

HumMingBird



This project has received
funding from the
European Union's Horizon
2020 Research and
Innovation Programme
under grant agreement
No 870661

**The link between migration policies and
migration and migrant integration dynamics**

**AN OVERVIEW OF THE EXISTING LITERATURE
DELIVERABLE 8.1**

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April 2022

<http://www.hummingbird-H2020.eu>

Abstract

This paper explores the link between migration policies and migration and migrant integration dynamics, providing an overview and analysis of key findings from the existing literature. This link is usually analysed from a two-fold perspective: either in relation to the main factors associated with migration policies, or in relation to the effect of migration policies. This report considers research from both perspectives and presents key findings that serve to update existing research as well as fostering additional research on the topic. Various potential factors have been identified as possible determinants of migration policies: migration-related factors (e.g. size of the migrant group in a country); institutional factors (e.g. country's wealth, its welfare system and its labour market conditions); media and political factors (e.g. political ideologies and public opinion). More restrictive policies are associated with lower numbers of migrants, smaller immigration flows and changes in the composition of these flows (e.g., reduction of low-skilled migrants). Policies also produce unintended effects, such as an increase in the number of undocumented migrants in a country. Furthermore, under inclusive policies there is less public fear of migrants in the public opinion, while migrants enjoy greater opportunities to participate in society, improve their skills, and establish themselves in the destination countries. Migrants also develop positive attitudes about their life satisfaction, their health, and their participation in politics.

This report constitutes Deliverable 8.1, for Work Package 8 of the HumMingBird project.

April 2022

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Please refer to this publication as follows:

Solano, G., Yilmaz, S., & Huddleston T. (2022). *The link between migration policies and migration and migrant integration dynamics. An overview of the existing literature* (Deliverable 8.1). Leuven: HumMingBird project 870661 – H2020.

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This publication is also available via <http://www.hummingbird-H2020.eu>

This publication is part of the HumMingBird project, this project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under Grant Agreement No 870661.

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VERSION CONTROL SHEET

Deliverable number + title	D8.1 The link between migration policies and migration and migrant integration dynamics. An overview of the existing literature
Prepared by	Giacomo Solano 9 – Migration Policy Group (MPG) gsolano@migpolgroup.com
Work package number	8
Work package leader	Migration Policy Group (MPG)
Dissemination level (PU, CO)	PU
Delivery date	28/04/2022
Submission date to EC	30/04/2022
Main authors	Giacomo Solano, Sinem Yilmaz and Thomas Huddleston
Reviewers	David De Coninck, Haodong Qi, Tuba Bircan

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The link between migration policies and migration and migration integration dynamics.

An overview of the existing literature

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1. Introduction⁴

This paper explores the link between migration policies and migration and migrant integration dynamics, providing an overview and analysis of key findings from the existing literature. Many articles have analysed this link from a two-fold perspective: the main factors associated with migration policies, and the effect of migration policies (Czaika & De Haas, 2013; Helbling *et al.*, 2020; Helbing & Leblang, 2019; Solano & Huddleston, 2020). This paper takes into account research from both perspectives.

Since the 1970s, the number of people residing in a country different from the one in which they were born has been rising. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM 2020), the scale of international migration has increased more rapidly in recent years. The number of international migrants is estimated to be almost 272 million globally, comprising 3.5% of the world's population. Furthermore, the number of internationally displaced persons has reached a record number of 26 million in 2019 (IOM, 2020), including over 4 million asylum seekers, and the number of refugees under UNHCR's mandate doubled between 2013 and 2020. This is due to long-running conflict in some countries (e.g., Afghanistan, Congo, Myanmar, Syria, and Sudan) and so-called refugee crises in Europe (2014-2015 and currently) and other continents (e.g., in Southern America due to the Venezuelan crisis). Refugee numbers have already increased due to the ongoing Afghan and Ukraine crises.

Many factors contribute to the initiation and perpetuation of (forced or voluntary) migration to destination countries over time and influence the integration of migrants in destination societies (Garcés-Mascareñas & Penninx, 2016; Massey *et al.*, 1998). Migration and migrant integration dynamics emerge as an interaction between structural factors (e.g., economic context and policies), formal and informal institutions and individual agency (e.g., human capital and social capital) (Garcés-Mascareñas & Penninx, 2016; Van Hear *et al.*, 2012).

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⁴ The authors wish to thank Mariangela Boe, Stefano Deodati, Richard Girling, Louiselotte Lion and Olivia Long for their support throughout the entire research and writing process linked to this report. We are grateful to David De Coninck, Haodong Qi, and Tuba Bircan for their valuable remarks on an earlier version of this report.

Among these factors, the migration policies of the destination country play a role: the openness or closedness of migration policies influences migration dynamics i.e. migration trends and integration outcomes. Migration policies can provide (or constrain) specific migration infrastructures and shape migration flows and stocks. In other words, they can influence the number and characteristics of migrants entering a country, and the likelihood that these migrants will stay in that country (Czaika & De Haas, 2013; Helbing & Leblang, 2019; Jenissen, 2007; Van Hear *et al.*, 2012). Similarly, the receiving society creates the conditions that support or hinder migrants in their integration. More inclusive or less inclusive policies may ease or obstruct migrants' inclusion in the destination society, ultimately shaping their integration outcomes - e.g., whether migrants find a job or not (Huddleston, 2020; Solano & Huddleston, 2020). This paper aims to answer the following first research question: *What is the effect of migration policies on migration and migrant integration dynamics?*

We define migration policies as all the laws and policies that relate to the selection, admission, integration, settlement and full membership of migrants in a country (Bjerre *et al.*, 2015; Hammar, 1990). Migration and migrant integration dynamics refer to migration flows and stocks as well as migrants' integration outcomes.

Several authors have examined the flipside of this coin by investigating the main factors associated with migration policies (the determinants of migration policies; see for example Hatton, 2004; Howard, 2010; Koopmans & Michalowski, 2017; Koopmans *et al.*, 2012; Rayp *et al.*, 2017). The goal of this stream of research is to explain the reasons and mechanisms behind countries' differing migration and migrant integration models (Schmid, 2020; Scholten, 2020; Schultz, Lutz, & Simon, 2021). In this regard, the existing literature stresses that migration policies emerge as a combination of different factors that go beyond mere migration dynamics. Therefore, besides migration-related factors (e.g., the size of the migrant group in a country), the existing literature underlines the relevance of contextual-institutional factors (e.g., welfare systems and economic conditions) and factors related to political ideologies, public opinion and mass media. To take stock of the findings of these existing studies, this paper aims to answer the following second research question: *What are the main factors associated with migration policies?*

In answering the above-mentioned research questions, besides providing an overview of the main results, this paper also connects existing theories on migration and migration policies with the main results emerging from existing literature.

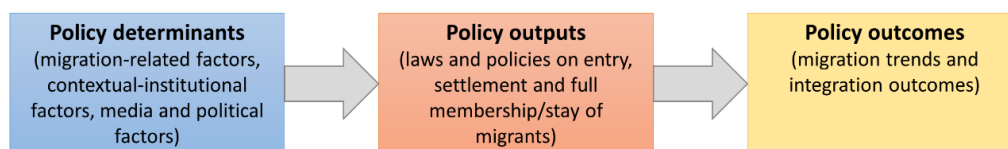
This paper has been developed within the framework of the Horizon 2020 HumMingBird project, which aims to improve the mapping and understanding of emerging migration and migration-related trends. This paper reads as follows. We first illustrate the theoretical debate around migration policies by introducing the concepts of policy determinants, policy outputs and policy outcomes (Section 2.1), and the challenges in studying the link between determinants, outputs and outcomes (Section 2.2). After illustrating the methodology used to conduct the literature review on which this paper is based (Section 3), we present an overview of the main findings on the main factors associated with migration policies (Section 4). After that, we focus on the effect of migration policies on migration dynamics. We distinguish between the kind of outcomes that policies may influence, i.e. migration trends (Section 5), and migrant integration outcomes (Section 6). We conclude with a reflection on the main results that emerge from this paper's literature review (Section 7).

2. Determinants, migration policy outputs and outcomes

2.1 Theoretical approach and definitions

When analysing migration policy, it is important to conceptually distinguish between policy determinants, policy outputs and policy outcomes (Gest *et al.*, 2014; Solano, 2022). Such a clear distinction is critical for cross-country comparative analyses to disentangle the casual relationship - or, at least, the association - between the different elements (see Figure 1). Researchers can address policy trends over time, the reasons behind policies and their change, and the role that policies play in influencing migration-related processes.

Figure 1. Policy determinants, policy outputs, policy outcomes



Policy outputs refer to the formulation of laws and policies (migration policy). They are policy measures, such as the adoption of a law/policy by government entities on topics related to migration. Hammar (1985) differentiated between direct and indirect migration policies: the first group refers to policies aimed directly at the migrant community or at a specific group of migrants (beneficiaries of international protection, for example), while the second group refers to policies that are aimed at the entire population, and that indirectly affect the migrant community as part of the society. In this paper, we examine policies directly targeting migrants (direct migration policies). For example, as far as the integration of refugees in the labour market is concerned, a possible policy output is the set of laws regulating refugee access to employment.

When it comes to migration, the definition of migration policy and related policy areas is characterised by a certain degree of vagueness (Solano & Huddleston, 2021). The existing literature underlines the fact that the definition of migration policy is still not completely clear, nor are the policy areas and sub-areas (e.g., nationality acquisition policies) that are included within it (Bjerre *et al.*, 2015; Scholten, 2020). Migration policies refer to ‘governments’ [...] laws, regulations, decisions or orders regarding the selection, admission, settlement, and deportation of foreign citizens residing in the country’ (Bjerre *et al.*, 2015, p. 559). This definition makes it clear that migration policy is a multi-dimensional concept, which includes different dimensions and areas of intervention. Hammar (1990) distinguishes between three steps which cover the entire migration path: entry, settlement and full membership/stay. These reflect the two modes of ‘social closure’ of nation-states, one before entry to the country and the other within its territory. ‘Entry’ refers to the entry of migrants to the country and the policies that regulate this (Gest *et al.*, 2014; Rayp *et al.*, 2017). ‘Settlement’ and ‘full membership/stay’ are often combined under the umbrella of migrant integration policies (Niessen & Huddleston, 2009). In particular, settlement refers to the wide set of policies that influence migrants’

settlement, such as those relating to the labour market, political participation, anti-discrimination and health (Huddleston *et al.*, 2015). Full membership/stay refers to the rights to stay and participate in the life of the destination country, which are normally acquired through citizenship or long-term/permanent residence.

There are of course several possible determinants for these policies, such as factors associated with more restrictive or less restrictive migration policies. Countries adopt different configurations of national boundary regimes and models of integration. These are based on the one hand, on their own interpretation of migration and migrant integration and political-ideological preferences behind these concepts, and on the other hand, on the national history and nature of migration and the socio-economic and political situation in that particular country (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003; Favell, 2003; Schmid, 2020). Therefore, policy determinants refer to the factors associated with, and which might influence migration policies. Existing literature points to migration-related factors (such as the number of migrants in a country), contextual-institutional factors (such as welfare systems and labour market conditions) and factors related to political ideologies, public opinion, and mass media (such as the strength of political parties in the country and public attitudes towards migration and migrants).

Finally, migration policies may produce an effect in society. Policy outcomes refer to the impact that laws and policies might have, and therefore are - at least in part - the result of the implementation of those laws and policies. Migration dynamics are the policy outcomes of migration policies. We apply Hammar's (1990) three-step approach to the analysis of migration dynamics and distinguish between migration trends (entry) and integration outcomes (settlement and full membership/stay). Migration trends refer to the volume and composition of both the migrants arriving to a country (migration flows) and the migrant population already in the country (migration stocks), as well as the types of migrants that make up the flows and stocks (e.g., age, gender, education, share of refugees and share of economic migrants). Migrant integration outcomes refer to the integration of migrants in different areas of social life (e.g., employment, education, and health). Examples of integration outcomes include migrants' employment rates, the educational attainments of migrants, their health conditions, etc.

2.2 Challenges in measuring the determinants and impact of migration policies

It is important to point out that it is challenging to analyse the determinants and impact of migration policies (Czaika & De Haas, 2013; Ortega & Peri, 2013; Solano, 2021). There are at least three main challenges in attempting to do so: gaps in data availability, conceptual and empirical fuzziness, and the causality dilemma.

Gaps in data availability

Despite improvements in data availability in recent decades, data on both migration policies and outcomes are still limited (Solano, 2022). First, it is difficult to translate policies into something quantifiable. However, over the last twenty years, researchers have undertaken systematic comparison of migration policy frameworks by creating sets of policy indicators/indices at the national level (Bjerre *et al.*, 2015; Solano & Huddleston, 2021). These indicators are designed to analyse the differences and trends in migration policy and to then be used by the research community to assess the determinants and effects of policy. The proliferation of projects has resulted in dozens of indicator data sets that measure the degree of restrictiveness of these policies, the extent of equal treatment between migrants and non-migrants and other relevant dimensions of policy regimes and models (Scipioni & Urso, 2018). From these data sets, researchers have often created aggregations and indices to provide a summary score – a snapshot of the migration policy framework in a given country in a specific time period. A recent overview of existing sets of indicators finds 67 sets addressing migration policies (Solano & Huddleston, 2021). However, these are disproportionately concentrated in a few areas of migration policy research, such as admission and citizenship policies. Other areas of research - e.g.,

irregular migration, return and diaspora policies - are covered by a small number of policy indicators. Furthermore, most of indices analyse European countries – often, European Union (EU) Member States - or, at best, OECD/developed countries (e.g. Australia, Canada and USA), while the so-called Global South has been ignored by the majority of these projects.

On data on migration dynamics, since the early 2000s the number of data sources has been increasing (Kraler *et al.*, 2015; Solano, 2022). As a result of different developments and initiatives involving national data providers and international actors, data availability and accessibility has enormously expanded in recent decades, allowing data users to tap vast and expanding sources of information on migration trends and integration outcomes (Kraler *et al.*, 2015; Wolffhardt, Joki, & Solano, 2019). However, while Eurostat plays a critical role in ensuring data availability within the EU, data are rather limited at the international scale. Outside the EU, data on migration trends are available from the United Nations, while data availability on migrant integration is limited.

Conceptual and empirical fuzziness

There is also a certain degree of conceptual and empirical fuzziness when it comes to the link between migration policies, determinants, and outcomes (Czaika & De Haas, 2013). While an increasing number of projects have created sets of indicators to comparatively analyse policies, it is difficult to disentangle the differences between how policies are perceived or understood, the policies on paper and the policies in practice (their implementation). In this regard, Czaika and De Haas (2013) identify three policy gaps: discourse, implementation, and efficacy. These gaps relate to both the determinants of policies and the effects of policies.

The *discourse gap* is the difference between discourse on policies and the actual policies. For example, it has been argued that migration policies have become more restrictive over the years, however De Haas *et al.* (2018) analyses of migration policy changes in 45 countries object to this discourse by showing that migration policies have overall become more liberal since 1945. Several other studies also support the argument that policies, overall, have become less restrictive (e.g., Bjerre *et al.*, 2016; Helbling & Kalkum, 2018; Helbling *et al.*, 2017). This indicates that migration discourse might give inaccurate impressions of increasing restrictiveness. Discourse around Germany's welcoming migration policy in 2015 is another example of misleading discourse. This kind of 'open' migration policy has been criticised by those who say it will create a 'pull effect' for aspiring migrants worldwide, and lead to 'mass migration'. However, research contests this discourse as there is a lack of evidence to support it (Tjaden & Heidland, 2021).

The *implementation gap* refers to the discrepancy between policies on paper (what is written in the law/policy measure) and their actual implementation. Policy implementation, which stands in between policy outputs and outcomes, refers to the concrete application of the on-paper policy outputs. Migration and citizenship studies have only recently begun to move beyond outcome and policy indicators to measure implementation. Few researchers have attempted to measure the different dimensions of implementation and their importance for migration and integration outcomes. Currently, most implementation studies in the field of immigration and integration are descriptive, single-country studies that fall into the category of 'grey' literature (Solano & Huddleston, 2022). Therefore, the effect of similar outputs (policies and laws) on outcomes may vary according to the implementation of those outputs, but this is very difficult to understand based on current research.

The *efficacy gap* is the actual effect of policies. A fundamental problem is how to determine what their intended effect is - for example by distinguishing between specific and general policy objectives. While specific policy objectives refer to laws, measures, and regulations targeting a category of migrants, general objectives are concerned with the overall volume and composition of the immigrant population. Therefore, the effect of migration policies can be effectively studied if studies address the desired effect on inflows/characteristics of the targeted category. Similarly, different and sometimes opposing interests affect and shape migration policies, which might therefore lead to internally incoherent policies (Castles, 2004). For example, policymakers might decide to restrict the admission

of particular categories of migrants while facilitating the admission of other categories. Another challenge is measuring the relative importance of migration policies compared with other determinants affecting migration flows. For example, according to De Haas (2011), sustained or increasing migration does not necessarily prove that more restrictive migration policies are ineffective, while decreasing migration might not prove the effectiveness of policies. There might be other factors at play which serve to increase migration (such as growing economic gaps between sending and receiving countries) or decrease it (such as the ending of a conflict in an origin country), counterbalancing immigration restrictions.

Causality: the chicken and the egg problem

In what follows, we are going to use such expressions as ‘the determinants of policies’ and ‘the effect of policies’. These imply a certain degree of causality, namely a direction of the effect between migration policies and dynamics. However, association, which is measured by cross-sectional quantitative studies, is not causation (*Irizarry, 2022*). In other words, it is not correct to state that, given that there is a significant correlation between A (independent variable) and B (dependent variable), A influences B. In fact, in cross-sectional surveys - like most of the articles mentioned here - it is statistically accurate to say that A is associated with B, rather than that A influences B. Claims about the determinants or the effectiveness of migration policies usually focus on mere statistical association between migration policies and migration dynamics (De Haas *et al.*, 2019). Establishing causality is therefore difficult. In most cases, there is no clear indication of whether a factor is a determinant or an effect of migration policies. For example, migration policies can affect the number of migrants (e.g., restrictive policies can decrease the number of migrants in a country) but also a reaction to the number of migrants (e.g., a higher number of migrants in a country can lead to policymakers deciding on more restrictive policies). This also points towards a possible circular causation mechanism. The same goes for the association between public opinion and migration policies. Does a more welcoming public opinion produce more open and inclusive policies? Or do policies generate a more welcoming public opinion? Despite these considerations, in this report we will still frame our review by distinguishing between the determinants and the effects of policies. The determinant vs. effect of migration policy argument in this report is based on how researchers have framed the link between policies and dynamics (either as policy influencing dynamics or vice-versa). However, we mainly illustrate our results in terms of association rather than causation. Furthermore, when possible, we provide additional information on the direction of the association (causality) based on existing studies, e.g. when a study adopts a longitudinal approach/(quasi) experiment setting.

3. Methodology

The link between migration policies and migration and migrant integration dynamics is a broad topic that requires extensive review of the literature. Conducting such an extensive literature review proved challenging. A countless number of articles address the topics, but many refer to a specific (national) context while our goal was to offer a review of the main trends that go beyond any specific national setting. Because of this, we decided to limit our review predominantly to comparative studies that provide findings on more than one specific country. We also decided to focus solely on the national level, as extending analysis to the sub-national level would have required reviewing a completely different set of studies (Caponio & Pettrachin, 2021; Manatschal, Wisthaler, & Zuber, 2020). Another challenge is the lack of common terminology across the relevant literature. Studies on these topics are interdisciplinary in nature, framing their research from different perspectives and in different ways. To overcome these challenges, we developed several strategies.

As a starting point, we conducted a review of the existing set of indicators on migration policies (see Solano & Huddleston, 2021). This was done through (1) creating a collection of indices based on previous literature review articles and related literature (e.g. Bjerre *et al.*, 2015; Gest *et al.*, 2014; Goodman, 2015, 2019), and (2) a literature search in Google Scholar using several keywords (e.g., migration policy index, migration policy indicators, migration policies). We chose to use Google Scholar as many analyses have been published as working papers and are therefore not listed in Scopus or Web of Science. However, we checked the soundness of the methodology and the solidity of the sources (e.g. the publishing authors and/or the institutions/organisations), to be sure not to include unreliable results.

Since most studies employ this collection of indicators to address the links between policy determinants, outputs, and outcomes, this was a good starting point from which to map existing studies on the links being analysed. Through this review we found 100+ articles related to those indicators. Not all articles were useful, as some focused on illustrating the methodology behind the indicators, however many others were related to the determinants of migration policies and/or the effect of those policies.

To complement this list of articles we conducted three additional separate but interrelated literature reviews, one for each of the topics analysed: the main factors associated with migration policies; the effect of migration policies on migration trends; the effect of migration policies on integration outcomes.

We employed a two-fold approach to gather literature on the determinants of migration policies. First, we reviewed all the literature quoting and using the three leading and most-used sets of indicators on migration (admission and integration) policies (see Scipioni & Urso, 2018): DEMIG (Determinants of International Migration, see: De Haas, Natter, & Vezzoli, 2014); IMPIC (Immigration Policies in Comparison, see: Bjerre *et al.*, 2016); MIPEX (Migrant Integration Policy Index, see: Solano & Huddleston, 2020). Second, we conducted a Google Scholar search using the following key phrases (or variations of them): ‘migration policy determinants’; ‘explaining migration policy’.

We employed the same two-fold approach for the review of the literature on the effect of migration policies on migration trends. First, we reviewed all the literature quoting and using the leading sets of the indicators (DEMIG, IMPIC and MIPEX). Second, we conducted a Google Scholar search using the phrase ‘migration policy effect’ or variations of it (e.g. ‘migration policies effect’ and ‘effect of migration policies’).

We employed a similar approach to gather literature on the effect of policies on migrant integration outcomes. However, we limited our research here to MIPEX, as the literature showed that MIPEX is the most commonly used set of indicators related to explaining migrant integration (Huddleston, 2020; Scipioni & Urso, 2018). We also decided to focus on literature using MIPEX for the sake of comparability, as different definitions of migrant integration (policies) might produce different results (Goodman, 2015; Koopmans *et al.*, 2012; Niessen & Huddleston, 2009). To this end, we not only reviewed all the literature citing MIPEX reports, but also conducted a Google Scholar search using key phrases ‘MIPEX’ and ‘Migrant Integration Policy Index’. In any case, the review of papers using DEMIG and IMPIC only found one paper related to integration outcomes (Hebling *et al.*, 2020 – see Section 6).

Finally, we also employed two overarching strategies: 1) the use of previous knowledge from this report’s authors on existing papers on the topic; 2) snowball sampling - namely examination of the references sections of those papers found by employing the other strategies.

4. The determinants of policies: main factors associated with migration policies

The existing literature sheds light on the different reasons and mechanisms behind policies, resulting in a number of theoretical perspectives. These have conceptually and empirically made reference to four main perspectives (see Figure 2; Bekkers *et al.*, 2017; Consterdine & Hampshire, 2020; Scholten, 2020; Schultz *et al.*, 2021). Traditionally, political scientists have adopted a rationalist approach, or better an evidence-based approach, which assumes that policymakers act based on the knowledge and information available on a certain policy area (Dunn, 1986). However, scholars have challenged this approach, as evidence supporting the assumption that policymakers' decisions are solely based on available knowledge and information is limited (Baldwin-Edwards *et al.*, 2019; Boswell, 2009). In response to this, scholars have developed several other perspectives that characterise policymaking. An additional perspective stresses the role of institutional structures, such as the welfare state and the economic situation (institutional perspective). In recent years, more attention has been devoted to the politicisation and the role of ideas, narratives and discourses in policymaking. The political and constructivist perspectives focus on these factors (Radin, 2000; Schön & Rein, 1995).

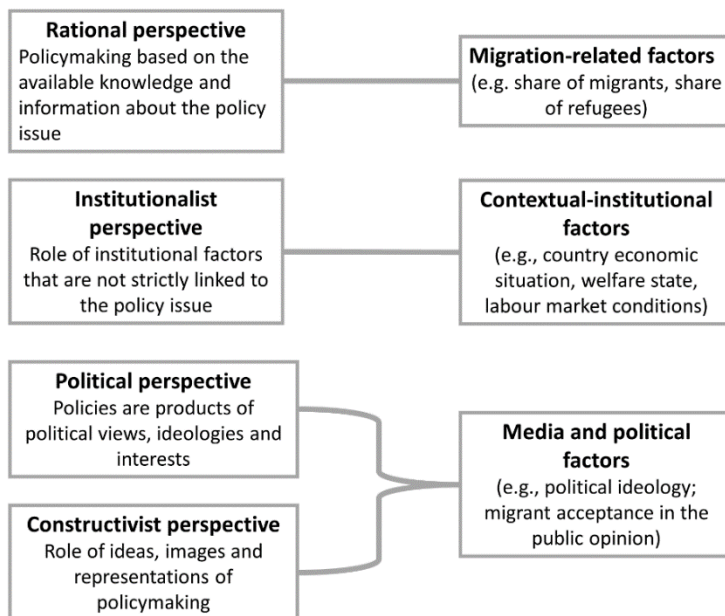
As is often the case in theoretical debates, these perspectives are not always clearly demarcated from one another. Nevertheless, for heuristic reasons it is useful to clearly distinguish these approaches. Broadly related to these theoretical perspectives, several existing studies have analysed the main factors that explain migration and integration policies. Based on the existing literature (Hatton, 2004; Howard, 2010; Koopmans & Michalowski, 2017; Koopmans *et al.*, 2012; Rayp *et al.*, 2017), we can identify three main groups of determinants: migration-related factors (such as the size of the migrant group in a country); institutional factors (such as a country's wealth, its welfare system and its labour market conditions); media and political factors (such as political ideologies and the influence of public opinion and mass media).

Figure 2. Summary of the four theoretical perspectives



Source Scholten (2020, 161)

Figure 3. Theoretical perspectives and groups of determinants



4.1 The rational, evidence-based perspective: migration-related factors

The first perspective - the rational, evidence-based perspective - assumes that policymakers act based on the knowledge and information available on a certain policy issue. The rational perspective refers therefore to a phenomena-informed and evidence-based decision. This knowledge is used and considered in the formulation and implementation of policies.

Scholten (2020) mentions the number of migrants in a country as an example of the type of knowledge that can drive policymaking on migration and migrant integration. policymakers would thus promote policies to tackle migrant integration-related issues according to whatever this number is. This can work in opposing ways. On the one hand, policymakers might aim to restrict immigration and integration policies to select migrants (Helbling *et al.*, 2020). On the other hand, to facilitate integration, policymakers might implement policies that reduce the integration obstacles that migrants who already reside in the country are confronted with (Solano & Huddleston, 2020). Key indicators that inform policymakers' decisions from this perspective are related to the size of the outgroup in a country: the share of migrants, the inflows over a certain period, or the number of asylum applications.

In general, studies suggest that there is an association between migration policies and the number of migrants in a country, as well migration flows to a country (see Czaika & De Haas, 2013 and Section 5). Smaller numbers of migrants (stocks and inflows) are associated with more restrictive migration policies.

However, few articles explicitly analyse migration trends as a possible determinant of migration policy. One attempt to conduct such analysis was carried out by De Haas and Natter (2015), who showed that a country's immigration rate is associated with the restrictiveness of its migration policy. However, this effect does not seem to hold when the analysis is conducted according to area of migration policies (admission policies, integration policies, etc.). Similarly, in his article on selected EU member states, Howard (2010) finds that the number and percentage of migrants has no effect on the liberalisation of citizenship policies. This seems to indicate that the number/rate of migrants and immigration flows has a weak but significant effect on the broad migration policy framework, rather than on specific sub-policy areas.

The existing literature also points to the number and flows of refugees/asylum seekers possibly having a stronger effect. Hatton (2004)'s seminal article illustrates how asylum policies in Europe became more restrictive in response to the growing number of asylum seekers during the 1990s. The backlash effect in policies due to an increase in asylum requests and/or number of refugees has been confirmed by recent studies that compared integration policies before and after the 2015 migration crisis in Scandinavian and Central European countries. Those studies find that many countries increasingly restricted admission policies as well as access to social rights (Hagelund, 2020; Hangartner & Sarvimäki, 2017; Hernes, 2018).

4.2 The institutionalist perspective: contextual-institutional factors

The institutionalist perspective stresses the role of institutional factors in influencing policies. This approach points at factors that are not directly related to migration. Policymaking on a certain issue does not take place in a void, rather it happens in a context characterised by institutions that influence the decision-making process (Bekkers *et al.*, 2017; Schierup *et al.*, 2006). Country-specific conceptualisations of certain institutions like the welfare state, the nation state and the labour market, which are not immediately related to the specific policy issue, are likely to affect policymaking on migration and migrant integration (Scholten, 2020).

Existing literature refers to several major contextual-institutional factors. The overall idea is that wealthier countries - e.g. in terms of GDP, unemployment rate, inequality - and more generous welfare institutions have more inclusive migration policies. However, this is only weakly confirmed by existing literature. Regarding a country's economic situation, De Haas and Natter (2015) show that a

favourable national economic situation (GDP/per capita) is associated with the adoption of less restrictive migration policies. By contrast Howard (2010), Koopmans and colleagues (2012) and Rayp and colleagues (2017) find that countries' economic status has no effect on changes to and the level of migration policies.

Not many studies have addressed inequality as a possible factor explaining migration policies. One exception is represented by Koopmans and Michalowski (2017), who find that inequality has no effect (Gini index) on the rights granted to migrants. Another exception is de Haas and Natter (2015)'s paper which finds that the unemployment rate is associated with restrictive changes in migration policies. By contrast, Howard (2009) and Koopmans and Michalowski (2017), who look at the effect of unemployment rates on citizenship policies and access to rights respectively, find that unemployment has no effect.

Furthermore, some authors analyse the role of the welfare state. The overall idea is that more generous welfare states are more likely to extend rights to migrants. The literature confirms by and large that a more generous welfare state is associated with more inclusive integration policies, as shown by Kolbe and Kayran (2019) on EU countries and Romer (2017) on OECD countries. A more refined analysis has been conducted by Ruhs (2018) with reference to different kinds of welfare states and types of capitalism. The author compares liberal welfare states and coordinated market economies. Liberal welfare states are less likely to impose restrictions on the employment conditions of migrant workers, a self-sufficiency requirement as a way of restricting admission. By contrast, these states place greater restrictions on the social rights of migrants.

Finally, scholars also look at the effect of area- and country-specific trends. Countries in different continents have their own historical immigration and emigration patterns (De Haas, Castles, & Miller, 2020; Li, 2020). For example, the Americas have for long time been subject to immigration flows, while Europe has historically been both a sending and a receiving continent. These different migratory histories may have an impact on how countries approach migration (Rayp *et al.*, 2017; Solano & Huddleston, 2020). Howard (2005) shows that countries with a longer tradition of immigration have the most liberal citizenship policies. Koopmans and Michalowski (2017) find that former colonies that developed as immigration countries (typically American and Oceanian countries) are more likely to extend rights to migrants and to have more favourable integration policies.

Among scholars looking at specific area trends, many address the role of Europeanisation. Authors point to the harmonisation effect of the European Union (Consterdine & Hampshire, 2020; Helbling & Kalkum, 2018; Schultz *et al.*, 2021; Vink & Graziano, 2007). The results of those studies reveal that policies have developed very similarly within and outside the EU, as shown by both Helbling and Kalkum (2018), and Schultz and colleagues (2021). However, migration policies within the EU have converged to a larger extent compared to other Western and/or OECD countries (Schultz *et al.*, 2021). Furthermore, many scholars argue that EU legislation contributed to the improvement of legal standards for asylum seekers, refugees and migrants (Kaunert & Leonard, 2012; Roos & Zaun, 2014).

4.3 The political and constructivist perspective: media and political factors

In recent years, as global migration numbers have reached unprecedented heights, migrant integration has become a highly politicised issue (De Coninck & Matthijs, 2020). Scholars have therefore emphasised that symbolic forms of utilisation seem to be prevalent in policymaking (Boswell, 2009). The political perspective stresses that policies are products of political views, societal power relations and interests, rather than of available information or the institutional context (Bekkers *et al.*, 2017). The constructivist perspective stresses the role of ideas, images and representations of policymaking. According to these two perspectives, policymaking is not driven by phenomena-related or institutional factors (as the rational and institutional perspectives state), rather it involves the social construction of policy problems and solutions (Scholten, 2020). These perspectives relate to the role of

political ideologies, mass media and public opinion. For example, authors have pointed to the recent electoral success of European right-wing anti-immigrant political parties since the 2014-2016 migration crisis (Schlueter *et al.*, 2020). Furthermore, policymakers may change their approach towards the policy issue according to public opinion, as well as to how the media represents and frames migration and migrants, and the (indirect) association of this representation with integration policymaking (De Coninck, 2020; Mertens *et al.*, 2019; Schlueter *et al.*, 2020). The overall idea is that more open political ideologies and more favourable public and media attitudes towards migration, migrant integration and diversity are associated with more inclusive integration policies.

Several existing studies analyse the role of political ideologies and parties (Akkerman, 2012; Givens & Adam Luedtke, 2005; Hansen & Clemens, 2019; Howard, 2010; Koopmans *et al.*, 2012; Schultz *et al.*, 2021; Sredanovic, 2016). Although with some differences, the results of those studies indicate that right-wing parties are more likely than left-wing to adopt anti-migrant attitudes, and less likely to adopt policy measures to welcome migrants and expand their rights. For example, the seminal work from Koopmans and colleagues (2012) shows that a high share of right-wing populist parties reduces access to rights for migrants. Similarly, in his analysis of 11 EU countries, Howard (2010) finds that while citizenship liberalisation is more likely to occur with a left-wing government, the most important factor to influence the inclusivity of policies is the relative strength of far-right parties. Hansen and Clemens (2019) produce similar findings, concluding that far-right success is a significant factor in determining citizenship policy restrictiveness. In partial contrast with those papers, Sredanovic (2016) shows limited evidence of the role of far-right xenophobic parties in influencing the direction of legislation changes, suggesting that the origin of restrictive citizenship legislation could be found in mainstream right-wing parties rather than in the far right. Furthermore, Natter and colleagues (2020) find that the effect of the political ideology of governments and parliaments on changes in migration policies is limited to certain migration policy areas, primarily to integration policies, and to specific migrant groups, particularly asylum seekers and undocumented migrants.

In addition, there exists extensive literature on the association between integration policies and public opinion of migration and migrants. Many studies find that in countries with migrant-friendly national policies, citizens hold more welcoming public attitudes towards migrants (Callens, 2015; Callens & Meuleman, 2017; De Coninck *et al.*, 2021a; Karpiński & Wysińska-Di Carlo, 2018). Some studies point to a possible mechanism of policy responsiveness, namely that policymakers consider public attitudes when designing integration policies to reduce the risk of losing votes and to avoid the likelihood of reprisals, in the form of protests or public disobedience (Callens, 2015; Callens & Meuleman, 2017; De Coninck *et al.*, 2021a). However, all these studies look at public opinion as driven by integration policies, rather than the other way around (Callens, 2015). In additional analyses, De Coninck and colleagues (2021a) estimate the effect of public opinion on integration policies as a robustness check and find that the fit of these models is significantly worse than that of models with public opinion as a dependent variable. However, the authors do not report the effects of the model and its significance.

Finally, there is also a third factor alongside political ideologies and public opinion: news media coverage and journalists' attitudes (De Coninck, 2020; Mertens *et al.*, 2019). However, this link has been largely overlooked within the literature. To our knowledge, only one study considered the association between integration policies and journalistic attitudes towards diversity. Mertens and colleagues (2019) investigate a sample of 24 countries of EU and non-EU countries and show that journalists tend to promote tolerance and cultural diversity in countries with more restrictive integration policies.

Box 1. Main findings on the determinants of migration policies

- Many factors seem to be associated with the degree of openness/inclusiveness of policies.
- The existing literature reveals a weak but significant effect of the number/rate of migrants and immigration flows on the broad migration policy framework, rather than on specific sub-policy areas.
- The literature points at a possible stronger negative effect of the number and flows of refugees/asylum seekers, suggesting the possibility of a backlash in policies due to refugee crises.
- The literature provides weak evidence of the fact that wealthier countries have more open and inclusive policies. However, the literature confirms that a more generous welfare is associated to more inclusive integration policies.
- Countries with a long-standing immigration tradition as well as colonial past are more likely to extend rights to migrants and have more open and inclusive migration policies.
- Several existing studies underline that right-wing parties are more likely than left-wing to adopt anti-migrant attitudes and are less likely adopt policy measures to welcome migrants and expand their rights.
- There is extensive literature on the positive association between integration policies and public opinion towards migration or migrants. However, some studies suggest that citizens' migration attitudes are influenced by policies more than the other way around.

5. Entry: the effect of migration policies on migration trends

In this section, we present and review literature on how migration policies may influence migration trends. Many factors influence the level of migration to a country and the composition of migration flows (see Czaika & Reinprecht, 2020). Migration emerges as an interaction between structural factors (e.g., economic context and policies) and individual agency (e.g., human capital and social capital) (see De Haas, 2021).

Conventional migration theories tend to portray migrants as being ‘pulled’ and ‘pushed’ by economic, political, demographic and environmental factors (De Haas, 2021; Massey *et al.*, 1993). A multitude of economic and non-economic factors at both the macro level and micro level drive migration processes. Migrants are motivated by a combination of multiple and interconnected social, cultural, economic and political factors (De Haas, 2011). Scholars also highlight the crucial role of networks at the meso level of analysis (Bircan *et al.*, 2020; Massey, 1990). Networks provide information and support during pre-migration, during the journey and during the post-migration process.

De Haas (2014, 2011, 2021) puts forward the aspirations-capabilities approach which suggests conceptualising migration as a function of aspirations and capabilities to migrate within given sets of perceived opportunity structures. The core argument of De Haas’ theory is that people are only likely to migrate when they have aspirations as well the capability to do so (see Bircan *et al.*, 2020). De Haas emphasises the reciprocal influence between structure and agency. According to this argument, structures are not only restrictions that prevent migration. Instead, they have a more organising function, constraining the migration of one group while facilitating the migration of others. Policies, for instance, may influence both the overall volume of migration flows and the composition of migrant flows (e.g. in terms of skills, age or national origin).

Among the micro, meso and macro level migration drivers, the migration policies of the destination country may play a role. Many scholars address this topic, mainly from the perspective of to what extent and how migration policies are effective in controlling immigration flows (Czaika & De Haas, 2013). These analyses lead to different - sometimes conflicting - results in migration scholarship. A consensus on the influence of migration policies is far from being reached. On the one hand, the effectiveness of migration policies has been widely contested: over the past decades, several migration scholars have argued that there is a gap between the objectives of restrictive migration policies and their observed outcomes (e.g., De Haas, Castles, & Miller, 2020; Hollifield *et al.*, 2014). It has been argued that international migration is primarily driven by other factors, such as labour market imbalances, inequalities in wealth, and political conflicts in origin countries; factors on which migration policies have a marginal impact (Czaika & De Haas, 2013). On the other hand, this sceptical view contrasts with other researchers who point out that migration policies have been increasingly effective in influencing the magnitude and composition of migration flows (Beine, Docquier, & Özden, 2011; Helbling & Leblang, 2019; Mayda, 2010; Ortega & Peri, 2013). In addition, immigration restrictions are believed to have some unintended effects (Brekke *et al.*, 2017; Czaika & De Haas, 2017; Getmanski *et al.*, 2019).

After providing an overview of studies examining how policies influence the magnitude of migration flows (5.1) and composition of migrants (5.2), this section also looks at the unintended effects

of migration policies (5.3) and the effects of integration policies on migration dynamics (5.4). In doing so, we look at the main objectives, arguments, and results of these scholarly works.

5.1 Magnitude of migrant trends

Migration policies, in particular admission policies, act primarily as a means of determining migration flows. Several studies investigate a large number of countries and concentrate on migration policies in general (e.g. Docquier *et al.*, 2014; Fitzgerald *et al.*, 2014; Mayda, 2010; Ortega & Peri, 2013). Those studies point towards the idea that overall restrictive migration policies decrease migration flows. For example, Ortega and Peri (2009, 2013) and Fitzgerald and colleagues (2014) find that bilateral migration flows decrease significantly when the destination countries adopt stricter migration laws. Some quantitative studies focusing on individual countries confirm the impact of policy changes in the United States and Canada (Keremera *et al.*, 2000; Vogler & Rotte, 2000), and the United Kingdom (Hatton, 2005). An exception to this trend is presented by Docquier and colleagues (2014), who analyse economic, policy, cultural and network determinants of migration. They find that policies have a marginal impact alongside the size of the network of migrants already living in the destination country and the average income per person in the destination country.

Other studies focus on specific policy areas, such as labour migration, family migration or asylum. These studies confirm the fact that more restrictive policies are associated with lower migration flows. Brekke and colleagues (2017) look at the effect of asylum policies on asylum flows and conclude that restrictive admission policies for asylum seekers in Western European countries have reduced the number of new asylum applications, by both reducing the outflows from sending countries and by rerouting migration flows to other countries. Visa policies also attract a lot of attention since states have increasingly used travel visas to halt migration and control flows (Czaika & Neumayer, 2017; Czaika *et al.*, 2018). Vikhrov (2017) uses entry visa rules to measure the strictness of migration policies and finds that the abolition of visas decreases institutional barriers to migration. For the period between 2000-2010, he observes a 10% increase in migration stocks (mostly male and unskilled migrants) in countries that have weakened visa restrictions. Czaika and Neumayer (2017) also find a 13% reduction in mobility when high-income countries impose a visa requirement.

Finally, existing research usually explores dynamics between migration policymaking and migration flows in the context of developed countries. Little is known about determinants of migration flows in the Global South (Adamson & Tsourapas, 2020). Although evidence shows that migrants are attracted to countries with liberal policies in Global North, a recent study on policies in the Global South presents contradictory results due to poor policy enforcement and low policy knowledge in developing countries. Blair and colleagues' (Blair *et al.*, 2022) study on 92 developing countries documents the fact that gravitation toward liberal countries is conditional on determinants that facilitate the diffusion of policy knowledge, such as transnational ethnic kin.

5.2 Composition of migration trends

Some reviews of migration policies argue that migration policies are more likely to influence the selection and composition of migration rather than the overall volume and long-term migration trends (Czaika & De Haas, 2011, 2013). Hence, migration policies are more likely to be used as a tool for migrant selection rather than as a means of affecting overall numbers (De Haas *et al.*, 2018). Although migration policies have become less restrictive (Bjerre *et al.*, 2016; Helbling & Kalkum, 2018; Helbling *et al.*, 2017), the level of restrictiveness varies across migration categories and migrant groups. The DEMIG project's results demonstrate that policies become more restrictive towards irregular migrants and people joining their families, but less restrictive towards high and low skilled migrants, refugees, and students (De Haas *et al.*, 2018). Results from the IMPIC project support this

argument for labour migrants but lead to divergent conclusions regarding asylum seekers and family reunification (Helbling & Kalkum, 2018).

In line with the research already mentioned, skill selective policies have been increasingly popular among destination countries worldwide. Some countries introduce specific visa categories (such as the European Blue card and the H1-B visa category in the US) to attract more highly skilled migrants (Bertoli & Rapoport, 2015). Based on a survey of 158 UN Member States, it seems that the use of selective policies to increase the number of highly skilled migrants is common, especially among developed countries (UN, 2010).

In general, selective migration policies can be divided into three groups: the human capital model, the demand-driven model and the neo-corporatist model (Koslowski, 2014). The human capital model adopts a points system, pioneered by Canada, which assesses education, language proficiency, adaptability, flexibility, and experience in any skilled occupation. Australia initially adopted the Canadian points system, but then moved towards an occupation skills-specific approach based on labour market assessments (neo-corporatist model), due to high unemployment rates among migrants that had been selected through the Canadian points system. Lastly, the demand-driven model is based on employer selection of migrants and used mainly by the U.S (see Koslowski, 2014).

It has been suggested that selective instruments, such as points-based systems or occupational shortage lists, are more likely to affect the skills composition of migrants than the volume of skilled immigration (De Haas *et al.*, 2019). By contrast Czaika and Parson's (2017) study, combining a unique new data set on annual bilateral high-skilled immigration labour flows for 10 OECD destinations between 2000 and 2012, indicates that points-based systems are much more effective in attracting and selecting high-skilled migrants than those requiring job offers, labour market tests, or shortage-listed occupations. They also find that offers of long-term/permanent residency, while attracting the highly skilled, overall reduce the human capital content of labour flows because they prove more attractive to non-high-skilled workers. A growing number of countries tend to screen potential migrants according to their observable characteristics, such as education and language ability (Bertoli *et al.*, 2016). However, several studies also highlight the importance of unobservable characteristics - such as ability, motivation, or soft skills - in increasing the effectiveness of selective migration policies in raising the quality of migrants (Aydemir, 2011; Bertoli *et al.*, 2016; Borjas, 2014; Heckman & Kautz, 2012).

Finally, the existing literature stresses that the impact of quality-selective migration policies is short-lived where larger migration networks exist, since networks tend to reduce the costs of moving and decrease the quality of migrants (Bertoli & Rapoport, 2015). In a similar vein, Czaika and Parsons (2017) argue that migrant networks, contiguous borders, a common language, and freedom of movement, while encouraging greater numbers of high-skilled workers, encourage even more non-high-skilled workers, thereby reducing the skill content of labour flows.

5.3 Unintended effects of migration trends

Some scholars have also argued that restrictive migration policies have unintended and often counterproductive effects, such as discouraging return and encouraging irregular movements, increasing permanent settlements among some migrant groups, and tendency towards alternative migration channels (Bjerre, 2017; Castles, 2004; De Haas, 2007;). These substitution effects are presented as one of the reasons behind the limited effectiveness of migration policies (Czaika & De Haas, 2011).

Some studies point to the fact that more restrictive policies lead migrants towards long-term settlement and discourage return. For example, Czaika and De Haas (2017) show that restrictive admission policies decrease inflows but, at the same time, decrease return flows and encourage long-term settlement. For instance, many temporary 'guest workers' decided to settle in European countries after the post 1,973 recruitment ban (De Haas, Castles, & Miller, 2020). As another example, policy changes to restrict granting work permits to non-European migrants have led to an increase in the

use of marriage as a migration strategy among Thai women, as shown by Bissat (2013) in Iceland. Flahaux (2014) examines the effect of migration policies in France, Italy and Spain on return migration to Senegal, finding that such policies do not significantly affect return and that Senegalese migrants are less likely to return when entry restrictions are substantial. This suggests that policies intended to control migration flows and push migrants to return might lead to more settled migrants in destination countries.

Other scholars provide evidence of the existence of a ‘spillover’ effect. Restrictive asylum policies might reduce migrant inflows for some countries while increasing migrant numbers in other countries, by re-directing the flows. Bratu and colleagues (2020) provide an example of this spillover effect by looking at family reunification policies in Denmark. Their study shows that stricter family reunification rules have led to a significant increase in the emigration of Danish citizens with migration background to Sweden, where family reunification is easier. They also observe that most of these Danish emigrants do not stay in Sweden after family reunification – rather they return to Denmark. Restelli (2021) investigates the use of restrictive regulations to deter irregular migration on the Central Mediterranean route, and finds that these restrictions, combined with reducing access to legal pathways, push more people into the asylum system. This has been supported by another study, which argues that restrictions have the unintended effect of increasing the number of people whose status is moved from economic migrant to refugee (Schon & Leblang, 2021).

A recent study on Jamaican migrants points to the fact that government-imposed restrictions on migrants can decrease total migration, however some restrictions decrease legal migration only at the cost of driving migrants into unauthorised channels (Simon *et al.*, 2018). The authors find that restrictions on students and highly skilled workers are more effective in reducing the flow, while restrictions on family migration are more counterproductive in diverting migrants to unauthorised or ‘back’ channels. Similarly, aggressive border enforcement efforts in the U.S., rather than decreasing unauthorised migration, backfired and accelerated the growth rate of the undocumented population. Those policies curtailed return migration and undocumented migrants began to settle north of the border, leading to the rapid expansion of the unauthorised population (Massey, 2020; Massey *et al.*, 2016).

5.4 The effects of integration policies

Besides admission conditions and eligibility criteria, potential migrants tend to consider the security of their migrant status (e.g., obtaining work and residence permits, renewal conditions), as well as labour market, political, and social rights (Beine *et al.*, 2020; Bjerre *et al.*, 2016; Helbling & Leblang, 2019; Helbling *et al.*, 2017; Ortega & Peri, 2013). Helbling and Leblang (2019) suggest that motivations of potential migrants determine the relative importance of internal and external regulations. People planning to leave their country permanently pay more attention to integration policies than those planning to migrate temporarily.

A few studies suggest that integration policies are associated with higher migration flows (Beine *et al.*, 2020; Beverelli, 2022; Migali and Natale, 2017). Although supporting empirical evidence is still limited, some studies investigate the links between the legal dimension of integration and various aspects of migration: family reunification, settlement and secondary or circular migration. Family reunification, long-term/permanent residence and labour market policies are particularly important. Investigating the impact of destination countries’ integration policies on migration from 202 origin countries to 27 destination countries between 2010-2018, Beverelli (2022) finds that family reunification and residency policies are positively associated with migration flows. In a similar vein, looking at the desired movements of potential migrants from over 140 origin countries, Beine and colleagues (2020) find that potential migrants tend to favour countries that have welcoming integration policies, particularly on labour market accessibility, access to nationality and long-term/ permanent residency. The citizenship policies of receiving countries may be a factor in a migrant’s decision to move (Fitz-

gerald *et al.* 2014). Alarian and Goodman (2017) examine the effects of allowing dual citizenship in 14 OECD receiving states and more than 100 sending states between 1980 and 2006, and observe a significant increase in migration flows to destination countries that allow dual citizenship. These findings are explained in greater depth in the following section on the legal dimension of integration.

While integration policies can attract migrants, some specific civic integration policies (specifically country knowledge and language skills) might constitute a mechanism for the selective regulation of migrant admission (Goodman & Wright, 2015). Ahlen and Borang (2018) argue that civic integration policies are likely to affect migration flows. The assumption is that civic integration policies provide states with tools to control and limit the inflow of migration by a certain category of entry. The analysis lends support to the idea that there are connections between the extensions of these policies and reductions in family migration and labour migration among European countries, which indicates that push for internal inclusion seems to come along with barriers of exclusion.

Box 2. Main findings on the effect of migration policies on migration trends

- Several studies confirm that restrictive migration policies decrease migration flows. This holds also for specific policy domains, like asylum policies, family migration policies and visa policies.
- The literature also emphasises that, when deciding where to migrate, potential migrants tend to consider the security of their migrant status as well as access to social rights.
- The existing literature stresses that migration policies influence the selection and composition of migration, too. For example, selective instruments, such as point-based systems, seem to affect the skill composition and the volume of skilled migration.
- Restrictive migration policies can have unintended effect, such as discouraging return, encouraging irregular movements and producing an increase in the number of undocumented migrants.

6. Settlement and full membership: the effects of migration policies on the integration outcomes of migrants

Integration refers to the process of (permanent and non-permanent) settlement, interactions with the receiving society, and social change due to (international or internal) immigration (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003; Garcés-Mascareñas & Penninx, 2016). Integration is a two-way process involving both migrants and the society in which they live. First, integration is something practical and tangible for migrants. They need to secure their livelihood in the destination country, to find a job, to access the health system, to register with the municipality and so on. Second, integration involves perceptions and attitudes - of both the receiving society and of migrants - and is a subjective process. It refers to the process of becoming - being perceived and perceiving him/herself as - an accepted part of society.

Furthermore, integration is also a multidimensional process that includes a variety of areas: employment, education, health, civil rights, social welfare, housing, family policies, etc. The interplay between the different areas, the practical/tangible dimension and the subjective dimension shapes the integration process of migrants. In particular, integration encompasses three analytically distinct dimensions (Entzinger, 2000; Garcés-Mascareñas & Penninx, 2016; Solano & Huddleston, 2020):

- *the legal dimension*, which refers to residence and the process of settlement in the long-term, through family reunification, long-term/permanent residence, and citizenship acquisition;
- *the socio-economic dimension*, which refers to the social and economic position of migrants (e.g., overall social inclusion, education attainment and employment status), their health status and their societal and political participation;
- *the socio-cultural and subjective dimension*, which pertains to the domain of perceptions and practices of migrants and the receiving society, as well as to their reciprocal reactions to difference and diversity.

As one part of the two-way integration process, the receiving society needs to create conditions that allow migrants to integrate. In what follows we focus on the role of integration policies, as they are the ones that matter most for migrants' integration among the general categories of migration policy (Huddleston, 2020). There is little evidence that other migration policies - in particular, admission policies - affect the integration of migrants. To our knowledge, Helbling, Simon, and Schmid (2020)'s article is the only one adopting a comprehensive approach to the study of this matter. The authors analyse the effect of restrictive vs. liberal migration policies on the integration of migrants in different domains. They find that admission policies affect some forms of economic, political and social integration outcomes, but these effects are small and limited to specific integration outcomes and migrants from specific regions (mostly non-OECD migrants).

Integration policies need to pay attention to all the different areas of integration in order to ensure access to rights, opportunities and services. The policy framework is critical in alleviating or removing the general institutional barriers and in overcoming general challenges that migrants face in the receiving society, such as discrimination, language barriers, and health issues (Solano & Huddleston, 2020). Our review of the existing literature shows that the ways in which governments treat migrants

strongly influences migrants' integration outcomes, their subjective experience and how well migrants and the public interact with and think of each other.

Restrictive policies create a 'vicious circle' of exclusion that reinforces fear and separation. Policies that treat migrants as threats lead more people to see immigrants as general threats and treat them in ways that harm their integration. By contrast, inclusive policies create a 'virtuous circle' of integration that promotes openness and interaction. Migrants and the public are more likely to interact with and think of each other as equals in countries where inclusive policies treat migrants as equals and invest in integration as an opportunity for society (Solano & Huddleston, 2020).

In what follows, we will provide an in-depth overview of the effect of policies, i.e. the integration outcomes of migrants that are associated with more inclusive policies. In so doing, we follow the three-fold definition of integration provided by the existing literature (Entzinger, 2000; Garcés-Mascareñas & Penninx, 2016).

6.1 Legal dimension

Family reunification

Family reunification policies can be seen as related to both migration and integration. While these policies provide a migration channel for dependent family members, they also function as integration policies as they regulate the right to family life of the sponsor and the socio-economic rights of and support for dependent adults and children (Huddleston, 2020). Despite the potential importance of family reunification policies, only very few studies focus on the effect of migration and family reunification policies. These specific studies suggest that policies may significantly affect migrants' right to family life and the well-being of the different members of the family (Migali & Natale, 2017; Sand & Gruber, 2018; Sumino, 2014).

Firstly, family reunification policies seem to have a significant and positive effect on the number of family reunifications, as Migali and Natale (2017) show across Europe, based on the number of first permits given for family reasons. Non-EU families are more likely to reunite in countries with inclusive policies, while non-EU family reunifications are rarer in countries with restrictive policies. These findings by Migali and Natale (2017) echo the broader findings by Beverelli (2022) that family reunification policies are one of the few integration policies that may have an impact on non-EU bilateral migration flows. These studies provide potential explanations for the links between policies and migration flows. While inclusive family reunification policies may influence whether or not potential sponsors move to a country to benefit from these policies, these policies certainly seem to influence whether and how many family members are able to join with sponsors in the country.

A second study on family reunification policies by Sand and Gruber (2018) focuses on reducing the gap in well-being between migrants and non-migrants. The authors observe that, in countries with restrictive family reunification policies, migrant elderly experience much lower levels of well-being than non-migrant elderly. By contrast, in countries facilitating family reunification, migrant elderly experience levels of well-being similar to those of non-migrant elderly, even after controlling for the key individual-level factors that normally determine well-being. This level of well-being may be related to the psychological security of family life and long-term settlement.

Long-term/permanent residence and access to nationality

Like family reunification, long-term/permanent residence policies remain an unexplored area of integration. Very few studies examine the potential impact of policies on migrants' security of residence and access to long-term/permanent residency.

Long-term/permanent residence policies seem to matter most in the long-term when it comes to migrants putting down roots in their new country. Dewaard (2013)'s EU-wide estimations find a positive link between long-term/permanent residence policies and migrants' expected duration of

residence. In other words, migrants tend to stay longer in countries with more inclusive long-term/permanent residence policies (48 years on average) than in countries with more restrictive policies (40 years on average). Furthermore, restrictive policies can have a ‘selection effect’ by pushing migrants with precarious statuses to pursue return or onward migration strategies. For example, Heising and colleagues (2018)’s analysis of migrants’ relative retirement income may indicate that restrictive policies exclude financially insecure migrant households, whereas inclusive policies may secure residence of longer duration for a larger share of the migrant population. These studies point to the potential impact of settlement patterns on future inward and outward migration flows. While inclusive long-term/permanent residence policies may influence whether some migrants choose to move to a country, these policies certainly seem to influence the extent to which temporary residents can settle or re-migrate with a security of residence.

Naturalisation policies have consistently strong and positive effects on migrants’ chances to acquire the nationality of the destination country (Dronkers & Vink, 2012; Hoxhaj *et al.*, 2019; Huddleston and Falcke, 2020; Reichel, 2011; Stadlmair, 2017; Vink *et al.*, 2013). Naturalisation policies and procedures emerge as one of the strongest determining factors behind naturalisation rates for migrants. For example, in one of the most recent articles on the topic, Huddleston and Falcke (2020) find that nationality procedures are as important as nationality laws for nationality acquisition among most migrants living in Europe.

The policies with the greatest effects on naturalisation seem to be dual nationality policies of the origin and destination country (Huddleston & Falcke, 2020; Reichel, 2011; Stadlmair, 2017; Vink *et al.*, 2013), birthright citizenship for the second and third generation (Stadlmair, 2017), and the restrictiveness of the legal and procedural requirements (Huddleston, 2020; Stadlmair, 2017).

Migrants from developing countries benefit from more inclusive policies the most (Dronkers & Vink, 2012; Hoxhaj *et al.*, 2019; Huddleston & Falcke, 2020; Vink *et al.*, 2013). For example, Vink and colleagues (2013) observe that more open citizenship policies matter little for migrants from highly developed countries but matter significantly for migrants from less developed countries. However, the impact of policies also changes for migrants from developing countries. A 1% increase on naturalisation policies translates to an increase in naturalisation rates by around 2.5% (Huddleston & Falcke, 2020; Vink *et al.*, 2013) and up to 3.5% for those with 5-20 years of residence (Dronkers & Vink, 2012).

6.2 Socio-economic dimension

Labour market

Over the years, policymakers have implemented policies to support migrants with finding a job (Solano & Huddleston, 2020). Several studies address the effect of migration policies on the labour market integration of migrants. These studies do not provide a clear answer, and some of the emerging findings are contradictory and somewhat surprising. In many cases, no significant relationship emerged between integration policies (both general and labour-specific) and labour market integration (Bergh, 2014; Bredtmann & Otten, 2015; Cebolla-Boado & Finotelli, 2015; Lancee, 2016). Labour market integration seems to be primarily explained by countries’ general economic context rather than by their integration policies (Huddleston, 2020).

More encouraging results emerge on the potential benefits of integration policies for the long-term outcomes of employed migrants. Some studies show that, under inclusive policies, migrants are more likely to improve their language and professional skills in the country (Zwysen & Demireva, 2020), to secure better available jobs in labour markets (Guzi *et al.*, 2018; Hoxhaj *et al.*, 2019; Platt *et al.*, 2021), and to decrease the risk of overqualification (Prokic-Breuer & McManus, 2016). Furthermore, policies also seem to boost the employment rates of groups that are usually discriminated against, such as non-EU migrants with strong ethnic identities. Bisin and colleagues (2011) find that stronger

targeted policies decrease the employment penalties experienced by these groups in European labour markets.

Additional encouraging results emerged from a recent study on different groups of migrants (Kanas & Steinmetz, 2021). Taking as their starting point the fact that family migrants and refugees have much lower employment outcomes, Kanas and Steinmetz (2021) looked at the effect of integration policies on these outcomes. The authors find that the economic disadvantage of these migrant groups is significantly smaller in countries with more extensive labour market policies. This suggests that comprehensive labour market policies are likely to be more effective for the most economically disadvantaged migrants.

Furthermore, some authors focus on the influence of antidiscrimination policies on the labour market outcomes of migrants. Anti-discrimination policies seem to have clearer positive effects for working migrants. Effects have been recorded in terms of migrants' income (Kislev, 2019), occupational status (Platt *et al.*, 2021), qualifications for their job (Aleksynska & Tritah, 2013) and ability to relocate for job opportunities (Guzi *et al.*, 2018). For example, Aleksynska and Tritah (2013) find that the likelihood that migrants are overqualified for their job is 42% lower when comparing those European countries with the strongest antidiscrimination policies with those with the weakest policies. Interestingly, Platt and colleagues' analysis (2020) shows that antidiscrimination policies are particularly effective for migrant women but not for other particularly disadvantaged migrant groups, such as unskilled migrants and Muslim migrant men.

In contrast, other studies find a negative relationship. These studies show that policies tend to be better developed in countries where migrants are in a disadvantaged position in the labour market, while policies tend to be underdeveloped in countries where migrants are in a better position in the labour market. More inclusive policies seem to be linked to migrants' overqualification, lower income levels, higher unemployment rates, and a greater employment gap between migrants and country nationals (Cebolla-Boado & Finotelli, 2015; Hoxhaj *et al.*, 2019; Kislev, 2017; Levels *et al.*, 2017). Bilgili and colleagues (2015) and Huddleston (2020) hypothesise that this is due to two different mechanisms. The first one is policy responsiveness: policymakers develop more inclusive policies in response to the unfavourable labour market situation of migrants. There is, therefore, a reverse causality. This seems to be confirmed by the recent findings of an analysis conducted on labour market policies at the sub-national level. De Coninck and colleagues (2021b) find that the change in policies between 2014 and 2017 had a positive effect on the employment gap between migrants and non-migrants.

Another possible interpretation is that these policies aim less at migrants' immediate labour market participation and more at improving their country-specific skills and qualifications. According to this logic, these policies encourage migrants to make investments in their long-term skills, even if participation in these programmes temporarily depresses their participation in the labour market. For example, Zwysen and Demireva (2020) find that strong labour market mobility policies are associated with higher levels of participation in language courses and further education for non-EU family migrants, refugees and migrant workers arriving without job offers.

Education

The generally weak targeted education policies in most countries may explain why achievement gaps persist for vulnerable learners (Solano & Huddleston, 2020). However, migrant education policies do not always affect the educational outcomes of all migrant children. Based on the existing studies, it seems that migrant education and integration policies do not always have a systematic effect on the academic outcomes of all first- and second-generation pupils (Arikan *et al.*, 2020; Cebolla-Boado & Finotelli, 2015; Dimitrova *et al.*, 2016; Dronkers & De Heus, 2012; Fossati, 2010, 2011; Stevens *et al.*, 2020; Van de Werfhorst & Health, 2019).

However, some specific studies have investigated further by matching migrant education policies to the beneficiaries and outcomes targeted by these policies. Those studies show that well-developed,

targeted policies help academically vulnerable groups on different education tracks, also leading to higher levels of educational attainment from one generation to the next (Arikan *et al.*, 2020; Ham *et al.*, 2020; Kislev, 2016; Van de Werfhorst & Heath, 2019).

In their study of 34 OECD countries, Ham *et al.* (2020) find that guaranteeing equal rights can have broad impacts on educational attainment. First, the academic performance of migrant children tends to be similar to that of their non-migrant peers in countries with a more egalitarian distribution of civic rights. Second, the performance gap appears smallest in countries with a certain degree of socio-political promotion of group-based cultural rights.

Another relevant study has been conducted in 13 Western European countries by Kislev (2016). He observes similar positive relationships between various policies and migrants' chances of attaining tertiary education, although overall intercultural policies were found to have a more positive effect on migrant students than targeted education policies. Furthermore, the support provided by education policies varied for different migrant groups. The authors find differences between the six groups analysed not only in terms of their actual educational achievements, but also in terms of the extent to which they were helped by education policies.

Van De Werfhorst and Heath (2019) employ national surveys from 10 EU countries to identify positive effects of inclusive integration policies on the academic attainment of second-generation youth of various backgrounds. The authors also find that inclusive integration policies offer more equitable chances for youth of various ethnic backgrounds to access academic rather than vocational forms of upper secondary education.

Health

Migrant health and related policies are emerging as an area of interest, with potentially positive links between policies and outcomes. The major gaps within countries' policies have major and direct implications on migrants' health. The potential impact of integration policies on the mental and physical health of migrants has been analysed extensively (see Juarez *et al.*, 2019's meta-analysis).

A country's overall approach to integration seems very relevant, as do some areas of integration policies. Emerging literature suggests that migrants' health is affected by a country's overall integration policies (Huddleston, 2020). Integration policies seem related to various subjective and objective measures of health: poor self-reported health (Giannoni *et al.*, 2016; Juarez *et al.*, 2019; Malmusi 2015), the deleterious health effects of discrimination (Borrell *et al.*, 2015), chronic and longstanding illness (Giannoni *et al.*, 2016), elderly migrants' frailty (Walkden *et al.*, 2018) and mortality rates (Juarez *et al.*, 2019).

Several articles find a strong positive link between migrant health policies and self-reported poor mental or physical health (Bakhtiari *et al.*, 2018) as well as elderly migrants' self-reported frailty (Walkden *et al.*, 2018). These studies suggest that migrant health policies may be most effective in reducing the social exclusion of particularly vulnerable migrant groups. Furthermore, anti-discrimination policies seem to be among those that matter the most when considering self-reported poor health and depression (Bakhtiari *et al.*, 2018; Malmusi *et al.*, 2015).

However, health policies on their own might not be sufficient to guarantee equitable health outcomes and full inclusion. For example, Sorbye and colleagues (2019) observe that migrant health policies do not seem to improve the generally lower birthweight of babies born to migrant mothers.

Political participation

Migrant integration policies seem to have consistently positive effects on the levels of migrant participation in the public life of their destination country. Inclusive integration policies seem to be positively related to the various steps in the process of political participation for migrants and second-generation migrants. Thorkelson's (2016) study find that one point increase on the overall MIPEX scale is associated with 40% higher odds of voting in destination country elections, 30% higher odds of other forms of conventional participation and 60% higher odds of unconventional participation.

This is corroborated by Aleksynska (2011), whose findings reveal that participation policies are related to higher levels of conventional and unconventional political participation among migrants from developed countries, newcomers (≤ 20 years' residence) and Muslim migrants.

Increased participation is also associated with a greater sense of political engagement in the destination country. Helbling and colleagues (2015) find that inclusive integration policies help to close the gap between migrants and non-migrants in terms not only of their electoral and non-electoral participation, but also in terms of their levels of political interest and efficacy. Welge (2015) confirms that more inclusive political participation policies provide migrants with a similar sense of political efficacy (compared to non-migrants) - i.e. that change is possible and that their voice can be heard.

Whether or not these policies have major effects on the demographic and substantive representation of migrants in politics is unclear. Results are sometimes weak or mixed, depending on the country's overall political system (Petrarca, 2015; Ruedin, 2013; Schnyder, 2015, 2019). For example, Petrarca (2015) analyse migrants' representation and integration policies in 15 countries. Their findings provide evidence that some policies (i.e., electoral rights, liberties and financial support for migrants) enhance migrants' representation. Interestingly, other supporting policies, such as strong consultative migrant bodies, seem to contribute to migrants' political isolation.

Other studies have also analysed the possible effect of integration policies on political transnationalism. Mixed results have also emerged here, with studies finding the effect of integration policies on migrants' social and political participation in the origin country to be non-existent (Ahmadov & Sasse, 2016; Voicu & Comsa, 2014) or even negative (Chaudhary, 2018). More research is required to draw any definitive conclusions about the potential effects of destination country policies on origin country political participation.

6.3 Socio-cultural and subjective dimension

Public attitudes

A country's overall approach to migration policy is strongly associated with the public's attitudes towards migrants. Policies are one of the strongest factors shaping the public's willingness to accept and interact with migrants. For example, Solano and Huddleston (2020) find an association between the level of integration policies measured by the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) and the Gallup's Migrant Acceptance Index on the degree of acceptance of migration in a country.

In the most recent analysis on the link between policies and public attitudes, De Coninck and colleagues (2021a) indicate that respondents living in countries with more inclusive integration policies in general report lower realistic and symbolic threat. When investigating different policy strands, they find that inclusive policies regarding political participation and access to nationality for migrants we associated with lower realistic and symbolic threat.

Inclusive policies hold a highly symbolic value, as they define who has access to citizenship, long-term/permanent residence, etc. (Callens & Meuleman, 2017). This has been the subject of intense debate in the European public discourse and on news media since the start of the migration crisis (De Coninck, Ogan, & d'Haenens, 2020), given that many of such elements are considered cornerstones of nations. When migration policies are less restrictive and more inclusive, it sends a message that these newcomers are members of society and that they are allowed to or deserve to stay in the country permanently and participate in society. For example, Ariely (2012) find that in countries where access to citizenship is rather generous, natives are less xenophobic.

Inclusive policies concerning the socioeconomic dimension can also show that migrants participate as (almost) full members in many socioeconomic domains of the receiving society. In the case of the labour market, targeted integration policies indicate to the native population that migrants are potential workers who will contribute to the national economy (Nagayoshi & Hjerm, 2015). Empirical

evidence shows that in countries with labour market policies that are more inclusive, individuals display lower realistic threat perceptions (Callens & Meuleman, 2017; De Coninck *et al.*, 2021a).

The existing literature also demonstrates that countries with more inclusive migration policies enjoy higher levels of public support for migrants (Just & Anderson, 2014; Karpiński & Wysieńska-Di Carlo, 2018) and for inclusive policies (Brady & Finnigan, 2014; Heizmann, 2016; Heizmann & Ziller, 2020). They also experience lower levels of anti-migrant attitudes (Bello, 2016; Hooghe & Vroome, 2015; Kim & Byun, 2019; Visintin *et al.*, 2018), anti-Muslim attitudes (Kaya, 2015; Schlueter *et al.*, 2020) and perceptions of migrant threats (Callens & Meuleman, 2017; Heizmann, 2015; Hooghe & Vroome, 2015; Schlueter *et al.*, 2013). Inclusive policies also seem related to higher levels of public social trust (Reeskens, 2010; Tatarko & Jurcik, 2021; Zimdars & Tampubolon, 2012).

Some studies suggest that there is a top-down influence on citizens' migration attitudes and that policies may have a greater impact on public opinion than vice-versa (De Coninck *et al.*, 2021a; Schlueter *et al.*, 2013; Vrânceanu & Lachat, 2021). Further research is necessary to investigate the dynamics between integration policies and public opinion.

Migrants' (and non-migrants') individual attitudes

Countries with more open and inclusive approaches to migration policies are strongly associated with a more common sense of belonging and identity. This shapes how well migrants, but also non-migrants, think and feel about their new home country. Inclusive policies not only increase positive attitudes and interactions between the public and migrants, but also create an overall sense of belonging, trust and well-being (Ariely, 2018; Faoro, 2016; Hadjar & Backes, 2013; Justwan, 2015).

First, supportive policies and attitudes seem to bring together migrants and non-migrants. Under inclusive policies, migrants and non-migrants generally tend to develop more common and more inclusive ideas about national identity, national patriotism and social and institutional trust (Ariely, 2018; Igarashi, 2019; Jugert *et al.*, 2018; Visintin *et al.*, 2018). For example, Igarashi (2019) find that multicultural policies diminish the gap between the national identification of non-European migrants and natives of the country. Erisen (2017) shows that stronger policies increase migrants' likelihood to identify as Europeans and as national citizens of the country. This increase in trust is often most apparent among the second generation, who are fully socialised to the country's policies and norms (Faoro 2016). Choi and Cha (2019) show that inclusive education policies contribute to a more common sense of destination-country patriotic pride among all youth – first generation, second generation and non-migrants. Similarly, Ham and colleagues' (2017) study of migrant youth's sense of belonging at school shows that, while a disparity exists between the perceived national belonging of migrant and non-migrant youth, societies with stronger anti-discrimination measures tend to reveal a smaller disparity. An interesting 'side' effect emerges from the analysis of Ziller (2017). Promoting equal treatment through institutional fairness and anti-discrimination policies have unintended consequences on ethnic minority trust by increasing the sensitivity towards remaining inequalities and discriminatory practices. In other words, it appears that fairness promotes norms of equal treatment which in turn magnify the extent to which ethnic discrimination impedes social trust.

Second, comparative studies find that a supportive context is a major factor that helps to close the gap between migrants and native citizens in terms their life satisfaction and levels of depression (De Freitas *et al.*, 2018; Hadjar & Backes, 2013; Heizmann & Böhnke, 2019; Hendriks & Bartram, 2016; Kogan *et al.*, 2018). For example, Solano and Huddleston (2020), find that inclusive integration policies are associated with higher levels of happiness of migrants in the country, as measured by the Gallup's World Happiness Index. Hadjar and Backes (2013) show that the gap between migrants and non-migrants in their subjective well-being is smaller in countries with more inclusive integration policies. Similarly, in their analysis of the link between institutional settings and individual well-being, Heizmann and Böhnke (2019) observe that exclusionary integration policies result in lower levels of well-being for non-EU migrants. In a recent article on the topic, Tatarko, Jurcik and Hadjar (2021)

show that the benefit of inclusive policies extends to the non-migrant population, too. They find a positive relationship between integration policies and the subjective well-being of non-migrants.

Discrimination

The relationship between anti-discrimination policies relating to migrants (ethnicity, race, religion and citizenship) and the process of discrimination is still relatively unexplored (Huddleston, 2020). No systematic link emerges between the overall strength of anti-discrimination policies and the level of discrimination towards migrants (André & Dronkers, 2016; Callens & Meuleman, 2017; Kislev, 2018, 2019; Ziller, 2014). Some positive, but limited, effects are observed for specific policies, such as clear definitions in law, enforcement mechanisms and, to some extent, equality policies and bodies (Kislev, 2018, 2019). In his studies, Kislev (2018, 2019) finds that these positive benefits are most apparent for long-settled first- and second-generation, especially those from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). By and large, it seems that laws and policies do not directly affect the perceived level of discrimination in society.

Rather, anti-discrimination policies secure greater public awareness of discrimination and greater access to justice for potential victims. This is demonstrated by studies of discrimination and discrimination feelings. In particular, Ziller (2014) shows that people in countries with stronger anti-discrimination policies are more likely to be aware of discrimination as a problem and know their rights. In contrast, people in countries with weaker policies are less likely to know their rights or agree that discrimination is a problem in society. While people experience discrimination in all countries and ethnic minorities are likely to identify as discriminated groups, greater knowledge of rights is associated over time with higher reporting of witnessing discrimination and lower levels of identification as discriminated minority groups.

The potential reason for this change in reporting and identification over time could be migrants' growing levels of trust under these supportive conditions. Under strong policies, migrants who experience discrimination no longer seem to feel the same loss of trust in public institutions that other migrants do in countries with weak policies (Ziller & Helbling, 2019). Stronger policies appear associated with greater levels of trust in the police and legal system (Röder & Mühlau, 2012) and a more shared sense of social trust (Ziller, 2017; Zimdars & Tampubolon, 2012) and satisfaction with democracy (Ziller & Helbling, 2019).

Box 3. Main findings on the effect of migration policies on migrant integration

- More inclusive migration policies - in particular those relating to migrant integration - create a 'virtuous circle' that promotes openness and interaction. Inclusive policies serve to create an overall sense of belonging, well-being, and trust.
- Under inclusive policies, the public feels less fear of migrants, while migrants enjoy greater opportunities to participate in society.
- Under inclusive policies, migrants also develop positive attitudes about their identity, their health, their satisfaction with life, their trust in society and their participation in politics. Inclusive policies support migrants with improving their skills, establishing themselves in the countries, and acquiring their new home country's nationality.
- The role of policies in the labour market integration of migrants is not completely clear. Many articles found no significant or even a negative relationship between integration policies and labour market integration. Some authors hypothesise that this is due to the fact that policymakers develop more inclusive policies in response to the unfavourable labour market situation of migrants. Furthermore, policies encourage migrants to make investments in their long-term skills, even if this may temporarily depress their participation in the labour market.

7. Discussion and conclusion

This report has explored the link between migration policies and migration and migrant integration dynamics. It has provided an overview and analysis of the main findings from the existing literature on both the main factors associated with migration policies and the effect of migration policies (Czaika & De Haas, 2013; Helbing & Leblang, 2019; Helbling *et al.*, 2020; Solano & Huddleston, 2020). The main trends identified in this report are based on an extensive literature review carried out by the authors. This literature review has analysed articles, papers and reports indexed in Google Scholar on the following three main topics: the main factors associated with migration policies (determinants of policies, Section 4); the effect of migration policies on migration trends and dynamics (Section 5); the effect of migration policies on the integration outcomes of migrants (Section 6). In this conclusive section, we provide a summary of the main findings and some final remarks.

7.1 Summary of the main results

Regarding the possible determinants of migration policies, many factors seem to be associated with the degree of openness/inclusiveness of policies. One of the factors is the number and inflows of migrants. The existing literature reveals that the number/rate of migrants and immigration flows has a weak but significant effect on the broad migration policy framework, rather than on specific sub-policy areas (De Haas & Natter, 2015; Howard, 2010). The existing literature shows that the number and flows of refugees/asylum seekers have a stronger effect, suggesting the possibility of a backlash in policies due to refugee crises (Hagelund, 2020; Hangartner & Sarvimäki, 2017; Hatton, 2004; Hernes, 2018).

Furthermore, the existing literature analyses the effect of a country's conditions, with the overall idea that wealthier countries in terms of GDP, unemployment rate, and lower levels of inequality are associated with more inclusive migration policies. However, this is not fully confirmed, as the literature gives weak evidence to confirm this link. More solid evidence emerges in terms of the link between welfare institutions and the level of migration policies. In particular, studies confirm that a more generous welfare state is associated with more inclusive integration policies (Kolbe & Kayran, 2019; Romer, 2017). However, some differences emerge according to type of welfare state and variety of capitalism. Ruhs (2018) shows that, compared to coordinated market economies, liberal welfare states are less likely to impose restrictions on admission and employment, but keener to place greater restrictions on the social rights of migrants. A country's history of migration and its colonial past seem to matter, too. Countries with a long-standing immigration tradition and a colonial past are more likely to extend rights to migrants and to have more favourable integration policies (Howard, 2005; Koopmans & Michalowski, 2017).

Finally, many authors have emphasised that symbolic forms of utilisation seem to be prevalent in policymaking, and have pointed to the role of political ideologies, mass media and public opinion. Several existing studies underline the fact that right-wing parties are more likely than left-wing to adopt anti-migrant attitudes, and less likely to adopt policy measures to welcome migrants and expand their rights (Akkerman, 2012; Givens & Adam Luedtke, 2005; Hansen & Clemens, 2019; Howard, 2010; Koopmans *et al.*, 2012; Schultz *et al.*, 2021; Sredanovic, 2016). This effect seems particularly strong when it comes to migrant integration policies and to policies for asylum seekers and undocu-

mented migrants (Natter *et al.*, 2020). In addition, there is a large body of literature on the association between integration policies and public opinion towards migration or migrants. (Callens, 2015; Callens & Meuleman, 2017; De Coninck *et al.*, 2021a; Karpiński & Wysińska-Di Carlo, 2018). However, some studies suggest that citizens' attitudes on migration are influenced by policies, rather than the other way around (De Coninck *et al.*, 2021a; Schlueter *et al.*, 2013; Vrânceanu & Lachat, 2021).

Concerning the effect of policies on migration trends, several studies confirm that restrictive migration policies decrease migration flows (e.g., Fitzgerald *et al.*, 2014; Mayda, 2010; Ortega & Peri, 2013). This holds true for specific policy domains, such as asylum policies, family migration policies, and visa policies (Brekke *et al.*, 2017; Czaika & Neumayer, 2017; Czaika *et al.*, 2018; Vikhrov, 2017). Besides admission conditions and eligibility criteria, the literature emphasises that, when deciding where to migrate, potential migrants tend to consider the security of their migrant status as well as access to social rights. Indeed, a few studies have identified links between inclusive integration policies and migration flows (Beine *et al.* 2020; Beverelli, 2022; Migali & Natale, 2017).

The existing literature stresses that migration policies also influence the selection and composition of migration (De Haas *et al.*, 2018). For example, selective instruments such as point-based systems seem to affect the skills composition (De Haas *et al.*, 2019) and the volume of skilled migration (Czaika & Parson, 2017). In addition, some scholars have also argued that restrictive migration policies have unintended effects, such as discouraging return migration and encouraging irregular movements, increasing permanent settlements among some migrant groups, and increasing tendency towards alternative migration channels (Bjerre, 2017; Castles, 2004; De Haas, 2007). Particularly interesting is the evidence that more restrictive admission policies and increased border enforcement efforts tend to produce an increase in the number of undocumented migrants, which is exactly what those policies aim to reduce (Massey, 2020; Massey *et al.*, 2016; Simon *et al.* 2018).

This report has also explored the effect of migration policies on the integration outcomes of migrants. The existing literature analyses the role of migrant integration policies in terms migrants' integration, with the exception of the study by Helbling and colleagues (2020), which explores the effect of restrictive vs. liberal policies on the integration of migrants in different domains. They find that admission policies affect some forms of economic, political and social integration outcomes, but these effects are small and limited to specific integration outcomes and migrants from specific regions (mostly non-OECD migrants). Contributing to the academic and popular debate about whether policies act as pull factors, emerging evidence suggests that integration policies act as an integral part of the wider legal immigration system, with inclusive policies not only attracting, but also retaining migrants and their families.

Restrictive migration and migrant integration policies create a 'vicious circle' of exclusion that reinforces fear and separation, while inclusive policies create a 'virtuous circle' of integration that promotes openness and interaction. Inclusive policies encourage migrants to settle permanently, reunite family members and engage in circular/repeat migration. Our review of the literature shows that the ways in which governments treat migrants strongly influences migrants' integration outcomes, their subjective experiences and how well migrants and the public interact with and think of each other. In the legal domain, existing studies demonstrate that naturalisation policies have consistently strong and positive effects on migrants' chances of acquiring the nationality of the destination country. Migrants from less developed countries and long-term residents seem to particularly benefit from these policies (Dronkers & Vink, 2012; Hoxhaj *et al.*, 2019; Huddleston & Falcke, 2020; Reichel, 2011; Stadlmair, 2017; Vink *et al.*, 2013).

In the socio-economic domain, the role of policies in the labour market integration of migrants has been analysed by many articles which present contrasting results. In many cases, no significant relationship emerges between integration policies (both general and labour-specific) and labour market integration (Bergh, 2014; Bredtmann & Otten, 2015; Cebolla-Boado & Finotelli, 2015; Lancee, 2016). In addition, other studies find that policies tend to be better developed in countries where migrants are in a disadvantaged position in the labour market, while policies tend to be underdeveloped in

countries where migrants are in a better position in the labour market (Cebolla-Boado & Finotelli, 2015; Hoxhaj *et al.*, 2019; Kislev, 2017; Levels *et al.*, 2017). However, it seems that policies play a positive role in specific areas, such as anti-discrimination policies, and in relation to specific groups, e.g., refugees (Bisin *et al.*, 2011; Kanas & Steinmetz, 2021). Bilgili and colleagues (2015) and Huddleston (2020) hypothesise that this is due to policy responsiveness. Policymakers develop more inclusive policies in response to the unfavourable labour market situation of migrants. Furthermore, Zwysen and Demireva (2020) provide evidence that those policies aim less at migrants' immediate labour market participation and more at improving their country-specific skills and qualifications. According to this logic, these policies encourage migrants to make investments in their long-term skills, even if participation in these programmes temporarily depresses their participation in the labour market (Zwysen & Demireva, 2020).

The link between policies and outcomes in other domains seems more straightforward. According to existing studies, migrant education and integration policies do not seem to have a systematic, positive effect on the academic outcomes of all first- and second-generation pupils (Cebolla-Boado & Finotelli, 2015; Dimitrova *et al.*, 2016; Dronkers & De Heus, 2012; Van De Werfhorst & Heath, 2019). However, many studies show that guaranteeing equal rights and implementing targeted policies can positively affect migrants' educational attainment (Arikan *et al.*, 2020; Ham *et al.*, 2020; Kislev, 2016; Van de Werfhorst & Heath, 2019).

When it comes to migrants' electoral and non-electoral political participation, this is found to be clearly fostered by inclusive integration policies (Aleksynska, 2011; Helbling *et al.*, 2015; Thorkelson, 2016; Welge, 2015). Many studies also identify an effect on migrants' health status, with research suggesting that migrants' mental or physical health is affected by a country's integration policies and migrant health policies (Bakhtiari *et al.*, 2018; Juarez *et al.*, 2019; Walkden *et al.*, 2018).

Migrants' attitudes and experiences are also affected by integration policies. Although better policies seem not to reduce discrimination, anti-discrimination policies secure greater public awareness of discrimination and greater access to justice for potential victims (André & Dronkers, 2016; Callens & Meuleman, 2017; Kislev, 2018, 2019; Ziller, 2014). Furthermore, inclusive policies create an overall sense of belonging, trust and well-being (Ariely, 2018; Faoro, 2016; Hadjar & Backes, 2013; Justwan, 2015). In line with this, and as already mentioned, public opinion also seems to be influenced by the level of policies: more inclusive integration policies are associated with more open public attitudes towards migrants (Callens & Meuleman, 2017; De Coninck *et al.*, 2021a).

7.2 Limitations and final remarks

This report suffers from the same limitations that the existing literature displays (see Section 2). First, it provided trends that characterise, by and large, the so-called Global North (Western countries). We are unsure whether these trends hold true in the Global South. This is due to limited availability of data, which led most of the studies to focus on the European Union and other Western countries (Solano & Huddleston, 2021).

Second, the findings emerging on the link between policies and migration dynamics are based on studies that mainly focus on policy on paper (Czaika & De Haas, 2013). The results might be influenced by the gap between the policies on paper, their implementation, and the perception of these policies by migrants and the overall public. We do not know to what extent this gap played a role in affecting the results.

Third, we encountered the same challenges as previous authors did in establishing causal effects, given the lack of longitudinal analyses. As explained in Section 2, association, which is measured by cross-sectional quantitative studies, is not causation (Irizarry, 2022). Therefore, it is difficult to understand the direction of the link and make causality assumptions. In most of the cases, there is no clear distinction between a factor being a determinant or an effect of migration policies. This also points in the direction of a possible circular causation mechanism. One case in point is the association

between public opinion and migration policies. Does a more welcoming public opinion produce more open and inclusive policies? Or do more open and inclusive policies generate a more welcoming public opinion? Here, the literature suggests policies may have a greater impact on public opinion than vice-versa (De Coninck *et al.*, 2021a; Schlueter *et al.*, 2013; Vrânceanu & Lachat, 2021), but the results are far from being consolidated. Therefore, additional longitudinal studies would be required to explore the direction between migration policies and migration and migrant integration dynamics.

In addition, this report has also the limitation of focusing upon policies within destination countries, largely overlooking the possible role played by policies in origin- and third-party countries. This follows a general bias in the wider field of migration studies and migration policies, as shown by recent comprehensive reviews of the field (Levy *et al.*, 2020; Pisarevskaya *et al.*, 2019; Solano & Huddleston, 2021).

Despite these limitations, this report provides a critical, up-to-date overview of the main trends in the link between migration policies and migration and migrant integration dynamics. Although suggesting policy options is not part of the specific objectives of this report, the main findings represent a starting point to develop recommendations on the topic and they can support policymakers, data collecting institutes and researchers with making decisions on future policy and research actions.

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HumMingBird

ABOUT HUMMINGBIRD (2019-2023)

Enhanced migration measures from a multidimensional perspective

Migration has become a matter of significant social, political and broader public concern. It has therefore shifted very high on the agenda of national and EU authorities. Well-informed, evidence-based migration policies should be based on reliable evidence, beginning with a thorough understanding of existing data as well as the demographic, economic, environmental and political drivers of migration. There is a need for tools to forecast migration flows in order to minimise shocks and tensions and to foster good governance. HumMingBird's objectives can be summarised as follows:

- to assess the quality and comparability of existing statistical concepts and data (stocks as well as flows) relating to migration in the EU;
- to explore and validate the use of alternative data sources – including various types of big data (such as social media or telecommunication);
- to understand the changing nature of migration flows and the drivers of migration; to analyse patterns, motivations and new geographies; to hear the voices of migrants in various 'hubs' around Europe;
- to nowcast short-term flows and forecast longer-term patterns of migration, while identifying uncertainties;
- to examine the interactions between migration flows and policies, and
- to estimate the potential impact of alternative policy scenarios.

In order to fulfil these objectives, the HumMingBird consortium (consisting of 16 partners from 10 countries) brings together research centres, private companies, NGOs and a European Research Infrastructure Consortium (ERIC). The consortium combines a wide range of scientific disciplines (from anthropology and political sciences to statistics, telecom engineering and computer sciences). Partnerships between academic researchers and civil society organisations working with migrants will carry out qualitative research to enrich, interpret and supplement the statistical analyses. Sixteen partners from 10 countries (including European expert centres) are involved, and many of the participating researchers have a migration background.

COORDINATOR

HIVA - Research Institute for Work and Society, KU Leuven (BE)

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University of Utrecht, Department of Information and Computing Sciences (NL) • University of Salamanca, Faculty of Social Sciences (ES) • Otto-Friedrich-University of Bamberg, Geographic Migration and Transition Studies (DE) • CESSDA ERIC (NO) • EKKE - National Centre for Social Research (GR) • IEN - Institute of Economic Sciences, Data Center Serbia for Social Sciences (RS) • Malmö University, Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare (SE) • Turkcell Technology (TR) • GMV NSL Limited (UK) • MPG - Migration Policy Group (BE) • ENoMW - European Network of Migrant Women (BE) • White Research (BE) • University of Pisa, Department of Computer Science (IT) • CNR - National Research Council (IT) • VUB - Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Interface Demography, Department of Sociology (BE) • University of Zurich, Department of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies (CH) • CILD - Italian Coalition for Civil Liberties and Rights (IT) • Caritas International (BE)

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