

Lars Østby

The demographic characteristics of immigrant population in Norway

Rapporter

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Abstract

Lars Østby

The demographic characteristics of immigrant population in Norway

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This report presents a demographic analysis of immigration to Norway, and of immigrants in Norway. It starts with the immigration history, showing that the proportion immigrants in the population was larger at the beginning of than in the middle of the previous century. Since then, the immigration has increased, and changed its composition. Earlier, it was dominated by immigrant workers from our neighbouring countries, then more workers came also from distant countries, and the influence of refugees increased.

Taken all together, more than 500 000 persons (11 per cent of the population) have some kind of immigrant background, themselves or at least one of their parents are born abroad. Fifty per cent (250 000) are born abroad with two foreign-born parents, 50 000 are born in Norway with two parents born abroad. Together, these two groups consist the immigrant population in Norwegian statistics. Citizenship cannot be used as a statistical definition of immigrants, as 140 000 have been naturalised during the 25 years we have had statistics on that.

This report shows beyond any doubt that the immigrants in Norway is a very heterogeneous group, not having more than some kind of foreign background in common. All immigrants taken as one single group is without meaning for analytical or descriptive purposes, at least one needs a breakdown by region of origin. Immigration figures are not easily compared between countries, but it seems that the level of immigration to Norway is somewhat more than half that of Sweden and the Netherlands.

The refugees are almost everyone of non-western origin, and consist 50 per cent of all non-western immigrants to Norway. Of the 84 000 refugees, three fourth were primary refugees, and one fourth were accepted for family reunification to persons already being given protection in Norway.

The immigrants in Norway are a rather young population, with few old persons. There are, however, big differences according to region and country of origin. Among non-western immigrants, we have more children and fewer older persons than among western immigrants. This is due both to differences in age at immigration and different fertility.

On average, the fertility is higher among immigrants than in the rest of the population. It does, however, vary much between the different countries of origin, and it adapts to the Norwegian pattern with increasing duration of stay, and between the generations. As a result of children born to immigrants, the fertility rate in Norway is 0.05 children higher than it would have been without immigrants.

Immigrants from western countries often return when forming a family. Non-western immigrants primarily find their partners in their country of origin, or among persons from their country of origin, already settled in Norway. Cross-national marriages are not very common. Persons born in Norway with two foreign-born parents are now entering the age of family formation. Those in this group marrying at young ages seem to follow the marital pattern of their parents, but the proportion marrying young is much lower.

Hitherto, we have had little knowledge about immigrant mortality in Norway. It seems that, for third world immigrants as a whole, there is no significant difference in mortality when comparing with the population in Norway. There is, however, a significant lower mortality for the first generation immigrants, counterbalanced by a clearly higher mortality for persons born in Norway with two parents born in a third world country.

Immigration influences the growth and composition of the Norwegian population, in an increasing degree. Norway has a population growth relatively high in Europe, due both to high immigration, and to high natural growth relative to the rest of Europe.

Acknowledgement: The Research Council of Norway.

Sammendrag

Lars Østby

Demografisk atferd blant innvandrere i Norge

Rapport 2002/22 • Statistisk Sentralbyrå 2002

Denne rapporten presenterer en demografisk analyse av innvandringen til Norge, og av innvandrerne i Norge. Den tar utgangspunkt i en enkel historisk beskrivelse av innvandringen, som viser at innslaget av innvandrere var større i den norske befolkningen ved forrige århundreskifte enn det var midt i århundret. Deretter har innvandringen vokst sterkt, og den har endret sammensetning. Tidligere var innvandringen dominert av arbeidskraft fra våre naboland. Deretter har det kommet stadig sterkere innslag av arbeidskraft fra andre land, både nære og fjerne, og det er blitt både absolutt og relativt flere flyktninger.

I alt er det vel 500 000 personer (11 prosent av befolkningen) som har en eller annen innvandringsbakgrunn. Akkurat halvparten er født i utlandet av to utenlandsfødte foreldre, og knapt 50 000 er født i Norge av to foreldre som selv er født i utlandet. Til sammen utgjør disse 300 000 den gruppen som i norsk statistikk omtales som innvandrerbefolkningen. Analysene i denne rapporten viser med all tydelighet at innvandrerne i Norge er en meget heterogen gruppe, som ikke har annet til felles enn en utenlandsk bakgrunn. Alle innvandrere behandlet under ett er ingen relevant gruppe for beskrivelse og analyse, en må i det minste skille mellom hvor i verden innvandrerne kommer fra. Det er ikke lett å finne en brukbar sammenlikning med andre lands innvandrerbefolkning, men det synes som om Norge ligger litt over halvparten av nivået i Sverige og Nederland.

Den viktigste faktoren bak innvandrerbefolkningens vekst, er nettoinnvandring av personer født i utlandet av utenlandsfødte foreldre. Dette utgjør en mye større vekst enn fødselsoverskuddet etter ankomst til landet. Veksten er stor både for den befolkningen som har bakgrunn i Øst-Europa, og i landene i Asia, Afrika og Latin-Amerika.

De aller fleste flyktninger kommer fra ikke-vestlige land, og flyktningene utgjør halvparten av innvandrerne som er kommet til Norge herfra. Av de 84 000 flyktningene er om lag en av fire kommet ved gjenforening med familiemedlemmer som var gitt opphold som flyktninger.

Fødselshyppigheten er i gjennomsnitt høyere blant innvandrerne enn i resten av befolkningen. Det mest karakteristiske ved fruktbarheten er imidlertid at den varierer mye mellom de ulike grupper av innvandrere. Den synker når botiden i Norge øker, og innvanderens barn synes å ha et fruktbarhetsmønster som likner mer på det som er vanlig i Norge enn det likner på foreldrenes. I sum bidrar innvandrerne til at fruktbarheten i Norge i gjennomsnitt er 0.05 barn høyere enn den ellers ville vært.

Innvandrere fra vestlige land reiser ofte tilbake for å starte familie. Innvandrere fra ikke-vestlige land søker primært sin partner fra hjemlandet, deretter blant personer fra hjemlandet som allerede er bosatt i Norge. Tverr-nasjonale ekteskap har så langt vært ganske sjeldne. De barna som innvandrerne har født i Norge begynner etter hvert å komme i gifteferdig alder. De blant disse som gifter seg unge, synes å følge sine foreldres ekteskapsmønster, men andelen som gifter seg i ung alder er mye lavere.

Vi har sammenliknet den observerte dødeligheten blant tredje verdens innvandrere med den vi kunne vente dersom gruppen hadde samme dødelighet som befolkningen under ett. Innvandrerne fra tredje verden har samme dødelighet som resten av befolkningen. Dette skjuler at førstegenerasjonsinnvandrere har lavere dødelighet, mens personer født i Norge av to utenlandsfødte foreldre har klart høyere dødelighet.

Innvandringen til Norge har betydd mye for veksten og sammensetningen av befolkningen. Når Norge har en relativt høy befolkningsvekst i Europa, skyldes det både at vi har nettoinnvandring og naturlig tilvekst som er blant de høyeste.

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Preface

This analysis of the Norwegian immigrant demography was originally written for the European Population Committee (CDPO) in Council of Europe, Strasbourg. The author was Norwegian member of their Group of specialists on the demographic characteristics of immigrant populations. The chairman of the group was Director Werner Haug of the Swiss Central Statistical Office. Seven members of the group wrote country studies, which will be published as one volume of European Population Studies during 2002 (Council of Europe, 2002). The structure and content of the country reports were elaborated by this group and its consultants. The group gave significant comments to the Norwegian report. One of its consultants, professor Paul Compton also gave the original text a through language editing.

Not as much for the high immigration as for particularly good data, an analysis of immigrant demography in Norway will also be of interest for an international audience. As a co-organiser of the Seventh International Metropolis conference to be held in Oslo, Norway 9-13 September 2002, the Research Council of Norway wanted to make the work for the Council of Europe available for the participants. This Report is an updated and expanded version of Østby (2002b). We are grateful for the opportunity the Research Council of Norway gave for reaching a wider readership with our demographic data and analyses.

In preparing the first draft of the report to the Council of Europe, I did this with the good assistance of Stine Bjertnæs, at that time coordinator for immigration statistics in Statistics Norway. She was later replaced by Benedicte Lie, who has assisted me in later stages of the work. Mortality data are calculated by Ingvild Hauge. Liv Hansen has produced all tables and figures.

Forord

Denne beskrivelsen av innvandrerdemografien i Norge ble opprinnelig laget i tilknytning til et arbeid i befolkningskomiteen i Europarådet i Strasbourg. Forfatteren var norsk medlem i Europarådets "Group of specialists on the demographic characteristics of immigrant populations". Gruppens formann var direktør Werner Haug i Sveits' statistiske sentralbyrå. De sju medlemmene av gruppen utarbeidet hver sine landrapporter, som blir publisert samlet i *European Population Studies* i løpet av 2002 (Council of Europe 2002). Denne Rapporten følger det opplegg og innhold som gruppen diskuterte seg fram til. Gruppen hadde viktige innspill til den norske rapporten, og ikke minst foretok dens ene rådgiver, professor Paul Compton en omhyggelig språkvask av det originale utkastet.

Ikke så mye på grunn av stor innvandring som fordi vi har spesielt gode data, er en analyse av norske innvandres demografi også av interesse for en internasjonal leserkrets. I anledning av at den sjuende internasjonal Metropolis-konferanse holdes i Oslo 9-13 september, ønsket Norges forskningsråd, som en av medarrangørene at arbeidet for Europarådet ble oppdatert, og gjort tilgjengelig for alle deltakerne. Denne rapporten er derfor en oppdatert og utvidet versjon av Østby (2002b). Vi takker Norges forskningsråd for denne muligheten til å nå videre ut med våre demografiske data og analyser.

I den første fasen av arbeidet med rapporten for Europarådet, hadde jeg mye god hjelp av Stine Bjertnæs, som da var innvandrerstatistisk koordinator i SSB. Seinere tok Benedicte Lie over denne stillingen, og bidro i avslutningsfasen. Dødelighetsdataene er beregnet av Ingvild Hauge. Liv Hansen har laget alle figurer og tabeller.

1. Introduction

Norway has for long, rightly or wrongly, considered itself as an ethnically homogeneous country. During the last three decades, however, there has been increasing immigration from all regions of the world, and also an increasing awareness that some heterogeneity has always been present. The latter includes the population of Sami and Finnish origin, Roma/Gypsies and other travellers plus a small Jewish population. The country has also generally had immigrants from neighbouring countries, both as specialists to help lead the modernisation of the country together with those attracted to Norwegian social and economic life.

Since 1970, Norway has experienced net immigration from all parts of the world. Some of its consequences have been considered problematic and, as a result, immigration questions have been high on the political agenda. In 1974, an immigration ban was introduced with the justification that the problems of immigrants already present in the country had to be solved before any more were admitted. This ban was not without its exceptions. Consequently, the ban has influenced the composition of the streams more than their size.

In recent years, however, there has been an increasing consciousness around the present and future needs in the Norwegian labour market. There is partly a registered, partly a projected deficit of persons working in the health and old age care sectors, and in some industries. The proportion aged in the population is sure to grow, although not at the same speed as in our neighbouring countries. In this situation, the Norwegian authorities are increasingly interested in labour immigration, and they are more than other countries also considering opening for a certain immigration of unskilled workers. For a discussion of this, see Østby (2002c)

Since the ban was introduced, the majority of immigrants from third world countries have been refugees¹

¹ In connection with refugee assistance in Norway, the term "refugee" is used for resettlement refugees and asylum seekers who have been granted asylum or residence on humanitarian grounds (UDI 2001).

and asylum seekers², while there have also been periods of strong inflow from our Nordic and European neighbours. Nordic citizens have had the right to move freely and take up work in other Nordic countries since 1954, while EU-citizens enjoy the same freedom to move to Norway as to other EU Member States under the EEA-Agreement. Thus, there is a clear difference in recruitment pattern for Western European and other citizens, creating social differences along ethnic lines.

Attitudes among Norwegians towards this new immigration have always been mixed, but are probably no more negative than in comparable countries. The country has a populist party that at times seems to attract voters because of its restrictive immigration policy, but support is not based solely on this. There have been some ugly expressions of racism in the country, but again it is difficult to find a sound basis for judging whether the situation is better or worse than in other countries. Such comparative analyses of integration and discrimination would have been helpful when formulating and evaluating Norwegian immigration policy, but for the time being the empirical basis for such comparisons is more than dubious.

This report presents a detailed description of immigration to Norway. For the most part, it is based on the population register system, but it also incorporates information from a number of supplementary sources. Norwegian population statistics are fully register based and, under strict conditions of confidentiality, it is possible to link the various registers in order to trace the integration of immigrants into Norwegian society. Such an analysis of the integration of immigrants, however, is outside the scope of this report. For examples of such use, see Østby (2001a and b, and 2002a)

² A person who on his or her own initiative, and without prior warning, asks the authorities for protection and recognition as a refugee. The person is called an asylum seeker until a decision has been made on the application (UDI 2001).

2. Historical background to immigration since 1945³

At the end of World War II, the proportion of foreign-born persons in Norway reached its lowest point during the 20th century (table 2.1). The country had a very restrictive immigration policy during the inter-war era, but accepted some political refugees from Germany, in addition to Swedish workers and their families. Many of the Swedes had arrived during the boom at the end of the 19th century, and also thereafter. This migration can in part be viewed as replacement for the heavy emigration of Norwegians overseas between 1865 and 1930 which, relative to population size, was second only to Irish emigration in its significance. During World War II, many of the refugees moved on to safer countries, and not everyone returned. Moreover, by the end of the war, some 50 000 Norwegians had taken refuge in other countries, mainly Sweden.

First conducted in 1769, the main data source for the period is the Census. Table 2.1 relies mainly on information from the enumerations held since 1865, although the system of local population registers that came into operation in 1946 can also be used for statistical purposes. The quality and coverage of these registers has progressively improved, and since 1964 they have been centralised within Statistics Norway (see chapter 3). Hence, for the last few decades we not only have decennial census information, but also annual data from the registers. From 1951 until the late 1960s, in- and out-migration were both slowly increasing and produced annual net out-flows of between 1 000 and 2 000. This net loss, however was entirely of Norwegian citizens, and foreigners recorded a small but stable net in-inflow during the period.

Table 2.1. Population by place of birth¹; foreign-born population by regional groups of countries (in per cent).

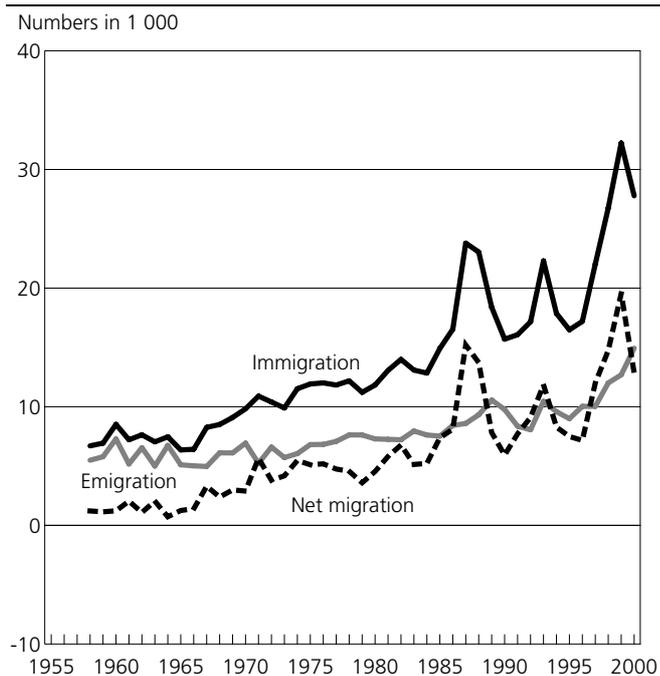
Year	Total in 1 000s	Norway	Abroad, total	Born abroad					
				Abroad, total	Nordic countries	Rest of Western Europe, except Turkey	Eastern Europe ²	North America, Oceania	Asia, Africa, South and Central America, Turkey
	Number	Per cent		Per cent, foreign-born population					
31.12. 1865	1 702	98.8	1.2	100.0	90.6	8.7	0.2	0.4	0.1
31.12. 1875	1 813	97.9	2.1	100.0	92.0	6.5	0.7	0.7	0.1
31.12. 1890	2 001	97.6	2.4	100.0	90.8	5.9	0.6	2.4	0.3
3.12. 1900	2 240	97.1	2.9	100.0	86.0	6.9	0.8	5.8	0.5
1.12. 1910	2 392	97.7	2.3	100.0	79.6	8.6	1.6	9.5	0.8
1.12. 1920	2 650	97.2	2.8	100.0	74.9	9.9	2.4	11.9	0.9
1.12. 1930	2 814	98.1	1.9	100.0	70.4	11.1	2.7	14.2	1.7
3.12. 1946	3 157	98.4	1.6	100.0	55.8	19.7	2.9	18.7	2.9
1.12. 1950	3 279	98.6	1.4	100.0	56.4	19.0	5.1	17.0	2.4
1.11. 1960	3 591	98.3	1.7	100.0	51.7	22.1	6.6	15.6	4.1
1.11. 1970	3 874	98.0	2.0	100.0	42.7	25.1	7.5	17.5	7.2
1.11. 1980	4 091	97.2	2.8	100.0	33.1	24.0	5.7	16.2	21.0
1.1. 1990	4 233	95.7	4.3	100.0	24.6	18.7	6.6	9.8	40.3
1.1. 1995	4 348	94.6	5.4	100.0	22.5	15.6	11.9	8.0	42.1
1.1. 2001	4 503	93.2	6.8	100.0	21.9	13.6	14.2	6.0	44.3

¹ Totals refer to resident population. For 1875-1910 the population born abroad refers to the population present. This gives higher figures for persons born abroad by 1-3 per cent and correspondingly lower figures for the population born in Norway.

² Based on the political situation 1950-1990.

Source: Statistics Norway

³ For the history of Norwegian immigration since the Viking era, see Kjeldstadlie (ed.) 2002.

Figure 2.1. Migration of foreign citizens, 1958-2001

Source: Statistics Norway.

The number of registered in- and out-migrations doubled during the 1950s and -60s, from 6-8 000 to around 15 000, and is a reflection not only of increasing exchanges with foreign countries, but also of an improving registration system. Immigrants were predominantly work seekers of Scandinavian origin, responding to the agreement reached by the Nordic countries in 1954 about the free flow of people, which abolished the requirement for Nordic citizens to present a passport when crossing an inter-Nordic border. For a comprehensive analysis of the background for and effects of the common Nordic labour market readers are referred to Fisher and Straubhaar (1996).

In addition to Nordic migration, the country had significant exchanges with the United States, and to some degree also with the countries of Western Europe. The exchange with the US was quite stable; young Norwegians went overseas and older Americans of Norwegian background returned to Norway towards the end of their active lives. From time to time, the country also accepted a limited number of refugees, mostly from Eastern Europe, the most significant being the influx of more than 1 000 Hungarians who had fled Hungary after the 1956 uprising.

A minor watershed in Norwegian migration flows occurred in 1967. Out-migration declined for the fourth year in a row, and total in-migration increased from a stable level of 12 000 to more than 15 000, with the resulting net inflow of + 2 500 initiating a new era of virtually continuous net immigration. Since 1967, net out-flows have only been recorded in 1970 (for technical reasons related to Census-based adjustments)

and in 1989 as the economic cycle moved in opposition to that of Sweden.

A new element, which also emerged in 1967, was the recruitment of what were considered to be temporary guest workers from Pakistan, Turkey, Morocco and Yugoslavia. Even though this pre-dated the oil era, the Norwegian economy was booming at this time, and the demand for labour was higher than could be met internally, the shortage of manual labour being especially pronounced. Some industrial enterprises had active recruitment campaigns, and those recruited were encouraged to find more hands in their local home regions.

At the beginning of the 1970s, most European countries were in economic recession due to the first oil crisis, and restrictive measures were introduced to limit immigration. At the time, Norway had become an oil-exporting country of some importance, and the Government decided to use future anticipated oil income for counter-cyclical purposes. In addition, problems in the labour market and doubts concerning the presence of an immigrant population and its integration into Norwegian society led to a temporary immigration ban in 1974, which was made permanent one year later. With reference to the free Nordic Labour Market, citizens of the Nordic countries were completely exempted from this ban while other Western countries were often covered by exemptions for specialist workers and those with specific connections with the country. The general ban still exists, but exceptions for labour market purposes are increasing. Exceptions have been in force the whole period for specialists, and more liberal rules and regulations are now underway to meet expected future needs also for unspecialised workers (see KRD 2002, and Østby 2002c).

It is not easy to see the effects of this ban in the immigration statistics and for the remainder of the decade. After 1975 in- and outflows were quite stable, giving annual net immigration of around 4 000 (figure 2.1). However, the composition of the flows from third world countries changed from being composed predominantly of young single males to a profile more associated with family formation and reunification (see Sørensen, 1977). Around the time of the introduction of the ban, we also see major new inflows of refugees, first from the coup against President Allende in Chile, and then the boat people from Vietnam. Norway was not generally the first choice for refugees from these countries, but the country had political ties with the Allende regime, and the Norwegian merchant fleet rescued many boat people in the South China Sea in a less dramatic scene than the Christmas Island incident (MS Tampa) in the autumn of 2001. When the boat people were not allowed into other countries, they were often accepted as refugees by Norway.

Around 1980, the first asylum seekers presented themselves at the country's borders or at Norwegian embassies abroad. Before 1985, they were only a few hundred a year but since 1986, the numbers have been much higher, varying between 1 500 and 13 000 and have been part of the driving force behind the fluctuations in the number of immigrants shown in figure 2.1. The other main source of fluctuation is related to the demands of the Norwegian labour market, with distinct peaks in 1986-87 and after the mid-1990s, the variations of which closely mirror the national unemployment figures. This demand for labour has been met by our Nordic and other European neighbours (workers have been free to move between Norway and the EU since 1994 under the EEA-Agreement) and to some extent by the recruitment of specialists from non-EU countries. It is also probably the case that family migrations (reunification or formation) are more likely to a country with a high demand for labour than to countries with high unemployment, and also asylum seekers might take these possibilities in the labour market into account when they choose where to file their applications.

3. Sources of data, definitions and concepts

The main source for Norwegian migration statistics, both on stocks and flows, is the System for Population Registration. The information contained in it is taken from the Central Register of Population that was established primarily for administrative, not statistical purposes. This source is also the basis for all population and most social statistics in Norway. As the input to this system is frequently used for different purposes, with important decisions for members of the society based on its content, we can be pretty sure of its quality. Registers for statistical purposes can only maintain their quality if they are frequently used for a variety of purposes, and if there are a number of different interests involved in updating and maintenance. The corollary of this is that a register purely for statistical purposes is unlikely to maintain its quality through time. When applying registers owned and operated by others, statisticians lose their right to decide on content, but the gains in quality far outweigh the disadvantages.

Based on the Population Census of 1960, the Central Population Register (CPR) was established in 1964. Between 1964 and 1990, it was located within Statistics Norway, and run jointly by the tax authorities and Statistics Norway, with all local offices being run by the tax authorities. Municipal population registers were introduced by law in 1946, but were not linked to a central unit. As early as 1911, some municipalities had established local registers on their own initiative to serve the administrative purposes of the municipality. From its inception, the CPR included all persons who were registered as being settled in Norway from the time of the Census, and assigned them a unique Personal Identification Number (PIN-code). When persons die or emigrate, a PIN-code is never be re-assigned, and all relevant information is kept in the historical archives. This means that the PIN-code can be used for linking all the various registers that are based on this system.

All live born children born to resident parent(s) in Norway are included in the register as are those immigrants who have been granted a permit to stay. Their inclusion is based on the UN definition of usual place

of residence (UN 1998), but linked to an *intention* to stay for at least six months as opposed to the UN recommendation *for actual stay* of at least one year. All persons are allocated to a specific municipality using as the definition of usual place of residence the place where the majority of nights are spent.

All vital events (births, deaths, marriages, national and international migration etc.) and demographic characteristics like age, marital status, citizenship, number of children, place of birth, national background (including parental country of birth), and year of first immigration are registered against this PIN. From this information it is possible to reconstruct individual demographic biographies for the period over which the register has existed. In addition, a number of registers in the private and governmental sectors also use the same PIN. To mention just a few from the governmental sector: registers of income and wealth based on tax returns, educational attainment, school attendance, social security, criminality and driving licenses. The PIN code is needed to open a bank account or to apply for a loan. The employment records of individuals are also registered on the same basis.

Statistics Norway is now only a secondary user of the population register. Each day, this body receives a "dump" of all transactions of relevance for statistical purposes, which is then used for the continuous updating of the register and the production of statistics on demographic events. A great number of the other registers are also available within Statistics Norway. With the consent of the Data Inspectorate, these registers can also be linked for analytical and statistical purposes, but it is strictly forbidden to reveal information that might identify particular individuals. So far, these data protection goals have been managed in a reasonable way, and the use made of information contained in the register is not often contested.

As the information from the register system is so widely used, we may reasonably assume that all serious quality problems have been uncovered, although not necessarily solved. It is clear that the great majority of immigrants are included, if not always on their exact

date of arrival, because it is very difficult to live in Norway for any length of time without being registered. Those given a PIN will normally be legal immigrants - immigrants without the necessary permits are not included in the register. The number of persons living illegally in Norway is difficult to gauge precisely, but police estimates give a maximum of 5 000. The majority are probably persons who have overstayed a visa or temporary permit, and not illegal immigrants who intend to remain permanently in Norway.

A more serious problem is linked to the out-migration of foreigners. Many of these are unaware of their obligation to notify the register upon departure, and even if they knew, they might not see any reason for doing so. For some foreign workers, it might be in their employers or their own interests not to de-register and such cases can obviously affect the reliability of the statistics on both stocks and flows. Estimates made around 1990 indicated that between 10 and 15 000 foreigners had left the country without being de-registered. The majority of these were from oil-worker countries of the UK and the USA, with fewer third world migrants than might have been expected. Since then, the system for de-registration has improved (cf. table 4.7)

The inclusion of asylum seekers in the register has followed different rules since 1987. Between 1987 and January 1994, asylum seekers were entered into the register once their application had been accepted, whereas if it were refused and they were required to leave the country, they were registered as out-migrants. Since 1994, however, they have been included only if they obtain a permit to remain in the country on a temporary or permanent basis, or if there are strong grounds for assigning an identification number for some specific purpose. Changes to the system, and not very clear rules and regulations, are always problematic when trying to assess data quality.

For the analyses presented in this report, we have relied mainly on data from the Population Register System. But, where appropriate, we have also used information from other linked registers. Publications based on these linked sources are most often in Norwegian, but examples in English are: Blom 1997, Østby 2000a, and b, and 2002a, b and d.

Sources outside our register system can be found in the Directorate for Immigration (UDI), who produce an annual report in English (UDI 2001). Their procedures have been established to serve their own internal purposes, and are consequently not that well suited for general statistical use (Østby 2001a and b). UDI frequently utilises data and analyses from Statistics Norway while co-operation between the two institutions also makes it possible to link UDI's registers of immigrants and refugees to the population statistical sys-

tem. This does, of course, require a common identifier and the PIN-code system is to be adopted for UDI registers from now on. Earlier attempts at linkage based on names, date of birth etc. were expensive and not very successful. Reasons for immigration (or more correctly for permission to stay in Norway) are only to be found in the systems of UDI, but since it has been possible for the two institutions to produce detailed data in co-operation with each other only for the period 1990-1993 (Statistics Norway 1995), a simple division of immigrants into two groups, refugees and non-refugees has been used for those arriving from 1986 on. The statistical system in UDI is under revision, and we expect that their new system will make it easier to integrate their data with official statistics.

Sample surveys are rarely used for generating migration statistics and analyses in Norway. This is for a number of reasons. One is the existence of registers, and the ability to exploit them for statistical and research purposes. General population samples will normally contain around 6 per cent of respondents who are immigrants, which means that even in a major survey of 3 000 respondents, less than 200 will be immigrants. Moreover, the non-response rate among immigrants is often found to be much higher than in the general population, and is highly selective for language proficiency, trust in the government, and degree of integration. The 200 respondents must be further subdivided by region or country of origin, sex, or age which is an additional limitation on their usefulness. In other words, sample surveys have to be targeted to be of relevance for immigration research.

None the less, a number of such surveys have been carried out by universities and research institutes, but often with too specific an aim to be of general use. Statistics Norway did, however, undertake a major survey of living conditions among eight major nationalities in 1996, all from non-western countries, in which respondents could be interviewed in their own language, if they preferred. The questionnaire was based on the one used in the general survey of living conditions in Norway to make the findings comparable for immigrants and non-immigrants, as well as between different immigrant groups. The results of this survey have been discussed by Blom (1998), Østby (2000b) and Lofthus (1998 a and b).

Based on the register information, there are a number of possible ways of identifying immigrants. We could, as many do, use citizenship, but this poses a number of limitations especially for comparative analysis. The main problem relates to the fact that individuals do change their citizenship through naturalisation and that naturalisation varies greatly between countries. Hence, persons born with Norwegian citizenship may carry all the visible signs of being of foreign origin. Country of birth is, arguably, a better indicator since it

is invariant, but it is still important to be able to clearly identify different generations since many of the offspring of immigrants retain demographic behaviour patterns similar to those of their parents. It is for this reason that Statistics Norway has developed a standard classification based on parental country of birth for demographic analysis as well as for the study of other aspects of immigration like discrimination and citizenship. The different classifications are demonstrated in the next section.

4. Migration patterns and stocks of immigrants

4.1. Stock of immigrants

The more important characteristics of the stock of immigrants in Norway are presented in this section, placing some emphasis on the historical context as it is difficult to understand the cross-sectional patterns unless they are linked to the past. All information is taken from the register system for population statistics and the level of detail can be varied to suit the particular presentational need. The opportunity is also taken to illustrate what a register statistical system can provide and it may well be that the level of detail is sometimes greater than can be justified by the limited number of persons of foreign background resident in Norway.

As we have already seen, we can identify the immigrant population in various ways. The main criterion that is used here (and in Norwegian population statistics in general) is persons with two foreign-born parents, which is further subdivided into those born abroad (first generation immigrants) and those born in Norway (persons often said to be of second generation immigrant origin). On this basis, as of 1 January 2001, the population of Norway included 298 000 persons of immigrant origin - that is 6.6 per cent of the total, with 250 000 belonging to the first generation and 48 000 to their children. The number is not particularly large, and is not easily compared with other countries as the definition used here can only be applied in a small number of other cases. Estimates using some of the

common definitions are, however, presented in table 4.1 to demonstrate the different quantitative effects in the Norwegian context.

As we have underlined earlier, it is not easy to find comparable data with the same definitions. The best we have found is data for Sweden and the Netherlands. These countries have 14 and 12 per cent, respectively, of the population with two foreign-born parents (Østby, 2002c). The comparable Norwegian figure is seven per cent, half the level of two significant immigration countries in Europe.

The country has close on 186 000 foreign citizens, of whom around 2 000 have two Norwegian-born parents and are therefore not treated as being of immigrant background. Although the number of foreign citizens decreased during the mid 1990s (and had a modest increase in 2001), this should not be interpreted as a decline in the foreign component of the Norwegian population, but rather as a phase during which the number of naturalisations exceeded the net immigration of foreign citizens. Five out of every six foreign citizens (168 000 persons) belong to the immigrant population, but the immigrant population also includes 130 000 persons who are Norwegian citizens. Only 14 000 foreign citizens belong to the large group described as those of "other immigrant background" in table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Immigrants in Norway 1 January 2001

	Immigrant population	Foreign citizens	Born abroad
Total population: 4 503 436			
Total immigrant background	505 868	182 344	305 035
Total immigrant population	297 731	168 321	249 904
First generation, born abroad with two foreign-born parents	249 904	157 202	249 904
Born in Norway with two foreign-born parents	47 827	11 119	-
Other with some immigrant background	208 137	14 219	55 131
Adopted from abroad	14 161	318	14 161
Foreign-born with one Norwegian-born parent	23 143	3 880	23 143
Norwegian-born with one foreign-born parent	153 006	9 311	-
Born abroad with two Norwegian-born parents	17 827	514	17 827

Source: Statistics Norway.

Table 4.2. Immigrants in Norway by country of origin - selected countries and definitions. 1 January 2001

Country	All with immigrant background	Immigrant population	1. generation	Born in Norway with two foreign-born parents	Born in	Citizens of
All countries, total	505 868	297 731	249 904	47 827	305 035	184 337
Pakistan	24 915	23 581	13 554	10 027	13 617	6 731
Sweden	58 093	23 010	22 100	910	33 251	25 170
Denmark	48 731	19 049	17 728	1 321	21 954	19 405
Vietnam	16 804	15 880	11 231	4 649	11 289	1 897
Yugoslavia	17 063	15 469	13 001	2 468	12 864	8 849
Bosnia	13 186	12 944	11 775	1 169	11 747	11 611
Iraq	12 630	12 357	11 212	1 145	11 345	9 891
Iran	12 230	11 016	9 645	1 371	9 327	3 795
Turkey	12 355	10 990	7 507	3 483	7 566	3 299
UK	29 604	10 925	10 342	583	14 174	11 074
Sri Lanka	11 043	10 335	7 292	3 043	7 460	3 177
Somalia	10 318	10 107	7 905	2 202	7 837	6 152
Germany	23 073	9 448	8 923	525	11 766	7 055
USA	30 059	7 253	7 014	239	14 671	8 037
Finland	12 658	6 776	6 434	342	6 847	6 003
Chile	8 641	6 491	5 300	1 191	5 514	2 361
Poland	9 689	6 432	5 698	734	5 862	2 023
India	8 277	6 140	4 103	2 037	5 244	2 174
Philippines	10 059	5 885	5 105	780	6 030	1 962
Morocco	7 100	5 719	3 870	1 849	3 893	1 440
Russia	4 524	3 749	3 662	87	3 866	3 288

Source: Statistics Norway

"Foreign-born" is a more stable variable than that based on citizenship, as a person's place of birth can never change. The number of foreign-born amounts to around 6.75 per cent of the total population and is probably the best measure available when it comes to international comparisons. However, more than 55 000 of the group do not belong to the immigrant population, consisting as they do of adopted children, and children born abroad with one or two Norwegian-born parents.

It is necessary that all information on immigrants and immigration is further broken down by regional background, since the only aspect that the immigrant population of Norway share in common is the fact that their parents were *not* born in Norway. This has the effect of making them a much more heterogeneous population than non-migrants. Some of the information contained in table 4.1 is therefore given in more details in table 4.2, where the main criteria for defining immigrants are given for those countries supplying the bulk of immigrants to Norway. Taking all those with an immigrant background into account, it is apparent that the largest numbers come from neighbouring countries - 190 000 out of more than 500 000 have their origins in Sweden, Denmark, USA, UK or Germany - in addition to the USA with whom, as an Atlantic nation, we for a long time have had very close contacts. The big difference between the first and second columns in table 4.2 is indicative of the long contacts these countries have had with Norway, with many trans-national families living in the country today. There are also surprisingly few children with two immigrant parents from these countries. For instance, of the 30 000 persons in Norway with some background in the USA, only 248 have two USA-born parents. For most of non-western coun-

tries, the numbers in the first and second columns are very close and, this time, is indicative of the few mixed families living in Norway from these countries.

Excluding Turkey, slightly under 50 per cent of immigrants with two foreign-born parents are of European background. Twenty per cent are from the Nordic countries, 12 per cent are from other parts of Western Europe, 15 per cent from Eastern Europe, while 4 per cent have a background in Northern America or Oceania. Close to 50 per cent have a background in a third world country, defined as the whole of Asia (including Turkey), Africa and Latin America. One can argue whether this is the most appropriate definition of the third world, but for our purposes, it is the most convenient, and the number of immigrants from countries that might have been classified in other groups, like Japan or Israel, is negligible.

Table 4.3 provides some details about the background of immigrants in Norway by regions and selected countries. Also included in this table are around 14 000 persons with some immigrant background adopted from abroad who do not fall under our main definition. This is a comparatively high figure for Europe - second to Denmark - and raises the question as to why a country with relatively high fertility also has a high adoption rate. Adoptions from abroad actually started three decades ago (Jakobsen 2001). Forty per cent of adoptions have been from the Republic of Korea, 20 per cent from Colombia and a significant number also from India and China, with Eastern Europe becoming a significant source more recently. There have been adoptions of 620 girls from China against only 18 boys; from elsewhere, the sex ratio is more evenly balanced.

Those born abroad with one Norwegian-born parent are not included in the immigrant population. They number only 23 000, with two-thirds of them having the other parent born in Sweden, Denmark, the USA or the UK. Non-western "other parents" are rare, and is another indication of a low level of integration. It is much more common to be born in Norway with one foreign-born parent and more than 150 000 persons fall into this category. Again, the other parent often comes from countries with which Norway has had close contacts for a long period. If we add Germany to the four countries listed above, 90 of the 155 thousand in this group are covered. For those with a non-western background, the largest number (3 300) has a parent (mostly the mother) from the Philippines. Only 1 300 have one Norwegian-born and one Pakistani born parent.

To make the Norwegian data consistent with the broad definition of immigrants as used in the Netherlands, those with one foreign-born parent and those born abroad with two Norwegian-born parents should be added to the figures, and the adopted excluded. On this basis, 10.5 per cent of the population of Norway would be of immigrant background compared with 17.9 per cent in the Netherlands (Heering et al. 2001).

The last column in the table refers to those born abroad with two Norwegian-born parents and, although not immigrants, this group is included here because its regional distribution is indicative of the contact pattern between Norway and the rest of the world. More than 50 per cent of them have been born in either Sweden or the USA.

Table 4.3. Immigrant population¹ and persons with other immigrant background by immigrant category, sex and country of birth². 1 January 2001

	Immigrant population			Other immigrant background				
	Total	First generation immigrants without Norwegian background	Born in Norway with two foreign-born parents	Total	Adopted abroad	Foreign-born with one parent born in Norway	Born in Norway with one foreign-born parent	Foreign-born with both parents born in Norway
All	297 731	249 904	47 827	208 137	14 161	23 143	153 006	17 827
Europe (excl. Turkey)	135 008	124 383	10 625	134 575	786	16 742	107 458	9 589
Western Europe	86 751	81 692	5 059	124 291	304	16 396	98 112	9 479
Denmark	19 049	17 728	1 321	29 682	45	3 158	25 459	1 020
Finland	6 776	6 434	342	5 882	12	360	5 453	57
France	2 350	2 241	109	2 869	5	438	2 183	243
Iceland	3 756	3 441	315	2 199	3	223	1 916	57
Netherlands	3 848	3 388	460	4 500	6	526	3 724	244
United Kingdom	10 925	10 342	583	18 679	27	2 736	14 873	1 043
Sweden	23 010	22 100	910	35 083	108	5 567	24 194	5 214
Germany	9 448	8 923	525	13 625	66	1 924	10 880	755
Eastern Europe	48 257	42 691	5 566	10 284	482	346	9 346	110
Bosnia- Herzegovina	12 944	11 775	1 169	242	-	13	229	-
Yugoslavia	15 469	13 001	468	1 594	4	20	1 567	3
Poland	6 432	5 698	734	3 257	38	151	3 054	14
Russia	3 749	3 662	87	775	149	49	565	12
Africa	29 568	23 118	6 450	9 086	320	669	6 784	1 313
Ethiopia	2 803	2 285	518	905	257	48	313	287
Ghana	1 355	1 040	315	257	1	9	238	9
Morocco	5 719	3 870	1 849	1 381	4	22	1 347	8
Somalia	10 107	7 905	2 202	211	2	2	207	-
Asia (incl. Turkey)	112 590	83 694	28 896	26 572	8 746	1 310	15 319	1 197
Philippines	5 885	5 105	780	4 174	522	315	3 307	30
India	6 140	4 103	2 037	2 137	1 007	64	965	101
Iraq	12 357	11 212	1 145	273	1	14	256	2
Iran	11 016	9 645	1 371	1 214	20	30	1 148	16
China	3 654	3 043	611	1 687	756	37	799	95
Lebanon	1 613	1 188	425	452	2	27	411	12
Pakistan	23 581	13 554	10 027	1 334	14	20	1 294	6
Sri Lanka	10 335	7 292	3 043	708	160	23	518	7
Thailand	3 738	3 586	152	2 215	183	163	1 795	74
Turkey	10 990	7 507	3 483	1 365	6	30	1 321	8
Vietnam	15 880	11 231	4 649	924	188	28	690	18
North and Central Amerika	10 119	9 715	404	27 715	640	3 604	18 323	5 148
Canada	1 120	1 076	44	3 097	50	455	1 953	639
USA	7 253	7 014	239	22 806	247	2 945	15 192	4 422
South America	9 547	8 127	1 420	8 620	3 664	530	4 050	376
Chile	6 491	5 300	1 191	2 150	150	67	1 905	28
Oceania	899	867	32	1 569	5	288	1 072	204

¹ Persons with two foreign-born parents.

² Own, mother's or father's country of birth (not Norway).

Source: Statistics Norway

Table 4.4. First generation immigrants by duration of residence and country background. 1 January 2001

	Length of stay, per cent				
	Total	0-4 years	5-9 years	10-14 years	15+ years
First generation, total	249 904	33	19	18	30
Europe, total	131 890	34	20	11	35
Bosnia-Herzegovina	11 775	19	81	0	1
Denmark	17 728	19	8	11	62
Yugoslavia	13 001	46	30	14	10
Poland	5 698	18	20	26	37
United Kingdom	10 342	24	11	9	55
Sweden	22 100	45	13	9	32
Turkey	7 507	24	16	28	32
Germany	8 923	33	9	7	50
Africa, total	23 118	42	20	21	16
Morocco	3 870	24	17	24	35
Somalia	7 905	57	27	16	1
Asia, total	76 187	31	17	27	25
Philippines	5 105	26	16	30	28
India	4 103	18	11	19	51
Iraq	11 212	77	16	6	1
Iran	9 645	29	19	48	4
Pakistan	13 554	16	12	21	51
Sri Lanka	7 292	24	22	44	11
Thailand	3 586	44	24	20	12
Vietnam	11 231	7	22	31	40
North and Central America, total	9 715	32	11	9	48
Canada	1 076	35	13	8	45
USA	7 014	28	10	8	54
Central America	1 625	46	16	13	24
South America, total	8 127	19	9	49	23
Chile	5 300	8	6	65	20
Oceania, total	867	44	11	8	37

Source: Statistics Norway

Regarding first generation immigrants, the main countries of origin are Sweden and Denmark. The number of Swedes has always fluctuated according to the business cycle, and inter-country differences in the same, and it is likely that their numbers may well decline over the next few years if developments in the Swedish economy continue to be positive. We have already seen a small net out-migration of Swedish citizens to Sweden in 2000 and 2001. By contrast, the number of Danes in Norway has always been much more stable, and less dependant on the situation in the labour market.

After having been behind Yugoslavia in 2000, Pakistan again ranks as number three as country of origin for first generation immigrants to Norway. The numbers are growing slowly, but consistent.

Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) was the fourth most important origin of first generation immigrants in the year 2001, due to the reception of 6000 Kosovars following the war in 1999. They were given temporary protection, and at the moment it seems probable that many will be required to return home. Bosnia-Herzegovina is in fifth position. When taken together, however, former Yugoslavia is seen to be by far the most important contributor of first generation immi-

grants to Norway at the present time. Bosnians were given temporary protection at the beginning of the war, but the persistence of the conflict, and the problems following the conclusion of peace have been so difficult to resolve that most have now been granted permission to remain permanently in the country. Repatriation programmes have not been very successful, Kosovars aside, and were only taken up by around 7 500 refugees between 1994 and 2000 (Holter and Landmark 2001). More than 5 000 returned to Yugoslavia in 1999 and 2000, mostly Kosovars. In 2001, the highest net out-migration of foreign citizens was to Yugoslavia, with almost 1 000. Less than fifteen per cent of the Bosnians originally accepted have returned under the repatriation programme (around 1 800 persons 1994-2000). The numbers repatriated to other countries are very modest. The Bosnians have showed to be easily integrated in Norway, another indication that they will stay.

There are striking differences between the various countries in terms of the number of first generation immigrants and the number of their children (table 4.3). Of the major Western countries, only Denmark has contributed more than 1 000 children born to two parents born in the same country, reflecting its close traditional ties with Norway. Apart from this, signifi-

cant numbers of children of two immigrant parents are from refugee countries or countries that originally sent migrant workers. Refugees exhibit a very low rate of return as well as rarely moving on to third countries (Tysse and Keilman 1998), whereas the few recent arrivals on work permits from third world countries tend to move on again quite frequently, in contrast to the migrant workers of the 1970s.

At one time it was thought that Pakistani workers, for instance, would return home with their pensions upon retirement thereby combining the income level of Norway with the living costs of Pakistan. That does not seem to be the case. However, the figures on return migration (Tysse and Keilman 1998), and the development of a second generation in Norway suggest that this is not happening. Among persons above the age of 50, during the five years 1996-2000, only 44 Pakistani citizens migrated from Norway to Pakistan, and 187 in the other direction. Among Norwegian citizens (many of them probably naturalised of Pakistani origin), 41 moved to Pakistan, and 55 from Pakistan to Norway. The number of persons involved is rather low, but show a consistent net immigration from Pakistan to Norway in all old age groups. This immigration surplus is increasing slowly.

Information on duration of stay by major world regions and the more significant immigration countries is presented in table 4.4. Differences between the major regions are not very large, with one third of immigrants being resident in the country for no more than 5 years, i.e. they arrived between 1996 and 2000, but with slightly more in the case of Africa and somewhat less for Asia. Likewise, one in five immigrants arrived

during the first part of the 1990s, but again there are no significant differences by region. By contrast, those who have been in the country for between 10 and 14 years, in other words they arrived in 1986-90, exhibit clear differences. Comparatively few are from Europe, with rather more coming from Asia. Fifty per cent of the Americans have stayed for longer than 15 years, compared with only 15 per cent of Africans and 25 per cent of Asians. On the other hand, one third of Europeans arrived more than 15 years ago.

The figures for individual countries clearly show the processes behind these patterns. For our neighbours, there is a distinct heterogeneity. Some remain in the country for a very short period, for instance to work or to take education, whereas others come to settle on a permanent basis. This is why Danes, Swedes and Englishmen have either very long or very short durations of residence. For other countries, the table reflects the temporal patterns of immigration. Bosnians came in 1994 and 1995, whereas Yugoslavs are either migrant workers with a "long" history in the country or refugees from Kosovo in 1999 and earlier.

4.2. Components of change in the immigrant population

Like all communities, immigrant populations grow through births and immigration, and are reduced through deaths and emigration. Immigrant fertility is dealt with in section 6, and summary measures of mortality are presented in section 9. In this section 4.2 we focus on demographic accounts, migratory patterns, and the reasons for granting permission to stay in Norway.

Table 4.5. Components of demographic change between 1 January 2000 and 1 January 2001 by immigrant category

Immigrant category	Population 1.1.2000	Changes in 2000							Population 1.1.2001
		Births	Deaths	Natural growth	Immigra- tion	Emigra- tion	Net migration	Growth	
Total	4 478 497	59 234	44 002	15 232	36 542	26 854	9 688	24 939	4 503 436
Without any immigrant background	3 994 227	48 942	42 388	6 554	5 749	8 476	-2 727	2 664	3 997 568
Immigrant background, total	484 270	10 292	1 614	8 678	30 793	18 378	12 415	22 275	505 868
First generation immigrants without Norwegian background	238 462	-	1 141	-1 141	27 875	15 061	12 814	11 269	249 904
Born in Norway with two foreign-born parents	44 025	4 562	49	4 513	348	1 099	-751	3 833	47 827
Adopted from abroad	13 596	-	5	-5	560	55	505	627	14 161
Foreign-born with one Norwegianborn parent	22 791	-	50	-50	849	520	329	473	23 143
Norwegian-born with one foreign-born parent	147 805	5 730	324	5 406	767	1 454	-687	5 689	153 006
Born abroad by Norwegian born parents	17 591	-	45	-45	394	189	205	384	17 827
Immigrant population ¹	282 487	4 562	1 190	3 372	28 223	16 160	12 063	15 102	297 731
Non-immigrant population	4 196 010	54 672	42 812	11 860	8 319	10 694	-2 375	9 837	4 205 705

¹ Sum of categories 'First generation immigrants without Norwegian background' and 'Born in Norway with to foreign-born parents'.

Source: Statistics Norway

Table 4.6. Components of demographic change between 1 January 2000 and 1 January 2001 by immigrant background

Immigrant background	Population 1.1.2000	Changes in 2000							Population 1.1.2001
		Births	Deaths	Natural growth	Immigra- tion	Emigra- tion	Net migration	Growth	
Total population	4 478 497	59 234	44 002	15 232	36 542	26 854	9 688	24 939	4 503 436
Non-immigrants	4 196 010	54 672	42 812	11 860	8 319	10 694	-2 375	9 654	4 205 705
Immigrants, total ¹	282 487	4 562	1 190	3 372	28 223	16 160	12 063	15 285	297 731
Western countries	96 120	547	794	-247	10 747	10 439	308	-67	96 023
Non-western countries	186 367	4 015	396	3 619	17 476	5 721	11 755	15 352	201 708
Nordic countries	53 445	346	393	-47	6 771	6 574	197	41	53 480
Rest of Western Europe, except Tur- key	33 097	179	238	-59	2 993	2 732	261	194	33 271
Eastern Europe	46 098	767	159	608	3 824	2 253	1 571	2 154	48 257
North America and Oceania	9 578	22	163	-141	983	1 133	-150	-302	9 272
Asia, Africa, South and Central Amer- ica, Turkey, stateless and unknown	140 269	3 248	237	3 011	13 652	3 468	10 184	13 198	153 451

¹ All persons with two foreign-born parents.

Source: Statistics Norway

Demographic accounts

The components of demographic change for 2000 are presented in table 4.5 including minor corrections for data and definitional revisions. Like the preceding 15 years, the country's growth rate, at 0.55 per cent, was among the highest in Europe. However, the second line of the table shows that the growth contributed by the non-immigrant element of the population was modest at only 0.23 per cent. It is not easy to find comparable figures for other countries, but it seems likely that if Norwegian definitions are adopted the non-immigrant population of most European countries would have declined during much of the 1990s. That the non-migrant population of Norway have increased is therefore somewhat exceptional and is attributable to the country's relatively high fertility rate - the TFR ranged between 1.81 and 1.93 during the 1990s - coupled with a stable number of deaths brought about by declining mortality in a less ageing population than in most Western European countries.

In fact, the population of immigrant background contributed over 60 per cent of total growth during 2000, with four fifth of this growth coming from the net inflow of first generation immigrants. The net migration component was particularly high in 1999, and showed significantly lower in numbers in 2000, and probably also in 2001. For the whole period, inflow of persons seeking refuge has been high, whereas labour migration from our neighbouring countries has been declining. The gross inflow of first generation immigrants is, of course, reduced through emigration, but as table 4.5 shows, the outflow from the country was relatively modest. It may also be noted that there were only 1 000 deaths among first generation immigrants which is more attributable to their young age structure than to low mortality (see also section 9).

For those born in Norway with two foreign-born parents, the major component of change is births, rather than deaths or migration. This group has an annual

growth rate of 9-10 per cent at the moment and, given their young age structure, growth will remain high for many years to come, irrespective of the immigration policy of the country.

Table 4.6 shows the demographic components of change that occurred within the immigrant population with two foreign-born parents in 2000 in more detail. During the year in question, the immigrant population increased by almost 15 000, with 80 per cent of the growth coming from net migration and only 20 per cent from the balance of births and deaths. All of this growth was attributable to immigrants of non-western origin, whereas we previous years had a certain growth also in the population of western origin. The growth in the population of Eastern European origin was 2 000, back on a more normal level than the growth of 8 000 in 1999.

Among immigrants with a western background, the natural growth rate was slightly negative, reflecting their rather old age structure and the fact that young western immigrants very often return home to establish a family. There was a very small net inflow from the Nordic countries and other parts of Western Europe. This was on a declining trend compared to previous years, which might seem paradoxical given Norway's booming economy, with a large unmet demand for labour in many sectors, e.g. health workers, engineers and IT-specialists. Recruitment campaigns have been conducted in Europe to attract migrants to these vacant positions, and there is now a common political belief that the country will need foreign workers in future years, and also non-specialised worker will be accepted. Yet the inflow from these traditional source areas is falling and it is apparent that labour will now have to be recruited from more distant countries, as our neighbours will have the same needs as we have in Norway.

The number of immigrants with non-western backgrounds increased by more than 15 000, or more than 5 per cent, in 2000, 3 400 of this increase coming from natural increase and 12 000 from net migration. The out-migration of non-western immigrants is still rather low, and amounted to only one third of the gross inflow in 2000. The numbers moving out is increasing, and was 1 500 higher in 2000 than in 1999. With an increasing stock of recently arrived immigrants from non-western countries, an increasing out-migration is exactly what we should expect. Those with backgrounds in Eastern Europe increased by 5 per cent, down from 25 per cent the year before. If there are no new humanitarian crises, we might expect lower net migration and a higher excess of births in the future. Immigrants from the third world experienced a certain level of natural growth, but net migration still accounted for 75 per cent of their overall increase. None the less, even under a more restrictive immigration regime, the growth potential of this group will remain strong for some years to come, due to its young age structure and comparatively high fertility. In 2001, Norway received more asylum seekers than ever before, especially during the summer months when the influx relative to population size was greater than to any other European country (UNHCR 2001).

Migration flows by region

Let us now turn our attention to migration flows, focusing on country of origin (table 4.7). Even though flow data by region of origin and destination are available, we will mostly use 2000-data as these are the most recent ones published including also country background of the migrants. We will make some references even to 2001-data when felt relevant.

There has been a strong rise in gross inflows in recent decades, from an annual average of 15 000 in the late 1960s to more than 42 000 in 1999 but down to 36 500 in 2000 and further to 34 000 in 2001. The year 1999 was exceptional, but numbers are not expected to drop below 30 000 in the near future. With the exception of some years when Bosnians and Kosovars constituted the largest components, the most significant flows have come from neighbouring countries. As mentioned in section 2, people have been free to move between the Nordic countries for more than 45 years. The influx from Denmark has generally been stable and has largely been less affected by, for instance, differences in labour market conditions in the two countries. The Swedes, on the other hand, seem to react more to differences in the development in the labour market than levels of unemployment. They arrived in large numbers during the late 1980s and late 1990s, but by the year 2000 the direction of the net flow was already changing. For the years 2000-1 taken together, it was a net out-migration of Swedish citizens to Sweden of 200, compared to a net out-migration of Norwegian citizens of 3 000. As for other European countries, Russia and other former So-

viet republics are gaining in importance. Many are still coming as asylum seekers, which is rather surprising given the fact that it is now ten years since the fall of the Iron Curtain. With only few exceptions, none of them will be given permit to stay in Norway.

The inflow from Africa is quite modest, although it was increasing during the late 1990s. The most important influx for some time has been of refugees from Somalia, whose integration into Norwegian society seems to be a rather lengthy process (Østby 2001b). Morocco was among the four original labour migrant countries to Norway, but immigration from there has not developed in the same way as from the other three - Pakistan, Turkey and Yugoslavia.

As for Asia, the numbers from Pakistan and other non-refugee countries have been stable and the changes that have occurred are related to refugees. At the moment, Iraqis comprise the most numerous group, many of whom are Kurdish refugees transferred from UNHCR camps. In 2001 Afghanistan ranks as number 2, as many Afghan asylum seekers have got permit to stay the last years. In earlier periods, the inflow was dominated by Tamils from Sri Lanka, refugees from Iran (not Afghans), Vietnamese boat people, together with females from the Philippines and Thailand.

The inflow from the USA has been high and stable while, from the rest of America, the country has accepted refugees from Chile, mainly during the late 1980s, and we have got some adopted children from Colombia.

Outflows have been much more stable and at lower levels, with neighbouring countries being more dominant as destinations than as origins. A small decline of 500 out-migrations from 2000 to 2001 is due to 800 less Norwegian citizens moving out, and 300 more foreign citizens having left. Sweden, Denmark, the UK and the USA have traditionally absorbed around 50 per cent of the out-migration from Norway. New in 2000 and 2001 is the big numbers returning to Yugoslavia (Kosovars). The numbers moving to any non-western country except Yugoslavia are seldom above 200, in 2001 not even to Pakistan.

Spain is included to show whether the out-migration of young Norwegian retirees is gaining in popularity. The numbers moving out between the ages of 50 and 70 is still increasing, and the return migration at higher ages is still low. Few, including returnees, leave for third world countries and, some of those who do, do so because they have been refused permission to remain in the country. Refugees from countries where the situation is improving are potential returnees. So far, return migration to Somalia, Vietnam and Iraq has been virtually non-existent (Tysse and Keilman 1998), and this is unlikely to change.

Table 4.7. Gross in and outflows and net migration by previous residence - annual averages for the period 1991-2001

Country	Inflow			Outflow			Net migration		
	1991-1995	1996-2000	2001	1991-1995	1996-2000	2001	1991-1995	1996-2000	2001
Total	27 465	34 690	34 264	18 546	22 885	26 309	8 919	11 805	7 955
Denmark	2 308	2 727	3 171	2 484	2 949	3 223	-176	-222	-52
Finland	395	1 130	1 224	246	682	1 135	149	448	89
Sweden	4 614	6 243	4 563	2 669	4 429	6 308	1 945	1 814	-1 745
Bosnia-Herzegovina	2 175	569	261	49	411	94	2 126	158	167
France	529	599	586	477	469	499	52	130	87
Germany	833	1 400	1 415	702	774	826	131	626	589
Russia	294	683	961	64	114	123	230	569	838
Spain	441	512	607	440	853	1 270	1	-341	-663
United Kingdom	1 587	1 835	1 696	1 529	1 826	1 547	58	9	149
Yugoslavia	1 352	1 617	602	379	408	1 509	973	1 209	-907
Rest of Europe	2 653	3 779	4 748	1 863	2 362	2 481	790	1 417	2 267
Ethiopia	205	283	453	78	67	85	127	216	368
Morocco	173	236	241	62	68	55	111	168	186
Somalia	444	832	1 009	37	37	54	407	795	955
Rest of Africa	1 138	1 336	1 412	747	615	422	391	721	990
Afghanistan	..	..	628	..	..	2	..	..	626
China	264	398	547	84	146	151	180	252	396
Korea, South	159	199	178	47	69	24	112	130	154
Philippines	429	386	542	107	119	109	322	267	433
India	183	239	372	106	88	69	77	151	303
Iraq	263	1 659	1 049	14	13	60	249	1 646	989
Iran	282	391	805	56	34	43	226	357	762
Pakistan	620	794	862	353	293	174	267	501	688
Sri Lanka	387	360	378	89	68	72	298	292	306
Thailand	270	410	679	82	102	152	188	308	527
Turkey	460	550	665	158	118	122	302	432	543
Vietnam	377	191	280	25	26	31	352	165	249
Rest of Asia	1 150	1 489	825	892	899	595	258	590	230
USA	2 069	2 104	1 717	2 071	2 195	1 734	-2	-91	-17
Chile	149	164	206	212	104	73	-63	60	133
Rest of America	968	1 140	1 170	623	621	531	345	519	639
Oceania	227	343	313	250	340	275	-23	3	38
Not stated	68	91	99	1 551	1 586	2 461	-1 483	-1 495	-2 362

Source: Statistics Norway

The number of destinations that are unstated reflects the sorts of registration problems discussed in section 3. When a municipal register office is quite sure that a person has left the country, they are considered to have emigrated and are removed from the list of residents. Local offices are urged to be active in collecting information about immigrants who have left Norway but they are only assigned a country of destination if they supply the necessary information personally, i.e. information obtained indirectly from neighbours, schools etc. is not used for establishing specific destinations.

Table 4.7 also gives figures for net migration. For the year 2000 and 2001, flows to and from the rest of Europe as a whole were more or less in balance. Within this, there is a net outflow to neighbouring countries, especially Sweden, and to Yugoslavia. There are net inflows from many Eastern European countries, particularly Russia. From Western Europe, the biggest inflow was from Germany both years. Otherwise, the main net influxes during the year 2000-1 were from Iraq and Somalia, and were clearly related to refugee movements.

The number of arrivals from third world countries is three times larger than the number leaving, and major changes in this ratio are not expected. The number of immigrants from third world countries has increased steadily over recent years from less than 3 000 at the beginning of the 1990s to well above 10 000 in 2000, the same level as in 1986 and 1987.

Since 1970, there has been a consistent annual net inflow from Pakistan, although it has never been the highest in any single year. In the early 1970s, there was a certain migration from the USA, both returning Norwegians and others, associated with the needs of the growing oil industry for specialists. The total net inflow was not reduced to any significant degree after the introduction of the immigration ban in mid-1970s, but the pattern shifted more towards family reunification, and towards accepting refugees. In 1985, asylum seekers suddenly discovered the country, but it took some time before a reception and control system was installed. At the same time, the Norwegian economy was also booming, and the combined effect of these two processes was to produce net immigration of over 10 000 in 1986 and 1987.

The decline in the economy in the late 1980s arrived very quickly, and was painful for Norwegians as well as for foreigners, while annual immigration from third world countries declined from almost 10 000 to under 3 000 within three years. Although the rules and regulations with regard to immigration were not changed in any dramatic way, their implementation appears to have become more restrictive. In addition, asylum seekers and refugees probably preferred countries with more positive prospects in the labour market. Later in the 1990s, the inflows from all over the world again increased as the economy improved. In the last three years, however, inflows from Western countries have been in decline, although this has been more a consequence of rising labour demand elsewhere than of any changes in the Norwegian economy.

Age pattern

The age structures of immigrants and emigrants in 2000 are given in figure 4.1. In figure 4.2 and 4.3 we have separated Norwegian and foreign citizens. Both in and out migration is most common among persons in their twenties, and there are also many young children moving into and out of the country. Figure 4.1 has many features in common with internal migration, but the differences between the mobility of the youngest children and those between the ages of 10 and 14 are much larger in the case of internal migration.

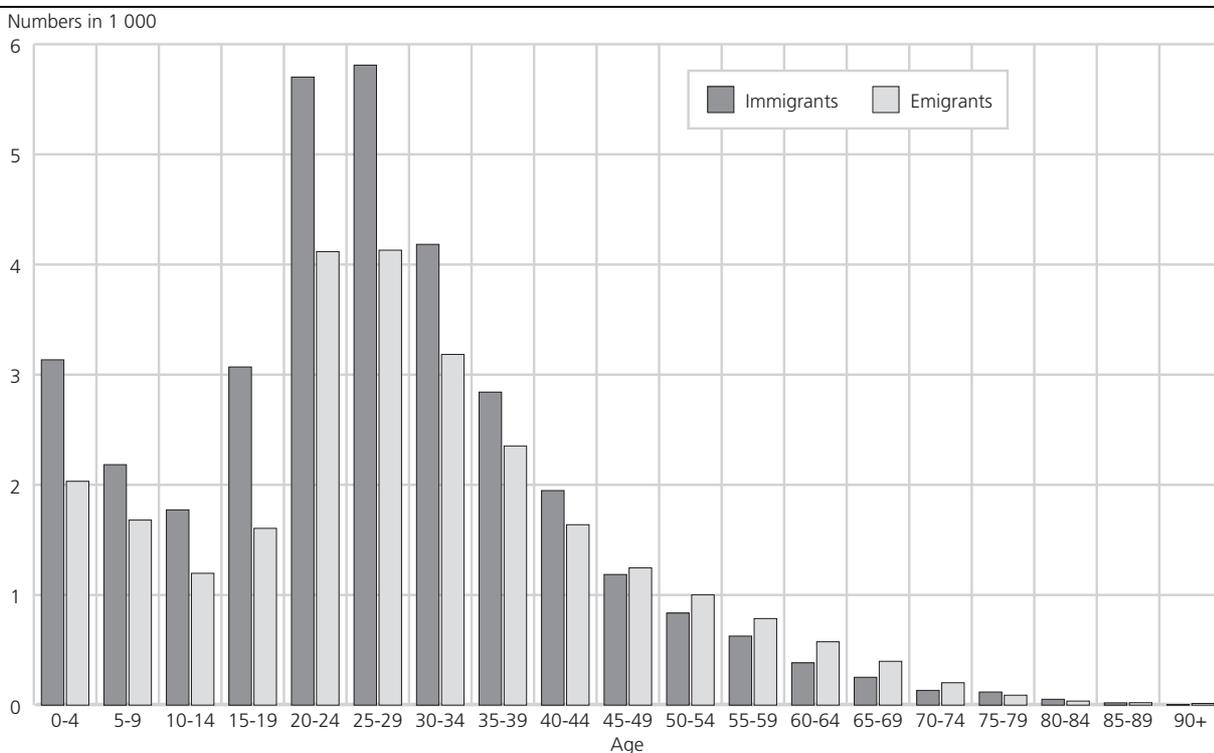
The differences between the in- and out-migrations profiles are most pronounced between the ages of 0 and 4, and 15 and 34. All age groups below 45 gained people through migration and, while international migration clearly contributed to the rejuvenation of the Norwegian population in 2001, the overall impact was comparatively modest. The net growth in age group 20-29 accounted for one half per cent of the total number in that group, and for even less at other ages.

In all ages above 45, there was a minor net out-migration. The net result was due to migration of Norwegian citizens, for the foreigners there were balance between numbers moving in and out. The net migration was higher for women than for men in 2001, with higher gain for foreigners and lower loss for Norwegians.

Factors responsible

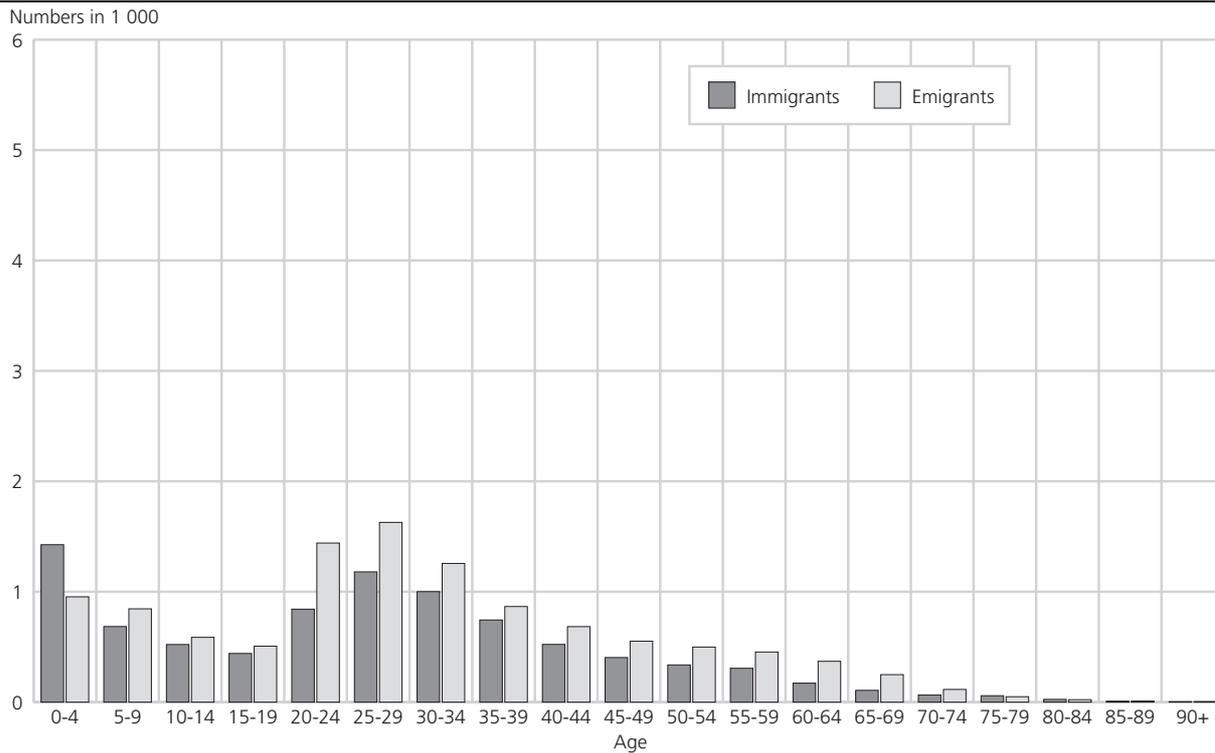
Norwegian statistics do not contain the same direct information on the factors responsible for migration as on the demographic and other aspects that can be derived from register linkage. In the survey on living conditions mentioned in section 3, a sample of migrants from eight countries was asked questions of this kind, but due to differences in the responses between countries, it is difficult to derive any general estimates.

Figure 4.1. Immigrants and emigrants by age, 2001



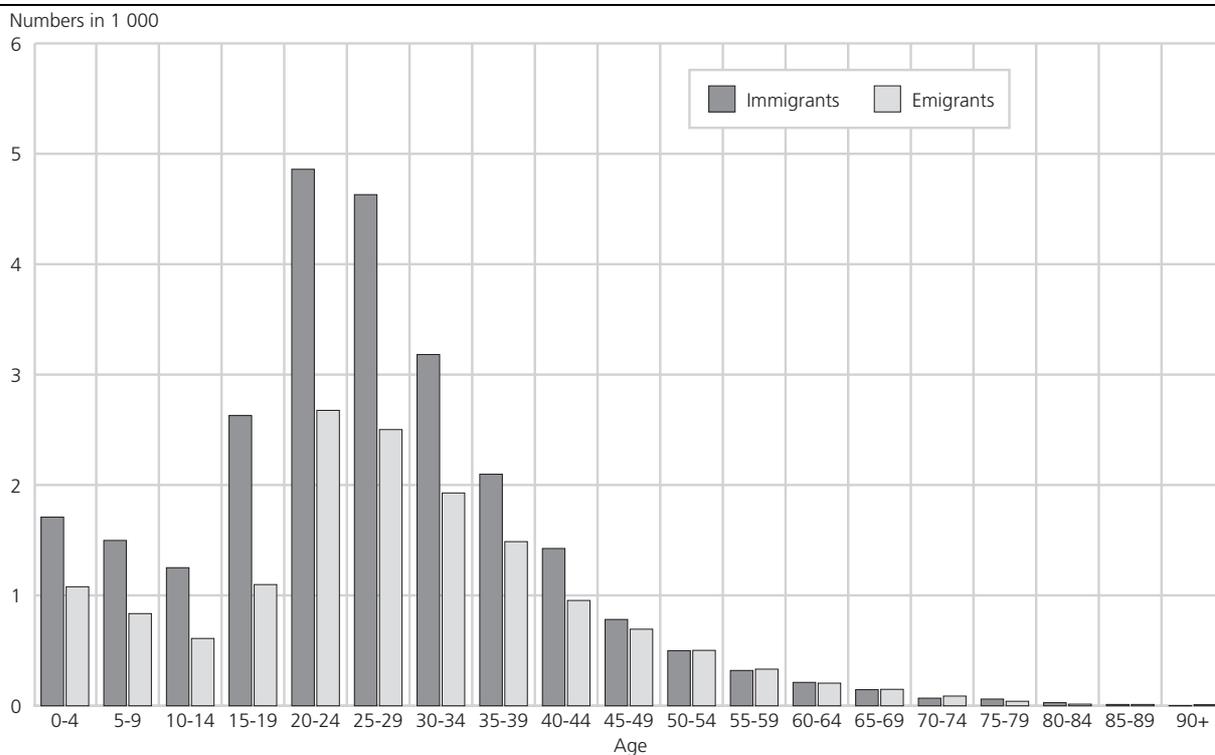
Source: Statistics Norway

Figure 4.2. Immigrants and emigrants by age, 2001. Norwegian citizens



Source: Statistics Norway

Figure 4.3. Immigrants and emigrants by age, 2001. Foreign citizens



Source: Statistics Norway

Table 4.3. Refugees by country background. 1 January 2001

	Refugees			Primary refugees			
	Total	Primary refugees	Family reunification	Refugees, unspecified	Transferred from UNHCR camp	Asylum	Other
Total	83 978	65 916	18 062	14 549	12 720	33 800	4 847
Eastern Europe	26 129	21 412	4 717	3 388	441	12 736	4 847
Asia, Africa, South- and Central-America, Turkey	57 706	44 394	13 312	11 140	12 276	20 978	-
Selected countries							
Bosnia-Herzegovina	11 489	8 367	3 122	326	85	4 939	3 017
Yugoslavia	10 662	9 490	1 172	1 656	24	5 989	1 821
Iraq	10 470	9 266	1 204	4 237	2 561	2 468	-
Vietnam	10 378	6 800	3 578	2 028	4 690	82	-
Iran	8 573	7 553	1 020	565	3 454	3 534	-
Somalia	7 355	5 568	1 787	1 633	148	3 787	-
Sri Lanka	5 099	3 328	1 771	282	13	3 033	-
Chile	4 569	3 462	1 107	715	139	2 608	-
Ethiopia	1 738	1 456	282	288	139	1 029	-
Turkey	1 686	775	911	94	19	662	-
Croatia	1 293	1 236	57	348	33	848	7
Afghanistan	1 082	963	119	483	288	192	-
Poland	968	815	153	37	263	515	-
Pakistan	878	610	268	73	15	522	-

Source: Statistics Norway

We have some estimates of the reasons for wishing to remain in Norway for the 110 000 persons who arrived during the period 1990-93. Among these, 53 000 were non-Nordic citizens moving to Norway for the first time and it is only for this group that the reasons for migration are meaningful. Slightly more than fifty per cent came as refugees, or were the family members of refugees already granted permission to stay. Education and work each counted for ten per cent and the remainder were family reasons. The latter could be for family reunification with other foreigners already in the country for work or, more rarely, for education, or to marry Norwegians.

The proportion of refugees was highest - four out of every five arrivals - for East Europeans. This was the period when Bosnian immigration commenced, with more than 6000 arrivals, almost everyone a refugee. In the case of immigrants from Asia and Africa, three out of five were refugees, with virtually 100 per cent of those from Somalia, Iraq and Vietnam falling into this category. To take up work is an important reason for immigration from the other Nordic countries, but they cannot be included in these statistics. Work-related reasons accounted for one in three arrivals from Western Europe and North America but for less than 4 per cent of immigrants from other world regions. The new data system of the Directorate for Immigration will hopefully give us the basis for continuous registrations of reasons to stay, and open for figures newer than from 1990-1993.

By 1 January 2001 Norway had accepted 84 000 refugees. Three out of four were primary refugees and only one in four came to be reunified with their families (table 4.8). Children born to refugees after arrival in Norway are not included, but the numbers involved are

similar to those for family reunification. The highest numbers of refugees are from Bosnia-Herzegovina, with Yugoslavia, Iraq and Vietnam following closely behind. The strongest growth in 2000 was for Iraqis (4 000), Somalis (1 250) and Afghans (450). Keeping Bosnians and Yugoslaves in different categories, Iraq will very soon become the most important refugee country for Norway.

Immigrants from countries like Chile, Vietnam, Bosnia, Iran, Iraq and Somalia are almost all refugees or their children, whereas others, like those from Yugoslavia and Turkey are of more mixed composition.

Three out of five refugees came as asylum seekers (table 4.8), with the majority of the rest being transferred from UNHCR camps. It may also be noted that in 1993-94, special arrangements were in place for the reception of prisoners of war from Bosnia. Family reunification cases are fewer than might be expected and, as well as being evenly distributed between the different countries, do not seem to increase much in relative numbers with time elapsed since first settling in Norway.

4.3. Naturalisations

In producing statistics on migrants, Statistics Norway rarely uses the criterion of citizenship. Although in some legal contexts, citizenship is a pertinent variable, it is not relevant when it comes to defining the immigrant population of Norway because naturalisation is both easy and common. The laws and regulations relating to naturalisation do not differ fundamentally from the European norm. In principle, a person who has resided in Norway for seven years and has not committed any serious crime will be granted Norwegian citizenship upon request. No requirements are made as to language proficiency or ability to be self-supporting.

Since 1977, the first year for which statistics are available, 138 300 people have been naturalised. A qualified guess would be that around fifty per cent of the eligible foreign citizens prefer to change citizenship and fifty per cent not to, but the percentage varies greatly between different groups. Table 4.1 showed that Norway has 250 000 first generation immigrants of whom 157 000 are foreign citizens. It is also probable that the majority of the 48 000 children of the first generation immigrants were born as foreign citizens, but that only a quarter of them remain foreign citizens today.

When comparing naturalisation rates in Europe, which in any case is a rather questionable exercise due to data problems, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands seem to have much higher rates than other countries (Eurostat 2000). One reason might be that these countries, in addition to quite liberal laws, also have many immigrants with a clear need to acquire the citizenship of their host nation. This is the case for many refugees, who have lost the protection of their country of birth, and consequently need a valid passport from their country of permanent residence and also, of course, for adopted children, for whom special rules apply.

Many foreigners have seen acquisition of citizenship of their country of residence as their ultimate protection against expulsion. After naturalisation, many have felt safe against profound changes in the immigration policy. However, some of the right wing parties in Europe, like Danish Peoples Party (Dansk Folkeparti) are considering to make naturalisation reversible on certain criteria.

Table 4.9 shows the average annual number of naturalisations by previous citizenship for the more important immigration countries, together with the total number of naturalisations. From the time of first registration in 1977 to 1987, they numbered around 2 000-2 500 per annum, i.e. there was essentially no increase even though the number of foreign citizens was rising. From the late 1980s to the mid 1990s, however, the numbers grew four fold to 10-12 000 per annum, although over the last four years, they have dropped back to 8-10 000. Between 1977 and 1987, while the overall total was stable, there was a decline in the number of Nordic and other Western European citizens being naturalised, and a compensating rise in numbers from non-western countries, mostly Asians.

As far as the relationship between naturalisations and the number of foreign citizens resident in Norway for more than seven years is concerned, it can be noted that at least fifty per cent of eligible persons from some of the more naturalisation prone countries, namely Yugoslavia, Ethiopia, Morocco, Somalia, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, were naturalised each year and closely mirror the number of arrivals seven

years earlier. For immigrants with many minor children - often born in Norway or from countries where this is easy for Norwegians to adopt children or countries where many (women) marry Norwegians - the number of naturalisations exceeded the number of persons who had been resident in the country for more than seven years. Exemptions from the normal residence requirements apply to all those belonging to these groups. From our neighbours in Western Europe and the USA, only around two per cent of the eligible population is naturalised in any given year.

From the year 2000, the most striking new feature is the large number of Bosnians acquiring Norwegian citizenship (table 4.9). In 2001 3 000 former Bosnians became naturalised Norwegians, the highest number for a single country any single year. The number for Yugoslavia was also high in 2001, whereas it was declining numbers from some Asian countries. Observations for a single year can easily be influenced by non-significant variations.

The percentage of Norwegian citizens 1 January 2000 within the immigrant population by place of origin is given in Table 4.10. The low percentages - 15-20 per cent - among immigrants from neighbouring countries may be compared with figures of over 60 per cent for more distant countries (reaching a maximum of 84 per cent in the case of persons of Vietnamese origin). Moreover, immigration from the later countries has been relatively stable over time. The comparatively low figure for Iraq illustrates that immigration from that country started recently, not that naturalisation is less prevalent than for other refugee groups. Later, the proportion Norwegians among those from Bosnia must have increased considerably.

Returning to table 4.2, the last column gives the number of foreign citizens, who comprise two thirds of the overall immigrant population. For neighbouring countries and the USA, the number of foreign citizens is very close to the size of the immigrant population, and in these cases citizenship can clearly be used as a reasonable approximation of the immigrant population. For third world countries, on the other hand, this does not apply, since in the case of those with a long history of residence in Norway, foreign citizens make up only between one in three and one in five of immigrants as defined here. However, some groups, like the Somalis and Iraqis, are such recent arrivals in Norway that this difference is not yet apparent although it will emerge with time. The difference will also probably increase for Bosnians in the coming years as it is also likely to do for the Yugoslavs if the Kosovars are able to remain. The number of Philippian citizens is low because large numbers of Philippian women have over the years entered Norway for marriage.

Table 4.8. Naturalizations by previous citizenship. 1977-2001

Previous citizenship	Annual average						
	1977- 2000	1977-1980	1981- 1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000	2001
Total	127 478	2 409	2 588	3 520	7 256	10 205	10 838
Europe, total (excl. Turkey)	33 868	1 444	1 111	921	1 354	2 240	5 419
Denmark	5 352	463	265	168	125	142	162
Sweden	3 273	143	130	98	129	184	249
Yugoslavia	7 124	46	57	102	405	824	1 199
Poland	3 897	44	75	168	273	229	159
United Kingdom	2 998	154	152	88	110	126	57
Germany ¹	2 269	196	126	61	49	61	68
Bosnia	.	.	.	.	.	.	2 999
Africa, total	13 094	68	169	231	857	1 306	1 232
Ethiopia	2 114	3	19	37	166	198	79
Morocco	3 340	12	80	109	272	197	154
Somalia	3 522	2	3	4	147	549	676
Asia, total (incl. Turkey)	67 548	575	984	1 956	4 293	5 818	3 757
Sri Lanka	5 977	10	29	34	411	714	477
Philippines	4 149	26	107	199	266	237	261
India	3 968	56	144	127	245	233	235
Iraq	2 341	1	1	2	81	383	331
Iran	7 001	18	17	16	627	726	361
South Korea	4 222	210	256	182	113	127	143
Turkey	7 049	13	44	212	530	614	356
Pakistan	13 715	148	240	484	822	1 079	409
Vietnam ²	12 123	6	26	576	839	978	594
North and Central America, total	2 936	149	130	97	101	140	114
South America, total	8 330	79	149	297	612	546	249
Chile	3 874	15	53	89	303	319	172
Colombia	2 867	37	65	155	211	113	18

¹ Persons with previous citizenship of Federal Republic of Germany and of German Democratic Republic.

² Including persons with previous citizenship of South Vietnam.

Source: Statistics Norway

Table 4.9. Population by citizenship and country of immigrant background¹. 1 January 2000

Country background	Total	Foreign citizenship	Norwegian citizenship	Norwegian citizenship, per cent
Total	4 478 497	178 686	4 299 811	96
Norway	4 196 010	16 202	4 179 808	100
Abroad, total	282 487	162 484	120 003	42
Europa, total (excl. Turkey)	132 640	100 052	32 588	25
Bosnia-Herzegovina	12 614	12 406	208	2
Denmark	18 863	13 790	5 073	27
Yugoslavia	15 466	10 027	5 439	35
Poland	6 282	2 167	4 115	66
United Kingdom	11 161	9 165	1 996	18
Sweden	23 240	19 689	3 551	15
Germany	9 102	6 141	2 961	33
Africa, total	26 521	12 229	14 292	54
Ethiopia	2 525	851	1 674	66
Morocco	5 409	1 455	3 954	73
Somalia	8 386	4 893	3 493	42
Asia, total (incl. Turkey)	103 074	38 226	64 848	63
Philippines	5 573	1 815	3 758	67
India	5 996	2 358	3 638	61
Iraq	7 664	5 835	1 829	24
Iran	10 354	3 830	6 524	63
Pakistan	22 831	7 507	15 324	67
Sri Lanka	9 826	3 484	6 342	65
Turkey	10 481	3 545	6 936	66
Vietnam	15 390	2 517	12 873	84
North- and Central-America, total	10 257	7 072	3 185	31
USA	7 571	5 322	2 249	30
South-America, total	9 126	4 194	4 932	54
Chile	6 377	2 637	3 740	59
Oceania, total	869	711	158	18

¹ Own, mother's or father's country of birth (if it is foreign) for persons with two foreign-born parents, otherwise Norway.

Source: Statistics Norway

4.4. Impact of migration on total population since 1970

Our calculations about the demographic impact of migration are based on 1971 as the start year. As described earlier, a new migration regime emerged around 1970, when Norway changed from a country of moderate out-migration to one of immigration not much below the West European average. To combine the effects of 25 years of moderate out-migration with 30 years of high in-migration would obviously "camouflage" the effects of immigration on population development.

Calculations of this kind have already been performed in 1997 and this section relies closely on this work (Carling 1997). His aim was to illustrate the effects of the new immigration situation on population growth and composition between 1970 and 1995. Since then the level of immigration has risen and extending the calculations to the year 2000 should indicate an even greater migration impact. The calculations relate only to population size and composition by sex and age and no attempt has been made to determine the effects on composition by ethnicity or country background.

Over the period, the contribution of net migration to population growth has risen from 20 to a maximum of over 40 per cent not only because of increased net immigration but also because of declining natural growth, at least during the first part of the period in question. Indeed, over the ten years 1986-1995, immigration as defined here accounted for close to 50 per cent of total population growth.

Calculations like these can theoretically be performed by using the registers to identify all immigrants and their children and subtract from these the number of emigrants and deceased immigrants and their children, but it would be complicated. A simpler approach is to take the population as of 1st January 1971 as the point of departure, and expose it to the fertility and mortality rates observed during the period, but discounting migration. In other words, the methodology is to produce a population projection for the period based on observed rates for fertility and mortality but assuming zero migration.

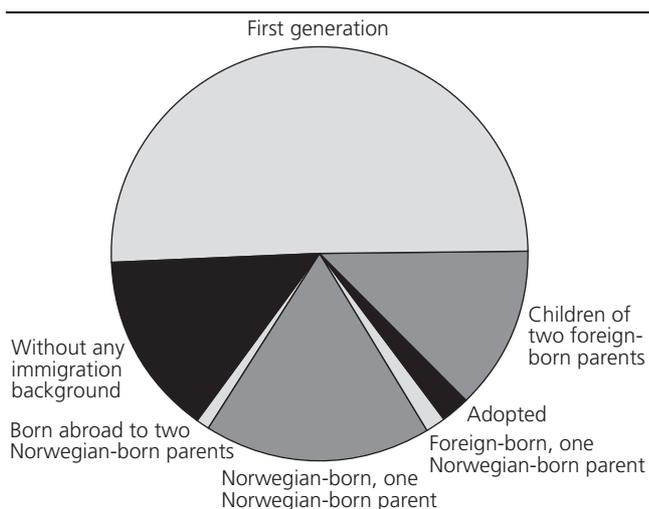
Up to 1st January 1996, the population surplus attributable to migration was 171 300, against overall population growth of 481 700, i.e. the direct and indirect contributions of migration to population growth between 1971 and 1996 was 36 per cent or slightly more than 4 per cent of the total. This surplus is, however, unevenly distributed between different population categories. It was slightly higher for men than for women - 4.3 against 3.9 per cent, but the age association was much stronger. Hence, the surplus was 7.5 per cent in the male population aged 30 to 34, and 6.7 per cent in the female population aged 20 to 24. The overall effect of immigration was to lower the average age of the population by 0.5 of a year and increase the male proportion from 97.4 to 97.8 males per 100 females.

When undertaking theoretical projections, assuming that a population is closed to migration is only one of the alternatives. Another would be to exclude the migration of foreigners, while still allowing the movement of Norwegian citizens. As there has been a low and stable out-flow of Norwegian nationals over the period in question, the consequence would have been a population of 4,17 millions in 1995, that is 200 000 or almost 5 per cent lower than the observed figure, and an average age 0.6 years higher.

To explore the effects of "no migration" further, it was assumed that the population was closed to emigration while still remaining open to immigration. In these circumstances, the population would have been 10 per cent higher than the observed figure. Similarly, if we were to assume constant fertility at the 1971-75 level, the number would have been 6.2 per cent higher than it was on 1st January 1996, and the average age of the population more than 1.5 years lower. This suggests that variations in fertility are likely to have been of greater consequences than migration over the period under examination.

This exercise has shown that in the long run (1971-1996) immigration has directly and indirectly accounted for more than one third (36 per cent) of the population growth. Immigration has gained importance lately, both in absolute numbers and in relation

Figure 4.4. Population growth 1999-2001, by immigrant category



¹ Population growth altogether 58 000.

Source: Statistics Norway

to the population growth. Therefore, we will present some figures for the two years 1999-2000, see figure 4.4. Norway had a total population growth of 58 000 these years. Exactly fifty per cent is attributable to the growth in the population of first generation immigrants. In addition comes 7 500 children born in Norway to two foreign-born parents. The number of children born in Norway to one foreign-born and one Norwegian-born parent increased with 10 000. The years 1999-2000, the population with some kind of immigration background accounted for 85 per cent of the total population growth. The population without any kind of immigrant background increased with 8 000, that is a yearly growth of tiny one per mille.

5. Population structure by age, sex and region

5.1. Age and sex

The age structure of the immigrant population of Norway is shown in figure 5.1 and is compared with that of the total population, where immigrants are defined as persons with two foreign-born parents. Although we have repeatedly demonstrated that treating immigrants as a single group is not a good analytical strategy, the following points may still be noted. The most significant difference lies in the proportion of the middle aged (25-44 for men, 20-44 for women), with 3-4 per cent of the total population falling into the five-years age groups in this range against 4-6 per cent of immigrants. The total population also has a much older age structure, with 15 per cent above the age of 65 compared with less than 7 per cent of immigrants. May be to some surprise, the percentage of children and young people is very much the same in the two groups.

The overall sex ratios are quite evenly balanced, 50.1 per cent of immigrants are men against 49.5 per cent in the total population, although there are strong differences by age. For children and teen-agers, the sex ratio for immigrants and the rest of the population are equal. In the 20s, there are 12 per cent more women than men among the immigrants, and three per cent less in the total population. In the 30s, there is a male surplus, mainly of Asian and African origin. Only above 60, there is again a majority of women in the immigrant population. This majority is of Western European and American origin, among non-western immigrants the numbers are equal.

10 per cent of the males of age 35-39 are immigrants, against 9 per cent of the corresponding group of females. The highest proportion of women is the early thirties, with 9,3 per cent. Moreover, more than one fourth of the male surplus in this age group is actually attributable to immigrants. Thus, immigration has had visible influence also on the Norwegian age pyramid.

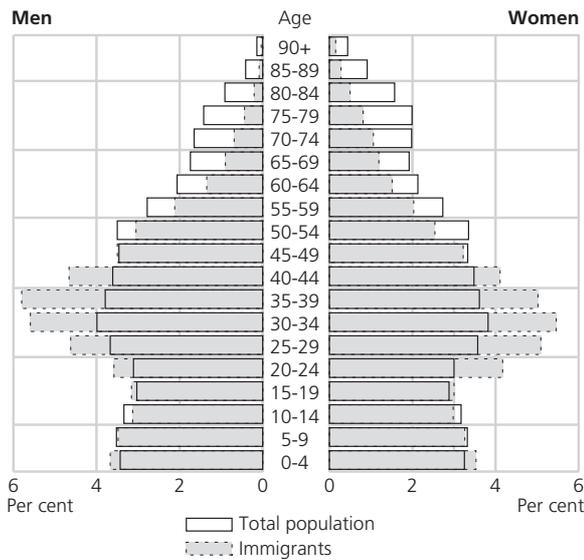
To break the age pyramids down by first generation immigrants, and their children makes very little sense. Few young children have had the time to move to Norway and only 1.5 per cent of first generation immi-

grants are consequently under the age of 5. At the same time, there are 6 times as many immigrants in this category between the ages 30 and 39 as under the age of ten. Among the children of the first generation immigrants, it is the other way around; almost two thirds of this group are under the age of ten, and only two per cent above 40 years of age. As adoptions from abroad started around 1970, only five per cent of the adopted are above the age of thirty. Those born abroad with two Norwegian-born parents have an age distribution similar to first generation immigrants, while the Norwegian-born with one Norwegian and one foreign-born parent display a more "normal" age profile, as they have been present in the country for a long time.

Figure 5.2 compares western and non-western immigrants and, as might be expected, the differences even by this simple division in two groups are much greater than between immigrants and the total population. As we have seen, if western immigrants establish a family in Norway, it is invariably with a Norwegian partner, which is why western immigrants include very few children. Non-western immigrants, by contrast, often establish a family by marrying "one of their own" and, as a consequence, their children are counted among the immigrants. The two groups are much the same between the ages of 25 and 39, but western immigrants dominate at older ages, especially among women.

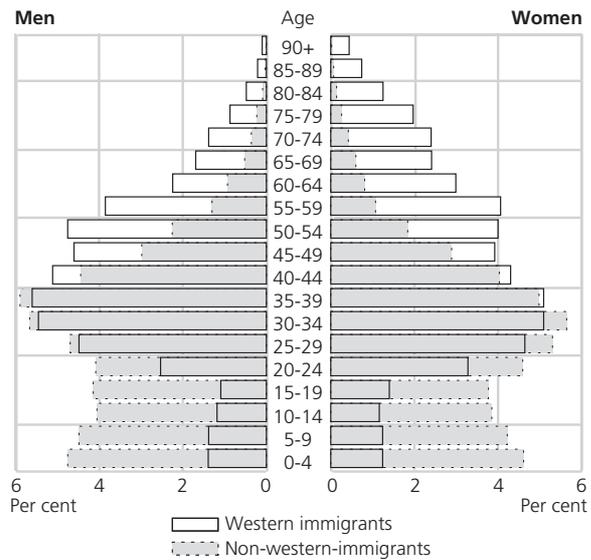
There are even more profound differences when we examine the patterns by nationality. In the total population, 25 per cent are below the age of 20 compared with 11 per cent of immigrants from the Nordic countries. The corresponding figure for immigrants of African origin is 38 per cent, but is as high as 50 per cent among Somalis, and among those of Asian origin it is one third, rising to 45 per cent in the Pakistani group. If the situation with few cross-cultural marriages persists, the growth potential for "immigrants" from many third world countries will remain very high, even without additional net immigration.

Figure 5.1. Age pyramids for immigrants and for the total population. 1. January 2001. Per cent



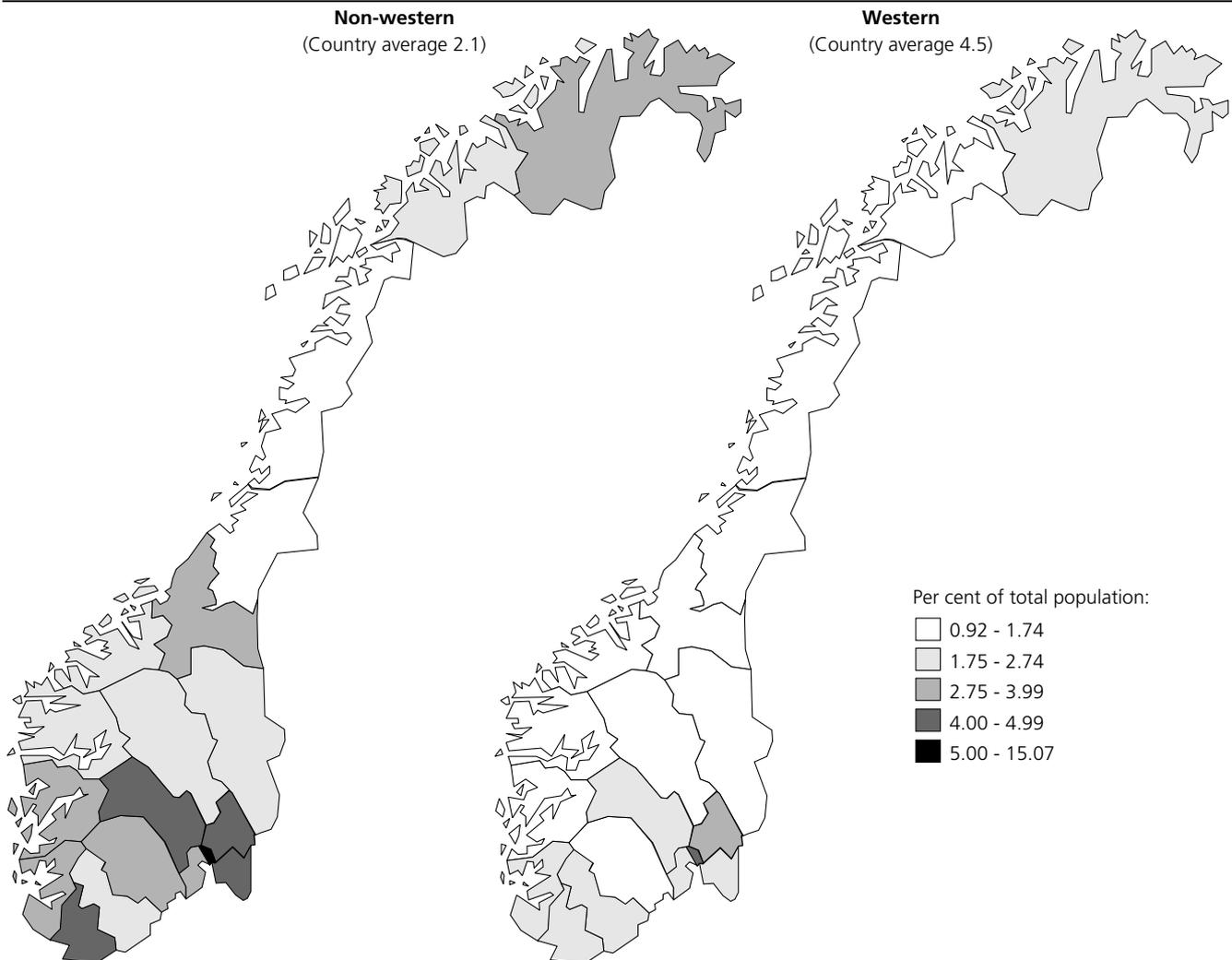
¹ Immigrants are persons with two foreign-born parents.
Source: Statistics Norway

Figure 5.2. Age pyramids for western and non-western immigrants. 1. January 2001. Per cent



¹ Immigrants are persons with two foreign-born parents.
Source: Statistics Norway

Figure 5.3. Non-western and western immigrants as a per cent of total population, 1 January 2001



Source: Statistics Norway.

It is clear that the age structure of the immigrant population has changed over time along side the evolution of its size and composition. However, we only have information based on citizenship when we go some decades back in time, and this suggests that there has been surprisingly little change in the age structure of foreign citizens when we compare 1980 with 2000. But far from suggesting a stable age structure among immigrants, it is much more indicative of the inappropriateness of citizenship as a criterion for immigration research in Norway.

As we have seen, the gender balance for immigrants and non-immigrants is very much the same. But when we examine different regions of origin, the picture is much more mixed. Thus, among immigrants from our Nordic neighbours (and also from Germany), there is a significant majority of women, as young women are often more mobile than men, and also because of the nature of the unmet demand for labour in Norway at the moment, whereas for other West European origins, males are usually dominant.

From Eastern Europe, the picture is mixed. On one hand we have Russia and Poland, and some with smaller numbers, with twice as many women as men, whereas the majority of immigrants from Yugoslavia are men. Among the Bosnians, who are the most recent arrivals, there is the same sex ratio as in the total population, which reflects a reception policy favouring complete families, as is also the case for Kosovars. From Africa, we have a rather strong male dominance from almost every single country, but the picture for Asians is again a more mixed one. Males are dominant among immigrants from typical refugee countries like Iraq (in particular, as the most recent arrivals), Iran and Sri Lanka. There is a minor surplus of males from Vietnam, Pakistan, Turkey and India but a significant surplus of women from Thailand and the Philippines, who often come to marry Norwegians. For countries with a female dominance, this is strongest for ages between 30 and 39.

5.2. Region

The regional distribution of immigrants in Norway is very uneven, with western and non-western immigrants also showing distinctive patterns. There are twice as many non-western as western immigrants, and they are in majority in all counties (figure 5.3). The counties are the Norwegian equivalent to NUTS-3 level in Eurostat's classification and are not ideal for regional analyses because of their heterogeneity. They include, at one extreme, the capital, Oslo, but which only contains two thirds of the population in the urban area, with ½ million persons living on less than 500 sq. km. and, at the other extreme, Finnmark, the northernmost county, with a population of 74 000 on more than 40 000 sq.km.

All counties have one per cent or more of their populations of non-western origin, very unevenly distributed within each county. Non-western immigrants are mostly found in the southern part of the country, in the Oslo-fjord area and along the coast up to Bergen in the county of Hordaland. Almost 15 per cent of the population of Oslo is of non-western origin, concentrated in the old city centre or in the eastern suburbs, with very few in the western part of the city. Oslo is socially very segregated; living conditions are generally positive in the west, and negative in the east, e.g. low incomes, low life expectancy, poverty and criminality. The great majority of non-western immigrants are to be found in these relatively deprived eastern districts of the city (Blom 1999).

Oslo is the home to almost 40 per cent of all non-western immigrants in Norway. One defined goal of Norwegian refugee policy is the creation of a more equal regional distribution of non-western immigrants in the country. Immigrants coming as refugees are often settled in municipalities upon agreement between the central and local authorities, although they are subsequently free to move if they are able to support themselves. Such secondary migrations have the net effect of increasing the number of third world immigrants in Oslo (Østby 2001a).

More than three out of four Pakistanis in Norway live in Oslo, and the majority of the rest are living in neighbouring municipalities. The pattern for other typical labour migrant groups, like the Moroccans, is much the same. Some groups of refugees will have as many as 50 per cent of their number living in Oslo, e.g. Somalis, Ethiopians, Gambians and Sri Lankans. These groups respond to labour market conditions by moving to Oslo, and also to be closer to other members of their ethnic group.

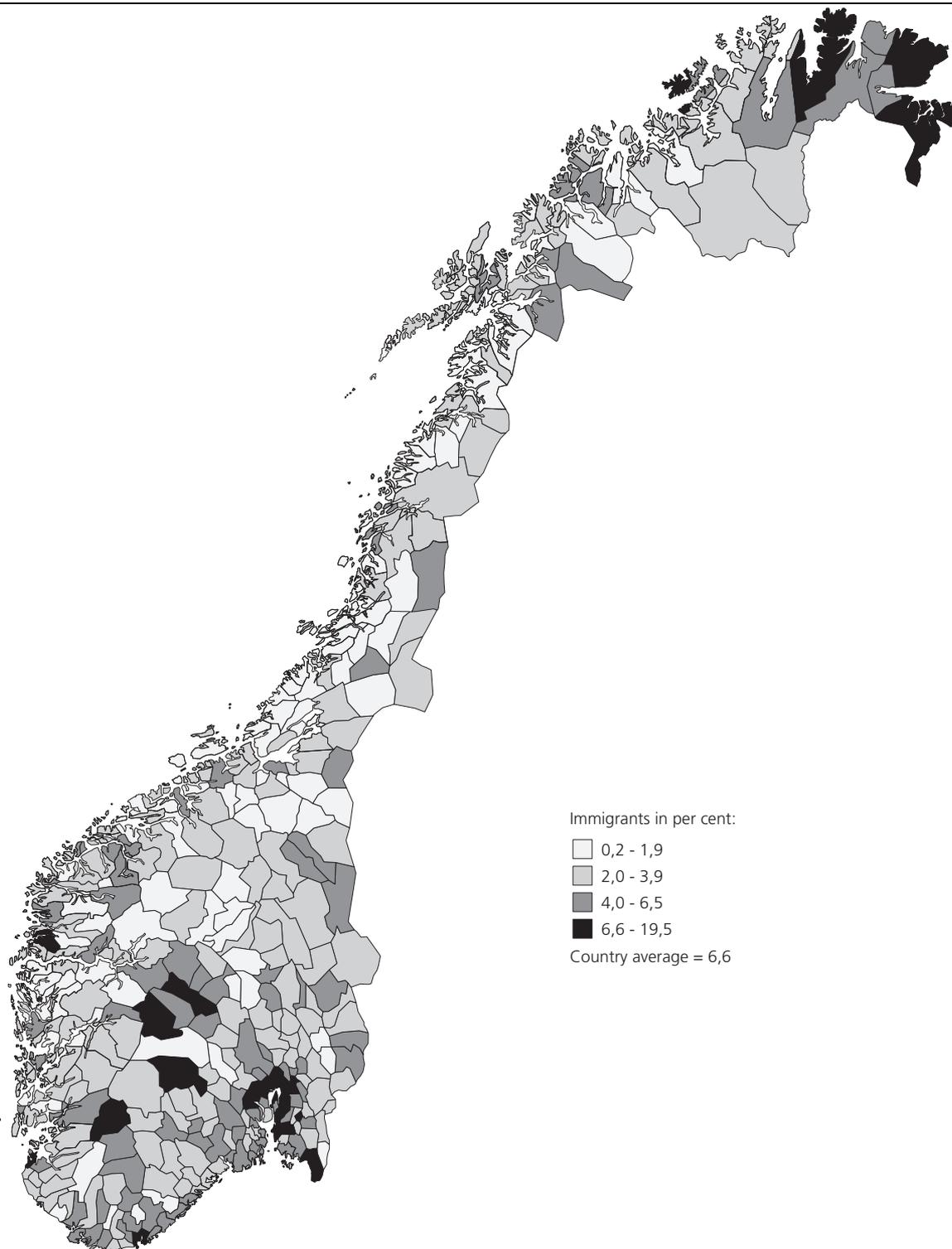
Refugees from Sri Lanka display a very interesting settlement pattern, mirroring their good integration into the Norwegian labour market (Østby 2001a and b). The highest relative numbers of Tamils (almost all Sri Lankans in Norway are Tamil refugees) are in the fishing municipalities in the extreme north of the country, where their willingness to work in the fish processing industry has saved some of these remote societies from depopulation. As a consequence, persons coming from Sri Lanka as asylum seekers have by far be the highest labour force participation rates and incomes, and lowest proportion receiving social benefits.

The fishing industry in Northern Norway has been dependant on migrant workers for a long time, on young Finnish women working on a temporary basis during the 1960s and 70s, and then on refugees from Sri Lanka. However, the Tamils have recently started leaving Finnmark, and are being replaced by Russian migrants. Finnmark has a common 200 km border with

Russia and, with less than two per cent of the country's population, has more immigrants of Russian background than any other county. There are special regu-

lations for labour permits for one year for Russian workers in the fishing industry (see KRD 2002).

Figure 5.4. Immigrants as per cent of the total population 1 January 2001. Municipalities



Source: Statistics Norway

Refugees from Bosnia made up the largest group of refugees in Norway at the beginning of 2001. They are evenly distributed across the country, with 10 per cent in the capital, and are reasonably well integrated, in the sense that they easily get work, and their income level is not as low as among other refugee groups with the same length of stay in the country. They do not seem to favour locations close to other immigrants from former Yugoslavia.

Immigrants of western origin are, on the whole, more evenly distributed and comprise between one and three per cent of the population of most counties (figure 5.3). Swedes are most numerous in border areas, Danes in the south of the country, and the English and Americans in the western oil districts. After Oslo, Finnmark has more immigrants from Finland than any other county. The regional pattern of migrants in Norway is easily analysed using the register statistical system, and the detailed patterns are very useful for developing policies for the reception and integration of refugees.

The comments to the regional distribution show that the municipality level is more relevant than counties for discussing regional distribution of immigrants, as there are big differences within each county. We have therefore included a map (figure 5.4) showing the proportion immigrants in each municipality. We shall not give detailed comments to a map with 435 units, only give some general remarks to the distribution. As we could expect, we find the strongest concentration of immigrants around the capital, and in the regional centres around the coast. This mirrors that the capital region has a significant proportion of western labour migrants, immigrant workers from the third world, and of refugees. Refugees are partly settled here by the immigration authorities, partly do they move to Oslo after having been settled elsewhere. Almost 20 per cent of the population in Oslo belong to the immigrant population, and 15 per cent is of non-western background. The highest proportion (16 per cent) non-western immigrants, however, do we find in the small municipality Båtsfjord on the coast of Finnmark in the far north, related to access to work in the fishing industry. Relatively high numbers of immigrants are found in other small and remote municipalities, also in southern parts of the country. Here it is related to reception centres, and to access to work in tourism. In tourism, mostly immigrants from other Nordic countries are working.

Although long term trends can again only be established on the rather unsatisfactory basis of citizenship, it is nonetheless useful to draw some summary comparisons between 2000 and 1980. Figure 5.3 demonstrates the dominant held by Oslo for both western and non-western immigrants, which seems to have become more pronounced over the last two decades. Thus, whereas one in six Swedish and Danish citizens lived in Oslo in 1980, this had risen to one of four by 2000, while the concentration of Pakistani citizens in the capital increased from 70 per cent in 1980 to almost 80 per cent in 2000 and that of the Vietnamese more than doubled from 13 to 28 per cent. Theoretically, this could conceivably reflect different propensities to naturalise by size and concentration of immigrant group, but this does not seem to be the case. Rather, it appears to be related to an increasing concentration of immigrants in the capital whereas, with increasing numbers, some decline might have been expected.

6. Fertility patterns of foreign women in Norway

This chapter is based on the report 'Mellom to kulturer – fruktbarhetsmønstre blant innvandrerkvinner i Norge'; *'Between two cultures – fertility pattern among foreign women in Norway'* (Lappegård 2000) and has been drafted with her assistance. Although the analyses do not cover the most recent years, more simple figures do not indicate any dramatic changes in the immigrant fertility behaviour around the turn of the century.

The foreign population in Norway is still relatively young. Women with immigrant background (born in Norway or abroad with two foreign-born parents) constituted around 8 percent of all women of childbearing age (15-49 years) in 1999. The majority of these women are from non-western countries and almost half have a third world background.

Two aspects of the fertility patterns of foreign women will be discussed here. First, their *total fertility rates* will be examined with implicit reference to the situation observed in the host country (overall Norwegian rate) and in the country of origin. Second, the *effects of duration of stay* will be discussed both in connection with short-term and more long-term effects. Short-term effects focus on changes in fertility rates during the period just before and after migration, while the examination of long-term effects focuses on changes in fertility with duration of residence among women of childbearing age who migrated to Norway, and how fertility patterns change between generations.

The analysis is based on the maternity histories of complete female birth cohorts as given in the Central Population Register of Norway and covers the complete cohorts born after 1935, and immigrants arriving in the country between 1969 and 1998. Data include both detailed fertility histories and detailed migration histories, giving us the opportunity to study the relationship between the timing of fertility and the timing of migration at a very precise level.

Table 6.1. Immigrant women aged 15-49 living in Norway, by regional background 1. January 1999. Per cent

	Per cent
Nordic countries	23
Rest of Western Europe, except Turkey	12
Eastern Europe	16
North America and Oceania	4
Asia, Africa, South- and Central-America and Turkey	46

Source: Lappegård (2000a)

6.1. Fertility level

Almost 10 percent of around 60 000 live births in Norway in 1998 were to immigrant women. Nationalities contributing the highest numbers were Pakistan, 559 births; Sweden, 435 births; Sri Lanka, 348 births; Vietnam, 302 births and Denmark 282 births.

The total fertility rate is the measure normally used to describe fertility patterns and is a hypothetical rate requiring a large and stable population in which all age groups are represented. However, in the foreign population, some age groups are over-represented and others are under-represented compared to the total population and this becomes more problematic the smaller the groups are. Because of immigration and emigration, the foreign population will vary from one year to another and there is a risk that women will (or will not) give birth when they are outside the country. In such a non-stable situation, the total fertility rate is not a good estimator of fertility. Nevertheless, the total fertility rate is used here as a suitable measure to describe and compare fertility patterns at one point in time and also to reflect real differences in fertility level among foreign women of different origin.

The total fertility rate for all women in Norway was 1.8 in 1997/98 and would have been 0.05 lower if immigrant women are excluded. Consequently, the relatively high fertility level in Norway is not attributable to the births of foreign women, but is more a function of the fact that the combining of child rising and family life, on the one hand, with labour force participation, on the other, has been facilitated through family policy (Lappegård 2000 b).

The total fertility rates of women from western and non-western countries are 1.9 and 2.7 children per women respectively, while women of third world origin record a rate of 2.9. However, there are significant differences by region of origin. We find the highest level among women from North Africa with a rate of 4.1 children per women and the lowest level among women from East Asia with a rate of 1.5. At the national level, the highest rates are recorded by women from Somalia (5.2 children per women), Iraq (4.8), Morocco (3.8) and Pakistan and Sri Lanka (3.6) (table 6.2).

When we compare the fertility level of women in Norway with foreign background with the levels in their respective country of origin, some groups have a higher and some a lower level. There also appear to be different mechanisms for western and non-western women. Thus, some women from western countries are less established in the labour market and more oriented towards family life than is general in their country of origin. As a result of good opportunities for combining child raising with labour force participation, some of

these women may have larger families than they would have had if they had not moved to Norway.

The fertility levels of some women with non-western backgrounds living in Norway are also higher than in their country of origin. This is mainly seen in countries of origin where fertility levels have declined dramatically in the recent past. Morocco and Turkey are two examples of this with declines in total fertility rates of 50 per cent over the last twenty years - from 6.9 to 3.3 in the case of Morocco and from 5.8 to 2.6 for Turkey (UN 1999). In both countries there has been a strong demographic transition, which has only partially fed through to the corresponding groups in Norway whose fertility is higher than in the country of origin - the total fertility rates for women in Norway with backgrounds in Morocco and Turkey are 3.8 and 3.1 respectively. Those in Norway may well maintain a more traditional orientation towards family and fertility and therefore not participate in the transition to lower fertility in the same way as if they did not had moved.

Table 6.2. Total fertility rates¹ among foreign women, 1994-95 and 1997-98

Country of origin	1994-1995		1997-1998	
	TFR	TFR	95% Confidence interval	Women at ages 15-44 years ²
Total population	1.9	1.8	(1.81-1.82)	919 407
Norway (excluding immigrant women)	1.8	1.8	(1.76-1.77)	857 725
All immigrant women	2.6	2.4	(2.41-2.44)	61 682
Western countries	2.0	1.9	(1.85-1.89)	19 940
Non-western countries	2.8	2.7	(2.65-2.68)	41 742
Nordic countries	2.1	1.8	(1.80-1.85)	12 218
Rest of Western Europe, except Turkey	1.9	2.0	(1.98-2.06)	5 588
Eastern Europe	2.3	1.9	(1.84-1.90)	10 060
North America and Oceania	1.8	1.8	(1.69-1.82)	2 134
Asia, Africa, South- and Central-America and Turkey	2.9	2.9	(2.88-2.92)	31 682
Somalia	5.5	5.2	(5.07-5.33)	1 323
Iraq	4.0	4.8	(4.60-4.91)	845
Morocco	3.8	3.8	(3.68-3.95)	934
Pakistan	3.6	3.6	(3.53-3.65)	4 018
Sri Lanka	3.5	3.6	(3.52-3.69)	2 278
Turkey	2.8	3.1	(3.01-3.17)	2 193
India	2.8	2.7	(2.61-2.80)	1 272
Yugoslavia (Serbia & Montenegro)	3.1	2.7	(2.62-2.80)	1 914
Thailand	2.5	2.4	(2.32-2.49)	1 775
Philippine	2.3	2.3	(2.23-2.37)	2 666
Netherlands	1.9	2.3	(2.23-2.46)	716
Vietnam	2.8	2.3	(2.24-2.35)	3 764
France	.	2.2	(2.09-2.35)	466
Chile	2.1	2.1	(2.01-2.18)	1 583
Denmark	2.2	2.0	(1.92-2.01)	3 488
Iceland	.	1.9	(1.85-2.03)	1 012
Iran	1.9	1.9	(1.86-1.99)	2 123
Russian Federation	2.0	1.9	(1.79-1.97)	939
United Kingdom	2.1	1.8	(1.75-1.89)	1 603
USA	1.8	1.8	(1.68-1.82)	1 644
Norway	1.8	1.8	(1.76-1.77)	857 725
Sweden	2.3	1.8	(1.77-1.85)	5 970
Germany	1.7	1.8	(1.69-1.83)	1 570
Finland	1.7	1.7	(1.64-1.77)	1 545
Poland	2.0	1.7	(1.64-1.76)	2 282
China	2.1	1.6	(1.54-1.71)	969
Bosnia-Herzegovina	2.2	1.6	(1.52-1.62)	2 946

¹ The average number of live-born children born to women exposed to the age specific fertility rates pertaining in the year in question as they pass through their child-bearing period (excluding mortality). Summation of five-year age-specific fertility rates 15-44 years multiplied with 5.

² Age at the end of the year.

Source: Lappegård (2000a)

If we compare total fertility rates for 1997/98 with those for 1994/95 only small changes can be observed between the different groups of foreign women. Small declines in total fertility were recorded for Norway overall (from 1.9 to 1.8 children per women), as well as for women from western countries (from 2.0 to 1.9) and from non-western women (from 2.8 to 2.7). However, since the composition of each group may well vary over time, if the aim is to study whether the fertility patterns of foreign women undergo change as a result of migration, the analysis must be conducted at the individual level, where duration of residence can be taken into consideration.

6.2. Fertility around immigration

One main hypothesis is that with increasing duration of stay in the host country, there will be an adaptation among foreign women towards fertility pattern that are common among the rest of the population (Kahn 1988, Kahn 1994, Ford 1990, Blau 1992).

Before we look into this hypothesis we have to take into consideration other aspects that may influence the fertility of foreign women. Fertility level in country of origin will have an effect on foreign women's fertility pattern. This is of special interest when foreign women come from countries where the fertility level is very different from that in the host country.

In recent decades, fertility in large parts of the world has undergone dramatic changes. A decline in fertility level among foreign women can not only be seen as an adaptation process, but a change that also would have happened even if they had not migrated.

Here the level of fertility just before and after migration is compared, based on estimated fertility rates three years before arrival, during the year of arrival and three years after arrival. The rates are estimated for each single year of arrival cohort and are shown in table 6.3. Fertility rates relative to the year of arrival are presented in figure 6.1.

The analysis indicates that fertility changes substantially around the time of arrival, due to factors such as stress, separation of spouses, later marriage or reluctance on the part of women to migrate while pregnant. Following the disruptive effects of migration, fertility may return to normal or even increase to compensate for delays, but once the effects of postponed fertility have been offset, a decline to normal would be the usual expectation.

Table 6.3. Fertility rates around the time of arrival for women from western and non-western countries, and among refugees and non-refugees from non-western countries, (rates per 1000 women)

Years before/after arrival	Western countries	Non-western countries	Refugee (non-western countries)	Non-refugee (non-western countries)
-3	29.86	41.54	60.66	23.14
-2	34.92	41.96	60.88	22.61
-1	41.44	42.94	57.42	30.07
0	55.26	100.27	92.14	111.22
1	97.77	170.16	144.75	196.58
2	119.48	119.36	106.04	133.63
3	124.50	104.58	95.95	116.61

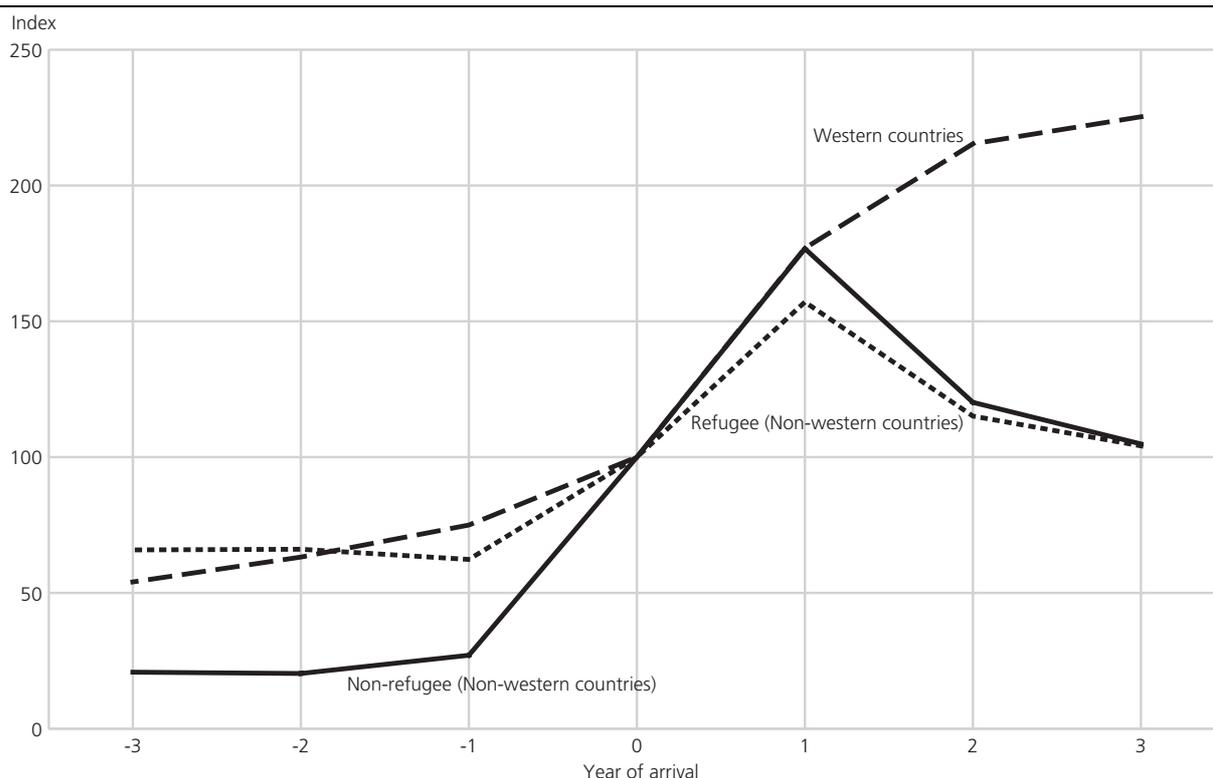
Source: Lappegård (2000a)

As can be seen from table 6.3, fertility rates are low in the years before arrival in Norway, for women from both western and non-western countries. Fertility before migration is only registered correctly if the child also moves to Norway. If not, information on their absent children is obtained from the mothers, but this is not thought to introduce any significant source of error. Among women from western countries, although there is only a small increase in fertility in the year of arrival, it continues to increase gradually over the next few years. Among women from non-western countries, on the other hand, the increase in the fertility rate in the year of arrival is pronounced and persists into the first year after arrival before starting to decline.

For non-western women we have also calculated separate figures for refugees and non-refugees, which also reveal significant differences in fertility pattern around the time of arrival. It came as something of a surprise to see that women who came to Norway as refugees had higher fertility rates during the years before arrival than those who did not come as refugees. Any increase in the year of arrival is also less pronounced. Children left behind in the country of origin might possibly be of greater importance among refugees than among non-refugees.

These results show that there are many circumstances connected to migration that affect the fertility of migrating women. Many are of an age where family formation is natural and some women, especially those from non-western countries, are given permission to stay in Norway for reasons of family formation or reunion. Some will continue with marriage and, during the first years after arrival, will compensate for births postponed. Other women immigrate to enter into a marriage and their fertility level is normally higher during the first years than later on in marriage.

Figure 6.1. Relative fertility rates around the time of arrival for women from western countries and for refugees and non-refugees from non-western countries calibrated to year of arrival



Source: Statistics Norway

The relatively high fertility level of women from non-western countries in the year of arrival is surprising. While many are pregnant on arrival, it is still argued that immigration disrupts the childbearing process, but this observation indicates that this not always is the case, and that the processes surrounding family formation are complex.

6.3. Duration of residence and changes in fertility

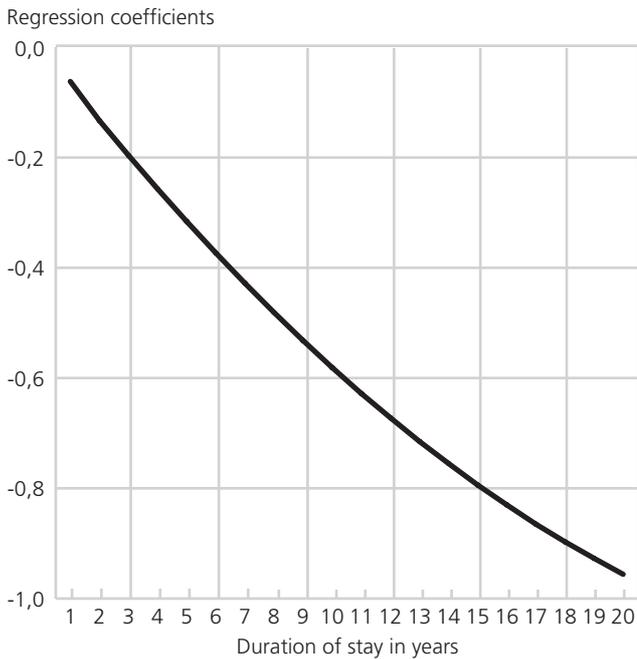
Duration of residence will have different effects on the fertility of foreign women depending on their age at arrival. Women who moved to Norway while still children will have to live in the country for several years before they reach childbearing age. To take this into consideration, we have made separate analyses for women who moved to Norway while of childbearing age (over 15 years), with the focus on those aged between 35 and 44 years. Those who arrived to Norway 15 to 20 years ago are likely to have moved before bearing any children, while those who have been in the country for just a few years may well have had children before they arrived.

The analysis focuses on women from non-western countries, most from countries with higher fertility than Norway. For women of western origin, there is no significant relationship between duration of residence and fertility level. One explanation for this is that fertility in western countries is almost the same as in Norway, so that changes in fertility behaviour will only involve small adjustments.

By and large, our analysis shows significant decline in fertility with increasing length of time in Norway, amounting to an average of one child less after being in the country for 20 years. The model also includes other variables that are not discussed here.

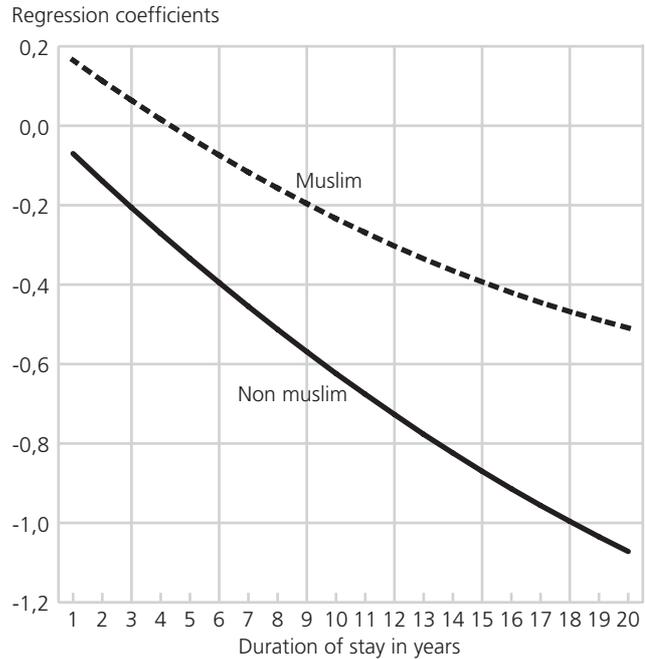
The results in the figure show that there is a non-linear relationship between duration of residence and the fertility of foreign women. The estimated number of children produced declines more strongly shortly after arrival than at later stages and is indicative of an adaptation effect, which declines in strength with time. A more detailed description of the methods used is found in Lappegård (2000a).

Figure 6.2. Regression coefficients for cumulative fertility by duration of residence for women from non-western countries



Source: Statistics Norway

Figure 6.3. Regression coefficients for cumulative fertility by duration of stay among women from Muslim countries and non-Muslim countries.



Source: Statistics Norway

6.4. Islam and changes in fertility

In other studies there have been shown that the Muslim population have the highest fertility and the slowest decline (Coleman 1994). To examine this we have made a dummy variable for countries of origin where Islam is the dominant religion. This is among others Pakistan, Turkey, Iran, Somalia and Arab countries. We do not have any individual level information on religion, so women from Bosnia and Yugoslavia (Kosovo) are not included.

Every third woman from non-western country comes from a Muslim country according to our classification. When using religion on an aggregate level we give all women with the same religion the same characteristics. Women from Muslim countries are of course not a homogeneous group, and religion will affect women in different ways. Still, Islam is an interesting variable together with other factors in an analysis of changes in fertility. We have made an interaction variable between Islam and duration of stay (see figure 6.3).

The fertility level declines both among women from Muslim countries and women from other non-western countries. However, the figure shows that the fertility decline is slowest among women from Muslim countries. The slope for women from non-Muslim countries is twice that for Muslim countries.

6.5. Changes in fertility over generations

Foreign women who have been born in Norway or arrived in early childhood have had a different exposure to Norwegian society than women who arrived as adults. In literally being born into two cultures, together with exposure to Norwegian society, they also will be affected by the attitudes and values of their families and also through them of their country of origin. Their attitudes and preferences towards family and fertility are thus affected by two sets of elements.

Children of two immigrant parents in Norway are still predominantly young, and make up only 5 per cent of all immigrant women in reproductive ages. Of the women of fertile age born in Norway with parents from non-western countries, almost 80 per cent are aged 25 or under. To help make sense of possible generational changes, our findings about the fertility of these young women at the start of their reproductive lives are described below.

An interesting question is whether these young women replicate the fertility patterns of foreign women arriving as adults or whether their behaviour is closer to that of non-migrants in Norway. To illustrate this we have estimated how many had become mothers by the age of 22. In the case of cohort-effects, estimates were derived for women born between 1967 and 1976, who reached age 22 during the 1990s, with separate analyses for women from western and non-western countries and also for those with a Pakistani background as the only non-western group large enough for such study.

Table 6.4. Proportion of women born between 1967 and 1976 who had their first child at the age of 22 or under by age on arrival and country of origin, (in percent with total number of women in parenthesis)

Age of arrival	Born in Norway	0-6	7-17	18-22
Women with western background	16.6 (337)	17.1 (334)	25.1 (539)	12.4 (2 284)
Women with non-western background	19.1 (534)	26.8 (842)	29.4 (3 014)	40.6 (6 019)
Women with Pakistani background	23.2 (246)	30.5 (272)	39.1 (422)	59.3 (644)
The rest of the population				19.9 (297 023)

Source: Lappegård 2000a

Table 6.4 reveals some interesting aspects. First, for women with non-western backgrounds, age at arrival has a large effect on how many have their first child at a young age, with the proportion having a first child at age 22 or under rising strongly with increasing age at arrival. The proportion is lowest among those who had been born in Norway and highest among those who arrived as adults. There are fewer women who start their families early in life among those born in Norway or those who arrived before age 7 than among those who arrived later. This pattern is even more pronounced among women from Pakistan.

In the case of women with a western background, the proportion having their first child at an early age is lowest among those who arrived between the ages of 18 and 22, many of whom came to Norway in connection with study or work. Their residence is thus only temporary, and it is quite natural that only a few should have children at an early age. Among women from non-western countries in the same age range, there are many who immigrate for reasons of marriage or family reunification.

By contrast, foreign women who immigrated at a young age are more like the general population in terms of the timing of first births, in that they have been exposed to the same societal influences on fertility as the rest of the population. When variability is present, it is seen to be a result of other (non-societal) factors that affect fertility. Hence, among other things, they are exposed to the attitudes and preferences towards family and fertility of the country of origin. Some commence their families early on in life and in this regard are more like women who arrived as adults. Most of these women have partners from the same country of origin as themselves and give every sign of having opted for a more traditional family pattern oriented towards the country of origin than towards the postponement of family building. Since these differences are likely to be rather persistent; it is reasonable to expect there to be significant differences in the fertility of children of first generation immigrants in the years to come.

7. Nuptiality patterns

Nuptiality analyses in Norway that exclude cohabitation will only cover a portion of the couples living in existing or established unions since, while the register fully covers marriages, it does not include cohabitation at all. Indirectly, information is available on cohabitations through the children that partners have in common, but not on childless cohabiting couples who are estimated to make up two thirds of the total.

Information on cohabitation is normally derived from sample surveys and from data about extra-marital births. Surveys, however, are never based on a large enough sample to give reliable estimates for immigrants, while extramarital births are very rare among women of third world origin. Among the Norwegian-born, cohabitation is the predominant way to forming a union for couples aged 30 and under, but the pattern is thought to be different for immigrants. Nordic, and probably also other European immigrants may well follow the same pattern as Norwegians, whereas cohabitation will be virtually non-existent among third world immigrants, especially those from Asia (Blom 1998). At the end of this section, we shall come back to some indirect data on non-marital cohabitation.

One could imagine that persons (mainly young men?) breaking with the traditional marital pattern of their country of origin start to cohabit if they form a couple with a non-immigrant partner. Thus, comparisons of nuptiality patterns between Norwegians and immigrants are not easy to perform in a sensible way. Non-western immigrants start their family life by marriage, Norwegians by cohabitation. There will easily be large differences, partly attributable only to differences in the way the partnerships are organised, and partly also real differences in behaviour.

In the context of arranged and forced marriages, media and the public opinion have been very interested in the marital pattern of persons born in Norway to two foreign-born parents, especially from Asia and Africa. Statistical data from our registers are not targeted for such analyses, but indirectly we should have been able to throw some light on these processes. This has not

yet been done in a comprehensive way, but we will still present some empirical illustrations of marriages among immigrants in this section.

We begin our description of nuptiality pattern by presenting the distribution of existing marriages by country of birth of partners in table 7.1. The significant values in the table are mostly along the margins and the diagonals and demonstrate that there are few cross-national marriages, especially for third world immigrants. This picture confirms the pattern illustrated in section 4 which showed that, while marriages are relatively common between Norwegians and spouses from neighbouring countries and the USA, this does not apply elsewhere. There are, of course, exceptions and, for instance, the numbers of Norwegian-born women married to men born in Africa and Asia are quite significant - 1597 and 1933 respectively. The lack of gender symmetry is striking. Twice as many Norwegian-born women than men have a spouse from Africa, three times as many Norwegian-born men than women have a spouse from Asia. For a number of years there have been organised activities of matrimonial agencies etc. making contacts possible between Norwegian men and women from some Asian countries.

Indeed, for some years now, more and more men of Asian background living in Norway have been marrying Norwegian-born women. Although still few in number, it is also clear that cross-national marriages are more common for men than for women of Asian immigrant background. Tables 7.1 - 7.3 are not particularly good for describing cross-national or cross-cultural marriages, as they are based only of country of birth (table 7.1) or citizenship. In both cases, persons born in Norway to two foreign-born parents from a country in Asia or Africa, will appear as born in Norway, and very often with Norwegian citizenship. An unknown proportion of the cross-national marriages will in reality be between a Norwegian-born child of immigrant parents and an immigrant from their country of origin. In the year to come, we will do more refined analyses of the marriage pattern.

Table 7.1. The distribution of marriage¹ by country of birth of the partners. 1 January 2001

Husbands	Wives								
	Total	Norway	Rest of Europe	Africa	Asia	North America	South America	Oceania	Not known
Total	864 206	773 879	38 394	5 112	23 955	4 969	2 142	296	15 459
Norway	784 134	744 115	22 594	959	6 328	4 211	1 042	230	4 655
Rest of Europe	35 207	18 145	13 637	104	379	210	97	22	2 613
Africa	6 819	1 597	172	2 894	75	14	11	1	2 055
Asia	24 016	1 933	360	98	15 838	26	16	2	5 743
North America	4 200	3 382	225	10	44	376	23	7	133
South America	1 773	585	56	6	6	25	855	0	240
Oceania	317	242	21	1	6	4	1	23	19
Not known	7 740	3 880	1 329	1 040	1 279	103	97	11	1

¹ Marriages where at least one of the partners were a resident of Norway.

Source: Statistics Norway

Table 7.2. Marriages¹ contracted in 2000 by citizenship of partners

Husbands	Wives								
	Total	Norway	Rest of Europe	Africa	Asia	North America	South America	Oceania	Not known
Total	26 763	22 616	1 825	213	1 221	224	155	14	495
Norway	23 901	20 556	1 395	135	1 062	211	126	11	405
Rest of Europe	1 561	1 112	372	9	20	6	9	1	32
Africa	242	162	12	54	1	1	-	1	11
Asia	427	252	15	5	114	-	-	-	41
North America	202	190	5	-	-	5	-	-	2
South America	82	60	1	-	-	1	17	-	3
Oceania	30	27	1	-	1	-	-	1	-
Not known	318	257	24	10	23	-	3	-	1

¹ Marriages where at least one of the partners were a resident of Norway.

Source: Statistics Norway

Table 7.3. Divorces¹ occurring in 2000 by citizenship of former partners

Husbands	Wives								
	Total	Norway	Rest of Europe	Africa	Asia	North America	South America	Oceania	Not known
Total	10 475	9 583	418	85	201	72	35	6	1
Norway	9 533	8 910	298	56	145	64	25	5	1
Rest of Europe	506	370	91	1	8	1	1	1	-
Africa	97	77	1	16	-	-	-	-	-
Asia	136	80	2	-	44	-	-	-	-
North America	88	75	4	-	1	7	1	-	-
South America	33	25	1	-	-	-	7	-	-
Oceania	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not known	78	42	20	12	3	-	1	-	-

¹ In marriages where at least one of the partners were a resident of Norway.

Source: Statistics Norway

Tables 7.2 and 7.3 show the number of marriages and divorces contracted in 2000 by the citizenship of the bride and groom (data by country of birth are not available). Although numbers from any one year will always contain an element of stochastic variation, it is apparent that there has been a certain increase in cross-national marriages, mostly involving Norwegians and other Europeans. By 2000, the gender differences in Norwegian-African marriages had disappeared, but marriages between Norwegians and Asians were even more dominated by Asian women marrying Norwegian men. To illustrate cross-national marriages, data based

on citizenship for a country like Norway with high naturalisation rates, are not satisfactory.

Although divorce cannot be properly analysed on the basis of table 7.3, it does give some idea of the patterns involved. Marriages between immigrants in Norway seem to be very stable, possibly because when marriages are dissolved shortly after being contracted, one partner will often be without a valid permit to remain in the country. Newspaper articles during the summer 2002 referred to cases where persons in Norway with immigrant background entered into a kind of trial mar-

riage, where they could have their partner expelled if there were serious problems arising in the marriage. Cross-national marriages also display a relatively mixed pattern. Some years ago, the divorce rate between Norwegian women and African men were so high that many suspected it to be related to pro forma marriages, contracted so as to provide acceptable grounds for immigration to Norway, but this is not longer as apparent.

Table 7.4 a-f provides a short description of the immigrant population by age and marital status. One main difference between marital patterns of Norwegians and the immigrant population is that immigrants marry at younger ages, even after cohabitation is taken into account. Around five per cent of the population aged 15-19 were immigrants of non-western origin at the beginning of 2000, but they accounted for almost 60 per cent of married persons in this age group or, expressed in another way, one in every thousand non-migrant women in the age range were married, against five per cent of non-western immigrant women. Among women in their early twenties, 50 per cent of non-western immigrants were married compared with 8 per cent of western immigrants and 6 per cent of non-immigrants although this discounts the frequency of cohabitation among Norwegians. Looking at sepa-

rate nationality groups, it is apparent that marriage is even more common among persons of Pakistani origin, but less so ("only" 30 per cent) for women of Vietnamese background.

When comparing the marital pattern of first generation immigrants and their children, it is apparent that the children broadly follow the pattern of their parents and are still characterised by early marriage. Of first generation non-western immigrant women, 6 per cent aged 15 to 19 were married, rising to 50 per cent of those aged 20 to 24, whereas among their children the percentages were 3 and 29. This is one of the several indicators of increasing adaptation to Norwegian social patterns from one generation to the next.

Looking again at our two selected nationalities, Pakistani women follow the general pattern of reduced differentials with the host population. Within the first generation, the respective proportions married in their late teens and early twenties were 8 and 72 per cent, dropping to 3 and 37 per cent among those born in Norway to two Pakistani-born parents. Very few children of Vietnamese immigrants are above the age of 20, and only two out of more than 200 women in the 15-24 age group were married, compared to 20 per cent of the first generation.

Table 7.4. Percentage married by age and sex for different population groups. 1 January 2000

a. Total population			
Age	Total	Males	Females
Total	38	38	37
15-19	0	0	0
20-24	6	3	8
25-29	23	17	29
30-39	49	45	54
40-59	68	67	68
60+	56	71	44
Number	4 478 497	2 217 140	2 261 357

b. All immigrants			
Age	Total	Males	Females
Total	47	45	48
15-19	3	1	5
20-24	27	17	36
25-29	51	41	60
30-39	69	63	75
40-59	75	75	75
60+	58	74	48
Number	282 487	140 765	141 722

c. Western immigrants			
Age	Total	Males	Females
Total	48	48	48
15-19	1	0	1
20-24	6	4	8
25-29	24	20	28
30-39	54	49	59
40-59	68	66	70
60+	57	71	48
Number	96 120	46 273	49 847

d. Non-western immigrants			
Age	Total	Males	Females
Total	46	43	48
15-19	3	1	5
20-24	35	21	48
25-29	64	51	74
30-39	76	70	83
40-59	81	83	80
60+	61	79	46
Number	186 367	94 492	91 875

e. Immigrants of Pakistani background			
Age	Total	Males	Females
Total	45	45	45
15-19	3	1	5
20-24	43	29	56
25-29	82	73	90
30-39	92	89	94
40-59	93	95	90
60+	77	88	59
Number	22831	12 007	10 824

f. Immigrants of Vietnamese background			
Age	Total	Males	Females
Total	38	36	39
15-19	1	0	2
20-24	19	7	29
25-29	46	33	58
30-39	70	67	75
40-59	79	81	77
60+	68	86	53
Number	15 390	7 958	7 432

Source: Statistics Norway

The marital (and family formation) patterns of first generation immigrants and of their children attract much interest in the media and public opinion. As these children still are very young, and the numbers involved small, it is often difficult to explain the uncertainty surrounding the figures. For children with two foreign-born parents, we do not know whether those who come later will behave in the same way as the very first members of the group (their parents). Hence, it is conceivable that, while a relatively small part will marry young following closely the pattern of their parents, the majority will avoid early marriage and adopt a behaviour strategy closer to the Norwegian pattern of family formation. If this is the case, it is still too early to draw any firm conclusions about nuptiality in the second group.

With this caveat in mind, it seems that marriages contracted between immigrants from countries like Pakistan, Morocco, India and Vietnam only involve a small number of Norwegians in cross-national marriages, at least in the first generation. Looking more closely at marriages contracted by immigrants of Pakistani origin living in Norway, there were 335 marriages involving first generation women and 537 involving first generation men between 1996 and 1999. In 75 per cent of cases the partner was living in Pakistan before the marriage, while 20 per cent were with partners living in Norway but with two parents born in Pakistan. Four per cent of Pakistani men married a woman of Norwegian background, whereas the corresponding figure for women was less than one per cent. In other words, first generation immigrants mostly find their partners in their home country, secondly among their own ethnic group in Norway, while cross-cultural marriages are almost absent. Given the need for permits and visas, the statistics quoted above should be of reasonable quality.

All children of two immigrant parents born in the third world are still young, and it is reasonable to assume that those who marry at such young age are respecting their parents' advice. Among women, three quarters still marry a man from Pakistan, with the remainder finding a partner of Pakistani origin in Norway. Only a small group - four per cent - find husbands from other national backgrounds, although it reminds us that many migrants belong to trans-national communities. Some political and religious leaders in the Pakistani

community in Norway gave the summer 2002 the advice that young Norwegians of Pakistani origin should rather go to other European countries like the UK or Germany than to Pakistan to find an ethnic Pakistani partner. They recognised many problems in the marriages between persons born and raised in Norway and their partners from rural Pakistan. To find a partner in the Pakistani communities in Europe does not (yet) seem to be usual. Moreover, no women and only two men found spouses from within the non-migrant Norwegian population. Immigrants from countries like Turkey, Morocco and India seem to be more open to cross-cultural marriages, but the percentage seldom rises above 10 per cent in the first generation. Cross-national marriages are more frequent among men than women, with an exception of those of Vietnamese origin, but the numbers are small and are not reproduced here.

Extramarital births

At the time where cohabitation in Norway started, the statistical evidence of this new phenomenon was most clearly displayed in statistics on extramarital births. For the birth in 2000, we give in table 7.5 the percentage extramarital among those with two foreign-born parents, according to the mother's origin. Close to 50 per cent of children born in Norway are born out of marriage, the majority (estimated to 85 per cent of them) born to cohabiting parents. For parents from other Nordic countries, the percentage is virtually the same. To parents from Latin America (Chile the largest nationality), one third of the children were extramarital. The lowest percentage extramarital children had, as we would expect, parents from Asia. The pattern of cohabitation will probably, by and large, be the same.

Table 7.5. Percentage born outside marriage among children born to first generation immigrants. 2000

Regional background	Per cent outside marriage	Number of births
All births in Norway	50	59 234
All with two foreign-born parents	15	3 835
Nordic countries	48	180
Rest of Western Europe	24	136
North America and Oceania	-	22
Eastern Europe	15	649
Asia (incl. Turkey)	8	2 168
Africa	22	624
South- and Central-America	36	56

Source: Statistics Norway

8. Household and family structure

Household statistics are not yet register based and information on household structure is at the moment available only from sample surveys or from other indirect sources. The figures from the 2001 Population and Housing Census, which will be published in September 2002, will give the basis for a better description of households and families in Norway. The only sample survey with reasonably good response rates and representativeness that is suitable for this purpose is a survey on living conditions among immigrants carried out in 1996, which included questions on households (Blom 1998). The registers only contain family information, but families based on cohabitation are only covered where there are common children, as explained in the previous section.

As regards family structure, only the data family size and family type are of acceptable quality in the registers, and our discussion is restricted to these two variables. In all groups, a minority of *families* belong to the categories, married couples or cohabiting couples with common children, with the lowest proportion observed among immigrants from the Western countries (table 8.1). Age distribution has an important bearing on family structure and, whereas a majority of couples among non-western immigrants have children living at home, this only applies to a minority of western immigrants. Cohabiting partners with common children are rare among all migrant groups.

The highest proportion of small families is found among immigrants from western countries, with two thirds living in one-person families, compared to less than 50 per cent of Norwegians and non-western immigrants (table 8.2). As for immigrants from the third world, 14 per cent of families have five or more members, which is more than double the national average. If we count persons as opposed to families, 30 per cent of third world immigrants live in large families, against 16 per cent of Norwegians, and only 10 per cent of

immigrants from western countries. In addition to differences in age structure, family composition is also a very clear expression of the specific backgrounds and future prospects for immigrants from different parts of the world.

The differences between immigrants and non-immigrants, and between different groups of immigrants are to some extent "only" a consequence of the different age structures, but they are also a result of different "life projects" in different groups. Most western immigrants come for a short period and return to form families in their country of origin. Non-western immigrants are to a greater extent coming to stay for the rest of their lives, either they came as refugees or as long-distance migrants with other background. Their family project will most often be realised in Norway.

As for nuptiality, statistics on the children might help us also with information on family structure. Child statistics give the proportion of children living with two biological parents, married or cohabiting, and those living with only mother or only father. Most typically, children with immigrant parents from non-western countries live together with both mother and father, and they are married. Significant exceptions are those of Somali origin, with only 45 per cent of the children living with only the mother, slightly more than those living with both parents. The same pattern can also be seen among other African countries with a significant proportion of refugees. More than 90 per cent of children of parents from Sri Lanka and Pakistan live with their married parents, above 80 per cent are registered among children with a background in India, Morocco, Turkey and Bosnia. Among children in Norway, 64 per cent live with their married parents. The age selectivity in children's family relations is strong, so simple comparisons of these numbers cannot be recommended.

Table 8.1. Families by immigrant background (in per cent)

Background of reference person	Number of families	Married couple without children	Married couple with children	Cohabiting, with common children	Other family types
Total	2 073 425	16	24	4	56
Norway	1 965 658	16	25	4	55
Norden	25 451	19	7	1	73
Western Europe and North America	19 332	22	8	0	70
Eastern Europe	15 430	17	30	1	52
Third world	47 554	11	32	1	56

Source: Statistics Norway

Table 8.2. Family size by immigrant background (in per cent)

Background of reference person	Number of families	Size of family				
		1	2	3	4	5 and more
Total	2 073 425	46	22	13	13	6
Norway	1 965 658	45	22	13	13	7
Norden	25 451	70	21	4	4	1
Western Europe and North America	19 332	67	24	3	4	2
Eastern Europe	15 430	45	21	12	14	8
Third world	47 554	46	15	12	13	14

Source: Statistics Norway

9. Mortality patterns

The situation for describing the mortality patterns of immigrants is not much better than for households, although the reasons are different. The quality of the register-based mortality data is very good, but since the number of immigrant deaths is low and the immigrant population is of very mixed composition; it is not particularly useful to calculate mortality rates for the group of immigrants as such, or for too broad sub-groups. At the very least, the mortality figures must be broken down by origin, and born in Norway or not. In 2000, there were only 237 deaths among immigrants of third world origin, giving a mortality rate of less than 2 per 1000, against around 10 per 1000 for the population as a whole. The reason for this low death rate, however, is not so much high life expectancy, but is more related to the very young age structure of the immigrant population.

Although statisticians have tried to calculate life expectancies for immigrant groups in Norway, because of the very low number of years of exposure at many ages, the robustness of the estimates was unacceptable. Nevertheless, it is still possible to produce estimates based on indirect standardisation - that is the single year age specific probabilities of dying in the Norwegian population in 1998-2000 are applied to the single year age breakdown of third world immigrants and Pakistani immigrants in the same years. This theoretical number of deaths is then compared with the observed number of deaths also in the same years, see table 9.1. The calculations have to be performed on single year age groups due to the uneven age distributions of the two immigrant populations. Furthermore, since detailed age data are only available from 1998, the exercise cannot be replicated easily for earlier years.

We can see from table 9.1 that the number of deaths tends to fluctuate, but by no more than would be expected. The increase in the number of deaths from 1995 to 2000 has been quite strong, but is in accor-

dance with the increasing number of immigrants, and their increasing age. Interestingly, for all third world immigrants there were 10-15 per cent fewer deaths among first generation immigrants in 1998-2000 than would have occurred if Norwegian mortality had applied. For the children born to two foreign-born parents, the number of deaths is almost twice the expected figure. Taking all immigrants together, the difference in the number of deaths is modest.

Included in table 9.1 is also an indicator of the significance of the difference between observed and estimated numbers of deaths. First generation immigrants have clearly lower mortality than the total population, when all three years are lumped together. I see no reason for not aggregating the years. Persons born in Norway to two foreign-born parents from third world countries have significantly *higher* mortality than the total population. When all belonging to the immigrant population is taken together, the difference is very small, and not significant.

We did the same exercise for the population of Pakistani origin. For the first generation immigrants, there were no differences at all, whereas persons born in Norway to Pakistani born parents show a clearly higher standardised mortality. The number of persons in these groups are not very high (around 10 000 in each, see table 4.2), but the overmortality among persons born in Norway by Pakistani-born parents is high enough to make the mortality for all immigrants with Pakistani background significantly higher than in the total population. Investigations into child morbidity and mortality among immigrants in Oslo concluded that, for some time now, there has been no real difference in infant mortality between the Norwegian and immigrant populations, but that there is excess mortality among immigrant children between 1 and 2 years of age (Stoltenberg et al 1999). The causes are related to consanguinal factors.

Table 9.1. Deaths among third world immigrants and immigrants from Pakistan. 1995-2000

	Third world			Pakistan		
	1. generation	2. generation	Total	1. generation	2. generation	Total
1995	146	16	162	32	7	39
1996	143	24	167	16	7	23
1997	162	28	190	21	5	26
1998	178	27	205	30	8	38
<i>Estimated</i>	197	16**	214	27	4**	31
1999	193	27	220	23	18	41
<i>Estimated</i>	212	19*	230	29	5**	34
2000	203	34	237	36	8	44
<i>Estimated</i>	234*	19**	253	32	5	37
Sum 1998-2000	574	88	662	89	32	123
<i>Estimated</i>	643**	54**	697	88	14**	102**

*: Difference significant on 10 per cent level.

** : Difference significant on 5 per cent level.

The tests have been done by Aslaug Hurlén Foss and Anne Sofie Abrahamsen, Statistics Norway.

Source: Statistics Norway

Estimates are based on the assumption that each group experienced Norwegian mortality rates.

Even though the number of deaths are too low and the age specific death rates are fluctuating too much to make reasonable calculations of life expectancies, the observed and estimated numbers presented in table 9.1 indicates that for third world immigrants as a whole, there is no significant difference in mortality when comparing with the population in Norway. There is, however, a significant lower mortality for the first generation immigrants, counterbalanced by a higher mortality for persons born in Norway to parents born in a third world country. Immigrants of Pakistani origin have a higher mortality than the population in Norway, due to a very high mortality among persons born in Norway with parents of Pakistani origin. If we calculate mortality for persons born in Norway by two parents born in third world countries, and remove the population of Pakistani origin from this calculation, the difference from the total population is smaller, but still clearly significant.

We can only speculate around the reasons for this different mortality pattern between first generation immigrants and children born in Norway to two foreign-born parents. Many migrant groups show low mortality, according to Courbage and Khlat (1996) the lowest mortality for any population in Europe is observed among women of Moroccan origin living in France. Both selection for health for those moving, and life style are used as explanation. First generation immigrants will almost always have lived their first months, with high mortality, in their country of origin. Those in bad health condition will probably have a low international mobility. The mortality of nationally born children of two foreign born parents from third world countries, are not very often calculated. When this group apparently has a significant over-mortality in Norway, I see this in the context of consanguinity (Stoltenberg et al. 1999), and also as a sign of problematic integration and living conditions for children of non-western immigrants in the Norwegian society. We need more in-depth analyses, involving also causes of death to discuss the causal aspects of this finding.

10. Concluding remarks

10.1. Recapitulation of main findings

We have now presented a demographic analysis of immigration to Norway, and of immigrants in Norway. It started with a simple description of the immigration history, showing that the proportion immigrants in the population was larger at the beginning of than in the middle of the previous century. Since then, the immigration has increased, and changed its composition. Earlier, it was dominated by immigrant workers from our neighbouring countries, then more workers came also from distant countries, and the influence of refugees increased. Last years, the attention is again more on labour migration.

The data for this report is mostly taken from various registers that can be linked within the register statistical system of Norway. The great majority of the immigrants will be included in the registers, but the registers contain a limited number of variables.

Taken all together, more than 500 000 persons (11 per cent of the population) have some kind of immigrant background, themselves or at least one of their parents are born abroad. Fifty per cent (250 000) are born abroad with two foreign-born parents, 50 000 are born in Norway with two parents born abroad. The immigrant population (300 000 persons) in Norwegian statistics consists of these two groups. In addition, we have 150 000 persons born in Norway by one Norwegian-born and one foreign-born parent, 23 000 are born abroad with such parents, 18 000 are born abroad to two Norwegian-born parents, and finally we have 14 000 persons adopted from abroad, not included in the immigrant population.

This report has showed beyond any doubt that the immigrants in Norway is a very heterogeneous group, not having more than some kind of foreign background in common. All immigrants taken as one single group is without meaning for analytical or descriptive purposes, at least one needs a breakdown by region of origin. Virtually, every country in the world is represented in the immigrant population in Norway, but only ten with more than 10 000 persons. The major groups are from our neighbours Sweden and Denmark,

and from UK, from traditional labour migration countries like Pakistan, and from the refugee countries Vietnam, Bosnia, Iraq, and Iran. Yugoslavia and Turkey belong to both of the last groups. Immigration figures are not easily compared between countries, but it seems that the level of immigration to Norway is somewhat more than half that of Sweden and the Netherlands.

The immigration from third world countries has been increasing the last decade, and is back again on the level of the late 1980s. Immigration from Eastern Europe has been varying with the crises on Balkan, with peaks in 1993-94 and 1999. From our Nordic neighbours and the rest of Western Europe, the immigration varies with the labour market conditions, at home and in Norway. Net immigration from these countries has declined the last years. Net immigration 2001 was "only" 8 000, slightly below the average for the last ten years.

One third of the immigrant population came as refugees. Almost everyone is of non-western origin, and refugees are 50 per cent of all non-western immigrants to Norway. Of the 84 000 refugees, three fourth were primary refugees, and one fourth were accepted for family reunification to persons already being given protection in Norway. As a result of the large numbers of refugees from former Yugoslavia during the 1990s, 60 per cent of the immigrants from Eastern Europe are refugees. The proportion being naturalised is larger in Norway than in most other countries (on line with Sweden and the Netherlands). The rate is very high among refugees, and for other of non-western origin, and very low among western immigrant. Since 1997, almost 140 000 former foreign citizens have acquired Norwegian citizenship.

The immigrants in Norway are a rather young population, with few old persons. There are, however, big differences according to region and country of origin. Among non-western immigrants, we have more children and fewer older persons than among western immigrants. This is due both to differences in age at immigration and different fertility. Immigrants are

present in almost every Norwegian municipality, but their proportion varies. Western immigrants have a more even distribution than non-western. The highest numbers are in central towns (the proportion immigrants in Oslo is 20 per cent), but almost the same concentration is registered in some smaller remote municipalities with large and special needs in the labour force, and who have settled comparatively many refugees. The immigration authorities try to settle refugees all over the country, whereas labour migrants very often live in Oslo. Three of four immigrants of Pakistani origin are living in Oslo.

On average, the fertility is higher among immigrants than in the rest of the population. It does, however, vary much between the different countries of origin, and it adapts to the Norwegian pattern over time. As a result of children born to immigrants, the fertility rate in Norway is 0.05 children higher than it would have been without immigrants. Immigrants from Somalia, Iraq, Morocco, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka have more than 3,5 children per woman on average. For some groups, their present day fertility in Norway is higher than in their country of origin. The fertility level approaches the average level of Norway by duration of residence. For children of two foreign-born parents, the proportion young mothers are on line with the proportion in the total population.

Immigrants from western countries often return when forming a family, but some start family life in Norway with a Norwegian partner. Non-western immigrants primarily find their partners in their country of origin, or among persons from their country already settled in Norway. In this group, cross-national marriages are not very common. Persons born in Norway by two foreign-born parents are now entering the age of family formation. Those in this group marrying at young ages seem to follow the marital pattern of their parents, but the proportion marrying young is much lower. Contrary to the main-stream behaviour in Norway, immigrants from non-western countries do seldom cohabit without being married.

Hitherto, we have had little knowledge about immigrant mortality in Norway. Even though the number of deaths are too low and the age specific death rates are fluctuating too much to make reasonable calculations of life expectancies, the observed and estimated numbers of deaths indicate that for third world immigrants as a whole, there is no significant difference in mortality when comparing with the population in Norway. There is, however, a significant lower mortality for the first generation immigrants, counterbalanced by a higher mortality for persons born in Norway with two parents born in a third world country. Immigrants of Pakistani origin have a higher mortality than the population in Norway, due to high mortality among persons born in Norway with two parents of Pakistani origin.

Immigration has influenced the growth and composition of the Norwegian population, in an increasing degree. For the period 1971-1996, they are directly and indirectly behind one third of the population growth. This influence is growing with declining natural growth and increasing immigration. The population in Norway increased with 58 000 in 1999-2000. Fifty percent was due to net immigration of first generation immigrants, an increase of 7 500 was due to children born to two foreign-born parents, and 10 000 more had one foreign and one Norwegian-born parent. The population without any immigrant background did also increase, but only with 8 000 persons. Norway has a population growth relatively high in Europe, due both to high immigration, and to high natural growth relative to the rest of Europe.

10.2. Conclusions

The emphasis in this report has been on the new migration regime from 1970 onwards. Immigration to a small and remote country like Norway is not, of course, among the highest in Europe, but it is not insignificant either. According to our definition of what constitutes an immigrant (persons with two foreign-born parents), more than six percent of the population falls into this category, but taking all persons born abroad or born in Norway with at least one foreign-born parent, the proportion with a foreign background rises to one in ten. Immigration has been driven by needs of the Norwegian labour market as well as by a relatively strong inflow of refugees and asylum seekers. Both flows vary greatly from year to year, depending on labour market conditions and on refugee pressure and the country's policy towards them. The number of out-migrants is more stable, and migration of Norwegian citizens is more stable than for foreign citizens.

At the time of writing, Norway has accepted one of the highest numbers of asylum seekers relative to population size (UNHCR 2001) and a significant number of them are expected to remain in the country. In earlier peak years only a few countries were responsible for this inflow, but by 2001 the range of origins had widened substantially and their demographic dynamics are such as to cause the population of foreign background to continue to increase, even in the absence of new immigration. However, "replacement migration", as coined by the UN (2001), is likely to have less impact in Norway than elsewhere, because the fertility in Norway has not fallen as far as in other countries and has stayed at just below replacement level. On the other hand, unemployment in Norway is very low, and labour force participation rates are among the highest in Europe, with the result that the future demand for labour market must continue to be partly met by immigration. The country's immigration laws are gradually being adapted to this situation and the level of immigration is unlikely to decrease in future, although its composition may change. As many of the countries

from which specialists have been recruited in the past may themselves face labour shortages, future labour demand is likely to be increasingly met from Eastern Europe and the third world and will therefore involve accepting immigrants from countries that are very different to Norway.

These figures are not easily compared with other countries, as citizenship is the only measure they have in common and Norway, together with Sweden and the Netherlands, have probably the highest levels of naturalisation in Europe. The lack of comparability demonstrated by this Council of Europe project is surprising in a Europe where immigration policy will be harmonised, and integration is a key aim. The consequences of different immigration regimes can only be understood in a comparative perspective. Knowledge based policies are a common European goal, but knowledge about the stocks and flows of migrants in Europe is far from satisfactory, and the consequences of immigration for the immigrants themselves as well as for the host societies are even less understood. One of the consequences is that countries can have their demand for labour better satisfied, while other consequences relate to the fact arise that peoples' needs for protection and a safe haven can be met. On the negative side, we have to consider the ugly expressions of racism and discrimination that all our countries experience, but to be able effectively to fight the negative consequences, we have to identify and measure the phenomena involved. There is still a long way to go before immigration statistics and research can deliver the weapons needed in combating racism and xenophobia.

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