

## ***OUT OF THE LABOUR MARKET: INTRA-EU RETURN AND RETIREMENT MIGRATION***

Dr. Marinel Mandres, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University

### **Introduction: Context and Relevance**

The post-1990 era involves complex, diverse, and dynamic migration flows that are created by the realities of globalization, liberalization, and flexibility. Contemporary migration has considerably reduced the dichotomous distinctions between ‘migration’ and ‘mobility’ as well as between ‘home’ and ‘away.’ It has also produced new categories of migrants along with new source and host countries. Motives and strategies of international migration have diversified well-beyond traditional labour and refugee movements to include the repatriation of temporary guest-workers and the expatriation of privileged retirees.

Recent enlargements of the European Union (EU, refer to [Table 1](#)) and implementation of the *Schengen Agreement* have generated multifaceted transnational mobility flows that include the permanent return of former guest-workers, the repeated return of circular migrants, and the frequent return of expatriate retirees. Intra-EU *return migration* and *circular migration* have gained renewed and increasing importance.<sup>1</sup> Since the 1980s, return migration has been on the national policy agendas of numerous EU Member States. Indeed, it has “emerged as a critical element of many governments’ migration policy” (International Organization for Migration 2004, 7). Consequently, intra-EU return and retirement migration have (re)gained importance among academics and politicians (e.g. Dustman 1996; Hall and Müller 2004; Klinthäll 2006; Constant and Zimmermann 2007; Smallwood, Hope, and Stevenson 2008; Fassmann and Lane 2009; Kahveci and Zimmermann 2009; Kahveci, Zaiceva, and Zimmermann 2009).

This paper examines the emerging redirections of these new types of demographic movement within the open and extended ‘migration space’ of a borderless Europe and the changing roles of countries as sources of emigrants and destinations of immigrants. Of particular interest are significant spatial dimensions and statistical trends associated with the magnitudes and intensities (i.e. directions and numbers) associated with economically inactive individuals who have withdrawn from the labour market. The motivations of return and retirement migrants are also assessed.

### **Return Migration: Going Home Permanently, Temporarily**

Return migration involves ‘national immigrants’- defined as returning citizens who previously lived abroad, often for an extended period. The type, direction, and intensity of labour migration flows are influenced by global economic and political changes. The first oil crisis (1973) occurred at the height of labour migration within Europe. In response, immigration policies in Western and Northern Europe were tightened whereby the recruitment of foreign workers was halted and labour migration was significantly reduced (between 1975 and 1990). Foreign workers were encouraged to voluntarily return to their countries of origin during the mid- to late-1970s. They were expected to eventually return home, either when labour demand declined or when they accumulated sufficient funds to ameliorate personal circumstances in their native homelands (Kubat 1984). Despite social pressures (e.g. ‘assimilate or return’ in France and ‘temporary integration and eventual return’ in Germany) and government incentives to do so (e.g. allowances for repatriation and reintegration introduced by France in 1977 and Germany in 1982), very few (~50%) permanently emigrated.<sup>2</sup> Most of them (mainly non-EU foreigners) elected to (become naturalized and) bring in their families (since the mid-1970s) or to begin new ones in Western Europe (since the 1980s) before further restrictions on family reunification were imposed. Workers from Greece, Spain, and Portugal began returning in significant, albeit relatively limited, numbers (from France, Germany, and the Benelux countries) after the democratization of their native countries (Greece in 1975, Portugal and Spain in 1978) and their accession to the EU (Greece in 1981, Spain and Portugal in 1986).

---

<sup>1</sup> *Return migration* (or ‘remigration’) is defined as the permanent movement of a first generation “migrant to his/her country of origin, after having passed a significant time-span abroad” (Ruspini 2009). *Circular migration* (or ‘temporary migration’) is defined as “movement between two places, often for seasonal work...This concept [implies] continuing, long-term, and fluid pattern of international mobility that can exist naturally (where national borders are open or not heavily enforced) or with government involvement (typically a bilateral agreement). A person with citizenship in two or more countries can easily move along them without restriction” (Ruspini 2009).

<sup>2</sup> None of the return policies implemented between the late-1970s and early-1980s significantly influenced migration patterns. In France, only 22% of the planned 20,000 returns were realized between 1977 and 1978 (Collinson 1993). It has been said that nothing is more permanent than temporary migration.

During 1991, the returning nationals represented a notable share of the total immigrant admissions in Ireland, Spain, Denmark, and Italy (refer to Table 2). By 1999, Ireland, Finland, and Denmark registered the highest shares. Returning nationals accounted for the lowest share of immigrants during the 1990s in Luxembourg and Belgium. During 1997, the return of EU citizens exceeded that of non-EU nationals (Muus 2001, 36). In 2006, “[s]lightly less than half of all immigrants, 1.7 million, were EU citizens, of whom nearly half a million [14%] were nationals returning to their own country” (Herm 2008, 3). Although returning nationals represented a marginal proportion of immigrants in most Member States of the European Union, they accounted for most of the immigrants to Denmark, Finland, Lithuania, and Poland (Herm 2008, 3).<sup>3</sup>

Ongoing industrial decline and economic restructuring, along with the recent global recession and financial downturn, have reduced wages and employment prospects among EU foreigners (i.e. non-national EU immigrants) legally residing in the older core states of the EU15 (Münz 2009). EU migration policy permits EU15 citizens to seek employment in another Member State for a period of up to three months, but must return to their home country (or move onwards) if a job is not forthcoming. Since there are no mobility restrictions, they can then always return later. Concerns about the labour market’s capacity to absorb EU10 and EU2 workers following the EU’s eastward expansions, along with the relatively weaker economies of the newer accession states, necessitated temporary restrictions on the free movement of workers during the seven-year transition period.<sup>4</sup> Many ‘accession migrants’ elected to remain (sometimes clandestinely) within the EU15 countries, rather than risk their ability of reentry during the transition period. Moreover, the misalignment of economic cycles between the receiving and sending countries will motivate labour migrants to remain abroad. Immigrants whose intention is permanent settlement have a lower propensity to return during a recession while those who only intended to stay temporarily “may decide to cut their trip short” (Papademetriou, Sumption, and Sommerville 2009, 2). Immigrants with limited savings, family support, and entrepreneurial skills will avoid returning (Papademetriou, Sumption, and Sommerville 2009). Expensive travel costs and barriers to readmission (i.e. cyclical return migration) do not make return a viable option. However, individuals who have weak family ties/social networks in the host country are unable to quickly switch jobs between economic sectors, and ineligible for welfare benefits will have a greater propensity to return.

This research considers two types of return migration: *voluntary return* (VR) and *assisted voluntary return* (AVR).<sup>5</sup> Both types involve the remigration of temporary guest-workers aged 15-64.<sup>6</sup> The first type (VR) is based on “an informal decision [that is] freely taken by the individual...at any time during the sojourn to return home on their own volition and cost” (International Organization for Migration 2004, 10). Migration is typically spontaneous, undertaken without the assistance of government agencies and/or implementing partners, and without reintegration assistance. Some emigrants are motivated to return home either because of unemployment and/or failure to integrate/advance in the host country. Others return because they have fulfilled their financial goals and/or the prospect of skill transfer/opportunity differentials in their home country (Ruspini 2009).<sup>7</sup> The second type (AVR) involves “organizational and financial assistance for the return and, where possible, reintegration measures offered to the individual” to ensure that they stay home (International Organization for Migration 2004, 10).<sup>8</sup> It is the preferred government option among the EU10 Member States (e.g. Austria, Belgium, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom). Citizens of Spain, Portugal, and Greece were among those who took advantage of AVR incentives offered by France and Germany during the late-1970s and early-1980s. The number of AVR programs has increased from four in 1994 to twenty in 2004.<sup>9</sup> They are primarily aimed at ‘third country’ (i.e. non-EU) citizens. Nonetheless, a common EU approach to AVR had yet to be formulated due to widely varying definitions and incentives (i.e. types and amounts) among Member States (Bernholtz 2004). For instance, the Irish government grants returning citizens, especially those coming back from another EU Member State, access to a range of services (e.g. housing and welfare) that facilitate their reintegration (Edgar, Doherty, and

<sup>3</sup> The median age of returning nationals was 30.6 (Herm 2008, 8).

<sup>4</sup> The EU15’s labour markets will be fully opened in 2011 to the EU10 members that joined in 2004. Labour mobility restrictions on EU2 members that joined in 2007 will be removed in 2013.

<sup>5</sup> The return of descendants and co-ethnics (e.g. Aussiedler Germans and Pontic Greeks) to their ancestral homeland along with the involuntary repatriation/forced deportation of refugees/displaced persons will not be examined.

<sup>6</sup> Many migrants return home after they retire from the workforce. Their situation is considered in the next section.

<sup>7</sup> Successful returns and reintegration are more likely if the economic conditions which motivated migration are either absent or altered (Ruspini 2009).

<sup>8</sup> Besides transportation costs, reintegration assistance grants are provided for educational/vocational training and business start-up by Belgium, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom.

<sup>9</sup> The International Organization for Migration (2004) estimates that AVR represents around 15% of all returns. Besides the IOM, AVR programs are provided with the assistance of local non-governmental organizations.

Meert, 2004; Quinn 2007). On the island of Malta, various emigrant associations have been established to organize and facilitate the reintegration of returning citizens (Amore 2007).

Many VR emigrants leave a without deregistering. While some EU15 countries register emigration which permits a spatial analysis of intra-EU return (or onward) migration, most Member States do not differentiate between the departure of short-term and long-term emigrants nor do they track the destination (i.e. return to the country of origin or onward migration to a third country).<sup>10</sup> Despite this shortcoming, a comparison of the absolute number and relative share of returning national citizens (occasionally referred to as ‘national immigrants’) during the 2000-2007 interval (refer to Table 3), reveals that returning nationals account for an excessively high proportion of all immigrants in the newest EU country of Bulgaria (96% in 2007).<sup>11</sup> Otherwise, returnees represent at least 60% of immigrants in among the recently admitted Member States of the Baltic region; specifically, Poland (89.2% in 2007), Lithuania (71.3% in 2007), and Estonia (47.8% in 2007). Returning national citizens account for a notable share (40-49%) of arrivals among the two Nordic members of Finland and Denmark. Also, around 30% of immigrants entering the Netherlands are returnees. In absolute numbers, Germany (106,014 in 2007) and the United Kingdom (71,424 in 2007) consistently registered the greatest number of returning national citizens within the EU. They are followed by Spain, (an average of 40,366 returnees per year), Italy (41,106 per year), the Netherlands (34,222 per year), Denmark (22,205 per year), Ireland (18,192 per year), and Sweden (15,589 per year). With the exceptions of Cyprus and Malta, nearly 50% of the EU25 migrants that entered the United Kingdom and Ireland in 2004 had returned home by 2006 (D’Auria, McMorro, and Pichelmann 2008). The absence of information for the older EU Member States of Belgium, France, Greece, and Portugal is indicative of the diminutive importance attached to return migration by local politicians. It is important to note that these figures and percentages include all returnees; both those coming from another country within and beyond the EU.

The return of national citizens by age group during the 2000-2007 period is assessed in Table 4. Since the statistics in this table do not identify the source of returning nationals, only inferences can be made about the extent of intra-EU return migration among working age nationals. Two age categories are used: 15-64 (working age) and 65+ (retired elderly). The former includes the ‘early working’ (15-24), ‘prime working’ (25-55), and ‘young seniors’ (56-64) cohorts. The latter is mainly composed of the ‘young elderly’ (65-75) cohort. Among the working age (15-64) returnees, the older EU15 Member States, especially Germany and the United Kingdom, register higher absolute numbers than the newer EU25 Member States. A consistently and comparatively higher number of workers returned to the Netherlands (24,881), Spain (24,299), and Denmark (17,611) during 2006. Despite minor fluctuations, the number of returning working age nationals is stable within the EU15 with peaks being reached mainly between 2003 and 2005. In terms of relative shares, returning working age nationals do not represent a substantial proportion of the total immigrant population within the EU25. Somewhat higher shares are noted in the Nordic region (31% in Denmark and 28% in Finland) along with the Netherlands (25%) during 2006. Notable exceptions are found among three of the newer accession states – the Czech Republic (86%), Poland (66%) and Lithuania (60%) - where returning citizens of working age comprised at least half of the immigrant population in 2006. The retired elderly are discussed in the next section.

### **Retirement Migration: Transnational Sojourns in the Mediterranean (and Alps)**

The EU’s retiree cohorts are expanding and increasingly mobile (Ruspini 2009). This demographic trend is attributed to population ageing, increased longevity, and decreasing retirement age. Many EU citizens arrive at the ‘young elderly’ cohort (aged 65-75) in relatively “good health and...with economic security” (Johansson and Rauhut 2005, 126). Many expatriate retirees (aged 65+) opt for temporary stays (either seasonal or long-term) instead of permanent settlement (Warnes 1994, 2004). This trend towards semi-permanent domicile, in combination with regular shuttle/pendulum migration has blurred the distinction between migration, mobility, and tourism (Williams and Hall 2000; Ackers and Dwyer 2004). To this end, many wealthy retirees concurrently move as citizens, travel as commuters, and live as tourists (Drake 2008). They are occasionally referred to as ‘elite transmigrants’ and ‘residential tourists’ who desire to begin “a new life in a new place” (O’Reilly 2007, 281). Residential strategies associated with the sojourn sequence involve buying or renting a second dwelling in a foreign place where housing and living costs, including domestic and health care, are significantly lower than at home. Besides opting for a pleasant climate and attractive landscape, amenity migrants want to stretch their pensions,

<sup>10</sup> Returnee data is collected in Austria, Belgium, Ireland, Italy, and the United Kingdom but only for individuals using the IOM’s AVR programs.

<sup>11</sup> Although figures are not available for Romania, which also joined the EU in 2007, it is presumed that returning citizens represent the overwhelming majority of immigrants.

which themselves have progressively diminished. The introduction of affordable air travel, especially charter flights (during the 1960s) and scheduled low-cost flights (during the 1990s), has greatly facilitated intra-EU retirement relocation.

International retirement migration (IRM) began in the 1960s, intensified during the 1980s, and evolved during the 1990s (King, Warnes, and Williams 1998).<sup>12</sup> It is facilitated by a set of recurring place-related ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors: housing cost and condition, environmental perception, climatic condition, lifestyle orientation, living standards, service access, along with family and social networks. The rising current of ‘helio-topical’ migration among retired ‘Euro-citizens’ initially and primarily involves Mediterranean destinations. This type of ‘lifestyle migration’ is associated with individuals who can afford (semi-) permanent relocation to the coastal areas of warmer climates (e.g. resort areas of Portugal, Spain, France, and Malta), rural landscapes of alpine districts (e.g. lakeside towns in Austria, Italy, and Germany), and serene ‘back from the coast’ regions (e.g. isolated inland villages of Ireland, France, Belgium, Spain and Italy).<sup>13</sup> In the case of seasonal residence (e.g. long-stay tourists), frequent circular movements are facilitating the emergence of ‘transnational communities’ whose members feel at home in two different places.<sup>14</sup> According to O’Reilly (1995), four types of international retirement migrants exist: *expatriates*, permanent residents identifying with their new domicile; *residents*, seasonal residents visiting their home country for 2-5 months; *seasonal visitors*, temporary residents living in their home country for 2-6 months; *returnees*, irregular visitors making multiple trips annually (and often owners of second homes).<sup>15</sup> Post-retirement migration frequently occurs as an incremental sequence of location movements that encompass most of these types, commencing with prolonged vacations, progressing to seasonal moves and settled residency, and ending with return (or onward migration). Occurrences of ‘total displacement migrations’ whereby retirees permanently relocate and interrupt all of their connections (e.g. kinship, friendship, and financial) with their previous place of residence, are relatively rare (King, Warnes, and Williams 1998). Return migration is more probable, especially during the hottest months and/or the height of tourist season. Retirees are also liable to return home or move elsewhere following a change in their marital and/or health status.<sup>16</sup>

Notwithstanding its importance and impacts, intra-EU retirement migration has been accorded with relatively limited research partly because statistical information is unavailable, inadequate, or incomparable. Comparable figures are available for permanent migratory flows (by age group) but data for seasonal migratory flows, if available, are less reliable.<sup>17</sup> As such, the actual extent of IRM is underestimated. Moreover, it is difficult to determine the number of multiple movers (e.g. seasonal/shuttle migrants). These concerns are attributed to the blurring of tourist and immigrant flows resulting from procedural variation whereby non-national EU citizens do not always need to register their temporary residence with local authorities. Localized studies, based on surveys and

---

<sup>12</sup> Many pensioners select their retirement location on the basis of familiarity with tourist destinations repeatedly visited while on vacation during their working years (King, Warnes, and Williams 2000; Rodriguez, Fernandez-Mayoralas and Rojo 1998). Cyprus and Malta are popular among the British, especially former military personnel and civil servants who were stationed there (Warnes and Patterson 1998).

<sup>13</sup> Counter-urbanization migrants opt for rural isolation and attractive, yet rustic, scenery (e.g. forests, hills, and water) and a slower pace of life. The term ‘back from the coast’ refers to a sparsely populated “rural hinterland adjacent to [a] coastal strip” (King, Warnes, and Williams 1998, 107). According to Cribier and Dieleman (1993), the return migration of retired guest-workers is often directed to their place of origin (to rejoin families) or nearby rural communities and amenity environments (e.g. balneo-climatic centres, including curative mineral and thermal spas along with therapeutic climatic resorts). The former destination is preferred by those aged 70-80 (Johansson and Rauhut 2005, 127).

<sup>14</sup> With respect to the sense of ‘home,’ conceptualizations of identity and affiliation are changing as migrants simultaneously ‘belong’ to more than one country and/or society. Many retirees are neither legally required to nor personally motivated to linguistically and/or culturally integrate into the host society/culture despite semi-permanent residency. Consequently, the distinction between ‘home’ and ‘away’ is progressively becoming less clear among some retirees (King 2002, 102). The degrees of attachment have been classified by Müller (2002, 16) as *multilocal adaptation*, *translocal normality*, and *routinised sojourning*. The first two types involve strong attachment to several places but are differentiated by the extent of cultural adaptation – higher for multilocal adaptation. The third type involves minimal or no attachment to different places (i.e. neither ‘here’ nor ‘there’).

<sup>15</sup> The categories are based upon the duration of stay, frequency of return, and sense of commitment (i.e. relative attachment to the home/host country). Williams, King and Warnes (1997) refer to these categories as *lifetime expatriates*, *permanent residents*, *seasonal migrants* (snow birds), and *long-stay international tourists*.

<sup>16</sup> The onset of a chronic illness or disability that restricts routine activities will constrain the choice of retirement destinations. Increased dependence upon children, kin, or community services for support often necessitates a move away from a foreign amenity environment.

<sup>17</sup> Some EU Member States which collect immigration figures do not differentiate by age. Meanwhile, Eurostat’s data on residence permits (long-term residents by citizenship) excludes EU citizens.

interviews, have produced a substantial base of primary data on IRM in Spain (e.g. O'Reilly 1995, 2000; Rodríguez, Fernández-Mayoralas, and Rojo 1998; Casado-Díaz 2001, 2004, 2006a, 2006b; Salvà Tomàs, 2002a, 2002b; Gustafson 2002; Huber 2004; Breuer 2005; Hauga, Danna, and Mehmetoglu 2007), France (e.g. Buller and Haggart 1994; Geoffrey 2007; Drake and Collard 2008), and Italy (e.g. King and Patterson 1998).<sup>18</sup>

EU legislation distinguishes between two types of migrant retirees: *returning community workers* and *post-retirement migrants* (Bolzman, Fibbi, and Vial 2006). The former refers to individuals who moved (as workers) and retired abroad, and then returned home while the latter refers to individual who retired at home and then moved abroad.<sup>19</sup> Table 4 deals with returning community workers (i.e. the return of retired nationals). The retired elderly (64+) returnees are numerous in Germany, Spain, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands. Record numbers returned to Spain (9,828), the United Kingdom (6,350), and Italy (5,010) in 2003. Luxembourg has the lowest number of returning retirees at less than 80 per year. Overall, their numbers have been fluctuating albeit progressively increasing among the older EU25 Member States, especially Austria and the Nordic states, and decreasing among the newly admitted Member States. Proportionally, retired elderly returnees account for less than 4% of all immigrants admitted during any given year. Germany's 2004 share (10%) and Poland's 2006 share (5%) the only deviations. As noted, all of the aforementioned statistics do not specify the source countries of returning nationals such that the intra-EU migration among returning (retired) community workers is only approximated.

Focusing upon the movements of non-national EU citizens (or EU foreigners), the following tables convey the absolute numbers and relative shares of post-retirement migrants, thereby providing a more precise assessment of intra-EU migration during the present decade (2000-2006). Table 5 indicates that the highest numbers of EU foreigners immigrated into Germany (289,235 in 2006), Spain (151,144 in 2006), and the United Kingdom (136,431 in 2006). The numbers of non-national EU25 citizens entering Austria (39,089) and Ireland (62,487) during 2006 are comparatively remarkable. Otherwise, the lowest numbers are found among the newer EU25 Member States of Poland (383 in 2006) and Lithuania (372 in 2006). Non-national EU citizens represent the greatest share of total immigrants in Luxembourg (79% in 2006), Ireland (60% in 2006), and Slovakia (45% in 2006).<sup>20</sup> Nearly 60% of Cyprus' newcomers originated from another EU Member State during 2004 and 2005. About 30% of all immigrants entering one of the older EU25 countries is an EU foreigner. This proportion is slightly greater (40%) in Austria and Germany. Excluding Latvia, EU foreigners represent less than 15% of all immigrants in Central and Eastern Europe. Overall, the numbers and shares of non-national EU citizens are increasing among the older EU25 Member States while decreasing among the newer Member States.

Tables 6 through 8 assess intensities and magnitudes (i.e. numeric and directional flows) associated with the movement EU's transnationally mobile retirees. Table 6 profiles the intra-EU migration trends of non-national citizens (i.e. EU foreigners) by age group. Post-retirement migrants are represented by the 'retired elderly' cohort (aged 65+) that mainly consists of those categorized as the 'young elderly' (65-75). In terms of absolute numbers, retired immigrants originating from another EU Member State are the greatest in Spain (from 4,467 in 2000 to 10,387 in 2006) and Germany (nearly 3,000 arrivals annually). Despite missing data, Italy (around 550 annual arrivals) and Austria (around 700 arrivals annually) are important destinations. Within the EU15, Denmark has the lowest yearly intakes. The number of retired non-national EU citizens relocating to another Member State has increased in Spain, Portugal, Finland, and Sweden. With the exception of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, this trend is not evident among the accession countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In relative terms, people aged 64+ typically represent less than 1.5% of all immigrants. They account for the lowest share of immigrants in the Nordic Member States. The latest figures from 2005 confirm that those aged 64+ form a slightly higher share of immigrants entering Portugal (1.6%), Slovakia (1.7%), Cyprus (1.8%), and Latvia (1.8%).

Tables 7 and 8 provide information about the spatial dimension of intra-EU migratory flows in terms of origins and destinations among retirees. They respectively focus on the three major emigrant sources and immigrant destinations. Numerically, Table 7 reveals that substantial flows occur from the United Kingdom, Germany, and France towards Spain. The latest figures indicate that approximately 5,000 British citizens, 2,000 German citizens, and 800 French citizens entered Spain in 2006. Significant IRM flows involving the yearly movement of about 500 to 600 Italian, Polish, and Greek citizens are directed towards Germany. Likewise, there is a sizeable stream of German citizens entering Austria (about 500 per year) along with British citizens entering Ireland (about 300

<sup>18</sup> For comparative studies of motivating factors, migrant flows, and adjustment strategies, see Williams, King, and Warnes (2000), Rodríguez, Salvà Tomàs, and Williams (2001), Williams, King, and Warnes (2004), and Casado-Días, Kaiser, and Warnes (2004).

<sup>19</sup> *Returning post-retirement migrants* are considered as a subcategory of post-retirement migrants.

<sup>20</sup> Luxembourg and Belgium (both important EU centres) along with Ireland register the highest proportions of non-national EU citizens in terms of both the total and foreign resident populations.

immigrants per year) and Cyprus. Intermediate IRM flows (around 100 immigrants annually) typically involve intra-regional movements (or ‘regional circularity’): from Denmark and Germany to Sweden; from Sweden to Finland; and from the United Kingdom to Portugal. Minor IRM flows (less than 100 immigrants per year) also involve adjacent and nearby Member States: between Latvia and Lithuania; between the Czech Republic and Slovakia; from Sweden to Denmark; from Estonia to Finland; from Belgium and France to Luxembourg; from Austria to Hungary; from Italy to Austria; from Italy and Austria to Slovenia; and from Greece to Cyprus. Proportionally, non-national EU citizens aged 65+ comprise less than 1% of all immigrants entering an EU Member State during any given year.<sup>21</sup> British citizens in Cyprus (1.0% in 2004 and 1.5% in 2005) are the only exception. Relatively high shares (ranging between 0.6 and 0.8%) involve the British in Spain, Lithuanians in Latvia, and Czechs in Slovakia.

In terms of the primary destinations, [Table 8](#) provides greater coverage. Numerically, the directional movements are to Spain, especially from the United Kingdom (around 5,500 annually), Germany (around 1,000 annually), France (around 750 annually), and Italy (around 650 annually). Otherwise, Germany is a major destination the citizens Poland, Italy, Greece, and the Netherlands. There are numerous instances of intra-regional IRM among Member States (e.g. Portugal to Spain, Netherlands to Germany, Austria to Germany, and Sweden to Finland). Proportionally, retirees aged 65+ account for less than 1% of all immigrants. Exceptions include British citizens in Spain (4.2%) and Cyprus (1.0%) along with Germans citizens in Hungary (1%). Somewhat higher shares occur for retired Germans moving to Austria (0.6%) and Czech pensioners relocating to Slovakia (0.7%).

Italy (Tuscany) and Malta reached their peak of IRM before Spain (Costa del Sol) and Portugal (Algarve). Initially, the North-South migratory routes of ‘snowbirds’ that winter in the Mediterranean were focused upon tourist areas. Primary research from localized (ethnographic) studies also provides more spatially discrete information about settlement patterns, typically at the regional scale.<sup>22</sup> In Italy, isolated yet pleasant rural areas and sylvan landscapes along the Alps’ southern edge have been fashionable with retired upper-class British and German expatriates. These areas include Vale d’Aosta (bordering France), Lombardy (bordering Switzerland), and Trentino-Alto Adige (bordering Austria) in the north along with Tuscany, Umbria, and Emilia-Romagna in the centre (King, Warnes, and Williams 2000). The pristine northeastern coast of Malta was the main attraction for British retirees (King, Warnes, and Williams 2000). In Spain, EU retirees prefer the Mediterranean coast (especially the Costa del Sol and Costa Blanca), the Balearic Islands, and the Canary Islands. The Costa del Sol and Costa Blanca are extremely popular with retired British and German citizens while the Irish ‘residential tourists’ favour the Costa del Sol. The Balearic Islands (especially Mallorca) and Canary Islands (especially, Gran Canaria) are preferred by Germans and Swedes (Breuer 2005; Gustafson 2001 and 2002). The French are concentrated in Catalonia and Valencia - two areas bordering France - along with Madrid (King, Warnes, and Williams 2000). In Portugal the Algarve is preferred by retired British and German nationals (Williams and Patterson 1998). In France, IRM has been traditionally focused upon the Riviera, mainly by wealthy elite Britons and Germans. More recently, British pensioners have settled in rural Normandy (Drake 2008; Drake and Collard 2007, 2008) and the Alps (around Chamonix) (Geoffrey 2007). The Småland region of southeastern Sweden is becoming a destination among German retirees (Müller 2002). Cyprus’ Paphos district is well-liked by the British. Bulgaria and Romania are recently emerging IRM destinations while Turkey, an EU candidate, has been a destination since the 1990s.

## Conclusion

Variation in the composition (i.e. direction and intensity) of intra-EU return and retirement migration flows at the national and regional scales indicate that complex geographies of settlement have emerged. Resettlement within the Schengen migration space involves inter-regional movements among bordering and nearby EU Member States. These migratory movements are numerically, proportionately, and spatially modest. Some of the older EU15 (core) countries are major sending countries for both return and retirement migration. There is evidence of some regional bilateral flows among the Nordic, Baltic, Benelux, Germanic/Alpine, and Iberian countries. In terms of return migration, the primary origin and destination countries are geographically diverse. The importance of IRM as a migratory stream has progressively increased, especially after EU enlargements which expanded the ‘pleasure periphery’ to Spain, Portugal, and Greece and then to Cyprus and Malta. The prolonged longevity, improved health,

<sup>21</sup> The percentage indicates the ranked country’s share of total immigrants. Missing and insufficient data preclude the calculation of shares based upon the total number of intra-EU immigrants.

<sup>22</sup> ‘Enclaveism’ is observed at the local scale among many Northern Europeans (e.g. the British, Germans, and Dutch) who prefer to live in areas with compatriots. This form of voluntary segregation also extends to housing type (e.g. villas for upper-class vs. short-rise buildings for lower-class).

and financial stability of retired Euro-citizens indicate that future cohorts will be more transnationally mobile. Newly and recently retired individuals with adequate savings/incomes and portable pensions/benefits can freely migrate to amenity-rich areas within the EU. Some existing patterns of north-south IRM flows have been reinforced while the recently expanded EU migration space has led to the emergence of new destinations. However, these anticipated migratory trends are compromised by the scarcity, fragmentation, and inconsistency of existing statistics.

Given the list of candidate and potential members, Europe's future integration and research agendas will continue to focus on the types (i.e. nature and scale), geography, and impacts of intra-EU migration. Besides the traditional demographic and employment concerns of immigration, complex patterns of intra-EU migration might facilitate the development of a pan-European (political and ethnic) identity.

**Table 1: European Union Expansion.**

Year	EU	Member States
1952	EU6	Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands
1973	EU9	EU6 + Britain, Denmark, Ireland
1981	EU10	EU9 + Greece
1986	EU12	EU10 + Spain, Portugal
1995	EU15	EU12 + Austria, Finland, Sweden
2004	EU25	EU15 + Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia
2007	EU27	EU25 + Bulgaria, Romania

**Table 2: Return Migration of National Citizens, Number and Share of Total Immigrants, 1991-1999.**

EU Member	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Austria	-	-	-	-	n.a.	12,830	13,227	13,494	14,331
					n.a.	18.3%	18.9%	18.5%	16.5%
Belgium	13,330	11,713	10,707	10,182	9,812	9,638	9,609	n.a.	10,682
	19.8%	17.5%	16.8%	16.4%	15.6%	15.7%	16.5%	(17.2%)	15.6%
Denmark	21,445	21,893	22,921	23,984	24,042	22,918	22,694	22,542	22,353
	49.2%	50.5%	52.8%	53.3%	38.0%	42.1%	45.3%	43.8%	44.5%
Finland	-	-	-	-	4,877	5,755	5,417	5,852	6,807
					39.9%	43.3%	40.3%	41.5%	46.2%
France	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Germany	273,633	290,850	287,561	305,037	303,347	251,737	225,335	196,956	200,105
	22.8%	19.4%	22.5%	28.2%	27.2%	26.2%	26.8%	24.5%	22.9%
Greece	10,993	17,197	11,090	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	45.1%	53.5%	40.4%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	27.9%	n.a.	n.a.
Ireland	22,700	25,600	20,000	n.a.	n.a.	17,700	n.a.	n.a.	25,922
	68.2%	62.7%	57.1%	n.a.	n.a.	45.1%	n.a.	(76.8%)	54.5%
Italy	56,004	n.a.	n.a.	46,389	28,472	28,816	n.a.	29,771	31,152
	44.1%	(48.1%)	(49.1%)	46.8%	29.4%	16.8%	n.a.	19.0%	16.8%
Luxembourg	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	735	792	966	1,025	1,018
	(8.6%)	(8.0%)	(9.3%)	(9.0%)	7.1%	7.9%	10.1%	9.6%	7.9%
Netherlands	39,912	33,904	31,581	n.a.	29,127	31,572	33,125	40,706	40,786
	33.2%	30.0%	26.5%	n.a.	30.3%	29.0%	30.1%	28.0%	34.2%
Portugal	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	2,283	n.a.
	(29.8%)	(29.0%)	(23.1%)	(27.8%)	(30.3%)	(29.0%)	(30.2%)	(33.3%)	n.a.
Spain	13,767	20,663	17,665	15,572	16,554	13,209	22,261	24,032	28,243
	56.6%	53.1%	53.5%	46.6%	45.9%	44.2%	38.5%	29.5%	22.2%
Sweden	-	-	-	-	9,808	10,577	11,399	13,690	15,266
					21.4%	26.5%	25.7%	27.7%	30.6%
United Kingdom	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Source: Eurostat, International Migration Flows, Immigration by Sex and Citizenship; Wanner 2002, 9 (Table 6).

Note: The notation "n.a." indicates that the data is not available. Estimated percentages (in parentheses) are derived from Wanner 2002, 9 (Table 6).

**Table 3: Return Migration of National Citizens, Number and Share of Total Immigrants, 2000-2007.**

EU Member	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Austria	13,794 16.9%	15,142 16.8%	21,918 20.3%	18,528 16.5%	18,301 14.9%	16,470 14.4%	15,636 15.9%	14,911 14.0%
Belgium	n.a. n.a.	11,610 15.0%	n.a. n.a.	13,113 16.0%	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	36,483 24.9%
Denmark	22,105 41.8%	22,330 39.9%	22,181 40.0%	22,062 44.3%	21,990 44.1%	22,469 42.8%	22,469 39.6%	22,033 34.0%
Finland	7,785 46.1%	7,918 41.8%	8,141 44.9%	8,406 47.1%	8,822 43.4%	8,611 40.3%	8,583 38.2%	8,525 32.7%
France	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Germany	n.a. n.a.	193,958 22.1%	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	177,993 22.8%	128,051 18.1%	103,388 15.6%	106,014 15.6%
Greece	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Ireland	18,157 42.9%	18,286 39.6%	17,500 34.6%	16,900 33.7%	19,000 27.1%	19,700 22.7%	18,895 18.3%	17,136 19.3%
Italy	34,411 15.2%	n.a. %	44,476 20.1%	47,530 10.8%	41,794 10.1%	37,326 12.2%	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.
Luxembourg	973 8.3%	1,080 8.9%	1,113 5.2%	1,102 8.7%	1,184 9.5%	1,186 8.8%	621 4.3%	909 5.4%
Netherlands	41,467 31.2%	38,897 29.1%	34,631 28.6%	30,948 29.6%	28,898 30.7%	28,882 31.2%	33,493 33.1%	36,561 31.3%
Portugal	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	637 4.4%	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.
Spain	31,587 8.7%	20,724 5.0%	40,175 8.3%	79,543 11.8%	38,717 5.6%	36,573 5.1%	37,873 4.5%	37,732 3.9%
Sweden	16,030 27.3%	16,678 27.4%	16,484 25.7%	15,807 24.8%	14,448 23.4%	13,932 21.3%	15,352 16.0%	15,949 16.0%
United Kingdom	103,904 28.5%	105,976 28.5%	94,430 24.5%	106,017 24.6%	85,460 26.5%	89,067 17.9%	77,306 14.6%	71,424 13.6%
Czech Republic	-	-	-	-	2,649 4.6%	1,718 2.8%	2,058 3.0%	1,934 1.8%
Cyprus	-	-	-	-	1,760 8.0%	2,540 10.4%	1,010 6.5%	953 5.0%
Hungary	-	-	-	-	2,134 8.8%	2,238 8.0%	2,153 10.0%	1,754 7.2%
Estonia	-	-	-	-	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	1,789 47.8%
Latvia	-	-	-	-	443 26.6%	639 32.7%	493 17.7%	986 27.8%
Lithuania	-	-	-	-	3,397 61.2%	4,705 69.3%	5,508 71.1%	6,141 71.3%
Malta	-	-	-	-	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	1,171 9.3%	1,171 17.4%
Poland	-	-	-	-	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	8,978 83.1%	13,384 89.2%
Slovakia	-	-	-	-	2,471 23.8%	1,745 18.5%	1,302 10.3%	1,417 8.7%
Slovenia	-	-	-	-	1,574 15.4%	1,574 11.6%	1,765 8.8%	1,689 5.8%
Bulgaria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,948 96.0%
Romania	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n.a.

Sources: Eurostat, International Migration Flows, Immigration by Sex and Citizenship; Eurostat, Immigration by Sex, Age Group and Broad Group of Citizenship; Herm 2008, 9 (Table 1).

Note: The notation "n.a." indicates that the data is not available.

**Table 4: Return Migration of National Citizens by Age Group, Number and Share of Total Immigrants, 2004-2006.**

EU Member	Age Group	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Austria	15-64	11,126 (13.6%)	11,905 (13.2%)	n.a.	n.a.	14,609 (11.5%)	13,754 (11.7%)	13,028 (12.9%)
	65+	470 (0.6%)	712 (0.8%)	n.a.	n.a.	641 (0.5%)	705 (0.6%)	733 (0.7%)
Belgium	15-64	n.a.	7,839 (10.1%)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	n.a.	622 (0.8%)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Denmark	15-64	17,974 (34.0%)	18,183 (32.5%)	18,090 (34.3%)	17,733 (35.6%)	17,653 (34.4%)	17,887 (34.0%)	17,611 (31.0%)
	65+	269 (0.5%)	340 (0.6%)	333 (0.6%)	380 (0.8%)	440 (0.9%)	488 (0.9%)	466 (0.8%)
Finland	15-64	6,076 (36.0%)	6,089 (32.1%)	6,180 (34.1%)	6,307 (35.3%)	6,369 (31.3%)	6,473 (30.3%)	6,231 (27.7%)
	65+	268 (1.6%)	265 (1.4%)	276 (1.5%)	320 (1.5%)	368 (1.8%)	395 (1.8%)	386 (1.7%)
France	15-64	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Germany	15-64	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	137,845 (17.7%)	97,116 (13.7%)	79,684 (12.0%)
	65+	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	9,103 (10.4%)	6,680 (0.9%)	4,897 (0.7%)
Greece	15-64	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Ireland	15-64	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	415 (1.0%)	212 (0.4%)	800 (1.6%)	300 (0.6%)	700 (1.0%)	n.a.	487 (2.6%)
Italy	15-64	23,816 (10.5%)	n.a.	31,108 (14.6%)	31,980 (7.3%)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	146 (0.1%)	n.a.	4,505 (2.1%)	5,010 (1.1%)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Luxembourg	15-64	721 (6.1%)	777 (6.4%)	750 (6.2%)	791 (6.3%)	851 (6.8%)	887 (6.6%)	415 (2.9%)
	65+	50 (0.0%)	50 (0.4%)	79 (0.6%)	55 (0.4%)	40 (0.3%)	47 (0.3%)	21 (0.1%)
Netherlands	15-64	29,837 (22.4%)	28,109 (21.0%)	25,204 (20.8%)	22,100 (21.1%)	21,134 (22.5%)	21,386 (23.2%)	24,881 (24.6%)
	65+	1,318 (1.0%)	1,288 (1.0%)	1,239 (1.0%)	1,102 (1.0%)	1,152 (1.2%)	1,294 (1.4%)	1,519 (1.5%)
Portugal	15-64	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Spain	15-64	20,964 (5.8%)	11,457 (2.8%)	27,027 (5.6%)	57,263 (8.5%)	26,170 (3.8%)	23,968 (3.3%)	24,299 (2.9%)
	65+	4,187 (1.1%)	2,222 (0.5%)	5,386 (1.1%)	9,828 (1.5%)	4,960 (0.7%)	4,610 (0.6%)	4,540 (0.5%)
Sweden	15-64	11,977 (20.4%)	12,093 (19.9%)	11,942 (18.6%)	11,473 (18.0%)	10,360 (16.8%)	9,958 (15.3%)	10,768 (11.2%)
	65+	449 (0.8%)	498 (0.8%)	563 (0.9%)	574 (0.9%)	588 (0.9%)	597 (0.9%)	679 (0.7%)
United Kingdom	15-64	92,495 (25.4%)	n.a.	81,459 (21.1%)	91,273 (21.1%)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	4,206 (1.1%)	n.a.	3,113 (0.8%)	6,350 (1.5%)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Czech Republic	15-64	-	-	-	-	2,033 (3.8%)	1,451 (2.4%)	1,781 (86.5%)
	65+	-	-	-	-	229 (0.4%)	67 (0.1%)	61 (3.0%)
Cyprus	15-64	-	-	-	-	1,638 (7.4%)	2,289 (9.4%)	957 (6.1%)
	65+	-	-	-	-	107 (0.5%)	217 (0.9%)	33 (0.2%)
Hungary	15-64	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	257 (1.2%)
	65+	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	51 (0.2%)
Estonia	15-64	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Latvia	15-64	-	-	-	-	243 (14.6%)	295 (15.6%)	4 (0.1%)
	65+	-	-	-	-	46 (2.8%)	50 (2.6%)	1 (0.0%)
Lithuania	15-64	-	-	-	-	982 (53.7%)	4,054 (59.7%)	4,677 (60.2%)
	65+	-	-	-	-	162 (2.9%)	123 (1.8%)	119 (1.5%)
Hungary	15-64	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	257 (1.2%)
	65+	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	51 (0.2%)
Malta	15-64	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Poland	15-64	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	7,099 (65.7%)
	65+	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	498 (4.6%)
Slovakia	15-64	-	-	-	-	1,953 (18.8%)	1,353 (14.4%)	1,000 (7.9%)
	65+	-	-	-	-	155 (1.5%)	130 (1.4%)	96 (0.8%)
Slovenia	15-64	-	-	-	-	1,185 (11.6%)	1,136 (7.5%)	1,042 (5.2%)
	65+	-	-	-	-	164 (1.6%)	161 (1.1%)	128 (0.6%)

Sources: Eurostat, International Migration Flows, Immigration by Sex, Age Group, and Citizenship; Eurostat, Immigration by Sex, Age Group and Broad Group of Citizenship.

Notes: The notation "n.a." indicates that the data is not available. The absolute numbers and relative shares do not refer exclusively to the intra-EU return migration of nationals.

**Table 5: Immigration of Non-National EU Citizens, Number and Share of Total Immigrants, 2000-2006.**

EU Member	2000 (EU15)	2001 (EU15)	2002 (EU15)	2003 (EU15)	2004 (EU25)	2005 (EU25)	2006 (EU25)
Austria	13,998 17.1%	16,526 18.4%	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	36,198 28.4%	38,950 33.0%	39,098 38.7%
Belgium	n.a. n.a.	29,689 38.2%	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.
Denmark	7,256 13.7%	7,398 13.2%	6,915 13.1%	9,608 19.3%	10,747 21.5%	12,707 24.2%	16,410 28.9%
Finland	1,736 10.3%	1,803 9.5%	1,769 9.8%	3,238 18.1%	4,046 20.0%	4,490 21.0%	5,219 23.2%
France	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.
Germany	n.a. n.a.	120,590 13.7%	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	266,355 34.1%	286,047 40.4%	289,235 43.7%
Greece	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.
Ireland	14,218 33.6%	12,812 27.7%	13,700 27.1%	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	62,487 60.5%
Italy	10,523 4.6%	n.a. n.a.	15,890 7.4%	23,625 5.4%	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.
Luxembourg	8,532 72.5%	8,655 71.3%	8,234 68.0%	8,509 67.5%	8,633 69.1%	9,840 72.8%	11,283 78.6%
Netherlands	22,060 16.6%	22,412 16.8%	21,044 17.3%	21,766 20.8%	25,300 26.9%	26,591 28.8%	30,766 30.4%
Portugal	4,715 25.6%	5,106 26.8%	4,545 26.7%	4,272 29.7%	4,124 24.6%	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.
Spain	40,459 11.2%	50,079 12.1%	66,022 13.7%	107,040 15.9%	124,709 18.2%	131,096 18.2%	151,144 18.0%
Sweden	10,818 18.4%	11,909 19.6%	12,157 19.0%	14,018 22.0%	15,956 25.7%	17,969 27.5%	25,022 26.1%
United Kingdom	58,824 16.1%	n.a. n.a.	58,959 15.3%	74,944 17.4%	107,501 20.7%	124,939 25.2%	136,431 25.8%
Czech Republic	-	-	-	-	20,522 38.4%	14,742 24.4%	9,633 14.1%
Cyprus	-	-	-	-	13,022 59.2%	14,234 58.3%	5,292 34.0%
Estonia	-	-	-	-	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.
Hungary	-	-	-	-	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.
Latvia	-	-	-	-	679 40.8%	796 42.2%	1,060 37.8%
Lithuania	-	-	-	-	555 10.0%	411 6.0%	372 4.8%
Malta	-	-	-	-	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.
Poland	-	-	-	-	n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a.	383 3.5%
Slovakia	-	-	-	-	5,028 48.4%	4,444 47.2%	5,624 44.6%
Slovenia	-	-	-	-	235 2.3%	1,677 11.1%	1,339 6.7%

Sources: Eurostat, International Migration Flows, Immigration by Sex, Age Group, and Citizenship; Eurostat, Immigration by Sex, Age Group and Broad Group of Citizenship.

**Table 6: Immigration of Non-National EU Citizens by Age Group, Number and Share of Total Immigrants, 2000-2006.**

EU Member	Age Group	2000 (EU15)	2001 (EU15)	2002 (EU15)	2003 (EU15)	2004 (EU25)	2005 (EU25)	2006 (EU25)
Austria	15-64	11,791 (14.4%)	13,989 (15.5%)	n.a.	n.a.	32,297 (26.3%)	34,864 (29.6%)	n.a.
	65+	470 (0.6%)	1,073 (1.2%)	n.a.	n.a.	686 (0.5%)	731 (0.6%)	n.a.
Belgium	15-64	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Denmark	15-64	6,567 (12.4%)	6,704 (12.0%)	6,330 (12.0%)	8,863 (17.8%)	9,949 (20.0%)	11,772 (24.4%)	n.a.
	65+	62 (0.1%)	54 (0.1%)	50 (0.1%)	88 (0.2%)	78 (0.1%)	71 (0.1%)	n.a.
Finland	15-64	1,469 (8.7%)	1,536 (8.1%)	1,550 (8.5%)	2,776 (15.6%)	3,482 (17.1%)	3,823 (17.9%)	n.a.
	65+	108 (0.6%)	94 (0.5%)	93 (0.5%)	119 (0.7%)	127 (0.6%)	128 (0.6%)	n.a.
France	15-64	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Germany	15-64	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	249,568 (32.0%)	268,793 (38.0%)	n.a.
	65+	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	3,073 (0.4%)	3,095 (0.4%)	n.a.
Greece	15-64	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Ireland	15-64	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	281 (0.7%)	153 (0.3%)	400 (0.8%)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	319 (0.3%)
Italy	15-64	8,987 (3.9%)	n.a.	13,679 (6.4%)	21,308 (4.8%)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	59 (0.0%)	n.a.	547 (0.2%)	564 (0.1%)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Luxembourg	15-64	7,214 (61.3%)	7,288 (60.0%)	6,916 (57.1%)	7,059 (56.0%)	7,200 (57.6%)	8,159 (60.4%)	n.a.
	65+	123 (1.0%)	151 (1.2%)	137 (1.1%)	169 (1.3%)	155 (1.2%)	181 (1.3%)	n.a.
Netherlands	15-64	19,647 (14.8%)	19,919 (14.9%)	18,776 (15.5%)	19,268 (18.4%)	22,681 (24.1%)	24,051 (26.0%)	n.a.
	65+	190 (0.1%)	183 (0.1%)	190 (0.1%)	206 (0.2%)	179 (0.2%)	203 (0.2%)	n.a.
Portugal	15-64	3,842 (20.9%)	4,241 (22.2%)	3,704 (21.7%)	3,499 (24.9%)	3,362 (20.0%)	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	157 (0.8%)	151 (0.8%)	198 (1.2%)	230 (1.6%)	266 (1.6%)	n.a.	n.a.
Spain	15-64	31,097 (8.6%)	38,287 (9.2%)	50,367 (10.4%)	83,619 (12.4%)	99,450 (14.5%)	105,946 (14.7%)	n.a.
	65+	4,467 (1.2%)	5,452 (1.3%)	7,371 (1.5%)	9,723 (1.4%)	10,466 (1.5%)	10,387 (1.4%)	n.a.
Sweden	15-64	9,229 (15.7%)	10,116 (16.6%)	10,429 (16.3%)	11,963 (18.7%)	13,417 (21.6%)	14,996 (23.0%)	n.a.
	65+	186 (0.3%)	194 (0.3%)	232 (0.4%)	231 (0.4%)	283 (0.4%)	365 (0.6%)	n.a.
United Kingdom	15-64	57,428 (15.8%)	n.a.	56,888 (14.7%)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Czech Republic	15-64	-	-	-	-	19,467 (36.4%)	13,779 (22.8%)	n.a.
	65+	-	-	-	-	258 (0.5%)	212 (0.3%)	n.a.
Cyprus	15-64	-	-	-	-	12,559 (59.1%)	13,615 (55.8%)	n.a.
	65+	-	-	-	-	258 (1.2%)	440 (1.8%)	n.a.
Estonia	15-64	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Hungary	15-64	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Latvia	15-64	-	-	-	-	545 (32.7%)	634 (33.7%)	n.a.
	65+	-	-	-	-	31 (1.6%)	34 (1.8%)	n.a.
Lithuania	15-64	-	-	-	-	517 (10.3%)	387 (5.7%)	n.a.
	65+	-	-	-	-	18 (0.3%)	8 (0.1%)	n.a.
Malta	15-64	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Poland	15-64	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	65+	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Slovakia	15-64	-	-	-	-	4,540 (43.7%)	4,005 (42.6%)	n.a.
	65+	-	-	-	-	282 (2.7%)	163 (1.7%)	n.a.
Slovenia	15-64	-	-	-	-	201 (2.0%)	1,433 (9.5%)	n.a.
	65+	-	-	-	-	14 (0.1%)	136 (0.9%)	n.a.

Sources: Eurostat, International Migration Flows, Immigration by Sex, Age Group, and Citizenship; Eurostat, Immigration by Sex, Age Group and Broad Group of Citizenship.

**Table 7: Immigration of Non-National EU Citizens Aged 65+ by Top 3 Sources, 2004-2006.**

EU Member (Destination)	Ranking	2004 (Sources)	2005 (Sources)	2006 (Sources)
Austria	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Germany 436 (0.3%) Poland 57 (0.0%) United Kingdom 38 (0.0%)	Germany 490 (0.3%) United Kingdom/Italy 41 (0.3%) Poland 40 (0.0%)	Germany 548 (0.5%) Poland 51 (0.0%) Italy 39 (0.0%)
Belgium	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.
Denmark	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Germany 24 (0.0%) United Kingdom 22 (0.0%) Sweden 18 (0.0%)	Sweden 23 (0.0%) United Kingdom (0.0%) Germany (0.0%)	Germany 27 (0.0%) Sweden 21 (0.0%) United Kingdom 13 (0.0%)
Finland	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Sweden 78 (0.4%) Estonia 23 (0.1%) Germany 6 (0.0%)	Sweden 76 (0.3%) Estonia 35 (0.2%) United Kingdom 6 (0.0%)	Sweden 94 (0.4%) Estonia 35 (0.1%) United Kingdom 8 (0.0%)
France	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.
Germany	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>		Italy 581 (0.1%) Portugal 524 (0.1%) Greece 481 (0.1%)	Poland 608 (0.1%) Italy 587 (0.1%) Greece 493 (0.1%)
Greece	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.	Germany 7 (0.0%) United Kingdom (0.0%) Cyprus 2 (0.0%)
Ireland	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.	United Kingdom 319 (0.3%) n.a. n.a.
Italy	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.
Luxembourg	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	Portugal 59 (0.4%) Belgium 26 (0.2%) France 25 (0.2%)	Portugal 51 (0.3%) Belgium 40 (0.3%) France 20 (0.1%)
Netherlands	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	Germany 73 (0.1%) United Kingdom 55 (0.0%) Belgium 21 (0.0%)	Germany 89 (0.1%) United Kingdom 39 (0.0%) Belgium 26 (0.0%)
Portugal	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.	United Kingdom 128 (0.5%) Netherlands 22 (0.1%) Germany 14 (0.0%)
Spain	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	United Kingdom 5,853 (0.8%) Germany 1,563 (0.2%) France 711 (0.1%)	United Kingdom 5,309 (0.7%) Germany 1,934 (0.3%) France 715 (0.1%)	United Kingdom 5,173 (0.6%) Germany 2,161 (0.2%) France 809 (0.1%)
Sweden	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	Denmark 103 (0.2%) Germany 72 (0.1%) Finland 51 (0.1%)	Germany 103 (0.1%) Denmark 82 (0.1%) Finland 62 (0.1%)
United Kingdom	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.
Czech Republic	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	Germany 78 (0.1%) Slovakia 65 (0.1%) Austria 17 (0.0%)	Slovakia 64 (0.1%) Germany 56 (0.1%) Austria 14 (0.0%)
Cyprus	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	United Kingdom 230 (1.0%) Greece 28 (0.1%) n.a.	United Kingdom 368 (1.5%) Greece 72 (0.3%) n.a.	United Kingdom 116 (0.7%) Greece 16 (0.1%) n.a.
Estonia	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.
Hungary	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.	Austria 97 (0.4%) Italy 11 (0.0%) UK/Sweden 10 (0.0%)
Latvia	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	Lithuania 14 (0.7%) Germany 5 (0.3%) Sweden 4 (0.2%)	Lithuania 16 (0.6%) Germany 10 (0.4%) United Kingdom 4 (0.1%)
Lithuania	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	Latvia 3 (0.0%) Germany 2 (0.0%) Estonia 1 (0.0%)	Latvia 5 (0.1%) Germany 5 (0.1%) Estonia 1 (0.0%)
Malta	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.
Poland	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.	Germany 20 (0.2%) Sweden 14 (0.1%) France 5 (0.0%)
Slovakia	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	Czech Republic 68 (0.7%) Germany 34 (0.4%) Hungary 24 (0.2%)	Czech Republic 89 (0.7%) Germany 44 (0.3%) Poland 22 (0.2%)
Slovenia	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	Germany 75 (0.5%) Italy 22 (0.1%) Austria 20 (0.1%)	Germany 32 (0.2%) Italy 22 (0.1%) Austria 15 (0.1%)

Sources: Eurostat, International Migration Flows, Immigration by Sex, Age Group, and Citizenship; Eurostat, Immigration by Sex, Age Group and Broad Group of Citizenship.

Note: The percentage indicates the ranked source country's share of total immigrants. Missing and insufficient data preclude the calculation of shares based upon the total number of intra-EU immigrants.

**Table 8: Immigration of Non-National EU Citizens Aged 65+ by Top 3 Destinations, 2004-2006.**

EU Member (Source)	Ranking	2004 (Destination)	2005 (Destination)	2006 (Destination)
Austria	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Spain 54 (0.0%) Denmark 2 (0.0%) Finland 1 (0.0%)	Germany 314 (0.0%) Spain 75 (0.0%) Slovenia 20 (0.1%)	Germany 224 (0.3%) Hungary 97 (0.4%) Spain 84 (0.0%)
Belgium	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Spain 333 (0.2%) Austria 5 (0.0%) n.a.	Spain 379 (0.0%) Germany 39 (0.0%) Luxembourg 26 (0.1%)	Spain 329 (0.4%) Luxembourg 40 (0.3%) Germany 26 (0.0%)
Denmark	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Spain 96 (0.1%) Austria 3 (0.0%) Finland 1 (0.0%)	Spain 124 (0.0%) Sweden 103 (0.1%) Germany 27 (0.0%)	Spain 117 (0.4%) Sweden 82 (0.1%) Germany 24 (0.0%)
Finland	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Spain 99 (0.1%) Denmark 1 (0.0%) n.a.	Spain 87 (0.0%) Sweden 51 (0.1%) Germany 14(0.0%)	Spain 109 (0.0%) Sweden 62 (0.1%) Germany 12 (0.0%)
France	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Spain 711 (0.5%) Austria 14 (0.0%) Denmark 2 (0.0%)	Spain 715 (0.0%) Germany 122 (0.0%) Luxembourg 25 (0.2%)	Spain 809 (0.1%) Germany 125 (0.0%) Luxembourg 20 (0.1%)
Germany	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Spain 1,563 (1.1%) Austria 436 (0.3%) Denmark 24 (0.0%)	Spain 1,934 (0.3%) Austria 490 (0.4%) Czech Republic 78 (0.1%)	Spain 2,161 (0.2%) Austria 548 (0.6%) Hungary 215 (1.0%)
Greece	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Cyprus 28 (0.1%) Spain 12 (0.0%) Austria 7 (0.0%)	Germany 483 (0.1%) Cyprus 72 (0.3%) Spain 14 (0.0%)	Germany 493 (0.1%) Cyprus 16 (0.1%) Spain 13 (0.0%)
Ireland	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Spain 109 (0.1%) Denmark 1 (0.0%) n.a.	Spain 135 (0.0%) Germany 12 (0.0%) Netherlands 4 (0.0%)	Spain 214 (0.0%) Germany 9 (0.0%) Netherlands 2 (0.0%)
Italy	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Spain 672 (0.5%) Austria 21 (0.0%) Finland 3 (0.0%)	Spain 608 (0.1%) Germany 581 (0.1%) Austria 41 (0.0%)	Spain 663 (0.1%) Germany 507 (0.1%) Austria 39 (0.0%)
Luxembourg	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Spain 11 (0.0%) Austria 4 (0.0%) n.a.	Germany 50 (0.0%) Spain 2 (0.0%) n.a.	Germany 71 (0.0%) Spain 9 (0.0%) Austria 4 (0.0%)
Netherlands	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Spain 397 (0.3%) Austria 22 (0.0%) Denmark 6 (0.0%)	Spain 441 (0.1%) Germany 367 (0.0%) Sweden 18 (0.0%)	Spain 455 (0.0%) Germany 402 (0.1%) Portugal 22 (0.1%)
Portugal	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Spain 266 (0.2%) Austria 2 (0.0%) n.a.	Spain 247 (0.0%) Germany 133 (0.0%) Luxembourg 59 (0.4%)	Spain 281 (0.0%) Germany 146 (0.0%) Luxembourg 51 (0.3%)
Spain	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Austria 3 (0.0%) n.a. n.a.	Germany 122 (0.0%) Netherlands 13 (0.0%) Sweden 5 (0.0%)	Germany 143 (0.0%) Netherlands 13 (0.0%) Portugal 11 (0.1%)
Sweden	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Spain 228 (0.2%) Finland 79 (0.4%) Denmark 18 (0.0%)	Spain 233 (0.0%) Finland 76 (0.0%) Germany 48 (0.0%)	Spain 225 (0.0%) Finland 94 (0.4%) Germany 42 (0.0%)
United Kingdom	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Spain 5,853 (4.2%) Cyprus 230 (1.0%) Austria 28 (0.0%)	Spain 5,209 (0.7%) Cyprus 368 (1.5%) Germany 169 (0.0%)	Spain 5,173 (0.6%) Ireland 319 (0.3%) Germany 196 (0.0%)
Czech Republic	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Austria 8 (0.0%) Spain 4 (0.0%) n.a.	Slovakia 68 (0.7%) Germany 43 (0.0%) Spain 7 (0.0%)	Slovakia 89 (0.7%) Germany 56 (0.0%) Austria 7 (0.0%)
Cyprus	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.
Estonia	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Finland 23 (0.1%) Austria 1 (0.0%) n.a.	Finland 35 (0.2%) Germany 4 (0.0%) Latvia 2 (0.0%)	Finland 24 (0.1%) Germany 4 (0.0%) Latvia 3 (0.1%)
Hungary	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Austria 24 (0.0%) Spain 3 (0.0%) Finland 2 (0.0%)	Germany 74 (0.0%) Slovakia 24 (0.2%) Austria 22 (0.0%)	Germany 65 (0.0%) Austria 26 (0.0%) Slovakia 9 (0.1%)
Latvia	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Austria 3 (0.0%) Spain 2 (0.0%) Finland 1 (0.0%)	Germany 15 (0.0%) Lithuania 3 (0.0%) Sweden 2 (0.0%)	Germany 8 (0.0%) Lithuania 5 (0.1%) Sweden 4 (0.0%)
Lithuania	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Spain 18 (0.0%) Austria 1 (0.0%) n.a.	Germany 21 (0.0%) Spain 18 (0.0%) Latvia 14 (0.7%)	Spain 21 (0.0%) Latvia 16 (0.6%) Germany 15 (0.0%)
Malta	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.	n.a. n.a. n.a.
Poland	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Austria 57 (0.0%) Spain 49 (0.0%) Denmark/Finland 1 (0.0%)	Germany 534 (0.1%) Sweden 48 (0.1%) Spain 47 (0.0%)	Germany 608 (0.1%) Spain 63 (0.0%) Austria 51 (0.0%)
Slovakia	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Austria 7 (0.0%) Spain 3 (0.0%) n.a.	Czech Republic 65 (0.1%) Germany/Austria 12(0.0%) Estonia 2 (0.0%)	Czech Republic 64 (0.1%) Germany 18 (0.0%) Austria 9 (0.0%)
Slovenia	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Austria 12 (0.0%) n.a. n.a.	Germany 21 (0.0%) Austria 7 (0.0%) Slovakia 1 (0.0%)	Germany 19 (0.0%) Austria 5 (0.0%) Hungary 3 (0.0%)

Sources: Eurostat, International Migration Flows, Immigration by Sex, Age Group, and Citizenship; Eurostat, Immigration by Sex, Age Group and Broad Group of Citizenship.

Note: The percentage indicates the ranked destination country's share of total immigrants. Missing and insufficient data preclude the calculation of shares based upon the total number of intra-EU immigrants.

## References:

- Ackers, L. and P. Dwyer. "Fixed Laws, Fluid Lives: The Citizenship Status of Post-Retirement Migrants in the European Union." *Ageing and Society* 24 (3) (2004): 451-75.
- Amore, K. "Malta." In *European Immigration: A Sourcebook*, eds. A. Triandafyllidou and R. Gropas, 237-248. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.
- Bernholtz, B. *Return Migration: Policies and Practices in Europe*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 2004.
- Bolzman, C., R. Fibbi, R., and M. Vial. "What to do after Retirement? Elderly Migrants and the Question of Return." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32 (8): (2006): 1359-1375.
- Breuer, T. "Retirement Migration or Rather Second-Home Tourism? German Senior Citizens on the Canary Islands." *Die Erde* 136 (3) (2005): 313-333.
- Buller, H. and K. Haggart. *International Counterurbanization: British Migrants in Rural France*. Aldershot: Avebury 1994.
- Casado-Díaz, M.Á. *From Tourists to Residents: International Retirement Migration to Spain*. Madrid: Spanish State Secretary for Tourism, Industry and SMES, 2001.
- Casado-Díaz, M.Á. "Retiring to the Costa Blanca: A Cross-National Analysis." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32 (8) (2006a): 1321-1339.
- Casado-Díaz, M. Á. "Retiring to Spain: An Analysis of Difference among North European Nationals." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32 (8) (2006b): 1321-1339.
- Casado-Díaz, M.Á., C. Kaiser and A.M. Warnes. "Northern European Retired Residents in Nine Southern European Areas: Characteristics, Motivations and Adjustment." *Ageing and Society* 24 (2004): 353-81.
- Collinson, S. *Europe and International Migration*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1993.
- Constant, A. and K.F. Zimmermann. *Circular Migration: Counts of Exits and Years Away from the Host Country*. Bonn: IZA - Institute for the Study of Labor, 2007. Available: [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1012568](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1012568)
- Cribier, F. and F. Dieleman. "Retirement Migration in Western Europe." *Espace- Populations- Sociétés* 3 (1993): 445-449.
- D'Auria, F., K. McMorrough, and K. Pichelmann. *Economic Impact of Migration Flows Following the 2004 EU Enlargement Process: A Model Based Analysis*. Brussels: European Commission, Economic and Financial Affairs, 2008. Available: [http://ec.europa.eu/economy\\_finance/publications/publication13389\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/publications/publication13389_en.pdf)
- Drake, H. "Migration, But Not as we know it? An Analysis of the Discourses of Intra-EU Migration: A Franco-British Comparison." Paper presented at the ISA's 49<sup>th</sup> annual convention, San Francisco, 26 May 2008. Available: [http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p\\_mla\\_apa\\_research\\_citation/2/5/1/2/6/pages251267/p251267-1.php](http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/2/5/1/2/6/pages251267/p251267-1.php)
- Drake, H. and S. Collard. "Brits in France: A Case Study of Intra-EU Migration in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century." Paper presented at the Political Studies Association's 57<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference, Bath, United Kingdom, 11-13 April 2007. Available: <http://www.psa.ac.uk/journals/pdf/5/2007/Drake.pdf>
- Drake, H. and Collard, S. "A Case Study of Intra-EU Migration: 20 Years of 'Brits' in the Pays d'Auge, Normandy, France." *French Politics* 6 (2008): 214-233.
- Dustmann, C., S. Bentolila, and R. Faini. "Return Migration: The European Experience." *Economic Policy* 11 (22) (1996): 213-250.
- Fassmann, H. and R. Münz, eds. *European Migration in the Late Twentieth Century*. Aldershot: Elgar, 1994.
- Fassmann, H., M. Haller, and D. Lane, eds. *Migration and Mobility in Europe: Trends, Patterns, and Control*. Cheltenham: Elgar, 2009.
- Geoffrey, C. "From 'Chamouni' to Chamonix: The British in the Alps." In *Going Abroad: Travel, Tourism and Migration. Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Mobility*, eds. C. Geoffrey and R. Sibley, 93-109. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007.
- Gustafson, P. "Retirement Migration and Transnational Lifestyles." *Ageing and Society* 21 (4) (2001): 371-394.
- Gustafson, P. "Tourism and Seasonal Retirement Migration." *Annals of Tourism Research* 29 (2002): 899-918.
- Hall, M. and D. Müller, eds. *Tourism, Mobility and Second Homes: Between Elite Landscape and Common Ground*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2004.
- Hauga, B., G.M.S. Danna, and M. Mehmetoglu. "Little Norway in Spain: From Tourism to Migration." *Annals of Tourism Research* 34 (1) (2007): 202-222.
- Herm, A. "Recent Migration Trends: Citizens of EU-27 Member States become ever more Mobile while EU Remains Attractive to non-EU Citizens." In *Eurostat: Population and Social Conditions* [Online] 2008.

- Available: [http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY\\_OFFPUB/KS-SF-08-098/EN/KS-SF/08-098-EN.PDF](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-SF-08-098/EN/KS-SF/08-098-EN.PDF)
- Huber, A. "Geographical and Ethnographic Perspectives on 'Rainbow' Settlements of the Spanish Coast." In *Older Migrants in Europe*, ed. A.M. Warnes, 35-39. Sheffield: Sheffield Institute for Studies on Ageing, 2004.
- International Organization for Migration. *Return Migration: Policies and Practices in Europe*. Geneva: IOM, 2004. Available: [http://www.ch.iom.int/fileadmin/media/pdf/publikationen/return\\_migration.pdf](http://www.ch.iom.int/fileadmin/media/pdf/publikationen/return_migration.pdf)
- Johansson, M. and D. Rauhut, eds. *ESPON Project 1.1.4: The Spatial Effects of Demographic Trends, Final Report*. Stockholm: Swedish Institute for Growth Policy Studies, 2005. Available: [http://www.espon.eu/mmp/online/website/content/projects/259/651/file\\_1198/fr-1.1.4-full.pdf](http://www.espon.eu/mmp/online/website/content/projects/259/651/file_1198/fr-1.1.4-full.pdf)
- Kahnec, M. and K.F. Zimmermann. *Migration in an Enlarged EU: A Challenging Solution?* Economic Papers 363. Brussels: European Commission, Directorate-General for Economic and Financial Affairs, 2009. Available: [http://ec.europa.eu/economy\\_finance/publications/publication14287\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/publications/publication14287_en.pdf)
- Kahnec, M., A. Zaiceva, and K.F. Zimmermann. *Lessons from Migration after EU Enlargement*. Bonn: Institute for the Study of Labor, 2009. Available: <http://ftp.iza.org/dp4230.pdf>
- King, R. "Towards a New Map of European Migration." *International Journal of Population Geography* 8 (2) (2002): 89-106. Available: <http://www.europe.canterbury.ac.nz/courses/euro223/king.pdf>
- King, R. and G. Patterson. "Diverse Paths: The Elderly British in Tuscany." *International Journal of Population* 4 (2) (1998): 157-182.
- King, R., A.M. Warnes, and A.M. Williams. "International Retirement Migration in Europe." *International Journal of Population Geography* 4 (2) (1998): 91-111.
- King, R., A.M. Warnes, and A.M. Williams. *Sunset Lives: British Retirement Migration to the Mediterranean*. Oxford: Berg, 2000.
- Klinthäll, M. "Immigration, Integration and Return Migration." Paper Presented at the International Symposium on International Migration and Development, Turin, Italy, 28-30 June 2006. Available: [http://www.un.org/esa/population/migration/turin/Symposium\\_Turin\\_files/P06\\_Klinthall.pdf](http://www.un.org/esa/population/migration/turin/Symposium_Turin_files/P06_Klinthall.pdf)
- Kubat, D., ed. *The Politics of Return. International Return Migration in Europe*. New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1984.
- Müller, D.K. "German Second-Home Development in Sweden." In *Tourism and Migration: New Relationships between Production and Consumption*, eds. C.M. Hall and A.M. Williams, 169-186. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2002.
- Münz, R. "Shaping Migration Policies for Economic Recovery." Paper presented at the Policy Network Seminar on Tracking Migration Trends in Europe, London, United Kingdom, 7 July 2009. Available: <http://www.policy-network.net/uploadedFiles/Events/Events/Rainer%20Munz%20Presentation.ppt>
- Muus, P. "International Migration and the European Union, Trends and Consequences." *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* 9 (1) (2001): 31-49. Available: <http://www.springerlink.com/content/u286704185416715/fulltext.pdf>
- O'Reilly, K. "A New Trend in European Migration: Contemporary British Migration to Fuengirola, Costa del Sol." *Geographical Viewpoint* 23 (1995): 25-36.
- O'Reilly, K. *The British on the Costa del Sol: Transnational Identities and Local Communities*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- O'Reilly, K. "Intra-European Migration and the Mobility: Enclosure Dialectic." *Sociology* 41 (2) (2007): 277-293.
- Papademetriou, D.G., M. Sumption, and W. Somerville. *Migration and the Economic Downturn: What to Expect in the European Union*. Washington: Migration Policy Institute, 2009.
- Quinn, E. *Return Migration: The Irish Case*. Dublin: Economic and Social Research Institute, 2007. Available: [http://www.esri.ie/publications/latest\\_publications/view/index.xml?id=2093](http://www.esri.ie/publications/latest_publications/view/index.xml?id=2093)
- Rodríguez, V., G. Fernández-Mayoralas, and F. Rojo. "European Retirees on the Costa del Sol: A Cross-National Comparison." *International Journal of Population Geography* 4(2) (1998): 183-200.
- Rodríguez, V., P. Salvà Tomàs, and A.M. Williams. "Northern Europeans and the Mediterranean: A New California or a New Florida?" in *Geography, Environment and Development in the Mediterranean*, eds. R. King, P. de Mas, and J. Mansvelt Beck, 176-95. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001.
- Ruspini, P. "Patterns of Circular/Return Migration and the Ageing Migrant Population in Europe." Paper Presented at Seminar on Policies and Practices Concerning Elderly Migrants in Council of Europe Member States, Brussels, Belgium, 2-3 March 2009. Available: [http://www.coe.int/t/dg3/migration/Source/Elderly%2520migrants/Circular-return%2520migration%2520%26%2520migrant%2520elders\\_ruspini\\_28\\_02\\_09.ppt](http://www.coe.int/t/dg3/migration/Source/Elderly%2520migrants/Circular-return%2520migration%2520%26%2520migrant%2520elders_ruspini_28_02_09.ppt)

- Salvà Tomàs, P.A. "Foreign Immigration and Tourism Development in Spain's Balearic Islands." In *Tourism and Migration: New Relationships between Production and Consumption*, eds. C.M. Hall and A.M. Williams, 119-134. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2002a.
- Salvà Tomàs, P.A. "Tourist Development and Foreign Immigration in the Balearic Islands." *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* 18 (2002b): 87-101.
- Skeldon, R. "Migration Futures: Europe's Migration Patterns." Lecture given at the IOM Summer School on Migration Studies. Jindřichův Hradec, Czech Republic, 02 September 2009. Available: [http://www.iom.cz/files/4\\_7\\_R\\_Skeldon\\_-\\_Migration\\_Futures.pdf](http://www.iom.cz/files/4_7_R_Skeldon_-_Migration_Futures.pdf)
- Smallwood, A., S. Hope, and M. Stevenson, "The EU and Immigration: Opportunities and Challenges." In *EU Focus* [Online] 2008. Available: <http://www.eurunion.org/news/eunewsletters/EUFocus/2008/EUFocus-Immigrat-9-08.pdf>
- Wanner, P. *Migration Trends in Europe*. European Population Papers Series No. 7. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, European Population Committee, 2002. Available: <http://www.migration-population.ch/fileadmin/sfm/publications/o/09.pdf>
- Warnes, A.M. "Permanent and Seasonal International Retirement Migration: The Prospects for Europe." *Netherlands Geographical Studies* 173 (1994): 69-81.
- Warnes, A.M., ed. *Older Migrants in Europe*. Sheffield: Sheffield Institute for Studies on Ageing, 2004.
- Warnes, A.M. and G. Patterson. "British Retirees in Malta: Components of the Cross-national Relationship." *International Journal of Population Geography* 4 (2) (1998): 113-333.
- Williams, A.M. and G. Patterson. "An Empire Lost but a Province Gained: A Cohort Analysis of British International Retirement in the Algarve." *International Journal of Population Geography* 4 (2) (1998): 135-155.
- Williams, A.M. and C.M. Hall. "Tourism and Migration: New Relationships between Production and Consumption." *Tourism Geographies* 2 (2000): 5-27.
- Williams, A.M., R. King and T. Warnes. "A Place in the Sun: International Retirement Migration from Northern to Southern Europe." *European Urban and Regional Studies* 4 (2) (1997): 115-134.
- Williams, A.W., R. King and A. Warnes. "British Second Homes in Southern Europe: Shifting Nodes in the Scapes and Flows of Migration and Tourism". In *Tourism, Mobility and Second Homes: Between Elite Landscape and Common Ground*, eds. M. Hall and D. Müller, 97-112. Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2004.
- Williams, A.M., R. King, A.M. Warnes and G. Patterson. "Tourism and International Retirement Migration: New Forms of an Old Relationship in Southern Europe." *Tourism Geographies* 2(1) (2000): 28-49.