European Migration: A Sourcebook

Migration is a massive issue today in our increasingly globalising world. The ways we think about migration have been transformed, however, over the last decades as it has become a complex and diversified phenomenon. 'People on the move' has characterised all societies to a greater or lesser extent but the forms this has taken point attention to the transnational character of most societies today.

Migration used to be distinguished in terms of the binary between internal and external migration. The former referred to movement of people within a particular country or particular nation-state borders. The latter referred to movement across these borders. There was also a clear distinction in the past between forced migration and economic migration. The picture today is much more complicated with the phenomenon of transmigration (and transmigrants), where an individual migrates multiple times. People may move, for example, from their first country of destination (say Greece) and then onto a number of different countries looking for the best opportunities for themselves and/or their families. No longer is migration a question of a person moving from her/his homeland to a destination country where they are likely either to settle or to return from eventually (as happened for example with much of the older migrations from Cyprus or other parts of the New Commonwealth countries).

Apart from the transmigrant there is the commuter migrant who comes and goes to and from the homeland (for example this is the case for many professionals from Eastern Europe who commute to and from Northern European countries). In addition there are the so-called family reunification migrants (increasingly being curtailed) i.e. those who come formally or informally to join their families; many of them are women but there are also men in this category.

This brings me to the important point about the increasing feminisation of migration. This is a response to the dissolution of the welfare states of many Northern European countries, leading to the growth of the care industry at the private level. Changes in family structure and the greater insertion of indigenous women in the labour market have led in many countries to the growth of the privatised and state run care system e.g. for the old. It has also led to the expanding role that migrant women play in domestic care as nannies, cleaners and domestic

helpers. This is a phenomenon particularly important in Southern European countries including Greece and Cyprus (see Anthias and Lazaridis, 2000).[1]

I have already hinted about the diversification of skills that migrants have today with many having high educational qualifications, many of which are professional diplomas and competencies. Some of these migrants, despite their high qualifications are able and willing (a constrained choice) to do jobs for which they are over qualified: for example some doctors who are working as taxi drivers or domestic maids.

On top of this there is the wide range of countries from which contemporary migration flows both come from and arrive in. Many of them have been transformed from countries of outward migration to immigration countries, i.e. receiving countries: Greece and Cyprus are examples of such societies. Where the countries from which migrants originated from tended to be countries with some Colonial connection or developing countries, the Eastern European countries have furnished many of today's migrants, both male and female.

As the phenomenon of migration has transformed, the landscape and demographics of Europe (alongside the changes in the boundaries of Europe), social directives and policy initiatives as well as funding opportunities in this area have grown. Academic research and writing has proliferated in the area with new approaches to the phenomenon being introduced alongside debates on new migration, feminisation, deskilling and integration/social cohesion as well as multiculturalist frameworks. These debates involve protagonists and their opponents and a new public, policy and academic discourse on migration which includes issues of class exploitation, emotional labour, cultural hybridity, new identities and new exclusions and violence.

The book 'European Integration: A Sourcebook', however has a more modest agenda for it aims to provide 'a sourcebook' (a challenge in itself). This book, edited by Anna Triandafyllidou and Ruby Gropas, is one of the first publications from the EU Research Project 'POLITIS', funded under the Sixth Framework programme. This has an impressive array of European partners, including Greece and Cyprus and has involved researching foreign residents in 25 countries.

The book aims to be a comprehensive reference for students, practitioners and scholars in Europe. It starts with a first chapter by the editors which provides an overview of migration, particularly focusing on post 1989 Europe. This is followed by 25 country chapters, all of which have a similar format. In each chapter there is an initial clarification of the categories which are considered migrant, an explanation of the national statistical data provided, an overview of migration history over the

last 10-15 years, an account of the migration policies of the country and finally a discussion about how these policies influence the categories of migrants within the country.

There is also a concluding chapter which sets out some common characteristics and comparative aspects as well as attempting to provide a 'schematic grouping' in terms of five subsets within the 25 European states. These are the following: old host countries; recent host countries; countries in transition; small island countries and non-immigration countries. These act as types or models with the first category referring to northern and western European countries, the second to Southern European (Mediterranean) countries, and the third to central and Eastern Europe. Cyprus and Malta are in the fourth category of small island countries and the final category – that of non-immigration countries – comprises the Baltic states, Slovenia and Slovakia.

As well as providing a typology of countries, the concluding chapter sets out a typology of migration pathways. Eight pathways are cited and they are: pathway of co-ethnics and returnees; the colonial and post-colonial pathway; the pre 1989 internal migration pathway; the labour migration pathway; the asylum seeking pathway, the pathway of seasonal and temporary migration; the 'gold-collar pathway' and the pathway of irregular migration. This chapter also considers integration practices within each country such as naturalisation, voting rights and civic and political participation of migrants.

In other words, the book aims to provide a useful sourcebook, ambitious in itself, but not an in-depth analysis of each country or the particular and complex issues in each country or a theoretical framework. The types or models of migration set out in terms of subsets of countries are ways of organising particular similarities and differences and cannot in themselves provide the nuances necessary to capture the complexities in each country. Indeed, it is possible to furnish other subsets which cast a different lens on the phenomena and which would place, for example, Greece and Cyprus together or make a distinction between France, Germany, the UK and Sweden rather than treating them as part of the same model. It would have been useful to have a discussion of the uses of the typologies. The book, in light of the constraints of space, does a useful job. One quibble, however, might be the extent to which the last chapter assumes the typologies it uses rather than reflecting more analytically on them. The extent to which they provide a particular but not necessarily well argued framing for the similarities and differences that are being highlighted, is another issue that can be raised. But in such a volume of only 376 pages for 27 chapters it may have been a tall order to reflect and examine the theoretical principles at work and the heuristic potential in such typologies.

Similar points could be raised in terms of the structure in each chapter that does not consider crosscutting differences of gender as a specific theme (given the particular importance of feminisation) or the issues of informality, legality and integration strategies which relate to debates on integration, citizenship and multiculturalism. But maybe this would have required a companion volume, which hopefully will be forthcoming.

As the book stands, it provides a useful sourcebook for those who want a quick account of what is going on in each country and an assessment along the themes chosen by the editors. One issue however that is central is that migration phenomena are subject to twists and changes at a very rapid rate and therefore a discussion of tendencies and transformations, contextualising migration within the broader parameters of the European and international landscape would have been helpful here so that the material does not date as quickly.

Given space constraints I will now refer briefly to the chapter on Cyprus. This chapter, written by Nicos Trimikliniotis and Corina Demetriou, provides a useful summary and discussion of the major characteristics of migration to Cyprus today. It discusses developments in Cyprus' immigration policy in the context of the political and economic history of Cyprus which are crucially linked. The rapid modernisation of the island post-1974 with its economic imperatives as well as political stalemates have led to policies for the importation of migrant labour to fill shortages in supply, particularly in the service, construction and care sectors. The migration phenomenon and changes in immigration policies in Cyprus in the 1990s are linked to both the internal economic 'needs' of the island and the supply of workers from Eastern Europe after the collapse of the soviet block as well as increasing barriers to migration within 'Fortress Europe. The western and northern European countries themselves were increasingly viewing immigration as a threat to their national culture and society.

The assumption in Cyprus has been that migration is a temporary phenomenon and that migrants should have their permits restricted to a definite time frame, attaching these permits to a specific employer. Cyprus state policy has on the whole treated migrants as a necessary but undesirable intrusion into Cyprus territory and fears of uncontrollable entry, particularly of undocumented and unregulated migrant labour has been a particular concern in public debates, as shown by Trimikliniotis and Demetriou. As they argue, the more recent entry into Europe has led to a rise in the use of Europeanised arguments about migration and the growing awareness of the porosity of the borders of Cyprus vis-à-vis entry to Europe (a porosity also found in Greece) as well as its role as a 'waiting room' for entry into western European countries. However, it is clear in the chapter that on the one hand there have been developments which transform Cyprus both to a country with

sensitivities to migration that now parallel those within the other European nations (for example in terms of directives around integration and potential regularisation and naturalisation law), and on the other, the development of migrant groups who self-organise alongside NGOs who offer advice and support.

However, media and public discourse around migration has tended to refer to the negative consequences of migration and mirrors some of the ideas found in Thatcher's fears of being 'swamped' in the UK. Whilst the more progressive media, unions and politicians are less xenophobic on the whole, government representatives have not been so quick to grasp the more positive aspects of immigration nor has there been an extensive public debate about the new more multiethnic society that Cyprus is becoming. It is hoped that the recent change of President and power base in Cyprus will push Cyprus forward into exploring the type of Cyprus and Cypriot identity that can be produced, particularly in symbiosis with a potential new framework which also links Turkish, Maronite, Armenian and all the other ethnicities on the island. In such a context a new debate on Citizenship and belonging in Cyprus is badly needed.

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Note

1. Floya Anthias and Gabriella Lazaridis (eds) (2000) Gender and Migration in Southern Europe: Women on the Move. Oxford/New York, Berg.