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The Routes Project

Transnational Report on Migration (English)





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TRANSNATIONAL REPORT ON THE HISTORY OF MIGRATION: THE ROOTS OF EUROPEAN MIGRATIONS

All the European countries involved in the Routes Project have a double migratory history of arrival and departure. On the one hand they all have experienced the foreigners' arrival into their own land, (either as conquering people or as migrants seeking asylum or a job), on the other hand most of their communities have been foreigners themselves in others' lands. Many of them have been persecuted as foreigners in their own country and had to escape for religious, political or racial reasons. The concept of "foreigner" is an important key to the reading of the European history and its imagination. The idea that there are countries which have no migratory history (towards other countries) but only a host role, such as Germany or Great Britain, is just a stereotype often demolished by the national Reports: in 1901 in England, in a period of social alarm due to the high level of Irish and Jewish migration from Russia, "the outgoing migratory fluxes were actually higher than the coming ones"; likewise in Belgium during the first post war, the foreigner workers recruited in the coal mines were not only Italians but also Germans. More generally, the idea that there are ethnic and cultural "pure" countries or nations, continuously besieged by foreigners, is a mythological idea used to support a particular view of the present, but it lacks any historical confirmations. The understanding of these myths' effects and their demolition are part of a conscious distant attitude from the stereotypes as well as the prejudices; they also reflect a balanced analysis of the problems connected with the migratory processes through various historical phases.

To this purpose it is important not to limit the consideration about Europe only to our times. The search of its roots is the object of a heated historiographic and political debate and should strengthen the socio-economic interaction to overcome the tragic divisions of the past, but it should also be studied and discussed at school and in the adults training courses, in the places where the public opinion is formed, in the university and vocational specialized courses, in order to build up a pro-Europe conscience and mentality. This study would highlight the relevant and leading role of migrations in the formation of the European identity and would make us note that the "open" national identities have favoured the economic and political development, whereas the nationalistic-based identities have brought forth periods of involution and wars. It would also stress how the reversal of the foreigner's role has always been the starting point of any good integration practice.



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The migrations in the divided Europe

During the Greek and Roman period conquests and colonization marked the European geopolitical map, whereas in the long Medieval time the coming of Christianity, the migrations and the arrival of new peoples revised the ethnic and the socio-cultural scenery. But it is with the modern era, that is with the crisis of the political universalism and the formation of the national States, with the explorations and conquests across the Atlantic, with the moving of whole African peoples towards the American continent for slavery purposes, with the intra and extra-European migrations due to the religious wars between the 16th and the 18th century, it is with the large migratory movements of those centuries that the idea of Europe and the European conscience took shape. The European outline has homogeneous features compared to the citizens and cultures of the other continents, even though it is divided from different points of view (political, institutional, linguistic and religious ones).

The fundamental features of the migratory movements, described in the British, French and German recent reports, have been outlined in that period. The late political independence of Italy, due to the centuries-lasting dominations by the European powers, can be considered both cause and effect of its development weakness, which is the origin of the early and consistent migration of Italian communities towards Belgium and France. Romania and the Slovakian Republic too have reached their independence recently and, just like Italy, have experienced their first big migrations towards America (for seeking job) between 1800 and 1900, as a consequence of the effects of the Great Depression (1873-1906). The conflicts among the European States, often competing for colonialist reasons too, have changed the national borders for five centuries: from the religious wars to the Napoleonic ones, from the 1870 Franco-Prussian conflict up to the two world wars of the last century, periodically entire populations are included or expelled and we witness waves of deportation as well as political and racial exile. During the Second World War the number of people deported are reckoned at 25 million.



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The migrations in the united Europe

The first steps of the European Union, after the long divisions and tragedies of the Second World War, have taken place in the central-western part of the continent, within the Atlantic Charter and the NATO. It has been in fact a unitary route obstructed by the deep vertical split occurred in the continent with the “cold war”; a physical and symbolic split, achieved with the Berlin Wall erected in 1961. The division between “opposing blocks” came after the previous division among political and economic powers, and, starting from Europe, it involved the entire globe. Soon after the WW2, mostly in the western area, there was a huge migration of people in search of work from the poor countries towards the countries which were rich in raw materials but lacked labour. We can clearly understand its extent and importance reading the Italian Report.

While in Great Britain and France also the in-flows from the ex colonies remained significant, the migration flows within Europe between the 50s and 60s fitted into the same socio-economic schemes of the period between the two wars, but were definitely much more massive. This is due to the fact that, besides the traditional unemployment of the poor countries or the request for political asylum, the deep and irreversible crisis of the peasant world caused a massive migration from the farmlands and a general phenomenon of urban drift, both inside and outside the single nations.

With the rise of the industrial and urban society, the huge migration for work from Italy lasted until its economic boom and industrial take-off on the one hand, and until the general stop of reception by the rich countries because of the energy crisis of the first half of the seventies, on the other hand. Due to this crisis a lot of migrants went back home, too. The Belgian report shows very clearly how, till then, the moody welcoming policies were mostly influenced by the national demographic regulation needs and by its job market. With the end of the traditional migration within the European continent from the poor countries towards the rich ones (linked to the crisis of the traditional industry), the host countries began to regulate the integration of the second migrants generation, while slowly new European Institutions were being formed and the basis for the monetary unification were being laid. In the meanwhile, the endemic poverty of several African and Asian countries brought about migratory waves of peoples, escaping from political and religious persecution, wars and famine, heading towards Europe, especially towards the countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea.

The images of boats full up with migrants heading towards Italy, of others full of “desperate people of the sea” leaving the African coasts towards the Italian or French ones, belong to the historical human heritage now. They also communicate tragedy and hope at the same time, expectations and responsibilities, as well as the coactive





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and unavoidable need for respect of the human rights, yet present in all the Constitutions of the European countries.

And while the integration process is advancing and the European Union developing, the “old continent” is coping with a lot of problems such as the crisis of the traditional industry and with the economic globalization (which recently came to the international financial crash and had worrying effects on the employment and consume standards), in other words it is copying with the contradictions of the old development model. At the same time it is facing an unforeseen and maybe unpredictable situation: masses of people coming from the east and south of the world are arriving to seek their own future. It is within this frame that we have to assess the difficulties and the contradictions, the resistances and the conflicts, but also the huge potentials of the contemporary migratory phenomenon in Europe.

Current national problems

Studying the national Reports, it is possible to focus on the frame of changes, conflicts and contradictions of the last two decades. From this analysis we can highlight some similarities and some differences, as well.

France, which in the past had been a country of strong economic immigration (especially in the north mining regions, like Calais), both for “historical nearness” to its colonies and for “geographical nearness” to the European countries, is now facing an immigration mainly made up of students or people who ask for the reunion of the family or for political asylum, because of the end of the traditional industries and of the coal mines. Another part of this immigration, however, is illegal and at the same time, temporary. For example, there is a big group of people who try to emigrate to Britain and live in makeshift camps (“the jungle”). In addition, there are other problems such as the unsolved ones of the integration of the immigrants third generation: above all, the “ethnic ghettos”, consequence of unemployment and discrimination, are the cause of explosive suburban riots.

Great Britain for the first time is witnessing a decrease of foreigners, today. Only in 2004 there were 650,000 foreigners applying to the Worker Registration Scheme. The actual number of migrants was certainly higher since registration was not compulsory for self-employed and students.

In 2004 they were mainly coming from East Europe (Czech Rep, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia), and so from 2007 too (Bulgaria and Romania).

Germany had its record of 1,219,318 of immigrants in 1992: 440,000 were political asylum seekers, but only 4.25% of them had the necessary requirements for it.” The issue of asylum abuse leads to acrimonious political and social debate”. “In some cases, asylum seekers are physically attacked and their residences set on fire”. On



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the one hand we assist to a “growing numbers of such attacks”, on the other hand “numerous people express their solidarity with foreigners in the form of rallies and candlelight vigils”.

After being an emigration country, Italy has become an immigration one for the last twenty years. At present, the regular immigrants are the 6.2% of the population, but in some northern regions and in Umbria, they reach the 9%. When it comes to the most explosive issues, the Country is split into two parts. In the South we have witnessed disembarkations of illegal migrants coming from the near Balkans and from Africa; the answer to this phenomenon has been the creation of reception centres but also collective rejections, which received criticism also by the UE. In the North the xenophobic trends centred upon the unauthorized Rom camps and the illegal migrants, especially the Romanian, involved in some crime news. In some northern towns, groups of common citizens formed the so called “ronde” (patrols), following some hatred campaigns. The issues of human and asylum rights, obscured by the problems linked to the public order, have aroused a lively political debate and also the Catholic Church pronounced itself several times against these infringements.

Belgium is now facing an immigration for work which is mainly made up of Maghrebi, seen as scapegoats of the occupational crisis, especially during the election campaigns. At the same time, besides the control of the illegal stays, it is urgent to integrate the new generations, especially encouraging a higher education and a better and more balanced settlement inside the urban areas.

Romania, before the end of the communist regime, had experienced the emigration towards west as political exile. In the last two decades, which have seen the difficult transition to the market economy, at least 2 million of Romanians emigrated in search of a job. The recent economic recovery of the country is attracting immigrants today, generating significant tensions on the job market.

Slovakia is traditionally a country of economic and political emigration. Today emigrants from this country move towards both outside and inside the EU, for study or work reasons. The current problems are mainly linked to the mass emigration of Rom population, that move for economic reasons but also to escape from discriminations, as well as to the emigrants’ return because of the economic downturn. Another problem is the arrival of immigrants from the countries of the ex-Soviet block.

Remarks about the overall situation. The previous east-west split is evident today in the different positions towards migration: the eastern countries (Romania, Slovakia Republic) are mainly countries of migrants heading West, whereas the western countries (Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy) are mainly being caught up with the socio-economic-political problems connected with immigration: with the multiform immigrants’ identity (work, study, political reasons, legal or illegal and temporary stay); with the reception but above all with the control and block of arrivals, as well as the integration of the immigrants’ “second and third generations”. The xenophobic trends, especially during the political-electoral competition, generally belong to the right oriented political parties, present in each country. Such trends are also appearing in the eastern countries which are becoming immigration countries.



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Between east and west

The thinking about the human and citizenship rights, must take the geo-political and socio-cultural immigrants' situations into account, besides the changes of the traditional features of immigration. Such features are particularly important in order to understand both the modern shifts of the ex-communist countries and the quick changes of the current world linked to the summing up of various, sometimes discordant, trends. Moreover, they make us think about the protection and the development of the democracy in the host countries. Let's analyze some of the most outstanding aspects of the Reports of the two eastern countries involved in the Routes Project: Romania and Slovakia Republic. Even though they have consistent labour outflows towards the western countries, their situation is much more complex than the ones of a country, like Italy, which has traditionally been an immigration country. This complexity is mainly due to the quickness of changes and to certain interlinked, sometimes even conflicting, phenomena. Today Romania, which has always been a land of migrants seeking work within the communist countries and a land of political refugees towards the western ones, is at the same time an emigration but also an important immigration country for work reasons. In 2007 there were 10,000 immigrants. Shortly, after the transition from a communist economy to an open market one, hundreds of thousands of people became free to migrate, but, at the same time, after the rapid economic recovery occurred in the meanwhile, there was a lack of labour that attracted workforce from abroad.

In fifteen-twenty years time, therefore, a series of events and phenomena have piled up, such as the political-economic effects of the end of communism, the entry in the EU and the massive outflow towards west, the arrival of foreigners looking for a job. All this caused tensions and heightened uncertainties, leading authorities to take contradictory measures, such as the ones aimed at protecting the outflows, on the one hand, and to encourage the repatriations on the other hand. Among the most troublesome effects we must signal the feminine condition. If somehow it has had an emancipator push, being women much numerous in emigration, nevertheless it is linked to the dramatic social condition of infancy. In fact, while the adults handled the difficult situation making even radical choices, the children found themselves more exposed and more helpless. 60,000 children are reckoned to be at social risk, lacking one or both parents, (for a third of them). This is a different case from the traditional emigration from the farmlands, when the adult men left first and the women and children remained within the enlarged peasant family. Such a social drama needs strong educational-socio-assistant measures and efforts and it can't be solved with the replacements of emigrants, even if in large numbers. Another shocking effect is the fact that as much as the 65% of immigrants is between 20 and 29 years old. This makes the future of the nation difficult and implies a strategic measure about both the outflow and the repatriation of the Romanian citizens, as well as some regulations of the labour coming from other countries.





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The Slovakian Report too underlines the coexistence of emigration, emigrants' return and arrival of immigrants from Moldavia, Ukraine and Romania, as well as political refugees. Also in this case the rapid piling up of opposing trends depicts the social instability of the country. Moreover, the Slovakian Report highlights the current mass emigration of Roms (Romanian nomadic people), who migrate for economic problems but also because of the "discrimination by most of the population". It is clear how, in situation of instability and uncertainty, racist acts appear not only towards the newcomers but also towards the weak minorities, which become the scapegoats of general problems and difficulties.

In the end, the Romanian and Slovakian Reports contain interesting food for thought in the interviews to emigrants to western countries. If some remarks are very similar to the ones of the Italians once migrated to Belgium (the suffered discriminations, the importance given of work, their problems concerning the language, the bureaucracy, their social integration and a general positive judgment of their own integration process), other considerations are quite different both for the content and the language used.

Firstly, in the Slovakian Report we find a particular importance given to the "basic civil rights" such as the free circulation which, for example, Italy assumed in the 1948 Constitution as one of the basic distinctive element from the previous Fascist period. There is also the difference between "voluntary migration" and "forced migration" because of the political and religious persecutions, in which we can trace a memory of the communist past.

Moreover, Slovakian emigrants say that in the western countries it is possible to get better and well paid jobs, but "they want pressures and more responsibilities". Or, in the Romanian Report, the interviewed people say that through the experience of emigration they have gained a "better respect towards what they owe" and they became "more direct, more confident and auto disciplined". These statements make us think about their previous situations and about the lack of any sense of responsibility that any totalitarian regimes implies. In general, the migrants' experience show us that the problem of the assumption of responsibilities, such as that of the citizenship, involves both the migrants and the natives and could be formulated in this way: how could it be possible to strengthen the process of assumption of responsibilities of people of any origins, in the democratic countries and with the contemporary transformations? Or: which forms of lack of responsibilities are possible in western democracies?

Anyway, it is evident that analyzing the phenomenon of immigration having more than half a century of democracy behind is much different than doing it still having a fresh memory of totalitarian regimes. It is a long memory indeed, without interruption between the first and the second half of the 20th century, since several generations lived in a non-free condition during the fascist regimes first, the Nazi occupation afterwards and the communist regimes in the end. That could contribute to a healthy and non-rhetoric multicultural interaction between the eastern immigrants and the occasionally short memory of the western countries.





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Identity and citizenship

The phenomena we depicted up to now show a general overlap between the European integration progress and the redefined single national identities. If the xenophobic and sectional trends prevailed we would witness the formation of “closed national identities”. This fact, besides contradicting the various European countries history, would obstruct the integration progress as well as the formation of a European broad-minded conscience (open to the interactions with other continents).

In the national reports, even in those denouncing the racist and xenophobic tendencies, we find the description of flexible, open to the integration and quite solid in their democratic structure societies, even though concerned with huge and complex issues. Though slowly and contradictorily, the way we must do is the one of a renewed citizenship in the single nations and in the EU.

Yet we can't underestimate the current critic period and the present difficulties of reorganization as a consequence of the new changes brought about by the migration phenomena. In some respects, the present confusion is very much like the one depicted in the British Report, referring to the loss of the Empire and the need of a “new British identity” which was achieved in the seventies, thanks to the control of immigration movements and at the same time the passing of the antiracist laws as well as the constitution of a Commission for the racial equal rights. For sure, we were during the seventies and, though there was the energy crisis, the problems linked to the recent globalization were far away. Nevertheless, the reorientation is also possible today and the British Report is an example itself. In fact, if an indicator of the positive interaction with the immigration issue is the ability to represent it properly, that is creating proper knowledge instruments to register and monitor the integration and exclusion processes, then the British Report can be considered as a reference point. In this country, in fact, several researches have been carried out, for example about the linguistic and food contaminations, or about the presence of immigrants in the retailing sector, in sports, in entertainments activities and in the art field. Yet, in Great Britain too, where “it is evident the remarkable success of the integration of different cultures”, and where “immigrants are represented in all the areas of society and economy”, there is “a lack of data (that) makes it difficult to assess the socio-economic impact of immigration”. Nevertheless, there is evidence that the consistent investments on immigrated children education have raised the education level for all children and that some rural village schools have been maintained thanks to the boost in numbers of the children of migrant workers in agriculture. Other data, though partly controversial, show how the immigrants' contribution to the UK GDP and to the internal revenue was much greater than what they actually got in goods and public services.

The positive effects on the GDP and on the internal revenue are underlined in other Reports too. This is an element that would deserve a more accurate quantification and disaggregation as well as a better diffusion





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among the public opinion so that the link between citizenship and economic contribution could become a common sense. As far as the social aspect is concerned, we often hear of “enrichment” or “improvement” of the society thanks to the immigrants’ presence, but these statements remain empty without references to places and procedures. So, the evaluation of the change is left to one’s personal and local feeling or perception.

Within the frame of an integration aiming at the citizenship, we must point out the different generation attitudes underlined by both the British and the German Reports. The former shows that while the youngsters have daily relationships with immigrants at school, the adults meet them at work, having as a reference point the features of the immigration from the Commonwealth of Nations. But it is especially the German Report that remarks the split between the youngsters and the adults in their perception and relationship with the immigrants: in fact, while the adults in general behave with preconceived ideas, distinguishing good and bad immigrants according to their integration efforts (as evident also in the Italians’ experiences in Belgium), and yet manage to have good personal relationships, for the youngsters, who are their schoolmates or friends, immigrants are “part of their daily life and don’t see them as foreigners” Although the youngsters’ attitude must be considered positively, it is not enough to assure a future of mutual respect and integration without a deeper knowledge of the “others” and without a historical conscience. The daily life in common is not a guarantee in itself of the awareness deriving from the historical consciousness of one’s own and others’ past. It could instead hide a factual indifference towards the other’s identity and could not go towards the aim of the citizenship. Moreover, as history teaches us, prejudices and hostilities can come to the surface even after centuries of life in common, especially in periods of economic, political and moral crisis. The introduction of a “Citizenship curriculum” in the British schools “to develop a common understanding of British values and respect for one another” gains in importance to avoid the risk of a loss of values, such as that of citizenship.

Legislation

As a consequence of the recent evolution of the migratory movements, all the countries have been adopting legislative measures which, as underlined by the Belgian report, they hadn’t needed before, that is until the migratory inflows were following the traditional job market rules, and were therefore regulated by suitable bilateral agreements. Following the demographic swings caused by the European wars, new legislative measures, aimed at integration policies, have been adopted.

As underlined by the French and German Reports too, the host countries legislation has been thickened after the 70s crisis first, and during the geo-political European changes at the beginning of 90s, afterwards. As we have already pointed out, the Slovakia Republic and Romania too, besides stipulating bilateral agreements, are



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making laws in order to control the outflows and encourage the repatriation on the one hand and to limit the inflows on the other hand.

With the National Strategy on Migration, in Romania, since 2004, the Government has been adopting measures to give a legal frame to the work migrations, to the asylum right and to the naturalization; the Action Plan has also been started to facilitate the return to the countries of origin.

In general, all the western countries are taking measures to control/limit or block the inflows which, compared to the past ones, are bringing about relevant changes and need therefore delicate adjustments. The first innovation concerns the extension of the right of asylum request. The xenophobic positions take cue just from this innovation, as underlined by the Belgian Report, to eliminate this right from the human rights field and move it to the disguised economic migration one.

A similar fact has occurred in Italy with collective rejection of migrants arrived on the southern coasts, without any check and protection of the individual human rights. A second issue concerns the illegal immigration and stay. This phenomenon, which is a constant of the work migration, is today a very temporary one (as a need for transit, a temporary crossing through single nations) and is particularly used in the North of France. The control of such phenomena is really necessary but at the same time very difficult due to the actual interlink between 'illegal stay', criminality and international terrorism. All these factors help the xenophobic propaganda and play on the people's psychological feeling of insecurity based also on the problems of the economic downturn.

The other main aspect of the legislative action concerns the integration conditions, which means integration of both the number of workers considered useful and necessary, and of the so-called "third generation" of migrants.

It's on this aspect that we have to consider the problem of the citizenship, more generally speaking the problem of the enjoyment of the civil rights and of the right to vote in the local elections. The discussion about the times for the acquisition of the entitlement to vote and of the citizenship is focused on the "jus sanguinis" or "jus soli" ("blood" or "soil" right) theories and on whether the integration of a nation must be a prerequisite or it is an effect of the acquisition itself.

Among the Reports we collected, as for the right of vote for the local elections, we found a positive confirmation only in the Belgian's one, where since 1999 all the migrants coming from the countries member of the EU, and since 2004 also the others, can vote for the local elections.



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The role of the mass media

The role of the mass media, especially newspapers and televisions, is undoubtedly fundamental in directing the public opinion towards discriminatory and racist positions or instead towards an open attitude to emigration. An important role is surely also played by the local televisions and newspapers, as well as the Internet sites. Yet, it is not possible to get relevant notes from the national Reports since they don't mention this theme at all or they deal with it in a very general way. Some clues are in the German Report in which the interviewees state that they "have no information at all out of the media", and in the British one in which it is talked about "anti-immigration lobbies fuelled to some extent also by the media" and some interviewees made reference to the role of the media in portraying a negative slant on immigration, particularly in respect of acts of terrorism.

The peculiarity of the negative direction, often encouraged by the media, is that of giving a view of the world on a daily-news basis, usually crime news, in which foreigners are involved. Not only the future becomes bleak and unpredictable, therefore, but neither the past exists any longer, except in some celebrations which do not change the perception of an uncertain present due to the increasing number of immigrants. The most secure antidotes to this trend are the critical education at the citizenship and the mentioned historical consciousness, as well as the arrangements of social "places" where people could meet, identify themselves, exchange information and interact.

"Best practices"

It is possible that at school as well as at work there are marginalizing and even ghettoizing actions, such as classes of only immigrant children or work disqualified sectors (underpaid and illegal), but yet both school and work are the places par excellence for socialization and sympathetic relationships. In those spaces, in fact, people show their subjectivities and emotions, and practice their assumption of responsibility in learning a job or in their education. It is therefore in these two fields that we found some "good practices", like in Belgium, where the French Community has promoted the project LCO (Langue et culture d'origine - Native language and culture) that favours the linguistic and cultural learning at school. Other interdisciplinary class projects aiming at the citizenship education and at the fighting against racism and xenophobia are linked to the LCO. Moreover, both in some schools and outside them there are "awareness campaigns and actions" launched by the Center for equal opportunities and fight against racism.



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Also in Italy we can mention “best practices” embodied in associations committed in the educational and intercultural fields. Among them, Caritas, an association which depends on the Catholic Church and is committed in the field of assistance and aid, is one of the most relevant. It also writes a national Report on migrations yearly.

The emigrants from Romania instead in their accounts mention the committee of Non-Governmental-Organizations. To them, as to the Slovaks, the linguistic integration is, as it was for the old Italian emigrants to Belgium, the main issue on the basis of which they can give a positive judgment of the reception actions of the host countries.

It could be revealing that the national Reports of the three most important Countries involved in the Routes Project (France, Germany and Britain) do not mention the “best practices”. But we can anyway deduce them indirectly. For example, in the German Report we read that most of the interviewees “have had (or have witnessed) unpleasant events with migrants” and “haven’t done anything for their integration” On the other hand, the British Report mentions positive actions by the State, such as the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant and the Vulnerable Children Grant (VCG).

They are clues that can suggest some reasons of the silence on this theme. On the one hand, there could be some unclear or little evident information about this issue, but on the other hand the “best practices” we talked about could have actually been absorbed in the measures taken by the States and in the institutional “positive actions” projects. Or, it could be that the theme of the qualitative perception of the personal interaction is considered as a less important aspect compared to the relevant quantitative dimensions concerning the issue of migration. It is obvious that this point deserves a remark since it is true that the States must make the laws and rule the whole migration movements, but it is also true that there can’t be any social inclusive processes without the direct assumption of responsibility by any individuals and by their economic and cultural associations. This aspect too is part of the citizenship consciousness mentioned above and, after all, it can encourage a certain optimism for the future.

Future images

One of the effects deriving from the complexity and the internal innovations of the current migratory processes consists in the difficulty in imagining the future by the western host countries. Especially for the adults, the fears and the questions prevail over the project. But we can say that also the youngsters, who yet practice the mobility, know the languages and meet the foreigners early at school, lack a collective design, that is the direction to pursue fixed aims and purposes. The view of the future is vague, uncertain. In Great Britain, most of





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the interviewees see the “integration possible at long terms”, and the German Report talks about “slow adaptation progress”. Even when the youngsters or the adults have daily relationships with the foreigners at school or at work, it does not imply in itself the existence of a project. There can be an individual life design, but it is difficult to see a collective life project, a national and European project that could go beyond the declarations and the peace, intercultural and sympathetic rallies. Ultimately, it is difficult to imagine a European and multinational citizenship.

Maybe the main reason lies in a general decline of the political thinking. The failure of the old ideologies, the crisis of the old national states haven't been substituted by those fundamental values (like peace, intercultural, sympathetic and reception values) that could enrich and change the democracy, creating new forms of national and European citizenship, through the political active participation and the democratic control of the decisions. As we have seen during the recent European elections, not only the vote attendance was weak but during the electoral campaign nothing has been said about the European issues, since the political parties preferred to focus on the internal problems rather than to strengthen a multinational position. In some respects, the future perception seems to be more realistic for the interviewed immigrants. In fact, emigrating, they not only have already made a choice for their future, but their current sacrifices aim to a purpose, that could be either going back home or staying or changing the residence country. Especially young people wish to change country to have “other experiences and adventures”, as a twenty-year-old migrant to Germany from Bulgaria said. Actually, the birthplace can be considered an important indicator of the relationship with the future. In Great Britain, for example, “nearly two-thirds of the rise in births since 2001 are to foreign-born women”, many of whom, in certain age groups, were born in U.K.

Anyway, we can't talk about the future only looking at Europe. At least, we must admit that the current migratory policies made by the European Countries will obtain some results only if they include suitable support policies to the countries of origin.