

**The European Union's Migration Paradox: more mobility,
less immigrants?**

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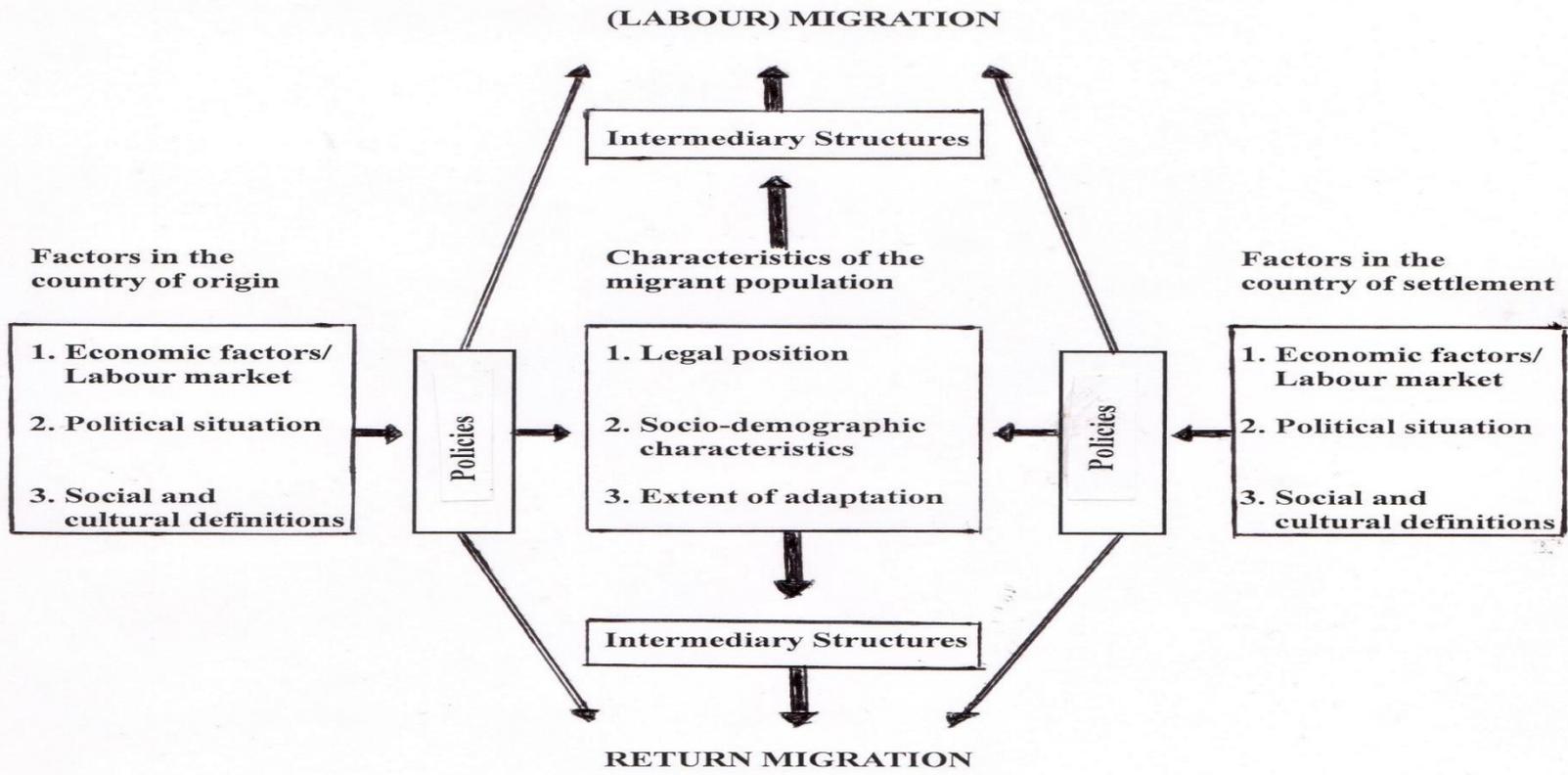
1. Introduction and overview

- **Some basics of mobility and international migration**
- **The changing face of international migration in Europe 1950-2019**
- **The regulation of international migration and integration:**
 - **National immigration regimes in time and space**
 - **The European Union's free mobility regime**
- **Conclusions and expectations for the future**

2. The basics of international migration

- **International Migration is changing place of residence across political borders of states / nations.**
- **States define their territory and their citizens, and claim sovereignty to decide on admission and conditions of stay of non-citizens on the territory;**
- **States may also decide on who is allowed to leave (exit control).**
- **Not motivations of moving people are decisive, but how these are perceived, evaluated and labeled both by countries of origin and destination.**
- **So, immigration policies are about framing migration and settlement**

A heuristic model for the study of labour migration and related policies.



Adapted from Doornik et al. 1997: 64; Van Amersfoort 1998: 20.

3. How to study frames of immigration policies?

A *frame* is (a reconstruction of) the problem definition of a policy issue, including the underlying assumptions of its causes and the remedies for it.

Key questions of immigration policy frames are:

- **How (desirable) is immigration perceived (for the country)? Who has the (moral and/or legal) right to be/become an immigrant?**
- **How is the future of newcomers envisaged: “temporary guests” or permanent members of the society? (inclusion versus exclusion).**
- **If inclusion: by general policies for all inhabitants, or by specific policies in order to attain material equality for immigrants as a group?**
- **Should problems of (cultural) diversity be solved by a two way adaptation of immigrants and (institutional structures of) the receiving society, or is the burden of adaptation completely put on the immigrants’ shoulders?**

4. International migration and its regulation in Europe/ EU 1950-2019

Four periods:

- **From the 1950s to 1974: the guest workers schemes and decolonisation;**
- **From 1974 to the end of the 1980s: the oil crisis and migration control;**
- **From the 1989 to 2004: East-West migration within Europe and asylum migration;**
- **From 2004 to the present: intra-EU-mobility and asylum migration.**

5. International migration in Europe 1945-1950:

- **Post-war cross-border resettlement of some 20 million people in the new political map:**
 - 15,4 million from East to West
 - 4,7 million from West to East
- **Resumption of old emigration tradition from NW Europe to classical immigration countries:**
 - USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South America.
 - Europe was an **emigration continent**: e.g. in NL between 1945-1960: 500.000 emigrants left...

6. International migration in Europe 1950 to 1974:

- **Labour migration system (guest workers):**
 - North-West European countries (FRG, AU, FR, BENELUX, SWI, SWE) attracted and recruited **7 – 10 million workers** from PT, SP, IT, GR. Later additional workers from YU, TUR, TUN, ALG and MOR (**10 million?**).
 - In 1974: FRG 2.2 million workers, FR 1,9 mln, Swi 1 mln.
- **Decolonisation migration between 1940 - 1975:**
 - **7 million** left former colonies to settle in the UK, France, Portugal, The Netherlands and Belgium.

7. International migration in Europe 1974 - 1989: recruitment stop and migration control in NW Europe

- **Restrictive immigration and return promotion policies had differential effect on guest workers:**
 - **Significant return and small increase of population by family migration among South European groups;**
 - **Insignificant return and strong increase of population by family reunion and marriage migration: Turkey and Maghreb countries.**
- **Asylum: Applications in EU:**

1970 – 1974:	65.000
1975 - 1979:	214.000
1980 - 1984:	540.000
1985 – 1989:	>1.000.000
1990 – 1994:	2.400.000
1995 – 1999:	1.600.000

8. International migration in Europe 1989 - 2004: East-West migration and asylum

- Fall of Berlin Wall / Iron Curtain opened up East-West migrations: Some **3.2 million** (mostly **workers**) moved from CEE-countries to NW-European countries, but also to Southern European countries (many irregular).
- High numbers of **asylum seekers: 4 million** between 1989 and 1999 (collapse of Yugoslavia, Balkan wars).
- Some **3 million Aussiedler** / Spätaussiedler came to FRG from former USSR and CEE.

Second generation immigration countries become major destination countries: IT, SP, GR, PT, IRL, DK, NO, FI. Primarily worker migration for fast growing economies.

9. International migration in Europe 2004 - 2019:

intra-EU-mobility

Accession 8 CEE-countries (A8) to the EU15 in 2004 and Rumania and Bulgaria (A2) in 2007 triggered new intra-EU movements:

- Some countries accepted free movement immediately in 2004 (UK, IRL, SWE); other countries postponed full free movement through transitional arrangements up to max 7 years (2011).
- In all cases it led to increase in migration movements from East to West/South, often temporary: **“liquid migration”**. In many of the EU15 countries the new intra-EU labour migration started to replace migrant labour from non-EU countries.
- Immigrant population from A8 plus A2 in EU-15 countries grew **from 1,9 million** in 2004 to **5.2 million** in 2010.

10. International migration in Europe 2004 - 2016: diversifying TCN-migration and 3rd asylum crisis

- Immigration from non-EU countries becomes more diversified in origin. China is on top of the list.
- Financial and economic crisis of 2009 reversed immigration to a certain extent in some of the new immigration countries: more emigration in PT, IT, SP, GR, IRL, partly intra-EU.
- After a relative decrease of asylum migration in the early 2000s, the Middle East/ Syria crisis leads to a strong increase of applications in EU in **2014: 0.562 mln; 2015: 1.257 mln; 2016: 1.204 mln.**

Conclusions: Europe has become an **immigration continent**:

In 2014 the EU-28 counted **50,5 million immigrants** among its total population of 507 million inhabitants: **10 % is a direct immigrant!**

11. Frame Characteristics of Immigration Policies: the **North-West European regime**:

- **NW-European nations have consistently defined themselves as ‘non-immigration countries’.**
- **Labeling:**
 - as members of the nation (repatriates, Aussiedler), or
 - as temporary guests (both not immigrants).
- **Policies of migration control after 1974, increasing threat perceptions (economic, cultural, political), increasing restrictiveness, new ways of evading (smuggling, trafficking) → criminalisation and securitisation.**
- **Non-acceptance of permanent stay → non-integration of ‘guests’.**
- **If inclusion (after 2000) selective on assimilation: “deserving” inclusion in all dimensions.**

12. Frame Characteristics of Immigration Policies: the **Southern European regime:**

- Southern European countries have in principle borrowed the migration regulation system and institutional arrangements of West-European countries through the *acquis*.
- In practice they much more lenient admission practices (for work and family reasons, not asylum), combined with frequent regularisations. The irregularity equation: intensive flows, restrictive regulations, attractiveness of the informal economy, geographical proximity, weakness of controls and effectiveness of smugglers (Arango)
- Regularisation legitimised irregulars, particularly those who 'earned' such a legal status (proof of having worked, etc.).
- Integration policies and activities are more bottom up, more local and more non-governmental.

13. Frame Characteristics of Immigration Policies: the **Central and Eastern European regime:**

- CEE-countries also have taken over the migration regulation system and institutional arrangements of West-European countries through the *acquis*.
 - In practice, migration has multiple forms there: emigration, immigration and transit migration. Emigration receives most attention. Strong resistance to immigration and asylum.
 - Immigration is generally low, the Czech Republic being an exception. Temporary labour migration from East (Ukraine etc.) continues. In the **Polish case** temporary labour migration reaches **525.400 in 2017**: highest in the OECD.
 - Integration policy initiatives are predominantly non-governmental, often financed by European Union funds.
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14. Relabeling migration within the EU as internal mobility.

A fundamental reframing of international migration to internal mobility has gradually taken place in:

- **ECCS (1951-1968): guidelines free circulation of labour in 6 countries;**
- **EEC (1968-1985): free circulation of labour in 9 countries**
- **EC (1985-1993): free movement of citizens in 12 countries**
- **EU (1993 -2015):**
 - **full free internal mobility for EU-citizens in 15 countries in 1995;**
 - **full mobility of additional 10 accessor states of 2004 ultimately 2011;**
 - **full mobility of additional 2 accessor states of 2007 ultimately 2014;**
 - **Plus Croatia makes 28 countries in 2016.**

Resulting in:

28 countries, having together more than 500 million inhabitants, of which 10 % is born outside the country of residence (of which 4 % in other EU countries).

15. Conclusions and prospects:

- **Europe needs immigrants: demography, labour markets;**
- **But the `culturalisation' of migration and integration, the revival of nationalism and growing anti-immigrant movement form fundamental obstacles for effective and advantageous migration policies.**
- **These are issues of “framing”: there is a need of `reframing' comprehensively migration and policies related to mobility and migration.**
- **Such a reframing could possibly enhance a solution of the present problem of refugees and asylum.**