
New Migrations in Europe: challenges for a new century

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In a nutshell

- A new 'reading' of migration flows in the post war era in close connection with major economic and geopolitical developments including the transformation of the European Communities to the European Union
 - What can we learn from such a 'reading'?
 - Put migration in Europe in context;
 - Understand the (in)ability of states to influence migration flows;
 - Assess the role of the EU formation/expansion in shaping migration;
 - Look into the migration challenges of the 21st century for Europe from a conceptual and a policy perspective.
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What follows

- In the first part, I will distinguish four migration eras that have characterised post-WWII Europe until today
 - In the second part, I shall present the nine main migration pathways that exist in Europe and I will discuss how these have changed at the eve of the 21st century
 - In the concluding part, I shall propose some ideas for further research
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Part I: Migration Phases in Europe

- Post-World War II era until 1974 – Post-War movements and labour migrations
 - Between 1974 and 1989 – the era of reduced or ‘unwanted’ migration
 - The post 1989 period – the ‘re-connection of Europe’
 - The post-2004 period – united Europe, globalisation and securitization
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Labour migration: Post-World War II era until 1974

- Massive population movements immediately after the war: returning forced labourers, expelled ethnic German populations, migration of borders
- A period of reconstruction and growth but important regional disparities within Europe (South-North)
- De-colonisation – privileged relations of former colonies persist (e.g. UK and Old/New Commonwealth; France and North Africa; Belgium and Congo)
- Fordist system of production – corporatist organisation of industrial relations
- Bilateral agreements for legal migration (starting in 1948 and continuing through the 1950s, e.g. Germany with Italy, Greece, Turkey; Belgium with Italy)
- Big employers recruiting directly (e.g. London Underground in West Indies)
- Formal (guestworker) and informal circularity
- European Communities at their very early stage (limited membership, only economic community)

The era of 'unwanted' migration: Between 1974 and 1989

- Following the oil & economic crises, ban on labour migrations in major European host countries – circularity stops
- Secondary flows: family reunification / family formation
- Inflows in major receiving countries however continue to be around 100,000 per year (UK, France, Germany)
- Southern European emigrants return to their countries of origin
- Early stages of Communist regimes' crisis (e.g. Poland in the 1980s)
- Political refugees from the East most welcome in western and southern European countries
- ~~EU enlarged to include southern European democracies – further halts emigration from Gr, Sp, Pt~~

The 're-connection of Europe':

1989-2004

- 1989 – a turning point in European history and geopolitics
 - EC/EU faces the challenge of reuniting & reconnecting Europe geopolitically and economically
 - Asylum flows and asylum panick (mainly in Germany and UK)
 - The beginning of an era of East to West (including East to South) labour migrations within Europe
 - A period of high unemployment in many EU countries but migrants come to take jobs that natives are no longer willing to do
 - Migrant labour saves/creates jobs for natives (in sectors that did not exist, and in helping survive some labour market sectors)
 - Irregular immigration is the norm in southern Europe but also largely present in western Europe (including working 'tourists' or contract workers and irregular workers)
 - Sectors concerned common across EU: construction, agriculture, cleaning, caring, tourism, catering.
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The post-2004 period – a united Europe?

- Enlargement to the East: 2004, 2007 but delayed opening of labour markets
 - While overall flows are not huge, destinations are largely shaped by
 - the differential opening/closure of old member states' labour markets;
 - previous migration and refugee networks;
 - temporary character: migrants move back and forth, they do not aim at settlement, the existence of the common European space reinforces this temporary and circular character of migrations;
 - limited work opportunities and lower salaries at the new member states lead many migrants to eventually settle in the old member states.
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The post-2004 period – globalisation and securitization

- The post 9/11 context, the Madrid (2004) and London (2005) bombings – the securitisation of migration
 - Suspected terrorists are among the ‘good’, legal, desired migrants often with higher education, and sometimes second generation naturalised citizens – however the emphasis is put not only on securitising airports and ports but also on combating irregular migration
 - The ‘symbolic’ policies of control (checks at airports, body scanners, more privatisation of controls)
 - Nonetheless globalisation of flows persists (new source countries for new destinations)
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Part II: Migration Pathways

- A migration pathway suggests a set of relationships, policies and opportunities that come together to form a specific pathway, a channel through which information and people flow between the sending and the receiving country.
 - (Gropas and Triandafyllidou 2007: 366)
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Nine Migration Pathways in post World War II Europe

- Co-ethnic and returning emigrants
 - Colonial and post-colonial migrations
 - Pre-1989 'internal' migration pathway (among Communist countries)
 - Labour migration: initial labour recruitment and later family reunification/formation

 - Temporary, seasonal and circular migration
 - The 'gold collar' migrations
 - The asylum pathway
 - Intra-EU migration
 - Irregular migration
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Temporary and Seasonal Pathway – a new way for managing migration

Advantages for receiving countries:

- flexible labour force on demand,
- trained workers may return on demand
- no long term settlement appeasing native xenophobia.

Disadvantages for receiving countries

- Seasonal migrants may stay as irregular migrants
- No answer to the demographic question
- Money earned is spent/invested abroad

Advantages for migrants:

- Possibility to migrate legally,
- Reduced costs of moving, establishment of networks, possibility to return,
- No uprooting, possibility to invest at home

Disadvantages for migrants

- Separated from family
- No possibility of settlement
- Alienation from both home and destination country
- Portability of pension/welfare?

Circular Migration: old wine in new bottles?

- ‘Spontaneous’ circularity took place in the 1970s and until the 1990s both with an East-West direction (e.g. Poles in Italy or Belgium) and in a South-North direction (e.g. Moroccans in France).
- Regulated circularity through bilateral schemes was introduced by the European Commission in 2006 as part of its ‘mobility partnerships’ policy plan.
- On the ground circularity takes place irregularly for low skill migrants (e.g. Ukrainians in Poland), and legally for settled migrants who take advantage of business and trade opportunities
- Circularity as part of mobility partnerships or other bilateral schemes remains to date extremely limited
- Regulated circularity may not be advantageous enough for migrants and their families – uncertainty of being called again, non portability of pension/welfare – temptation to go underground.

The 'Gold Collar' Pathway – in crisis?

- In the mid-2000s introduction of the Blue Card Directive – intensive negotiations in 2007 – almost abandoned towards the end of 2008 with the onset of the global financial crisis
 - Finally the Blue Card directive was voted in 2009. However it remains to be seen how much gold collar migration will be needed in Europe given that the crisis is still being bitterly felt in most countries where shortages of high skill migrants (IT experts, engineers, doctors, nurses) had been registered (e.g. Germany, UK)
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Asylum and Irregular Migration Pathways

- The Asylum Pathway
 - How to control borders while still allowing for people in need of international protection to cross and have access to asylum?
 - Irregular Migration
 - Multiplication of receiving and sending countries: old 'migration systems' are still relevant but new 'migration systems' seem to be emerging: for instance people from the Maghreb in Greece; Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in central Eastern Europe; Ukrainians and Chinese everywhere; sub Saharan Africans both in southern and northern Europe
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Intra-EU migration in the 21st Century: The mobility phase

- 2001 – Suspension of entry visas for associated states' citizens travelling within the Schengen area
 - Entry and overstaying become easier. People engage into informal work or legal work (applying for a permit).
 - In Southern Europe informal work and irregular stay are widespread in this period. Citizens of accession countries took part in SE's regularisation programmes legalising their status
 - 2004 10 new member states / 2007 Romania and Bulgaria join the EU
 - 2-year transition period applies for access to most old MS labour markets.
 - During this period, entry for study reasons as economically independent persons: informal work continues.
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Intra EU migration in the late 2000s

- The EU can be considered a 'laboratory experiment' since the free movement of people between MS together with important disparities in labour markets and wages between MS, stimulate:
 - Massive economic migration (e.g. Romanians in IT and SP, Poles, Latvians in UK and IRL, Bulgarians in GR)
 - Circular Mobility: after the crisis, workers try their luck back home as they can continue moving back and forth – geographical proximity and legal status – probably a lesson to learn about how to manage circular migration?

Global migration and the economic crisis

- The crisis does not seem to dismantle or significantly alter the emerging migration systems: for instance
 - Asian and sub Saharan African migrants keep arriving in southern Europe as well as northern Europe;
 - Latin Americans keep arriving in Spain;
 - both irregular and family formation migration continues to western and northern Europe
 - However, the pace of migration is abated and remittances suffer
 - Return / circulation however is not likely when legal options for return do not exist.
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What is new in the new migrations in Europe?

- **Multiplication of destination countries:** new member states slowly emerging as host countries
 - Traditional pathways (co ethnic; returning emigrants; post colonial) are dying out
 - Labour migration (both as recruitment and as family reunification/formation) is labelled 'undesired' and is generally made difficult to access – concerns are two-fold: labour markets may swing; integration may fail
 - **Most important pathways for non-EU migration:** asylum, irregular, seasonal/temporary
 - Circular and gold collar pathways remain marginal – in need of new policy frameworks
 - **Substantial intra EU mobility** between new and old MS
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Conceptual challenges

- **Migration vs. Asylum seeking**
 - re-define the conceptual and policy framework of asylum
 - analyse political-cum-economic factors that push people to emigrate
 - **Migration vs. Mobility**
 - what is the time frame of mobility vs. 'classical' migration
 - **Circular vs. Temporary/Seasonal Migrants**
 - is circular migration different from seasonal/temporary patterns? Is it ethical?
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The policy challenges

- Labour market management: **Split migration regimes:** Blue Card (front door) and Circular Migration (back door) – the way forward: On Demand? Labour market quotas? Points?
- **Rights:** EU citizens' rights and TCN rights: labour law / social rights. Fundamental rights of irregular migrants
- Ensuring an efficient system of **asylum** at the EU and national level – how?
- Providing for **tailored integration** policies that take into account both the old and **new realities** (e.g. new intra EU migrations in UK or IRL, Asian migration in IT, GR)
- Reconciling national and EU priorities and interests:
Bottleneck sectors: open to non EU migrants, simplify
– **Adjustment of migration status:** from temporary to long term should be possible

The end...

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Thank you!
