University of Southern Denmark, 10 November 2011:
*Mediterranean Perspectives*

Migration, security and Mediterranean cooperation
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Student Presentation by Jonas:
Irregular migration – perspectives?

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Literature:

- Derek Lutterbeck: Policing the EU's Mediterranean borders: The human security implications, in Peter Seeberg (ed., 2007): *EU and the Mediterranean. Foreign Policy and Security*. Odense, University Press of Southern Denmark
- Triadafilopoulos, T. 2011. Illiberal Means to Liberal Ends? Understanding Recent Immigrant Integration Policies in Europe, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 6, pp. 861-880
- Icduygu, A. (2007). "The Politics of Irregular Migratory Flows in the Mediterranean Basin: Economy, Mobility and 'Illegality'." *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 141-162

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Outline:

- Migration – global trends and migration theory positions
- Trends in Mediterranean migration and security policy
- Remittances – relevance and significance
- Internal convergence in the EU – has the UK given up on multiculturalism, finally becoming continental?
- Student presentation by Jonas: Irregular migration – perspectives
- EU security building in the Med…
- Conclusions and discussion

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## Migration – global trends and migration theory positions

- Migration is a difficult notion to deal with – when is it meaningful to speak about migration? (think of work-migration, study visits, asylum seeking, family reunion, seasonal employment etc. – is it all migration?)
- Crucial: is the migration permanent or temporary?
- For how long are you a migrant? The generation issue ("second generation immigrants"), the bilingualism discussion etc.
- Research ethical problems: To do research on migration can for many reasons be problematic for the migrants – and, especially when dealing with refugees, for their relatives in the homeland
- Migration policies are highly politiziced – and often we see differences between official migration policies and what in reality is going on
- The statistical problem: often citizenship is the only source to estimate migration – and often the statistics about this is highly unreliable. In Denmark we use "immigrant" and "descendant", see next slide…
- And furthermore: often national migration statistics are incomparable – because of different national practices, frequency, reliability etc.

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Tabel 1.5: Forventet befolkningsudvikling fordelt på oprindelse og herkomst, pr. 1. januar 2010, 2020 og 2050

|  | 2010 | | 2020 | | 2050 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Antal | Pct. | Antal | Pct. | Antal | Pct. |
| Ikke-vestlige lande | 363.357 | 6,6 % | 434.453 | 7,6 % | 617.934 | 10,2 % |
| Indvandrere | 252.012 | 4,6 % | 278.813 | 5,1 % | 368.245 | 6,1 % |
| Efterkommere | 111.345 | 2,0 % | 146.640 | 2,6 % | 249.689 | 4,1 % |
| Vestlige lande | 179.381 | 3,2 % | 213.052 | 3,7 % | 299.457 | 5,0 % |
| Indvandrere | 162.410 | 2,9 % | 186.513 | 3,3 % | 222.621 | 3,7 % |
| Efterkommere | 16.971 | 0,3 % | 26.539 | 0,5 % | 76.836 | 1,3 % |
| Alle indvandrere og efterkommere | 542.738 | 9,8 % | 647.505 | 11,4 % | 917.391 | 15,2 % |
| Dansk oprindelse | 4.992.000 | 90,2 % | 5.040.763 | 88,6 % | 5.129.251 | 84,8 % |
| Hele befolkningen | 5.534.738 | 100 % | 5.688.268 | 100 % | 6.046.642 | 100 % |

Kilde: Danmarks Statistik, www.statistikbanken.dk, FRDK110.

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## Migration – global trends and migration theory positions

- Five important features concerning recent migration movements – or tendencies in international migration
- Globalization: worldwide movements, from the Third World to OECD-states, state-to-state in the Third World, internal migration etc.
- Acceleration: the migration movements is taking place on an increasing scale
- Differentiation: movements in order to survive vs. "jet set work migration"; seasonal movements (Syria to Lebanon) vs. long term residence; chain migration vs. individual migration
- Feminization: an accelerating amount of the migration movements are female migrants, not just as a result of family reunions
- Politicization: migration maybe one of the most politiziced issues in recent times, in the latest decades furthermore securitized and becoming "high politics"

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## Migration – global trends and migration theory positions

- Reasons for migration, main explanations…

- We can distinguish between push factors:

- Demographic growth, low standard of living, lack of economic possibilities, political repression etc.

- and pull-factors:

- Lack of labour, available land, good economic possibilities, political freedom etc.

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## Migration – global trends and migration theory positions

- Explanations for the actual movements...

- Macro factors:
- World market movements
- Inter state relations
- Changes in legal systems

- Micro factors:
- Informal networks
- Human smuggling, traficking
- Family relations, chain migration

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## Migration – global trends and migration theory positions

- Typical phases in migration and assimilation processes
- Phase 1: temporary work migration – often young male workers, remitting to relatives and continued orientation towards the homeland
- Phase 2: prolonging the stay and gradual development of social network based on kinship or identical place of origin and the need for mutual help in the new surroundings
- Phase 3: family reunion, increasing awareness of long term settlement, increasing orientation towards the new "homeland", establishing of local ethnic communities with their own institutions (associations, immigrant shops, cafés, "ethnic business"…)
- Phase 4: permanent settlement which, dependent on the local immigrant policies and the behaviour of the "locals", either will lead to legality or even citizenship – or to political exclusion, socioeconomic marginalization and the establishment of permanent ethnic minorities

## Migration – global trends and migration theory positions

- Migration theory, brief introduction:
- Classical migration theories: push-pull explanations…and
- Demographic explanations ("the population bomb", we become fewer and fewer – "their" numbers increase, etc.
- Neoclassic explanations (utility, rational choice)
- New Economics of Migration-theories (spreading of risk, regionalism…)
- Systems theories (world systems, regional systems, "nature")
- Marxist theories (exploitation as the main factor behind…, the rich world exploiting the Third World – through migration)
- Theories of networks (a whole complex of theories in itself)
- Explanations related to refugees

## Trends in Mediterranean migration and security policy

- Overall tendencies:
- Today maybe 30 mio immigrants in Europe, of them maybe 15 mio. from non European Mediterranean states
- A large part of Mediterranean migration is Turkish, the main part of the Turks live in Germany , most of the Moroccans in France and Spain…
- Different variations – or types: south-north migration, south-south migration, east-west migration
- All global megatrends are represented in the Mediterranean: globalization, acceleration, differentiation, feminization, politicization
- Three general features are crucial: the need to maintain the possibility of migration, the need of reinforcing border control and the need of improving assimilation/integration in Europe itself

## Trends in Mediterranean migration and security policy

- A new, decisively important tendency: the interconnectedness between migration and security – resulting in securitization
- Thereby a new framework for migration- and assimilation policies
- The policies are under pressure because of the need for a work force due to the ageing of the European populations (most profoundly in Southern Europe)
- Therefore a necessity for a new, dynamic migration policy for the EU, which will need to develop new kinds of rights (citizenship) – a premature form of this can be found in our red EU-passports
- Also a need for a strengthened security dimension in the migration policy
- A need (in the EU system) for a further development of the relation between EMP(UfM) and ENP as to the migration issue, and…
- A need for cooperation on illegal migration

## Remittances – relevance and significance

- Remittances
- World Bank report about remittances:
- http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/33493 4-1110315015165/Migration&DevelopmentBrief10.pdf
- For many Third-world states remittances constitute an extremely important income factor: India, Pakistan, Egypt, Morocco etc. - the point is that remittances help balancing an often chronic trade deficit
- Normally they are used for everyday spending by relatives back home, but often also for building houses or – sometimes – for investment purposes (Time-share apartments in Antalya, hotels etc.)
- Economically they can have a tendency to create more inflation – when used for buying goods produced outside of the remittance receiving country

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## Remittances – relevance and significance

- Often remittances constitute a part of a national migration strategy – this was the case in Turkey in the 1950s and 1960s, where remittances were explicitly mentioned in Five-year plans for the Turkish state
- Similar developments can be seen in Egypt , Yemen, Morocco etc., see for instance http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/0,,contentMDK :21924020~pagePK:5105988~piPK:360975~theSitePK:214971,00.html
- See also http://www.egyptpost.org/en/NewsDetails.asp?NewsID=164
- And/or http://news.egypt.com/en/200910017517/news/- business/egyptian-remittances-drop-23-pct-in-april-june.html
- Conclusion: Remittances can be seen as a decisive phenomenon for especially the relatively poor states in the MENA-region

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## Internal convergence in the EU – of recent integration policies?

- For many years you saw three main types of thinking concerning immigration, namely British multiculturalism, German ethnically based integration and French assimilation. A short introduction:
- British multiculturalism is based on historical conditions, where the UK accepted large numbers of immigrants from India, Pakistan etc. - and allowed to establish parallel societies – now considered problematic
- Contrary to this the German tradition means German for the Germans: you can as *gastarbeiter* become part of a functional community, namely the state, but not a part of the ethnic community, the nation.
- Therefore citizenship is granted to people of German descent from areas, which may be far from Germany, but belongs to a German family, *jus sanguinis* (right of blood) as opposed to *jus soli* (right of soil)
- Interestingly enough the Germans have invented new forms of citizenship, double citizenship and/or elective citizenship for second generation youngsters growing up in Germany

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### Internal convergence in the EU – of recent integration policies?

- The French model takes its point of departure in the national community, but contrary to German thinking the French idea is to say to the immigrant: you are welcome here and also to be part of the nation (citizenship) but you have to obey to French norms and values – therefore for instance the law against religious symbols in schools
- Due to securitization of migration and poor results in integration activities in Europe, more and more multiculturalism is given up as a way of dealing with immigrants
- This does not mean that we all start thinking like the French (or the Germans for that matter) – rather we see a tendency to convergence…
- To conclude with Triadafilopoulos: it seems that support for civic integrationism (cr) is not limited to the European right wing!
- Still Triadafilopoulos argues, that multiculturalism is the best option, since cr (relying on sanctions instead of pursuation) risks alienating the groups they seek to integrate

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### Student presentation: Irregular migration - perspectives

- What are we talking about? It seems that even though migratory movements (from for instance Morocco to Spain) in principle should be impossible, still they take place.
- The migration workers experience that it becomes more or less irrelevant which status you have – the possibility of migrating will be provided *so oder so*
- It happens through deliberate illegal entering or overstaying of visas and
- …is often followed by regularization processes, see table 15…
- A number of interesting concepts: step-by-step migration, networks as complex realities
- Why is this type of migration interesting: because it is theoretically challenging and at the same time politically difficult to deal with, not the least for the states in the northern part of the MED area

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### EU security building in the Med…

- Lutterbeck: 10.000 people lost their lives trying to cross the Med., still large numbers have had success crossing the strait
- An increased "professionalization" and politicization of the phenomenon
- The establishment of FRONTEX in 2005, the first operations in the Mediterranean area in 2006
- A growing dilemma about the relation between "human security implications" and "human rights implications"
- To an increasing degree the European security dimension becomes important – leading to a militarization of border control and security in the Mediterranean
- More fundamentally the discussion is about if these conditions contribute to *rapprochement* or to the opposite – under all circumstance the migrants remain the loosing part

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## Supplementary literature

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## Relevant journals

Diversities, www.unesco.org
Forced Migration Review (FMR), www.fmreview.org
Immigrants & Minorities, www.tandf.co.uk
International Migration, www.wiley.com
International Migration Review (IMR), www.wiley.com
Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies (JEMS), www.tandf.co.uk
Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies, www.tandf.co.uk
Journal of International Migration and Integration (JIMI), www.jimi.metropolis.net
Journal of Refugee Studies, www.jrs.oxfordjournals.org
Refugee Survey Quarterly, www.rsq.oxfordjournals.org
Third World Quarterly (TWQ), www.tandf.co.uk