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Compiling and coding migration policies
Insights from the DEMIG POLICY database

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DEMIG project paper 16

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- analyse migration as part of broader global change;

- contribute to new theoretical approaches; and

- advance understanding of the multi-level forces driving migration.

Abstract

This paper outlines the conceptual and methodological underpinnings of DEMIG POLICY, a new database tracking major changes in migration policies of 45 countries between 1946 and 2013. Besides significantly extending the geographical and historical coverage of existing migration policy databases, DEMIG POLICY attempts to overcome the common 'receiving country bias' by also including emigration policies. This paper describes the process of compiling migration policy data and shares insights into the theoretical foundations and the operationalization of a coding system that disaggregates policy packages into their sub-components, categorises specific policy types and target groups, and assesses changes in policy restrictiveness and their relative importance. This paper also addresses the challenges involved in the various phases of the database compilation. It stresses that theoretical considerations should guide the making of well-reasoned, non-arbitrary decisions on database features; and that transparency with regards to policy selection and coding decisions is essential to achieve consistency. The paper also underlines the importance of grounding the compilation and analysis of policy databases in a thorough understanding of the historical and political contexts in which those policies have emerged. Finally, the paper discusses the potential of DEMIG POLICY and its flexible coding system to increase insights into the nature and evolution of migration policies, and their interaction with migration and broader processes of economic and political change.

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Contents

1 Introduction

This paper outlines the conceptual and methodological underpinnings of DEMIG POLICY – a new database tracking major changes in migration policies of 45 countries,[1] between 1946 and 2013 – and offers insights into the data compilation and coding processes. DEMIG POLICY has been constructed between 2010 and 2014 as part of the DEMIG project (*Determinants of International Migration: A Theoretical and Empirical Assessment of Policy, Origin and Destination Effects*), which aims to generate new theoretical and empirical insights into the way states and policies shape migration processes in their interaction with other migration determinants in origin and destination countries. It particularly investigates how migration policies affect the size, timing, duration, direction and composition of international migration (de Haas 2011). To answer this question, four datasets were created within the project: DEMIG TOTAL gathers total inflows, outflows and net flows disaggregated by citizens and foreigners; DEMIG C2C reports long-term country-to-country migration flows from 1946 to 2011 for 34 reporting countries (Vezzoli, Villares-Varela and de Haas 2014); and DEMIG VISA presents a global panel of bilateral travel visa requirements covering the 1973-2013 period. Together with DEMIG POLICY, which compiles national migration policies as presented in this paper, these four databases are the main sources used within the DEMIG project to empirically test the effects of origin and destination country policies on migration patterns.

The construction of DEMIG POLICY like any migration policy database, was an inherently selective and, to a certain extent, inevitably subjective process, involving numerous decisions on important issues such as the selection of policy types, the categorisation of these policies, and the elaboration and implementation of a coherent coding system. As there is often significant room for ambiguity and no 'objective' way to overcome these challenges, maximising transparency about the decision making on policy selection and policy coding is vital to increase the reliability and robustness of the database and subsequent analyses. This paper provides the rationale for choices made in the construction of DEMIG POLICY and herewith seeks to provide some answers to two fundamental methodological questions: How can systematic and coherent decisions be taken on data collection methods and coding systems given limited human, financial and data resources? How can consistency be achieved across the database given the inherent ambiguity and subjectivity of data collection and coding processes?

This paper will be structured as follows: Section 2 will address the conceptual underpinnings of DEMIG POLICY, highlighting the crucial role of theory and research questions in guiding decisions on policy data collection and coding. It will introduce the approaches adopted by existing migration policy databases which have inspired our work and present methodological developments introduced by DEMIG POLICY related to the disaggregation of policies, the specification of target groups and the inclusion of emigration policies. Section 3 will discuss the data collection approach and process followed by DEMIG POLICY and highlight related challenges. Section 4 will then present the coding system developed by the DEMIG team, seeking to clarify the operationalization of concepts such as 'change in restrictiveness' and 'major policy change' and to highlight strengths and weaknesses of the DEMIG coding system. The conclusion will summarise the main insights gained through the

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[1] Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Czech Republic, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, German Democratic Republic, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Luxembourg, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

construction of DEMIG POLICY and draw wider conclusions that may be of relevance to researchers involved in policy databases more generally.

2 Conceptual underpinnings and methodological contributions

Over the past decade, there has been an intensification of efforts to compile and measure migration policies. In 2013, the American Political Science Association (APSA) presented an overview of completed and ongoing projects producing migration policy databases (Ellerman 2013). This thorough review reveals how the interest in migration policies has gained momentum since the turn of the millennium, but also shows the inherent trade-off involved in any database construction effort between historical and geographical coverage on the one hand, and the variety and comprehensiveness of policies that can be examined on the other hand.

Depending on the specific research questions of each project, more importance is attributed to coverage or comprehensiveness, to policy change or policy comparability. In their pioneering work, Mayda and Patel (2004) collected migration policies for 14 OECD countries between 1980 and 2000, covering policies in the areas of labour migration, asylum, family reunification and border control. This dataset was subsequently expanded by Ortega and Peri (2012) to include migration policies up to 2006 and for an additional country. Enlarging the time-span but reducing the number of countries covered, the ImPol Database compiled immigration policies of France, Italy and Spain across different dimensions since the 1960s (Mezger and Gonzalez-Ferrer 2013). Hatton (2009) on the other hand only investigated asylum policies, focussing on changes that occurred between 1981 and 1999 across the EU-15 area (except Luxembourg). And while Ruhs (2011) opted for a wide geographical coverage of 46 high and middle income countries, his data collection is limited to policies regulating labour migration in 2009. Finally, the ongoing IMPALA project seeks to achieve policy comparability across time and space by providing a comprehensive and objective measurement of migration policies over the 1960-2010 period for 25 immigration countries.[2]

The research ambition underpinning the creation of the DEMIG POLICY database was to gain a better understanding of the evolution and change of migration policies over time, and assess the effectiveness of migration policies in steering migration flows. The main sources of inspiration for DEMIG POLICY were the approaches adopted by Mayda and Patel (2004) and Hatton (2009), characterised by the centrality of two concepts: *policy change* and *policy restrictiveness*. Indeed, the effectiveness of policies can only be assessed in moments of policy change and hence, their databases do not collect migration policies per se, but only track changes in migration policy over time.

The novelty introduced by Mayda and Patel (2004) and refined by Ortega and Peri (2012) however, was their assessment of policy restrictiveness: instead of attempting to measure the absolute levels of restrictiveness, they assessed whether each policy change represented an increase or a decrease in restrictiveness compared to the status quo. Hatton (2009) further developed this approach by introducing the concept of *major policy change*. Instead of seeking to comprehensively collect all changes in migration policy, he focussed on major changes, i.e. 'a policy change [likely] to affect a significant proportion of asylum seekers and [which] substantially alters access to asylum procedures, or the likelihood of a successful claim, or the material welfare of asylum seekers' (Hatton 2009: 211). The innovation of his work, as well as of the ImPol database (Mezger and Gonzalez-Ferrer 2013), also

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[2] For more information, see http://www.lse.ac.uk/government/research/resgroups/MSU/impala.aspx

lies in their acknowledgement of the inherently subjective nature of policy databases and their attempt to provide a transparent explanation of their coding systems and decisions.
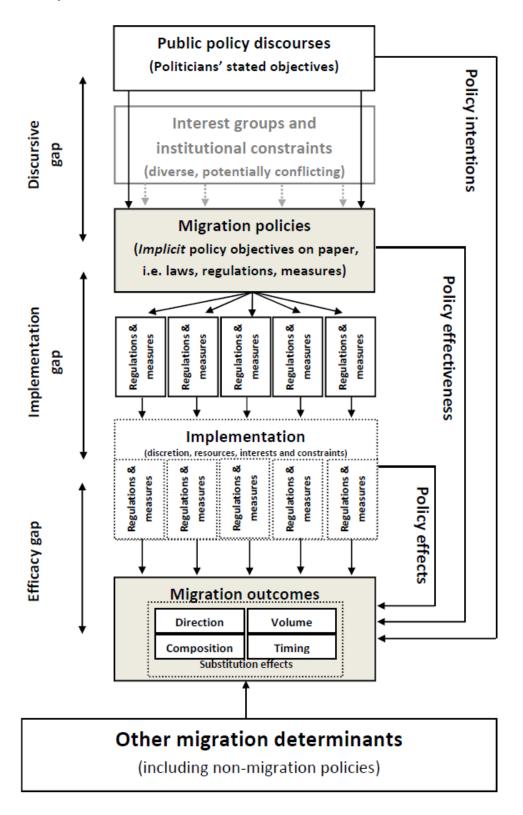
DEMIG POLICY builds upon these efforts of tracking major policy changes and assessing relative changes in restrictiveness over time and space and further elaborates and further develops their approach on four points: (i) a more elaborate conceptualisation of migration policies; (ii) the greater geographical and temporal coverage and inclusion of both immigration and emigration policies; (iii) the disaggregation of major reform packages into their distinct sub-measures; and (iv) the specification of the migrant group targeted by the policy measure.

First, DEMIG POLICY is based on an elaborate conceptualisation and, hence, operationalization of migration policies. Indeed, one of the major challenges of the database compilation process was to consistently apply this concept of migration policy to very diverse historical and country-specific contexts. Within the DEMIG project, we adopted an inclusive definition of migration policies as 'rules (i.e., laws, regulations and measures) that national states define and [enact] with the objective of affecting the volume, origin, direction, and internal composition of […] migration flows' (Czaika and de Haas 2013: 489). This definition is guided by the overall DEMIG research aim to gain new insights into the effectiveness of migration policies and acknowledges that migration policy measures can aim at affecting migration flows not only according to volume, but also according to the origin, direction or composition of migration flows. In line with the conceptual foundations of the DEMIG project (Czaika and de Haas 2013; de Haas and Vezzoli 2011), policy effectiveness designates the impact of policies on paper on migration outcomes or, in other words, the extent to which the aims pursued by the policy on paper influence subsequent migration flow changes. To test effectiveness, an assessment of the policy measure and of its aim is hence essential. Figure 1 below outlines this.

This understanding of policy effectiveness affected our operationalization of migration policies in two ways: First, only policies on paper (those laws and measures which were enacted) were taken as proxy for migration policy and hence neither policy discourses nor implementation issues have been included in our assessment of policy aims. Second, only national level measures were considered as migration policies within the DEMIG project. Despite the importance of regional and other sub-national policies in some countries (such as the German Länder), especially regarding integration, we decided not to include them in the database. This was mainly done because of DEMIG's focus on national policies and the fact that migration flow data was collected on the national and bilateral level (Vezzoli, Villares-Varela and de Haas 2014).

Next to broadening the definition of migration policy, DEMIG POLICY also significantly expands the historical depth and geographical width of existing databases, by covering migration policy changes in 45 countries from 1946 to 2013. For some countries, the data collection reaches back to the nineteenth century. Also, to avoid building a 'receiving country bias' into the database and to be able to measure the role of emigration policies in shaping migration flows, DEMIG POLICY tracks entry and exit policies for all countries included in the databases. This approach allowed us to move beyond the artificial and ambiguous separation between 'sending' and 'receiving' countries, and acknowledge the fact that most countries are to some extent both and some have changed position over time. Indeed, many 'immigration' countries still have emigration or diaspora policies for their own emigrant populations, and particular measures such as citizenship law both apply to co-national emigrants and foreign immigrants. Given its longitudinal coverage, DEMIG POLICY reveals for instance that for countries which transformed from net 'sending' into net 'receiving' countries, there is a considerable time gap in the adaptation of those countries' migration policies to the new migration patterns.

Figure 1: Policy levels (Czaika and De Haas 2013: 495)

Furthermore, initial reviews of immigration and emigration policies (Czaika and De Haas 2013; de Haas and Vezzoli 2011) revealed that it is conceptually problematic to conceive of 'a' national migration policy, since migration policies are typically 'mixed bags' of often contradictory and incoherent laws and measures targeting different migrant groups (see also Figure 1). We can therefore not speak of 'overall' changes towards more or less restrictiveness, but must acknowledge that internal

contradictions within (and across) policies are the rule in the real policy world – an insight that needed to be reflected in the database. Therefore, instead of treating an enacted policy change as a single measure, DEMIG POLICY disaggregates each policy package into its different sub-components. For instance, Spain's Organic Law 2 of 2009 introduces several measures on family migration which at the same time grant and remove rights for family migrants. On the one hand, the law creates sanctions for marriages of convenience and raises the income requirements for family reunification. On the other hand, it equals the legal status of unmarried couples to married couples and grants reunified spouses and partners the right to work without a work permit. Hence, the policy package comprises sub-measures that move in opposite directions (i.e. more or less restrictive), which makes it impossible to code the entire reform package. Disaggregating policy packages into their components resolved this problem of assessing the change in restrictiveness introduced by a migration reform package as a whole and acknowledged that most policies pursue a multiplicity of (often contradictory) policy goals at the same time.

Related to this disaggregation of policies, the coding in DEMIG POLICY also specifies the migrant group targeted by the policy measure. Indeed, modern migration policies are typically about selection, opening migration opportunities for some groups and reducing them for others. Hence, it becomes problematic to talk in terms of 'absolute' levels of restrictiveness or openness of a country's migration policy (Czaika and de Haas 2013). For example, amendments to the Portuguese Immigration Law enacted in 2012 at the same time created a new residence programme for foreign investors and introduced criminal sanctions for employers of unauthorised foreign workers. In DEMIG POLICY, this law was disaggregated into two distinct sub-measures, the former introducing a change towards less restrictiveness by granting more rights to investors, the latter introducing a change towards more restrictiveness in an attempt to fight irregular migration. The coding system thus captures which group of migrants is targeted by the measure, be it family members, refugees, entrepreneurs, international students or low-skilled workers. The database therefore offers the possibility to assess changes in migration policy towards a specific group of migrants over time and across countries. Having identified the theoretical priorities and conceptual developments of DEMIG POLICY, the next step was to frame the data collection and the coding systems.

3 Data collection: Defining the scope and determining boundaries

Databases are not an 'objective' or 'neutral' collection of information. Because of time and resource constraints, researchers compiling databases are inevitably confronted with the trade-off between coverage of countries and years on the one hand and the level of comprehensiveness and detail that can be achieved on the other. In order to assure feasibility and the completion of a database suitable for analysis, researchers have to put boundaries on their data collection efforts. For proper guidance in this process, choices around selection of data, the unit of analysis, and the coverage of topics, countries and time-span should be guided by theoretical concepts and research questions. In the absence of such conceptual guidance, choices may simply reflect personal preferences or (largely unconscious) cultural, ideological and policy biases. In the case of migration policies, this is obvious in the common 'receiving country bias' and the concomitant ignorance of the vital role of emigration policies. For instance, in explaining the puzzle of continued migration to the EU in spite of apparently increasing restrictions for particular migrant groups (such as low-skilled workers and asylum seekers) over the past decades, it is often forgotten that numerous origin countries have abolished or relaxed exit controls, which may partly

explain this phenomenon. This section presents the approach adopted in the data collection for DEMIG POLICY, as well as the main challenges faced, and seeks to openly address other remaining biases.

The compilation of DEMIG POLICY required an extensive literature review of migration policies. The starting point of the data collection was provided by a systematic review of all reports of the OECD's Continuous Reporting System on Migration (SOPEMI reports, since 2006 commonly known as the OECD's International Migration Outlook), published yearly between 1973 and 2013. The information collected through the SOPEMI reports was complemented by the systematic reading and evaluation of national migration profiles compiled by the Migration Policy Institute, the Migration Policy Centre, Focus Migration and the European Migration Network, as well as key academic articles on the country's migration policy evolution. Further sources included national official documents and homepages, original legal texts, as well as reports or overviews compiled by international organisations, think tanks and NGOs. The database is accompanied by a comprehensive bibliography containing all sources used for each country.

Within the DEMIG project, we adopted a broad understanding of migration policies, including not only border control and entry policies, but also integration and exit policies. The decision to include integration policies was based on the assumption that post-entry rights can attract and/or deter future migrants or retain migrants already in the country. For example, many governments have attempted to create attractive integration prospects in terms of family reunification and access to long-term residence or citizenship to attract high-skilled migrants, while restrictive access to social benefits is often used to deter future asylum and other 'non-desired' migrants. The decision to include exit policies was motivated by our research interest to test the effect of emigration policies on migration flows. We however decided not to systematically track 'migration and development' policies, which are often designed in cooperation with development agencies or as initiatives with international and non-profit organisations, making this information scattered and inconsistently available, or policies targeting unaccompanied minors and trafficking in human beings, as these groups often enjoy specific treatment despite them being a numerically small group.

Bearing in mind that policy effectiveness designates the impact of migration policies on paper on migration flows, data collection focused on 'policies on paper', i.e. laws, regulations and measures enacted by states to regulate migration. To a limited extent, we also included 'contextual information' such as parliamentary debates, policy strategies and action plans wherever it seemed relevant to understand the broader context in which decisions were taken. This information was retained as evidence of policy-making processes and long-term policy evolution, but was not coded as migration policy and is not suitable for the analysis of policy effects. Bi- and multilateral agreements related to migration, such as agreements on readmission, reintegration, trainee exchanges or seasonal workers, were not tracked systematically, as this information is highly incomplete and achieving full coverage would not have been feasible with the resources available within the DEMIG project. Solely the traditional recruitment agreements from the pre-1973 period, for which detailed records exist in the literature, are tracked consistently. As already mentioned, sub-national measures were not included in the dataset. Supra-national (European) regulations, as well as the implementation of the Schengen and Dublin agreements, were recorded and coded within the respective national databases, whenever introducing a relevant change.

The starting year of DEMIG POLICY was set at 1946 as the end of World War II marked a turning point in migration patterns and migration policies. However, pre-1946 information was included when easily available and relevant, and is particularly elaborated in the datasets of the Unites States, Canada, New Zealand and France, for which migration policies are collected as early as 1790. This may

provide a basis for future historical extensions of the database. The choice of countries included in DEMIG POLICY was guided by three main considerations: (i) Important historical and current migration patterns led to the selection of all major immigration countries, such as Argentina, Brazil, Canada, the US, Australia, New Zealand, France, Germany, the UK and South Africa, as well as traditional emigration countries such as Greece, Italy, Mexico, Morocco, Portugal, Turkey or Spain. (ii) Availability of migration flow data in the DEMIG TOTAL and C2C databases also informed our choice, particularly when the data was of high quality, as for several European countries, such as Luxembourg and Iceland, as well as non-European countries such as Chile. (iii) Finally, institutional research priorities of the International Migration Institute which is hosting the DEMIG project, as well as individual researchers' interests led to the inclusion of particular origin countries and regional migration hubs such as Russia, China, Ukraine and Korea.

The diversity of data collected within DEMIG POLICY raised two main challenges: (i) First, integrating border control, entry, exit and integration policies within one database and coding system proved to be a complex endeavour, as these issues are generally treated distinctively in the political and academic realm. Indeed, these policies are often conceived by different ministries and agencies according to specific policy agendas. For instance, while the increased securitisation of border control is mostly in the hands of the Ministry of Interior, acting along the objective of protecting the sovereignty of the state and its citizens, integration measures are often developed by the Ministries of Labour, Justice or Social Affairs with a focus on reaching social equality and cohesion, but also on preventing benefit abuse. In parallel to this differentiation in the policy sphere, different bodies of literature specializing on those aspects of migration policy have developed. (ii) Second, collecting data on such a wide range of countries in terms of their political systems, geopolitical contexts and migration histories presented not only conceptual, but also important linguistic challenges. In order to alleviate these and cross-check whether the policy databases contained all major policy changes, every country dataset was reviewed by a national migration policy expert. This had the double advantage of including additional literature in the national language, as well as to provide a quality-check of the database. Although the need for and extent of received feedback varied largely across countries, the expert reviews proved to be a very valuable mechanism to increase the quality of DEMIG POLICY and the accuracy of the data collected. Overall, the country reviewers confirmed the high quality of the data compiled from SOPEMI reports and other abovementioned sources.

Lastly, given the geographical and historical spread of DEMIG POLICY, data should be interpreted with caution regarding two points: (i) First, by founding the data collection on official reports and academic analyses, the policy changes grasped by DEMIG POLICY may partly reflect the political salience of a topic in a specific country. For instance, while refugee migration is dominating the Swedish dataset because it is the main topic of concern within Swedish migration policy making, the 'irregular migration' dimension is quasi-absent. This can be partly attributed to the fact that irregular migration is not politicized in Swedish public discourse and has only rarely been subject to policy making. This example however shows that an in-depth knowledge of the country-specific context and background is necessary in order to correctly interpret the frequency of specific topics within the dataset, for instance to understand whether a specific topic rarely appears in a country dataset because the policy has been very stable throughout time and/or because the topic does not play an important role in the migration policy discourse. (ii) Second, it was challenging to achieve a balanced coverage of historical and recent policy changes, because information on historic migration policies is generally less detailed and more selective. This is particularly true for the period before the 1970s, when the OECD started to publish their annual SOPEMI reports, as well as more generally for countries outside of the OECD. Overall, this might have led to a bias of recording especially those historic policies which are

retrospectively considered as important because of their striking success or failure or the numbers of migrants they affected. This raises the issue of data consistency across time. However, we have put a lot of effort in preventing potential biases through the reference to original sources, the reviews by national migration policy expert and the use of analyses which have been written at the time when the policies were enacted.

4 Data coding

Once the data is collected, categorizing and coding it is essential to render the compiled information suitable for analysis. The coding of data inescapably involves making subjective decisions about definitions and categories, and personal biases inevitably affect these decisions. For instance, in elaborating the coding system, as well as the definitions of respective codes, the DEMIG team was confronted with the dilemma of whether and how to migrant and policy categorizations that are commonly used in policy debates – such as 'integration' measures, 'voluntary return' programmes or measures towards 'high-skilled workers'. Such categorizations may not be always sociologically meaningful, yet they may have 'become' a lived reality for states and even migrants. The coding system adopted in DEMIG POLICY has attempted to use categories which can be conceptually justified. Also, in order to avoid undesirable biases in coding, it is crucial to be explicit about the theoretical assumptions and research aims of the coding system. Within DEMIG, two rules have been key in determining the coding system: (i) categories and codes should be grounded in empirics and represent in a simplified manner the essence of the information collected; (ii) the coding system should be grounded in theory so that it allows researchers to answer their research questions. The following section will present how we have addressed these two points.

4.1 Coding policy content

The first crucial question when elaborating a coding system is how to code the content or the substance of a policy measure. For instance, policy measures introducing a labour market test to reduce the inflow of migrant workers often target specific occupations. Depending on the aim of the database and the underlying research questions, one would need to decide whether the code for this policy should be very detailed, listing all targeted occupations, or be more generic, indicating for example whether this policy targets 'low-skilled' or 'high-skilled' workers. This coding decision inevitably involves a trade-off between the desire to grasp the complexity of policy realities through operationalizing a multitude of codes grasping nuances and details on the one hand, and parsimony and utility for analysis through operationalizing a relative limited number of codes that describe the core elements of the policy on the other. The research questions underpinning the DEMIG project served to find a balance between these two aims.

The DEMIG coding system is based on the assumption that every policy measure addresses (i) particular issues and (ii) particular groups of people. This provided the baseline for our coding system, which tries to grasp the content of each policy measure through four categories – two of them coding the issue addressed, two coding the group targeted. Coding policies according to the policy issue dealt with seemed straightforward, but we also decided to disaggregate policy data by migrant category: Indeed, the DEMIG data collection exercise (Czaika and de Haas 2013) revealed the need to break the policy coding system down to the level of particular migrant target groups, as migration policies are frequently reform packages which are composed of several measures pursuing different aims for different migrant groups. For an ideal analysis of policy effectiveness, such policy data would require migration flow data fully disaggregated by migrant category. Although the DEMIG C2C bilateral migration flow database differentiates by origin and destination country, it does not contain data on

migrant categories, such as family, labour or asylum migrants. However, data disaggregated by visa type exists for some countries and it is likely that the availability of these data will increase in the future, which will further expand the scope for analysis on the interaction between group-targeted policies and migration processes. A final reason for the disaggregation by migrant category was its high value for qualitative analyses, which will also be conducted within the DEMIG project.

The four following categories were elaborated to grasp the essence of each policy measure[3]:

1. The first category identifies the broad **policy area (what?)** addressed by the measure, and consists of four codes indicating whether the measure regulates aspects of border control, legal entry, integration or exit.
2. The second category captures the **policy tool (how?)** used to regulate a specific issue. This variable consists of 28 codes indicating whether the policy deals with work visas, quotas, access to permanent residency, sanctions, recruitment agreements, return programmes, regularisations, and so on.
3. The third category captures the **migrant category (who?)** targeted by the policy measure. It comprises 14 codes indicating which migrant group is targeted by the policy, such as high-skilled workers, family migrants, refugees, international students, all immigrants or members of the diaspora.
4. The fourth category specifies the **geographical origin (from where?)** of the targeted migrant category. It comprises 5 codes capturing the (clusters of) nationalities targeted by the policy and indicates whether the policy measure targets, for example, EU-citizens, all foreign nationalities, specific nationalities or its own citizens.

Together, these four codes capture the main substance of the policy measure. The following three examples should clarify this coding mechanism: (i) The introduction of the E-3 Australian Professionals category by the U.S. Real ID Act of 2005 is coded as 'regulating the **legal entry** through a **work visa/permit** of **high-skilled workers** from **specific nationalities (Australia)**'; (ii) the Swiss referendum of April 5 1987, accepting amendments to the Asylum Law which introduced federal financial aid to assist the return of rejected asylum applicants or of applicants who voluntarily decide to return home, was coded as 'regulating the **exit** through **reintegration/return programmes** of **refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people** from **all foreign nationalities**'; (iii) the Law on Integration passed by the Danish Parliament in 1998, which extended the Initiation Programme up to three years and to all immigrants over age 18, was coded as 'regulating the **integration** through **language, housing and cultural integration programmes** of all migrants from **all foreign nationalities**'. Table 1 visualizes the coding of these measures.

Table 1: Coding examples

Policy Measure	Policy Area	Policy Tool	Migration Category	Geographical origin
U.S. Real ID Act of 2005 - introduced the E-3 Australian Professionals category	Legal entry	Work visa/permit	High-skilled workers	Specific nationalities (Australia)

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[3] The codebook with all available codes and respective definitions can be found in the annex (see Annex A).

Swiss referendum of April 5 1987 - introducing federal financial aid to assist the return of rejected asylum applicants or of applicants who voluntarily decide to return home	Exit	Reintegration/return programmes	Refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	All foreign nationalities
Danish Law on Integration passed in 1998 - extended the Initiation Programme up to three years and to all immigrants over age 18	Integration	Language, housing and cultural integration programmes	All migrants	All foreign nationalities

These three examples are rather clear-cut. Yet, ambiguities may appear for each of the four codes[4]: Is a regularisation programme for irregular migrants about 'integration' or 'legal entry and stay'? Is the creation of a system of reception centres for asylum seekers about 'detention' of asylum seekers, about 'language, housing or cultural integration programmes' or about 'institutional capacities'? Is the introduction of a labour market test for all migrant workers dealing with 'employer liabilities' or 'work visa/permits'? Finally, should a policy targeting health care workers, without further definition of the characteristics of the workers accepted, be coded as 'skilled/high-skilled workers' or 'low-skilled workers'?

In order to minimize the arbitrary character of the coding process, we followed four main coding rules:

1. The basis of the coding is what is explicitly stated by the policy measure, not our subjective interpretation of the underlying or 'hidden' political intention. For instance, the creation of a system of reception centres was coded 'institutional capacities', as this corresponds most accurately to the policy description available – using another code would require to subjectively assess whether the policy intention behind the measure was to foster integration or to increase surveillance of asylum seekers.

2. We strictly applied the detailed definitions that we had elaborated for each code in order to ensure a maximum of coherence. For example, the introduction of a labour market test was coded as 'work visa/permit' because our definition of this code included "measures that establish, change or abolish the procedures or eligibility criteria to obtain a work visa or permit before or after arrival" (see Annex A). In the same vein, health care workers were coded as 'low-skilled workers' because the definition of this code specifically includes workers "who will work in occupations that do not require more than secondary education" (see Annex A). Despite the fact that care workers are often highly qualified individuals, the tasks they perform do most of the time not require higher education.

3. We adopted the state perspective and not the migrant perspective in the coding whenever this was relevant. For instance, we decided to code the regularisation of irregular migrants as 'legal entry' and not 'integration', as from the state perspective this measure is about giving people legal access to the country, although they might already have lived in the country for several years. Also, whenever a state enacted a measure that affected a broad category of individuals in order to identify

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[4] In these four ambiguous cases, the code chosen by the DEMIG team is always the last one listed. Justifications can be found in the coding protocol (see Annex B).

and target a specific group, we used the more generic code. For example, the German Counter-Terrorism Act of 2002, which authorized the Federal Police to not only to stop and question people in the course of checks on transit routes and at railway stations and airports, but also to examine and verify their passports, increased the control of all individuals entering and leaving the country despite the underlying aim to identify terrorists. Hence, this policy was coded as affecting 'all' (including all migrants and citizens). Indeed, with such policies states are casting the 'control net' very wide in order to catch a smaller group that may be 'hiding' within, accepting to extend control on large parts of the population. This rationale is also applicable to a number of measures that attempt to catch over-stayers and asylum seekers, such as the requirement for carriers to control appropriate documentation of all travellers.

4. Finally, in the case of competing codes, coding decisions were discussed within the DEMIG team and recorded in the coding protocol[5] in order to assure the transparency and reproducibility.

However, even with these coding rules, it remained a challenge to implement the coding system consistently throughout the database, particularly because the same code can have different meanings and reflect different realities across different countries. For instance, although all points-based systems attribute points for specific migrant characteristics and all recruitment programmes include state involvement, the codes can designate very different selection systems on the ground. Furthermore, no matter how detailed and objective the coding system and the definitions of the respective codes are, the actual coding exercise always involves interpretation and remains an inherently subjective process and hence it would be an illusion that all forms of bias can be excluded. However, the elaborate coding system, which was gradually developed through extensive discussions within the project team, serves to minimize these biases and to maximize consistency.

4.2 Coding changes in restrictiveness

The DEMIG POLICY database was constructed with the primary objective to assess the effectiveness of migration policies in affecting targeted migrant groups in a specific way: Some policies aim at attracting, others at deterring particular migrant groups, and again others aim at regulating post-entry rights or influencing the return of specific groups. To assess the effectiveness of a policy, we first need to identify its aim. The baseline we used to assess the policy aim was the *change in restrictiveness* introduced by the policy measure in comparison to the previous situation. For instance, a policy measure creating a new entry channel for high-skilled migrants would introduce a change towards less restrictiveness, as it is opening up a new migration possibility for high-skilled compared to the previous situation. On the contrary, a policy measure making family reunification more difficult (for instance, through introducing income requirements) would introduce a change towards more restrictiveness, as it is making access for family migrants more difficult compared to the previous situation. This coding allows for empirical analyses to assess the extent to which such policy measures have succeeded in respectively increasing the number of high-skilled migrants and decreasing the number of family migrants entering the country. The code hence captures the *change* in restrictiveness introduced by the new policy measure *compared to the previous situation*. It does therefore not provide an assessment of the absolute level of restrictiveness of a specific policy within a country, but it is an *ordinal variable* assessing the relative change in restrictiveness in a specific policy field. One of the drawbacks of this system of coding restrictiveness based on within-country changes is that these codes are not comparable for cross-country analysis. Nonetheless, it does offer considerable scope to compare policy trends over

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[5] An excerpt of the coding protocol is attached in annex B. The complete coding protocol is available upon request.

time across various countries, differentiating between different types of policies and different target groups they serve (de Haas, Natter and Vezzoli 2014 forthcoming).

The first step to operationalize this code was to establish a thorough definition of what 'restrictiveness' means. After extensive discussions among DEMIG team members, we agreed that the restrictiveness code should not be a moral assessment of whether a policy measure is 'good' or 'bad'. Instead, the most appropriate benchmark for determining whether a policy change represented a decrease or increase in restrictiveness was whether it implied an increase or decrease of the *rights* which are granted to the migrants of the targeted category: For instance, Italian Law Nr. 94 of 2009 made it possible for employers of high-skilled foreign workers to receive a pre-exemption from the labour market test, which *increased* the rights available to high-skilled workers. Italian Law Nr. 129 of 2011 on the other hand extended the maximum detention duration of undocumented foreigners awaiting deportation from 6 to 18 months, herewith *reducing* the rights of irregular migrants. This focus on access to rights may seem contradictory to the rule mentioned above of adopting the state perspective in the coding process. However, both rules are complementary as the state is the key actor in granting or restricting migrants' access to rights. For instance, the introduction of employer sanctions is coded as increasing restrictiveness within DEMIG POLICY, as from the state perspective, the main aim of such a measure is to reduce irregular migrants' access to the labour market. However, from a migrant perspective, employer sanctions can be seen as either increasing or decreasing their rights – depending on the individual situation of the migrant in question, employer sanctions can also reduce their vulnerability and strengthen their rights in case of worker abuse. Adopting the migrant perspective would introduce innumerable variations in the coding. Hence, the access to rights granted by the state was the key to operationalize changes in restrictiveness.

Measures intending to restrict the rights of a migrant group were coded +1 (creating a situation which is more restrictive than before), while measures intending to increase the rights of a migrant group were coded -1 (creating a situation which is less restrictive than before). The code 0 (no change in restrictiveness) was used for the following two situations: (i) for a system change, which does not impact the level of restrictiveness because it introduces a completely new system to deal with a specific migratory phenomenon – such as the Australian Migration Act of 1958, which established a new, universal system of entry permits, or the introduction of a point system in New Zealand through the Immigration Amendment Act 1991; (ii) for measures whose impact on rights cannot be assessed all together – such as Turkey's 2003 Citizenship law which introduced equal citizenship rights for foreign men and women marrying Turkish citizens, herewith making it easier for foreign male and more complicated for foreign female spouses to access Turkish nationality compared to the previous situation. However, the coding system allowed for the large majority of policy measure to be coded as either -1 or +1, especially because we broke down reform packages into their different sub-measures.

Similar to the challenge of coding the policy content, not all measures could be assessed straightforward as intending to expand or reduce migrants' rights. While it seems clear that the creation of a refugee status expands the rights of asylum seekers or that the introduction of carrier sanctions reduces the rights of asylum seekers (who cannot even enter the country to get protection), it seems more difficult to determine whether voluntary return programmes for rejected asylum seekers, the creation of integration contracts for newly arrived migrants or the introduction of a specific quota for high-skilled workers (where no specific policy for high-skilled workers previously existed) expands or reduces migrants' rights. Discussions within the DEMIG team led to the following conclusions: (i) Although we may intuitively conclude that the creation of voluntary return programmes for rejected asylum seekers increases restrictiveness, as it aims to stimulate their return and is frequently criticized for that reason, it *de facto* provides an alternative to expulsion and hence expands their rights and

reduces restrictiveness (coded -1). (ii) The creation of integration contracts for newly arrived migrants reduces their rights and increases restrictiveness (coded +1), as it is not a voluntary programme, but an additional requirement that migrants have to fulfil to keep the stay permit. (iii) Finally, the introduction of a specific quota for high-skilled workers expands their rights and reduces restrictiveness (coded -1) as it opens a new entry channel, despite the highly regulated character of quotas.

In order to further minimize the potentially arbitrary character of assessing changes in policy restrictiveness, the DEMIG team elaborated the following five criteria to guide decisions on assessing changes in restrictiveness of border control, entry, integration and exit measures: (i) Quantity: Does the measure restrict (+1) or widen (-1) the pool of immigrants gaining migration rights? (ii) Composition: Does the measure raise/specify (+1) or lower/make more generic (-1) the eligibility criteria for entry and stay of a particular migrant group? (iii) Procedure: Does the measure make specific procedures more (+1) or less (-1) complicated for the target group? (iv) Choice: Does the measure restrict (+1) or widen (-1) the choices available to immigrants? (v) Control: Does the measure increase (+1) or relax (-1) the level of control on migrants at the border or within the territory? Here again, the DEMIG policy coding protocol (Annex B) including justifications of coding decisions was compiled.

4.3 Coding policy change

Bearing in mind the research questions of the DEMIG project, we became aware of the desirability not only to determine the change in restrictiveness, but also to assess the *degree of change* introduced by the policy. This exercise did not aim at creating an 'illusion of exactitude' by assigning numerical values to measure the exact importance of a policy (which is impossible), but rather to assess whether a particular measure constitutes a major policy change introducing a new type of policy or is rather a 'fine-tuning' measure such as a change in age or income criteria to qualify for a residence permit. When we started coding policies, we observed that such a distinction seemed valid, as policy measures do not all introduce the same degree of change into the existing policy framework: they target more general or more specific migrant groups, and can either continue in pursuing previous policy objectives or radically break with them.

The two following criteria were then established as benchmark to determine the degree of change introduced by a policy measure: (i) the *degree of departure* (fundamental or not) from previous policy measures and (ii) the *degree of coverage*, indicating whether the policy targets an entire migrant group or only part of it. Again, our assessment of the degree of policy change referred to changes in the policy *on paper* and did not take into account policy discourse, implementation or enforcement. This code was particularly difficult to implement in a consistent manner, as the subjective assessment of the researcher has a potentially large influence on deciding what a 'fundamental' change was, as well as what 'full coverage' of a target group meant. It was hence important to code the policy according to the two above criteria, and not to be influenced by its relative importance in policy debates or its perceived impact on migration flows – as we would then not code the substance of the policy but rather its discursive importance or its presumed impact, respectively. To minimize the arbitrariness and subjectivity of the coding, we elaborated the following coding rules.

Lengthy discussions within the DEMIG team led to the decision that the **degree of coverage** of a particular policy measure should be evaluated according to whether it targeted an entire migrant category or only part of a migrant category. As we have two codes that determine the target group – migrant category and geographical origin (see Section 3.a) – both should be taken into account when determining the degree of coverage. A pragmatic approach was adopted concerning the role of the geographical origin: Policies targeting specific nationalities should be treated as automatically affecting

only part of a migrant category, while policies targeting all foreign nationalities, all citizens or even both together should be treated as affecting an entire category. In the European context, policies targeting only EU citizens turned out to be difficult to code. In the end, it was decided to treat EU citizens as an entire category on its own – because of its relevance in policy making and the quasi-equality of the status of EU citizen with national citizens.

To determine whether the migrant group targeted by the policy corresponds to an entire category or a subcategory thereof, the respectively overarching categories such as 'all migrant worker', 'all family members' or 'all irregular migrants' were taken as reference. For instance, the Spanish Decree of 27 July 1968, which stipulated that foreigners can only obtain residence permits if they have a work contract, targets the entire category of migrant workers, whereas the U.S. Immigration Act of 1990, putting a cap on the number of seasonal workers or H-2b visas, targets low-skilled workers in particular and hence only part of the migrant workers category. As shown in table 2 below, combining the two codes for the migrant group (category and origin) determines whether a policy measure affects an entire migrant group or only part of it.

Table 2: Assessing the degree of coverage

Migrant category \ Migrant origin	All foreign nationalities / Citizens / EU citizens	Specific nationalities
All migrant workers All family members All international students All irregular migrants All asylum seekers	Case 1: Targeted group covers **entire** migrant category	Case 3: Targeted group covers **part** of a migrant category
Skilled/high-skilled workers (ref. all migrant workers) Only spouses (ref. family members) Only rejected asylum seekers (ref. asylum seekers) Only irregular workers (ref. irregular migrants) Specific categories (criminals, sick people etc.)	Case 2: Targeted group covers **part** of a migrant category	Case 4: Targeted group covers **part** of a migrant category

Some examples should help clarify how the degree of coverage criteria is operationalized: For instance, the 1963 recruitment agreement between France and Morocco would be treated, from the French perspective, as targeting only part of a migrant group, as it is covering only low-skilled workers from Morocco (case 4). From the Moroccan perspective, it would also be treated as targeting part of a migrant group, but for a different reason, as it is covering only low-skilled workers but is open to all citizens (case 2). Furthermore, the introduction of employer sanctions would be treated as targeting only part of the irregular migrant group, as it concerns only those irregular migrants who are employed, but irregular migrants from all nationalities (case 3), whereas the creation of an expulsion mechanism for

irregular migrants targets all irregular migrants from all nationalities, no matter if they entered the country legally or not (case 1).

Less obvious cases were discussed within the team and recoded in the coding protocol (Annex B) – for instance it was decided that while sanctions for irregular stay targeted the entire group of irregular migrants on the territory, carrier sanctions only targeted those migrants which entered the territory irregularly and herewith only part of the group of irregular migrants, which is composed in majority of over-stayers, as research confirms. Also, while allowing international students to work during their studies targets all (future and present) international students, the creation of a specific work permit for foreign graduates of the country's institutions only targets those international students who have studied in the country, excluding all graduates from foreign institutions.

However, in order to assess the overall degree of change introduced by a specific policy, not only the degree of coverage should be taken into account, but also the degree of departure from the previous situation. The **degree of departure** captures whether the policy measure introduces a fundamental change in the existing policy framework or not. We conceived that a fundamental change occurs when a new policy instrument is introduced or removed, whereas a non-fundamental change occurs when only the characteristics of existing policy instruments are changed or when there is a continuation in the existing policy. For instance, the creation of a new entry permit, the granting of appeal rights or the abolishing of borders is regarded as a fundamental change, whereas a change in age requirements for family reunification, in the refugee determination procedure or the broadening of eligible categories to an existing permit is considered as a non-fundamental change. The coding protocol (Annex B) provided crucial guidance in order to assure a maximum of consistency and coherence throughout the database.

These definitions lead to the coding system outlined in table 3, whereby the combination of the two criteria (the degree of departure and the degree of coverage) determine the degree of change introduced by a specific measure.

Table 3: Assessing the degree of change

degree of departure / degree of coverage	Non-fundamental change or continuation of existing policy	Fundamental change of existing policy
Part of respective migrant category affected	1 – Fine-tuning	3 – Mid-level change
Entirety of respective migrant category affected	2 – Minor change	4 – Major change

According to this system, a policy measure coded 1 introduces a '**fine-tuning**' of existing rules. Fine-tuning changes are measures which only affect part of a migrant category and only alter an existing policy instrument. The following policies have been classified as fine-tuning measures within DEMIG POLICY: The 2006 restructuring of the high-skilled migration programme in the UK, whereby points are no longer granted for work experience, significant achievements or for having a skilled partner, but assess academic qualifications, previous earnings and age; the increase in penalties imposed on employers of undocumented workers enacted by the French Law 91-1383 in 1991; or the 2010 changes to family reunification in the Netherlands, lowering the income requirement from 120% to 100% of the legal minimum wage and raising the minimum age from 18 to 21 years for the entry of spouses.

A policy measure coded 2 introduces a '**minor change**' of existing rules. Minor changes are measures which affect an entire migrant category, but do not introduce or remove a new policy instrument as defined above. For example, the German Law on the financial support of asylum seekers of 1993 lowering the specific allowance for asylum seekers in comparison to mainstream social benefits; the 2011 Amendment to the Austrian Alien Employment Law reducing the federal maximum number of migrant workers relative to the number of native workers from 8 per cent to 7 per cent or the Greek Ministerial Decision Nr. 15055/546 of August 2011, which facilitated the renewal of work permits in light of the economic crisis by requiring only 120 welfare stamps (proof of work days) per year for permit renewal instead of the previous 200, were classified as minor changes within DEMIG POLICY.

A policy measure coded 3 introduces a '**mid-level change**' of existing rules. Mid-level changes are measures which only affect part of a migrant category, but introduce or remove a new policy instrument as defined above. For instance, the following policies were coded as mid-level changes: the 1946 recruitment agreement between Italy and France; the Belgian decision of August 1974 to stop the recruitment of low-skilled workers; the 2012 regularisation conducted in Italy whereby employers of unauthorised non-EU workers could pay back taxes and a fine to regularise their employees; or the 2013 decision of Sweden to grant all Syrian refugees staying or arriving in Sweden permanent residency;.

Finally, a policy measure coded 4 introduces a '**major change**' in existing rules. Major changes are measures which affect an entire migrant category and introduce or remove a new policy instrument as defined above. These measures usually introduce an overhaul of the migration selection system or approach to migrants, such as the US 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) which introduced the General Legalization Program; Moroccan Law n°23 of 2006, which enabled Moroccans born abroad to vote in national elections; the Russian Federal Law of 1993, which abolished the requirement of exit visas for Russian nationals wishing to leave the country; or the creation of the first formal refugee determination procedures in Canada through the 1976 Immigration Act.

All policy codes exclusively reflect the policy content as recorded in the DEMIG POLICY database. Even if it is often tempting to use additional knowledge on the real policy impact of a policy measure or on the specific country context, we decided to disregard these elements in the coding decisions. For example, the German-Turkish recruitment agreement is coded as 'mid-level' change within DEMIG POLICY because of its target on low-skilled migrants only. One would be inclined to code this measure as a 'major' change given the known impact it had on Turkish migration flows to Germany. However, such an assessment would not have been possible in the case of the 1996 agreement between Greece and Albania organizing the recruitment of seasonal workers, as we would lack the necessary background information to make a similarly informed decision. In order to maximise consistency across the database, the most objective coding possible was hence used.

However, this coding rationale has the downside of sometimes leading to very counterintuitive coding for the sake of consistency: For instance, the reduction of the overall annual immigration quota from 3% to 2% by the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924 was coded as a fine-tuning measure because it only targets migrants from the Eastern Hemisphere (hence a sub-group) and only changes the characteristics of an existing policy instruments (hence a non-fundamental change). The fact that migration from the Eastern Hemisphere represented the bulk of U.S. immigration, and the fact that a decrease of 1% in the quota represented an important number of people are not taken into consideration in this coding. However, we decided to stick to our coding rules despite our knowledge of the importance of this decision. This was guided by the rationale to 'let the numbers speak for themselves'.

As our aim is to analyse the effect of migration policies on migration flows, it would be dangerous to code the policy measures according to their assumed effects we may have read about in the literature or in policy reports. Indeed, coding policies based on their assumed or perceived impact would have introduced endogeneity in the whole coding system and potentially skewed the results of statistical analyses.

Finally, we have further tried to maximise coding consistency across the database (i) by assigning the coding task to one person and by (ii) collectively counter-checking and discussing difficult coding decisions within the policy database team consisting of the three authors. The coding protocol (Annex B) is the result of these discussions and provided a crucial reference throughout the coding process to enhance consistency within and across countries.

5 Conclusion

This paper shared insights into the compilation of DEMIG POLICY and particularly the considerations that have guided our decisions with regards to the coding of migration policy changes. Building upon prior efforts by other researchers, DEMIG POLICY introduced four developments: (i) the inclusion of emigration policies in order to overcome the 'receiving-country' or 'immigration-bias' in migration research; (ii) the disaggregation of policy reforms into constituent sub-measures and the specification of policy coding at the level of the target group, based on the awareness that migration policies are typically 'mixed bags' of often contradictory and incoherent measures targeting different migrant groups; (iii) a conceptualisation of changes in restrictiveness, based on whether a new policy measure increases or decreases migrants' access to rights in relation to the status quo, herewith taking into account that modern migration policies are typically about *selection* more than controlling absolute levels and that it is problematic to talk in terms of 'absolute' levels of restrictiveness; (iv) finally the development of an elaborate coding system that captures whether a policy changes represents a major or a minor change.

Some of the lessons learnt through the construction of DEMIG POLICY seem more generally relevant for the construction of (policy) databases. First of all, our experience highlighted that we have to abandon positivist illusions of a totally objective coding system that 'objectively' tracks 'policy facts'. Indeed, 'policy facts' do not objectively exist 'out there' waiting to be recorded. Also, based on the assumption that any category is a social construction and reflects a certain perception of the world, there is a danger to uncritically accept categories used by states. Hence, in order to reduce subjective biases, such as the tendency to select policies that are politically perceived as important and subject of heated debate and code them accordingly, it is important to carefully take decision and base them, whenever possible, on theoretical considerations.

Furthermore, one should acknowledge that a coding system always reveals something about the research questions asked and the hypotheses that one would like to test: It is indeed not about objectively categorizing the data, but about synthetizing and condensing the types of information that will be needed for analysis in order to answer specific research questions. Also, any categorization involves a degree of reduction and simplification and thus a loss of nuance and complexity. However, the necessity to achieve some level of selection within the broader trade-off between coverage and comprehensiveness highlights the importance of creating transparency through clearly defined and operationalised central concepts (such as migration policy or restrictiveness) and of grounding choices around categories and coding on clear conceptual grounds. Finally, policy data compilation as well as analysis will be strongest if embedded in a thorough understanding of the context in which those policies

have emerged. This can avoid misinterpretation of quantitative results or 'blind', unguided efforts at 'collecting more data' without having in mind what purpose such data collection should serve in the first place.

DEMIG POLICY can serve analyses within and beyond the DEMIG project on the nature, drivers and impacts of migration policy changes. Combined with the DEMIG C2C, DEMIG TOTAL and DEMIG VISA databases, DEMIG POLICY will allow quantitative analysis and qualitative research on the way in which migration policies have affected and been affected by changes in the volume, composition, timing and direction of migration flows. In particular, it will allow to test the central hypotheses of the DEMIG project according to which the effectiveness of migration restrictions is potentially undermined by four different types of substitution effects: 1) *spatial substitution* through the diversion of migration to other countries; 2) *categorical substitution* through a reorientation towards other legal or illegal channels; 3) *inter-temporal substitution* affecting the timing of migration such as 'now or never migration' in the expectation of future tightening of policies; and 4) *reverse flow substitution* whereby immigration restrictions reduce return migration, interrupt circularity and push migrants into permanent settlement (de Haas 2011).

Moreover, DEMIG POLICY can serve as a resource for analyses about the evolution of migration policies in general, as well as according to specific types of policies or target groups. For instance, can we really say that migration policies have become more restrictive over the past decades, as is often assumed in public and academic debates? Or do we indeed see a more complex picture, with policies towards particular groups (such as asylum seekers of low-skilled labour migrants) becoming more restrictive, and less restrictive towards other groups (such as the high-skilled or students)? Or do we in the end observe non-linear processes with levels of restrictiveness oscillating in accordance with economic trends or political change? Also, do we really see a broad trend towards inclusiveness, where human rights considerations and international law have compelled liberal democratic states to expand possibilities for family and humanitarian migration (Bonjour 2011; Freeman 1995), in spite of restrictive migration discourses used by politicians? And can we uncover policy 'fashions' in particular periods, with countries adopting similar measures in a policy diffusion process?

Finally, although DEMIG POLICY has attempted to partly overcome the receiving country bias by not categorizing countries as either origin or destination countries – acknowledging that all countries are both –, by consistently including exit policies and by including several non-OECD countries in the database, there is ample potential for future extension of the database. There is also potential to extend the historical coverage of the database, so that we will in the future be able to better understand the long term evolution of migration regimes and migration policies, and how these changes are reciprocally related to broader processes of colonization, state formation as well as economic and political transformation. This would allow building upon the initial idea of DEMIG POLICY to go beyond rather narrow analyses of 'migration policy effects' and to develop a broader view on the historical role of states and policies in migration processes.

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6 Annexes

6.1 The codebook

Policy area: WHAT	
Border and land control	Codes policy measures that regulate external and internal border controls which aim aiming at securing the national territory. It is not limited to controls at the borders and includes issues of surveillance, detention and sanctions of fraudulent acts.
Legal entry and stay	Codes policy measures that regulate the legal entry to and stay on a territory of a target group. This includes all issues related to entry and stay permits, be they for travel or immigration purposes, as well as regularisations. Residency (except rules on permanent residency) is not dealt with apart, as it is often a corollary of the entry visa/permits. We do not distinguish between temporary and long term permits, as their definitions vary importantly across countries.
Integration	Codes policy measures that regulate the post-entry rights or affect other aspects of integration of a target group. This also includes policy measures that aim at regulating the state's relations with its citizens living abroad, as well as their descendants.
Exit	Codes policy measures that regulate the (forced or voluntary) exit or return from a territory of a target group.
Policy tool: HOW	
Surveillance technology/control powers	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish surveillance or registration systems to control the movement and migration status of people. This can include the use of technology, the construction of fences, the introduction of fingerprinting, bus also the introduction of measures that regulate the number of border guards and the powers of immigration staff.
Identification documents	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish rules on identification documents, such as the introduction of biometric passports, rules on identity cards or driver licenses.
Detention	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish the procedures or eligibility criteria for the detention of foreigners.
Carrier liabilities	Codes policy measures that regulate the responsibilities of and requirements for carriers, i.e. transportation companies, and establish, change or abolish the respective sanctions for the transportation of people. This can include the transportation of regular and irregular immigrants and emigrants, but does not apply to human traffickers and smugglers.
Employer liabilities	Codes policy measures that regulate the responsibilities of employers related to the employment of foreign workers, such as registration and control requirements or employment permits. They also concern measures that establish, change or abolish sanctions for the unlawful employment of migrants.
Other sanctions	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish sanctions other than for carriers or employers, such as sanctions for document fraud, for irregular migration and overstaying, or for human trafficking and smuggling.

Travel visa/permit	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish the procedures or eligibility criteria, including fees, for foreigners to obtain a travel visa to enter or leave a particular country. This includes measures regulating entry or exit for any purpose (business, family, holidays), but which do not grant any im- or emigration rights to its holder. This code is not used when states require their citizens to hold exit permits in order to migrate (cf. exit ban).
Work visa/permit	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish the procedures or eligibility criteria (age, language knowledge, education level, salary requirements, labour market test, fees) to obtain a work visa or permit before or after arrival. This includes working holiday maker schemes, youth mobility programmes or visa facilitation measures, but can also refer to the introduction of a compulsory language test or integration contract for entry. This code is used for all entry schemes where individuals have the agency to apply themselves (contrary to recruitment programme in which the state has the agency to select the participants).
Entry visa/stay permit	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish the procedures or eligibility criteria (age, language knowledge, education level, family relations, protection need, fees) to obtain different types of entry visa and stay permits for a specific purpose, such as student visas, investor visas or family visas, but can also refer to the introduction of a compulsory language test or integration contract for entry. This code is used for all entry visas and stay permits except: Travel visas, work permits and permanent residency.
Points-based system	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish the criteria of a points-based system that gives access to either a work or another visa/permit.
Quota/target	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish the quota or numerical target associated to a work or other visa/permit.
Regularisation	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish regularisation or normalization programmes. The distinctive feature used to define regularisation is that it grants legal status to people who lack it. Therefore, adjustment of status programmes which grant permanent residency to people with a temporary legal status do not fall under this code.
Entry ban	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish an entry ban, defined as the categorical exclusion of a specific group from the right to enter the country. These groups have no access to a legal channel of entry into the country and are not eligible to apply for an entry visa or permit.
Recruitment/assisted migration programmes	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish unilateral assisted migration schemes or bilateral agreements between governments or between a companies and a government to organise the recruitment of workers. This code is used for all schemes where the state has the agency and is actively involved in the selection of migrants (contrary to work visa/permits in which individuals have the agency to apply).
Resettlement programmes	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish programmes that resettle refugees already recognized by UNHCR and grant them residency rights. This code is also used for (mostly historical) population exchanges between countries.
Free mobility rights/agreements	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish unilateral governmental decisions or agreements between governments to grant free mobility, i.e. the free right to enter and reside in this country, to a specific target group. These can include the right to work or not, but does not apply to simple visa-waiving decisions or visa facilitations.

Language, housing and cultural integration programmes	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish the procedures or eligibility criteria giving migrants access to language programmes, financial assistance or housing programmes, as well as religious and cultural integration programmes especially established for migrants.
Access to social benefits and socio-economic rights	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish the procedures or eligibility criteria giving migrants access to the existing state system of social benefits and socio-economic rights. This includes access to social security, health system, education system and unemployment benefits. This code also includes measures directed at the diaspora, which regulate their access to socio-economic rights, including saving schemes and remittances transfer.
Access to justice and political rights	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish the procedures or eligibility criteria giving migrants access to the existing state system of justice and political rights. This includes access to legal aid, the right to vote, the right of appeal, the right to create associations, as well as antidiscrimination legislation and multiculturalism policies. This code also includes measures that are directed at the diaspora.
Access to permanent residency	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish the procedures or eligibility criteria that give migrants access to permanent residency, including language and integration tests.
Access to citizenship	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish the procedures or eligibility criteria that give access to citizenship or naturalisation, including citizenship and language tests and ceremonies.
Reintegration/return programmes	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish bilateral agreements or unilateral programmes that aim at reintegrating migrants in their countries of origin through financial or institutional assistance, such as voluntary return programmes. It includes both the actual assistance to return and subsequent measures established to foster their reintegration in the home society.
Readmission agreements	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish agreements between governments for the readmission of irregular migrants and/or rejected asylum seekers.
Expulsion	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish the procedures or eligibility criteria for the physical removal of people, including expulsion.
Exit visa/permit or exit ban	Codes policy measures that establish, change or abolish requirements for the exit of the country's citizens, making the departure of the country subject to prior approval. This includes both rules on exit permits, as well as more absolute forms of exit bans.
Institutional capacities	Codes policy measures that establish or abolish institutions or bureaus to deal with a specific policy area, such as the creation of new ministries or agencies or the creation of reception centres for asylum seekers.
Action Plan, Strategy, Report	Codes important policy documents which are no legal measures or decisions, such as action plans, strategies or reports and which have been or attempted to be influential in a specific policy area.
Contextual elements	Reserved for contextual comments, which can include policy discussions, information on failed draft laws, important political events such as the entry of a specific country into the EU or the fall of the Iron Curtain.

Target group: WHO	
All	Codes policy measures that target not just migrants, but depending on the measure also travellers, permanent residents, citizens etc. This is particularly relevant for travel policies, as well as for surveillance and control measures.
All migrants	Codes policy measures that target all migrants (either immigrants or emigrants), indifferent of their legal status or personal characteristics. There is no time-related definition of migrant - it can apply both to long-term and temporary migrants under 12 months. Travellers are not considered migrants.
All migrant workers	Codes policy measures that target all workers, indifferent of their skill level. This category can also include unemployed migrant workers.
Low-skilled workers	Codes policy measures that target workers who are either explicitly labelled as low-skilled or who will work in occupations that do not require more than secondary education, such as seasonal workers, working holiday makers, domestic workers, care-givers, construction workers etc.
Skilled/high-skilled workers	Codes policy measures that target workers who are either explicitly labelled as skilled/high-skilled or who will work in occupations that require more than secondary education, such as doctors, engineers, researchers, ICTs or workers with occupations listed on the respective national shortage list.
Family members	Codes policy measures that target children, spouses and/or other relatives of citizens and/or migrants.
Family members of high-skilled workers, investors or students	Codes policy measures that target children, spouses and/or other relatives of high-skilled migrant workers and international students.
Family members of irregular migrants or refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	Codes policy measures that target children, spouses and/or other relatives of irregular migrants or refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people.
International students	Codes policy measures that target international students.
Investors, entrepreneurs and business people	Codes policy measures that target people based on wealth and trade, such as investors or business people, including entrepreneurs.
Irregular migrants	Codes policy measures that target irregular migrants or undocumented individuals. This category can also include irregular workers.
Refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	Codes policy measures that target refugees, asylum seekers and/or other vulnerable people such as people seeking humanitarian protection, unaccompanied minors or victims of trafficking. This category can also include rejected asylum seekers.
Diaspora	Codes policy measures that target emigrants and/or their descendants. This code does not only apply to citizens living abroad, but also to people which the state considers part of the wider nation through common ethnic, historical or other links.
Specific categories	Codes policy measures that target specific, historical or unusual migrant categories, such as prostitutes, insane, criminals or terrorists.

Target origin: FROM WHERE	
All	Codes policy measures that target not just migrants, but both citizens and foreigners. This is particularly relevant for citizenship measures, antidiscrimination and multiculturalism policies, but also for some surveillance and control measures.
All foreign nationalities	Codes policy measures that target citizens of all foreign nationalities. In the European context, this code is also used if the measure targets only third country nationals. More generally, this code is used even if some nationalities may enjoy a special status and are exempt from the general rule (e.g. Algerians in France, New Zealanders in Australia). In order to correctly interpret the data, a thorough contextual knowledge is required.
EU citizens	Codes policy measures that target citizens of EU countries. Depending on the year, this category includes more or less countries (for example in 2003, 15 countries, in 2004, 25 countries).
Citizens	Codes policy measures that target the citizens of the country in question, residing within and/or outside of the country. This code is particularly relevant for diaspora policies, emigration policies or citizenship policies.
Specific nationalities	Codes policy measures which explicitly target migrants of specific nationalities only. In the European context, this code is not used for policies targeting third country nationals only. The nationalities targeted are specified in the database.

6.2 Excerpt of the coding protocol

Policy measure	Degree of change	Policy Area	Policy Tool	Target group	Target origin	Specific nationalities	Restrictive-ness	Justifications
Border and land control								
Introduction of carrier sanctions	3	Border and land control	Carrier liabilities	Irregular migrants	All foreign nationalities	N/A		this is coded 3 because it targets not all irregular migrants, but only those that enter the country irregularly (over-stayers for instance are not concerned)
Carriers are now responsible to check traveller ID	4	Border and land control	Carrier liabilities	All	All	N/A		this is coded all, as it targets both migrants and travellers, both foreigners and citizens
Introduction of employer sanctions	3	Border and land control	Employer liabilities	Irregular migrants	All foreign nationalities	N/A		this is coded 3 because it targets not all irregular migrants, but only those that work irregularly
Number of border guards increased, in addition to increasing search and seizure powers of immigration staff	2	Border and land control	Surveillance technology/control powers	All migrants	All foreign nationalities	N/A		this is coded all migrants, because the increasing powers of border guards concern everybody (search powers can be used to identify not only irregularity, but also crime or trafficking). Also, it is not a fundamental change, but only a continuation of previously existing policies
Creation of new passport for nationals, including electronic and biometric features	4	Border and land control	Identification documents	All	Citizens	N/A		this is coded red because it increases control over the own population - more and more information on personal identity becomes available to institutions. It is coded Identification documents and not surveillance, because it regulates the document itself.

Legal entry and stay

Introduction of a new entry permit where there has been no permit before (often historic entries)	4	Legal entry and stay	Entry visa/stay permit	All migrants	All foreign nationalities	N/A	🟥	this is coded red, as now entry is regulated whereas before, entry was not regulated and everybody could get in
Age of children eligible to family reunification raised from 18 to 21	1	Legal entry and stay	Entry visa/stay permit	Family members	All foreign nationalities	N/A	🟩	this is coded 1 as it targets only part of family member category (children) and is not a fundamental change
Language test introduced for the entry of spouses	3	Legal entry and stay	Entry visa/stay permit	Family members	All foreign nationalities	N/A	🟥	this is coded 3 as it targets only part of family member category (spouses), but is a fundamental change, adding a new policy instrument to regulate entry of spouses
Introduction of a points-based system for the immigration of high-skilled workers	3	Legal entry and stay	Points-based system	Skilled/high-skilled workers	All foreign nationalities	N/A	9 🟧	this is coded orange, as we do not know if the PBS liberalizes or restricts the existing system: it probably has different effects on different groups of workers
Labour market test introduced	4	Legal entry and stay	Work visa/permit	All migrant workers	All foreign nationalities	N/A	🟥	this is coded work visa/permit because it regulates the criteria used to give access to a work permit. It is not employer liabilities because even if it is the employer who has to check whether there are nationals available for the job, the more important aspect of it is that is regulates access to a work permit.
Temporary worker programme created for care and domestic workers	3	Legal entry and stay	Work visa/permit	Low-skilled workers	All foreign nationalities	N/A	🟩	this is coded low-skilled workers, as domestic and care jobs do often not require high qualifications (it is not about what kind of people perform the jobs, but what is required for the job)

Right to work granted to engineers after graduation in the country of reference	3	Integration	Work visa/permit	International students	All foreign nationalities	N/A		this is coded 3, as it targets only those students which graduated in the country in question.
Creation of an investor programme	4	Legal entry and stay	Entry visa/stay permit	Investors, entrepreneurs and business people	All foreign nationalities	N/A		this is coded entry visa/stay permit as investors qualify through money and job-creation, not through their qualifications
Creation of entry visa for those with similar ethnicity (Ethnic Finns for Finland, ethnic Germans for the Aussiedler etc.)	3	Legal entry and stay	Entry visa/stay permit	Diaspora	All foreign nationalities	Ethnic group in question		this is coded all foreign nationalities, because people belonging to this group can often have different nationalities, but they have a special status because they are ethically related and hence treated as part of the diaspora. It is 3 because it is not the whole diaspora, but only those specific ethic groups who are not citizens or emigrants.
Race introduced as criteria to deny entry	3	Legal entry and stay	Entry ban	All migrants	All foreign nationalities	Those belonging to specific race or ethnicity		this is coded 3, as it targets only those belonging to a specific race or ethnicity, but regardless of the nationality
Regularization of irregular workers	3	Legal entry and stay	Regularisation	Irregular migrants	All foreign nationalities	N/A		this is coded legal entry and stay because a regularization is about granting legal access to and stay rights in the country. Also, the important feature of irregular workers in this policy is their irregularity, not their status as workers.
Policy enacting the Geneva convention and creating a refugee determination procedure	4	Legal entry and stay	Entry visa/stay permit	Refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	All foreign nationalities	N/A		this is coded 4 because it creates a new status to which all asylum seekers can apply
Work permit granted to all recognized refugees	3	Integration	Work visa/permit	Refugees, asylum seekers and other	All foreign nationalities	N/A		this is coded 3 because it grants a new right only to those who already have the refugee status, not to all asylum seekers.

				vulnerable people			■	Also, it is coded integration and not legal entry and stay, as the reason they are granted entry is because they are refugees, not workers (it is a right granted after entry)
Introduction of concept of safe third country/safe countries of origin	3	Legal entry and stay	Entry visa/stay permit	Refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	All foreign nationalities	Those people that transit or originate from a country on the safe third country list	■	this is coded all foreign nationalities because it can concern people from everywhere, but it is 3 because it only targets people who passed through a country of that list.

Integration

Introduction of specific language courses for children of migrants	3	Integration	Language, housing and cultural integration programmes	All migrants	All foreign nationalities	N/A	■	this is coded 3 because it targets not all migrants, but only children
Introduction of an integration agreement or integration contract which requires newly arrived migrants to attend specific courses, with sanctions attached to it in case of non-compliance	4	Integration	Language, housing and cultural integration programmes	All migrants	All foreign nationalities	N/A	■	this is coded red, because it is an additional requirement that migrants have to fulfil after being granted entry and that has to be successfully fulfilled in order to keep the permit
Right to create associations granted to migrants	4	Integration	Access to justice and political rights	All migrants	All foreign nationalities	N/A	■	this is coded access to justice and political rights because being an active part of society via associations is considered an indirect political right
Introduction of ius soli whereby people born on the territory of the country automatically acquire	4	Integration	Access to citizenship	All	All	N/A	■	it is coded all because it applies not only to children (ius soli can be reactivated at a later stage). It is not family members, as ius soli is not linked to the migration status of being a family member. It is a right linked to the place of birth, not to a

citizenship, regardless of the legal status of the parents							<td style="background:green"></td>	familiar link. It is coded green because no one born on the territory is excluded.
Emigrant savings system created (from origin country perspective)	4	Integration	Access to social benefits and socio-economic rights	Diaspora	Citizens	N/A	<td style="background:green"></td>	this is coded integration because it aims at integrating the diaspora into the national economic system

Exit

Expulsion of all migrants deemed to be dangerous allowed	4	Exit	Expulsion	All migrants	All foreign nationalities	N/A	<td style="background:red"></td>	this is coded all migrants because it can possibly be any migrant, as the criteria is very vague. It clearly goes beyond the expulsion of irregular migrants.
Agreement between Germany and Turkey for the reintegration of unemployed workers from host country (German) perspective	3	Exit	Reintegration/return programmes	All migrant workers	Specific nationalities	Turkey	<td style="background:green"></td>	this is coded 3 because unemployed workers are a sub-category of migrant workers. It is green because it grants more rights to unemployed Turkish migrants in Germany: They can now opt for return or stay.
Agreement between Germany and Turkey for the reintegration of unemployed workers from host country (Turkish) perspective	3	Legal entry and stay	Reintegration/return programmes	Diaspora	Citizens	N/A	<td style="background:green"></td>	this is coded 3 because it target those living in Germany (a sub-group of the Turkish diaspora). It is coded legal entry as it facilitates the entry of diaspora members, not their integration.
Readmission agreement between the US and Mexico (from the US perspective)	3	Exit	Readmission agreement	Irregular migrants	All foreign nationalities	Those transiting through or originating from Mexico	<td style="background:red"></td>	this is coded all foreign nationalities, because often readmission agreements affect both nationals of Mexico as well as third country nationals having resided or crossed country Mexico. But it is coded 3 because it targets not all irregular migrants but only those who have transited through Mexico
Readmission agreement between the US and Mexico	3	Exit	Readmission agreement	Irregular migrants	All foreign nationalities	Those transiting through or	<td style="background:red"></td>	this is coded exit as from the state perspective, it is the exit aspect that matters. This might seem

(from the Mexican perspective)						originating from the US	🟥	counterintuitive, because the US-Mexican context is known, but for countries where the direction of the flow is unclear, we cannot apply this external knowledge. In order to increase consistency, we coded all readmission agreements as "exit"

EU policy developments

Respective legal adjustment that introduced free movement of workers within the EU	4	Legal entry and stay	Free mobility rights/agreements	All migrant workers	EU citizens	EU member states at that time	🟩	this is coded 4 because EU citizens are treated as entire target group. (considered a reference group in themselves)
Respective legal adjustment that implemented the Schengen agreement and abolished all internal border controls	4	Border and land control	Free mobility rights/agreements	All	EU citizens	EU member states at that time	🟩	this is coded border and land control because it is a removal of border controls - sometimes different in time from the free movement of workers, so this is border control and free mobility, the free movement of workers is legal entry and free mobility.
Implementation of the Dublin agreement - asylum seekers have to apply for asylum in the first European country they enter	4	Legal entry and stay	Entry visa/stay permit	Refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	All foreign nationalities	N/A	🟥	this is coded 4 because it targets all asylum seekers from all foreign nationalities and importantly reduced their access to rights of applying for the refugee status.
EU 2004 enlargement from a EU-15 perspective in which there are no transitional rules for access to the labour market	3	Legal entry and stay	Free mobility rights/agreements	All migrant workers	EU citizens	Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Cyprus, Malta	🟩	this is coded 3 as it targets only part of EU citizens, namely the new member states.

Institutions

Creation of Migration Agency	4	Legal entry and stay	Institutional capacities	All migrants	All foreign nationalities	N/A	9	this is coded orange, because we cannot assess the impact on the rights of migrants.
Creation of a border police	4	Border and land control	Institutional capacities	All migrants	All foreign nationalities	N/A	9	this is coded all migrants because it affects both irregular and regular migrants. It is coded orange because it might make it more difficult for some to enter, but for others quicker and easier if there is more regulation.
Creation of reception centres for asylum seekers	4	Border and land control	Institutional capacities	Refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	All foreign nationalities	N/A	9	this is coded orange, because reception centres are often at the same time institutions who provides support and a control mechanism of asylum seekers
Immigration Bill presented in front of parliament (and enacted a few years later)	N/A	Legal entry and stay	Contextual elements	All migrants	All foreign nationalities	N/A	N/A	this is coded under contextual elements to give information about the length of the legislation process

6.3 Excerpt of the policy database[6]

Year	Policy measure	Source	Degree of change	Policy Area	Policy Tool	Target group	Target origin	Specific nationalities	Restrictive-ness change
	Greece 1981**-1988**								
1981	Greece joins the European Union on 1 January 1981 (The application for membership had been submitted on 12/06/1975)	MPI 2012	N/A	N/A	Contextual elements	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1981	After the change of government in 1981, the Greek authorities actively constructed a policy concerning Greek citizens abroad - through the establishment of a Ministry for Greek Affairs Abroad which should facilitate the economic, social and cultural integration of migrants wishing to return to Greece, and take action to improve the living and working conditions of Greek migrants abroad.	SOPEMI 1983: 112	4	Integration	Institutional capacities	Diaspora	Citizens	N/A	9
1981	After the change of government in 1981, the Greek authorities actively constructed a policy concerning Greek citizens abroad - further developing the repatriation policy by increasing the return assistance from 1000 to 10000 Drachma for each returnee.	SOPEMI 1983: 112	2	Legal entry and stay	Reintegration/return programmes	Diaspora	Citizens	N/A	
1981	After the change of government in 1981, the Greek authorities actively constructed a policy concerning Greek citizens abroad - facilitated financial investments of Greek citizens living abroad in Greece > Greek migrants and seamen who have worked abroad for 3 years and want to invest, are eligible	SOPEMI 1983: 112	4	Integration	Access to social benefits and socio-economic rights	Diaspora	Citizens	N/A	

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[6] Cells with a pink background indicate sub-measures that are part of the same policy package.

	for the same financial advantages as those available to cooperative enterprises and local authorities. A special commission has been set up under the auspices of the Ministry for the National Economy to inform, assist and advice Greek workers abroad to invest their capital in Greece. The Greek government also launches information campaigns abroad on opportunities for productive investment in Greece.							
1981	After the change of government in 1981, the Greek authorities actively constructed a policy concerning Greek citizens abroad - provided services to returnees and their children concerning their reintegration into education, social security, including the recognition of educational and specialist qualifications obtained abroad.	SOPEMI 1983: 112	3	Integration	Language, housing and cultural integration programmes	Diaspora	Citizens	N/A
1982								
1983	The right of Pontic Greeks to return to Greece has been conceded by Presidential Decree in 1983 > Pontic Greeks are defined by the Greek state as members of the diaspora community who 'return' – even though most of them have never lived in Greece before – to their 'homeland', and are, therefore, given full citizenship status and benefits that aim to facilitate their integration into Greek society. Their naturalization is subject to proof of Greek origins at the Greek embassy in their previous country of residence.	Triandafyllidou and Veikou 2002: 199	3	Integration	Access to citizenship	Diaspora	All foreign nationalities	Greek Pontians
1984	Amendment of Greek citizenship law by Law 1438/1984 - giving women the right to transfer their citizenship to their children for the first time in Greek history.	Christopoulos 2013: 6	4	Integration	Access to citizenship	All	All	N/A

1985									
1986									
1987	New measures are being introduced to foster the integration of returnees - favourable treatment of migrants in public sector recruitments and favourable customs arrangements for returnees importing their domestic equipment and car.	SOPEMI 1988: 37	1	Integration	Access to social benefits and socio-economic rights	Diaspora	Citizens	N/A	
1988	1 January 1988 - Greek nationals are now fully eligible to the provisions regarding the free movement of labour within the EEC	SOPEMI 1990: 15	4	Exit	Free mobility rights/agreements	All migrant workers	Citizens	N/A	
1988	1 January 1988 - EU nationals can freely access the Greek labour market. > The law established in 1929 continues to apply to non-EEC foreign workers.	SOPEMI 1990: 43	4	Legal entry and stay	Free mobility rights/agreements	All migrant workers	EU citizens	EU Member States at that time	
	Sweden 2004-2007								
2004	2004 EU enlargement - In May 2004 Sweden was one of only three Member States (along with the UK and Ireland) that allowed citizens of the ten new Eastern European Member States to work without formally requesting a permit.	Focus Migration 2009: 1	3	Legal entry and stay	Free mobility rights/agreements	All migrant workers	EU citizens	Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, Cyprus and Malta	
2004	On 1 October 2004 the Bill "Human trafficking and time-limited residence permit for plaintiffs and witnesses etc." entered into force - granting a time limited residence permit to victims or witnesses of trafficking in human beings, if deemed necessary in order to conclude a preliminary investigation or a trial. > Health care and medical attention, as well as social welfare, will be provided during the stay in Sweden.	EMN 2005: 10	3	Legal entry and stay	Entry visa/stay permit	Refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	All foreign nationalities	N/A	

2004	On 1 October 2004 the Bill "Human trafficking and time-limited residence permit for plaintiffs and witnesses etc." entered into force – Any person who intentionally helps an alien to unlawfully enter or pass through Sweden, another EU Member State, Norway or Iceland, shall be sentenced for human trafficking to imprisonment for maximum two years. > If the crime is serious, imprisonment for at least six months and at most six years shall be imposed. The same penal sanctions apply for a person who, for profit, plans or organizes activities designed to enable aliens to travel to Sweden without passports or other permits required for entry into Sweden.	EMN 2005: 10	3	Border and land control	Other sanctions	Irregular migrants	All foreign nationalities	N/A	
2004	Bill "Measures to clarify the identity of asylum seekers" entered into force on 1 July 2004 - allowed to partially reduce or entirely remove the daily allowance and housing allowance of an alien over the age of 18 under the Act on the Reception of Asylum Seekers and Others Act (1994) if she or he hinders the investigation of a case concerning a residence permit by not assisting in clarifying his or her identity.	EMN 2005: 10	3	Integration	Access to social benefits and socio-economic rights	Refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	All foreign nationalities	N/A	
2004	The Committee for Migrant Workers KAKI was constituted by government directive in February 2004. > The centre-right parties, along with the Greens, pushed to create a Parliamentary Committee to examine and propose reform of the policies for admission of non-EU workers, for both short- and long-term labour needs. While the Social Democrats, who were governing in minority, had wished to limit the mandate of the inquiry to whether or not additional labour needs existed,	OECD 2011: 61	2	Legal entry and stay	Institutional capacities	All migrant workers	All foreign nationalities	N/A	9

	the Committee was charged with recommending a policy to create "broader labour migration from outside the EU/EEA".								
2005	The new commission set up in 2004 to investigate integration in relation to structural discrimination released a report in 2005 - suggesting introducing affirmative action on a broad scale to counteract structural discrimination. > Affirmative action, the commission stated, should not only apply to ethnic or migrant minorities but also to other social categories. The commission even proposed that categories of people in a low socioeconomic position (including native Swedes) should enjoy the benefits of affirmative action.	MPI 2006	N/A	Integration	Action Plan, Strategy, Report	All	All	N/A	N/A
2005	As a result of a decision on 7 July 2005, the Government has extended the scope for issuing expulsion orders to apply to asylum seekers who make no attempt to help clarify their identity during the asylum procedure.	EMN 2005: 7	2	Exit	Expulsion	Refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	All foreign nationalities	N/A	
2005	A number of measures have been introduced in 2005 to facilitate the integration of immigrants into the labour market - Among these is a form of job practice called "trial opportunity" to give (three-month) work experience to persons who lack work experience in Sweden. > In addition, immigrants with skills from abroad are offered a three-week apprenticeship in their profession to demonstrate their skills on the job, after which they may receive a certificate as proof.	SOPEMI 2006: 216	2	Integration	Work visa/permit	All migrant workers	All foreign nationalities	N/A	

2006	2005 Aliens Act entered into force on 31 March 2006 - granting refugee status to people who are threatened with persecution due to gender or sexual preference. > Under the previous provisions, such individuals are given the status of persons otherwise in need of protection.	SOPEMI 2006: 216; EMN 2005: 10	2	Legal entry and stay	Entry visa/stay permit	Refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	All foreign nationalities	N/A		
2006	2005 Aliens Act entered into force on 31 March 2006 - introduced a measure for regularising rejected asylum-seekers and people living in Sweden for some years under a deportation order that had not yet been carried out. > Those concerned were given the right to submit a new application for asylum by March 2006. The Migration Board was required to apply particularly flexible criteria when assessing these follow-up applications.	Focus Migration 2009: 7	3	Legal entry and stay	Regularisation	Refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	All foreign nationalities	N/A		
2006	2005 Aliens Act entered into force on 31 March 2006 - expands the grounds for protection to tribunal witnesses and their immediate family > Witnesses before international courts and tribunals, as well as close family members of these witnesses, will be able to obtain protection in Sweden. Sweden has engaged in agreements with international courts and tribunals to arrange for the migration of these individuals to Sweden.	SOPEMI 2006: 216; EMN 2005: 10	2	Legal entry and stay	Entry visa/stay permit	Refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	All foreign nationalities	N/A		
2006	2005 Aliens Act entered into force on 31 March 2006 - made the asylum process more transparent and introduced a new system for appeals whereby decisions taken by the Swedish Migration Board can be appealed to migration courts > So-called "migration courts" (regular courts in three counties which are now also in charge of dealing with appeals) have replaced the former	SOPEMI 2007: 284	2	Integration	Access to justice and political rights	Refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	All foreign nationalities	N/A		9

Year	Description	Source		Category	Policy type	Target group	Nationalities	Country	
	Aliens Appeals Board. Appeals are thus no longer an administrative process but a judicial one.								
2006	2005 Aliens Act entered into force on 31 March 2006 - granted the right to work to asylum seekers in situations when it is expected that the decision on their cases will take longer than four months.	SOPEMI 2008: 280	4	Integration	Work visa/permit	Refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	All foreign nationalities	N/A	
2006	Report of the KAKI committee published in October 2006 - recommends to verify the shortage of jobs prior to approving recruitment; for shortage sectors, a job-search visa was proposed. Permits would be valid for two years and renewal allowed if the migrant was still employed in the same occupation, although the second permit would grant mobility among occupations within a sector. The housing requirement would be lifted, although a minimum salary would be necessary. > The publication, however, followed elections in which the Moderate Party achieved a majority and replaced the SDP minority government. The report's recommendations were partially incorporated by the new government in a reform introduced in 2007, which kept many but not all of the KAKI recommendations. The reform was approved in December 2008.	OECD 2011: 61	N/A	Legal entry and stay	Action Plan, Strategy, Report	All migrant workers	All foreign nationalities	N/A	N/A
2006	Sweden experienced a significant increase in the flow of refugees from Iraq since 2006. > Around half of the applications for asylum registered in 2007 came from Iraqis. The authorities granted about 72 per cent of them a residence permit as refugees. As a result, Sweden took in more Iraqi refugees than all the	Focus Migration 2009: 6	N/A	Legal entry and stay	Contextual elements	Refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	Specific nationalities	Iraq	N/A

	other industrialised countries in Europe and the Americas combined.								
2007	In July 2007, the Swedish Migration Board clarified the requirements for asylum seekers from Iraq to be granted a residence permit in Sweden - whereby an applicant for asylum must be personally at risk of abuse in order to be considered a refugee.	SOPEMI 2008: 280	1	Legal entry and stay	Entry visa/stay permit	Refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	Specific nationalities	Iraq	
2007	2007 EU enlargement - Sweden allowed citizens of Romania and Bulgaria to work without formally requesting a permit.	Focus Migration 2009: 1	3	Legal entry and stay	Free mobility rights/agreements	All migrant workers	EU citizens	Bulgaria and Romania	
2007	In autumn 2007, the migration authorities published a "black list" of municipalities that were not participating in the acceptance of unaccompanied children and refugees - This name and shame strategy was intended to increase the moral pressure on the most reluctant municipal administrators.	Focus Migration 2009: 7	2	Integration	Institutional capacities	Refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	All foreign nationalities	N/A	9
2007	A new employment programme "Step-In Jobs" began in July 2007 - offering new refugees the opportunity to combine Swedish language training with a part-time job in their area of skills or the occupation for which they studied.	SOPEMI 2009	2	Integration	Language, housing and cultural integration programmes	Refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	All foreign nationalities	N/A	
2007	On 1 January 2007, the Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality was created - responsible for democracy issues, discrimination issues, Non-Governmental Organisations, integration and diversity, gender equality, consumer affairs, citizenship, human rights, national minorities, youth policy and urban development. > One of its first initiatives was to launch a special integration package with a combination	EMN 2007: 4, 5	4	Integration	Institutional capacities	All migrants	All foreign nationalities	N/A	9

Year	Description	Source		Type	Category	Target group	Scope	Nationalities		Rating
	of measures that together aim to promote a speedier entry into the labour market									
2007	In July 2007, the Swedish integration board was closed down - According to the Government, the Swedish integration policy that has been in place so far has failed to deliver expected results. Relevant activities of the agency that are worth maintaining have been mainstreamed or devolved to other government agencies.	EMN 2007: 4, 5	4	Integration	Institutional capacities	All migrants	All foreign nationalities	N/A		9
2007	In August 2007, Sweden introduced an economic reestablishment support for persons (from certain countries) whose application for a residence permit was turned down > The individual economic re-establishment support was established to facilitate return to countries where the pre-conditions to be able to re-establish oneself are limited because of serious difficulties. At present, Iraqis, Afghanis and Somalis returning voluntarily are among those eligible.	EMN 2007: 4, 12	3	Exit	Reintegration/return programmes	Refugees, asylum seekers and other vulnerable people	Specific nationalities	Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia		