A LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS ON NATURALIZATION AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN SWITZERLAND

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Abstract:

The notion of territorial settlement associated to the acquisition of a new citizenship has been recently challenged by a number of studies highlighting its instrumentality as a subsequent mobility factor. The long and diverse history of Switzerland as a country of immigration and the availability of rich naturalization and mobility data that allow the follow-up of individuals over time, makes out of this country a valuable study case where to investigate the impact of naturalization over international e(migration). Using longitudinal data, we follow 88,900 foreign individuals who entered the country between 1998 and 2000, over a period of 84 months between January 2011 and December 2017, documenting changes in naturalization status and international migration. Using different implementations of a Cox Proportional Hazard model, we examine whether and under which conditions the international mobility of naturalized migrants differs from the one of the non-naturalized. Our preliminary results indicate a lower international mobility of migrants acquiring the Swiss citizenship compared to the non-naturalized, but also that for third country nationals, naturalization increases the hazard rate of emigration.

1. Introduction:

International migration movements have been frequently and for a long time interpreted as a one-way process. The binary view of migration just as a link between and origin and destination country disregard its potentially transnational character. (Ahrens, Kelly, and van Liempt 2014; Hoon, Vink, and Schmeets 2019). Based on the notion of citizenship as "a form of membership in a political, and geographical community" (Bloemraad, Korteweg, & Yurdakul, 2008, p. 154), a request for naturalization would be then interpreted as the expression of a strong willingness to settle and to be an integral part of the host society. To summarize, it would be the *summum momentum* of the integration process. However, in a world characterized by transnational inequalities (Shamir, 2005; Beck, 2007) where international mobility continues to be a "scarce resource" (Bauman 2002) for the vast majority of the population, the strategic reasons for acquiring a passport and the attachment feelings' related to citizenship, have proven not to necessarily go together (Harpaz, 2013; Ramos, Lauzardo, and McCarthy 2018; Szewczyk 2016).

Studies on naturalization has focuses primarily on its consequences in terms of access to the labour market, political participation and/or discrimination, disregarding it potential over mobility. Recent and mostly qualitative research has shown that motivations and strategies behind naturalization vary. Acquisition of citizenship could be motivated by the desire to stabilize the place residence (Finotelli, La Barbera, and Echeverría 2018) and/or it can be pursued as a protection mechanism against the bureaucratic apparatus (Ramos, Lauzardo, & McCarthy, 2018; Della Puppa & Sredanovic, 2017; Graeber, 2016 Aptekar, 2016). All these research also highlight how obtaining the legal status of an EU citizen for third country nationals is seen as a safeguard for intra-European mobility in case of economic crisis, in particular among residents in Southern European countries (Mas Giralt 2017). Thus, naturalization increases the potential for transnational and international mobility (Ahrens et al. 2014; Hoon et al. 2019; Ramos et al. 2018) in the form of onward, return and circular migration. The main aim of this paper is to examine, from a quantitative perspective and within a longitudinal framework, whether and under which conditions the international mobility of naturalized migrants differs from the one of the non-naturalized.

1.1. A brief on citizenship acquisition is Switzerland

The linguistic, confessional, economic, and geographical diversity of Switzerland implies a great significance of the concept of nationality, as national identity creator. Questions

related to citizenship are therefore vectors of political, and symbolic issues, particularly in a country renowned for having one of the most restrictive access to nationality in Western Europe (MIPEX 2015) based on a *jus sanguinis* tradition and which ranks in middle-to-low positions in terms of the share of annually naturalized population as a share of resident non-citizens (EUROSTAT, 2018).

Naturalization in Switzerland is not granted automatically; it's based on an individual decision. Two acquisition modes are made available by the law for the period under study, depending on the personal situation of each candidate. The main one, the ordinary naturalization addresses, potentially, to all individuals with a foreign nationality (or stateless persons) living in Switzerland and meeting certain requirements related mainly to the length of stay (12 years) and their social integration in the society. The other one, the facilitated naturalization, concerns the legal partner of a Swiss citizen (after 5 years of residence, or 3 years of conjugal community and 1 year of residence), and children of naturalized persons (not included in the application when they were minors). Thus, criteria related to the length of stay differ between the two regimes.

Procedure and decision-making levels also vary; responsibilities are divided between the three administrative levels (communes, cantons, and Confederation) for ordinary naturalization while the federal administration handle the facilitated procedure. Therefore, the acquisition of citizenship is decentralized which is emblematic of Swiss federalism; it leaves a relatively wide margin of discretion and freedom of action to lower administrative levels. However, for harmonization purposes, the law on naturalization changed at the federal level in 2018.

Between 2011 and 2017 more than 200 thousand naturalizations were registered in Switzerland (Table 1, Annex). Descriptive results show that among those who got access to the naturalization in 2011, more than 2,000 emigrated (at least one time, but sometimes more than one time); a 6,2% emigration rate for an almost 7 years period[1]. As already stated, most of the recent research on naturalization and re-emigration has approached this phenomenon from a qualitative perspective, with few exceptions (Dronkers & Vink, 2012; Hoon et al., 2019).

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[1] In 2011, the emigration rate of the foreign population was 3,7%, compared with the 0,5% of the Swiss population and the general rate of 1,2% (own calculations, based on STATPOP).

2. Objective:

The aim of this paper is to contribute to the quantitative research body which investigate the relationship between the naturalization and international migration of foreigners. It acknowledges that getting access to a citizenship can be seen as a mean to increase international mobility (in particular for third country nationals within the EU) and it focuses on the conditions that produce a differential international mobility between the naturalized and the non-naturalized population. The main questions we want to address are:

- Which are the observable differences between immigrant groups in terms of access to the Swiss citizenship and international emigration?
- Does naturalization have an international (e)migration dimension in the Swiss case?
- Can the international or inter-cantonal migration trajectory prior to naturalization of an individual predict the subsequent migration behavior?
- Which is the impact of different socio-economic factors as sex, age, household size and income over the propensity to re-migrate of the naturalized population?
- Where do naturalized migrants go? Do they come back to their previous country or move forward?

3. Data and methodology

Data on naturalization and international migration is available through the Swiss population register, from 2011 to 2017. Based on the available data, we set a longitudinal dataset in order to test whether the international mobility of naturalized differs from the one of non-naturalized migrants. For this paper, the population register was also linked to other administrative registers and survey in order to access other socioeconomic and financial information available of each individual. The process of creation of the longitudinal dataset can be summarized as follows:

Taking into account that previous to 2017 naturalization in Switzerland implied permanent residence of 12 years and that data on naturalization is available from 2011 onwards, we define our population under analysis as the one entering the country between years 1998 and 2000 with a nationality other than Swiss, who was still in the country at the end 2010 and who was 18 or more years by that time. The latter as a measure to insure the process of naturalization acquisition was turned on by each individual and not by its

parents. This procedure yields a total of 88,900 people. A crucial feature of our dataset is the availability of the naturalization and/or the international migration (if they occur) date. Thus, we track monthly changes in both events between January, 2011 and December, 2017 (84 months) for each individual. In the case of emigration, the country of destination is also recorded.

We fit Cox proportional hazard models to examine the occurrence of international migration over a period of 84 months. Event history models of this type allows to examine both the timing and occurrence of an event, handling the inclusion of both time-variant and time-invariant covariates (Cox 1972; Fox and Weisberg 2011; Therneau, Crowson, and Atkinson 2019). To test the conditions under which naturalization is likely to be followed by an international (e)migration, we added a set of covariates described in the next section. In addition to the general models measuring emigration as a single event, we fit three competing risk models to evaluate possible variations depending in the destination of the movement. Since the flow of immigration to Switzerland between 1998 and 2000 was marked by a high share of arrivals of people from the Balkan countries (during the final years of the Yugoslavian war), and as we are also interested in the differential incidence naturalization could have over mobility for different immigrant groups, we run separate models for two different population groups: EU/EFTA[2] and NON EU/EFTA in all cases.

3.1 Covariates included in the model

We measure emigration and naturalization as a time dependent variable and we track monthly changes between January 2011 and December 2017 (84 months). Naturalization is measured as a dichotomous variable (Non-naturalized vs Naturalized). Within the set of the socio-demographic characteristics, we include sex, age (changing each 12 months) and the country of previous nationality grouped as either EU/EFTA and NON EU/EFTA population. We include information on the household size as recorded in 2011 in four categories (1 person, 2 persons, 3 persons or 4 or more persons) as a way to proxy the family composition. The socio-economic position of migrants is introduced as a categorical variable using the quartile distribution of total income perceived between

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[2] EU/EFTA include: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Cepublic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Iceland, Norway, Principality of Liechtenstein.

2005 and 2010. To assess the influence of the international migration or internal mobility trajectory, we include two different dichotomous variables: one classifying the population between those who performed an international emigration between 2005 and 2010 and those who not and the other between those who performed less than 2 inter-cantonal movements between 2005 and 2010 and those who moved 3 or more times. Aside of these individual characteristics, two other covariates concerning the origin group are included and controlled for in the model: the number of co-nationals living in Switzerland in 2014 and the Nationality Quality Index (Kochenov 2017) as recorded in 2012. The NQI measures the freedom of movement and settlement attached to a certain passport, and it is included in the models as a categorical variable defined by the quartiles of its distribution.

4. Descriptive analysis of naturalization and emigration

As already stated above, our dataset contains information for 88,900 individuals. Almost half of it (49%) is composed by EU/EFTA population (mainly from Germany, Portugal, France and Italy -75% of total-), and the other half (51%) by NON EU/EFTA population (mostly Serbian (21%), Macedonians, Kosovars and Turks (27%)). Between 2011 and 2017, almost one in four (23.3%, 20,689 people) individuals in our dataset received the Swiss nationality (Table 2, Annex), with a similar naturalization rate between groups of 22.5% for EU/EFTA and 24% for the NON EU/EFTA (Figure 1). However, these aggregated results mask notorious differences between national of different countries in their access to the Swiss citizenship. While 4 in 10 Iraqis and 3 in 10 Germans and French in our dataset got naturalized between 2011 and 2017, the rate is 18-20% for the population from Serbia, Kosovo, Turkey and Italy and it is below 10% for the Portuguese population (see Figure 1 in the Annex).

Coming to international migration, by the end of the period of observation our dataset record 7547 emigrations between 2011 and 2017 (an 8.5% cumulative emigration rate). In this case, differences between the two population groups are more pronounce. With a cumulative emigration rate of 10.5%, the EU/EFTA population almost doubles the rate of the NON EU/EFTA (6.5%). It seems evident that differences in the emigration rates between the two groups under analysis are rooted in the advantageous conditions of intra-European mobility enjoyed by the former group respect to the latter.

Figure 1: Kaplan-Meier cumulative incidence of naturalization and emigration by groups, January 2011-December 2017
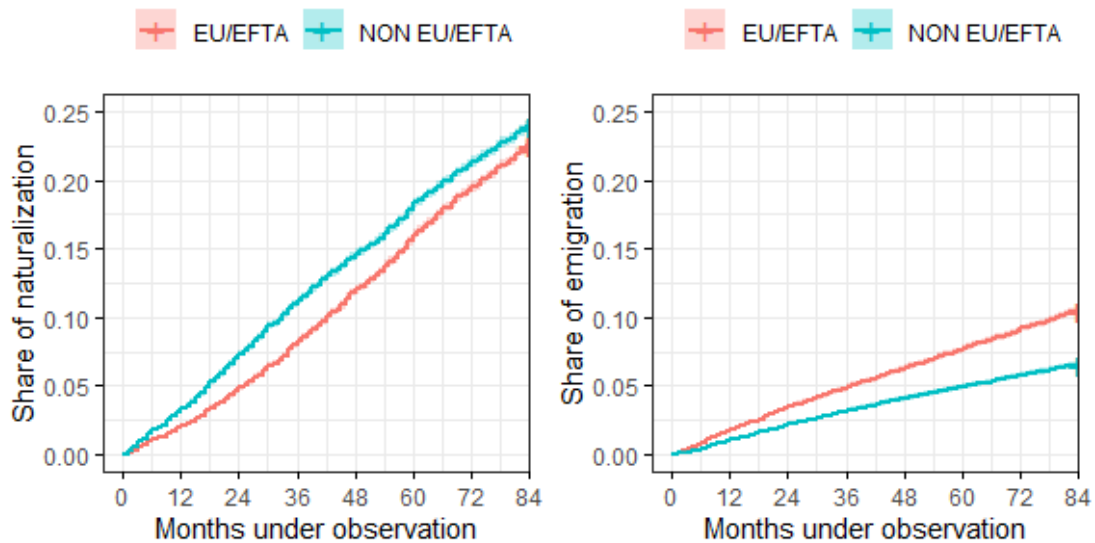
Source: Own elaboration with data of the Swiss Statistical Office.

4.1 Naturalization as a latent state: An univariate Cox Model

Access to the nationality of the host country is by no means the result of the one-day action or decision. On the contrary, it is a process that, as we have seen in the Swiss case, requires the proactive attitude of the applicant as the fulfillment of numerous requirements. Then, naturalization may be considered as the end point of a decision that more or less consciously has been taken several years before; a latent state. In order to test this hypothesis in the Swiss case, we compute two separate univariate Cox Regression model (one for each population group) considering naturalization as time-invariant covariate.

The measure of interest from a Cox regression model is the hazard ratio (HR). The HR represents the ratio of hazards between two groups at any particular point in time. A HR < 1 indicates a reduced hazard of emigration in comparison with the reference category whereas a HR > 1 indicates an increased hazard of (e)migration. As reflected in table 3, the HR of emigration for the population acquiring the Swiss citizenship between 2011 and 2017 for any of the two population groups under analysis is lower than the one of the non-naturalized population. Aside of the above mentioned differences in the occurrence of emigration between groups (also reflected in Figure 3), this first analysis reveals that individual who will get naturalized tend to be less international mobile than their non-naturalized counterparts and that differences on the hazard of emigration are greater for

the EU/EFTA population (63% lower against 33% lower for NON EU/EFTA). This general overlook indicates that the acquisition of the Swiss nationality tends, in general, concern a population that is less mobile internationally or, in other words, to fix people to Swiss territory; which is somehow expectable considering the highly restrictive access to nationality granted by the different administrative levels of the Swiss Government in comparison with neighbor countries of the EU.

Table 1: Cox Model considering naturalization as fixed covariate

Characteristic	EU/EFTA			NON EU/EFTA		
	Hazard Ratio	95% CI	p-value	Hazard Ratio	95% CI	p-value
Naturalization						
No (Ref.)	--	--		--	--	
Yes	0.39	0.36 - 0.43	<0.001	0.67	0.61 - 0.74	<0.001
	N= 43,340			N= 45,560		
	Events= 4,562			Events= 2,985		

Source: Own elaboration with data of the Swiss Statistical Office.

Figure 3: Cumulative hazard of emigration by month and population group
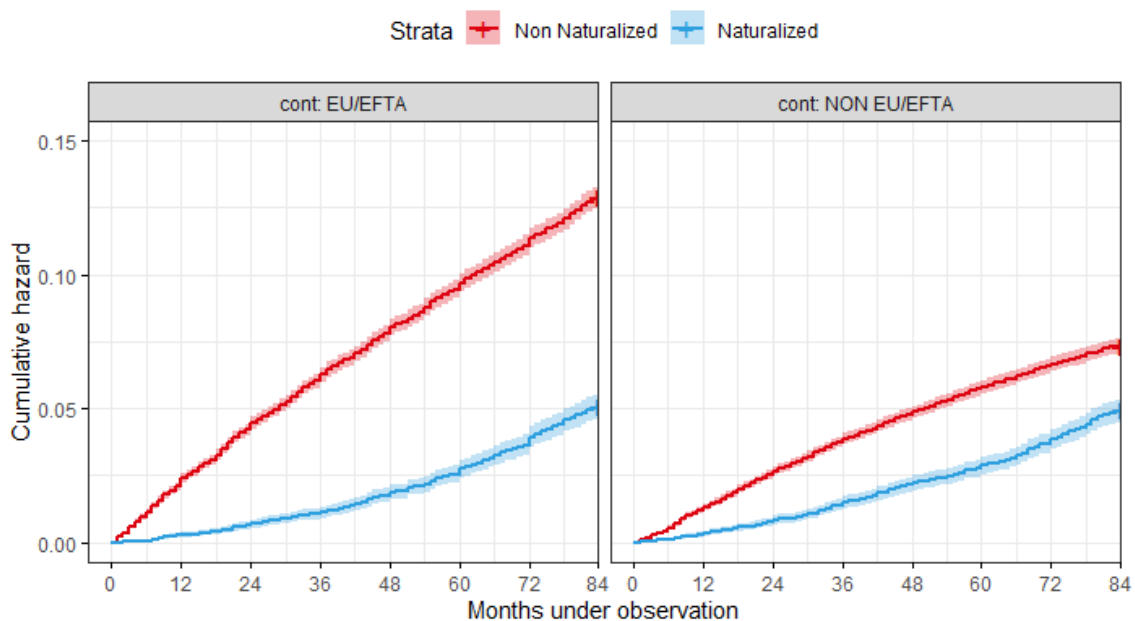
Source: Own elaboration with data of the Swiss Statistical Office.

However, one of the main questions we want to address in this paper is related with the potential of naturalization as a mobility trigger. For doing so, it is necessary to fit the Cox Model considering naturalization as a time dependant variable. The "citizenship to go" or "citizenship as ticket to mobility" hypothesis has been already explored from both a

qualitative (Della Puppa and Sredanovic 2017) and quantitative perspective (Hoon et al. 2019) for Italy and the Netherlands. The change in the analytical strategy brings significant changes in the results obtained that help to understand, to what extent and under what circumstances, the acquisition of Swiss nationality functions as a factor that impacts the potential international mobility of those who receive it. Table 2 shows the results of a univariate model just including naturalization. Once included in the model as a time dependent variable, two major changes occur. First, the difference in the hazard of emigration between those who get naturalize and those who not, for the EU/EFTA population, almost vanished (HR: 0.91) and lose statistical significance (p-value: 0.074). Secondly, for the NON EU/EFTA population the hazard of emigration change sign and become positive. For this population group, accessing the Swiss citizenship increases by 46% the hazard rate of international emigration. Next section deals with the potential triggers of emigration after naturalization.

Table 2: Cox Model considering naturalization as a time-dependent covariate

	EU/EFTA			NON EU/EFTA		
Characteristic	**Hazard Ratio**	**95% CI**	**p-value**	**Hazard Ratio**	**95% CI**	**p-value**
Naturalization						
No (Ref.)	--	--		--	--	
Yes	0.91	0.82 - 1.01	0.074	1.46	1.32 - 1.62	<0.001
	N= 53,012			N= 56,339		
	Events= 4,562			Events= 2,985		

Source: Own elaboration with data of the Swiss Statistical Office.

4.2 Triggers of post-naturalized international emigration

After controlling for a set of socio-demographic characteristic we find a change of sign on the emigration hazard rates of the naturalized EU/EFTA population, which continues to be close to zero but with no statistical significance (p-value=0.6). However, results for the NON EU/EFTA population shed interesting insights over the triggers of post-naturalized international emigration and accentuate the positive association previously described (Table 3).

First, regarding to sex the model 2 shows that women have a lower hazard of emigration than men (41% or 1.69 times lower). Although we do not have information on the composition of the families of the individuals in our data set, we do have the number of people in each household, which serves as an approximation to the family type. Thus, the

household size has an inverse relation with the risk of leaving the country after getting the Swiss passport. The bigger the household size where the person lives, the lower the hazard rate of subsequent emigration. Income has also a negative relation with emigration and a powerful retaining effect; the wealthier a person is the lower the hazard of leaving the country. And individual placed on the 4 quantile of income distribution has a hazard rate of emigration 52% lower than someone in the first. Residential stability, approximated here as the number of inter-cantonal performed between 2005 and 2010, has a major impact over the propensity to emigrate of the naturalized population. Individuals who have experienced 3 or more inter-cantonal movements between 2005 and 2010 exhibit a hazard rate of emigration 2.6 times higher than those how has performed 2 or less. On the contrary, those who had emigrated at least one time during the same period (2005-2010), have a 39% lower hazard of those who had not. In order to evaluate the role play by country-of-origin networks, we include a covariate in the model with the number of co-national (by 10 thousands) living in Switzerland in 2014. As stated by other scholars (Hoon et al. 2019), the result suggests that country-of origin networks also has a retaining effect; a 13% less hazard of international emigration per each 10 thousand co-nationals. By last, the quality of previous nationality seems to be positive associated with emigration, the lower hazard rates of emigration are observed for those holding the "previous" weakest passports.

Table 3: Cox proportional hazard model, risk of emigration with covariates

Model 2	EU/EFTA			NON EU/EFTA		
Characteristic	Hazard Ratio	95% CI	p-value	Hazard Ratio	95% CI	p-value
Naturalization	1.03	0.93 - 1.14	0.6	1.59	1.43 - 1.76	<0.001
Sex						
Males (Ref.)	--	--		--	--	
Females	0.76	0.71 - 0.81	<0.001	0.59	0.55 - 0.64	<0.001
Household size						
1 person (Ref.)	--	--		--	--	
2 persons	0.89	0.82 - 0.96	0.003	0.88	0.79 - 0.98	0.017
3 persons	0.61	0.56 - 0.67	<0.001	0.61	0.54 - 0.68	<0.001
4 or more	0.51	0.47 - 0.56	<0.001	0.42	0.38 - 0.47	<0.001
Income						
1 quantile (Ref.)	--	--		--	--	
2 quantile	0.63	0.57 - 0.70	<0.001	0.63	0.57 - 0.70	<0.001
3 quantile	0.51	0.46 - 0.56	<0.001	0.52	0.47 - 0.58	<0.001
4 quantile	0.48	0.45 - 0.52	<0.001	0.44	0.39 - 0.49	<0.001
Inter-cantonal m						
less than 2 (Ref.)	--	--		--	--	

3 or more	1.51	1.01 - 2.26	0.043	2.62	1.45 - 4.73	<0.001
Internationa m						
No (Ref.)	--	--		--	--	
Yes	1.02	0.73 - 1.42	>0.9	0.61	0.53 - 0.71	<0.001
Co-nationals (x10k)	0.98	0.98 - 0.98	<0.001	0.87	0.86 - 0.89	<0.001
Nationality Index						
4 quantile (Ref.)	--	--		--	--	
3 quantile	0.57	0.45 - 0.73	<0.001	0.57	0.50 - 0.64	<0.001
2 quantile	--	--		0.56	0.51 - 0.63	<0.001
1 quantile	--	--		0.38	0.34 - 0.43	<0.001
	N= 52,312			N= 55,433		
	Events= 4,438			Events= 2,882		

Source: Own elaboration with data of the Swiss Statistical Office.

4.3 Moving forward or coming back home?

As the country of destination for those who leave Switzerland is also available in our dataset, we fit three competing risk models to evaluate variation in the outcomes depending on the direction of the movement (Table 4). We find that general results presented above hold for the NON EU/EFTA population when refer to return migration. In the case of the EU/EFTA, modelling emigration not as a singular event but taking into account its direction, result in a significant lower hazard of return migration of the naturalized population (20% lower). The acquisition of the Swiss citizenship, on the one hand, seems to significant accentuate the hazard of emigration for both population groups when naturalized migrants move onwards, to another country different of that of its previous nationality. On the other, it reduces the hazard of leaving the country without formal notification, as illustrated by the hazard rates of emigration of the naturalized population when the destination is unknown.

Finally, almost have of the naturalized migrants in both population groups who have emigrated after obtaining the Swiss nationality (960 individuals) moved onwards, to a country different from their previous nationality country. France range on top position as destination for both population groups (23% of Swiss naturalized NON EU/EFTA population and 15% EU/EFTA who left the country), followed by the UK and Germany for the NON EU/EFTA and by the EEUU, UK and Germany for the EU/EFTA population (Figure 4). For the non-naturalized EU/EFTA migrants leaving Switzerland between 2011 and 2017, France, EEUU, Germany and the UK were also the favorite destinations (table 3 Annex). While for the NON EU/EFTA, Kosovo ranks on first position over the EEUU and France. However, all members of the non-naturalized population emigrating

form Switzerland to Kosovo, entered the country with a Serbian passport at the end the Balkans' war. Thus, this may not be considered as a different-destination-migration.

Table 4: Competing risk models

Model return	EU/EFTA			NON EU/EFTA		
Characteristic	**Hazard Ratio**	**95% CI**	**p-value**	**Hazard Ratio**	**95% CI**	**p-value**
Naturalization						
No (Ref.)	--	--		--	--	
Yes	0.8	0.70 - 0.93	0.003	1.21	1.04 - 1.40	0.012
Other controls	Yes			Yes		
	N= 52,312			N= 55,433		
	Events= 3,101			Events= 1,872		

Model onward	EU/EFTA			NON EU/EFTA		
Characteristic	**Hazard Ratio**	**95% CI**	**p-value**	**Hazard Ratio**	**95% CI**	**p-value**
Naturalization						
No (Ref.)	--	--		--	--	
Yes	2.14	1.83 - 2.49	<0.001	3.58	3.03 - 4.22	<0.001
Other controls	Yes			Yes		
	N= 52,312			N= 55,433		
	Events= 1,411			Events= 768		

Model unknown	EU/EFTA			NON EU/EFTA		
Characteristic	**Hazard Ratio**	**95% CI**	**p-value**	**Hazard Ratio**	**95% CI**	**p-value**
Naturalization						
No (Ref.)	--	--		--	--	
Yes	0.37	0.18 - 0.76	0.007	0.58	0.41 - 0.83	0.003
Other controls	Yes			Yes		
	N= 52,312			N= 55,433		
	Events= 354			Events= 710		

Source: Own elaboration with data of the Swiss Statistical Office.

Figure 4: Previous nationality and country of destination of the naturalized population moving onwards 2011-2017
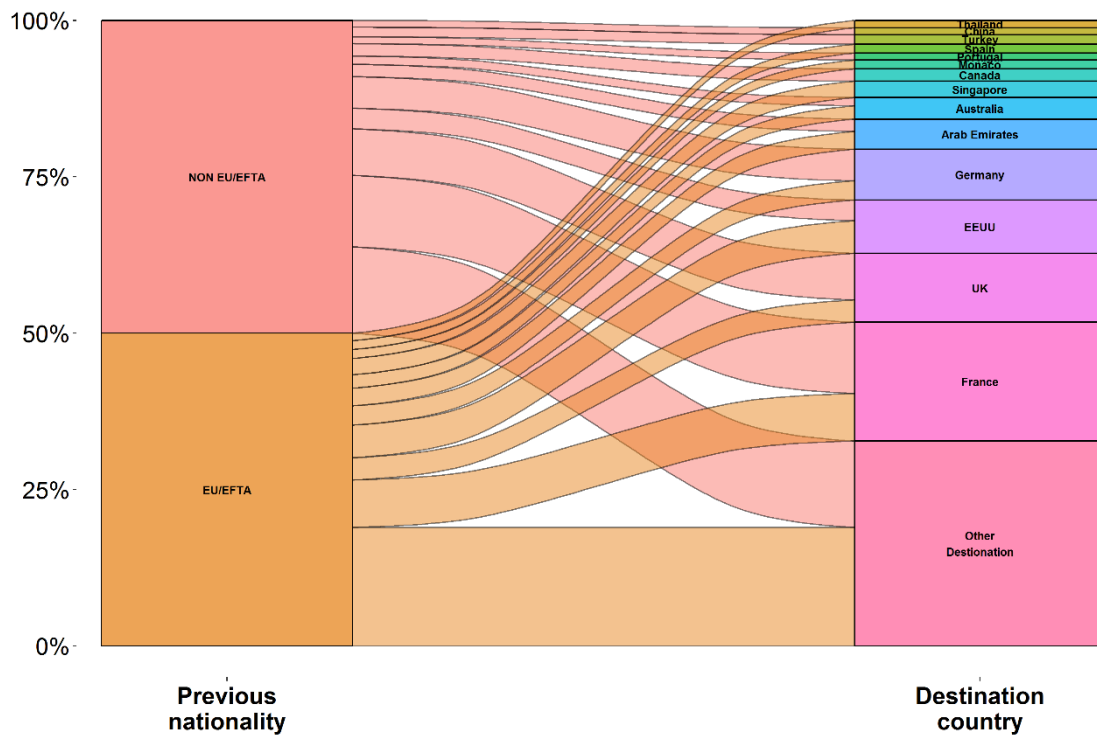
Source: Own elaboration with data of the Swiss Statistical Office.

5. Conclusion and discussion (provisional)

The Swiss data infrastructure allows the creation of longitudinal datasets built from population and administrative registers to analyze the impact of naturalization on international migration.

During the period of analysis, we find a slightly higher cumulative naturalization rate for the NON EU/EFTA population. However, by country of previous nationality, the differences in naturalization rates between immigrant groups are much more pronounced. But, as we lack of information about the total number of presented applications in our dataset during the period, differences should be interpreted carefully.

Citizen acquisition, even conceived as a latent state, tend to fix the population to the territory. The naturalized population has a lower cumulative rate of emigration compared to the non-naturalized.

While for the EU population, the acquisition of Swiss nationality does not have a significant impact on their international mobility patterns, for the NON EU population it

does increase the risk of emigration. Our analysis highlight relevant socio-demographic and contextual characteristic of the individuals that are associated with the risk of re-emigration after obtaining the Swiss citizenship.

The acquisition of the Swiss nationality is also associated with a lower rate leaving the country without a formal notification.

Half of the naturalized population who left Switzerland between 2011 and 2017 went to a different country than the one of its previous nationality.

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7. Annex

Table 1: number of emigrations following the naturalization according to the procedure and the year, 2011-2017

| | Ordinary | | Facilitated | |
	Stayed	Emigrated	Stayed	Emigrated
2011	25845	1506	7603	615
2012	24418	1403	6711	478
2013	24012	1111	8112	447
2014	22774	924	8527	384
2015	30151	980	9028	279
2016	32767	825	8875	184
2017	35004	284	9326	79
Total	194971	7033	58182	2466

Source: Own elaboration with data of the Swiss Statistical Office.

Table 2: Naturalization by type in absolute and relative terms, 2011-2017

Year	Ordinary	Facilitated	Ordinary	Facilitated
2011	1745	627	*2.0%*	*0.7%*
2012	2464	498	*2.8%*	*0.6%*
2013	2835	516	*3.2%*	*0.6%*
2014	2610	520	*2.9%*	*0.6%*
2015	2877	453	*3.2%*	*0.5%*
2016	2613	388	*2.9%*	*0.4%*
2017	2162	396	*2.4%*	*0.4%*
TOTAL	17306	3398	*19.5%*	*3.8%*

8. **Source:** Own elaboration with data of the Swiss Statistical Office.

Figure 1: Naturalization rate by country of previous nationality, 2011-2017
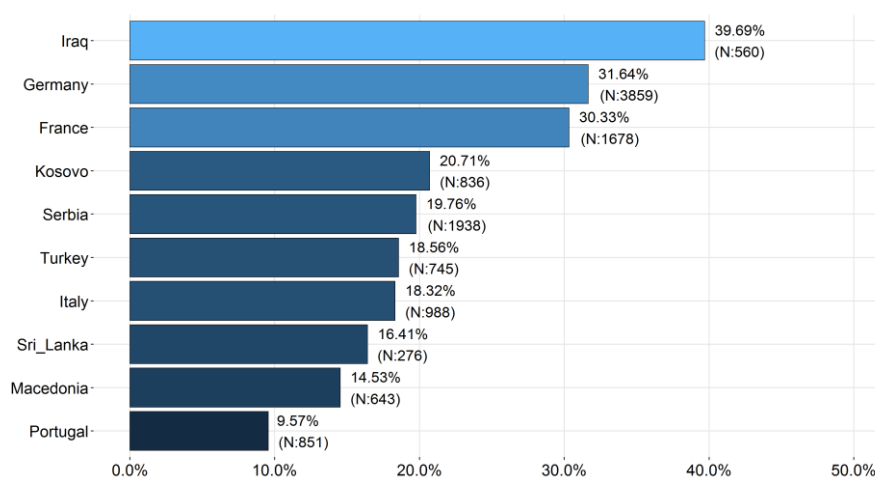
Table 3: Previous nationality and country of destination of the population moving from Switzerland 2011-2017

	Naturalized		Non Naturalized	
Group	**Destination**	**N**	**Destination**	**N**
EU/EFTA	8212	32	8212	107
EU/EFTA	8439	22	8439	91
EU/EFTA	8215	15	8207	74
EU/EFTA	8207	13	8215	73
EU/EFTA	8532	12	8229	42
EU/EFTA	8537	11	8532	39
EU/EFTA	8601	9	8236	30
EU/EFTA	8226	6	8406	30
EU/EFTA	8236	6	8537	30
EU/EFTA	8542	5	8218	24
NON EU/EFTA	8212	52	8256	34
NON EU/EFTA	8215	34	8439	33
NON EU/EFTA	8207	23	8212	27
NON EU/EFTA	8439	15	8207	23
NON EU/EFTA	8423	9	8215	19
NON EU/EFTA	8532	9	8423	18

NON EU/EFTA	8239	7	8236	14
NON EU/EFTA	8601	6	8532	13
NON EU/EFTA	8231	5	8537	13
NON EU/EFTA	8508	5	8248	12