

NEW MIGRATORY TRENDS AND THEIR SOCIAL AND CULTURAL EFFECTS IN THE COUNTRIES OF RECEPTION

ELEVEN THESIS ON IMMIGRATION AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION

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- 1) We are living one of the largest (in number) and most intense (in relative terms) migratory processes in the history of humanity. According to the UN, at the turn of the century, more than 200 million people lived outside their countries of origin for reasons relating to work. Then there are the internal migrations within wide areas of Africa, Latin America and Asia, and, mainly in India and China, where approximately 500 million people have moved from rural to urban areas. For this reason, some specialists talk of a widescale national and international exodus.
- 2) Current international migrations have many and diverse aspects, which for the main part originate from economic and social problems; however, they are not strictly related to the logic of labour markets as we have understood these up to now; that is to say, they are not only motivated by the demand of certain types of employment in rich countries, but to a complex social logic, combining factors of expulsion and attraction. On the one hand, expulsion from poorer areas and countries, where vital conditions are at the absolute limit and there are few expectations for the future. On the other, attraction from richer countries where there are greater possibilities for a satisfactory life for immigrants and their children. On occasions, the mere fact of crossing the border into a prosperous country - with or without a job - offers a noticeable social mobility: from surviving on less than one dollar (1.100 million human beings) or less than two dollars (2.750 million people) to living in a country with good health assistance (comparatively inconceivable in their countries of origin), magnificent schools and dining facilities in case of hunger.
- 3) Part of the migratory processes of our time is taking place as the last desperate effort, without labour contracts and outside legal channels, greatly increasing illegal immigration. The extreme cases of the boat people, the massive border storming at Ceuta and Melilla in Spain, the search for "holes" in frontier limits, and false tourist entries are all caused by fragile social and political conditions which exist in many countries. The 48 countries which register negative socioeconomic indicators, or the 18 experimenting falling life spans (according to the United Nations Development Programme UNDP), the 852 million hungry people (according to the Food and Agriculture Organisation FAO), or the 550 million workers who earn the equivalent of less than one dollar daily (according to the International Labour Organisation ILO) draw up a transcript of social situations which lead to desperate migratory experiences. Unless world economic circumstances change, these migratory processes will intensify in the future, in a manner difficult to foresee and difficult to control. As long as millions of human beings have nothing to lose, see no future in their countries, and at the same time contemplate a world of wealth and opportunities on the other side of the border, it will be difficult to hold back massive population displacements, especially once people from underdeveloped and weakened

areas of the Planet who have established contacts already, friends and relatives in privileged areas (what is known as the "call chain reaction").

- 4) The intensification of migratory trends, and specially the increase of illegal migrations, is giving way to new labour precariousness and social exclusion processes in host countries; so, the domestic social logic of these countries is thus undergoing transformation. The saturation experimented in the offer of certain jobs normally carried out by immigrants (domestic service, building, agriculture and in services requiring low quality and low specialisation) is causing the increase of unemployment rates amongst immigrants (above national averages) and areas of black and submerged economy. The extreme conditions of necessity of many immigrants on recent arrival, and the precariousness of longer term immigrants (even in semi legal or openly illegal conditions) are also saturating the social services specially directed to the population in most need. The intensification of migratory processes, as occurs in many places, is causing added problems in the countries of reception which would suggest new budgeting requirements in social policies. These necessities are not being covered in the current period of cuts in social spending, resulting in "competition" within the social groups in most need. This is accompanied by the feeling of "comparative offence" and loss of social assistance amongst certain sectors of the native population.
- 5) The increase of irregular work and by those workers who have to work "whatever the conditions" (to survive, to pay transport debts, and to help their families in their countries of origin) also propitiates greater labour precariousness; this attracts people (the "bonfire" effect) to certain jobs, and labour activities which become "burnt" for their execution under other forms of contract and salary. The functioning and conditions of the labour markets in the host countries are also affecting the native population, owing to the presence of a growing "army of labour reserve", ready to work at any price; which permits that some economic activities are thus being carried out with lower labour costs and higher profits.
- 6) These two aspects are giving rise to new stratificational profiles in the societies of reception which respond to the model of a divided society, where a new type of secondary citizen is crystallizing (socioeconomically underpositioned and without full rights, or with less rights). This implies an accentuation of the exclusion processes and social duality. Consequently, what is happening also tends to transform the host societies in various aspects: it modifies its markets, its stratification systems and its conceptions regarding citizenship, in a general context of social segmentation, which has its replica in the segmentation of urban spaces. Thus, current immigration processes, their growing irregularity and the precariousness which accompanies these, run parallel to more generalised processes of social exclusion where many immigrants are condemned to secondary and marginised social conditions. This is why we can talk of the new "metecos" of the 21st century.
- 7) The migratory processes are also producing political effects in the host societies: rejection by the native population (specially by the lower classes and in areas where there is a feeling of competition for work and social assistance). Sociological data show

increases in xenophobia and racism, with significant transformations in political maps and electoral results especially visible in some European countries.

- 8) A large part of the immigrant population is not integrating adequately in the countries of reception, nor completely desires to. This is because we are being faced with a new model of immigration, which responds to a different situation (and produces different effects) to the vast Transatlantic migrations of the 19th century and early decades of the 20th century, and the internal European migrations of the late 50s, 60s and early 70s. At the present time, integration with full rights in the other society is not always desired. Sometimes, the reason for this is the illegal entry of many immigrants, and on other occasions, because it does not seem realistic owing to the deficits in the welcome. Former Transatlantic immigration was generally strongly associated to obtaining a new nationality. Migrations within Europe in the 60s were basically circumstantial and limited in time (they were referred to as "invited workers"). On the contrary, at present we are now faced with a different migratory pattern, with a different concept of citizenship - or multicitizenship - in between two cultures and two societies and with a high grade of geographical mobility between countries (see Table 1). A new modality of double-circuit nationality (between the countries of origin and reception) is virtually developing with frequent visits, constant communications by Internet, mobile telephones, etc., and significant transfers of money to the countries of origin (which have positive indirect effects, because in some cases immigrant's remittances reach a volume of resources greater than those related to the development assistance.
- 9) Current immigration problems should therefore be considered under the light of a double perspective: on the one hand, as an unsuccessful process in reception, and, on the other, as something made more difficult by added problems and growing ethnical and cultural conflicts. What happened in France at the end of 2005 revealed somewhat of a failure in multicultural integration policies and the existence of significant levels of lack of motivation, anomy, inclination towards violence and offense, etc. Failure in integration of the second generations reflects not only a problem of social exclusion, but also failure in the application of the modern notion of universal and complete citizenship. This kind of citizenship is no longer the main objective desired by many immigrants, or at least not in the way we have understood it up to the present time. All this is further complicated in relation to the population of Islamic origin in the new context of polarisation and tensions generated after the terrorist attacks of New York, Washington, Madrid and London, and the ulterior invasion of Iraq. All these events are leading to new types of conflict and more widespread mutual mistrust.
- 10) This situation is considered by a large part of the population in the host countries as a problem (in Spain, this is the second concern, only after unemployment), which is very complex, which has multiple effects and which should be treated with realism and sufficient analytical capacity of anticipation. We are faced with social phenomena of deep significance, whose evolution - and good management - could avoid negative social effects on all. For this reason, the current migratory phenomenon should be approached in relation to global problems, to the necessities of cooperation for development and to the ways of understanding international competition within the world economy, within

which it is necessary to find the way to overcome poverty and need wherever they exist in wide areas of the Planet, and where people can recover confidence in the expectations of national future development, in their own countries.

- 11) If there are no changes in current conditions, the forecasts for the future are as follows: increase in migratory flows from poor to rich countries; deterioration of social and labour conditions of immigrants, with contagious effects on other sectors of the population (youth, women, unqualified persons, etc.); greater social and political duality in the host societies; consensus crisis in rich countries with an increase of rejection and xenophobia within the population; extension and empowerment of the mafias organising illegal migrations and activities on the limits of economic legality, with citizens claiming greater control and security; critical effects - to the point of saturation - on assistential services (which can become more drastic during cycles of budget cuts and adjustments), accompanied by added unease owing to deterioration of assistance amongst the domestic population with lower income; and eventually health effects difficult to anticipate due to the rapid circulation and propagation of contagious diseases, where illnesses apparently eradicated are reappearing in the West (tuberculosis, leprosy, measles, etc.).

All this demands comprehension of current migratory processes as a matter of global nature which, if they are not approached soon and adequately, could end up constituting the main social problem of the first decades of the 21st century. It is not a problem that can be approached solely with barriers, frontier controls and legal obstacles, but within a policy framework of global alternatives tending to propitiate an economic growth which allows for peaceful sharing and living together. That is to say, the solutions to an overflowing intensification of migratory flows, and the social and political effects that this intensification can produce, demand us to go to the root of the problem, concentrating our attention on policies of cooperation towards development. In this context, could we raise the necessity and virtuality of a new type of Keynesianism of global character?

TABLE 1
SIGNIFICANT MIGRATORY PATTERNS OF OUR TIME

	Transatlantic pattern	North European pattern	Current pattern
- Period	- 19 th C. and beginning 20 th C.	- 60s and 70s of 20 th C.	- End of 20 th C. and beginning 21 st C.
- Historical & geographical context	- Establishment and development of new nations (USA, Australia, Canada, Latin America).	- Development of North European economies following WWII (Germany, Switzerland, Scandinavian countries, France, etc.)	- Globalized economy in an unequal world (poorer emigrate to richer countries)
- Migration philosophy	- Make money in America. Start a new life in a new world.	- Save money; improve status	- Survive and have access to opportunities & social services (health, education, basic services, etc.)
- Socioeconomic aspects in host countries	- To dispose of sufficient population, recruit work force (qualified & unqualified)	- Temporal availability of labour force (unqualified) during period of economic expansion	- Availability of reserve labour army for unqualified work
- Reasons for emigrating	- Improve vital expectations. Initiate a new period in a land of opportunities.	- Save as much as possible to buy a house, begin business, etc. in country of origin.	- Better life for family, offer a future to the children and maintain or help relatives back home
- Mode of travel and for how long	- A long journey (cross the sea) to build a home and stay	- Short period return ticket	- Journey without identification papers with constant travels
- Expectations with relation to home country	- No return for ideological, political, religious, economic, etc. reasons.	- Idea of returning	- Establishment of home in host country without breaking links with country of birth
- Welcome in country of origin	- Legal Reglamented		

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Immigrant attitude - Cultural links with the country of origin - Contacts with country of origin - Citizenship - Cultural integration 	<p>(with identification papers), controlled (Ellis Island), aspiring to citizenship in immigrant country</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Desire of integration - Mixed - Italo-American, Greek-American, etc. only at folklore level - Scarce and decreasing - New citizenship adopted - Complete 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Legal, temporary entry to cover economic demand - "invited worker" mode - Transitory conception - Strong and emotional, no mixing. Establishment of "Casas de España", etc. - Wide and constant. Repatriation of earnings, savings, etc. - Citizenship of origin maintained - Non-existent or Scarce (sometimes not even learning language) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No welcome model, widespread, not legal or illegal episodes and economic opportunism by employers - Between two cultures and two societies - Strong, no integration by immigrant and rejection by native population - Extremely frequent and varied (fax, Internet, telephone, money transfers, travel, etc) - Multiple and vague citizenship (doubly dual) - Partial, learning new language to get by. Sometimes previous cultural identities strengthened.
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SOURCE: José Félix Tezanos and Sergio Tezanos Vázquez, *La cuestión migratoria en España. Tendencias en inmigración y exclusión social*, Sistema, num. 190-191, January 2006, page 28.