MIGRATION TYPES AND MIGRATION PATTERNS IN EUROPE

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Although the European Union has assumed the goal of common immigration and asylum policy, all the Union's decision-making in immigration issues still requires concensus, which normally is very hard to obtain in such a divisive field. This puts in danger the ambitions of Tampere[1] (1999), as the Member States have difficulties in finding commonly shared interests to promote such immigration and asylum policy.

Lack of common interest lies in different rates and compositions of immigrants, in different kinds of social tensions: whether they challenge cultural traditions (like Muslim groups in France, Belgium or in the Netherlands), the social net (the result of family unification in France or in Germany) or the labour market (East-European economic migrants in Germany or the United Kingdom). The intention of this study is to introduce characteristic migration types and migration patterns in Europe and, furthermore, to categorise European states as destination countries according to the composition of migration types of their immigrants. The aim of the study is to show at least one side of the coin, explaining diverse immigration policies in the European Union and the lack of common goals.

Europe is facing a change in its immigration structure and new intensity of economic migration within it in the first decade of the century, which can be characterised by the realignment of economic motivations on the continent. Roughly, these are labour demand from Western Member states of the European Union, with restrictions on some specific sectors and the duration of the residence of economic immigrants, and a wide scale of economic migrants from Eastern Member states and third countries. The variety of previous tendencies shows that migration routes between different parts of the continent or in a wider geographical context evolved under the influence of complex relationships of pull and push factors. Pull factors— motives for immigration to a country—are economic growth that is resulting in

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[1] „The EU decided to create a common asylum and immigration policy at the 1999 Tampere Summit, based on the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty. However, there has been little progress in this area since 1999 due to high national sensitiveness. (EU ministers agree on asylum procedures harmonisation)" http://www.euractiv.com/en/migrations/eu-ministers-agree-asylum-procedures-harmonisation/article-114346)

increased demand for labour force, and a higher standard of living. Meanwhile, push factors—motives for emigration from a country—include unemployment, poverty, economic, political crisis, social conflicts and natural disasters. These pull and push factors go by particular migration patterns that shape preferences of migrants of where to migrate. Decisions of migrants are directed not only by one aspect, for example to maximize their living standards, but are defined also by 1) historical relations between sending and destination countries as between the United Kingdom and its former colonies, 2) settled groups of significant size with similar language, culture or ethnicity in the destination country as in the case of second and third wave Turkish migrants to Germany or 3) geographical accessibility as happened in the case of Yugoslavian refugees who chose mainly Germany and Switzerland instead of the United Kingdom as their destination.

MIGRATION PATTERNS, MIGRATION ROUTES

One important factor shaping migration flows are historical relations. In the decades following the Second World War, colonial ties played a strong role in directing the routes of migrants to the United Kingdom, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium and the Netherlands, coming from their former colonies. Different but comparable historical ties between today's Russian Federation and other successor states of the Soviet Union have shaped migration routes to Russia. Yet another type of historical linkage made Germany a destination country (formerly between Western and Eastern Germany) for German minority populations of Poland or the Russian Federation (also Germans from Kaliningrad, the former Prussian Konigsberg region inside European Union, now belonging to Russia[2])

The first wave of economic immigration to Western and Northern European countries such as Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Sweden originating from Southern European countries and Turkey in the 1950s and 1960s undoubtedly paved the way for later refugees and displaced generated by the Balkan crisis. The outbreak and prolongation of the war caused mass refugee flows in Western and Northern directions. Although there were a number of refugees moving to Slovenia and Hungary, most of them left these (transition) countries for Germany, Austria and Switzerland.

Geographical accessibility is also a significant factor in shaping migration routes. That is why the composition of settled migrants has been changed in Greece. This

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[2] Kaliningrad: No easy answers. 2002. 10.21. http://www.euractiv.com/en/enlargement/kaliningrad-easy-answers/article-118198

country had been a popular destination of immigrants from Western countries, but is today the destination of Eastern European immigrants such as Albanians, Bulgarians, Romanians and Georgians. The situation is very similar in Italy, where geographical accessibility is also the main migration route-shaping factor in the case of Romanian, Serbian and Albanian immigrants and many Roma with different citizenships. Many migrants from Africa also choose Italy (along with Spain and Malta) as one of the nearest secure destination countries.

Moreover, migration routes can be shaped by peculiar conditions as well: Iraqis arrived in Denmark and Sweden with main refugee flows as did Iraqis, Somalis, Chechens and Afghans to Norway, probably attracted by the generous social security benefits in these countries or the indirect affect: when main destination countries flooded with refugees such as Germany and France introduced tighter immigration laws, other destination countries such as the Scandinavian ones did not follow them (immediately).

MIGRATION TYPES IN EUROPE

Migration in Europe appears in different types and in different combinations of types at different times. The main legal and voluntary migration types are return migration, migration of national minorities, economic migration and family unification, while an illegal but voluntary type is the smuggling of migrants. A legal and forced type is the migration of refugees and/or asylum seekers, change in population with different national backgrounds and the displacement of people, while an illegal and forced form is human trafficking.

Table 1. Types of Migration in Europe

Types of Migration in Europe	
Legal and voluntary	Legal and forced
Return migration	Refugees, asylum-seekers
Migration of National Minorities	Change population
Economic migration	Displace people
Family unification	
Illegal and voluntary	Illegal and forced
Smuggling of migrants	Trafficking in persons

Source: edited by the Author

Return Migration

In general, before the second world war Europe was characterised by emigration, not immigration, as many migrated mostly to the United States of America both from Western and Eastern countries. The situation changed later as in some countries with colonial ties, such as the United Kingdom, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium and the Netherlands return migration began from ex-colonies. The economic world crisis, that had its effects mostly in Western European countries, forced many Irish economic migrants to return from the United Kingdom, and many Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Yugoslavian and Turkish economic migrants to return from Germany, Switzerland, Sweden or Luxemburg in the 1970s. Starting from the beginning of the 1990s, return migration to the Russian Federation followed the dissolution of the Soviet Bloc. Germany was the destination of hundreds of thousands of return migrants from Poland, successor states of the Soviet Union and Romania. Today's typical return migration routes in Europe are refugees of the Former Republic of Yugoslavia moving back to its successor states, especially to Bosnia and Herzegovina (from Germany, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland and Slovenia) which is supported by aid programmes of the international community.

Migration of national minorities

New state borders defined by peace treaties closing the first and the second world wars took little notice of the situation of national minorities. To "remedy" nationality problems, many people belonging to national minority groups had to leave their homes, especially Hungarians and Germans living in Czechoslovakia. Moreover, many Germans were displaced from Central-Eastern European countries, based on collective condemnation. Although, these governmental programmes forced "only" a few hundred thousand people to leave their homes, millions remained. Minority policies in these Central-Eastern European countries belonging to the Socialist Bloc were so repressive that they caused mass migration of national minorities during and after the change of these regimes from Romania, Yugoslavia (and its successor states, mostly from Serbia), Slovakia and the Ukraine to Hungary, from the Czech Republic to Slovakia and in turn from Slovakia to the Czech Republic, finally from the Ukraine to Poland and Bulgaria. Many Turkish settled in Bulgaria under the centuries-long conquest of the Ottoman Empire and many of their descendants were forced to emigrate under Communist rule and migrate voluntarily to Turkey today. Migration of national minorities was observed

after the closing of the Yugoslav war that caused more homogenous ethnic structures in the successor states and in their provinces. Finally, one of the consequences of the Kosovo crisis is that many Serbs have emigrated from the autonomous territory of Kosovo under UN authority to Serbia (and Montenegro) and especially to Vojvodina, overbalancing the ethnic structures of both regions as the percentage of Serbs droped from 9,9% (1981) to 6% (2002, estimated) in Kosovo and increased from 57,2% (1991) to 65% (2002) in Vojvodina[3]. These migration types are significant in Central Eastern and South-East European countries as they have not latched on to global migration trends yet.

Economic Migration

The first wave of economic migration emerged after the Second World War subsequent to the economic growth of Western European countries that directed migration routes between Northern and Southern part of Europe. In this period, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Irish immigrants entered the labour markets of Germany, France, the Benelux states and the United Kingdom. Immediately thereafter, the circle of countries of origin for economic migrants to work markets was broadened, with Yugoslavia and Turkey joining the flow to the West. Germany introduced the guest-worker system and made bilateral agreements with Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia and Yugoslavia. The guest-worker system supplied temporary work facilities originally, but it turned out to be the perfect ground for nurturing the conditions for permanent settlement. to the German formula repeated itself in Austria, the Netherlands and Sweden. Immigration networks supported by the principle of free movement of workforce encapsulated in the Treaty of Rome in 1957 resulted in five million people leaving their homes between 1955 and 1973.

New destination countries like Ireland, Italy or Spain formerly belonged to the group of sending countries. These had experienced the first immigration wave by the time of the economic crisis when workforce recruitment ended in the 1970s, and their nationals migrated back to their motherlands. Unlike Italy and Spain, Ireland attracted the return migration of Irish emigrants through its economical development. Afterwards, all of the countries had to face other types of immigration besides return and nationality migration, particularly Spain, Portugal and Italy, where the composition of immigrants started to change as more and more immigrants came from non-EU countries (Central Europe, Africa, Latin-America).

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[3] Source: http://www.mup.sr.gov.yu/

The integration process of the European Union has facilitated economic migration from East to West. This period began in the mid 1990s and is still under way. It is characterised by migration routes within Europe, or more sharply between old and new member states of the European Union. In a polarized way, some may say that this migration has caused brain drains and losses of population in the new member states while creating economic growth in old member states. Most changes are not only in rates (there are more and more immigrants) but also in the composition of immigrants. Romanians moved mostly to Spain, Italy and France, their integration being helped by their language kinship. So settled immigrants in Spain are mostly from Latin America (Ecuador, Columbia), North-Africa (Morocco) and Romania. Meanwhile, Germany and Austria have blocked historical routes from Poland by strict limitations on economic immigration that have resulted in the redirection of several hundred thousand Polish to the United Kingdom and Ireland. After the first Eastern enlargement of the European Union, most old member states (Germany, Austria, Denmark, the Benelux states, France and Italy) introduced limitations on economic immigration, as these governments worried about the flood of Eastern immigrants to their work markets, causing social tensions mostly through polarising the competition for jobs between natives and immigrants. These restrictions are effective up to seven years; however, there are concessions in some sectors including information technology, health care and the building industry for temporary economic migrants.

Family Unification

One of the spill-over effects of economic migration is family unification in the second and third migration waves. Family unification is when the presence of economic migrants in their new resident countries enables family members to join them. This became a characteristic migration type during the 1980s in Western European countries, especially in Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and France. Recently, within the framework of their new strict immigration laws the Netherlands and Denmark have introduced measures to limit family unification by requiring a higher age of migrants in marrying someone from their home country and other special requirements[4].

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[4] For example in the case of Denmark young immigrants have to reach the age 24 to marry someone from their home country and "the marriage must be contracted voluntarily, and the spouses must as a rule not belong to the same family. For example they must not be cousins". http://www.nyidanmark.dk/ Templates/Search.aspx?NRMODE=Published&NRNODEGUID=%7bF509F662-8300-448C-B98D-C07 AEAE5548B%7d&NRORIGINALURL=%2fen-us%2fpublications%2fSearchPublications%2ehtm%3fsearc hType%3dpublications&NRCACHEHINT=Guest&searchType=publications.

Refuge, Asylum Seeking

After the close of the Second World War, for the second time mass forced migration characterised Europe between 1988 and 1996. While in the 1970s and 1980s asylum seekers originated mostly from Africa and Asia, the number and percentage of refugees and asylum seekers from the Eastern Bloc, especially from the Former Republics of Yugoslavia, increased significantly. This elevation in numbers of refugees and asylum seekers can be explained by the political crisis of the post-soviet bloc, the fall of the iron curtain, the outbreak of the Yugoslavian war and Turkish-Kurdish clashes in Turkey. Several hundred thousands of people from Eastern Europe were forced to leave their homes, and searched for a better life in Western European countries. Germany was the main destination country for Yugoslavs, Turks, Romanians and Bulgarians, as they had historical ties (former economic migration relations) and because Germany was easily accessible geographically. Finally, the German government introduced stricter immigration regulations in 1992, which enabled the country to send back refugees and asylum seekers who arrived from other European Union countries or from other "safe third countries". Western destination countries realised that wide misuse of social benefits could develop among refugees and asylum seekers and this could happen because destination countries did not co-operate in monitoring and controlling immigration. More and more destination countries followed Germany by tightening their immigration regulations, and this became one of the causes why mass immigration decreased after 1992. The other main cause was the end of the Yugoslavian war in 1995.

Smuggling of Migrants

Irregular immigration can take place, for example when state borders are crossed without legal identification documents (valid visa, passport), often avoiding border checks. The most notable smuggling methods in Europe are transports in small ships, which arrive at the north coast of the Mediterranean Sea, in Italy, Malta, Greece, France and Spain[5]. They receive wide publicity, especially when accidents happen. Destination countries aim to stop illegal immigration but their strict immigration and asylum policies and the Schengen-borders[6] tend to achieve contrary results. Irregular immigrants arrive with

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[5] Still, the largest number of trafficking victims were still single women: 65 percent for Albania and Kosovo, for example. The greatest number of people identified and assisted as victims of trafficking came from Albania, Moldova, Bulgaria and Romania" The EU and Southeastern Europe: confronting trafficking in human beings. 2004.03.05. source: www.euractive.com.

[6] Schengen borders – less control on the territory of the Schengen-area but stricter control those coming from outside the area since 1985.

different aims, some try to get employment while others apply for asylum, and they can arrive by different means, independently or with the help of smugglers. The main illegal migration routes to Western Europe originate from Africa, Eastern Europe and Asia.

Trafficking in Persons

Finally, Western Europe one of the main destinations of human trafficking (alongside the United States of America). Central Eastern European countries are mostly transition countries in this aspect, but the trafficking of women originates from Eastern European countries as well: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania and the post soviet successor states.

New Tendencies

In the following we will analyse a table based on the migration database of the International Labour Organisation that aims to show the five biggest resident groups by their citizenship in European destination countries. These destination countries were collated on the base of correspondences and overlaps in resident groups. The data are from 2003.

Table 2. Largest Immigrant Groups in Destination Countries

Destination country	Citizenship of the five biggest groups by countries of origin (2003)				
France	Portugal	Morocco	Algeria	Tunisia	Italy
Belgium	Italy	France	Netherlands	Morocco	Turkey
Netherlands	Turkey	Morocco	Germany	United Kingdom	Belgium
Luxemburg	Portugal	France	Italy	Belgium	Germany
Germany	Turkey	Yugoslavia	Italy	Greece	Poland
Switzerland	Italy	Yugoslavia	Portugal	Germany	Spain
Austria	Yugoslavia	Turkey	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Germany	Croatia
Denmark	Turkey	Iraq	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Norway	Germany
Sweden	Finland	Iraq	Norway	Denmark	Yugoslavia
Norway	Iraq	Somalia	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Russian Federation	Afghanistan
Finland	Russian Federation	Estonia	Sweden	Somalia	Serbia and Montenegro
United Kingdom	Ireland	India	USA	Italy	Republic of South Africa
Ireland*	United Kingdom	USA	-	-	-
Spain	Ecuador	Morocco	Columbia	Romania	United Kingdom
Portugal	Cape Verde	Brazil	Angola	Bissau -Guinea	United Kingdom
Italy	Morocco	Albania	Romania	Philippines	Serbia and Montenegro
Greece**	Albania	Bulgaria	Georgia	Romania	USA

Poland	Ukraine	Russian Federation	Germany	Belarus	Vietnam
Czech Republic	Ukraine	Slovakia	Viet Nam	Poland	Russian Federation
Slovakia	Ukraine	Czech Republic	Viet Nam	Russian Federation	Poland
Hungary	Romania	Ukraine	Serbia and Montenegro	Germany	China
Slovenia	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Yugoslavia	Croatia	Republic of Macedonia	Ukraine
Russian Federation	Ukraine	Kazakhstan	Finland	Azerbaijan	Lithuania

Source: ILO Migration Database 2003
*Data available only from 1999 and 2000
** Data available only from 2000.

THE WEST

The first group contains Western European countries that had colonies before the Second World War and attracted economic migrants afterwards, namely France and the Benelux states. Manifestations of these relationships between the states and the immigrant groups can be found in the North African communities. Furthermore, there are Turks, Portugees and Italians in relatively large numbers in France and Luxemburg as a consequence of South-North economic migration. Germany, Switzerland and Austria belong in the second group characterised by economic migration (Turks, Portugees, Italians, Greeks, Spanish people) and refugee flows from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the years of the Balkan crisis. The third group involves the Scandinavian states, where Turkish immigration is economic, Bosnian immigration an indication of the Balkan crisis, and the immigration of other communities with other than European origin due to a variety of reasons. These groups include Iraqis, Somalis and Afghans, who arrived as refugees and asylum seekers to Scandinavian states as a double result of the saturation of main destination countries and the comprehensive social safety systems of Scandinavian states. Effecting the case of Finland, the proximity of the Russian Federation is also a perceptible factor (where the great majority of Russian citizens are Ingrians, ethnic Finns whose movement to Finland has been facilitated as a special sort of return migration); moreover, we find immigrants with Russian citizenship, but actually Chechen refugees, in Norway, too. The fourth group has only one member, the United Kingdom, which is the main destination point for former parts of the British Empire, but whose open policy for immigrants of the Eastern member states is having an effect on the composition of its residents and workforce, especially in the case of Polish immigrants. The fifth group contains the so called "new destination countries", namely

Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece. Of these, the South European countries (i.e. with the exception of Ireland) are not characterized mainly by return migration but are developing into new destinations of refugee routes from Africa and Asia and economic migration routes from East Europe.

As a consequence of family unification, the number of Muslim immigrant groups coming from outside Europe has gradually increased. Their particular social and religious practices have sometimes raised problems with other parts of society. Societies of Western European countries with strong individualistic values have been forced to rethink the role of religion, and within this framework conservative forces aim to make a revival of Christian values to strengthen the communities of European societies. However, this process remains in the background for as long as individual values are not attacked seriously.

Outweighing the expansion of Muslim societies that counter the wide-ranging practice of liberal principles, the opening up of borders for Eastern member states could be a perspective. However, old member states are still divided in adjudging the consequences of Eastern European immigration flow. The United Kingdom, Ireland, the Scandinavian states and the South-Western European states opened their labour markets for new member states after Eastern enlargement, while Germany, Luxemburg and Austria closed theirs and the Netherlands and Belgium decided to open with a range of limitations, all of which display the magnitude of the perceived threat of negative effects of mass immigration on their work markets. While Germany is afraid of oversupply of work force, the opening of the United Kingdom is based on macroeconomic indexes and economic growth. The Netherlands is planning to open its work market but with many restrictions, for example that employers will have to pay at least the official minimum wage for immigrants. Today, Spain receives the most economic migrants to fill its increased work market[7]. Western European states have to face two kind of social tensions: 1. the opposition of Muslims endangering social and cultural values, traditions, sometimes social security and 2. the rush of economic migrants from Eastern Member States may lead to social-economical problems in Western Member States, polarizing labour market competition in some sectors like the services or the building industry, where immigrants seem to crowd out natives with their better skills and cheapness.

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[7] 2,5 million immigrants speaks Spanish in Spain as most of its immigrants come from Latin-America. In: Mennyit hoz a spanyoloknak, hogy spanyolul beszélne? 2007.04.07. and 4,1 million immigrants reside today in Spain. In: Majdnem minden tizedik ember „idegen" Spanyolországban. 2007. 03.02. Sources: www.euraktiv.hu

THE EAST

Migration from the East to the West has contributed to economic growth in Western European countries, but what consequences has the increased emigration of the work force brought to the new Eastern European member states? The opening of several Western European labour markets has forced Eastern European member states to comply with a long period of emigration and the constraint of exploring and opening up their own immigration markets. We ranked most Central European states in the sixth group where migration between neighbouring countries has a very low rating. The Czech Republic[8], Slovakia, Hungary and Slovenia tend to become new destination countries, following the pattern of Italy, Spain and Portugal. Provisions for this new approach had already been implemented in the Czech Republic, where a dynamic emigration of professionals takes place in those special sectors that were formerly deficit sectors in Western European member states: doctors, highly-qualified health care staff, information technology, electronic and mechanical engineering professionals, managers. One instrument of attracting economic migrants to the Czech Republic from outside the European Union is the possibility to gain permanent residence in an accelerated process. The differential treatment of various immigrant groups also entered into force in Hungary in 2006, but so far only for ethnic Hungarians to facilitate their settlement. As migrants coming from South-Eastern European states choose older member states instead of the new ones, the latter will have to push into the Russian zone in the near future. More and more Ukrainians appear among the sixth group countries that seem to underpin this. The Russian Federation is the target country for millions of illegal immigrants from the Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus, but also some try to enter neighbouring countries to the west. This causes a lot of problems for border control in Poland, Slovakia and Hungary. Joint regulation against illegal immigration at the community level is still in early stage period, and gives rise to the smuggling of migrants and trafficking in persons.

The Russian Federation, which makes up the last group, still attracts the most immigrants, receiving ten millions of people from Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Oppositions in social, economic and cultural spheres, different claims and fears against immigrants, different rates and composition of immigrants, as well as different migration routes challenge members of the European Union to take opposite

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[8] You will learn more on pilot project „Selection of Qualified Foreign Workers to the Czech Republic" on http: //www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/pid/817

stances. Moreover, dependent migration ties of the Eastern member states to the Western member states makes the situation more complex. Being aware of this it does not seem likely that an effective and unanimously accepted common immigration and asylum policy will be drafted in the near future.

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RESOURCES FROM THE INTERNET

Internation Organisation for Migration http://www.iom.int

Eurostat http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/

International Labour Migration Database

 http://www.abetech.org/ilm/english ilmstat/stat01.asp

European Union Information Website www.euractiv.com

hvg www.hvg.hu

Website of the Serbian Ministry of Interior http://www.mup.sr.gov.yu/