

Integrated Policies on Gender Relations, Ageing and Migration in Europe

Lessons from the Network of Integrated European Population Studies (NIEPS)

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Executive summary

Integrated approach to family dynamics, population ageing and integration of migrants

Introduction

Integration requires in several respects a comprehensive approach to issues within each theme addressed by NIEPS. It also needs looking at the relations between the three themes.

The integrative approach to each theme

A first requirement of integrative research on the themes dealt with by NIEPS concerns the necessity to consider population processes in a life course perspective. Life course events in diverse domains – family background, education, employment, health – can influence the nature, location and intensity of phenomena such as partnering, parenting and ageing and their interactions with other life course processes.

A second requirement concerns the need to consider and study family and population issues in the broader societal and cultural context in which they are occurring. The integrative approach is of particular importance for analysing the relations between the demographic dynamics and the social policy climate or regime in which they develop.

Multi-disciplinary integration is another must for future population research. Demographic phenomena cannot just be explained by demographic processes themselves, but must be researched by means of operative approaches in which biological, psychological, social, cultural, economic and ecological elements are taken into consideration.

Multiple designs must be applied in population research: micro-level investigations complemented by and integrated with macro-level approaches; quantitative surveys complemented by and integrated with qualitative investigations; small-scale investigations require confrontation and integration with large-scale analyses.

Finally, transnational comparison must complement investigations at the national level, not only to study the broader variation that may exist in a wider geographic and political space and better understand the socio-cultural and socio-economic determinants of demographic behaviour, but also to facilitate the explanation of national contexts and more particularly the demographic effects of national policies.

The integration between the three themes

Starting from the observation that much of the research and policy making on the three major NIEPS themes occurs in a secluded way, the need for a more integrated approach is argued.

The institutional fragmentation and need for integration of research domains

The population research community in Europe is, due to the European national and multilingual composition and the national organisation of academic research and education, in large majority split up.

The 11 national population institutes members of NIEPS have been at the forefront of European population research over past several decades. However, much of that research has been implemented at the national or regional level as national funding agencies have not shown interest in funding comparative transnational research. Each institution had to obtain resources at the national level and the transnational component, when pursued, relied mainly on the initiative and enthusiasm of individual researchers. Lack of comparable data has been a permanent stumbling point in comprehensive comparative research. The resources for transnational projects that include data collection in the case of the World Fertility Survey and Fertility and Family Surveys (FFS) came from UN co-funding and in the case of the most recent project Population Policy Acceptance Study (PPAS) co-funding comes from the European Union. An international umbrella organisation appears to be indispensable both at the organisational and financial level for comprehensive transnational cooperation in the European research area.

As consequence of the organisational specificities in Europe in the domain of population research and the scientific requirements and pressures on individual researchers, national research units have to concentrate on one single or a very limited number of subjects. Interrelating or integrating different population phenomena remains thus out of reach. Furthermore, some national or academic population research institutes be it due to their specific mission with respect to governments or due to quick changing nature of market-driven research, address a very broad range of population issues – partnership, fertility, migration, mortality – but in rather general or fragmented manner.

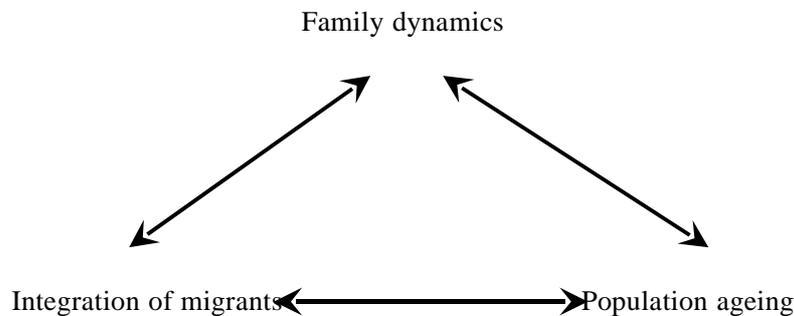
Looking at the research programmes or publication output of the 11 population institutes, one can observe that often a thematically quite broad and diverse research programme exists, but that the different population research topics are studied in secluded projects, and sometimes even separate research departments or sections.

The relations between family dynamics, integration of migrants, and population ageing

The three themes studied in NIEPS – gender relations, family building and work patterns / demographic and cultural specificity and integration of migrants / ageing, intergenerational solidarity and age-specific vulnerabilities – are complex phenomena on themselves, both for research and policy aims.

They are, however, also, in several respects, mutually interrelated (Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1. Interrelations between the three NIEPS themes



Family dynamics – integration of migrants

As has been shown the interrelations between gender relations, family building and work patterns are not only complex phenomena, both for research and policy making, for the autochthonous populations in modern societies, but they are even more critical issues for immigrants, more particularly originating from ethnically more distant and religiously different populations. Such populations usually originate from cultures with more patriarchal values and norms with respect to gender relations, family building and work division. In modern culture, those populations have to adopt values and norms in gender relations with respect to individual emancipation and rights, in particular for the females, which must appear, more in particular for the earlier prerogatives of the male beneficiaries, as ideologically blasphemous and socially degrading. They have to adapt their reproductive behaviour in such a way that their children and grandchildren get the same opportunities and quality of life as the nationals in their host country. They have to acquire skills that allow them and their descendents to function adequately in their host society and to compete successfully on the labour market.

Integration of migrants – population ageing

It appeared that some researchers and policy makers suggest that the population ageing and future population decline should be compensated by immigration. They think that immigration is a kind of easy and handy shortcut to offset the difficult and seemingly unavoidable societal problems resulting from population greying and population dejuvenation. Others have, on the contrary, argued that immigration is not an appropriate or desirable means to deal with population ageing and decline. This controversy was addressed by NIEPS. The conclusion was unequivocal: replacement migration is not a fundamental and long-term solution to population ageing. It can only be a temporary means to slow down or compensate for population decline.

Indeed, all population scenario exercises – also the controversial recent UN report on replacement migration - show that immigration is not a solution to demographic ageing, because the average age of immigrants is only a little lower than that of natives and the initially higher fertility of immigrants soon decreases to lower levels. Immigrants themselves age and both natives and immigrants need ever more immigrants to compensate for the population ageing and to replace them. Only huge numbers of migrants would succeed in slowing down or neutralizing the ageing process, but would result in a phenomenal increase in population size. Thus immigration is not a tool for fixing population ageing but it is a complex social process.

Population studies reviewed under NIEPS also show that additional large volumes of immigrants are likely to face serious social and political objections. The acceptance of large numbers of immigrants coming from culturally distant populations, requires substantial efforts of social, cultural and identificational integration or leads to social and political strife.

The ageing of immigrants themselves requires appropriate measures to safeguard their rights to pensions, health and welfare care. Specific problems exist here, since some migrants may have spent part of their active life in their country of origin or another country than the one in which they may reach the age of retirement.

Population ageing – family dynamics

Population ageing is not the only demographic change modern societies are experiencing. It occurs concomitantly with changes in relational and reproductive behaviour, family structures, women's participation in paid labour, and increase in the number of simultaneously living generations. And all this occurs parallel and in interaction with fast cultural, socio-economic and technological changes.

These simultaneous changes in population age structure and family dynamics are at the core of the problems NIEPS wanted to address with respect to the questions on intergenerational solidarity and age-specific vulnerabilities of the elderly.

The larger number of longer living elderly goes hand in hand with smaller and more frequently disrupted or reconstituted families, living at greater distances, with less family members available for care and social contacts. Not only structures and family and social relations are changing, but also attitudes, aspirations and expectations, more particularly with respect to providing and receiving assistance, help and care. New equilibrium has to be found to reconcile individual and social needs and responsibilities more particularly with respect to intergenerational solidarity, aid and care.

Strategies for an integrated approach

The simultaneous scientific and policy consideration of the changing family dynamics, the population ageing and the integration of migrants compellingly points to the need for an integrated approach both in the domains of research and policies.

The NIEPS project convincingly showed the necessity to consider research and policy making in the domains of gender relations, family dynamics and work patterns simultaneously and in their mutual interrelations. Gender relations, task divisions and co-operation in the domains of family building, household roles and out-of-the-house labour probably form one of the most important factors in reconciling family life and work and in the future redressing fertility close to the intergenerational replacement level. More in particular fundamental changes in the timing of events during the life course might become necessary to resolve the dilemmas and controversies related to gender relations, childbearing and gainful employment and retirement.

The question of the integration of migrants coming from culturally distant countries not only raises the same problems but also reinforces challenges of

the basic gender equality, and more particularly the position and role of women and girls.

The important ageing wave which the industrialised countries can expect in the second quarter of the 21st century will require a revision and adaptation of past research strategies and social policies. For this complex problem there seems to be no simple or quick policy solution. Adapting to the new and evolving demographic regime is a gradual process which started already many decades ago and which, also in the future, will require further adapted policy responses. There is certainly no way back to pre-industrial living circumstances where the (extended) family network took care of the aged. Also the opposite extreme solution – public provisions in publicly run institutions – appears to be illusory because of its costs and other unfavourable or undesirable side-effects, such as decreasing quality of life, loss of privacy and dignity. A well-designed mix of welfare measures, combining public provisions with community-, family- and self-help might be the obvious path to take. This mix concerns also, although in different proportions, the combination of publicly funded private-market agencies providing institutional care and citizen's associations. Some societies with a stronger family oriented cultural background might appear to be currently in a more favourable situation than others. However, everywhere modernisation is increasingly involving women - the traditional caretakers of the old and diseased – in family transcending social activities which will make them less available for traditional family caring tasks.

The balanced approach that takes into account societal, family and individual needs does not counter-pose family versus public responsibility but promotes varying degrees of choice for individuals to use both. This of course implies the existence of well-developed chains of publicly funded or co-funded services that are made available to individuals and families.

A largely unexplored path of reasoning and policy design with respect to the care of the aged is to reconsider this problem in a total life course perspective and taking into account intergenerational equity. A prudential life course approach of welfare care by which scarce resources would be differentially allocated and rationed over the life span, taking into account the protective effect they have on opportunities over the entire life span, should obviously take into account the complete social security system, – including health insurance, child allowances, unemployment benefits, and retirement pensions. A life course perspective might also give individuals a much greater involvement and say in the way they want to spend both their own resources and public resources in the different stages of their lives.

Such an approach may involve some form of rationing in particular phases of the life course, more particularly at very high ages with respect to costly medical interventions which do not entail improving the quality of life of older people but enable them medically assisted life beyond the 'natural' lifespan.

In the domain of scientific research several strategies can be applied with a view to promote an integrated approach in the fields of family dynamics, integration of migrants and population ageing.

In the first place, the conceptualisation of research needs to consider simultaneously the major issues dealt with in the NIEPS project and to look at their interrelations and interdependencies in an interdisciplinary perspective. Such an approach has important organisational implications. The necessity to stimulate and organise multi- and interdisciplinary research is an Achilles tendon of current-day researchers, wanting and pressed to be highly specialised in their own, narrow field, with its own hypotheses, theories, methodologies, results and often also its values and prejudices. But, complex societal phenomena and problems such as discussed in the NIEPS project, require precisely discipline-transcending operative research.

In view of the complex interaction of social processes that require validation of current policies, policy adaptation and reform as well as development of new policy directives and tools, demographic processes need to be addressed as a horizontal research issue - an indispensable research dimension in knowledge-based societies. The demographic community may need to be more open to the input of other sciences - not just to incorporate in demographic research individual scholars with a background in statistics, mathematics, sociology, economics, geography or psychology. Research projects need to build in the applied, policy relevant dimension in the research design from the conceptualisation phase and not just consider policy relevance as an obvious, implicit or added dimension in the interpretation of data phase.

Research centres should organise inter-centre co-operation and pool together and co-ordinate their research efforts and potentials, within and between institutions, within and between countries, - undoubtedly a difficult assignment in research quarters where competitive and co-operative drives are not always well balanced.

An important mission is granted here for national (and European) policy makers. All too often the interest of policy makers is narrowly focused on national policy relevant research issues, forgetting that most problems transcend the national borders and that, moreover, international comparative research is a

crucial instrument to illuminate and resolve problems national governments need to address locally.

Up to date there has been a striking lack of allocation of resources by the national research councils or other funding agencies to transnational research projects in view to learn from good and bad practices of others. The European Union is today the most important if not the sole umbrella organisation that can foster and substantially fund transnational comparative research.

The need for integrated and multidisciplinary research does not necessarily mean that all good should be expected from giant research projects with all-embracing surveys or from mechanical pooling of the research institutions. A feasible solution proposed by NIEPS is the organisation of simultaneously organised or closely linked and conceptually unified smaller projects and grouping of research institutions around topical research.

A frequently advanced critique of current-day politics in the field of family and population matters is its lack of an integrated approach. Policies regarding gender, family, labour, migrants, elderly are often the responsibility of different ministers and administrative departments, the conceptual integration and co-ordinated implementation of which is weak, if not completely absent.

It must also be admitted that our pluralistic societies house ideologically quite different views on family and population matters. Not so long ago, some key policy actors wanted our populations further to increase, opposed measures in favour of the spreading of modern contraceptives, and claimed to be pre-eminently the defenders of the family. Some are today holding the view that below-replacement fertility will lower the pressure on our environment, that immigration will contribute to the creation of a multicultural society and delete the family notion from their political jargon; still others keep total silence on population matters, not wanting to be suspected of sympathy of ancient pernicious population policies or to intervene in matters which they consider to be private matters of individual citizens – and choose thus to ignore the societal implications of the sum of individual behaviours. A coherent and generally supported integrated view on a present-day population-related policy is virtually absent in European countries. Yet needs for public support ‘in private matters’ are extensively documented in population research and clearly articulated by the population. Also benefits for the society as a whole of universalistic coverage of social protection that fosters a climate of security of individuals and families in face of multiple risks are well documented.

A prerequisite for the development of a more integrated population-related policy resides in the development of a more integrated and comprehensive

population research. Since policies are increasingly knowledge-based, vanguard research ideas and relevant findings might be an inspiring conceptual source for policy making. Simultaneously, the standard setting principles developed by the European political bodies regarding the European social model as well as more limited in scope guidelines regarding employment and family life, active ageing or integration of migrants call for a feedback from population research.

An impetus for change will also need to come from policy-making quarters. Bringing population issues to the policy fore and timely consideration for social implications of the complex interaction between major components of demographic dynamics - family building, migration, and ageing - appears as a priority.

Plausible choices for the future

Main lessons learnt from the analysis of population and social development may be summarized as follows.

All European countries, be it advanced market economies or countries in transition, share the main features of the demographic future. Low fertility is expected to persist, population ageing will continue with accelerating pace in the next decades. These trends will require some considerable societal adaptations and reform regarding work, family life and social protection.

Below-replacement fertility is widespread throughout Europe and several countries are experiencing fertility levels that are extremely low. As a consequence long-term generational replacement is no longer guaranteed and the combined effect of increased longevity and decreased fertility is resulting in fast population ageing. The mainstream policy discourse, at the European and national level is strongly focused on adaptation of social security systems in view of offsetting the negative consequences of population ageing. However, adaptation to the consequences may not be sufficient, especially in the long-term, and the cluster of determinants of population ageing associated with low fertility will also need to be addressed in comprehensive population-friendly policies.

The life course paradigm characteristic of the last decades of the 20th century has largely been shaped by the capital-intensive economic growth policies. The state intervention in social protection through re-distribution of income policies was largely limited to buffering risks inherent to the economic model of the monetarist regimes.

The key population challenge of the 21st century is associated with the economy of time. The way people spend time on daily activities, spread activities during their life course, and manage risks associated with family dynamics, maternity, labour force participation, retirement and old-age over their entire life span, will largely affect the quality of life of individuals, intergenerational solidarity, social cohesion in general, and trans-generational continuity.

The future of European demography

Most demographic phenomena evolve at the pace of a generational time span and, in modern culture, usually also change at a gradual pace: the number of people that will form the elderly population section in the next two to three decades is already born and has, in the absence of major catastrophic events, a high probability of reaching that stage of life. Also the number of people who will constitute the labour force are born or are already part of the active population. The number of children to be born in the next few decades depends partly on the number of women born at the end of the former century and partly on their timing and intensity of reproduction, - the latter being a phenomenon that, in absence of social or other catastrophies, changes only slowly over time. The only demographic phenomenon that might evolve at a faster and more sudden pace is immigration, because this depends largely of policy decisions. But also this determinant of the short-term demographics is subject to the inertia of present political and social constellations and cannot, consequently, be supposed to undergo fundamental changes, e.g. in the direction of allowing massive, uncontrolled or non-selective immigration.

The European social and policy context

The design of alternative plausible demographic scenarios has to take into account the “*acquis communautaire*” of the European social model with its strong and diversified social protection system. Current fertility differentials in Europe, more particularly between North and South are generally considered to be linked to the degree of development of social protection, gender equality and child- and family friendly societal structures and climate. Fresh in mind is also the steep fertility decline in the Eastern European countries after the breakdown of the social protection systems in those countries around the time of the transition to neo-liberal market economy.

Policy makers in Europe are quite well aware of the societal challenges resulting from the current and expected population dejuvenation and population greying. The large majority of Europeans also disapprove of the expected trends with respect to population decline and population ageing, as appears

from the current wave of the Population Policy Acceptance Surveys in 13 Eastern and Western European countries.

According to expert opinion, the societal challenges with respect to population dejuvenation and population greying, will require quite fundamental and long-term socio-economic, socio-ecological and socio-cultural changes. However, Europe is characterised, within as well as between its societies, by a salient ideological pluralism in attitudes and views with respect to several crucial family and population issues. A coherent and integrated view on a present-day population-related policy is needed in the mainstream policy debates both at European and national levels.

Moreover, the demographic challenges of modern societies will require, in addition to indispensable short-term adaptive policies, long-term policy strategies to modify the current demographic regimes. A fundamental difficulty in reconciling immediate and long-term policy effects reside in the fact that short-term adaptive policies more or less correspond to the political time schedule of elections in democratic countries, while long-term strategies require transcending this temporal dimension and including intergenerational dimension of population-friendly policies.

As far as concerns attitudes and expectations at the population level, the present combination of dominant cultural values with respect to quality of life, social protection and social rights acquisitions and expectations, and the increasing labour insecurity as a consequence of the increasing international economic competition related to a runaway globalisation, reinforces the individualisation and short-term vision trends that hamper the introduction and acceptance of more fundamental and long-term envisioned policy changes.

The political and social inertia towards population-related policy changes requires the designing of alternative population-related policies, some of which could gradually be introduced and implemented in the coming years.

Alternative population-related policy scenarios

The demographic challenges of modern societies – population dejuvenation and population greying – can be addressed by three types of population-related policies: fertility-related policies, longevity-related policies and migration-related policies. Each one can be conceived and implemented in a single-dimensional scenario or together in a multidimensional scenario. However, it is necessary to be aware of the fact that only a comprehensive and long-term designed policy scenario in which all three of the basic demographic determinants – fertility, longevity and migration – are being dealt with, can address ef-

fectively the major demographic challenges of population dejuvenation and population greying and their multiple societal consequences. Whereas some aspects of an immigration-focused policy or of a population greying-related policy can be expected to have relatively short-term results, most of the fertility-focused policy measures can only be expected to have effects over a longer-term period, i.e. beyond 2020.

Population-related policies with respect to fertility

This policy option is based on the hypothesis that it is desirable to redress fertility at or around replacement level, and more in particular that Europe ('s policy makers) would want to deal with the more fundamental causes of the currently expected demographic trends in the domain of population dejuvenation.

This option will require a comprehensive and multifaceted policy effort in domains such as gender relations, family and child relations, environmental design, child and family values, and life course organisation. It can only produce results on a longer-term time scale. Although it cannot be expected that the implementation of this option soon leads to significant results, it could be initiated and gradually developed in the coming years.

Gender equality and emancipatory policies

Eliminating existing inequities with respect to gender, not only taking into consideration that women still have a higher parental investment in children than men, but also because modern society is still largely designed to suit men, is of primary importance. Policies in this field may not only have to be of a structural nature, mainly to facilitate the combination of motherhood with other activities, in particular participation in the labour force, but also deal with the existing male mentality towards gender related task divisions with respect to child caring and rearing, so that men can fully share family responsibilities with their partners. Gender equality in the domain of family-work relations might be favoured by a generalised reduction of working time.

Family and child-friendly policies

There is a necessity to further eliminate existing parent-linked financial inequities. Children are not only to be seen as an individual gratification to their parent(s), but also as important for societal life and continuity. Inequities with respect to parenthood not only concern the cost of children (including the opportunity costs), but also the costs of care, protection, and insurance of the adults.

Creation of a more child-friendly environment

The organisation and functioning of modern society is in many respects child-unfriendly. In many urban environments more care and place is given to cars than to playgrounds and safe paths for children. Considerable work has to be done in creating a child-friendly town and country planning. Also much stronger childminding facilities should be provided in all kinds of social contexts – work, leisure, gatherings, etc., so that it appears clearly that children are welcome and are a constituent in our societies.

Promoting child and family oriented values

If all of the above-mentioned measures might contribute to eliminate inequities and, consequently, help people to have the number of children they want without having to be deprived of the privileges and advantages adults without dependent children can enjoy, they may, but will not necessarily increase the desired number of children to such an extent that long-term generational replacement at the population level is guaranteed. Indeed, in most countries, the frequency distribution of desired family size does not ensure long-term population replacement. Low fertility might, consequently, also require the valuation of behavioural variation in reproduction. In the absence of substantial and continuous immigration flows, long-term generational replacement can only be guaranteed when quite a large number of women surpass the one or two child family size, in order to compensate for those who cannot or do not want to have children or who have only one child.

Rethinking the life course perspective of work, parenthood and retirement

The current toolbox of family-friendly measures might, in the end, prove to be insufficient to resolve the dilemmas facing individual women and men with respect to genuine gender equity, on the one hand, and on the other hand, dilemmas of modern societies with respect to intergenerational continuity and redistribution of resources between generations. Public policies have so far rather badly managed the economy of time of individuals and families in a life-long perspective.

To reconcile the peak years of family formation with competition in the labour market, the entire life course perspective of employment and retirement might have to be rethought so as to give more free time and resources to young families and to create conditions for active ageing that entails also the option of working at higher ages long after children have gained autonomy.

Policy options with respect to longevity

This policy option is based on the hypothesis that it is desirable to deal with population greying.

It also includes several domains of policy action: activating the older adults, adapting the social protection system, and reinforcing intergenerational solidarity.

Active ageing

Contrary to the biological ageing process which resulted in a lengthening of life and opportunities to prolong an active life up to a much higher age than ever before in human history, social ageing developed in an opposite direction, with more and more people, retiring at ever younger ages, either because society excluded them from the labour force, or because people, being unsatisfied with their work conditions, took advantage of the early retirement schemes.

The unfavourable effects of population ageing (increasing elderly dependency ratio) can be counteracted by promoting an active ageing policy, keeping older, able workers much longer, though in a variable and flexible way, in the work force. Early pension schemes should, consequently, be reduced and legal and de facto age of retirement gradually increased. These measures should, obviously, be integrated in a redesigned work pattern for all age groups in an comprehensive work/family-friendly/social and retirement policy context.

Adapting the social protection system

The social protection system – pension system, health care and other public funded care – will have to be adapted to keep it sustainable in a long-term perspective. The traditional pension systems in Europe should be reformed and adapted to the new demographic regime. They should be neutral, fair, and robust with respect to the further expected increase of longevity. Pension reforms should be part of an integrated policy together with population policies and welfare and labour market reforms.

Each isolated specific adaptive measure to population ageing on itself – pension system reforms, changing labour participation, activating older people, increasing immigration, redressing fertility – will help but will not resolve the problem. An integrated, multi-sectorial policy, involving all of those measures, will be needed to address adequately the long-term challenge of population ageing.

Intergenerational solidarity

Although most measures will have to be of an organizational or financial nature and pertain to specific problems, population ageing might also necessitate behavioural changes, and more particularly require the strengthening of intergenerational solidarity with a view to maintaining or redressing intergenerational equity in life opportunities and options.

Policy options with respect to migration

This policy options is based on the hypothesis that immigration is a desirable instrument to compensate perceived deficiencies in population size and age structure in Europe.

However, contrary to what is often believed, mass immigration is not a solution to demographic ageing, because the average age of immigrants is only a little lower than that of natives and the initially higher fertility of immigrants soon decreases to lower levels. Immigrants themselves age and both natives and immigrants need ever more immigrants to compensate for the population ageing and to replace them.

Mass immigration can help to reduce the decrease in the size of particular age groups and of the population as a whole, but it raises many other societal questions. The costs and benefits of migration need to be assessed in a comprehensive way and in a longer-term perspective, and not just by taking into account current demand for particular labour and its immediate benefits. The total cost of the integration process, including education, health and housing needs of immigrants and their descendants, the net effects on social cohesion, security and stability, particularly in view of relations between the autochthones and allochthones has to be considered.

Selective immigration

Therefore, immigration must be selective and numerically adjusted to the specific labour needs and reception capacity of the host country. Complex modern societies cannot cope, without provoking or experiencing serious social strife and disorder, with indiscriminate or mass immigration. Immigration needs to be sustainable for the receiving country, and must contribute to the society's welfare, security, stability and cohesion.

Compensating for both population size and age structure deficiencies requires a basket of measures of which migration might be one of the minor components. Possible shortages on the labour market should first be addressed by valuing, mobilising and integrating the existing reserves of manpower of nat-

ive as well of foreign origin, the latter often being confronted with higher than national average rates of unemployment, instead of enabling enterprises to recruit labour at no cost for themselves but shifting the cost to the society at times of economic restructuring of firms.

Immigrant integration

Immigrants, more particularly of ethnic distant origin, need active integration policies to avoid creation of ethnically stratified societies. People migrate in order to improve their living conditions and their quality of life. Inadequate integration, especially of second and third generation migrants, as can be seen in several European countries, can result in ghetto formation, limited opportunities to upward social mobility or full participation in all aspects of social life in the host country.

Integration of migrants implies also the acceptance by the national population of the cultural identity and values of the immigrants as far as they are not against the law or in conflict with fundamental European values concerning individual development, educational opportunity, gender equality, human dignity, democracy and individual's place in society in general.

Illegal migration

The potential for immigration from developing countries is so huge, given the demographic, economic and political disbalances in many developing countries, that Europe cannot absorb but a small fraction of the existing and expected migration pressures. Illegal immigration must, consequently, be adequately controlled.

By way of general conclusions

In the next two to three decades plausible alternative population scenarios for Europe are rather limited in options. This time perspective and the existence of the strong infrastructure of the advanced welfare regimes and the high value Europeans attach to social protection systems lead us to argue that the feasible scenario is of adaptation rather than radical reform. The demographic challenges in the domains of population dejuvenation and population greying in Europe require the design and implementation of adequate, long-term population-related policies.

Population-related policy scenarios have been identified in the domains of fertility, longevity and migration. They can be implemented either in single-dimensional scenarios or in one comprehensive multidimensional scenario. It is

argued that only the latter can adequately address the long-term challenges in the domains of population dejuvenation and population greying.

An alternative scenario, not entirely impossible but highly undesirable, would entail the dismantlement of the existing systems of old-age/survivors' pensions, sickness, health care and disability, family/children, unemployment, housing and social inclusion policies, measures and services. The price of which would be, in the European conceptualisation of development, huge in terms of social cohesion and demography.