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## **INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND THE DIVERSIFICATION OF EUROPE<sup>1</sup>**

### **Introduction**

The growth and intensification of mostly economic globalisation almost automatically made international population migration to become one of the key problems of contemporary international relations as well as internal politics, also at the European territory. We can say that the processes of globalisation together with technological modernisation have stimulated migration and contribute to its development. The improvement of transport and traffic networks, especially air transport, caused migration to be easier, cheaper and more available. The development of global communication networks resulted in the possibility of easy comparison of individual regions and parts of the world in all aspects of economic and political life. People can discover various “enticements of modernisation” and cultural patterns of affluent societies<sup>2</sup>. Population migration from the poor parts of the world targeting the countries with developed democracy keeps growing in the times of media and information exploitation allowing for the comparison of ways and styles of living in various cultural and political systems. Countries of Western Europe known worldwide for respecting human rights and freedoms and securing the democratic system connected with a certain material standard, this picture of a rich and developed world, have been a magnet pulling migrants from all around the world. International migration has become part of the processes of globalisation. The number of people searching for new economic opportunities has been growing; the chance of keeping in touch between emigrants and their families back in their home countries has improved. Immigrants make emigration possible for their friends and relatives, they provide them with information as well as information support and help them incorporate into the existing migration communities and they also assist them with searching

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<sup>1</sup> This study is the final output of the VEGA 1/0280/11 project – Immigration and the political-economical diversification of Europe.

<sup>2</sup> R. Stojanov, J. Novosák, T. Drobík, T. Siwek, *Migrace jako globální fenomén*, “Mezinárodní politika” 2006, č. 10, p. 15.

for jobs and housing. The common characteristics for the migration behaviour is the effort to find better conditions of living, be of use, and overcome or avoid those limitations that exist in the home country.

In this study we will focus mostly on international migration in Europe, specifically in the European Union, and we will try to show that it is bringing many a problem into political systems of European countries; such problems then significantly influence the politics of liberal-democratic nation-states and are the source of diversification and radicalization of politics in European area.

During the conceptualisation of the topic, it is necessary to base our assumptions on the following premises: The basic frame of reference is the change of migration flows after WWII, when the developed countries of Europe changed from being the countries of emigration into being the countries of immigration. In the course of history, Europe was the source of migration for several regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Since the late 1960s, Europe – and especially its western, economically and politically successful part have become the target of massive migration from the poor and developing countries, particularly from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East and also from the Caribbean. Globalisation has also contributed to the change of traditional migration flows – from the South to the North. This migration direction used to be connected with the geographical distance and historic bonds, especially the colonial ones. The years 1989–1990 became the milestone, when the breakup of the so called Eastern Bloc tore down the up-to-then impermeable borders from the post-socialist countries. Europe became flooded with great numbers of refugees and asylum seekers from the countries of nationalist conflicts at the Balkans and Caucasus. Also the reunification of Germany and thus triggered last wave of return migration have changed the migration map of Europe. Even at the turn of the century there have been many important changes in the migration flows at the expanding European Union territory. New patterns of international population migration include changes in the source and target countries. Intra-European migration flows have taken sides with the existing pressure of migrants from poor countries of the so called third world. Today, new directions can be seen: economic migrants from Eastern Europe have started to flow into the countries of Western Europe; migration from Asia has been growing; legal as well as undocumented employment-seeking migration also from Africa has been keeping its pace. Since the 1990s, international migrants have begun to settle in such countries that used to be up-to-then the source countries of quite extensive migration flows, such as Italy, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Ireland and later also in the V4 countries, mostly in the Czech Republic, but

also in Poland, Hungary and Slovakia<sup>3</sup>. The new patterns include also the change of migrant profiles and strategies. The extent of undocumented (illegal) migration has been growing; the feminisation of migration has deepened, there have been increases in temporary migration as well as of student and qualified non-manual workers.

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, according to the UN statistics, about 175 million people have been living outside the borders of their countries, i.e. more than 3 per cent of the world's population. The data from the UN and International organisation for migration (IOM) estimated the number of migrants in 2005 to be between 185 to 192 million<sup>4</sup>.

S. Huntington says that in 1990 there were about 15.5 million immigrants of the first generation living in Europe and also that immigrants formed seven to eight per cent of population in the largest European countries<sup>5</sup>. According to other statistics, at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, there were 56.1 million migrants of all categories at the European territory forming 7.7 per cent of the population of the continent. To compare, in North America it was 41 million and in Asia 50 million migrants<sup>6</sup>. These figures, however, do not include the great number of undocumented migrants.

The proportion of foreign-born in the total population (in per cent) in selected European countries is shown in Chart No. 1.

**Chart No. 1. The proportion of foreign-born in the total population (in per cent) in selected European countries**

Country	1990	1999	2003	2011
Belgium	9,1	8,8	8,2	13,7
Denmark	3,1	4,9	5,0	8,8
Finland	0,5	1,7	2,1	4,2
France	6,3	5,6	5,6	10,7
Netherlands	4,6	4,1	4,3	10,5
Ireland	2,3	3,1	5,6	19,6
Luxemburg	29,4	36,0	38,9	35,2
Germany	8,4	8,9	8,9	13,1
Norway	3,4	4,0	4,5	10,0
Portugal	1,1	1,9	2,3	8,6
Austria	5,9	9,2	9,4	15,6

<sup>3</sup> For an account of migration history in the Czech Republic see V. Srb, *České země a migrace – retrospektivní pohled*, in: *Mezinárodní migrace v evropském kontextu*, P. Hirtlová, J. Lidák, V. Srb, eds., Nezávislé centrum pro studium politiky, Kolín 2008, s. 263–267.

<sup>4</sup> IOM: *World Migration 2003: Managing Migration – Challenges and Response for People on the Move*, Medzinárodná organizácia pre migráciu, Genève 2003.

<sup>5</sup> S. Huntington, *Střet civilizací. Boj kultur a proměna světového řádu*, Praha 2001, p. 234.

<sup>6</sup> B. Divinský, *Zahraničná migrácia v Slovenskej republike – stav, trendy, spoločenské súvislosti*, Bratislava 2005, p. 40.

Spain	0,7	2,0	4,0	15,2
Switzerland	16,3	19,2	20,1	23,2
Sweden	5,6	5,5	5,3	14,1
Italy	1,4	2,2	3,8	7,4
United Kingdom	3,2	3,8	4,8	11,2

Sources: World Development Indicators 2002, World Bank, p. 372; B. Divinský, *Zahraničná migrácia v Slonenskej republike – stav, trendy, spoločenské súvislosti*, Bratislava 2005, p. 41; H. Fassman, R. Münz, *European Migration in the Late Twentieth Century*, Luxemburg 1994, p. 6. For the year 2011 <http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTDECPROSPECTS/0,,contentMDK:21352016~pagePK:64165401~piPK:64165026~theSitePK:476883,00.html>

We can confirm that in quantitative terms current migration flows do not exceed the migration flows common in other periods of modernity. What has changed, however, is the perception of population migration by the inhabitants of Western or developed societies. The influx of migrants awakens inside these societies concerns about the decline of their national cultures, loss of national identity and leads to the demands of new assimilationism. People of Europe, especially following the terrorist attacks at European territory, have started to realize specifically the presence of the growing Muslim minority; there have been also discussion concerning the correlation between immigration and the failing instruments of multiculturalism and integration; fears of terrorism have also appeared. While before the end of the century migration used to be perceived as a cultural or social threat, more and more Europeans see it now also as a political and security threat.

The idea of a dynamically changing multicultural society, the mixing of cultures and the corresponding problem of identities have become inseparable part of life of contemporary Europe. This phenomenon has become the most discussed question in today's social and political conditions of life in Europe because of the growing antagonisms between local – autochthonous – inhabitants of the individual countries on one side and immigrants on the other side. Due to growing migration, Western European countries have been going back to their traditional, though negatively perceived, multiethnicity. Demographic change, according to S. Castles, does not adequately correspond with the existing political and social institutions of the modern liberal nation-states that have evolved in the context of ethnic population expansion and massive emigration<sup>7</sup>. All Western European countries seek today the balance between the imperative of assimilation of immigrants into their political nations and the recognition of their freedom to keep and cultivate the special bonds inherited in and from their countries of origin. Problems caused by migration vary from social

<sup>7</sup> S. Castles, *Understanding Global Migration: A Social Transforming Perspective*, Conference on Theories of Migration and Social Change, July 2008, [www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/stephen-castles-understandin-global-migration](http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/stephen-castles-understandin-global-migration)

discrimination to political violence. The phenomenon of international migration and immigration has thus become one of the most sensitive topics, which is now under the influence of the context of the security and national interest protection debates, both from real, and especially from symbolic reasons, highly politicised.

As it shows, it is a difficult-to-solve problem; and as P. Svitek states, its substance lies in the fact, that the home population feels somehow flooded with the requirements of toleration from immigrants, who through their behaviour often create the feelings of animosity. The values, patterns of behaviour, religion or eating habits all contribute to the creation of unfavourable relations leading to so-called “social racism”. Such feelings go hand in hand with the fears that the national identity of the respective countries could be endangered. The other side of the coin is the situation when Europeans get the feeling of the lack of toleration from immigrants, who require such toleration while not willing to respect the idea of integration into the society where they are situated<sup>8</sup>. We can thus see the obvious process of development and increase of special subcultures and group identities within western society. The future development is quite open and it is probable that it will be extremely complicated while influencing the political and economic situation in all European countries.

## 1. Theoretical foundations and methodological approaches to the research of international migration

International migration, as we have already indicated, is a very complex, multi-levelled and multidimensional phenomenon. Its research thus requires a multidisciplinary approach so that all aspects from all different scientific perspectives could be captured. That is why it is so difficult to come up with a single universal theory that would cover all aspects of international migration in its complexity. At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century there are several theories trying to explain international migration in today’s globalised world, but none of them is coherent or complete and most of them could be characterised by their multicultural approach<sup>9</sup>. Theoretical research of international migration has not reached such level so that international migration could form a discipline on its own within the scope of social sciences. Up to now, there has not been found, identified or constructed a universal theory of international migration that would be able to embrace all of its relevant aspects. Various

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<sup>8</sup> P. Sitek, *Imigrace, otázka zložitá*, “Mezinárodní politika” 2005, č. 2, p. 27.

<sup>9</sup> R. Stojanov, J. Novosák, T. Drobík, T. Siwek, op.cit., p. 15.

theories differ in their content, scope, scientific level, analytic value, authors as well as the period of their appearance.

We can thus see several competing views that try to explain the most important events in international migration. They differ in the identification of origins of migration flows as well as in their research goals. One needs to take into account that each of the approaches focuses on certain specific issues and so it is not possible to simply compare them; nevertheless it must also be noted, that various theories do not necessarily have to contradict one another.

International migration can be analysed on two levels – macro- and micro-level. Macro theory explains the structural conditions that influence international migration flows. Those can be above all economic, then also political, cultural, legal, demographic or ecological. Micro theories on the other hand try to explain theory at the individual level. They focus on how structural conditions influence the decision-making and behaviour of individuals, families and groups. Such theories arise from the assumption that the social process is simply the aggregation of individual decisions.

One of the theories is the neo-classical theory, according to which international migration is caused by geographical differences in supply and demand on the labour market. It states that people tend to migrate from densely inhabited areas to less-inhabited areas, from low-income regions to regions with the chance of higher income from their economic activity, or that migration is connected with the changes in the economic cycle. Approaches arising from this theory are better-known and used today as the push/pull factors theory or hypothesis. The theory assumes that migration is caused by socioeconomic imbalance between regions where there are factors pushing people away from the area or by other factors that are pulling people into a different target area<sup>10</sup>.

Within the neo-classical economic approach, the best-known is the macroeconomic neo-classical theory that analyses the causes of migration from the point of view of macroeconomic indicators and focuses mostly on finding the causes of migration in the wage-levels and conditions of employment in source and target countries, where the decisive role is played by the levels of wages and rates of unemployment in different regions. Labour migration is then the movement from the place with lack of capital and surplus of labour to places with enough capital and lack of labour – i.e. from villages to cities and from the poorer countries to the industrially developed ones. The theory is seen as unable to explain current migration trends in the

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<sup>10</sup> D. Drbohlav, *Migrační motivace, regionální a sídelní preference obyvatelstva – teoretická východiska v československé a zahraniční literatuře*, "Sociologický časopis" 1990, č. 5, p. 364.

post-industrial society and to incorporate such things that did not exist in the industrial era (undocumented migration, asylum-seekers and refugees movement etc.). The fact is pointed out that the absolutely poorest people only very rarely migrate to the wealthiest regions, though they should be motivated the most to do so. Most migrants are people of the middle social status from regions going through social and economic changes<sup>11</sup>.

On the micro-level we need to present the microeconomic neoclassical theory. According to this model, rational individuals decide to migrate based on the cost-benefit analysis when they expect migration to provide benefits. This model assumes the creation of an immigration market. Information gathered at this market leads many individuals to decide whether it is beneficial for them to stay at their birthplace or not<sup>12</sup>. Different persons from the same country may thus make different decisions in terms of the country of immigration. This theory could be complemented by the theory of the new economics of migration, where the key concept is that migration decision is not made by individuals but by larger groups of people with a certain connection among them – such as families or communities. In such units people act collectively to maximize their income as well as to minimize the risks connected with the working of different markets, not only the labour market.

The theory of dual labour market and the theory of world systems in general ignore the micro-level decision making and propose that international migration grows from internal demand for labour in modern industrially developed countries. Both these theories understand migration as the natural result of economic globalization and market relaxing across national borders.

Representatives of the first theory see international migration as caused by the permanent demand for immigrant labour that is intrinsic to the economic structure of developed countries. Immigration is thus not caused by push factors in the source countries but by pull factors in the target countries.

The world systems theory proposed by I. Wallerstein sees international migration as a result of forming capitalism in developing countries and a structural result of market expansion within the world political hierarchy<sup>13</sup>. This theory states that the penetration of capitalist economic relations into non-capitalist or pre-capitalist societies creates mobile population inclined to migrate. Changes root out the local

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<sup>11</sup> S. Castles, M.J. Miller, *The Age Of Migration – International Population Movements in the Modern World*, New York 1993, p. 20.

<sup>12</sup> G.J. Borjas, *Economic Theory and International Migration*, “International Migration Review” 1989, No. 32, p. 460–461.

<sup>13</sup> I. Wallerstein, *The modern world system: capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world economy in the sixteenth century*, New York 1974.

populations from their traditional ways of living and force them to move to peripheral areas or to seek sources of living abroad<sup>14</sup>. That leads to migration flows facilitated by transport and communications structures built to penetrate more easily into the countries of world's periphery. During the process of migration, new conditions are formed that start to act as independent causes leading to the fact that international population migration has become a never-ending process.

Some socio-economic theories rise from the combination of economic and social factors. Here we must mention the gravitation theory connecting migration, distance and population. With the growing distance between two regions the intensity of migration decreases; on the other hand migration is in proportion to relevant populations. Theory of humane ecology has been built upon the concept of ecological complex comprising four elements: population, environment, technology and organization. This theory is based on the assumption that migration is a balance-setting process among the size and composition of population and its organizational structure. Imbalance is then caused by changes in technology and environment<sup>15</sup>.

At this level it is necessary to mention the networks theory that emphasizes the importance of interpersonal relations in the migration process. Migrant network is a set of bonds connecting migrants settled abroad and non-migrants in the source and target countries through the bonds of family, friendship and ethnicity<sup>16</sup>. Such connections become a certain form of social capital that provide for sources of information, social, financial and other support and assistance. Migrant groups often form their own economic and social infrastructure. Networks increase the probability of international migration development as they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the net benefits of migration. Governments are neither able to control such migration flows, nor can they control the informal networks; moreover, the development of these networks is being made easier through the policies of family reunification.

It is also necessary to mention the institutional theory that puts emphasis on the influence of institutional subjects on migration processes<sup>17</sup>. When migration processes start in the international arena, private and non-profit institutions and organisation that seek to satisfy the growing demand created by the inequalities among a great number of people and a limited number of immigration visas start to develop and multiply. Such imbalance creates lucrative economic conditions for

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<sup>14</sup> D.S. Massey et al., *Causes of migration*, in: *The Ethnicity Reader. Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*, Blackwell 1997, p. 262–263.

<sup>15</sup> B. Divinský, op.cit., p. 22.

<sup>16</sup> S. Castles, M.J. Miller, op.cit., p. 22–24.

<sup>17</sup> D.S. Massey et al., op.cit., p. 263–264.

entrepreneurs offering their services for a fee as well as for illegal people smugglers, document-forgers, loan-sharks, accommodation providers or marriage organizers with citizens from the target countries, etc. All such institutions and organizations support the development of migration and during time they become well-known to migrants and represent social capital that makes the migration decision-making easier. Similar to the network theory, the institutionalized migration flow becomes less and less dependent on the circumstances that had created it. Government efforts to limit migration flows tend to support the increase in the black market that is of course followed by the negative reception of humanitarian organizations.

From the conceptual point of view, Europe has witnessed the chain migration model as proposed by Castles and Miller who, in our opinion, depict in the best way the internal dynamics of European migration processes. Emphasis is put on the informal social networks among immigrants and the home society, but it takes also into account the relations among migrants and the host society. Each single migration is a very specific process; however, common features may be identified among them. This process is depicted by Castles and Miller in their four-level model:

- The first phase represents the temporary labour migration of young economically active labourers, mostly male, together with the remittance of their earnings and ongoing orientation on the home country.
- In the second phase the stay in the host country becomes longer and social networks develop there that are based on the bonds of family relationships or the region of origin together with providing mutual assistance in the new environment.
- The third phase brings family reunification and it is connected with the growing feeling of long-term settlement, orientation on the host country and the creation of ethnic communities with their own institutions – associations, clubs, shops, cafés etc.
- The fourth phase represents permanent settlement dependent on government policies and the behaviour of the local population of the host country. It leads either to the guarantee of the permanent status and possibly to the acquisition of citizenship or to political exclusion, social and economic marginalization and formation of permanent ethnic minorities<sup>18</sup>.

This model, according to its authors, depicts the migration processes from the area of the Mediterranean Sea to the countries of Western Europe and Australia as well as from Latin America and Asia to Northern America after 1945. The model could also be used to understand migration from former colonies to the original

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<sup>18</sup> S. Castles, M.J. Miller, *op.cit.*, p. 25–28.

colonial metropolises. It however cannot satisfactorily explain the migration movements of refugees and highly qualified labour force.

Besides the above mentioned ones, there are many more models and theories trying to answer the questions concerning causes of international migration flows. We have tried to present the most representative ones. The research of current migration processes using methods and tools of various disciplines will certainly bring forward a number of other approaches and hypotheses attempting to explain this highly complex phenomenon of our presence. At this point, based on the above mentioned, it is however necessary to point out that it is practically impossible and in a short-time span unreal to expect a formulation of a general and universal theory of international migration that would be able to cover all forms and varieties of international migration. The complexity of the phenomenon comprises the heterogeneity, the existence of various factors that combined form – broadly speaking – an unlimited number of different alternatives. So it might be of question, given the complexity of the topic and the necessary interdisciplinary approach, whether a general theory of international migration is desirable at all. According to S. Castles, the goal of theoretical research in the area of international migration should be more the identification of a conceptual framework that would allow us the theoretical and methodological orientation for the research of various migration processes than the aspiration to create a general and all-inclusive universal theory of international migration<sup>19</sup>.

## **2. Migration, the national liberal state – the politicization of international migration**

Taken into account any delimitation thereof, we can generally state that Europe is currently a territory where cultures, religions and value systems that have formed in various civilization conditions for centuries blend. For several decades Europeans have been discussing and trying to solve problems connected with minorities, trying to prevent their isolation and exclusion from the majority society. Minorities' rights protection has been understood as the basic condition for sustaining stability and peace.

On one side, the phenomena of minorities and difference have been approached as a social problem with significant humane content, where the central position is given to men, their living needs and interests. On the other one, manifestations of

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<sup>19</sup> S. Castles, op.cit.

new racism, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, religious intolerance as well new semi-military militias, nationalistic groupings and other various forms and manifestations of intolerance have appeared.

Political practice, especially during the period of economic recession and growing unemployment, does not often seem to be looking for impartial theoretical understanding and explanation of the above stated problems; it seeks a purposeful and partial justification of the often purpose-built policies, especially during the periods of elections. That leads to the creation of considerable difficulties.

As a proof we can see the growth of foreign-born population of the EU-15 that grew more than fourfold between 1950–2000. In the symbolic political discussion, the terms migration, immigrant and immigration have been used as a negative symbol not only for specific real social and economic problems (crime, unemployment or unsatisfactory housing policies), but also for the threat for the stability of values and institutions of the liberal nation-state, for the cultural and social cohesion of the majority society, and after the terrorist attacks of 2001 also as an unprecedented security threat.

International migration, and above all the uncontrolled movement of people crossing the borders of nation-states tend to mostly challenge the idea of sovereignty immanently based on the principle of territory. Thus we can state that the liberal nation-states have been in the field of migration policies gradually caught in the trap of the so called liberal paradox (caused by the internal nature of their regimes as well as by external globalization and transnational processes) that strongly limits their manoeuvring space. The gap between restrictive forms of immigration policy required by general public and the immigration policy implemented in reality has been growing with the result of many different and in the long run unresolved problems connected with the situation of immigrants not being accepted (and integrated)<sup>20</sup>.

We can confirm it being a problem when we compare the economic boom, social factors and the connected wave of migration at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Current wave of globalization is connected with a trend – especially by the highly developed countries, i.e. the countries of the global core, to limit and put barriers to the paths of free population migration, mostly from the low developed countries, i.e. from the world's periphery. It can be proven by the fact that while in the 1970s there were only

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<sup>20</sup> An illustrative example of the importance of the liberal paradox may be the attempts of Western countries to stop the immigration of unskilled foreign workers since the late seventies of the last century. Despite intense verbal and actual efforts of the government apparatuses as well as of the legislative bodies to eliminate migration, it successfully went on, based not any more on labour migration, but mainly on the principle of family reunification. M. Čechovský, *Fenomén (i)migrace a imigrační politika Evropské unie*, "Disertační práce", Brno 2010, p. 60, 62.

about 7 per cent of the world's governments trying to limit the international migration flows; currently it is up to 40 per cent of the states of the world<sup>21</sup>.

Western countries have been confronted with the sharp political, social and economic changes since the 1990s. Even here we could see the processes of disintegration and individualisation connected with even larger conflicts of identities and losses of orientation. All of those have been complemented by several crisis phenomena in the form of economic difficulties, growing unemployment and impoverishment or the fear of them, in the form of erosion of traditional social contexts of living and in the field of politics also in the form of dissatisfaction with the policies of established parties both in government and in opposition as well as with the gradual relaxing of political partisan affiliation of voters to such parties.

The domestic policy result of immigration is the growing percentage of voter preference of European far-right parties that have based their programmes and manifestos on verbal attacks on immigrants, showing thus the un-preparedness of the original population for non-conflicting cohabitation with the members of other nations, cultures or civilizations<sup>22</sup>. Public opinion is only insufficiently and shallowly informed about migration and immigration and it is difficult to assess which claims have been based on the serious evaluation of facts and which only on intuitive concerns or fears. Important role is thus played by the information deficit of society and that is why it is so simple to manipulate the uninformed public through simplified and populist statements and misuse of symbols and emotions. Citizens – voters defend themselves against real threats that they see in connection with globalization tendencies, crime and migration and they seek such political party or movement that would be able to make a good impression on them. Political confrontation connected with the issues of international migration meant that the public more and more tended to sympathise with xenophobic political powers, be it latently or openly. Such tendency we were able to see at the electoral results in most Western European countries with the move to the right. It should be noted that not always that was a behaviour that could be classified as far-right. Many European right-wing politicians have started to realize that immigration, immigrants and the integration of minorities into the majority society have become such a problem that they would constitute a new

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<sup>21</sup> *International Migration*, Sopemi 2002, p. 52.

<sup>22</sup> For example, the BNP (British National Party) in its 2010 election manifesto proposed to stop all immigration to Britain, deportations of illegal immigrants as well as of all foreigners convicted of crime in Britain. J. Kohoutek, *Politické elity a jejich vztah k imigrantům: Analýza programů politických stran ve Velké Británii před volbami v roce 2010*, in: M. Novák, J. Kohoutek, *Politická kultura mocenských elit v éře globalizace*, Nezávislé centrum pro studium politiky, Kolín 2012, p. 65.

battleground for the clash of European left and right<sup>23</sup> The tendency to the right or extreme right seems to have its historical logic.

The issue of migration, immigration and mutual understanding has become an important topic of electoral campaigns in Western Europe and since the 1990s also in several countries of the former communist bloc. The position concerning migrants became a basal part of the government programmes of European cabinets<sup>24</sup>. European political elites follow the requirements of their voters and loudly and strongly voice their opinion that in the case of immigration, the capacity of Europe, with the exception of highly qualified labour force, has been filled. K. Bade notes that in the ranks of general public there is the growing fear of aliens while “up there” there is the growing fear of own citizenry – voters<sup>25</sup>.

The greatest fears for Europe today come from intercontinental migration, especially from the countries of the Third World, even though two thirds of Western European migrants come from the East and only one third from the South. Eastern European migrants are, however, seen in a more positive light by the Western European public, as they come from the same civilization sphere and do not pose a threat for the democratic systems of European countries. In the 1990s, the intercontinental migration from the South going to Europe increased by 1 to 2 per cent while the migration from the East increased by 21 per cent. Nevertheless, there are still fears, especially connected with the political development in the countries of Northern Africa, of the African “march” to Europe<sup>26</sup>. Here the greatest perceived threat, especially for Italy and Spain, is the arrival of undocumented migrants on ships from Africa. In the summer of 2006, there were 25 thousand immigrants coming to Spain from Morocco and sub-Saharan Africa. Spain has reacted by the externalization of the problem and by intense co-operation with African countries, especially with Morocco, where most of the ships come from. It has also signed treaties of re-admission with Mauritania, Mali, Nigeria, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau and other countries of the region. The goal is to build retaining camps on the coasts of Africa and to prevent migrants from reaching the Spanish territory.

A very similar situation have taken place lately in Italy, where undocumented migration has been enacted as a crime. The situation is alarming. According to the Italian ministry of the interior, in the first half of the year 2006 only 178 ships arrived

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<sup>23</sup> I. Samson, *Európa: Posun doprava*, “OS” 2002, roč. VI, č. 6, p. 59.

<sup>24</sup> R. Štefančík, *Problém migrácie vo svetovej politike*, in: *Medzinárodné vzťahy 2007 – Energetická politika EÚ a boj proti klimatickým zmenám*, Ekonom, Bratislava 2007, p. 740.

<sup>25</sup> K.J. Bade, *Evropa v pohybu. Evropská migrace dvou století*, Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Praha 2004, p. 369.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 417.

at the coasts of the Lampedusa island carrying 10 414 people aboard<sup>27</sup>; while currently, after the fall of the regimes in Tunisia and Libya, it was more than 6 thousand people in one week, which is more than the population of the said Mediterranean island. News concerning the living conditions in the refugee camps in Libya, Mauritania or Morocco are alarming and the death toll enormous<sup>28</sup>.

The European Union has been providing resources for building retention camps in Mauritania and the Spanish border police have been operating at the territory of Mauritania itself. In May 2010, on the Italian initiative, a meeting of ministers of interior of Italy, France, the United Kingdom, Spain and Poland, or so called Group of Six – G6 – took place. The talks concentrated on the issue of limiting the maritime migration. Questions such as how to stop the influx of African migrants, border protection or re-admission of undocumented or illegal migrants were discussed<sup>29</sup>. Italy, above all, stated that the Mediterranean countries cannot bear the burden of the “boat people” alone and that responsibility should be evenly divided and Europe must work together. However, the results of the meeting have only a limited influence, as being shown by the state of mutual negotiations between Italy and France concerning the Libyan refugees. According to data, in the first half of 2011, more than 600 refugees died in the waters of the Mediterranean Sea on their way to a more secure and better future<sup>30</sup>. In spite of that, various political groupings have tried to solve such phobia by very radical means. We can mention for example the MEP for the British National Party Nick Griffin who shocked the public with his statements that the boats with African immigrants should be sunk<sup>31</sup>. Here we can add that the common EU immigration policy does not work; the agreement has only been reached in the area of admitting the highly qualified labour force, increasing the border control

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<sup>27</sup> C. Paraschiv, *Afričané a tlukot na mokré dveře Středozeří*, [www.migraceonline.cz/e-knihovna/?x=2054096](http://www.migraceonline.cz/e-knihovna/?x=2054096)

<sup>28</sup> The rewards for Gaddafi were the agreements on the financial support of the EU of several million EUR to build migration “capacities” of the dictator’s regime. It was no co-incidence that one of first Gaddafi’s threats after the beginning of the conflict in Libya was the threat of releasing the migrants to Europe. M. Rozumek, *Uprchlíci z Líbye rozdělují Evropu*, <http://migraceonline.cz/e-knihovna/?x=2286497>

<sup>29</sup> FRONTEX – the European border management agency with its seat in Warsaw, Poland, has been founded in 2005 as an independent and specialized agency with the goal of operation coordination among the EU member states in the area of the outer border security. It is thus responsible for the outer EU border protection. The main goal of FRONTEX is mostly to prevent third country nationals from entering the territory of the EU. It also has the responsibility of migrant re-admission and other operations. The agency has a substantial budget that has been growing since its conception. The agency has got helicopters, air crafts and boats to cope with undocumented migration into the EU countries.

<sup>30</sup> M. Rozumek, *op.cit.*

<sup>31</sup> BNP is generally known for organizing anti-immigration demonstrations against migrants living in the United Kingdom, <http://www.topky.sk/cl/11/506317/Lode-s-imigrantmi-treba-potapat-tvrdi-europoslanec>

mechanisms on the common border and the construction of retention facilities in often non-democratic countries.

### 3. Adherents of Islam and Europe

The most recent problem that affects current events in Europe, in relation to the phenomenon of international migration, is the fact that in the years 1950–2000 in Europe, the share of Muslim population in Europe to total population grew from 1 per cent to 3 per cent, and the total number of Muslim inhabitants varies according to different data sources from 14 to 20 million people. It is assumed that Muslims could, in the future, due to their natural birth rate, to form a third, or even half of European population<sup>32</sup>.

For example, in Germany around 2050/2060, according to estimates, Muslims could achieve a majority. Already today, 30 to 40 per cent of young people under 18 in the German cities of Cologne and Duisburg are of a different ethnic origin than German<sup>33</sup>. Other conurbations with high populations of Muslim religion are Hamburg, Bremen and German capital city – Berlin.

In the nearest future, Europe should expect a correction in its identity. The Islamic tradition becomes an organic and therefore a legitimate part of European political life and European culture. Europe is populated by millions of Muslims who despite efforts to be included into the European tradition and to blend in with the European identity, keep their religious identity and culture. The estimated number of Muslims in the countries of the European Union and their percentage of the total population are shown in Chart No. 2<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup> Statistics indicate that in 1980 the number of Muslims in the world approximated 780 million people, while in early 2004 the number has exceeded 1 billion 300 million. S. Huntington shows that the statistics for last eighty years show a proportionate increase among believers in Christianity and Islam. In 1900, according to estimates, Western Christianity was the faith of 26.9 per cent of the world's population; in 1980 it was 30 per cent. The number of adherents of Islam grew even more – from 12.4 per cent in 1900 to 16.5 (according to other estimates, even to 18) per cent. In the longer term, however, the victory belongs to Islam. The percentage of Muslims in the world population will – due to high birth rates – continue to grow, at the turn the millennium it should have reached 20 per cent; a few years later exceed the percentage of Christians and approximately in 2025 it should reach 30 per cent. Recent data, reported by the mass media, seem to verify Huntington's hypothesis. S. Huntington, *op.cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>33</sup> G. Heinsohn, *Finis Germaniae? Reflexionen über demografische Ursachen von Revolutionen, Kriegen und politischen Niederlagen*, "Die Zeit Online" 2006, p. 5, [http://www.zeit.de/feuilleton/kursbuch\\_162/1\\_heinsohn?page=all](http://www.zeit.de/feuilleton/kursbuch_162/1_heinsohn?page=all)

<sup>34</sup> The data shown in the table should be read indicatively only, as it does not contain all the relevant numbers concerning the adherents of Islam on the territory of Europe. In particular, the table is lacking

**Chart No. 2. The estimated number of Muslims in the countries of the European Union and their percentage of the total population**

Country	Muslim population (millions)	Total population (millions)	Muslim population (per cent)	Year
France	5,00	61,4	8,1	2002
Germany	3,40	82,4	4,1	2002
United Kingdom	1,59	58,8	2,7	2001
Netherlands	0,75	16,3	4,6	2004
Italy	0,71	58,1	1,2	2004
Spain	0,40	40,3	1,0	2004
Belgium	0,38	10,3	3,7	2004
Austria	0,37	8,2	4,6	2004
Greece	0,37	10,6	3,5	2004
Sweden	0,31	9,0	3,4	2004
Cyprus	0,21	0,9	22,7	2004
Denmark	0,15	5,4	2,8	2004
Portugal	0,04	10,5	0,4	2004
Slovenia	0,03	2,0	1,6	2004
Czech Republic	0,03	10,3	0,3	2004
Finland	0,02	5,2	0,4	2004
Slovakia	0,01	5,4	0,2	2004
Ireland	0,01	3,9	0,3	2004
Estonia	0,01	1,4	0,7	2004
Luxemburg	0,01	0,5	1,6	2004
Latvia	0,007	3,6	0,2	2004
Poland	0,004	38,6	0,01	2004
Malta	0,003	0,4	0,8	2004
Lithuania	0,003	2,4	0,1	2004
Hungary	0,003	10,1	0,03	2004

Source: F. Sen, *Euro-Islam: Eine Religion etabliert sich. Studie*, Stiftung Zentrum für Türkeistudien, Essen 2004, p. 40–41, <http://www.zft-online.de/deutsch.php>

In Western Europe, there is gradually forming a new – Muslim – minority<sup>35</sup>. It has lived in Europe for relatively short time with a profiled identity and the pro-

the data on illegal or undocumented migration, so the numbers and percentages in real-life situation of European countries are much higher. For example, a census in France pursues only category of nationality. France does not distinguish any minorities, i.e. there are not any registered minorities based on ethnic, religious or linguistic bases.

<sup>35</sup> The term means a minority group of people that – based on their numbers – are sufficiently represented and form a minority on the territory of any state. It has characteristic features such as language, culture, national or ethnic affiliation, origin or religion, which is different from the majority of the population. The group is characterized by the care to conserve their identity, including their culture, traditions, language or religion. Another definition says that it is a group of people who share a common positive identity and opposition to the majority. From a political point of view, minority is a group of people who have a common social point of view on a particular range of issues arising out of common interest and group needs. Minorities are largely constituted on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion and political beliefs. R. Tóth, S. Krno, P. Kulašík, *Stručný politologický slovník*, Bratislava 1990, p. 44.

blem has only been studied for several decades. It is not surprising that the debate on minorities currently coincides with the debate about Muslims who have become a visible symbol of something alien, different and frightening.

Please note that although we use the term Muslim minority, this is a diverse conglomerate in terms of ethnicity, nationality and also religion. Europe, for example, is inhabited by Turks, Pakistanis, Tunisians, but also Turkish Kurds, Tunisian Kabylie, migrants from Kashmir and other Muslim countries or regions in Asia and Africa. Communities have also settled here that do not enjoy the sympathy of governments in their countries of origin. Thus on the territory of Europe, in addition to traditional Islamic religious groups of Shiites and Sunnis, other Islamic groups, that could be described as extreme, heretical, or fundamentalist, are also active. Such groups are suppressed or banned by the government in their respective countries of origin.

Despite that, the Muslim minority in Europe is characterized and connected by several common features and properties. What they all have in common is particularly Islam as their practised religion. It is a general phenomenon that nowadays a tendency to revive religion is visible in our post-modern society as a part of the phenomena associated with globalization. Religion acts in the capacity of the creator and keeper of national identity. The confrontation between the identities of original population and migrants relies therefore on the line of religious differences. Religion often reinforces ethnic barriers instead of undermining them. Europeans see the Muslim identity as backward, conservative and fanatical. Muslims describe the countries of Europe where they have come into as the countries of infidels and label the Western culture as materialistic, spoilt, decadent and immoral. The Muslim population of European countries that left their native land ceased to be their members, but they also did not become, as they are ethnically different, part of the identity of the new countries. This creates a peculiar sense of cohesion which is based primarily on religious identity. Islam becomes the bond of identity forming among the ethnically diverse Muslim minority in Europe. Islam as a religion of immigrants became the attribute of this minority. Islam, however, is not seen only as a religion but as a social system regulating all aspects of both public and private lives of its adherents. When ordinary believers seek guidance or advice in all various areas of their lives, including politics, they turn to their local scholars or lawyers. These are recognized as authoritative experts concerning the correct faith and practice. Islam means to Muslims a set of values, which give them a solid anchoring in life, a sense of security in a rapidly changing world and also a promise for the future. It represents a very substantial part of the consciousness of their identity. Research shows that in immigrant countries, Islam and rituals associated with it are much more resistant to the pressures of assimilation than other parts of minority identity. The belonging

to the ummah is one of the most important and most essential features of Muslim self-identification.

One of the many problems that prevent their integration is the reluctance of immigrants to live in correspondence with the terms of European democracy and rights guaranteeing individual liberty. Integration is made difficult especially by the radicalised Muslims who already live in European countries. Most Muslims practice their religion and live in a mutual respect for European society, but some proportion of the Muslim population, greater in some European countries and smaller in other ones, tends to practice the conservative form of Islam.

A strong demonstration that is not perceived positively by general public, among other things, is the increased number of mosques and minarets on the territory of Europe. In late 2009, the attention of European public was focused on Swiss referendum to ban the construction of minarets. Despite negative recommendation of the Federal Government and opposition to the initiative by both Houses of Parliament and a group of Swiss bishops, the people turned their decision against cultural diversity. On the 29 November 2009 with the 53.4 per cent voter turnout, 57.5 per cent of Swiss voters said yes to the ban on construction of minarets. It should be noted that currently there are only three mosques and one cultural centre with minarets in Switzerland (Zurich, Geneva, Winterthur and Wangen). The results of the referendum provoked an intense debate concerning the integration of Muslims in other Western European countries (Austria, France, Italy, and the Netherlands). In Germany, the result of the Swiss referendum appeared in the debate on the introduction of popular vote at the federal level as one of the arguments against direct democracy. The Islamophobe Geert Wilders asked for a similar call for a referendum in the Netherlands. In Syria and Turkey, some politicians and religious leaders called on the community to boycott Swiss products. Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi considered declaring jihad on the whole Switzerland. The issue of migration was a matter of decision for the Swiss again in November 2010. The subject of the plebiscite was the question of the expulsion of aliens found guilty by the court of a serious offence or unlawful entry into social benefits system<sup>36</sup>.

Just out of curiosity we can quote a statement by the Czech Cardinal Miroslav Vlk, who said that the old continent is about to be “conquered” by Muslims who have the prospects of filling the vacant space with their “spiritual weapons”<sup>37</sup>. The above

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<sup>36</sup> R. Štefančík, *Medzinárodná migrácia a jej dopady na migračnú politiku vo Švajčiarsku*, in: *Medzinárodné vzťahy. Vedecký časopis pre medzinárodné politické, ekonomické, kultúrne a právne vzťahy*, “FMV EU v Bratislave” 2010, č. 2, p. 101–102.

<sup>37</sup> <http://www.novinky.cz/domaci/188393-kardinal-vlk-varuje-pred-islamizaci-evropy-nem...> Muslim immigrants do not constitute a problem in the V-4 countries. We put Slovakia, Hungary and Poland

stated phenomena have generally created a significant obstacle on the territory of Europe to intercultural dialogue and issues of identity. The strategy of removing the presence of Islam to the edge of political life and reducing the problem of minorities only to municipal elections periods can not solve the growing problems of coexistence of two different communities. The lack of, or, the absence of a comprehensive approach to the coexistence of different cultures, lack of a sense of democratic principles, respectively, the application thereof only to a certain part of the population, means giving ground to potential social conflict within the European Union. It becomes more and more necessary to develop a policy that would reverse the situation where Muslim communities exist and operate at the margins of society, a policy that would prevent further formation of enclaves formed in European countries by grouping of members of the Muslim minority. A necessary condition for the successful integration of immigrants are the attitudes of the target country population while its main prerequisite is to ensure the political, social and cultural equality within the autochthonous society – a major problem today in European countries.

#### **4. Other consequences of international migration in current Europe**

Intra- and intercontinental migration flows at the European territory are evolving while retaining several characteristic features; gradually we can predict their amplification, which means more complications for democratic coexistence and mutual application of democratic principles in practice.

The number of migrant women is on the rise, chiefly due to family reunification, but also for employment reasons. Several authors speak of the feminization of migration. The number of migrant women is particularly high in Europe, where women make up 51 per cent of all migrants. The reason might also be that female

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among the transition countries while the Czech Republic is already a receiving country and a destination for migrants. The proportion of Muslims in the total population in 2004 was as follows: Slovak Republic – 0.2% – about 5,000; Czech Republic – 0.3% – roughly 10,000–15,000; Hungary – 0.03% and Poland – 0.01%. Muslim communities in V-4 countries have their origin in times of the former regime, when people from various countries came to study into socialist countries within the framework of international assistance. Some of them returned to their countries after graduation, but some started families here and then got the citizenship. Others came after 1989, especially as entrepreneurs. They have their shrines, mosques, only in the Czech Republic, in Brno and Prague. The Muslim community in this part of Europe is not considered to be a risk group; radical expressions have not been registered. The newcoming groups of aliens might be regarded as a risk as well as some groups of immigrants from Islamic countries, who – it might be assumed – can try to radicalise the local Muslim communities.

unemployment in the region of North Africa, but also of the Middle East belongs to one of the highest in the world. It is much higher than male unemployment, while we should keep in mind that the proportion of women in the labour market in these regions is much smaller than in other parts of the world<sup>38</sup>. At the same time in Europe there is a linking of the feminization of migration and the feminization of the labour market, i.e. processes that are interdependent and influence each other. Research shows that European households can no longer rely on a single male breadwinner. Women are entering the labour market and the question arises “Who will take care of children, sick and elderly?”<sup>39</sup>. This general phenomenon of developed societies generates demand for family educators, workers in domestic service and nurses, who are most often immigrants. It should be noted that in all European countries employment of such workers has mostly been illegal. That practice spread even to the highest ranks of politics: some of well-known politicians employed illegal immigrants in their households. An interesting phenomenon should be noted – women migrants in receiving countries also tend to engage in economic activities that require higher qualification<sup>40</sup>. International migration has thus an empowering potential and helps strengthen the position of women. The increasing participation of women in migration and economic processes, as indicated by B. Divinský, may not, however, be always a positive factor, as migrant women are at much higher risk of forced and hazardous labour and sexual exploitation than men<sup>41</sup>. Women migrants are becoming more frequent victims of international organized crime.

Another problem is the increasing number of officially registered refugees and asylum seekers. Their number in Europe, in the context of political developments on the continent, culminated in the early nineties. In 1992 it was at the highest level, followed by a dramatic drop in this category of migrants. It increased again in 2001,

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<sup>38</sup> Unemployment in these regions of the world applies to two social categories – those aged 15–24 and women in general. Every second unemployed person in the Arab world is younger than 24 while in many countries the chance for a woman to find a job is twice smaller than for a man. K. Górak-Sosnowska, *Polityka państw arabskich wobec młodzieży – wybrane zagadnienia*, in: *Nauki ekonomiczno-społeczne i rozwój*, red. K. Żukrowska, Oficyna Wydawnicza SGH, Warszawa 2008, p. 677.

<sup>39</sup> A. Souralová, *Care drain versus brain drain: Pracovní migrace žen*, [www.migraceonline.cz/e-knihovna/?x=2198177](http://www.migraceonline.cz/e-knihovna/?x=2198177)

<sup>40</sup> Z. Kálmanová stated on the example of Italy that the position of migrant women with a university degree is startling-up to 86 per cent of Italian women with college degrees work as directors and perform highly technical and intellectual functions, but only 24 per cent of migrant women with the same qualifications have the same chance. On the other hand, only 0.4 per cent of Italian women with university degrees are employed at the lowest skill positions, while only 37 per cent of migrant women with a university degree carries out the such work. Z. Kálmanová, *Integracia migrantov na trh práce v Taliansku*, in: *Medzinárodné vzťahy 2008 – Aktuálne otázky svetovej ekonomiky a politiky*, Ekonóm, Bratislava 2009, p. 346.

<sup>41</sup> B. Divinský, op.cit., p. 39.

but decreased gradually again before 2010<sup>42</sup>. Current developments show, however, another dramatic change in this category and in our opinion it will have without any doubts a negative influence on the entire social and political development in Europe. Here we must note the frequent discrepancies between the declared willingness to accept refugees and asylum seekers and their actual acceptance rate, which usually tend to differ.

This category of migrants is quite problematic due to the fact that refugees and asylum seekers have not freely chosen to leave their country, but they were forced to do it by circumstances. The reason for migration in this case, in the past as well as today, tends to be persecution on political, racial, religious, ethnic, or social reasons. International refugees are the product of international as well as civic and ethnic armed conflicts.

Problems, however, arise in connection with the restriction measures on the free movement of labour, and in conjunction with increasing migratory pressures, which are caused by the further increase in the widening socio-economic disparities between the rich centre and the poor peripheries of the contemporary world. The asylum system of European countries, instead of political refugees lawfully applying for refugee status on the grounds of actual persecution in their country of origin, is facing a huge increase in the economic category of asylum seekers and illegal/undocumented immigrants responding to the lack of legitimate alternatives to migration on the one hand and the already given nature of liberal nation-states which must respect the obligations arising from the human rights legislation and international treaties<sup>43</sup>.

In Africa in general, and in African Mediterranean in particular, significant tensions were created due to the disproportionate growth in population and livelihoods. Sub-Saharan Africa statistics indicate that over the next two decades, the speed of economic growth would have to be tripled to keep pace with the expected doubling of the workforce, which is of course entirely infeasible prospect<sup>44</sup>. The main potential for intercontinental migration towards Europe is formed especially by young people in the Third World countries, who are looking for jobs, who come from the

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<sup>42</sup> According to the UNHCR statistics, in 1992 there were 675 thousand asylum seekers in Western European countries. In 2001 this number dropped to 384 thousand, <http://www.unhcr.org/research/43e32a7a2html>

<sup>43</sup> In terms of migration in the European context, in addition to formally legally non-binding, but very important documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1948, it was primarily the adoption of the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, also known as the Geneva Convention, 1951 (together with the subsequent Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1967, which removed its original time and territorial restrictions) and the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, adopted by the Council of Europe in 1950.

<sup>44</sup> K.J. Bade, *op.cit.*, p. 419.

middle class and have at least basic education. If they fail to use one of the few available channels of immigration, they are essentially determined to attempt to penetrate into Europe through the asylum application, or illegally<sup>45</sup>. Large proportion of migrants who migrate for economic reasons, thus classify themselves, due to the lack of other legal options in the category of political refugees. In the European Union, the number of people trying to obtain political asylum in this way has been growing.

In this context, our attention should be drawn to the growing scope of illegal/undocumented migration. It is a phenomenon that has recently gained a new dynamic in European countries and it seems that the increase in the number of irregular migrants in Europe will be a long-term trend. The scale of illegal migration on the continent can be measured only by indirect methods or estimated. The numbers of illegal migrants living in Europe, estimated from various different statistics – range from 3,000,000 up to 6,400,000, or 8,000,000. At the same time every year since 1999 Europe has received about half a million people illegally. The largest bloc of illegal migrant was formed by economic migrants from Asia and Africa<sup>46</sup>. Undoubtedly, it is a very serious phenomenon politically, socially and economically, mainly because illegal migration is a source of illegal employment, but also human smuggling and trafficking and other forms of crime.

Illegal migrants are victims of exploitation and abuse, to which they are essentially defenceless. They often get wages and working conditions that do not meet even the minimum standards. Thus millions of people in the European Union are deprived of basic social, civil and political rights. The EU effectively lacks legal channels of entry for low-skilled migrants from poor countries, respectively from the countries of the world's periphery. Entry restrictions for unskilled migrants are common. The only possible route of entry is therefore the illegal stay<sup>47</sup>. At the same time in various countries there is quite a wide range of seasonal work available, which is a huge "pul-

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<sup>45</sup> The poorest of the poor are usually without any chances. They do not have enough information and not enough funds to cover the costs associated with migration. Migrants who come to Europe do not try to escape because of poverty; they are trying to escape poverty itself. Ibidem, p. 422.

<sup>46</sup> Globalization, Growth and Poverty: Facts, Fears and an Agenda for Action, The World Bank 2001, p. 9.

<sup>47</sup> According to available data, more than half of the migrants currently living in the EU came to this territory legally and gained their illegal status only when their visas and residence permits expired. Regularization (legalization) of migrants has been established as a response to the growing number of illegal migrants in the individual countries, and it allows them to receive the official status through legal procedures. For example, back in 1981 under President Francois Mitterand in France, migrants were given the opportunity to legalize their stay within 3 months, which was used at that time by more than 120,000 immigrants. (A. Geddes, *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe*, Sage Publ. 2003, p. 66). Most such legalization have taken place in recent years in Spain and Italy. The controversy of such steps, however, lies in the fact that they give a signal to potential illegal migrants that if they can stay in the country illegally for some time, there will be some legalization of their stay possible in the future. This activity can act, and we believe that it does, as a increase-causing factor in migration trends in Europe.

ling” factor. There is the offer of European entrepreneurs who are actively seeking to hire illegal migrants without documents. For example, the French employers themselves admit that the French economy is dependent on the labour of illegal immigrants. French Association for Employers Ethics (Entreprises de taille humaine et de croissance indépendantes) published in November 2009 data proving that essentially all sectors of the economy use the workforce of immigrants without residence permit. Two to four hundred thousand illegal immigrants are estimated to live in France<sup>48</sup>. Estimates of the number of illegal migrants in Germany range from half a million to one million people<sup>49</sup>. Where quotas have been implemented, employers complain on the huge disproportion between their demand for labourers and the number of workers allowed or allocated by governments. For example, in Southern Italy and Spain a phenomenon commonly called “ethnization” of the labour market can be encountered, especially where illegal migrant workers replace local workers as the vines pickers – originally the domain of the local workforce. They become competitors for the lowest strata of the domestic population. This raises waves of xenophobia and racially motivated violent attacks against migrants. Successive waves of immigration have replaced North Africans working in the agricultural sector in the southern regions by sub-Saharan migrants, who are currently being replaced by Eastern Europeans. Entrepreneurs and farm owners in these regions rely on illegal migration to maintain the cost of labour artificially low. Europe is gradually losing interest in the employment of unskilled labour. Some kinds of unskilled labour, particularly in the tertiary sector, can not be moved, however, and so the demand for unskilled labour persists. The reason for diminishing interest for Europeans in unskilled work is the fact that such jobs are badly paid and otherwise unattractive to the local population. Thus the room for immigration of foreign workers remains.

In the context of illegal migration, also on the territory of Europe, human trafficking has emerged, having men, women and children as victims. The most victims, however, are women and girls. This is due to the fact that women are particularly affected by poverty and also illiteracy. It is almost impossible to determine exactly how many human beings today are traded<sup>50</sup>. Every year modern slave market affects thousands of people and the number has been growing. U.S. State Department estimates that in 2005, there were 800,000 people globally traded interstate and mil-

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<sup>48</sup> K. Chocholáčková, *Regularizace migrantů bez oprávnění k pobytu, tzv. sans papiers, ve Francii*, <http://www.migraceonline.cz/e-knihovna/?x=2312812>

<sup>49</sup> Bundesministerium des Innern, *Illegal aufhaltende Migranten in Deutschland Datenlage, Rechtslage, Handlungsoptionen 2007*.

<sup>50</sup> According to estimates, 60–75 per cent of approximately 400 000 women and men working in the sex business in Germany are migrants. For more information see [tampep.eu](http://tampep.eu)

lions of people within each state. The ILO gives the number of 2.5 million victims of human trafficking in 2005 while UNICEF estimated annual trafficking of up to 1.2 million<sup>51</sup>. The fastest growing category is the minors entering the EU states unaccompanied, completely alone. Statistical information about minors is neither accurate nor consistent. According to data presented by European Migration Network, in 2008 the total of 11,292 unaccompanied minors applied for asylum in the 22 EU Member States that took part in the research (except for Bulgaria, Cyprus, Denmark, Luxembourg and Romania). In 2007, there were a total of 8,030 applications for asylum filed. In 2008 the increase in the number of applications in these countries was 40.6 per cent. The nationality of these minors, where it was found out, varied; it was, however, dominated by nationals of Afghanistan, Iraq and some African countries. The reasons why this particularly vulnerable category of children try to penetrate the territory of European countries differ as well – fleeing military conflicts, poverty or natural disasters, discrimination or persecution; there is also a relatively new phenomenon occurring that they are sent by their families in anticipation of a better life and better living conditions, including the expected remittances and family reunification. They become, however, victims of trafficking or extremely cruel exploitation<sup>52</sup>.

Recently in Europe, an increase in the number of persons in the category of temporary migrants can be seen. At the labour markets of highly developed countries, temporary migrants have acquired a stable position. Seasonal as well as periodic workers ensure the elasticity of the labour market. European Union countries have used the migrants from this category and had relatively large profits from them particularly in agriculture, construction, restaurants, hotels and domestic services.

An interesting phenomenon with the trend of gradual increase is the mobility or migration of students in Europe. Student migration is primarily supported by the governments of highly developed countries and there is a general view that the benefits of this type of migration come not only to migrant themselves, but also to the sending and receiving countries. Most students are naturally attracted by the advanced OECD countries and particularly United Kingdom, Germany and France. The knowledge acquired during the stay in the areas of the foreign culture and customs of the respective countries is a great advantage in finding a job, especially in international companies, in addition to language skills. There is a general trend today for the receiving states to create, thanks to student migration, a potential reserve of highly qualified workforce who knows the rules and working principles in another country.

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<sup>51</sup> K. Linhartová, *Proces obchodování s lidmi: Kde, jak a proč k těmto zločinům dochází*, [www.migraceonline.cz/e-knihovna/?x=2120352](http://www.migraceonline.cz/e-knihovna/?x=2120352)

<sup>52</sup> Available on the website of the European Migration Network, <http://emn.sarenet.es/Downloads/prepareShowFiles.do?directoryID=115>

Among the mutual benefits we must include reinforcement of mutual cultural and economic ties. This trend is connected with mutual recognition of degrees as well as simplifying of student residence permit procedures. This form of migration increased especially after the enlargement of the European Union in 2004.

It should be noted that since the 1970s, the qualification structure of arriving migrants has begun to differentiate. They ceased to be, though not completely, a homogeneous group of men engaged in unskilled manual work. The proportion of women among the newcomers, as we have already indicated, increased, as well as of refugees, family members and especially of the new category: skilled migrants. With the gradually increasing internationalization of economic activities and the importance of the services sector, especially information technology, skilled immigrants began playing an increasingly important role in the economies of the world centre with the active support of state bodies and institutions. These knowledge-based sectors include software development, telecommunications, mobile technology and health. European countries today cannot keep up with the changes in these areas, including shortages of skilled labour. Ultimately this inability limits economic growth. M. Klus quotes a study of the European Commission, according to which 85 per cent of unskilled immigrants head for the EU and only 5 per cent for the U.S.A., while 55 per cent of skilled migrants head for the United States and only 5 per cent for the European Union<sup>53</sup>. For these reasons, EU member states, including those that joined after 2004, support skilled migrants and help them work and settle in European countries. This is true for migrants from EU countries, but also for intercontinental migrants; professionals from all parts of the world are welcome. For these reasons EU states are introducing or already have introduced a number of programs that aim, through accelerating visa procedures (often based on different point systems), at improving the performance of European economy by admittance of certain categories of migrants<sup>54</sup>. Some European countries offer highly skilled migrants, in addition to the five-year work permits and residence, more attractive terms – extensions of working permits, the possibility of obtaining additional out-

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<sup>53</sup> M. Klus, *Multikulturalizmus a migrácia. Nové výzvy 21. storočia*, in: *Medzikultúrny dialóg. Stav – kontexty – perspektívy*, D. Dobiaš, M. Gbúrová, I. Mattová, eds., Filozofická fakulta PU v Prešove, Prešov 2009, p. 201.

<sup>54</sup> I. Bruff, asks the following questions: What will happen if the migrants do not behave as expected by the Lisbon agenda and European state policies? What will happen if they leave for another country, such as USA? What will happen if there is a surplus of skilled migrants in one European country but a lack of them in other countries? What will happen when economies of the source countries such as China, India or Russia get so strong that the skilled workers will have no incentive to migrate? What will happen if the migrants go on with migration and will leave so quickly that the economies will become dependent on the permanent flow of skilled workers? I. Bruff, *Migranti nejsou proměnné: kritika literatury o migraci a souvisejícího politického vývoje*, [www.migraceonline.cz](http://www.migraceonline.cz)

side wage income, permission for family members to enter the local labour market and other conditions. Availability of highly qualified professionals will form a key determinant of regional economic development in the future. This category of international migration is considered to be trouble-free and politically most suitable for intercultural dialogue and mutual coexistence.

## Conclusion

International migration and the connected intercultural dialogue on the European continent form an immanent part of its political and economic development. Problems however still persist. In this context migration has been conceptualized as a problem behaviour, or activity, and has become a highly politicized topic that is intensely reflected during the periods of electoral campaigns. Causality and conditionality of international migration flows, especially during the period of globalization, are a colourful mosaic of various forms and manifestations. The unrestrained nature of migration flows that in the period of globalisation are directed by their own logic through transnational ways makes it difficult for the affected subjects to prepare for the eventual negative effects of the phenomenon. The unpreparedness of the appropriate sectors of society for migration movements leads to the imperfect use of any possible positive effects of migration as a developmental process, nor does it correlate with the demographic and economic situation of most countries of the European Union. Instead of problem solving, the political practice brings about the escalation of the problem together with frustration of the general public from the discrepancies between the real situation and the declared anti-immigration policies.

In the area of international migration aspects, it is necessary to adopt measures that will lead to elimination of the causes of migration. Those measures include, first of all, economic, social and political pressures against the causes of emigration of population from the source countries. It is necessary to adopt measures to increase the security and living standards of people in countries of origin of most legal as well as undocumented migrants, even though both empirical and theoretical proofs show that in the short- and middle-time range it is not possible to assume that liberalization of trade and developmental aid could lead to substantial reduction or even to elimination of migration flows<sup>55</sup>.

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<sup>55</sup> The contrary may be true. That is, liberalization of trade in both source and target countries might increase migration in the long-term, because liberalization of trade, foreign aid and the remittance will increase the income of potential migrants thus increasing their chances to cover their migration transactional costs that generally are the barrier of migration in the poorest countries.

At the same time such measures should be combined with intra-political tools, mostly with the intensification of intercultural communication and mutual positive perception of various entities living in the EU countries. Despite the situation that several scientific authorities as well as many practical politicians see – in correlation with the opinion polls – the above-mentioned tendencies as a principal threat for the basic structures and institutions of modern European society, we can deduce from many current research sources that even large migration movements, that would exceed the current ones several times, would most likely not be able to become threat to the basic constitutive values of liberal societies accepting immigrants. All such measures, however, do require high financial expenses and in the conditions of the current economic crisis they would be, in our opinion, basically not possible to implement. In the future it is not possible to expect any change; on the contrary, we can expect a highly probable increase in the migration pressure on Europe from the states that are not EU members as well as a pressure to discuss the problems of the migration phenomenon in Europe at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

**Słowa kluczowe:**

imigracja, polityka imigracyjna, przekształcenia na rynku pracy, transformacja demograficzna Europy

**Keywords:**

immigration, immigration policy, job market changes, demographic transformation of Europe

**International migration and the diversification of Europe**

The text discusses importance of migration in contemporary world and the transformation of the migration as a process. The author provides theoretical background, describes the reasons for migration and its character as well as problems that source countries and the countries receiving immigration have to face. Moreover, black economy related to the migration, as human trafficking, is also analyzed as well as the problems migration poses for political systems of liberal nation states. The text focuses on the immigration from Muslim countries, its characteristics and consequences for particular states and the EU as a whole.