
TRENDS OF IMMIGRANTS INTEGRATION IN EUROPEAN UNION

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Abstract: The integration of minorities resulting from immigration is conditioned by positive attitudes towards the ethnic and racial groups, by reducing prejudices and by the receiving society which has to accept the idea of cultural diversity. Race, racism, ethnicity are widely debated terms, often controversial. As far as racial and ethnic discrimination is concerned, we may say that it is assimilated into the history of migration by public reactions towards immigrants or by controlling migration flows. The host countries are not socially homogeneous, thus the integration does not follow the same social form, but, in any case, its purpose is the elimination of certain legal, cultural and linguistic obstacles considering that integration process has a triple legitimisation: economic, social and political.

The purpose of the paper consists of presenting the challenges involved in diminishing the restrictions in the migration process by presenting the importance of theoretical approach of migration theories, and, in this regard, it seems that it is not enough only to declaratively eliminate racial and ethnic discrimination from the immigration policy. An equally important task is to take into consideration that which is required in order to correct the injustices of the past and to draw certain beneficial integration policies both for endogenous and for exogenous people. The normative theorists who debate the ethics of migration and especially those who try to defend a certain form of the right to exclude potential immigrants, have an extremely important role in issuing a framework of non-discrimination for the immigrant minorities.

Keywords: *migration, discrimination, theories of migration, integration*

Introduction

The concept of *migration* could be defined simply as the movement of population across the border of a state in order to set its residence (Geddes 2003:7). In a broader view, in legal terms it involves the mandatory requirement of residence establishment in the country of destination, this movement is seen by the states receiving the population as *immigration* and by the states from which the population leaves as *emigration*. Conceptually, *migration* cannot be defined only from this basic, simplified and reductionist perspective taking into account that there exist many types of population mobility crossing the borders of one state and each type may be analyzed and explained from different perspectives. The establishment of the type of migration is based on the existence of several analysis criteria for this phenomenon: national territory (internal migration), time factor (short, medium or long-term), degree of constraint (free migration, forced migration) number of people (individual, collective or group migration), legal status of migrates (legal, illegal migration), aim and determining causes (work, studies, family integration) (Rotariu 2009:150-154).

Philippe Legrain, the author of the book *Aftershock. Reshaping the World Economy after the Crisis*, believes that migration can no longer be explained as the movement of

population into one direction as long as it has appeared lately mostly as a temporary phenomenon that should be properly reflected in the current debate (Legrain 2010:238). Practically, the way of defining the concept of *migration* therefore becomes an arbitrary decision, specific to a certain period of time (Dobson, Koser, McLaughlan and Salt 2001: 25). Briefly, international migration can be defined as a permanent or temporary movement of people across borders of states, increase of migration during limited periods and increase of circular migration and also labor migration through work contracts for various periods of time exemplify the “fineness” of the distinction between permanent and temporary migration (Geddes 2003 :8).

Theories of Migration and Perspectives of Migrants Integration

It is evident that the phenomenon of migration has always existed and our approach falls within the analysis paradigm of S. Glides stating that migrations became *international* after the establishment of national states; the 19th century therefore consolidated the terminology of the phenom (Gildas 2002 :1-4). In support of this argument, we can add the views of Castles and Miller (2003) who stated at the beginning of the second millennium that undoubtedly we live in the age of migration. It forces the social science specialists into studying the complexity of migration from different perspectives: demographic, anthropological, geographical, economic, social, political, legal, etc. All these fields enable us to understand „migration theories in a multidisciplinary approach”, as Brettel and Hollifield explain in their book *Theories of Migration. A Multidisciplinary Approach*. (Table no. 1).

Table no.1 Migration Theories in a multidisciplinary approach

Field	Research Questions	Level of analysis	Dominant theories	Sample hypothesis
Anthropology	How does ethnic identity influence and change the cultural effect of migration?	Micro/individuals, groups, associations	Rationalist, structural and transnational	Social networks help to maintain cultural differences
Demography	How does migration affect migration of population?	Macro/population	Rationalist (borrows a lot from economics)	Migration has a major impact on the size of population and a minor one on its structure by age
Economics	What explains the propensity for migration and its effects?	Micro/individuals	Rationalist: cost-benefit and behavior based on the relation between utility and maximization	Insertion varies depending on the level of human capital of immigrants
Geography	What explains the spatial patterns of migration?	Macro, meso and micro/individuals, groups, associations	Rationalist, structural and trans-national	Integration depends on ethnic networks and patterns of residents
History	How do we understand immigrants' experience?	Micro/individuals and groups	Avoids theory and testing hypotheses	Does not apply
Law	How does law influence migration?	Macro and micro/political and legal system	Institutional and borrows from all social sciences)	Rights create stimulating structures for migration and integration
Political Science	Why states face difficulties in migration control?	More macro/international and political system	Institutional and rationalist	States are often dependent on interests supported by pro-immigrants

Sociology	What does insertion and exclusion explain?	Macro/ethnic groups and social classes	Structural and institutional	Integration varies depending on social and human capital
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Source: Brettel and Hollifield (2008)

First migration studies appeared in the 19th century when Max Weber wrote about Polish migration (1892) and Ravenstein proposed the migration laws. Ernest Georg Ravenstein (1885, 1889) initiated the analysis of migration by formulating „laws of international migration”, an approach further developed by specialists from different areas of social sciences that tried to explain social, cultural, economic and political consequences of migration. The common feature of these studies was approaching processes of migration as single and bi-directional flows (emigration, immigration or return migration). In turn, these flows are caused by a series of isolated factors of political and economic nature, such as the *push-pull factors* type (Lee 66:47-57). Zelinsky later presents migration as a stage development, a process caused by the development of societies and their inclusion into international economic circuits (1971). Hania Zlotnik suggests an analysis of migration that includes: economic and sociological theories, mobility transition theory, contribution of political sciences and also a systemic approach (Zlotnik 2003:55-78).

The economic analysis is based on four theories: neoclassical, new economy of migrants, dual labour market and world systems theories. Neoclassical theories explain migration as a consequence of payment differences of workers in different national states. Migration becomes a process of redistribution of workers in areas lacking economic potential but increased availability of labor force for areas with economic potential but with no labor force. According to this model, the decision to immigrate is exclusively dominated by the supply and demand logic and it should appear after a process of rational analysis of economic opportunities. The criticism of this model is related to the individual decision to immigrate, as it is often influenced by political, cultural and economic factors and not by a process of rational decision of social agents (Phizacklea 1998:21-37).

Approaches provide nuances to classical economic theory aimed to emphasize the human capital theory by means of cost-benefit ratio, as well as using the behavioral model (Boyle, Halfacree, Robinson 1998). Costs are represented by expenses generated by the travel to destination, living expenses, loss of household and emotional discomfort of the immigrant. Benefits are given by the workplace at new destination and there are also cultural, social and community benefits in the new community. On the one hand, this approach analyzes the actors involved in migration, and, on the other, it provides a structural and risk analysis. Migrants supported by the household got o areas with low risk, dominating the rural-urban migration. The effects are local disequilibrium generated by the lack of resources in family where there are no migrants. This theory is criticized for insufficient analysis of risks in countries of destination as especially irregular migration involves multiple risks for migrants.

Structural models present migration „as a result of social organization at the macro level land it is believed that certain contexts and forms of socio-economic organization generate migration” (Anghel and Horvath 2009:33). New economy of migrants has at its core the family group that focuses both on increase of income and risk minimization, opposite to neoclassical economic theory that was centered around the action of individuals. This model is easy to identify in Romania, where during communist period, the rural-urban commuting

compensated the income from agriculture of survival and after 90s, work-related temporary migration has been a way of reducing negative effects caused by considerable reduction of the industrial sector and economic downfall.

The *push-pull* model emphasizes the „structural factors” that lay at the foundation for the decision to migrate. For instance, high unemployment, violating the rights of individuals, natural disasters have been the push factors that make the individuals immigrate to other, more attractive destinations in terms of economic, social, cultural and geographical conditions. Pull factors have been represented by a set of employment, educational, professional training and other opportunities.

Table no. 2 Push-pull factors

Push factors	Pull factors
Decline in national resources or decline in demand for certain goods: closure of some mines, decreased timber production and decreasing agriculture; Rising unemployment due to the incompetence of management, changing needs of employees or automation needs; Ethnic religious or political discrimination; Cultural alienation from a community; Limited employment or marriage prospects; Departure due to natural or humanitarian disasters;	Increased employment opportunities; Higher income opportunities; More opportunities for education and specialization; More friendly environment and better living conditions; Migration caused by dependence on a person who has already migrated (family reunification); Richer environment in terms of cultural, intellectual life or entertainment.

Source: adapted from Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson (1998) apud Anghel and Horvath (2009)

Features of labor market – more specifically labor force demand from the country of immigration – lay the foundation of the *dual or segmented labor market theory* (Piore 1979). The labor market is divided into two sectors: a primary labor force market including well-paid, stable jobs and a second sector of jobs with opposite features (poorly paid, unstable, etc.). Often, in economically highly developed societies, individuals do not apply for jobs on the secondary labour market viewing them as inappropriate for their social status and they prefer long-term unemployment. The secondary labor market therefore is left to migrant population.

World-systems theory that is based on the approach of Immanuel Wallerstein, analyzes migration in the context of world economic relations (Wallerstein 2005). The development of capitalism at the global scale and the effects produced by the continuous movement of capitals and the transformation of economies in different states causes permanent fluctuations of demand on the labor market that are regulated by the migrating population.

The theory of transition mobility was initially developed by analyzing the evolution of mortality and fertility phenomena, later Wilbur Zelinsky introduced the phenomenon of migration (Zelinsky 1971:221). The fact that structural theories are generally argued by means of economic factors, could be the main criticism, also supplemented by the absence of the analysis of social agents involved in migration, namely, the individuals. The contribution of

political science has been supported by Hania Zlotnik, mainly in terms of the role played by the national states in migration.

For a broader view of migration, *integrating theories* have been used to analyze both the structure and the social agents involved in migration, one of the most important being: the social networks theory, the institutional perspective and the cumulative causality. Social networks theory explains how migration is caused by migration networks, what contributes to “migration chains permanence” (Anghel and Horvat 2009:36). The importance of networks for the migration from Romania has been researched by several authors, being representative the studies of Dumitru Sandu (2010), Remus Gabriel Anghel (2008, 2009). Social networks are based on some “constitutive elements” (Anghel și Horvath 2009:37-39): *big initial investment* that gradually decrease by the „standardization of strategies” and „increase of the number of migrants”; *the effect of learning* determined by the accumulation of information and its dissemination; *coordination* and other activities that could lead in time to moving from secondary labor market jobs to the primary ones; *adaptive aspirations* develop in time and this way networks become the only means of migration for individuals from the community of origin; appears the *possibility of inefficient configuration*: migrants may obtain disadvantaged social positions or even may become victims of “other networks”, criminal, prostitution or human trafficking networks; *path dependency* makes migration be influenced by previous events; *existence of multiple equilibrium* offers to potential migrants different opportunities given by different networks; *closure effects* are generated by high costs of settling in one place that would make the decision of network relocation difficult to make.

Cumulative causality shows the ability of migration to reproduce itself by the way in which changes in the community of origin determine a process of its perpetuation (Massey, Goldring, Durand 1994).

Regarding the respect of the right of minorities resulting from immigration, there are theories that analyze anti-racist and anti-discriminatory policies that may be included into three main groups: theories that focus on economic competition between aliens and immigrants, theories that underline the cultural conflicts between the two groups and studies that present the impact of international relations and bilateral agreements regarding the control over immigration. Husband believes that that the first category of theories explains racism by means of competition between ethnic groups for limited resources whether for jobs or personal or public wealth (Husband 2000:225-234). In Money’s view, theories concentrated on economic interest present immigration politics as a result of preferences of businesses with host companies or, in other words, these preferences are linked to different economic impact displayed by immigrant groups with the host society (Money 1999:26). According to Fetzer, theories related to *class politics*, to *economic self-interest* involve a threat towards the economic wealth of aliens (Fetzer 200: 5-23).

Theories focused on economic competition involve a double perspective: a marxist and a non-Marxist one. The first approach supported by Castels and Kosack (1997), Bovenkerk (1992) *et al* is based on the fact that economic factors and the political process based on the idea of class generate immigration politics. Based on this approach, capitalist societies import migrant workers so that they can exercise a downward trend to pressure of increasing salaries and, consequently, the employees’ income increases and the influence of

the working class decreases. By encouraging racism, the influence of the working class diminishes. The internal politics and pluralist models ensure the manifestation of a state as a neutral ground for societal interests: interest groups and parties. In the context of economic competition, employers and unions are main interest groups. Besides, both Marxist and pluralist approaches sustain that employer's offers and fluctuations in economy and on the labor market influence the immigration control policies. Piore also analyses the economic system and the struggle between different groups and classes in the explanation of immigration, rejecting though some Marxist argument (Piore 1979:42-43).

The second group of theories that underline cultural differences present racism as a spontaneous response of the endogenous population to what is different, unfamiliar, up to rejecting customs, traditions of the exogenous population (Husbands 2000). Also in this approach, racism may be explained starting from moral and symbolic challenges and up to the analysis of rational status quo of the involved societies. These theories underline the primacy of cultural values and often consider that national identity is a key condition in defining immigration policies (Money 1999:6-7, 7-30). Fetzer develops the „marginality theory” that focuses on the impact of cultural differences between natives and immigrants and the “contact theory” that underlines the impact of the percentage of „foreign-born” population. The marginality theory sustains that recession decreases the opposition towards immigration and immigrants. Brubaker believes that the analysis of *national identity* states that the history of each country, mentality related to citizenship and nationality shape immigration policies. This type of analysis may lead to minimizing the importance of other factors, such as the external and situational ones. It also explains the differences in approaching immigration and citizenship policies by relating to different mentalities of states regarding national identity, as for example the difference between colonial states that widely accept immigration and the ethnic states that have a tendency to reject it. This assumption also supports the difference between homogenous and heterogeneous countries and also the difference between the states establishing citizenship based on „jus sanguinis” or „jus soli”.

Trends of Immigrants Integration

Teitelbaum (1997), Mitchell (1989, 1992), Bach (1990), Zolberg (1993), Koslowski (1998) make references to the third type of studies focused on the impact of international relations and bilateral agreements regarding immigration control policies. Some studies close to the *realist* approach argue that the conflict potential between the states has influenced immigration policies, while other studies that adopt the *neoliberal, institutional* approach refer to the role of national and international institutions in facilitating the cooperation between the states regarding the immigration control policies.

The development of a new economy and perspectives regarding the approaches to immigration and development have been consistent with the third tendency in migration studies and, namely, “the transnational change” in the study of location and integration of immigrant communities in the host countries (Glick Schiller, Basch și Blanc-Szanton 1991, Castles and Miller 2009, Faist 2004). There has been a growing recognition of increasing opportunities of migrants and their families to live trans-nationally and adopt transnational identities (Vertovec 1999, Guarnizo, Portes and Haller 2003). This is linked to improved technical possibilities of migrants to develop ties with their communities of origin by means

of mobile phones, fax, satellite TV and the Internet and send money through global banking systems. This fact allows more and more immigrants and their families to develop a kind of double feeling and devotion, travel between the two states, interact with people, work and do business simultaneously in different places. It is true that immigrants in late 19th and in the 20th centuries kept close trans-national ties but probably the technological revolutions have developed the area of immigrants and their families as to increase the opportunities to live constantly trans-nationally.

Hein De Haas (2005) consider that this trans-nationalization of the life of immigrants generated assimilation models of migrants' integration and also generated a modern concept of nation-state and citizenship. The result is that the precise dichotomy between "origin" or "destination" and categories such as "permanent", "temporary" immigration and "repatriation" has been harder to establish in a world dominated by the lives of immigrants constantly travelling and committing to two or three societies or communities (De Haas, 2005). He believes that this has fundamental effects for the study of migration and development as it involves integration into host societies and commitment to communities of origin that cannot be replaced but they can be complementary. It has been considered for a long time that the integration of migrants would coincide with the gradual weakening of ties with the communities of origin and that "permanent" migration would inevitably be a "loss".

In any case, empirical studies have shown that migrants can maintain trans-national ties for long periods and that these ties can even become trans-generational. Also, these studies show that the commitment of migrants to countries of origin is not dependent on their return and that it could be kept by sending money and ideas by telecommunication means, visits and oscillating forms of migration. Visits to countries of origin and repatriation, money sent back home, trans-national business and investments and political involvement in the countries of origin reflect trans-national character of the life of migrants. The fact that migrants often maintain long-term ties with their countries of origin and that their integration does not necessarily exclude or can even encourage a trans-national commitment puts under a sign of doubt the statement that the departure of migrants should automatically be a loss. The sustainability of transnational ties is supported by the financial means, the money sent back home repeatedly, trans-national marriages and by the involvement of migrants into social, cultural and political life in their countries of origin. Therefore, the immediate interpretation of the commitment of migrants to their countries of origin as a manifestation of their failed integration may be incorrect. To the contrary, a deeper commitment of migrants to the host countries does not necessarily lead to a lesser commitment to their countries of origin as also the contrary is possible. (Snel, Engbersen și Leerkes, 2006).

Conclusions

We may conclude that integrating current migration into a theoretical and objective level of research (normative and institutional) involves the adoption of a set of rules through a joint effort of all EU member states and by means of European immigration policy managed at the supranational level. This seems to be a "saving solution" for the shortcomings in the field of immigration revealed over time: from the lack of clear provisions in the international law related to the respect of the rights of migrant populations to the institutional and political inability of the European Union to approach firmly the status

of constantly moving individuals from the EU or third countries. It is obvious that a supranational commitment to joint policy in the field of immigration could generate disadvantages, or even economic or other types of loss to different states of the European Union and often declared optimism in supporting such a policy has not benefited from the pragmatism needed for its implementation. In the end, successfully “integrated” migrants have increased their financial and human resources that could allow them to make investments or take part in public life in their countries of origin

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