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Feasibility Study EUROLINKS

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Preface

This is the final version of the EUROLINKS Feasibility Study, one of the three Feasibility Studies foreseen in the IMISCOE Network of Excellence.

These Feasibility Studies were meant to explore new lines of research and stimulate theory and methodology development. Feasibility Study INT-POL focused on integration and its local and national policy nexus. SOCO analysed the political and social consequences of migration in European societies. It focused on contextual variables explaining the constraints and opportunities of various forms of political mobilisation in different countries and its interconnections. EUROLINKS was designed primarily to create a new framework for understanding migration to Europe in terms of various types of existing interconnections between geographical areas. This research line had a special integrative function in seeking to systematically engage members from Central and Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean Basin.

The Feasibility Studies have been extensively discussed in the IMISCOE Board of Directors and Programme Leaders and revisions have been made accordingly. The Feasibility Studies have rounded off their work in 2007 and integrated their activities into the activities of the research clusters of IMISCOE. This has encouraged the clusters to invest more of their attention into the development of major research lines for the future than would have been possible without the additional support from the Feasibility Studies.

Next to this final report EUROLINKS has organised a limited number of small workshops during 2007 with selected participants to discuss the possibility of developing research proposals in which one or more lines proposed in this Feasibility Study will be implemented. In each of these workshops several IMISCOE researchers participated along with researchers from outside the network. By doing so, another task given to EUROLINKS, which is to build bridges between IMISCOE and researchers and research institutes outside the network has been fulfilled.

I thank Han Entzinger, Alfons Fermin and Jeannette Schoorl for their precious work.

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Coordinator IMISCOE*

1. Introduction: Task and Objectives

EUROLINKS is one of the three integrative research activities that take place under the auspices of the IMISCOE Network of Excellence. An integrative research activity explores new areas of research and attempts to do so by bringing together knowledge from areas that have seldom or never been linked to each other before. The aim of this activity is to find new lines of research to be advanced into the activities of the clusters.

The starting point of the EUROLINKS FS is international migration as it affects not only the countries of the European Union, but also the countries of origin. Although migration has received much attention during the last decades both from researchers and from policymakers, migration processes tend to be looked at as if they constitute isolated phenomena. In contrast, EUROLINKS starts from the premises that (a) migration flows not only involve people, but also leads to an increase in the exchange of goods, services, transmittances more or less directly linked to the movement of people, and (b) migration is only one of an interconnected set of linkages between two or more areas, and its real impact on sending and on receiving societies can only be understood if other aspects are taken into account as well, such as trade, social policy concerns, economic developments, cultural exchange, and security issues. Migration can be seen as a manifestation of links and interactions between these areas, but it may also reinforce existing links or create new ones.

The central question of the proposed strategic research line is:

How do migration systems as these have developed and are currently developing between the new and the old EU Member States, as well as between the EU and adjacent migrant-sending areas, interact with tendencies towards stronger social, economic, and political interdependence between the areas concerned?

The aim of the proposed research line is to create a new framework for understanding and explaining migration within and towards Europe in terms of the various interconnections and interactions between geographical areas. Additionally, the aim is to enhance the understanding of the impacts of flows of people and related flows of goods, remittances, ideas, etc. on both sending and receiving countries. Furthermore, the resultant understanding of migration flows in the context of other linkages will provide policy-makers with an analytic tool to help them at all levels to develop policy interventions with regard to migration and development and to evaluate their impact.

Preferably and as an expression of the transnational approach, research projects within this research line should be developed and carried out cooperatively between one or more IMISCOE members in the predominantly receiving countries and one or more research institutions outside the IMISCOE network in the sending or transit countries. In this way, EUROLINKS will provide a framework for intensifying research co-operation outside the IMISCOE network and for scouting potential new partners.

The next chapter introduces the starting points and analytical framework. Subsequently, chapter 3 outlines the historical macro-context of Europe as an evolving migration system. Chapter 4 indicates some general strategic research choices and some other project requirements. Chapter 5 elaborates the main research lines. Finally, chapter 6 considers issues concerning the implementation of the EUROLINKS strategic research line on the shorter term.

2. Analytical Framework and Research Questions

The EUROLINKS Feasibility Study is designed to create a new framework for understanding migration within and towards Europe in terms of various linkages between geographical areas concerned as well as in interaction with broader economic, political, social and cultural developments. In line with this focus on links between geographical areas, we have opted for the migration systems approach as analytical framework for this Feasibility Study. Additionally and corresponding to the intention to research these links and processes from both the perspective of sending and receiving societies, we have chosen for a transnational perspective to transcend a national point of view. This chapter introduces the analytical framework, including the transnational perspective.

2.1 Point of departure

The originality of the EUROLINKS programme largely lies in its ambition to study migration in its relation with other linkages between the areas concerned. Unlike virtually all research that deals with migration, we will not limit ourselves to migration as such, but we are interested in the interaction between migration and other developments. We consider migration as one manifestation of a process that leads to a strengthening of ties between areas of origin and areas of destination and we consider migrants themselves as significant agents in this process. Not only is migration just one of element of a interconnected set of linkages between two or more areas, also its real impact can be understood solely if other aspects are also taken into account, such as regional development, economic change, trade, social policy matters and security issues. The areas concerned may be countries, but they may also be regions or local entities. This focus on linkages between sending and receiving areas, and the interaction between migration and other developments constitutes the starting point of this Feasibility Study. The basic idea is to conceptualise migration as partly caused and evoked by broader economic, political, social and cultural developments and partly contributing to these developments itself (Penninx et al 2006: 313-314).

There is substantial empirical evidence that migration generates numerous other relations between areas of origin and areas of destination. So far, most studies of this phenomenon have dealt primarily with the analysis of contacts within transnational migrant communities (Portes *et al.*, 1999; Faist, 2000; Levitt, De Wind and Vertovec, eds., 2003). It is our ambition not to limit us to these communities, but to look beyond them and to analyse how migration interacts with other political, economic, social, and cultural structures and developments, within and between sending and receiving countries, as well as on global scale.

The basic and central hypothesis is that, as migration between two areas develops, the interdependency of these areas increases in a variety of other fields as well.

Evidently, there is a reverse relationship as well. Since much research until now focuses on the impacts on societies of destination, there are good reasons for putting due emphasis within research projects on the sending societies' perspective.

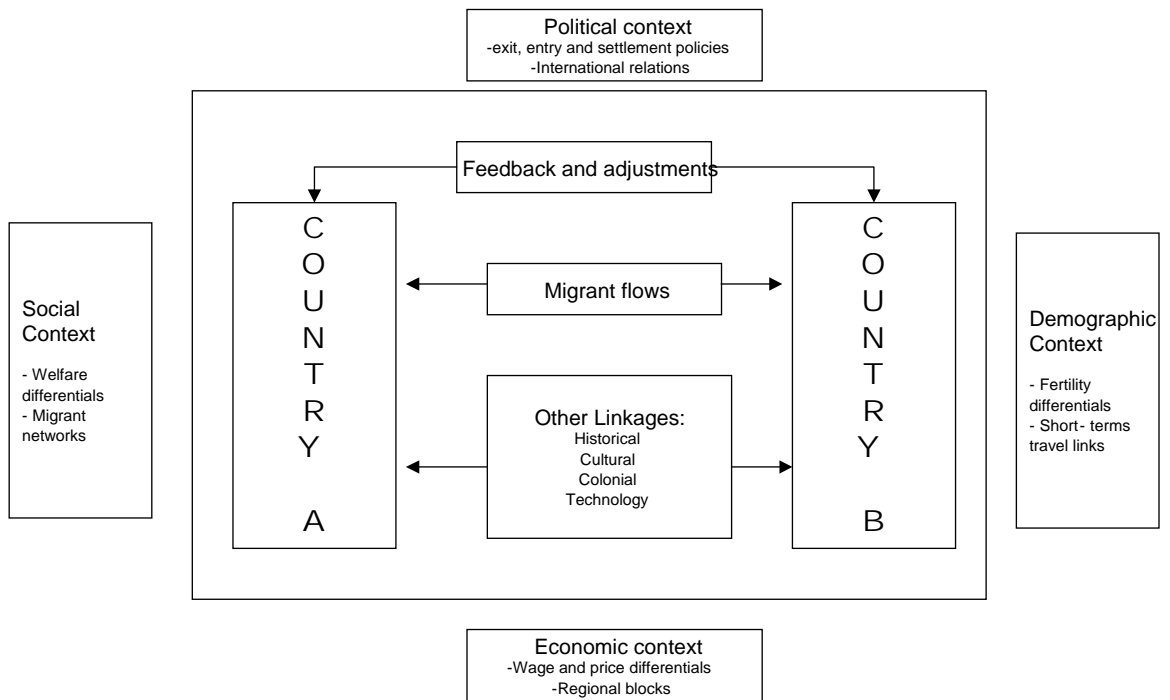
2.2 Migration systems approach

Given the Feasibility Study's objectives to study linkages between areas and interactions between migration and other phenomena from a dynamic perspective, the most logical choice is to take the *migration systems approach* as its starting point. We will start with outlining the basic ideas behind this approach, to proceed by indicating how this approach may function as a heuristic model within this strategic research line.

The migration systems approach

The migration systems approach is a broad, comprehensive framework for studying the dynamics of international migration between two or more regions in the context of other economic, political, social and cultural linkages. At the basis of the systems approach is the concept of a migration system constituted by a group of countries that exchange relatively large numbers of migrants with each other for a certain period of time (Kritz & Zlotnik 1992: 2). Fig. 1 presents a scheme of a systems approach to international migration. The figure indicates that both migration and other flows link countries or areas together in a system. As Kritz and Zlotnik (1992:3) state: "Such flows occur within national contexts whose policy, economic, technological and social dimensions are constantly changing, partly in response to the feedbacks and adjustments that stem from the migration flow itself".

Fig. 1 A systems framework of international migration



Source: Kritiz & Zlotnik 1992: 3

The migration systems approach has become popular due to the limitations and inadequacies of existing theories to explain the complexity and diversity of the phenomenon of migration. The more individualist neo-classical economic and behavioural decision-making approaches - e.g. push-pull models - consider migration primarily as the outcome of a rational decision making process of an individual, which is often an unrealistic assumption. The historical-structural approaches – such as the neo-Marxist models - provide a powerful explanation why migration for economic purposes is set in motion, but fail to account for its continuation after the initial causes do not apply any longer. The increased heterogeneous, complex and dynamic nature of international migration since the mid-1970s have highlighted the inadequacy of many of the ‘older’ theories with regard to explaining migration (Kritiz *et al.*, 1992; Massey *et al.*, 1998; Boyle *et al.*, 1998, Arango 2000). For this reason, more encompassing frameworks have emerged, striving to deepen the understanding of international migration. The migration systems approach is one of the more promising of them.

Some basic ideas or premises behind the systems theory approach are:

- Migration systems are conceptualized as “spaces characterised by the relatively stable associations of a group of receiving countries with a number of areas of origin” (Arango 2000: 292).
- The systems approach attempts to consider the entire spectrum of population movements - permanent, temporary, short-term, circular, return - so

as to elucidate the interactions between different types of flows and counter flows of different types of migrants (Kritz & Zlotnik 1992: 15).

- Migration is only one – and often not the most important one – of all processes linking up areas of origin and destination and is closely associated with these processes. Migration processes should be investigated within the wider context of economic, political, cultural, and historical developments in which they occur.
- International migration is conceptualised as a part of a system that, once it has come into being, tends to become self-feeding and autonomous as a result of cumulative causation effects. In other words, “processes linking areas of origin and destination modify the conditions in both areas over time, giving rise to feedback mechanisms likely to transform the initial processes” (Fassmann et al 2005: 24-25). Such feedback effects make population flows both a cause, as well as an outcome of the other interactions (Bijak 2006). They relate to the fundamental assumption of the approach that migration alters the social, cultural, economic, and institutional conditions at both the sending and receiving ends of migration movements (De Haas 2003: 33).
- The migration systems approach lends itself better than other theories to studying the dynamics of international migration, precisely because it may cover several levels of analysis. The originality of the approach lies in its attempt to combine a systems approach with an understanding of individual decision-making and behaviour. Some authors with the intention to enrich the migration systems theory and to improve its explanatory value propagate a meso link between macro- and micro-levels. This meso-link is interpreted frequently in terms of social networks or social capital (Kritz & Zlotnik 1992, Faist 2000).

The migration systems approach as a heuristic model in EUROLINKS

The migration system approach may function fruitfully as an overarching conceptual framework for the new strategic line of research proposed in this EUROLINKS Feasibility Study. It will be applied as a heuristic device, as a model for perceiving the entire spectrum of migration flows between two areas in relation to other linkages between these areas and broader developments, taking into account the feedback mechanism. The approach suits well with the kind of multi- or interdisciplinary research intended by the strategic research line proposed in this Feasibility Study. It will serve as a common framework for understanding migration to Europe in terms of both the various interconnections between geographical areas and the complicated causes and effects of migration.

This is not to deny the limitations and flaws of the migration systems approach. The approach focuses on understanding the dynamics of migration once a system has emerged, not on the start of it. Furthermore, as Arrango (2000: 292) states: although its intention to study “migration flows as a part of

other flows and exchanges of various nature” is promising, “the full potential of the approach still remains at the stage of promise”. Nevertheless, the migration systems approach can function properly as a general heuristic model for the EUROLINKS research line, irrespective of its theoretical and explanatory shortcomings. Conversely, the research findings of the various projects proposed within this research line will offer a basis for further development of the model. Moreover, this comprehensive approach has policy relevance as well. Conceptualizing migration as part of a larger system will broaden the horizon for policy interventions and will improve the basis for developing more effective policy strategies that are advantageous for both sending and receiving societies (see EC 2005).

To fulfil its function as a heuristic model for a new strategic line of research, at least a univocal interpretation of this analytical framework is required. Therefore, questions have to be answered such as: how to demarcate migration systems geographically? What are relevant units of research and levels or analysis? How to interpret and relate macro, meso and micro levels of analysis? How to study the relation between migration flows and feedback mechanisms? While some of these questions are handled best within the individual projects, some of these issues regarding the implementation of the strategic research line will be dealt with below and in chapter 4.

Some concrete specifications of the general systems theory approach in the proposed strategic research line:

- Focus on areas related by migration flows. For brevity’s sake we will usually employ the term “sending and receiving countries” in this report to refer to *predominantly* sending and *predominantly* receiving countries or areas. However, this rough simplification should not blind us to the fact that migration between two areas usually goes along with many counter flows and circulation of migrants, business people etc. Thus within the individual projects the complexity of the migration flows between two or more areas will be one of the main objects of research.
- Focus on the complete spectrum of migratory movements between the areas concerned. Regardless of the main theme of the individual projects, the general picture of the spectrum of people movements between the areas concerned should be described as the context within which to study the migration patterns with regard to the specific theme, for instance migration in relation to political transnational activities.
- Although migration is only one and often not the most important of the processes linking up areas, the EUROLINKS research line’s objectives focuses attention on migration flows. Yet migration processes will be investigated within the wider context of other developments and linkages in which they occur.
- A focus on the self-feeding element of migration flows as a result of feedback effects implies studying migration in relation to the impacts on both sending and receiving societies and their consequential effects on migration flows. Changes in migration flows should be understood in important

measure as affected by societal and economic changes in sending and/or receiving societies. While such cause and effect relations will be very complex to study, this is one of the reasons to focus projects on restricted and clearly defined themes.

- Because considerable research has been conducted on the individual and household level of migration decisions, there is reason to focus more research on the relative neglected area of actors on the meso-level. Therefore we propose to focus various research projects on such actors, organisations and institutions, taking into account the macro-level structures and without disregarding the micro-level of analysis if necessary.

2.3. Transnational Perspective

The EUROLINKS research line focuses on both sending and receiving societies and in particular on the interconnections between them. Furthermore, we propose to focus the research on the role of migrants themselves as relevant actors in the perpetuation of migration systems (see chapter 4). For these reasons, a transnational perspective is indispensable to go beyond or transcend a nation-state perspective. Therefore a transnational perspective constitutes a crucial element of the analytical framework.

Transnationalism

The development of the transnational perspective on migration was stimulated by the work of the US anthropologists Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc (1994). According to them the traditional migration theory, departing from a nation-state perspective treated migrants as individuals who either depart (emigrants) or arrived (immigrants). To capture migrants' multiple attachments and their cross-border activities, it was considered to be necessary to understand sending and receiving societies as one single field of analysis (Levitt & Nyberg- Sørensen 2004: 2).

Since the mid-1990s there is a growing body of theory and research on transnationalism (for example, Portes 1999, Faist 2000, Levitt 2001, Vertovec 2004). Proponents of the transnational perspective have argued that migrants often interact and identify with multiple nation-states and/or communities, and that their practices contribute to the development of transnational communities (Levitt 2001; Levitt & Nyberg-Sørensen 2004). These proponents are building towards a new transnational paradigm that "rejects the long-held notion that society and the nation state are one and the same" (Fassmann et al 2005: 22). By assuming that the boundaries of social life may transcend those of a nation state, it breaks the false or unrealistic dichotomy inherent in existing migration research between the act of migrating and the processes of incorporation of migrants in the new society (Collyer in Fassmann et al 2005: 23). Migrants are conceptualised as acting in a transnational field (Basch et al

1994) or a transnational space (Faist 2000) which connects the country or region of origin with that of destination and within which migrants interact with other migrants and non-migrants in both places (Collyer in Fassmann et al 2005: 23).

The transnational perspective directs attention at a different array of phenomena than has been studied by previous migration research departing from a national outlook (Biao, Black, Collyer, Markova, Engbersen, Heering, 2005). It makes it possible to explain why the still widespread expectations that migrants will assimilate over time and that the relevance of homeland ties would gradually fade turn out to be invalid for numerous migrants (Fassmann et al 2005: 22). In addition, it moves the analysis beyond those who actually migrate to those who are connected to migrants through the networks of social relations they sustain across borders (Levitt & Nyberg-Sørensen 2004). Even those who stay behind in the sending countries may develop transnational identities and activities. And, as the research of Goeke on the transnational activities of children of migrants in Germany shows, children of international migrants may develop self-identities that express ‘dual belongings’ arising from intensive household connections between the society where they grow up and the parents’ country of origin (Biao et al 2005). This may lead to transnational practices such as sending money or developing business activities in the country of origin. Moreover, returning migrants often retain contacts and identify with the society they have lived for years (Black et al 2003a).

Transnational identities, activities, institutions and communities may not be a new phenomenon - the comparable concept of diaspora has a long history - but it is undeniable that transnationalism has grown significantly in recent decades due to globalization, advances in communication and transport technologies, and increasing tolerance of dual nationality (Fassmann et al 2005; Castles & Miller 2003). However, there are also reasons to be careful with overstating its importance and to overstretch its meaning. Within its broadest conceptualisations, transnationalism becomes almost synonymous with international migration (Biao et al 2005). But if defined (too) narrowly, only a relatively small number of migrants - persons whose transnational activities constitute a central part of their lives - can be labelled as really transnational (Castles & Miller 2003: 30).

The utility of drawing attention to transnational phenomena is evident. However, there is a great variety of approaches in migration research utilising the concept of transnationalism, lacking a common definition of core concepts (Vertovec 2004). Different approaches can be discerned, presupposing different levels of analysis: individuals, networks, communities, institutions and governmental policies. It is equally important to distinguish between levels of institutionalisation of transnationalism: low versus high (Portes et al 1999; Van Amersfoort 2001). Once again it is possible to distinguish between transnationalism from above and transnationalism from below; the first one refers to activities “conducted by powerful institutional actors, such as multinational corporations and states”, the second one points to activities “that are the result

of grass-roots initiatives by migrants and their home country counterparts” (Portes et al 1999: 221; Castles & Miller 2005).

A transnational perspective for EUROLINKS

The basic ideas of the EUROLINKS FS - that migration between two areas goes along with the increasing interdependencies between these areas, and that migrants themselves are significant agents in these processes - almost naturally points to a transnational perspective. Transnationalism may be interpreted as elaborating on one important element of the migration systems approach, by reaching beyond a national perspective and looking at migration from a perspective encompassing sending and receiving societies.

Transnationalism will be employed within the proposed strategic research line in first instance as a methodological device (1) to focus research attention on the identities, activities and institutions of migrants that transcend the borders of the nation state, and (2) to direct attention also to those who stay behind or return, as well as the second generation of migrants maintaining identities and/or activities transcending the nation-state borders. The transnational perspective implies abandoning methodological nationalism and a redirection of the research focus from place to mobility and from society of origin or destination to the movement involved in sustaining cross-border livelihoods (Levitt & Nyberg-Sørensen 2004). For example, by “looking at migrants’ lives simultaneously from the point of view of the home and the host country”, a transnational perspective focuses research “on the institutions and identities that migrants create by being simultaneously engaged in two or more countries” (Mazzucato 2005: 3, 13).

Additionally, the transnational perspective will be used within the various concrete research projects to conceptualise how migrants – but also those staying behind, the returnees and the second generation - can be engaged simultaneously in two or more societies. The strategic choice to focus on the role of migrants in linking the areas within migration subsystems entails that the prime object of research will consist of transnational networks and institutions. In this sense, theoretical notions developed in the scientific discussion on migrant transnationalism will be utilised to operationalise elements of the migration systems approach with regard to differences in types of transnationalism, levels of analysis and actors involved. For this purpose, mechanisms of transnationalism in migration processes need to be theorised and explored more deeply (Fassmann et al 2005: 22). Notwithstanding the great variety of interpretations, there exists some agreement on the basics of the approach. Most of the approaches link ‘transnationalism’ either to identities or activities of individuals, which encompass more than one nation state (Biao et al 2005). Still it is quite understandable that the precise interpretation of transnationalism within particular project varies, depending on the purposes and means of the research (Biao et al 2005). Anyhow, the various typologies and guidelines,

etcetera with regard to transnationalism offers a heuristic tool for studying border-crossing ties and linkages (Faist 2004: 14).

An advantage of this combination of the migration systems approach with a transnational perspective is, that, while the migration systems theory focuses predominantly on the migration processes themselves, the transnational approach put more emphasis on studying the repercussions for the sending and receiving societies (cf. Faist 2004: 23). Furthermore, the migration systems approach – although encompassing various levels of analysis – is in important measure a theory about relations between areas on macro-level. In contrast, the transnational perspective puts the migrants as actors in the centre of attention (cf. Faist 2004: 23). In these ways the two approaches supplement each other. This combination fits well with the departing point of the EUROLINKS FS.

Within the research line proposed by this FS inevitably some common definitions and conceptual understandings have to be developed (see also the State of the Art Report of cluster A2), departing from the expertise already developed on this issue by some of the IMISCOE partners (for example the transnational communities programme of COMPAS; Vertovec 2004, Engbersen et al 2003, Van Amersfoort 2001). However, the conceptualisation must be sufficiently broad and flexible to allow for some variety in the range of projects that may result from this Feasibility Study. Some indications for the definition of transnationalism used in the EUROLINKS research line:

Intermediate definition of transnational migrants: transnational identities and activities are a significant part of their lives of migrants, although they don't need to be a central part of their lives.

Level of analysis: focus on both micro and meso level, of individual migrants and of the intermediate level of associations, organisations and institutions. However with an emphasis on the meso-level.

3. Europe as a migration system

3.1. Introduction

Departing from the analytical framework developed in the previous chapter, we will now look at Europe as an evolving migration system. The application of the migration systems approach to European migration constitutes in fact a first step in our endeavour to operationalise the central research question into a strategic research line.

To look at Europe as an evolving migration system fits well with the European focus of the IMISCOE network. Although there are reasons to question the assumption that Europe constitutes a single migration system already, there certainly are developments that may be interpreted as trends to-

wards its evolution (Salt 2001). The political organization of the European Union constitutes a key factor in this. Its growing involvement in migration issues has brought existing sub-systems closer together. In this chapter we will sketch the historical evolution of the various (sub) systems in Europe during the past century.

Identifying migration systems

Looking at Europe as a region of related migration sub systems poses the initial question how to identify migration systems empirically. Zlotnik (1992, p. 20) postulates some general principles to guide the identification and further analysis of a migration system:

1. Systems should include interacting nation states.
2. The potential existence of a system is indicated by a flow of people between two countries or regions that remained above a certain threshold during for example 5 or 10 years.
3. Systems may be determined from the perspective of either receiving or sending countries. "Countries in a given geographical region would give rise to a single migration system if they had similar patterns of migration linkages, comparable levels of development, and a high degree of cultural affinity."
4. "Receiving countries sharing the characteristics listed in (3) would have to show some degree of coherence in the policies they had used to control migration and would have to be linked by strong economic and political ties".
5. For sending countries to constitute a single migration system, a congruence of policies regarding migration would also be necessary, but not the existence of economic or political ties. However, the existence of strong economic and political ties with specific receiving countries, usually of a dependent nature, would validate the existence of a system.

Applying these principles to Europe of the 20th and early 21st century, several sub systems – in several of their developmental phases - can be distinguished (see e.g. Zlotnik 1992, Massey et al 1998, Salt 2001, Fassmann 2005). In this chapter we will look at systems primarily from the perspective of receiving countries, to limit the complexity of this short outline, but also because most literature on post-war European migration departs from this perspective. Studies from the sending countries perspective are much more scarce, and this is even more the case for studies with a transnational perspective. The projects departing from this EUROLINKS research line should ultimately result in filling up this gap. As will become clear from the outline below, a historical perspective is indispensable for describing migration systems for the reason that migratory movements are commonly 'built upon' previous migratory movements and other linkages between sending and receiving societies.

Phases and subsystems in European migration history

In this chapter we depart from the classification into one pre- and four post-World War II phases of European migration by Massey et al (1998: 108-109)¹. The pre-war phase is added to place the post-WW II phases in a broader historical perspective, to enhance the understanding of continuities and discontinuities. Others, for example Fassmann (2005), discern comparable post-war fluctuations in migration flows. This classification in post-war phases parallels to a large extent the economic cycles (Fassmann 2005), but corresponds as well with policy reactions to migration.

Five phases are discerned:

1. The early 20th century up to the Second World War: a time of emigration (esp. to the Americas) and colonial powers;
2. The post-war period, from 1945 until 1973, an era of decolonization and guest workers recruitment and the foundation of the EEC;
3. 1973 until the mid-1980s: stop of labour recruitment, more restrictive immigration policies followed by family migration, a shift in Southern Europe from emigration to immigration;
4. The mid-1980s into the mid-1990s: rising asylum applications, a largely uncontrolled influx of migrants from Eastern Europe (due to the fall of the Iron Curtain), North Africa and other developing nations, and the rise of a second generation in Western Europe;
5. From the mid-1990s onward: expansion of globalisation tendencies, and consolidation of the EU as a free, internal market and unrestrained internal movement of EU citizens; the accession of Eastern European states, combined with the start of a EU migration policy, including tighter controls of entry and of criteria for asylum; resulting in more illegal migration.

Ideally, identifying and describing the development of migration systems should depart from a quantitative description with regard to inflows and outflows of migrants in the main countries of destination and departure. However, this is a very time-consuming and complicated business, not only because of the size of the European system and the time period, but also due to problems of data collection and analyses. This is a task to be performed within the individual projects on sub systems. In this FS it suffices to refer to literature offering some evidence (see for example Ardittis 1990, Massey et al 1998, Salt 2001, Fassmann 2005). *Table 1* - taken from Bonifazi & Strozza 2002 - presents some relevant data on the net migration in European geographical areas between 1950-1995.

The migration data of *table 1* sustain some of the observations with regard to the four post-war phases distinguished above. Since WWII, Europe has gradually changed from a primary region of emigration to one of immigration.

¹ The classification of Massey et al 1998 is in turn based on Ardittis 1990

- In the 1950s, Europe continued to play the same role as in the previous decades: a net-emigration region. Only the countries of Western Europe had positive net migration.
- This situation changed in the 1960s, when Europe recorded net immigration of just over 300, 000 people, due to the strong immigration to Western European countries of foreign labourers from the Mediterranean and colonial migrants (Bonifazi & Strozza 2002: 49).
- In the 1970s and in the following periods, Europe experienced very positive net migration figures. In fact, the 1970s were a period of passage, showing big differences between the first and second half of the decade that the net migration estimates of *table 1* are unable to allow for (Bonifazi & Strozza 2002: 49).
- From the mid-1970s, the Southern countries began to experience positive net migration, mainly due to the arrival of national returnees. Their development into countries of foreign immigration became more evident at the beginning of the 1980s.
- In the 1990s, partly due to the effect of the political and institutional upheavals in Eastern European countries, migration intensified, above all involving Western Europe (Bonifazi & Strozza 2002: 50).

Table 1. Net migration in European geographical areas, 1950-1995. Absolute values in millions and annual average rates per 1000.					
Geographical areas	Years				
	1950-60	1960-70	1970-80	1980-90	1990-95
<i>Absolute values (in millions)</i>					
East Europe ^a	-0.8	-1.1	-0.4	-0.9	-1.9
North Europe ^b	-1.0	-0.1	0.0	0.3	0.3
West Europe ^c	2.1	4.2	2.8	3.0	4.2
South Europe ^d	-2.5	-2.7	0.4	0.3	0.6
TOTAL	-2.2	0.3	2.8	2.8	3.2
<i>Net migration rates (annual average per 1000 inhabitants)</i>					
East Europe ^a	-0.9	-1.1	-0.4	-0.7	-3.2
North Europe ^b	-1.3	-0.2	0.0	0.4	0.7
West Europe ^c	1.5	2.6	1.7	1.7	4.7
South Europe ^d	-2.7	-2.6	0.4	0.2	1.0
TOTAL	-0.5	0.1	0.6	0.7	1.3
Notes:					
(a) Including Albania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Slovakian Republic, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and former Yugoslavia (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Republic of Macedonia, Slovenia e Yugoslavian Federation).					
(b) Including Denmark, Finland, Island, Ireland, Norway, Sweden and United Kingdom.					
(c) Including Austria, Belgium, France, Germany (Federal Republic and Democratic Republic since 1950); Luxembourg, Netherlands and Switzerland.					
(d) Including Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal and Spain.					
<i>Sources:</i> elaboration on data United Nations [1999].					

Source: Bonifazi & Strozza 2002: 50

Table 1 confirms according to Bonifazi & Strozza (2002: 50) that a clear difference exists between the 1950s and 1960s on the one hand and the 1980s and 1990s on the other hand, with the 1970s as a period of passage. In the first post-war period, Europe experienced negative or only slightly positive net migration figures, with a significant amount of migration within Europe from the Southern, less industrialised countries towards the Northwestern strongly industrialised countries. At that time transoceanic emigration was offset by the non-European immigration from some Mediterranean countries (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey) in particular. However, since the (mid) 1980s the picture has changed significantly with European net migration becoming strongly positive due to the prevalence of a clearly distinguishable immigration from the less developed countries, and not only towards North-West Europe, but also towards some countries in Mediterranean Europe. Furthermore, the collapse of the socialist regimes in the 1990s entailed a massive expansion of the internal East-West movements within Europe, which had been negligible until the end of the 1980s (Bonifazi & Strozza 2002: 50-51).

Bonifazi & Strozza discern four geographical areas that are often distinguished in studies on migration in Europe, except that commonly the UK and Ireland are identified as a separate migration system and not as a part of Northern Europe. In this chapter we will follow this more common division. In the outline of the post-War European migration of this chapter we will present some evidence for identifying the following migration sub systems:

- Three migration sub systems in post-war Western Europe: the UK, the Nordic States and Continental Europe,
- An emergent South European sub system.
- A sub system in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). Some of these countries are (still) emigration countries, other ones experience important transition migratory flows, while some are emerging immigration countries.

Below, we will elaborate this general picture of Europe as an evolving migration system, based on evidence from some of the main available studies. We will depart from the division of the past century into 5 phases and for each of these phases we will indicate: (1) the main migration movements and whether and how these are related to previous migration movements, (2) the main migration systems from a receiving countries perspective, and (3) the interrelation with other linkages between regions and political, economic, cultural and social structures on macro-level.

3.2 Phase 1: 1900-1945: The pre-war phase of mass emigration and colonial powers

This first half of the 20th century is dealt with here mainly because it constitutes the previous history for interpreting the post-war migration movements. This

pre-War phase encompasses in fact some (sub) phases. Therefore we will start with some words on the periodization.

Periodization

Often, several subdivisions are made within this period of 1900-1945. The early years of the 20th century until - at least - the First World War is commonly interpreted as a part of the great waves of migration that started in the 19th century, due to modernisation, industrialisation, and colonization. Migration patterns were disturbed considerably during both world wars. According to some authors (Castles & Miller 2003; Chiswick 2002; Hatton & Williamson 2006) the First World War marked the end of the first era of mass migration, due to rising xenophobia, immigration restrictions and economic stagnation in the interwar period. France was an exception in wanting to increase its population for political and demographic reasons (McKeown 2006; Castles & Miller 2003). In contrast, McKeown (2006) offers reasons to extend the era of mass migration of the 19th century into the 1920s and to understand the emergence of regimes of migration regulation in the inter-war period as part of a cumulative process that had been taking place since at least the 1870s.

In any case consensus exists on the years of the crisis in the 1930s as a turning point. This was a period of increased hostility towards immigrants and resurgent nationalism, in which many nation-states extended their powers to regulate migration (also because of fears of foreign radicalism). For example the restrictive US immigration legislation enacted in the 1920s stopped large-scale immigration to the USA until the 1960s (Castles & Miller 2003: 63). Many of the European countries raised barriers to migration as well and numerous foreigners were sent back. Wars, conflicts, and the redefinition of state-borders in Central and Eastern Europe constituted at the same time main forces of forced migration within and from this region (Stola 1992). Migration between the colonies and homelands also changed of character at the onset and during the two world wars, motivated by needs of the war-industry and the army. The Second World War gave rise not only to refugee movements, but also to recruitment by force of vast numbers of foreign workers by the Nazi regime from countries they invaded.

Main migration flows

The main migration flows in this period until WWII were:

- *Emigration to the New World.* Emigration dominated the picture in Europe of the first half of the 20th century. As Russell King states “In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the predominant movement was out of rather than into Europe as millions crossed the ocean to settle in the New World: an estimated 55-60 million during 1820-1940 of whom 38 million went to the United States” (King 1993: 20; cited in Bonifazi & Strozza 2002: 48).

Many Europeans also left to other (former) colonies such as Australia, Canada and Argentina, often with the intention of permanent settlement.

- *Intra-European labour migration.* This massive overseas migration took place side-by-side with a substantial intra-European labour migration from peripheral areas, such as Poland, Ireland and Italy, to the industrializing countries in Western Europe (such as England, France, Germany). In contrast to the overseas migration, the worker migrations to the industrializing countries in Western Europe were intended as temporary, although they led to family reunion and settlement in the long run (Castles & Miller 2003: 66).
- *Colonial migration* Furthermore, European colonialism had also given rise to various types of migration. The nature of the migration flows between centre and peripheries in colonial empires varied, depending partly on the type of colonial rule and partly on the developments in the homeland and within Europe (e.g. wars).
- *Forced migration* Lastly, the period was also characterised by forced migration, because of political and religious persecution (Jews fleeing the pogroms in Russia to England but also the USA, Armenians fleeing the massacres of the Turkish army, many of them received by France) and civil conflicts (the Russian Revolution) and world wars.

Migration and other linkages

As indicated above, political and economic developments were major factors influencing migratory movements. Industrialisation of the USA and Western European countries attracted foreign labour, while at the same time migration of workers fuelled industrialisation. Colonial relations, modernisation, industrialisation, economic crises and political and military conflicts were main forces behind migratory movements, while migration simultaneously intensified these developments. These processes and events went along with cultural, social, economic and political transformations in countries at both ends of the migration chains. For example, one of the main impacts of the European colonization has been that “large parts of the world were brought into the European spheres of influence and became Europeanized in language, religion, ideologies and political and judicial institutions. The modern world (...) had been transformed by European migration” (Cohen 1995: 13). This greatly influenced the post-war migration in the era of decolonization.

Migration systems

During the first half of the 20th century various migration sub systems can be identified. The European colonial empires functioned as migration (sub) systems, with migration movements from the motherlands to the colonies and vice versa. At the same time, Europe was a main sending area with regard to

mass migration to the USA, Canada, Australia and some other immigration countries. Thus, Western European countries functioned within different migration systems both as sending and as receiving countries. The peripheral areas in Europe - Ireland, Italy and Eastern Europe - were major sending countries for workers to the industrialized countries in Western Europe and to the USA. The largest groups coming to the USA from 1860 to 1920 were the Irish, Italians and Eastern Europeans, incl. Jews (Castles & Miller 2003). The migratory movements from Southern and Eastern Europe to Western Europe and to the USA were not unrelated. For example, workers from Eastern Europe regularly migrated to Western European countries in first instance before they left for the USA (Lucassen 2002). This poses several questions, for example: to what extent was the migration from the periphery to the centre of Europe a necessary replacement for the migration of workers from the centre of the European system to the New World?

3.3 Phase 2: 1945-1973: Decolonization, guest workers recruitment and foundation of EC

Mass movements of European refugees and displaced persons, most significant in the case of Germany, accompanied the end of the Second World War. Within two or three years, all the displaced persons were settled, partly due to the need for labour by the war-torn economies of Western Europe (Cohen 1995: 271). Apart from these WW II related movements, the 1945-1973 period was characterised chiefly by continuation of migration to the New World, migration of guestworkers and migration related to processes of decolonization.

Main migration flows

In the post-war period until the early 1970s, three main types of migration to, from and within Europe can be discerned (see Castles & Miller 2003: 68-78):

- *Permanent migration to North America and Australia* After the WWII, there was again considerable migration to North America and Australia. However, to the USA it was limited, owing to the restrictive legislation enacted in the 1920s. The largest immigrant flows to Canada in the 1950s and 1960s consisted of Germans, Italians and Dutch. Australia initiated a mass immigration programme and the largest sources of migrants by the 1950s were from Southern Europe (Castles & Miller 2003). Gradually, emigration from Europe to these immigration countries decreased. European emigration to North America and Oceania declined from 400,000 in the early 1950s to less than 100,000 per annum in the early 1990s. In part this reflects a reappearance of migration within Europe (Chiswick, Hatton 2002) “The dramatic convergence of income and earnings in Europe, especially southern Europe, during the so-called golden age from 1950 to 1973 helps explain

the sharp drop in the share of European migrants to the New World” (Chiswick & Hatton 2002: 18).

- *Migration of (guest) workers from the European periphery to Western Europe* The rapidly expanding post-war economies of Western Europe utilised labour reserves of the less-developed European periphery. All of the Western European countries used temporary labour recruitment at some stage between 1945 and 1973, although it sometimes played a smaller role than spontaneous entries of foreign workers (Castles & Miller 2003: 69). Western European governments tended to conceive the labour migrants as *temporary* workers. This belief in temporariness together with restrictions on migrants rights was implemented most thoroughly and for the longest period in the Central European countries, countries that not coincidentally did not receive colonial workers. However, even these countries could not prevent family reunion and settlement in the long run. As has been the case in the inter-war period, France again was a European exception. It established an ‘Office National d’Immigration’ in 1945 to organize the recruitment of workers from Southern Europe. For demographic reasons massive family settlement was encouraged (Castles & Miller 2003: 71).
- *Migration from former colonies in the processes of decolonization* Decolonisation was a political movement with important migratory consequences. Decolonisation started in the 1920s with Egypt gaining independence, and continued into the 1970s.² Before and after the colonies of European countries gained independence, officials as well as locals who had worked with them returned to the mother country. But also many searching a better life in the former motherland did so. Especially Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Portugal, and to a lesser degree Belgium, experienced large-scale migration from the former colonies. The UK received migrants from (ex) colonies in the Caribbean and the Indian sub-continent. France received a massive inflow especially from Algeria in the early 1960s. And the Netherlands witnessed immigration from its ex-colonies Indonesia in the 1950s and from the early 1970s onwards from Surinam (Muus 2001). Most of the colonial migration was spontaneous. In contrast to labour migration, colonial migration was seen mainly as permanent, with some exceptions such as the movements of the Moluccans to the Netherlands. The ex-colonial migrants often enjoyed formal citizenship, or otherwise bilateral or preferential migration arrangements were prevailing. Despite this marked difference with the rights of guest workers, most colonial migrants were employed at the bottom of the labour market as well.

Besides these main migration flows, there were other, smaller migration flows during this period. For instance, labour migration systems also developed in other parts of Europe, such as the migration of workers from Turkey to Yugoslavia (Cohen 1995).

² History of International Migration Site. ESSHC, University of Leiden.

Migration and other linkages

There is a clear interrelation of migration movements during this period with political, economic, social and cultural developments. Again, the disparity between the booming economies of Western Europe and the weaker economies in the southern periphery, but also in the former colonies, was a main generator of labour migration. This correlates with the general conclusion of Castles and Miller (2003: 77) on “the overwhelmingly economic motivation for migration” in Europe of 1945-1973 that “was to become less clear-cut in the post-1973 period”. Political and cultural factors were also of importance, for example the search for a better life was not the only motive for migration from the ex-colonies to the former motherlands, but also the Europeanization brought about by processes of colonization.

In Europe, labour migration was facilitated and stimulated by numerous multinational and bilateral agreements, as the first steps on the way to European integration:

- Since the early 1950s, a Common Travel Area (CTA) with freedom of movement for the citizens of the UK and Ireland has been in place.
- The Nordic agreement of 1954 between Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden created a Nordic Labour Market.
- In 1970, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg established a common passport area (Benelux).
- In 1951, six European countries (B, NL, L, FRG, F, I) founded the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), in 1958 they took a further step in their integration with the foundation of the European Economic Community (EEC). Freedom of movement was one of the pillars of the EEC.
- In January 1960, certain European countries that did not belong to the EEC formed the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) as an alternative.

Migration systems

In this period various migration (sub) systems can be discerned.

- From a receiving countries' perspective, there was a separate British system, with migration mainly from Ireland, and the New Commonwealth. Britain had only fairly insignificant temporary labour recruitment schemes for workers from other countries.
- The Nordic Countries appeared to constitute another system, with Sweden as the centre, employing foreign workers not only from Southern European countries (esp. from Yugoslavia), but also from Finland.
- The continental countries in Western Europe had much in common with regard to the main sending countries in the Mediterranean rim. However, France and the Netherlands also experienced significant immigration from the former colonies. Regarding guest workers, each destination country in Western Europe had its own particular relationship with some of the

dominant labour sending countries: Germany with Turkey, France with the Maghreb, Spain and Portugal, Switzerland with Italy and Spain, Belgium with Italy and Morocco, and the Netherlands with Turkey and Morocco (Muus 2001). Often, such migration flows were facilitated in first instance by recruitment schemes. Continental countries had the most developed temporary foreign labour recruitment systems.

In first instance the labour migration from Southern Europe to Western Europe was a continuation of labour migration in the 19th and early 20th century within Europe. However, Eastern Europe could no longer act as a labour reserve due to political reasons. Instead, labourers were attracted from peripheries further away, in North Africa and Turkey, but also from the former colonies. This development led to a growing diversity of areas of origin and increasing cultural difference between migrants and receiving populations (cf. Castles & Miller 2003: 77).

The description presented above is common to most research literature on this period. However, the literature is very much West-European centred. There are not as many international studies from the viewpoint of the sending Mediterranean societies. But even at that time certain regions of the Mediterranean rim experienced some immigration. For understandable reasons, there was hardly any attention at that time in Western Europe for the migration to and between the states in Central and Eastern Europe under Communist rule. Since May 2004 several of these countries have joined the EC and at the present the West-European community of researchers learns more about the migration history of these former communist states.³

3.4 Phase 3: 1973-mid 1980s: Restrictive policies, family migration, and Southern European immigration

Main flows of people

- *Family migration and migrant settlement in Western Europe* In the early 1970s, West-European countries curbed the organized recruitment of workers, as a reaction to the oil crisis of 1973 and the subsequent economic crisis. It was the start of a period of more rigid immigration controls. With the stop of recruitment, many Western European states proclaimed themselves 'zero immigration countries'. Some countries tried to support or even stimulate return migration. The foreigners who returned after 1973 were however mainly those from the more developed countries in Southern Europe. The return home of the Spanish, Greek, Italian and Portuguese guest workers was motivated by improvements in the economies of the

³ See for example IOM (2004) *Migration Trends in Selected EU Applicant Countries*. Vienna. Volume 1: Bulgaria; Volume II: The Czech Republic; Volume III: Poland; Volume IV: Romania; Volume V: Slovakia; Volume VI: Slovenia.

Southern European countries and their membership or forthcoming membership of the EC.

Migration from the former recruitment countries, especially from the Maghreb and Turkey, continued after 1973 due to family reunification (Muus 2001). The Western European governments initially tried to prevent family reunion, but without success; they had to accept it as a human right. Subsequently, the characteristics of the migratory flows to Western Europe changed, with movements of family reunion partially replacing the earlier migration for work (Fassmann 2005). Family reunion of former foreign workers and colonial workers went hand in hand with permanent settlement and the formation of ethnic minorities. The higher fertility rates of the migrant population further increased the population of foreign origin, resulting in a second generation of migrants of a considerable size. The signs of minority development and marginalisation prompted many Western European governments in the 1980s to initiate measures aiming at supporting the integration of migrants.

- *(Return) migration to Southern Europe* During this period, the first signs occurred of a shift in Southern Europe from emigration to immigration. From the mid-1970s, the Southern countries began to experience positive net migration, mainly due to the arrival of returnees. At the beginning of the 1980s, their development into countries of foreign immigration became more evident (Bonifazi & Strozza 2002). The traditional role of the Southern European countries as labour suppliers was decisively inverted during the 1980s (Baganha in: Fassmann et al 2005).
- *Migration within the Communist Bloc* Migration from the Communist Bloc to the West was seriously constrained, except from Yugoslavia. Instead, there were possibilities for migration between communist states. Migration sometimes had an imperialist character, for example the Russian migration to the Baltic States that were parts of the Soviet Union at that time. And many of the CEE countries nowadays have Asian minorities who arrived during the former socialist regimes from 'friendly' states, mainly Vietnam and China.

Migration and other linkages

There are reasons to mark the 1970s as a turning point in European migration history. The oil crisis and the subsequent economic crisis initiated a period of fundamental restructuring of the world economy, marked by changes in global investment patterns, the micro-electronic revolution, erosion of traditional skilled manual occupations in highly-developed countries, expansions in the service sector, growing informal sectors in the economies of developed countries, growth of part-time work and jobs with insecure employment conditions, and increased differentiation of the labour force and developments in the direction of a dual labour market (Castles & Miller 2003: 78). These develop-

ments did lead in the short or long run to considerable shifts in migratory patterns and to new forms of migration, both in global and European perspective.

Of considerable importance were also political developments, not only with regard to relations between the Communist Bloc and the other part of Europe, but in particular with regard to the development and enlargement of the European Community. In this period the European Community (EC) was enlarged with the UK, Denmark and Ireland (1973), Greece (1981) and Portugal and Spain (1985). The inter-EC movement continued after 1973. It was increasingly an individual migration, mainly of skilled workers or highly qualified personnel (Castles & Miller 2003: 80). The labour migration from south to north within the Community declined, due to the gradual equalization of wages and living standards within the EC (Castles & Miller 2003: 73). The high mobility within Europe of the 1960s and 1970s has not been reached since then. The increase in free movement rights within the EC and later the EU did not lead to a major increase in mobility (Muus 2001: 36).

Migration systems

Zlotnik (1992) identified three evolving migration systems in Western Europe of the 1970s-1980s.

- Firstly, a large system operating in continental Western Europe, revolving around the former labour-importing countries, with – at that time – major migration movements and foreign resident populations from the same main sending regions and countries of Southern Europe and Morocco and Turkey, but also with important migration interactions between the West-European countries themselves.
- The United Kingdom was at the centre of another migration system, characterized by strong migration ties with countries of the New Commonwealth and Pakistan. Ireland had stronger relations with the UK than with continental Europe at that time, and for that reason was part of the system revolving around the UK.
- A third migration system centred on the Nordic Countries, whose Common Nordic Labour Market has assured free movement of their citizens in 1954 (Kritz 1992).

Although Western Europe was the main migrant-receiving region at that time, this is not to deny migratory movements within and towards other parts of Europe. However, the Southern countries just started to experience increasing labour immigration in the 1980s. And as mentioned above, there were also flows of people between and towards some of the communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

3.5 Phase 4: mid-1980s to mid-1990s: Rising influx of asylum seekers and emergence of a second generation in Western Europe

Main flows of people

- *Rising influx of asylum-seekers* In the mid-1980s Western European countries experienced a new type of migration from asylum seekers flying from problem areas all over the world. These flows increased to peak levels in 1991-93 (Muus 2001: 34). This was part of the global development of the mass movement of refugees and asylum seekers from South to North (Castles & Miller 2003). Some of the countries received a disproportional share. Germany was the dominant destination country, primarily because of its rather liberal asylum laws until 1994. It is also striking that the countries of origin of the asylum seekers differ greatly between the EU countries of destination (ibid; Böcker and Havinga 1998).
- *East-West migration: humanitarian, irregular, labour* The 'natural' flow from East to West within Europe was high in the aftermath of the Second World War (20 million in the period 1945-1950), but was soon constrained by travel controls in the Communist Bloc during the Cold War. Documented East-West migration between 1950-1992/3 was just over 14 million people. About 75% of them consisted of 'ethnic' migration (ethnic German migrants to the FRG, and Soviet Jews to Israel or the USA), and 10% of refugees and asylum-seekers, mostly in waves caused by major crises in the Central and Eastern European countries (Fassmann & Münz 1995). Most of them arrived after de mid-1980s.

With the collapse of the Iron Curtain in 1989-90, the enormous political, economic, cultural and social transformations in Central and Eastern Europe had its effects on people movements within and from this region. The magnitude of the migration from the former Communist Bloc feared by many in Western Europe did not materialize, although 1,2 million persons did emigrate in the first three years (Castles & Miller 2003: 86). "Between 1990 and 1997, there was total net immigration of 2,4 million people from Central and Eastern Europe into the EU which amounted to roughly half of all immigration to the EU during the same period" (Castles & Miller 2003: 87). After 1993, emigration from Central and Eastern Europe to the EU declined. There were still significant outflows of various categories of temporary workers, and Germany and Austria received the bulk of them. A major migration flow to Germany consisted of the ethnic Germans who are entitled to German citizenship upon arrival in Germany. These arrivals started in the 1980s and reached a peak of nearly 400,000 in 1990 (Muus 2001: 35).

- *Irregular migration* The two main flows indicated above overlapped more or less with those of irregular migration. Especially Southern European countries received significant immigrants from Eastern Europe and North Af-

rica, often of an irregular nature. The main instrument of migration policy in these countries was that of regular legalizations of irregular migrants.

Migration and other linkages

Again, the developments with regard to the EC/EU were of great importance for the migratory movements to and within Europe.

- In 1994, the European Economic Area (EEA) came into being, by an agreement of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and the EU. It allowed the EFTA countries to participate in the European Single Market without joining the EU.
- Enlargement. In 1995 Austria, Finland and Sweden joined the EU.
- By the late 1980s it had become customary to treat the EC (from 1993 onwards: the EU) as a single labour market, and to see intra-EU mobility as analogous to internal migration within a national economy (Castles & Miller 2003: 80). In accordance with this development, intra-EU migration and migration within the EEA is left out of the official national migration statistics.
- In 1992, the Maastricht Treaty was signed, establishing the European Union. This Treaty made immigration an issue of common interest for the EU.

This phase shows again that political and economic conditions are major driving forces behind migration movements: the collapse of the Iron Curtain, a global mass movement of refugees and asylum seekers because of conflicts, wars and natural disasters, and the further development and enlargement of the EC/EU. Processes of economic globalization and economic restructuring were also important initiators of migration movements. These processes not only created more opportunities for highly qualified labour migrants in activities such as banking, finance, insurance and communication services, but they also generated numerous opportunities for low or unskilled labour migrants in agriculture, construction and the service sector in the central economies of the globalized world (Baganha in Fassmann 2005: 32). The low and unskilled labourers, often undocumented migrants, were attracted to jobs for which the native population showed no interest, thus increasing the need for immigrant labour. Although formal labour recruitment practices were no longer the most frequently used mechanisms attract unskilled labour, they were replaced by family reunification and the ‘migration industry’, which often operated in an illegal manner (Baganha in Fassmann 2005: 33).

Migration systems

During this phase, the three migration systems mentioned for Phase 3 were still in place in Western Europe. However, they more and more became inter-related, mainly due to developments within the EU towards a single labour

market. At the same time these systems were increasingly affected by European and global developments, such as the resurgence of the East-West migration within Europe and the global mass movement of asylum seekers and refugees, due to instability and conflicts in Third World countries.

The development of Southern European countries into immigration countries was accelerated in this period. Southern Europe became a major receiving region of both legal and illegal immigrants from (neighbouring) Eastern European and African countries. While in the EC countries the stock of foreign population was growing with approximately 2 % per year between 1981 and 1991, in Southern European countries this process was occurring at a much higher rate of 10% growth per year. In Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal the legal foreign population roughly tripled in size (Baganha in Fassmann 2005: 30).

3.6 Phase 5: from the mid-1990s onwards: Rise of illegal migration, enlargement of the EU and start of EU migration policy

Main migration flows

By the mid-1990s, immigration flows to many Western European countries had stabilised and declined from the peak levels of 1991-2. However, since 1997 there was another upward trend in the overall patterns of international migration to OECD-area states, including the EU-15 (Castles & Miller 2003). Family-migration, labour migration and asylum-seeker migration dominated.

Migration flows have become extremely varied in Europe, even more so with the emergence of Southern Europe as an immigration region. The relative importance of the different flows in the EU Member States varies. Family migration constitutes some 40-50% of total immigration in Northern Europe. In Southern Europe these percentages are much lower; only Italy has been generous with this policy and here family immigration constitutes about 25% of legal immigration flows (Baldwin-Edwards 2002). Asylum seeking is negligible in Southern Europe, while for many of the Northern European countries it is a critical type of immigration (Baldwin-Edwards 2002). When considering exclusively immigration from outside the EU, with data available in 2000 for 11 of the EU-15 Member States, labour migration accounts for the largest inflow of migrants in Italy and Portugal, while family migration is the most important factor in the Netherlands, Sweden, France, Denmark and Finland (CEC 2003b: 187; Fermin and Kjellstrand 2005).

- *Asylum-seekers* Migration policy of the EU countries has changed considerably since the second half of the 1990s. The so-called 'crisis of the European asylum system' led to more restrictive asylum policies (Fassmann 2005: 21). Nonetheless, net migration in Europe was higher than in previous periods. The numbers of asylum applications increased (from 227,00 in

1996 to 342,000 in 1999), also due to the conflicts in the Balkan region (Castles & Miller 2003: 82).

The uneven distribution of asylum-seekers continued, with three quarters of all annual asylum-seekers (in the EU-15 in 1999) to be found in four Member States: Germany, the UK, the Netherlands and Belgium. When taking in consideration their population size, Luxembourg, Belgium, Austria and the Netherlands take in the most asylum-seekers in the EU (Fassmann 2005: 26). Since the mid-1990s, many European countries have acted together to restrict the inflow of asylum-seekers. Southern and Eastern Member States are receiving increasing numbers of asylum-seekers or undocumented migrants from countries in Africa and Asia, often mediated by smugglers and traffickers of aliens proliferated in this area

- *Family-migration* Family reunion and ‘marriage migration’ comprise a large share of legal immigration of non-Europeans, especially in Western European countries. However, some countries are developing policies to tighten the right of entry of family members by making their entry subject to further conditions, as part of an attempt to scale back family reunification. This is the case, for example, in Denmark and the Netherlands (Cholewinski 2002).
- *Labour migration* The processes of economic globalization and economic restructuring mentioned earlier continued. They contributed to migration movements by creating more opportunities for highly qualified labour migrants – the increasing international mobility of highly qualified personnel - as well as for low or unskilled labour migrants often attracted by the informal sector.
 - Since the mid-1990s there have been growing movements of temporary foreign workers - both low and highly skilled - because of labour market needs. Temporary labour migration “seems to have made a significant comeback” in Western Europe (Fassmann 2005: 27). A new generation of temporary foreign workers policies have been developed since the 1990s. However their scale was small compared to those of the 1945-73 period. For example, Germany recruits large numbers of temporary contract workers and guest workers under bilateral quota agreements and it has established a system for seasonal workers. Those temporary workers are allowed neither to stay longer than six months, nor to bring along family members. Furthermore, they are restricted to working in a single sector in a determined geographical area. Similar tendencies can be observed in other EU Member States, such as Austria (Fassmann 2005: 27).
 - A growing number of governments have perceived current and looming shortages of highly skilled workers (Castles & Miller 2003: 82). Several Member States reacted by introducing extra quotas (in Austria) or special programmes (a German green card for IT specialists) to attract skilled foreign labour. While tightening up other types of migration (esp. asylum-seekers and family migrants), many governments (France, Germany, Austria, UK, Netherlands) are now making new efforts to encourage or facili-

- tate the entry of skilled migrants (Fassmann 2005: 27). The European Commission strives to play a role in engendering a debate on economic migration, for economic and demographic reasons (CEC 2005).
- As a consequence of “closing the gates into Europe”, the importance of unauthorised migration is increasing. There has been a growing informalisation of international migration, not only to Southern Europe, but also to Western European countries (Fassmann 2005: 27). However, unauthorised migration continues to be of prime importance in the Southern European countries. Many of the unauthorised immigrants from Africa and Asia enter countries such as Italy with the idea of travelling further to the Western European countries. The prevalent pattern of immigration in, for example, Italy is employer demand-driven from the underground economy. This phenomenon is assumed to be much more pervasive in Southern European countries than in Northern Europe (Castles & Miller 2003; Reyneri 2001).
 - Migration to (and from) the Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries is mainly employment-related (Salt 2003). In this region migration systems were radically changed after the fall of the Iron Curtain, the dissolution of the former USSR and the former Yugoslavia, the accession negotiations and their eventual accession in May 2004. The different migration flows that can be identified now include temporary labour migration towards the West, intra-regional flows of workers, flows of workers from some developing countries, highly skilled migration from Western countries, return migration, ethnic migration and short-term movements of ‘labour tourism’ and petty trading (Giudici & Guarneri 2004). The situation of the different CEE countries differs considerably, some of them still mainly emigration countries (e.g. the Baltic States) and some of them emerging immigration countries, such as the Czech Republic and Slovenia (Kraler & Iglicka 2002; Salt 2003).

The doomsday predictions of a flood of workers from Central and Eastern Europe to the West has proved to be unfounded, concluded the European Commission in 2006 (EC, 2006). Labour migration from the new to the old member states has been modest, representing 1% or less of the active working population of the host country, except in Austria (1.4% in 2005) and Ireland (3.8% in 2005). According to the Commission, the workers have helped to ease labour shortages in sectors such as agriculture and construction. Ireland, the UK and Sweden opened their labour markets to the workers from the CEE countries right from the start.

Migration and other linkages

With regard to political developments, one of the most important trends is the consolidation of the EU as a free internal market from the 1990s onwards. This has led to unrestrained internal movement of EU citizens, even though

the number of internal EU migrants has remained relatively low. It also implied a greater cooperation in the area of external border control and the development of a common asylum and migration policy (Fassmann 2005: 29). Since the 1980s, EU governments have been involved in a process of harmonising policies on admission, migration control, labour migration, and the legal status of non-EU residents. Milestones in this regard are the 1985 Schengen Agreement and the 1990 Schengen Convention as well as its incorporation into the 1999 Treaty of Amsterdam. Nevertheless, it has not resulted in a common European migration policy up to now. Thus, freedom of movement across much of Europe has progressed significantly since the 1980s. The creation of 'Schengen' also did necessitate policy changes in other EU areas, and it is one factor underlying continued harmonization and coordination of issues such as visa, immigration, asylum and security policies (Gelatt 2005)

Immigration policy became a full Community responsibility with the entry into force of the Treaty of Amsterdam on 1 May 1999. A special meeting of the European Council held at Tampere, Finland, in October 1999, was dedicated to the establishment of an Area of Freedom, Security and Justice. Since Tampere, the European Commission has made proposals for developing this common immigration policy, adopting a two-track approach: establishing a common legal framework concerning the conditions of admission and stay of third-country nationals on the one hand, and an open coordination procedure to encourage the gradual convergence of policies not covered by European legislation on the other. The objective is to manage migration flows better by a coordinated approach that takes into account the economic and demographic situation of the EU. (Website EU)

Economic developments with regard to tendencies of globalization have expanded in this period. This has led to a stronger mobility of highly skilled labour, but also of low and unskilled labour. The European migration systems become more and more interrelated with the sending and transit countries in North Africa. Especially the Maghreb countries are of growing importance as a region of origin for the EU. The growing and relatively young population of these countries together with high unemployment in these countries constitute a high pressure to migrate to the EU (Fassmann 2005: 28). In addition, the North African countries are also important transit countries for migrants and asylum seekers from the sub-Saharan region.

Migration systems

The migration systems in Western Europe are becoming more interrelated, due to developments on the EU level with regard to harmonisation of immigration and asylum policies, EU-internal movement and control of the outer borders, and the enlargement of the EU with 10 new member states. At the same time, the influence of globalization on migration patterns becomes more significant, especially with regard to labour migration, blurring the sharp distinctions between subsystems that have developed as a result of historical peculiarities.

Thus, there are reasons to speak of a development of a European migration system of related and interacting subsystems. The political organization of the European Union was and is a major political, legal, economic and cultural factor in this trend. Some authors claim that it constitutes a key factor in the development of a single migration system (Salt 2001). Still, there are important differences between Northwest, southern, and Central and Eastern Europe, with regard to migration movements (types of migration, sending countries), as well as to the type of welfare regime.

Since the 1980s and even more so since the 1990s, the Southern European countries have been witnessing a dramatic transformation, due mainly to illegal migration and the arrival of asylum seekers and refugees in transit from North Africa and Eastern Europe (Castles & Miller 2003).

The new Member States of Central and Eastern Europe that joined the EU in May 2004 are very diverse but share some core characteristics in terms of patterns of migration. Short-term, circulatory movements from neighbouring regions that were often employment-related dominate migration patterns in these countries. Furthermore, these countries experience both emigration towards Western and Southern Europe, and (transit) inflows of asylum seekers and illegal immigrants. With regard to crude migration rates, some of the countries have a rather recent positive net migration (Czech Republic, Slovenia, Hungary and Slovak Republic); others have a greater outflow than inflow (Latvia, Lithuania and Poland) while in some countries net migration is practically zero (Estonia). The two non-CEE new Member States, Malta and Cyprus, have much higher net migration rates, even above the EU average (Giudici & Guarneri 2004). Thus, most new Member States have relatively recently become countries of immigration or transit migration, and only some still are mainly countries of emigration. Accession to the EU has strongly influenced the developments of migration policies in these countries (e.g. by acceptance of the *acquis*).

3.7 Conclusions

This chapter has sketched the spectacular changes in European migration patterns in the 20th and early 21st century. In just a few decades Europe has been transformed from a major emigration to a major immigration region. Moreover, there are also certain continuities, for example in East-West migration and in South-North migration within Europe, even though the latter trend has become blurred. A historical point of view shows how migration systems came into being and faded away, and how present migratory movements partly are caused by prior migration flows. It also reveals that in recent times migration within and into Europe has become more diverse, with tendencies towards blurring traditional distinctions between types of migration and with the emergence of new forms of migration, for example retirement-migration (King 2002).

This outline has exhibited that the macro-context of political, cultural, economic and social developments is indispensable for interpreting and explaining the development of people flows. Migration movements are related to and have considerably altered the linkages and interdependencies between countries. Although the outline refers to causal explanations only occasionally, more detailed studies will discern a host of causal factors with regard to transformations of migration patterns, both on national, supranational (EU) and global level (globalization etc.). Some of the most important trends relates directly to the EU: the consolidation of the EU as a free internal market from the 1990s on, the enlargements of the Union, and immigration policy becoming a full Community responsibility since the Treaty of Amsterdam. The economic and political cooperation has stimulated a convergence of income and earnings in Europe, which in turn is an important cause of the drops in labour migration between for example South and Northwest Europe in the 1970s. The economic restructuring and globalization constitutes another crucial development that has provoked shifts and innovation in movement of labour.

The outline in this section has been a first endeavour to apply the migration systems approach to Europe. It has made clear that is not always easy to apply this approach. It evokes many questions. For example, how much congruence in migratory inflows and political and economic relations is required to speak of a unified migration system? The analysis of macro structures and developments is undeniably of central importance in explaining migration movements. However, it brings to the fore the problem of cause and effect. For example, economic globalisation is one of the 'causes' for increased labour mobility, but reversely, intensified movement of labour strengthens economic globalisation. In any case, there are reasons to doubt that migration is really of exclusive importance for explaining structural changes within and between societies. Many of the interdependencies that develop between sending and receiving areas may not have been caused exclusively or predominantly by migration. Nevertheless, migratory movements may certainly reinforce such interdependencies.

4. EUROLINKS Strategic Research Line

4.1 Introduction

In the Annex I of the Contract of the IMISCOE Network of Excellence, the aim of the IMISCOE Feasibility Studies is formulated in terms of developing new common strategic lines of research within the network. In the meantime the Board of Directors and Board of Programme Leaders have decided to amend this aim, during the BD/BPL meetings at the 3rd Annual IMISCOE Conference at Vienna in September 2006 and a subsequent teleconference. It

has been decided ultimately that the teams responsible for the Feasibility Studies should endeavour to integrate the ideas concerning a new strategic research line into the activities of the clusters. More precisely, the Feasibility Studies teams should encourage during their last year (October 2006-September 2007) that the clusters invest more attention into the development of major research lines for the future, as indicated in the relevant Feasibility Studies.

This decision rules out the possibility of developing a coordinated and integrated programme of research projects. Nevertheless, the aim of encouraging clusters to integrate ideas concerning a EUROLINKS strategic research line in their research activities still demands an appealing vision on how to address the EUROLINKS primary research question by developing individual research project proposals. Thus, the continuation of the EUROLINKS Feasibility Study will consist at best out of a limited number of diverse research projects. In this chapter we will outline some basic principles and strategic choices to guide the development of research proposals that aim at generating improved scientific understanding of migration that will eventually help to provide an answer to the central question:

How do migration systems as these has developed and are currently developing between the new and the old EU Member States, as well as between the EU and adjacent and other migrant-sending areas, interact with tendencies towards stronger social, economic, political and cultural interdependence between these areas?

The EUROLINKS research line proposed in this Feasibility Study is meant to go beyond mere description in an attempt to explain the development of migration (sub) systems in time and space, with regard to different types of migrants as well as differences between sending and receiving societies.

4.2 Research objectives

Long-term objective

The aim on the longer term of the strategic research line is to create a common framework to understand migration to Europe in terms of both various interconnections between geographical areas and complicated cause and effect explanations of the development of migration over time. Ideally, the migration subsystems for comparison should be chosen strategically to untangle the various contextual and substantive factors, like the specific characteristics of migrants themselves, the institutional architecture, policy variations, etc (Penninx 2006). Thus, comparisons should be made of countries with the same sending area or countries that have the same target area, or to compare internal migration within the EU (East-West) with migration into the EU (East-East and South-North), or to compare systems that have common or different roots (e.g. roots in ex-colonial ties or in guest-worker or in asylum systems). To fur-

ther the long-term objective, the migration subsystems, the time-period and the themes of the various individual research project ought to be chosen strategically with the aim of producing comparable data that will enhance insights with regard to the central research question. However, as mentioned above, such a longer-term objective is unfeasible due to the restricted mandate of the Feasibility Study teams. A short-term objective is all we can strive for.

Short-term objective and choices

On the shorter term, the EUROLINKS Feasibility Study team will encourage that central ideas of this FS are integrated in some of the research proposals developed within the A1 and A2 clusters. Ideally, these shorter term choices should be made strategically as a first steps towards the longer-term objectives. Due to the restricted possibilities, resources and responsibilities of the EUROLINKS FS team, a more pragmatic approach is asked for: to stimulate the development of proposals that will advance relevant parts of the research line proposed in this Feasibility Study and by linking up with planned activities of cluster members to develop research proposals.

For these reasons the EUROLINKS FS team has chosen to focus its endeavours in its last year around two (or three) selected migration ‘subsystems’:

1. Turkey – (Western) Europe, focussing on the role of migrants in the continuation of regular and in irregular forms of migration;
2. Western Africa – Europe; focussing on determinants of migration flows and circulation as well as the impact of migration on urban developmental and social relations.

And as a possible third possibility:

3. Migration subsystems as they have developed during the past few years between the old and the new Member states of the EU.

Another possibility is to organise activities with regard to the development of a proposal within the 7th Framework Programme (FP7) on “Development paths in an historical and comparative perspective and their impact on Europe” (Topic SSH-2007 4.1.2). This would relate to the ideas formulated in this EUROLINKS Feasibility Study on the relation between migration and development.

Although motivated by pragmatic reasons in some extent, these choices will engender valuable insights that will help to further the objective of understanding and explaining migration to Europe in terms of various interconnections between geographical areas.

4.3 Strategic choices

A limited number of strategic choices with regard to the focus and object of the research could enhance both the theoretical relevance and value of the individual projects with regard to the central EUROLINKS question, as well as the comparability of the project outcomes.

We propose the following strategic choices:

- Comparing a selection of migration subsystems;
- Focus on the role of the migrant as social actors, including those who stay behind and the 2nd generation;
- Focussing on both micro level social actors (individuals) and meso level actors (networks, organisations and institutions);
- Applying a transnational perspective, as the most appropriate lens to study actions of migrants in transnational social spaces;
- Selecting a limited number of themes for the comparative research with regard to economic, political and socio-cultural linkages and migration.

Selecting and comparing migration subsystems

To acquire deeper understanding of the relevant principles underlying the interaction between migration and other linkages between areas concerned as well as the interrelation with broader developments, an international comparison of migration subsystems is most suitable. Comparative research on different migration subsystems will lead to enhanced understanding of both the interrelations between migration and other links, and of the complex causes and effects of migration. Thus the general units of analysis and comparison of the various projects are migration subsystems at the country-to-country level. However, within the individual research projects the units of analysis may differ, as will be argued below.

Relevant and important differences for such comparisons are:

- Different types of migrants: labour migrants, temporary migrant workers, refugees and asylum migration, irregular migrants, foreign students, retirement migrants, return migrants, circular migrants, etc.
- Differences in institutional architecture and policy variation of sending and of receiving countries: differences in types of welfare state regimes, of immigration and of integration regimes, different types of political and economic regimes of sending societies, etc.
- Other relevant differences in migration systems, for example different systems of EU-internal migration and of migration into the EU, systems that have their roots in colonial systems or in guestworker recruitment, etc.

As mentioned earlier, we already have opted for some migration subsystems that are among the most important ones for Europe at present: the migration system between West Africa and Europe, between Turkey and Europe, and between Central and Eastern Europe and Western/Southern Europe. Western

Africa, Turkey, and Central and Eastern Europe are the most important sending and transition countries for Europe. Within the individual projects on migration subsystems it is advisable to strive for a theoretical interesting selection of countries, partly on the base of the abovementioned relevant differences for comparison.

Focus on the role of migrants on meso and micro level

We propose to focus research on the role of migrants – including the second generation and members of their households who stay behind - as relevant actors in the development of migration subsystems and their impacts on sending and receiving societies. It goes without saying that these actors act within the opportunities offered by structures on higher levels of aggregation. We thus choose to focus the projects on the role of migrants themselves in fostering and developing the links between sending and receiving areas in a direct or indirect way. The role of migrants as social actors in international migration is often neglected in (macro level) theories and studies on international migration (Joly 2000). More practically, such a focus with regard the primary level of analysis will enhance that comparability of project results. The migration systems approach will be used as a heuristic device to studying the role of migrants as actors on meso- and micro-levels in migration systems within the structures and developments on higher aggregation levels. The focus on the role of migrants as social actors is in accordance with the earlier choice to supplement the migration systems approach with the transnational perspective. The transnational perspective is particular well suited for studying migrants as actors on the micro- and meso-level within transnational social spaces (cf. Faist 2004: 23).

The notion of ‘transnational social spaces’ offers a useful device for analysing transnational involvement of migrants in their macro contexts. Transnational social spaces “are constituted by the various forms of resources or capital of spatially mobile and immobile persons, on the one hand, and the regulations imposed by national states and various other opportunities and constraints, on the other (Faist 2004: 18). Departing from this definition of Faist, the focus can be formulated as: a focus on ‘the transnational social spaces inhabited by immigrants and refugees and immobile residents in both countries’ that “supplement the international space of sovereign nation-states” (ibid). These ‘opportunities and constraints’ are again the result of processes in which migrants may have played a role. In this way we can compare different migration subsystems associated with different opportunity structures (welfare state, migration regime, migrant populations, etc) with the aim of gaining more insight in the relevant factors affecting the development of migration systems.

The emphasis lies here on transnational activities, identities and networks of migrants and their impact on both sending and receiving societies, including the effects on future migratory movements. Special attention should go out to those activities and networks that lead to institutionalisation or gen-

eration of social structures. For this reason, research projects should direct attention to practices with a certain intensity, duration and coverage among the relevant migrant population (cf. D'Amato et al 2004). The reason for this emphasis is that especially such activities may have an impact on existing social structures or institutions and create new ones. The various types of transnational activities and networks to be discerned can be categorized according to various classifications: activities in the economic, socio-cultural and political sphere; transnationalism from below or from above; or types of main actors.

A helpful typology of types of transnational networks and institutions is the one of Thomas Faist (2004: 19-21). He discerns four types of "transnational social formations" in which "transnational spaces" may unfold:

1. Kinship groups; typical for first generation migrants; highly institutionalized; remittances; also informal insurance collectives;
2. Circuits and issue networks, in commercial circuits, but also advocacy coalitions;
3. Transnational communities, such as village communities, religious communities, frontier regions, ethnic communities abroad, exile and diaspora;
4. Organizations as transnational collective actors: social movement organizations, religious organizations, and business organizations. "It is obvious that migrants often do not set up such organizations but use the infrastructures of existing ones" (Faist 2004: 21).

The choice for the type of actors to be studied varies according to the concrete projects. For these reasons, the units of analysis of the individual projects may vary. They may vary from organisations and institutions within the contexts of different countries to individual migrants.

Applying a transnational approach

The EUROLINKS strategic research line is intended to investigate how migration fosters other links between areas and how such other links foster migration. How to operationalise such a transnational perspective within individual research projects? An example of such an operationalisation is the Ghana TransNet project that studies "different locations *simultaneously* that are connected by the flows between migrants and their network members" (Mazzucato 2006: 14; Mazzucato 200?). In contrast to this Ghana TransNet project, the EURLINKS strategic research line proposed here is more encompassing and broader. It intends to inquire into the links between migration and other linkages between areas within a migration system and should not limit itself to the micro-level of networks of individual migrants. However, the operationalisation of the research on different linked locations simultaneously could be attractive for project within the research line proposed.

The research methodology itself will vary considerable between the projects. Some projects will make use of large-scale data collection and survey

designs to collect data on for instance migration patterns or the effects of remittances on development, while other projects may opt for qualitative methods of data collection in studying cases of transnational political action. For this reason, it is of little use to discuss general methodological issues in this Feasibility Study.

The choice to study geographical migration (sub) systems, focussing on European receiving countries in their relations to sending regions within or outside Europe, leads to the choice of including institutes from sending countries as additional partners to the network.

Selecting limited number of research themes

Migration and growing interdependence between sending and receiving societies constitutes the general theme of the strategic research line. The object of research is the impact of migration on sending and receiving society, in the economic, socio-cultural and political spheres, focussing on the contributions of migrants and those related to migrants. The crucial elements of the research relate to those spheres in which migration impact on developments in sending and receiving societies, as well as the relations between these societies including migration flows. Main linkages between sending and receiving countries within migration systems that are related to migration flows and transnational activities of migrants are of economic, political and socio-cultural nature.

We propose to focus on some themes within these broad economic, political and socio-cultural linkages. This choice is motivated both by considerations of theoretical nature (the migrations systems approach and transnationalism), practical ones (research interests within IMISCOE network), as well as policy-oriented motives (the topicality and urgency of the themes).

On these grounds we propose the following 4 themes:

- *Theme 1: International trade and migration* The relation between migration and economic exchange and trade, both formal and informal, relates to discussions on economic globalization and migration, the migration encouraging effects of the integration of far-away areas in the global economic system, the issue whether economic development and lowering the barriers to free trade will diminish the people flows from developing countries, and how economic entrepreneurial activities of migrants and return migrants may stimulate the economic development of sending countries.
- *Theme 2: Continuation of migration and migration-supporting institutions* In a sense, the organisations and institutions that support the continuation of migration may be interpreted as an extension of the theme of international trade (in services). Such organisations and institutions offer support to migrants in passing borders of nation states, and/or they offer services to employers who intend to attract foreign labour. The activities of such organisations may be both legal and illegal. It is a theme gaining growing attention from both politicians and scientists. The closer co-operation between European

- *Theme 3: Political and socio-cultural transnationalism amongst migrants* The securitisation of immigration policy and the fear for extremism and Islamic fundamentalism seems to go along with rising political and socio-cultural transnational activities of migrants and migrant organisations, as well as increasing opportunities for transnational participation offered by the countries of origin. Differences in human and political rights regimes between sending and receiving societies constitute political opportunity structures for activism, like in the case of the Kurds. Political and socio-cultural transnationalism are taken together as one theme because they are often intermingled in the activities, organisations and institutions of migrants themselves. There are reasons to give due attention to transnational identifications and activities of individual migrants, because of public and policy concern with regard to the loyalty of migrants and because of its relevance for the study of migrant integration.
- *Theme 4: Migration and development* Migration and development is an issue at the centre of attention nowadays and with great urgency. To match this theme with the EUROLINKS FS framework and central question, research on migration and development should be placed within the broader context of the changing links between sending and receiving societies due to some extent to international migration and migrants' integration in receiving societies.

An element deserving special across the various research themes is the gender-specific impact of globalisation on international migration. There are a number of reasons to give special attention to this issue. First, the relocation of labour-intensive production to low-wage countries tends to be concentrated in export-processing zones, where transnational companies more often hire women than men for the low-skilled and low-paid work. Men replace these women when production shifts to higher-technology and skill-intensive forms. The new jobs created are nevertheless insufficient to reduce emigration pressures significantly. Secondly, deregulation processes and increased international competition associated with globalisation result in more flexible work arrangements such as casual and temporary contracts, facilitating the incorporation of illegal workers and female migrants. Thirdly, due to the demographic ageing and the increased labour force participation of native women in many western countries, the demand for work in the personal services sector (nursing, teaching, cleaning, domestic service) has increased. As much of the work fits traditional roles and stereotypes of female roles, the sector disproportionately attracts female migrant workers (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001). To give a concrete example: the rising participation of women in the labour market in Italy since the 1960s in conjunction with relatively modest South-European welfare regimes has

triggered the need for recruitment abroad of (mainly female) domestic workers, child care workers and nurses who care for the elderly (Sciortino 2004a). Such issues are dealt with in the growing body of literature on for example global care chains (Yeates 2005, etc.).

5. Research Themes

This chapter will develop the four research themes mentioned above on the basis of a brief mapping of the field. Departing from the analytical framework, relevant research questions will be formulated as well as promising directions for concrete projects within each of the four research themes that will ultimately lead to a better understanding of the interconnections between migration and other linkages.

To sum up, the four research themes are:

1. Migration and international trade
2. Continuation of migration and migration-supporting institutions
3. Migration and political and cultural transnationalism
4. Migration and development

5.1 Theme 1: Migration and International Trade

Trade and migration are interconnected in a globalizing world (Pécoud & De Guchteneire 2005; Keely 2003). Research on the interrelation between international trade and migration will help to increase insight in the interrelation within migration systems of flows of goods and people, in the larger, global context of stronger economic, social and political interdependencies. Economic globalisation goes together with integration of national economies and labour markets, and thus stimulates movement of people across borders. The other way around, various border-crossing movements of people and the settlement processes of migrants in host societies as well as return migration, usually goes along with growing investments and trade between the regions linked in a migration system. This will in turn stimulate further cross-border movement of people. Earlier phases of globalization were often typified by the combination of a growing integration of economies together with increasing migration, such as the increased trade integration at the turn of the century and the 1960s (Pécoud & De Guchteneire 2005). The more recent trade integration since the 1980s has led to far less international migration, due to stricter immigration rules and control in industrialized countries (Gunter & Van der Hoeven 2004). But this transformation is also due to developments in communication technologies that enable the outsourcing and offshoring of not only parts of the production process but also of services. Due to the opportunities

offered by new communication technologies – such as Internet, teleconferences and video conferences – skilled labourers from India or China don't need to migrate to Europe to work for a European corporation. This makes it possible to circumvent the obstacle set by national immigration controls.

With regard to the impact on sending societies, the theme is of particular relevance from a developmental perspective. Politicians commonly presuppose that economic development – among other things to be stimulated by reducing the barriers to free trade – would decrease the migration flows from these countries. Researchers regularly criticise such a simplifying picture. Therefore it would be of policy relevance to investigate this relation more thoroughly. Studying the linkages between migration and international trade from the perspective of migration systems has the advantage of directing the attention to the changing contexts and global developments over time, as well as the complex interaction between flows of goods and of people through feedback mechanisms.

Migration and international trade is a rather neglected theme in migration research. It gets some attention from economists (see also OECD 2004), primarily from a developmental perspective rather than from a migration angle. However, the role of migrants as entrepreneurs and the impact on the receiving societies is usually neglected.

There has been some research of economists and sociologists on the interrelation between international trade and migration (cf. Parsons 2005). Trade links may directly result out of migration and settlement processes, including the business activities of the diaspora (see Rath 2006: 6). Migration may stimulate trade because of (a) preferences of migrants for traditional products of their country of origin, and (b) immigrants can lower the transaction costs of trade with countries of origin, making use of transnational networks and their knowledge of institutions and markets in the country of origin (Gosh 2005), (c) migrants may open new business in the immigration or in the home country through return or circular migration (Portes et al 2002), and (d) linkages also lie in trade of services, in sectors as the IT industry (Mattoo 2003, Walton-Roberts 2004), tourism and construction. Research on the relation between trade, migration and a migrant settlement shows that there are various relevant variables mediating the impact of migration on trade between sending and receiving societies. Relevant variables are the region of origin of the migrants, their skill level and motives for migration, and the size of the immigrant community (Girma & Yu 2000, Lucas 2001, Head & Reis 1998). However, there is no consensus yet on what constitute the major determinants. Furthermore, the relations between trade and migration will change over time. For example, the developing EU free market and the accession of countries from Eastern and Central Europe have important impacts on the cross-border movements as well as cross border trade between the relevant countries (Parsons 2005).

Additionally, there is a growing, although still rather frail interest of European sociologists and anthropologists in issues of the involvement of mi-

grants in international trade stimulated by American research on the economic dimension of migrant transnationalism (Rindoks, Penninx, Rath 2006; Guarnizo 2003; Portes, Haller, Guarnizo 2002). Traditionally, the attention of European migration researchers for migrant entrepreneurship among migrants was predominantly confined to a national context (Bommes & Kolb 2005). However, the growing interest in transnationalism among migrants encompasses also transnational aspects of entrepreneurship. Although the first generation migrants are still most researched (Bommes & Kolb 2005; Choenni 1997), studies on second-generation migrant entrepreneurs show quite different patterns of quite different patterns of “embeddedness” in and utilization of local and transnational networks (Rusinovic 2006). Quite different patterns can be observed regarding transnational entrepreneurs moving to and settling in another country to start a business (Van Amersfoort 2001). They are oriented towards a broad public of customers and generally better qualified. Italian migrants producing and selling ice cream in various European countries are an example of this type of entrepreneurs (Bovenkerk et al 1983). Again other researchers are more interested in transnational entrepreneurs engaged in irregular activities, such as drugs and arms trade (Bovenkerk ?). Settled migrant communities may play a smaller or larger role in these activities (Van Amersfoort 2001). In general, European research focuses on ethnic entrepreneurs in relation to social networks and issues of integration.

American research shows additional routes of transnational entrepreneurship. For example, Zhou (2004: 1054-1060), identifies various types of transnational entrepreneurship related to: (1) financial services that include informal remittance handling agencies, and investment banks; (2) import/export of raw material, semi-processed products, manufactured goods, and exotic or folk handicrafts; (3) various cultural enterprises, ranging from trading music to organizing musical teams to visit immigrant sending and receiving countries; (4) manufacturing firms, operating either as separate units of a firm or as one single firm across national boundaries; (5) micro enterprises or return migrants. There are signs of the development of comparable transnational entrepreneurial activities in Europe. Some of these are encouraged by recent global economic developments. For example, Dutch second-generation migrants entrepreneurs with Turkish born parents starting IT companies with offices both in Amsterdam and Istanbul, designing software for companies (Contrast Dec. 2006: 22-23). Their bicultural background functions as an asset in such business activities. Or Dutch companies offshoring parts of their services to former colonies, such as call centres in Surinam and Turkey. They employ return migrants, whose familiarity with Dutch language and culture are an essential asset for performing these services adequately

This makes clear that transnational aspects of ethnic entrepreneurship may change over time, due to a shift in generations, but also because of changing economic and social conditions in sending and receiving societies, as well as broader technological, economic and political developments. The importance of a historical perspective is underlined by Faist (2000: 214 ff), who dis-

tinguishes three forms of economic transnationalization developed sequentially in the German-Turkish case: (a) remittances because of specific reciprocity relations, (b) the growth of immigrant business in the country of settlement, utilizing the asset of strong kinship ties, also for recruiting new labour from the country of origin, and (c) the development of transnational coordination of business activities, for example German-Turkish textile companies that move production to Turkey for economic reasons. This shows that transnational aspects of entrepreneurship transforms with changing circumstances in the country of settlement and of origin, the continuing settlement process of migrants, but also in association with global economic developments.

The above exposition indicates the relevance of the theme of migrants and international trade for the deeper understanding of the complex relation between migration and growing interdependencies between regions within a migrations system. It is a rather new research area in European social research, and for that reason there are interesting opportunities abound. Our interest goes to research on initiatives and structures in the field of trade, commerce and the transfer of manufacturing and service activities between sending and receiving countries in which migrants, migrant organisations as well as returning migrants and the second generation take an active part. Some relevant questions within this theme would be: In which ways are migrants involved in international trade with their countries of origin and how are these initiatives related to other linkages between sending and receiving societies? What institutional arrangements between sending and receiving countries do migrants set up or in which initiatives do they take part, to support their transnational entrepreneurial activities? What, in turn, is the effect of these transnational initiatives of migrants on return and reinsertion, or on circular migration and other migration flows? How do the migrant settlement processes and their impact on the host societies affect the development of international trade between the societies of the migration system? And how do changing migration regimes or changing trade arrangements and agreements impact on transnational trade and entrepreneurial activities of migrants?

Relevant differentiations for comparative research are those between internal and external trade and migration, differences in migration regimes and the economic systems of receiving societies, and differences between categories of migrants. On the short-term, we suggest developing concrete projects within this research theme on one or some of the following issues:

- The impact of the free movement of workers and services within the EU on the development of transnational entrepreneurial activities of migrants from the new Member States in the 'old' EU Member States. What kind of trade initiatives and trade organisations do East European migrants set up in the Western part of the EU? What are the effects of restrictions on labour market entrance of inhabitants of new Member States on these entrepreneurial activities? The free movement of services is generally not covered by transitional measures (with the only exception of Germany and

Austria). It offers opportunities for the “cheap Eastern workforce” to enter on the Western labour market. However, this is a hotly debated issue, generating opposition of especially the trade unions in the Western societies (see Traser, Byrska & Napieralski 2005: 31). It would be interesting to investigate the relationship between the free movement of services and migratory patterns between East and West in the EU, for example by comparing the trade activities of Poles in countries that already had substantial Polish communities (Germany) with countries where Polish migrants are a relatively new phenomenon (for example Ireland, Spain). The changing links between the countries within the subsystem and the impact on the economies of the countries of origin – including the effects on their economic development – should be part of the research. Additionally, because the EU “seems to be the only region in the world in which free trade agreements have been accompanied by a substantial degree of free movement of persons” (Pécoud & De Guchteneire 2005), it could be interesting to compare migration and trade activities within the EU with migration and trade relations with neighbouring countries outside the EU.

- Transnational entrepreneurial activities of migrants or returning migrants in their country of origin. This issue has gained attention mainly from a developmental perspective. However, the issue deserves also attention from the perspective of economic transnationalism and increasing interdependencies between regions. American case studies show “that many immigrants in the United States are building bases abroad rather than aiming at the permanent return and that they have bought real estate, opened bank accounts, and established business contacts abroad from which they create new economic opportunities for themselves and organize their transnational lives in both the sending and receiving countries by strengthening their transnational networks that sustain regular back-and-forth movements, including cyclical migration” (Zhou 2004: 1055; based partly on Portes and Guarnizo, 1991). Additionally, there are also studies on for example IT entrepreneurs returning from the US to India, developing and utilizing networks with IT entrepreneurs working in the US when setting up a business in India (Hunger 2004; Guarnizo (2003); Lucas 2001). But also former colonies or primary sending countries may have their advantages within a migration system, because of existing historical, social, cultural and linguistic relations and the bicultural and bilingual assets of migrants. An important differentiation relates to developmental and infrastructural differences between sending countries. A comparison of for example the entrepreneurial activities of (return) migrants from France in Morocco and in a less developed country as for example Mali or Chad could produce interesting insights.
- Historic research on the development of entrepreneurial activities of migrants due to changing economic conditions in sending and receiving societies and economic links between these societies. For example comparing the development of the Turkish entrepreneurial activities and how they

utilized transnational entrepreneurial capital over time in Germany and the Netherlands. How do differences in institutional architecture and policy variation (differences in economies and labour market types and policies, different types of welfare regimes, etc) affect the transnational trade activities in which these migrants are involved? The Turkish garment industry that emerged in various European cities in the 80s and 90s was the result of the opportunities created by specific economic developments and opportunities, in which Turkish entrepreneurs could capitalize on their social networks, also to attract new immigrants to work in the garment industry (Rindoks, Penninx, Rath 2006: 40ff; Raes 2000). However, these Turkish industries declined since the 90s due to the increasing immigration controls in Europe and the growing intolerance for undocumented migrants and informal economic practices (Rindoks et al 2006). But also the emergence of a second generation of better-educated and integrated Turks may explain this decline. Second generation migrants are less oriented on the ethnic market and less dependent on ethnic social capital (Rusinovic 2006). Broader economic developments are also at the roots of this decline. As Faist (2000: 214 ff) states, the German-Turkish textile companies moved their production to Turkey for economic reasons.

- To gain more insight in the importance of the ethnic factor and the international relations between sending and receiving countries, it would be interesting to contrast the case of the Turkish garment industries with those of the Chinese. These comparable cases of garment industries of Chinese and Turks in the 1980s and 1990s at first glance appear to contradict the general assumption that the more regulated labour markets in Western Europe offer fewer possibilities for marginal or semi-official entrepreneurial activities of migrants.

The flourishing of the garment and leather workshops of Chinese migrants in Italy since the 1980s, was stimulated by a combination of favourable conditions, such as the upsurge of the Chinese economy, the barriers (quota) to the import of textile from China into the EU, the diminishing supply of manpower from Southern Italy to the factories in the Northern part of the country, and the general favourable Italian climate for small businesses. These opportunities attracted entrepreneurs from Chinese origin, both from China and from other European countries. It enabled them “to blend strategies of migration and translocal capital accumulation taking advantage of China’s ever-growing role in the globalized economy” (Ceccagno 2004; Ceccagno 2003), by importing cheap semi finished products from China for instance. Gradually they expanded their activities, and this went along with the immigration and settlement of a growing Chinese community in Italian cities. However, recently their productive and commercial activities were hit by a crisis. According to Ceccagno (2004) this was caused not solely by the general crisis of manufacturing in Italy, but was also a consequence of the Italian policy to contain imports from China that were perceived to be in competition with the ‘own’ Italian garment in-

dustry. Chinese entrepreneurs are also active in comparable branches in some Central European societies, for example in Hungary and especially in Budapest. This offers other opportunities for comparing their transnational economic activities in less and in more strictly regulated labour markets.

5.2 Theme 2: Continuation of migration and migration-supporting institutions

The organisations, institutions and networks that support the continuation of migration may be interpreted as an extension of the theme of international trade, in the meaning of ‘trade in transnational services’. Such organisations, institutions and networks offer services to migrants in passing borders of nation states, and/or they offer services to employers who intend to attract foreign labour. The migration-supporting infrastructure encompasses a range of institutions and organisations, both public and private, profit and humanitarian, clandestine and legal, related to various types of short-term, long-term and circular border-crossing movements.

The theme of migration supporting institutions and organisations relates most directly to migration processes as such. Migration research has revealed the significance of migration networks for the continuation and direction of migration flows. However, there are signs that migration is becoming less predictable on the base of earlier migration, labour recruitment, colonial bonds and other political ties (Neske & Doornik 2006: 39). The sudden changes in for example asylum flows seems to suggest the involvement of actors like travel agents and human smugglers who direct these processes, according to Neske and Doornik (*ibid*). Is the role of migration networks changing? Or are the relatively spontaneous activities of these migrant networks gradually taken over by more organized commercial agencies and criminal networks of human smuggling and trafficking (Içduygu & Toktas 2002)? What are main factors in the transformations of these networks and organisations regarding their function in supporting and facilitating migration? Are such developments triggered by the stricter migration control policies and practices of European states, or by the growing numbers of migrants seeking to enter these societies? Or are these developments related to the growing diversity among migrants with regard to their countries and areas of origin, thus lacking networks for migration-purposes? To answer such questions, more research is required to gain deeper insights in the interrelations between migration flows, migration supporting and facilitating infrastructures and other linkages between the areas concerned.

Migration-supporting institutions and organisations may be defined as all kinds of organisations and institutions offering services to migrants in their migration processes. They encompass both for profit organisations and entrepreneurs providing a range of services to migrants (Goss & Lindquist 1995; Massey et al 1998) as well as interpersonal migrant networks. Examples of ac-

tivities of such organisations and institutions are: smuggling across borders, clandestine transport, counterfeit of documents, labour-contracting between employers and migrants, arranging marriages between migrants and legal residents in the receiving country, and lodging, credit and other assistance in the countries of destination (Massey et al 1998: 44). At the same time, in reaction to the exploitation encouraged by the black market, all kinds of humanitarian organizations arise in receiving and transit countries aiming at helping legal and undocumented migrants and improving their treatment (Massey et al 1998: 44). Sometimes even undocumented migrants mobilise alone or together with NGOs, with the aim of improving their conditions (cf. Schwenken 2003).

For-profit migration-supporting institutions should not be associated solely with the underground market an illegal border crossing. There are also all kinds of “merchants of labour”, agents and agencies that move workers over borders and play a supplementary role in matching workers with jobs (Martin 2005a,b). There are both public and private agencies to support recruitment of foreign labour, although the role of private intermediaries is expanding in most industrial countries (Martin 2005a: 25). An example is the private fee-charging agents to facilitate job-matching for highly skilled migrants. Lower on the job-matching ladder, many employers in industrial countries turn to temporary help-firms to find workers to fill seasonal or short-term jobs (Martin 2005a: 1). These are not always legal migrants; the line between recruiting and smuggling and trafficking is not always easy to draw in practice (Martin 2005a). This is for example also the case with regard to marriage brokers or networks with regard to mail-order-brides (Tamas, 2004: 48).

The role of immigrant communities as intermediary structures in migration processes is also of importance. As Baganha et al (2006: 32) indicate, migrants are drawing increasingly on the resources offered by transnational communities, in reaction to tougher migration policies. While the supporting role of transnational communities is quite natural when the migration motive is related to existing social relations within transnational communities, such as marriage, such transnational migrant communities may also enable mobility for other motives. For example, migrants - legal residents or naturalised ones - can stand guarantee for tourist visa, arrange marriages, supply work contracts - if that is required for family migration for instance - provide information, lend money to a prospective migrant, etc (Baganha et al 2006: 32-33). AS Baganha et al (2006: 33) state, the immigrant communities may be described in terms of intermediary structures that facilitate migration between two countries, and they allow to predict the volume and direction of migration processes.

Migration-supporting institutions and immigrant communities as intermediary structures may operate within different stages of the migration process: mobilisation in the country of origin, *en route* and subsistence and insertion in the place of destination (Salt and Stein, 1997). There are reasons to forfeit the traditional too sharp distinction between the stages of migration and integration. The complex reality of transnational mobility of undocumented migrants, transit migrants, and seasonal and other short-term and circular mi-

grants makes it impossible to draw such a sharp line. Moreover, mobility should not be associated solely with crossing borders of nation states, but also with acquiring a legal status in countries of destination – crossing the legal borders of nation-states – and even subsistence in transit countries. For all these different needs and phases the migrant may seek support of different individuals, networks or organisations. And also for refugees intending to return to their country of origin after the ending of conflicts, information, support and services obtainable by networks may be of great importance for their decision and return (Stamm 2006).

Mazzucato presents a good example of the role networks and organisations may fulfil to help migrants meeting all kinds of legal requirements. Ghanaian migrants in Amsterdam make use of networks to acquire services from people in Ghana, such as obtaining birth certificates and other legal papers necessary to obtain a long-term visa (Mazzucato 2006). While this is a virtually impossible task to fulfil officially in a country such as Ghana, it leads to all kinds of irregularities of ‘creating and amending’ official documents. In reaction the Dutch embassy hired in detectives to discover inconsistencies in the application, which in turn unleashed the counteraction of migrants hiring counter-detectives. “All of these services result in thousands of hours that people in Ghana spend on conducting services for people in the Netherlands as a consequence of Dutch migration policies” (Mazzucato 2006: 11).

So, the development of stricter mechanisms of migration control offers another reason to broaden the definition of the migration supporting infrastructure. The more restrictive alien policies in the EU and its member states have led to more complex mechanism of external control (with important roles for states on the fringe of the EU, such as Turkey) and internal control (more requirements during the asylum application, restrictions on access to the labour market, health service and housing, making access to full denizen rights conditional on integration requirements, etc.) (Brochmann & Hammar 1999). This process becomes even more complex because of the many actors involved in the implementation of these control policies, with diverse or even opposite interests. Thus, migration should not only be associated with crossing borders of nation states, but also with acquiring a legal status in countries of destination and traversing the borders of the welfare state (Entzinger 1994).

In line with the strategic choices, we propose to develop research proposals on the role of migrants as social actors, especially in more organised and institutionalised forms. In other words, research proposals focussing on the role of immigrant communities as intermediary structures in facilitating migration in the broad sense of the term, and/or on the role of migrants in for-profit organisations and institutions. There is a growing body of research on networks and organisations involved in border crossing of people (see State of the Art Reports of A1 and A2 Clusters). But there appears to be little information on the role of migrants in especially for-profit organisations and networks. However, it is conceivable that the bi-cultural and bi-lingual background may be an asset for recruitment agents or other functions in the migration-

supporting infrastructure, especially for functions in which social capital is of greater importance than human capital.

A major question from the EUROLINKS research line's perspective is: what is the role of emerging and existing migrant communities and migration-supporting institutions and organisations in the continuation and redirection of migration into Europe? Is this role changing due to stricter migration control mechanism, or changes in the size or growing diversity of countries of origin of migrants, or other factors? And how interacts this migration-supporting infrastructure with other links between the various sending and receiving countries?

Interesting possibilities for research on the role of migrant communities and other migration supporting organisations and institutions in the continuation of migration are:

- The role of migrating supporting institutions and networks in relation to labour migration and international trade within the EU between the Central and Eastern Member States and the 'old' Member States.
The emerging infrastructure with regard to migration between recently accessed Member States and the 'older' ones is of particular interest for research and policy on intra-EU movement of people, services and goods. For example, the short-term and circular migration of Poles to the 'old' Member States of the EU goes hand in hand with an emerging infrastructure of employment agencies in Poland and in the destination countries, as well as other institutions supporting their temporary stay in these countries (Curie 2006; Ecorys 2006). But also employers and governments try to regulate the movement of workers from East to West within the EU. The accession has enabled a host of different trajectories of transnational movement, creating niches for intermediaries of various kinds.
Projects could be developed to investigate for instance the effects of the transitional restrictions on free movement of workers from the new Member States on the developing migration-supporting structure, in comparison to the movement to countries that have not opted for transitional restrictions (the UK, Ireland, Sweden). It would be interesting to compare transnational movement of workers between Poland and the UK or Ireland, between Poland and Germany, and between Poland and for instance Spain, with the aim of getting deeper insight in the factors of differences in rights to enter the labour market and different historical relations between the countries concerned. To deepen understanding, these projects could be put in a historical context of earlier Polish migration (both legal and illegal) to Western Europe and settled communities of Poles in these societies. What kinds of institutions and organisations are developing with regard to the migration between the countries concerned, living temporarily in these receiving societies, etc? And what is the impact on both the labour markets and economies of the sending and receiving societies? How does these de-

velopments promote further flows and counter-flows of people, services and goods?

It would also be attractive to develop a project on the migration between countries in Central and Eastern Europe within and outside the EU. Illegal migrants from Rumania – before its accession - developed all kinds of networks and informal transnational organisations to avoid the external borders of the EU and to orient them towards ‘work niches’ opened to illegal workers in some economic areas in EU member states (Potot 2004). Such networks try to reconcile the conflicting rules and mechanisms of legal control and the demands of the local economies and labour markets.

- The role of migrant community as intermediate structure in the migration between Turkey and European countries. Turkey is one of the main sending and transit countries for Europe. Because of the sizable Turkish migrant community in Western European countries and the relatively long history of Turkish migration to Europe, there exists an extensive and well-developed transnational migrant community encompassing Turkey and Europe. Social, economic, political and cultural relations and interdependencies between Turkey and European countries have developed over time, due to migration, Turkey's strategic geographical position, and the current accession negotiations with the EU. The increasing stringent immigration control measures of the European countries have diverted migration flows directed at Europe to peripheral countries, such as Turkey (IOM 2002). At the same time, Turkey is working on the harmonization of its legislation with the *acquis communautaire*. And it is even witnessing a process of increasing settlement of migrants in recent times. All these developments will have had impact on migration patterns, but also on the role of intermediary structures and migrant communities in supporting migration. In turn, the intermediary institutions and organisations supporting migration will influence migration flows, because they systematically alter the context within which future migration decisions are made (Massey et al 1989: 44-45).

Comparing migration flows from Turkey to various European countries with regard to different types of migrants (regular and irregular), would offer a basis for acquiring deeper understanding in the role of migrants' communities and organisations in the continuation of migration to Europe. Ideally, comparison of different types of receiving societies (old and recent ones, differences in economic structure, differences in migration and naturalisation regime) with different types of migration communities of Turkish origin (old or recent, small or large, former guestworkers or asylum seekers) could offer an interesting basis for comparison. However, Turkish migration and Turkish migrant stock is concentrated in West-European countries. Therefore it is more promising to compare Western European countries with different migration and integration regimes, with regard to different types of migrants.

5.3 Theme 3: Cultural and political transnational involvement and identities of migrants

Cultural and political transnational involvement among migrants is a topic gaining growing attention in the social and political sciences, as well as in politics and public discourses of sending and receiving societies. There are signs of an expansion in the political and cultural transnational activities of migrant communities. Anyway, the attention for this phenomenon is increasing in public discourse and politics of receiving societies, but also in sending ones. This is by itself a sign of the growing interdependencies between sending and receiving societies, while it reinforces such links at the same time. Transnational activities, identifications and involvement of migrants and their descendents are not oriented solely towards regions and societies of origin, but also towards migrant communities in other receiving societies (the diaspora migrant community). Sometimes migrants are also oriented towards other regions or societies. For example, Surinamese migrants in the Netherlands whose grandparents were contracted from India to work in Surinam, often also identify with the Indian culture – including Bollywood movie pictures and music – and they visit India occasionally in search of their ‘roots’. Thus, cultural and political transnational involvement and identification frequently transcends the ‘simple’ link between receiving and sending countries, to mingle with all kind of other historical, cultural, religious and political transnational orientations. Nevertheless, the transnational involvement in and identification with societies and regions of origin are often of distinctive importance. Migrants usually keep various kinds of special entitlements and privileges in and commitments towards their country of origin, due to their citizenship status, their relatives who stayed behind, and because of their investments and property ownership as well as their visits to their former homeland.

There is considerable interest in practices of cultural and political transnationalism within social studies of migration. While European research focuses mainly on the implications of transnational political, cultural and religious practices for the integration and position of immigrants in the receiving societies, US-based studies are more interested in the role of sending countries as a mobilising factor (Østergaard-Nielsen 2001; Levitt & De la Dehesa 2003). Nevertheless, among European researchers there is an increasing interest in transnational diaspora political practices of for example Kurdish, Somali, Tamil or Moluccan communities in Europe (Vertovec 2004, 2005; Steijlen 2004), transnational religious activities (Van der Veer 2001), and homeland political activities of Turkish, Moroccan, Caribbean and Chinese immigrants (Østergaard-Nielsen 2001, Van Heelsum 2003, Gowricharn 2004, Ögelman 2003).

Within the framework of the EUROLINKS strategic research line, research into political, cultural and religious transnationalism and migration is of particular interest, because it can be conceived as an element of the growing links between areas within migration subsystems. At the same time, the impact of the – both national and transnational – cultural, religious and political activi-

ties of migrants may affect the relations between these societies. For example, several of the migrant – and especially refugee - communities have their origin in political, cultural and religious marginalised or persecuted groups in their countries of origin. The discrepancy in rights and freedoms between sending and receiving societies constitute an appealing opportunity for these migrants to develop political, cultural and religious activities to improve both their own position and the position of their community in their former homeland. These activities may also affect the relations between the governments of both countries, as has been the case with a ‘too lax’ policy of Western societies towards Kurdish activism according to the Turkish government. Furthermore, the development of such transnational activities is related to the integration of these minorities in the receiving society (see Koopman et al) and will change with the coming of age of a second generation. This theme opens up interesting possibilities for comparison, for example between different types of migrant groups (refugees and others), between different types of receiving societies (for example multicultural societies versus more homogenous ones) and different types of sending societies (more democratic and more dictatorial ones).

In this section we will deal with political and cultural (including religious) transnationalism successively, with an emphasis on meso-level organisations, networks and institutions. However, in practice it is not always possible to discern between political and cultural activities of such meso-level organisations and thus projects could combine both kinds of transnationalism. In the third sub-section we will discuss the topic of orientations and identities of individual migrants, an issue of increasing interest and relevance within especially the more ‘older’ receiving societies.

Political transnationalism

Political transnational activities of migrants is an issue gaining not only more attention of the governments of some of the traditional sending societies, but also those of European societies accommodating migrant communities. An increasing number of sending countries are developing policies towards their emigrant communities, designed to sustain their ties with the country of origin and to encourage the development of long-distance nationalism (Levitt & Nyberg-Sorensen 2004). Such policies are often motivated by economic reasons, to secure the flow of remittances even when migrants become more integrated in the host societies and a second generation comes of age. But political motives may also motivate these societies to develop policies to maintain emigrants’ loyalties in order to ensure, for example, that they will advocate the national interests of the country of origin (Levitt & Nyberg-Sorensen 2004). For example, the Moroccan and Turkish governments both have created agencies to co-ordinate relations with their communities abroad, and they have opened up limited possibilities for participation in counselling activities (Fermin & Van der Heijden 2003). Why have these governments developed policies with regard to their communities abroad, and are such policies hardly developed by

other traditional sending countries, such as for example Iran or Pakistan? Factors that appear to play a role are differences in motives to leave the country (refugees versus economic migrants), the relative size and dispersion of the emigration community, and the nature of the regime of the sending societies (more democratic or more dictatorial ones).

The involvement of emigrant communities in such initiatives of governments of sending states may vary considerably. In the past, several of the sending societies – for example Morocco and Turkey - tried to control and obstruct the political activities of their diaspora communities and sometimes even discouraged their political integration in the receiving societies. Now these sending countries are trying to encourage the political activities of migrants in a more ‘positive’ way, hoping that they would act as a kind of ambassadors of their mother country. At the same time they offer migrants some – although limited – possibilities for participation in the politics of their country of origin. While in the past the attitude of parts of the Moroccan emigration community was quite hostile towards transnational activities of the Moroccan state, their attitude is now shifting in the opposite direction. Not only policies of sending, but also those of receiving societies affect the orientation of for example migrant organisations. As research of Koopman et al (2003) showed, the orientation and the way migrants organise are affected partially by to the policies and political opportunity structure of the receiving societies.

It is important to investigate the developments of political transnationalism and their impacts on sending and receiving societies from a historical perspective. The policies of these societies have changed considerably over time. While in the past some of the European governments facilitated political and cultural activities of migrants even when they implied transnational activities, they are nowadays more keen to hinder such activities. They are currently anxious about such foreign influences on ‘their’ immigrant communities for various reasons, including security and social cohesion motives, reasons that have increased in importance since 9/11. The increasing importance of social cohesion seems partly related to the impact of migration on these societies and for that reason this ‘anxiety’ can be observed in the ‘older’ European migration countries in particular, such as the UK, France, and the Netherlands. Probably the increasing size, influence and rights of the population of migrant origin - due to family reunification, the establishment of religious and cultural institutions, and the maturing of a better-educated second generation - leads to growing worries and anxiety among the indigenous population and politician about their loyalty and allegiance. Even – or especially – in countries characterised formerly as tolerant towards cultural diversity, such as the UK and the Netherlands, public and political debates follow one another on issues as limiting dual citizenship, more obligatory integration courses, stricter requirements for obtaining nationality, and keeping headscarves and other religious symbols out of the public sphere.

A recent example relates to the initiative of the Moroccan government to create a High Council for Residents Abroad. With that aim she established

an Advisory Council on Human Rights (CCDH) to advise the government on this issue, composed of Moroccan migrants and Moroccan experts living abroad and in Morocco. The membership of a Dutch Moroccan MP in this CCDH aroused a discussion in the Dutch Parliament, because of worries about loyalty conflicts due to such transnational political activities. She didn't resign for her position in the CCDH, in contrast to for instance to other Moroccan members residing in other countries, such as Belgium. With the growing political integration and participation of migrants and their offspring, issues with regard to political and civil participation in both sending and receiving societies become more urgent issues. While in the past these were mere theoretical questions, they now become 'real' political issues. The recent appointment of two members of the new Dutch government with a dual citizenship (Dutch-Moroccan and Dutch-Turkish) for instance provoked a widespread discussion on potential conflicting loyalties.

The EUROLINKS strategic research line focuses on migrants as social actors on meso and micro level, but within the context of the policies, structures, restrictions and opportunities in sending and receiving states and of supra- and international bodies. The notion of 'political opportunity structure', or even more the notion of 'transnational spaces' is a useful device for analysing such transnational involvement of migrants within their contexts. According to the definition of Faist (2004: 18), transnational social spaces are conceived as "constituted by the various forms of resources or capital of spatially mobile and immobile persons, on the one hand, and the regulations imposed by national states and various other opportunities and constraints, on the other".

There are reasons to focus on the activities of migrants explicitly directed towards their countries of origin, in relation to their involvement in their host societies. Not only because the sending societies perspective is hardly represented in European research, but also because this would prevent too much overlap with projects encouraged by the Feasibility Study on Social Cohesion. Research projects with a focus on transnational involvement in the country of origin could utilize the growing body of literature in development studies on the role of migrants and diasporas in the development and democratisation of their – or their parents' - countries of origin (Skeldon 2002, Sriskandarajah 2005, Faist 2007, IOM 2005).

- Of particular interest from a political transnational perspective is the involvement of migrants and their offspring in activities, organisations and institutions aiming at the promotion of peace (in conflict torn countries), equal rights for marginalised ethnic and religious minorities, or human rights in general, the emancipation of women, and democratisation of the government. Such research could depart from the insights of the growing literature on hometown organisations and 'engaging' diasporas' with regard to issues of development (for example De Haas 2006, IOM 2005, Hersantand & Toumarkine 2005), but focus on political aspects in a broad sense.

- From a social scientific point of view it is of equal interest to investigate migrants support for minorities or opposition groups in their country of origin with less peaceful or even terrorist aims. Examples are support for the Tigers of Tamil, and the financial support by some fractions of emigrant communities with a Muslim background in Western countries for their 'fellow' Muslims in conflicts in Bosnia or Afghanistan. How do such activities relate to their integration and involvement in the host society?

Cultural and religious transnationalism

Migrant's involvement in associations engaged in cultural transnational activities partly overlaps with the issue of political transnationalism. Kurdish activism is a clear example of this. However, there are also numerous kinds of cultural and religious transnational activities and organisations lacking such a political character, such as: associations organizing folkloristic and musical performances of artists from the country of origin for the emigrated communities, migrant associations organising mother-tongue language courses with support of the communities or government of the country of origin, obtaining funds for mosque building and recruitment of imams from the country of origin or from other Islamic organisations or states. Especially religious transnationalism is a point of concern for many Western governments since 9/11, because of fear for influences on Muslim communities within their borders.

First generation migrants often have a desire to preserve certain elements of their cultural identity when they live in diaspora. This may prove difficult if no institutional arrangements exist that offer them an opportunity for meeting and sharing. They may develop institutional arrangements that often maintain links with relevant organisations in the country of origin. Through these links information and exchange can be funnelled. The interesting question is whether and how the second or even third generation develops transnational cultural networks, activities and organisations, and whether these are of a different type. Many of the Muslim organisations of the first generation were homeland oriented, while those of the second generation are more often oriented on both the country of residence and the international Islamic community. For instance, Moroccan mosque organisations regularly recruit imams from Egypt and Saudi Arabia. It would be interesting to investigate whether such transnational religious contacts and activities differ between the various European societies with a substantial Moroccan community, for example because of different policies of host societies towards religions. As with political transnationalism, religious transnational activities will be influenced by the receiving society's policy, structures for consultation, and the openness towards non-Christian religions.

Cultural transnationalism of migrant communities may have an impact on both sending and receiving societies and also on the migration flows between them. There is a growing body of European research on Islamic religious activities and institutionalisation in European societies. Nonetheless, the

impact of the 'new' migrant religions on the broader society is a rather neglected theme. However, recent research of Levitt on migrants' religious practices in the US shows that these are remapping the religious space in the US considerably (Levitt 2006). For example, newcomers introduced new faiths or Latinized or Asianized old ones, and they brought different ideas about religion and where to find it, such as notions about a less strict separation of the public and private sphere. In Europe the spreading and institutionalisation of the migrant religious activities also appear to have an impact on the indigenous population religious activities and identifications. In many of the European societies, the Christian foundations of these societies are emphasised more firmly today. There are even signs of an upsurge of (alternative) Christian religious organisations in some countries. In what respect is this an indirect effect of the settlement of migrants with a Muslim background? And is there also an impact of alternative Christian faiths and practices of (for example of sub-Saharan) migrants on the host society? Interesting from a transnational perspective are also the cultural and religious relations between migrant communities in various receiving societies. The Turkish organisation Milli Görüş is an example of such a transnational religious organisation. Such organisations and movements developing in receiving areas may not only stimulate the development of a 'European Islam' but may in turn influence the religious practices and ideas in the sending areas.

In line with the ideas of the EUROLINKS research line, we propose to focus projects on cultural – and political - transnationalism on questions that deepen the understanding of the role of meso-level migrant institutions on the interrelationship between migration and political, cultural, and other linkages between sending and receiving societies. Processes of cultural and political transnationalization develop as a consequence of migration and interdependencies, and usually evolve within pre-existing linkages between areas (Faist 2000). But they may eventually change these linkages. For example, substantial migration always affects the community in the country of origin, and may stimulate the development of a culture of migration that encourages further migration (Biao et al 2005; Heering et al 2004, Pieke et al 2004). Migrants usually live their lives in transnational social spaces, connecting to those who stayed behind, for all kinds of daily affairs, organising rites the passage such as marriages, burials, etc. (Mazzucato 2006, Levitt...).

Some interesting themes for research proposals:

- The transnational social relations, visits and return to their country of origin, investments and innovations in house building and agriculture will all affect the developments in the country of origin. Among the social scientists there is disagreement on the precise effects and evaluation of the investments of emigrants on the modernisation of for example the agriculture in the developing countries (Cf. De Haas 2003). Probably the effects will differ according to various variables. From a cultural transnational perspective the notion of 'social remittances' is of particular relevance. Social

remittances are “the ideas, behaviours identities and social capital that migrants export to their home communities. They include ideas about democracy, health, gender, equality, human rights and community organization” (Levitt & Nyberg-Sorensen 2004: 8). Such effects may vary from unintended consequences of migrants’ involvement in the community and society of origin to explicitly intended effects of for example human rights groups. Comparing different types of migrants’ communities, networks and organisations within one and the same migration subsystem or comparing similar migrant communities and organisations in relation to societies of origin that differ considerably with regard to economic, political and cultural structures would shed light on the factors affecting social remittances.

- The effects of migration and transnational relations on the relations between men and women in both migrant communities and the countries of origin could be another interesting theme for research. This relates to the issue of gender-specific impact of globalisation on international migration (section 4.3.4) and that of the relation between migration and family structure. The culture of migration developing in countries of migration goes together changing expectations, but offers also alternative routes or opportunities for advancing such more demanding or higher expectations with regard to for example better schooling for the children. The opportunities may be different for men and women, also because of cultural beliefs and practices. This has resulted in for example the care labour migration of Philippine women to countries all over the world, with quite dissimilar consequences for the care sector in the receiving societies and the care and upbringing of the children in the sending societies (see for examples Carino et al 1990). But there is also a movement of educated women from developing to Western countries. According to Reynolds (2006: 167) many educated African migrant women “find that cultural expectations for financial contributions to and financial management of their households are difficult to fulfil under changing economic systems in states like Nigeria”. Research of Reynolds shows that professional Nigerian women migrated to the US not only due to household strategies, but also because of individual or professional interests with regard to education and personal financial independence. However these last mentioned motives are not deemed appropriate reasons for moving abroad, and thus are not the motives given straightforward. So there is a complex interrelation between family structures and migration that offer possibilities for comparative research projects.

Issues of immigration and the impact on the sending society of activities of migrants are already integrated in the proposal for a (FP7) project on migration between Western Africa and Europe (MAFE) that is developed by some institutes within and out of the IMISCOE Network. A presupposition of this project is that migration flows of various kinds and transnationalism impacts not only on receiving, but also on sending societies. The MAFE project proposal focuses on two types of such impacts: the effects

on the gender relations in receiving and sending societies, and on urban development in sending societies.

Migrant Orientations and Transnational Contacts

In addition to research project(s) focussing on the political and cultural transnational activities and organisations on the meso-level, we propose to develop also a project on the transnational contacts and orientations of individual migrants. Acquiring deeper insights in migrant transnational activities and orientations will be of great relevance for both policy development and for theories on immigrant integration and transnationalism. Furthermore, such insights will be of relevance also for understanding the development of interdependencies between countries within migration subsystems, by complementing the insights of the meso-level project(s) with micro-level knowledge. For transnational links and orientations on the individual level are an important prerequisite for the transnational processes on the meso-level.

The classical idea is that most migrants gradually integrate in their new societies and more or less simultaneously loosen their ties with their countries of origin. At the identificational level a similar process is supposed to take place: migrants would shift their allegiances slowly from the sending to the receiving society. This is the view in the traditional literature in which transnationalism tends to be opposed to assimilation. At the other side there are transnational researchers that in their enthusiasm about this 'new' phenomenon tend to overexpose the intensity and prevalence of migrants' transnational orientations and contacts in contrast to the 'traditional' assumption about migrants' integration in the host society. However, there are also scientists (like Ewa Morawska) who advocate a moderate position in this debate, arguing that 'all processes of migration are linked with processes of assimilation as well as with the emergence of transnational structures' (Bommes 2005: 1).

There is a growing literature on transnational contacts and orientations of migrants on the micro level. Various research activities of the IMISCOE partners touch upon this issue. For example the research activities of the Centre on Migration Policy and Society (Compas) at the Oxford University on transnational communities (Vertovec 2004). The effects of transnational activities and orientations on integration and assimilation are gaining attention as well. Engbersen et al (2003), for example, found that certain migrants have developed strong ties with the receiving society, but also maintain strong ties with the society of origin. But there are also migrants that quickly break most of their ties with the country of origin, although they do not always develop stronger ties with their new society. What is true for migrant contacts is equally true for migrant orientation. Contrary to common belief, there is not always a gradual shift in migrant orientation from the old to the new society. Involvement in transnational activities, length of stay and the position in the labour market of the host society were important determinants on migrants' orientation. Reality is much more complex, and it becomes even more complex when

we compare actual ties with orientations. Furthermore, there are also findings on effects of the receiving society's policy and acceptance on migrants' activities and orientations. All this indicates that we know very little of the factors that affect the development of migrant ties and migrant orientations.

- In the short term, we suggest developing concrete projects within this research sub theme departing from the research on the relation between transnational activities and identities of migrants in the Netherlands in relation to their integration already carried out at ERCOMER Rotterdam (Engbersen et al 2003) It would be not too difficult to duplicate this research in other immigration countries, in a truly comparative design. This will deepen the understanding of the effects of policies and majority-attitudes on these orientations and activities. Relevant differences for the choice of countries for such comparative studies are differences in their integration regimes and citizenship policies, as well as differences in history and size of migrant communities.
- The research design could be expanded, by investigating for instance the transnational contacts with fellow migrants in other European countries. There are signals that such contacts within diaspora communities are of importance for some migrant groups. Supplementing the survey research design with a qualitative part with in-depth interviews would make it possible to acquire deeper understanding of the correlations found in the survey. At the same time, the research plan could be complemented with a more genuine transnational research design. For example, by investigating migrants' actual transnational activities in societies of origin.

5.4 Theme 4: Migration and Development

Migration and development is a topic of increasing policy relevance. It gets growing attention of international organisations such as the EU, the Council of Europe, the UN and IOM. At the same time, there is a growing body of research and literature on this issue, also within the IMISCOE Network. Precisely because of its policy relevance, it deserves attention within the EU-ROLINKS programme. Concerted research activities of the IMISCOE partners promise to strengthen the scientific and theoretical underpinnings of policy programmes. The topic is not only of policy relevance, but it will also encourage a further understanding of the interrelationship of migration and other linkages between sending and receiving societies. Migration may result from imbalances associated with development and, conversely, it may influence developmental processes in the sending countries. A significant body of literature has developed over the years on the complex relationship between migration and development, especially during the past decade (For example Van Hear and Nyberg Sørensen 2003; De Haas 2003; Martin 2004; Skeldon 2004, 2003; the International Development Committee of the UK House of Commons

2003-4; Boswell and Crisp 2004; Hugo 2003; IOM 2003; Al-Ali 2004; Black 2004; Black et al. 2004a, 2004b). Nevertheless, the understanding of the links between migration and development is still weak, and generalisations are hazardous.

Whether the overall effects of migration on development are negative or positive depends on the circumstances as well as on the point of view of the various actors involved. Negative effects may result, for instance, from the fact that the most productive members of households tend to migrate, leaving behind the older and the younger generations, and the less productive of the middle generations. Brain-drain is but one example of this phenomenon of migrant selectivity. Furthermore, countries that rely heavily on the export of labour are vulnerable to the extent that migrants may be sent back in times of economic recession. Voluntary returnees often are retired people, or unsuccessful migrants, who are less likely to contribute productively to the development of the country, region or community. Skill transfers are generally thought to have little effect, except in the case of highly skilled returnees, while returnees starting businesses generally create but little new employment opportunities. Remittances are selective, and may increase wealth gaps locally, passing by the poorest. This is enhanced by the likelihood that migration has an inflationary effect on the local economy, because of the competition for scarce resources between immigrants and native population will push up prices of land, real estate, goods and services. This, in turn, may induce more people to migrate (Massey *et al.*, 1998; Nyberg-Sorensen et al., 2003).

There are positive voices too, stating that migration helps alleviate unemployment and contributes to a growth of local economies through remittances and skills (Ghosh, 1992; UNFPA, 1993). In the major countries of origin migrant remittances constitute a very substantial source of foreign exchange, contributing strongly to the balance of payments. Taken together, remittances exceed the flows of official development assistance (Levitt & Nyberg-Sorensen 2004; Naim 2000). Economies of countries such as Albania, Tonga and Lebanon would collapse if remittance flows dried up (Levitt & Nyberg-Sorensen 2004; Becker 2004). They are thought to be crucial for the survival of many communities in developing countries. The foreign exchange received permits countries to import capital goods for investment and capacity utilisation, and remittances deposited in local banks provide capital for local entrepreneurs. According to Nyberg-Sorensen et al. (2003), the literature generally shows a positive effect of transnational networks on development in the countries of origin, perhaps especially at the local level, through remittances, investments, transfers of knowledge and experience, political contributions, and lobbying. Fischer *et al.* (1997), however, state that such positive effects are essentially short-term, and conclude that the long-term effects are undetermined or fairly insignificant.

Migration may thus have positive and negative effects on the countries of origin, as on the countries of destination. Which are the potentially negative and positive effects, and under which conditions do they apply? To which ex-

tent and in what way can development policies take these into account; and how can policies be made to work if there are conflicting views on the benefits of migration? Development may produce more refugees, migrants and displaced persons in the short run, as democratisation processes and the way to good governance tend to be painful and produce discontent among the formerly privileged. Evidence suggests that, in the long run, democratisation is likely to reduce forced migration and displacement. It is not clear if development in general will have the same effect; few studies have concentrated on that relationship (Nyberg-Sorensen et al, 2003).

A significant part of recent and current research focuses on the areas of remittances brain drain versus brain gain, and – to some extent - (temporary) return. Central themes are how recruitment, remittances and return migration may be used to stimulate development (that is, sustainable growth, social advancement, human empowerment and equity). Increasingly, migrants themselves and their offspring are looked upon as sources for development, not only because of the quantitative importance of remittances, but also because of the growing diversity of transnational ties and activities in a globalising economy. Current policy thinking on the mobilisation of migrants' resources centres on several aspects: human capital (transfer of skills and knowledge), social capital (family and community ties and bonding), affective capital (personal affinities), financial capital (remittances, foreign direct investment and trade) and local capital (communities of origin) (IOM, 2005).

To fit this theme of development within the EUROLINKS FS framework and strategic research line, research projects should not focus exclusively on the impact of migration on sending societies, but also on other relevant factors, such as the relations between sending and receiving societies, the relation with the development of migrant communities in receiving societies etc. The research theme overlaps inevitably with the other three themes, but supplements these themes when the focus is adjusted towards financial and technological remittances. It is also possible to envisage this theme as an overarching theme with regard to some of the potential project proposals, as long as the links with and impact on receiving societies is not neglected. Departing from the central question, while building on the existing body of research and taking into account both the expertise of the IMISCOE members (and policy concerns regarding development and poverty eradication on the one hand and international migration on the other hand), four fields of interest the research could cover are:

- a) In which ways can and do migrants contribute to the development of their countries of origin and how are these initiatives related to other linkages between sending and receiving societies?
- b) What institutional arrangements between sending and receiving countries do migrants set up to this purpose, or in which initiatives do they take part?
- c) What, in turn, is the effect of migration flows, transnational initiatives of migrants and the development of other links between sending and receiving societies on return and reinsertion, or on circular migration?

- d) Is there a relation between the participation and integration of migrants in the receiving societies and their development oriented activities? And how does their development oriented activities impact on the receiving society and on the relations between the sending and receiving societies?

Research within this research line should take on a transnational perspective. For example, if a concrete project chooses to focus on remittances and development, it ought to consider not only the effects of remittances on development, but also, for instance, the differential effects of remittances according to variations in developmental characteristics of both sending and receiving societies, economic and other relations between these societies, characteristics of the migration flows and migrant communities in the receiving societies, the impact of the development oriented activities of migrants on the public discussion in the receiving society, etc. Involvement of partners in both sending and receiving areas is particularly relevant in studying these linkages.

The primary focus of the proposed research is on the functioning of the meso level, studied within the context of structures on macro-level. Thus, research should focus on institutional arrangements between sending and receiving societies set up by migrants to the purpose of development, or with a significant direct or indirect impact on the development of the sending countries.

Some ideas for comparative projects are:

- Transnational activities of different types of migrants, for example refugee flows from Sri Lanka or Iran to Europe; or flows of highly skilled migrants from India to the UK. Labour migration of low skilled migrants and highly skilled migrants will have different positive and negative effects on the countries of origin. The interest of the EUROLINKS strategic research line lies in analysing and explaining differences between these types of migrants in setting up institutional arrangements aiming at or resulting in economic development of the society of origin. To limit the range of variables, the comparison could focus on the differences between, for instance, highly skilled (and low skilled) Moroccan migrants in France and in the Netherlands, and whether and how different historical and political relations between sending and receiving countries affect migrants' links with their countries of origin, through remittances, investments, transfers of knowledge and experience, etc.
- Systems with larger return-migration, such as migration between Southern European countries and North-Western Europe. Countries differ in the assistance they provide to returning migrants. Some of them developed programmes to assist migrants to return to their countries of origin, and increasingly "forced" return is being discussed. Return programmes may or may not have a development component, apart from the individual assistance given. The majority of those who return do so without assistance, however. Does assisted return migration enhance development? Under what conditions? What are the potentially positive and negative effects of

such policies? What institutional arrangements are set up by return migrants and transnational migrant communities themselves that have a positive impact on development of their economic activities?

- The role of hometown associations (HTA) in different transnational political and economic contexts. Some immigrant communities abroad set up associations to promote infrastructure and social service programmes in their home communities. This may take the form of hometown associations, cooperating with an already-established counterpart group in their home community (Levitt & Nyberg-Sorensen 2004: 5-6). Some governments have actively promoted this development and co-operation with hometown associations, for example the Moroccan government by means of the state-led Hassan II Foundation. This foundation encourages partnerships of migrant associations and host communities (IOM 2003b; Levitt & Nyberg-Sorensen 2004). With the aim of gaining a deeper understanding of the factors that influence the success of such hometown organisations on development, it would be of interest to compare the effect of official policies and activities of the Moroccan state with, for example, those of the Turkish state – which is much less active in this field than Morocco – on the success of hometown organisations. It is important to differentiate between the size of hometown associations. There are some indications that smaller hometown organisations are functioning better than larger ones with regard to promoting their objectives (Mazzucato 2006).

6. Implementing the EUROLINKS Research Line

6.1 Introduction

As mentioned in chapter 4, we have chosen to focus our endeavours in this last year of the EUROLINKS Feasibility team around two selected migration ‘sub-systems’:

- a) Turkey – (Western) Europe, focussing on the role of migrants in the continuation of regular and in irregular forms of migration (together with Cluster A1);
- b) Western Africa – Europe: MAFE European Project proposal to developed with other members of Cluster A2, coordinated by INED, to be submitted within the 7th Framework Programme, topic SSH-2007 3.1.3, “Migration”. This proposal focuses on determinants of migration flows and circulation as well as the impact of migration on economic and urban developmental and social relations).

A third possibility relates to migration systems in which Central and Eastern Europe is involved, and especially the migration subsystems as they have developed during the past few years between the old and the new Member states of the EU. First steps towards the development of proposals could be taken next to the A2/B3 Conference in Warsaw 23-24 April.

These three activities centre around three main migration systems in which Europe is involved at the start of the 21st century.

In addition, there is a possibility to organise activities with regard to the development of a proposal within the 7th Framework Programme (FP7) on “Development paths in an historical and comparative perspective and their impact on Europe” (Topic SSH-2007 4.1.2) in line with the main ideas formulated in this EUROLINKS Feasibility Study on migration and development. This would offer the opportunity to develop a more integrated research programme proposal directly inspired by the leading ideas of this Feasibility Study on the relation between migration and development.

Two main motives for these choices are:

- Several of the clusters are already considering research activities that fit well into some of the research lines proposed by EUROLINKS. Therefore, in order to implement EUROLINKS recommendations into actual research plans, it is preferable from a pragmatic point of view to link up with or support such ongoing activities within the IMISCOE Network and organise a limited number of small workshops with researchers interested in developing research proposals. By doing so, we will fulfil another task given to EUROLINKS, which is to build bridges between IMISCOE and researchers and research institutes outside the network, in view of establishing more structural forms of co-operation in the future. It is almost needless to say that the workshops will be organised in close co-operation with the relevant clusters, particularly with their chairs.
- The concrete possibilities offered by the 7th Framework Program with regard to financing proposals on issues of migration and on development.

6.2 Western Africa – EU migration system: the MAFE European Project Proposal

Actions to develop this possibility for a project proposal in line with the ideas of this FS are already underway. In January, a meeting was co-sponsored by IMISCOE Cluster A2 and INED, as a preparatory discussion with a view to putting forward a bid to the 7th Framework Research Programme of the European Commission within the theme of ‘migration’. The development of the proposal is coordinated by Cris Beauchemin of the INED (Paris). Several European research institutes (both IMISCOE and non-IMISCOE members) and researchers from institutes in the sending countries of Senegal, Congo and Ghana are involved in the development of the proposal.

The aim of the project would be to collect and disseminate unique, reliable and representative data on the characteristics and behaviour of migrants from Sub-Saharan countries to Europe, both documented and undocumented. Using these data, the project would then aim to provide policy makers with new and accurate analyses on:

- The changing patterns of African migration to Europe;
- The determinants of this migration, and of return and circulation of migrants; and
- The socio-economic and demographic changes that result from international migration in the European, but in particular in the African societies. It is the intention to give special attention to the changes in gender relations and urban development in African societies caused partly or mainly by migration and migrants' involvement in their societies of origin.

The project is a logical extension of a current project that is being piloted in Senegal and DR Congo by INED (Paris) and UCL (Belgium) respectively, and bears many similarities with a smaller project on Ghana-Netherlands transnationalism recently completed by Amsterdam (Mazzucato).

It is obvious that the project fits perfectly with the aims of the EUROLINKS FS to study migration subsystems comparatively and from a transnational perspective. The focus on the impact of migration on urban development and gender relations develops some of the ideas of the second theme of the previous chapter.

6.3 Turkey - EU system

The EUROLINKS FS team intends to arrange a special meeting in conjunction with the workshop on 'Post-enlargement migration, transit migration and the future of control' that will be organised by clusters A1 in Rome, 2-4 May 2007. In the margins of this conference selected participants could discuss the possibility of developing a research proposal on the second theme of this FS on the role of migrants and migrant communities in the continuation of migration, both regular and irregular forms. The Turkey-Western Europe subsystem is one of the main subsystems with regard to migration towards Europe. This EUROLINKS FS research theme is of particular interest to the A1 Cluster. Therefore we intend to organise a workshop in Rome to which some of the members of A1 will be invited, along with other IMISCOE researchers interested in Turkey. A potential partner in Turkey is Professor Ahmet İçduygu of Koç University in Istanbul; he has already expressed an interest in strengthening his co-operation with IMISCOE.

6.4 Central and Eastern European migration system

The Warsaw Conference on Transnationalism in Central and Eastern Europe, organised by clusters A2 and B3 at 23-25 April 2007, could offer another opportunity for promoting the integration of the key insights, questions and themes of the EUROLINKS FS into the activities of IMISCOE clusters. Although the EUROLINKS FS team will not be able to attend this meeting, it is considering other possibilities for stimulating the integration of EUROLINKS FS themes into the development of a proposal on this important migration subsystem as it has developed during the past few years between the old and the new Member states of the EU. This activity should be organised jointly with cluster A2 and/or A1 as well as with the two new IMISCOE member institutes in Warsaw.

6.5 FP7 Theme on Development and Migration

A further option is to develop a proposal for the 7th Framework Program topic "Development paths in an historical and comparative perspective and their impact on Europe", together with other IMISCOE members and other institutes, for a number of collaborative research projects (small or medium-scale focused projects). The deadline is 29th November 2007.

Although the description of this topic in the FP7 programme does not mention the issue of migration, there are several possibilities for developing interesting research proposals on the relation between development and migration.

The description of the topic in the FP7 program is as follows: "The objective is to foster understanding of how development processes have and are being affected by relations between world regions and countries, and the ways in which this is changing, in historical and comparative perspective. Specific themes could include the influence of economic, political, technological and cultural relations on development and its nature, including their role in fostering or hampering paths towards sustainable development; whether and how uneven development is linked to such relations, both past and present; the extent to which historical relationships such as colonial and post-colonial relations affect today's development paths; the role of urbanisation; factors enabling or hampering the building of economic, institutional and social capacity, of resilience to overcome poverty, including impacts of development aid approaches; the possibility for developing countries to define their own policies; gender and development relations. The impact on Europe should be included. A combination of themes and interdisciplinary approaches are encouraged."

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