

Glossary / Glossaire / Glossar Border Studies

# Migration

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Migration is a worldwide, historical phenomenon of residential relocation, embedded in the political, legal, socio-demographic and economic framework in both the countries of origin and destination, and it is subject to constant change.

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Migration, as a temporary or permanent residential relocation, takes a variety of forms. These can be seen in the different conceptions of the term, in the distance to overcome, the legal framework, the motivations, the regional, historical or even socio-economic configuration. Large and small migratory movements (both in terms of the number of migrants and the distance) have always existed in human history, even if, since 2015, refugees have become a type of synonym for migration for many people. There are also various regional migration systems. Borders are a decisive factor in international migration, as border regimes and border agreements (e.g. Schengen) reveal the heterogeneity of the power relations both between states and also between the state and migrants. They serve as a barrier or a filter as to who is allowed to enter a state or a community of states and for how long.

## Migration

Since 2015, the topic of migration in politics, media, science and the general public has come to the fore under the catchwords refugee crisis, refugee influx, refugee wave and long summer of migration. Migration, however, generally encompasses vastly different aspects and cannot simply be reduced to the topic of refugees, as this would ignore other important migration events. It should, though, be noted here that a glossary entry can only show a part of the discussions and developments.

According to Hillmann (2016, p.17, translation CBS) "migration describes a spatial and social change in location that can be made visible through the (often subjective) definition of criteria." This can be internal migration within a state or international migration with the overcoming of state borders (e.g. Knox and Marston, 2008, p.152). Spatial migration is also seen as a special form of mobility (among others, Düvell, 2006; Knox and Marston, 2008):

[...] [N]ew connectivities, new space-time flexibilities, and the embedding of migration/mobility within the forces of globalisation, have served to blur the correlative conception of migration as a measurable spatio-temporal phenomenon. (King, 2002, p.94).

Politically and legally, there are different migration regimes. The European Union, for example, has put various mechanisms and laws in place to promote or hinder migration and mobility at internal and external borders. The Schengen Agreements (1985, 1990) promote mobility within Europe through open internal borders. In this case, policy makers and many researchers use the term mobility instead of the term migration to distinguish between those whose mobility is validated (EU citizens) and those whose migration is regulated and restricted (because they are third-country nationals). Thus, there is partly a differentiation between the scientific and the political-administrative use of the term migration in Europe.

Differences in the concept of migration can also be seen between the statistical records of different states and thus in the state representation of how the phenomenon is dealt with. Here, the concept of citizenship through *ius sanguinis* (principle of descent, e.g. in Germany, France, Israel), *ius soli* (birthplace principle, e.g. in the USA, Canada) or through naturalization plays a role. In Germany, for example, the statistics differentiate between people without a migration background, Germans with a migration background (1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation) and foreigners (German federal and state statistical offices, 2013). The British statistical system differentiates between "White British" and "ethnic minority groups," which in turn are subdivided into "Irish White," "Gypsy or Irish Traveler," "Other White," "White and Black Caribbean," "White and Asian," "White and Black African," "other mixed," etc. There are a total of 17 subgroups of "ethnic minority groups" (Office for National Statistics, 2018). Because of these very different approaches, it is also very difficult to globally gauge 'legal' migration phenomena.

The phenomenon of migration is differentiated in academics in various forms and typologies. For example, Hoerder, Lucassen, and Lucassen (2008, p. 37) subdivide between different motives (forced, flight/displacement, economic, cultural), distances (short, medium, long), directions (outward migration, circular, multiple, return migration), length of stay (seasonal, multi-year, working life, for life), socio-economic areas (rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-urban, colonial) and economic sectors (agricultural, commercial-industrial, service sector, elite). Hillmann (2016, p.19) differentiates between spatial criteria (distance, direction), temporal criteria (permanent, short-term, non-permanent), legal status (legal, illegal), motivation (voluntary, involuntary), factors triggering migration (economic, political, social, psychological, cultural, religious and ecological) as well as characteristics of the migrants (individual characteristics, characteristics of the household).

Geographic migration research looks primarily at the various spatial scales and their interactions. For example, transnationalism and diaspora are examined at the global international level, migration regimes

and networks at the national and regional level, and actors, actor constellations, households and neighborhoods at the local level. Discourses, representations, narratives and myths of migration are analyzed with regard to their spatial references (Hillmann, 2016, p.12). Migration, migration decisions, and experiences are shaped by the political, economic, social, cultural and demographic conditions in the countries of origin and destination (Glorius, 2007). Very often, migrants are in a transit phase in which they have overcome a border, but want to/have to cross even more borders in order to achieve their goal. This goal may never be physically attainable, but part of their idealized definition as 'en route' to land XY ('holy land'). A phenomenon also being increasingly discussed is that of transmigration, in which there are relationships with at least two, sometimes even more, states and people build their own transnational social spaces by sometimes ignoring national borders, thus making the connection between migration and borders less obvious (Faist, 2000).

Migration movements have existed since the beginning of mankind and they are a formative element in the development of humans (e.g. Düvell, 2006; Krause, 2013). Pohl (2013) shows that, as a major migration movement, the "migration of peoples" has made a significant contribution to the development of present-day Europe. In the late Middle Ages, people in trade and craftwork (the journeyman years as well as qualified workers) were particularly mobile on crusades or pilgrimages. Düvell (2006) also highlights the conquest of the Mongols in the 13<sup>th</sup> century as well as the displacement of ethnic groups such as the Moors from Spain and the Huguenots from France as important stages in the global history of migration. Mass emigration in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries from Europe to North and South America as well as to South Africa, Australia and New Zealand also represents a global migration movement. After a first wave of emigration from Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, a second wave followed with emigrants largely from Eastern and Southern Europe. At the same time there was also mass emigration from India and China, especially to other Asian countries, to Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (Bade et al., 2008; Düvell, 2006). Other large, worldwide migration movements arose during the two world wars and subsequent wars (e.g. the Vietnamese boat people). Castles and Miller (2009) see current migration as being shaped by globalization, acceleration, differentiation, feminization, growing politicization and emerging migration transitions.

Slave trade was already an important aspect of trade in the times of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans and at the same time the most obvious form of involuntary, forced migration. Starting in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the slave trade took place as part of the triad between Africa and America, where slaves were used, in particular, on plantations (Düvell, 2006). To this day, there is an extensive illegal network of human trafficking. The *Global Slavery Index 2018* estimates that 40.3 million people worldwide are currently victims of modern slavery (Walk Free Foundation, 2018), for example, sexually, in housework or as labor (particularly in construction and agriculture) (Veit and Nienaber, 2021).

In addition, locally or regionally there are always specific migration movements that are signs of political, economic, social or legal conditions (e.g. migrant worker migration to Germany, Luxembourg, Austria, and Switzerland in the 1960s/1970s and from the 1970s to the Gulf Region, migrations from former colonial areas to France, Belgium, or the United Kingdom, seasonal workers in agriculture, tourism or in the construction industry worldwide, 'population exchange' (as forced migration) between Pakistan and India or Greece and Turkey, nomadism worldwide or even the mass forced relocations of the Soviet Union or Ethiopia) (Bade et al., 2008; Düvell, 2006; Hillmann, 2016). From this it is possible to distinguish between geographical migration subsystems in different parts of the world. The migration systems in Europe and Africa will be used here as examples. Hillmann (2008) differentiates in Europe the subsystems "North" (hardly any immigration, migration especially between the Scandinavian countries and refugees), "North-West" (characterized by high levels of immigration from the former colonies), "Center" (especially migrant workers), "East" (transit countries) and "South" (until recently, countries of emigration, now characterized by strong (especially "illegal") immigration). A similar attempt to classify Africa differentiates between "West Africa" (voluntary, seasonal migration to the favorable coastal regions), "East Africa" (forced migration shaped by the colonial era, circular wage labor migration, core-periphery model), "North Africa" (seasonal migration over long distances and constant migration of nomads and small farmers), "South Africa" (forced migration during Apartheid through forced labor and taxation, destruction of traditional structures) and "Central Africa" (not specified) (Adepoju, 1995; Baker and Aina, 1995; Gould, 1995). These perspectives do not take the current migration movements due to climate change, wars and economic crises into account.

The elimination of internal borders promotes freedom of movement within the European Union, while the Schengen Agreements tighten external borders. Borders in Europe are filters or barriers for third-country nationals, depending on whether or not they can obtain a visa. Different types of human trafficking and

smuggling are growth economies that circumvent this visa requirement. The reconstruction of territorial borders leads to “different degrees of ‘motility,’ i.e. potential for mobility, [which] are evidence of unequal power relations” (Scuzzarello and Kinnvall, 2013, p.92).

At the same time as Schengen, the Dublin Regulation was introduced in order to find an official distribution of responsibility in the area of asylum and to define the asylum procedure from a European perspective. This so-called Dublin System (Dublin I, II, and III) of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS) is intended to prevent the ‘irregular’ mobility of asylum seekers, undocumented migrants and refugees in the Schengen Area. The increase in immigration since 2015 calls the Dublin system and the Schengen Agreement and Convention into question, as several states have tightened their internal EU borders by reintroducing border controls (e.g. Hungary, Austria, Germany, Sweden). The unilateral reintroduction on the part of one state emphasizes the borders and the heterogeneity of the power relations within the European Union and between the state and migrants.

FRONTEX, the European Border and Coast Guard Agency, maintains the so-called hot spots (legally or illegally built camps) in EU member states with external borders (e.g. Italy, Greece and Malta). There are also hot spots outside the EU borders, where the European Neighborhood Policy has developed measures to externalize the EU borders through migration systems that are meant to prevent people from entering the European Union (see also Cuttitta, 2015).

Migration is often associated with integration. A more in-depth discussion of the term “integration” cannot take place here.

In my Border Studies, migration plays an important role in the (re)definition of border regimes, in border management, but also in border politics.

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