain herself/himself
- Point systems (individual profile is classified with "points" in several criteria which will enable her/him to be eligible to enter)
- Other

14. If you answered other above, please comment.

15. What is the approximate number of countries with special agreements on labour migration?

[Answer: None/ 1-3/ 4-6/ 7-10/ above 10]

16. What is the approximate share of countries with special agreements on labour migration that are: (ranges should add to 100%)

[Answer: 0% 1-20% 21-40% 41-60% 61-80% 81-100%]

- Developing countries in the region?
- Developing countries outside the region?
- Developed countries in the region?
- Developed countries outside the region?

17. Considering international immigrants coming for family reasons are there numerical limits on the number of visas issued to people from: (please consider the most granted type of visas only)

[Answer: yes/no]

- developed countries in the region?
- developing countries in the region?
- developed countries outside the region?
- developing countries outside the region?
- countries with special agreements/treaties?

18. Any comments.

19. Which of the following conditions allow an international immigrant to enter the country as a family member of a legal resident? [Answer: yes/no]

- Proof that a family member has a permanent legal resident status
- Proof that a family member has a temporary legal resident status
- Proof that there will not be recourse to public funds
- Passing a language and/or other tests for entry
- Other

20. If you answered other above, please comment.

21. Considering international students, are there numerical limits (quotas) or other restrictions on the number of visas issued? [Answer: yes/no]

22. Any comments.

23. Considering asylum seekers: [Answer: yes/no]

- Are there numerical limits (quotas) or other restrictions on the number of status approvals?
- Are there national requirements additional to UN recognition (1951 Convention) that must be met to obtain asylum seeker status?


25. Considering refugees: [Answer: yes/no]

- Are there numerical limits (quotas) or other restrictions on the number of status approvals?
- Are there national requirements additional to UN recognition (1951 Convention) that must be met to obtain refugee status?

26. Any comments.
27. For international visitors who are coming on a temporary basis for business, are visas generally required for nationals from: [Answer: yes/no]
   - developed countries in the region?
   - developing countries in the region?
   - developed countries outside the region?
   - developing countries outside the region?
   - countries with special agreements/treaties?
28. Any comments.
29. For international visitors who are coming on a temporary basis for tourism, are visas generally required for nationals from: [Answer: yes/no]
   - developed countries in the region?
   - developing countries in the region?
   - developed countries outside the region?
   - developing countries outside the region?
   - countries with special agreements/treaties?
30. Any comments.
31. For international visitors who are coming on a temporary basis (viz for business or tourism), are there additional requirements to enter as a visitor? [Answer: yes/no]
   - Tourism
   - Business
32. If you answered yes to the questions above, please briefly describe what they are.
33. How open is the country to international labour migration, for highly skilled migrants with permanent status? [Answer: very closed/somewhat closed/partially open/very open]
34. Any comments.
35. How open is the country to international labour migration, for highly skilled migrants with temporary status? [Answer: very closed/somewhat closed/partially open/very open]
36. Any comments.
37. How open is the country to international labour migration for low skilled migrants with permanent status? [Answer: very closed/somewhat closed/partially open/very open]
38. Any comments.
39. How open is the country to international labour migration for low skilled migrants with temporary status? [Answer: very closed/somewhat closed/partially open/very open]
40. Any comments.
41. How open is the country to international migration from other countries for family reasons? [Answer: very closed/somewhat closed/partially open/very open]
42. Any comments.
43. How open is the country to international student migration? [Answer: very closed/somewhat closed/partially open/very open]
44. Any comments.
45. How open is the country to international visitors?
46. Any comments.
47. How open is the country to international humanitarian migration? [Answer: very closed/somewhat closed/partially open/very open]
48. Any comments.

Integration policies
49. For immigrants with permanent status and their dependents who have come from other countries for work or for family reasons, are the following available? [Answer: only available for citizens/immediately available for migrants/available over time for migrants, depending on time and/or work/not available at all]
   - Non-emergency health care (e.g. doctors, nurses, clinics)
   - Emergency health care (e.g. hospitals)
   - Publicly run schooling
   - Unemployment benefits
   - Union membership
Family allowances and other benefits (e.g. social assistance)  
Voting rights in national elections  
Voting rights in local elections

50. For immigrants with temporary status and their dependents who have come from other countries for work or for family reasons, are the following available?
[Answer: only available for citizens/ immediately available for migrants/ available over time for migrants, depending on time and-or work/ not available at all]

- Non-emergency health care (e.g. doctors, nurses, poly clinics)
- Emergency health care (e.g. hospitals)
- Publicly run schooling
- Unemployment benefits
- Union membership
- Family allowances and other benefits (e.g. social assistance)
- Voting rights in national elections
- Voting rights in local elections

51. For immigrants who have come from other countries for work, what is their ability to move between jobs? Migrants can:
[Answer: only work within the profession-sector for which the visa was granted/ only work with the employer for which the visas was granted/ change employer over time/ change profession-sector over time/ not relevant (e.g., no government provision)]

52. For dependents (such as spouses and children) of immigrant workers?
[Answer: they are allowed to come but not work/ they are allowed to come and work/ not relevant (e.g., no government provisions)]

53. What is the maximum duration of stay for working migrants with a temporary visa?

54. What is the maximum duration of stay for families with a temporary visa?

55. How difficult it is to renew/extend the temporary visa?
[Answer: impossible/ very difficult/ somewhat difficult/ somewhat easy/ very easy]

56. How difficult it is to convert temporary status into permanent?
[Answer: impossible/ very difficult/ somewhat difficult/ somewhat easy/ very easy]

57. It is possible for an immigrant to obtain citizenship? [Answer: impossible/ very difficult/ somewhat difficult/ somewhat easy/ very easy]

58. Is dual citizenship allowed? [Answer: yes/no]

59. If you answered that immigrants can obtain citizenship, how many years do the immigrants need to be in the country before obtaining citizenship?

60. If you answered that immigrants can obtain citizenship, what are other requirements involved in the process of obtaining citizenship? Please refer to the four main requirements.

61. Considering refugees and asylum seekers, are the following available?
[Answer: only available for citizens/ immediately available for refugees-asylum seekers/ available over time for refugees-asylum seekers/ not available at all]

- Public preventive health care
- Public emergency health care
- Public schooling
62. Are the following available for the dependents of refugees/asylum seekers (e.g., spouse, children)?
   [Answer: yes/no]
   - Admitted with the country along with the refugee/asylum seeker
   - Allowed to work

63. What is the initial length of validity for a refugee/asylum seeker status?
   [Answer: Discretionary/ up to 6 months/ 6-12 months/ 1-2 years/ 2-5 years/ more than 5 years, but limited/ unlimited]

64. How easy is it for a refugee/asylum seeker to obtain permanent immigration status?
   [Answer: not possible/ very difficult/ somewhat difficult/ somewhat easy/ very easy]

65. Is it possible for a refugee/asylum seeker to obtain citizenship?
   [Answer: not possible/ very difficult/ somewhat difficult/ somewhat easy/ very easy]

66. If it is possible to obtain citizenship, how many years do the refugee/asylum seeker need to be in the country before obtaining citizenship?

67. If it is possible to obtain citizenship, which other requirements are important for a refugee/asylum seeker in obtaining citizenship? Please refer to the main four requirements.

68. Is it possible for a refugee/asylum seeker to hold dual citizenship? [Answer: yes/no]

69. Considering people without legal status to stay/work, are the following services available?
   [Answer: only available for citizens/ immediately available for undocumented migrants without restrictions/ available for undocumented migrants with restrictions/ not available at all]
   - Public preventive health care
   - Public emergency health care
   - Public schooling
   - Public transfers for family allowances and other social assistance benefits

**Enforcement policies**

70. What is the state of the following enforcement policies? How easy is it to:
   [Answer: very difficult/ somewhat difficult/ somewhat easy/ very easy]
   - Get into the country without legal entry documents?
   - Gain legal employment in the country without legal entry documents?
   - Obtain and use forged documents to try and establish legality of immigration status?

71. What is the state of the following enforcement policies? [Answer: yes/ no]
   - Are employers required to verify the legal status of prospective employees?
   - If you answered yes above, are there financial or criminal penalties for non-compliance?
   - If you answered yes above, in your opinion are these penalties credible deterrents?

72. How frequent are the following interventions used to find people without legal status to stay/work?
   [Answer: never/ very rare/ sometimes/ frequently/ almost always]
   - Border control
   - Raids by specialized law enforcement agencies
   - Random checks by police
   - Information gained from providers of services (e.g., health care providers, schools, …)
   - Other

73. If you answered other above, please comment.

74. Which of the following outcomes and procedures are used in the country once people without legal status to stay/work are identified by legal authorities?
   [Answer: never/ very rare/ sometimes/ frequently/ almost always]
   - Nothing is done or happens
   - Migrant is forced to pay a fine
   - Employer is forced to pay a fine
   - Migrant is detained
   - Migrant is deported
   - Other

75. If you answered other to the question above, please comment.
76. How frequently do immigration officials and other law enforcement authorities ask for bribes from migrants when dealing with their immigration status.
   [Answer: very rare or nonexistent/ sometimes/ frequently/ almost always]
   • To process documents necessary for entry in the country?
   • Immigration status of undocumented migrants?

77. Is it possible for people without legal status to stay/work to regularize?
   [Choose the most adequate option: not possible/ possible if employer starts the process of regularization/ possible through large scale amnesty/ possible through administrative discretion/ possible through other mechanism(s)]

78. If you answered other above, please comment.

79. From the existing stock of immigrants, what is the estimated percentage of people without legal status to stay/work? [Answer: 0% / 1-20% / 21-40% / 41-60% / 61-80% / 81-100%]

80. From the annual flow of immigrants, what is the estimated percentage of people without legal status to stay/work? [Answer: 0% / 1-20% / 21-40% / 41-60% / 61-80% / 81-100%]

81. In the country, to what extent are there barriers to internal migration?
   [Answer: very significant barriers/ significant barriers/ few barriers / no barriers]

82. Any comments.

83. Are there any barriers for internal or domestic migrants on access to public services and entitlements?
   [Answer: yes/no]
   • Access to a doctor/nurse /polyclinic
   • Emergency health care in hospitals/clinics
   • Education in public schools
   • Voting rights
   • Other

84. If you answered other above, please comment.