Birgit Glorius,
Josefina Domínguez-Mujica (eds.)

European Mobility in Times of Crisis
The New Context of European South-North Migration
The global economic and financial crisis had severe impact on southern European economies and stimulated growing numbers of mainly young migrants heading north, nurturing the fear of brain drain back home. This volume compiles recent research results on European south-north migration, addressing migration processes and practices, the management of migratory moves by institutional frameworks and relevant public discourse. It thereby delivers an important contribution to the understanding of the durability and contextuality of recent European south-north migration and their consequences for European economies, politics and societies.

Birgit Glorius (Dr.) is associate professor of human geography at the Chemnitz University of Technology, Germany. Josefina Domínguez-Mujica (PhD) is professor of human geography at the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria.

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Since the onset of the economic and financial crisis, European internal migration changed significantly. While South European countries since the oil crisis of 1973 were rather immigration than emigration countries and their populations said to be reluctant towards migration, migration numbers increased considerably since 2008. Especially young and well educated migrants are leaving their home countries, nurturing the fear of brain drain back home.

The youth mobility topic is positioned – among other – in the context of a discussion on Europe needing a strong young generation. It is known that the profile of this young generation varies within Europe and that the socio-demographic characteristics of youth are inextricably linked to the differentiated demographic and migratory transition of the different countries. After the economic and financial crisis since 2008 and ongoing, we can distinguish a new stage in the model of Southern European migration. Despite the difficulties inherent to the availability of the statistical information on emigration, the databases allow us to get some evidences on the geographical mobility from Mediterranean countries, especially of the skilled young adults. This phenomenon has attracted the attention of scholars both in countries of origin and destination of emigrants and has been interpreted as a new juncture in the migratory transition of Southern Europe.

1 Most of the chapters collected in this anthology have been presented and discussed during an international conference at TU Chemnitz. This event – as well as the book publication – was made possible with the help of financial funding from the German Academic Exchange Service. The project: “Migration and Crisis. The example of Spain” was funded within the funding scheme “Academic Dialogue Southern Europe/Hochschuldialog Südeuropa” by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD).
Beyond the formulation of this model, the mobility choice of these young adults has been seen in the high unemployment rate and in the lack of career opportunities and transparency on the home labor market. Furthermore, it is unknown if the processes of demographic and social transformation as well as the increasing internationalization of society may serve as framing elements which are fuelling migration decisions. So far it is unidentified if the migratory movements in the context of the economic crisis will be of temporary nature or if they will lead to long-term absence and if these flows will endure as times go by. Therefore it is necessary to develop comparative studies in homeland and host land, with quantitative and qualitative analyses, that allow us for reading these processes concerning their durability, contextuality and their consequences for economy, politics and society. To know the new migratory linkages aroused from them and to improve their management can indeed contribute to a better integration of the European Union.

This publication aims to deepen our expertise by presenting a collection of most recent empirical research results on migration from Mediterranean Europe to Northern and Western European countries, notably to Germany, The Netherlands and the UK. The authors of this joint volume use statistical data such as Eurostat or Census data and explore empirical studies on the topic; but they also present fresh results from a large number of quantitative surveys and qualitative interviews as well as media analyses. Based on a variety of scientific disciplines such as anthropology, human geography, psychology and sociology, the authors examine migration processes and practices, the management of migratory moves by institutional frameworks as well as public discourses about the ‘crisis migration’. Specifically, the papers focus on the following topics:

- Processes: description of recent South-North migrations from a sociodemographic or regionalized perspective; characterization of migrants concerning age, gender, ethnicity and legal status; selectivity of migration, especially regional selectivity (e.g., effects of centre-periphery-relations, reasons for regional preference for specific destinations);
- Practices and strategies: examination of the motives, decision-making processes and migration strategies of migrants, in particular concerning the con-

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2 The editors would like to thank all contributors for their intensive work, the German Academic Exchange Service for its funding, the TU Chemnitz for hosting the conference and our student assistant Lisa Eichhorst for her thorough support during the editorial and layout process.
nectivity of career development and family formation; long-term mobility strategies and the decisive criteria for a specific target country;

- Institutional framing of migration processes: political and regulatory schemes; activities of public and private employment agencies, chambers, language schools, companies and other actors; and

- Perceptions and discourses: awareness and public opinions of the recent South-North migration processes from the perspective of politics and society in origin and destination countries; reflection on migration processes from the perspective of migrants; media discourses on migration in the context of crisis and demographic change.

The first part of this publication delivers a description of recent South-North migrations from a socio-demographic and regionalized perspective. It presents a characterization of migrants concerning age, gender, ethnicity and legal status and gives insight into the selectivity of recent migration, especially concerning regional selectivity. Opening the volume, Josefina Domínguez-Mujica and Tanausú Pérez García give an overview on the recent demographic and migration history of Southern Europe, aiming to highlight the most important features linking the profiles of those countries and differentiating them from Eastern, Western and Northern Europe. Based on 2011 Census data on unemployment, tertiary education and expatriation, the chapter aims to depict the relations between socio-demographic and migration characteristics of the young Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians and Greeks as opposed to those from Western and Northern Europe. This analysis displays socio-demographic features that may explain the importance of the recent emigration of young adults and, especially, of those with tertiary education from Southern to Western and Northern Europe, as well as to other destinations worldwide.

In chapter three, Armando Montanari and Barbara Staniscia give insight into recent mobility features of young Italians as a consequence of global economic crisis and its effects on the Italian economy and labor market. In their chapter, they elaborate on migration motives and mobility processes of young Italians and give an overview on socio-demographic characteristics of migrants or potential migrants, based on statistics and scientific reports on the phenomenon. They elaborate on Italian policy responses to what is called the ‘fuga’ – flight – in Italy and discuss the success of those measures to promote return migration from the migrants’ perspectives. As a result, Montanari and Staniscia stress the role of psychological and cultural motivations, which are, often, the invisible factors affecting the decision to move, but which can hardly be measured through statistics.
Manolis Pratsinakis, Panos Hatziprokipiou, Dimitris Grammatikas and Lois Labrianidis draw our attention to Greece, the country which has been hit hardest by the crisis, recession and austerity measures. The chapter gives insight into the emigration trends and key features of ‘crisis migrants’ and how migration is reflected by the public discourse in Greek media. It then zooms into the case of recent Greek migrants to the Netherlands, providing a typology of different mobility trajectories and migration experiences. Thus, the authors intend to deconstruct a number of conventional assumptions, notably by situating the recent Greek emigration in a historical continuum with several structural preconditions predating the crisis. They furthermore discuss the qualitative dimension of mobility shifts and critically reflect on idealistic perceptions of life and work ‘in Europe’ often depicted in Greek media, and thus bring to the fore the ambivalence of mobility decisions and the multiplicity of individual pathways.

The second part of this volume examines the role of framing structures as well as on the actors’ practices in the context of crisis migration. It analyses the migration motives and decision-making processes and gives insight into the migration strategies of migrants and individual consequences of migration. Furthermore it discusses the role of institutional support networks and specific policies in shaping the migration process.

The chapter of Birgit Glorius addresses the question of typical educational or sociodemographic features and other necessary prerequisites for the development and implementation of migration plans. She specifically focuses on the role of language proficiency and explores data from an online survey on mobility intentions and socio-demographic characteristics of Spaniards studying German in language schools such as the Goethe Institute. The results give insight into the variety of motives for language acquisition as well as on the connectivity of language proficiency, transnational social capital and mobility experiences with migration plans. On the basis of the survey data, Birgit Glorius shows different stages of migration preparation and explores the connection of spatial perceptions and mobility experiences, thus giving hints towards the question how large the share of individuals is, who actually put their migration intentions into practice.

Pablo Pumares then zooms into the lived realities of Spanish migrants, reporting on a qualitative study among Spanish migrants in the Brighton and Hove area (Sussex, UK). Using results from qualitative interviews, he explores profiles, experiences and future perspectives of young Spaniards who moved to the UK in the context of the financial and economic crisis. His study reveals the uncertainty of migrants regarding the duration of their stay in the UK, being torn between the desire to build up social and cultural capital and establish a career
abroad, and feelings of homesickness and return intentions. Their narrations reveal their deep attachment to Spain and thus a high level of dissatisfaction with the political and economic realities back home. With his results, Pablo Pumares adds to the research literature on post-industrial liquid migration, a concept that so far mostly was applied for the example of migrations from Central and Eastern Europe.

The chapter by Maria Wassermann also explores integration experiences and return intentions, using quantitative survey data on the example of South European migrants in Germany. Framing her research with psychological considerations, she not only explores the effects of immigrant adjustment, but also personality predispositions like cultural empathy, flexibility, social initiative, emotional stability and open-mindedness for the development of return intentions. Furthermore, she gives insight into important differences of Spanish, Italian and Greek migrants in her study, indicating that Italian participants are most representative of a new generation of immigrants that make use of a transnational space of living, whereas Greek participants are most representative of traditional, economically driven migration.

In the next chapter, Dirk Godenau focuses on the role of private and public intermediation in Spanish labor migration to Germany. Taking on a historical perspective, he compares the structure of intermediaries during the period of Gastarbeiter migration in the 1960s and the recent institutionalization of migration. He shows the major changes of structure and agency of a migration industry under the conditions of free movement, where intermediation along the migration process concentrates on the labor market and settlement, with the latter including housing, education (e.g., language), and other social services (e.g., health). He shows the development and interlinkages of public and private services and the impact of migrant self-selection and self-organization on the structuration of the migration process. With his research, Dirk Godenau gives first hints towards the functioning of publicly funded recruitment initiatives, which are explored more deeply in the following chapter by Phillip Meinardus.

Based on a case study among German recruitment agencies, employers and migrants, Phillip Meinardus gives deeper insight into the decisive procedures for a successful recruitment of employees from abroad, as well as on the implementation of these procedures. He stresses the changes towards recruitment of qualified staff (in contrast to former Gastarbeiter migration) and details the steps of the recruitment and intermediation process of Spanish employees and trainees, exploring the perspectives of recruiters, employers, and migrants. Reflecting the results of his interviews, he points to the significance of soft factors for a suc-
cessful acclimatization and integration and discusses the role of regional differences of a ‘welcoming culture’ in this respect.

The third part of this book focuses on the development of media discourses and on the connectivity of public representation and political discourses on crisis migration and the development of social movements, notably for the Spanish case. It highlights the development of stereotypical imaginations of Germany and Spain within the media and discusses how those stereotypes influence migrants’ decision making processes. Furthermore, it shows how strongly reflections on migration are interwoven with general discussions on necessary reforms within the state administration and how emigrants are able to actively influence public opinion in their home country, thus fueling reform processes from below.

The chapter of Ramón Díaz-Hernández and Juan Parreño-Castellano explores the emotional constitution of Spanish youth and their family concerning emigration experiences, which appear as a mixture of disappointment, indignation and a sense of failure, mingled with the hope of a better life abroad. They contrast this picture with the public perception of crisis migration, based on the image projected by the government and the mass media, which is ranging between outright denial of the phenomenon to incomprehension, criticism and even irony. For their paper, Ramón Díaz-Hernández and Juan Parreño-Castellano use survey data of young emigrants as well as media analysis of a large range of printed and social media.

The final chapter by Ana López-Sala addresses current reconfigurations of Spanish society and political life brought about by the economic crisis. Taking the example of the social movement Maroon Wave, she explores the development of a new kind of external citizenry that is highly critical of the current government. Ana López-Sala depicts the Maroon Wave as part of a reaction to the inaction and indifference of the Spanish government to the plight of economic exiles, but also as an aspect of the general detachment from and lack of trust in Spanish institutions and traditional political parties observed in many sectors of Spanish society. However, contrary to other countries discussed in this volume, the disappointment and distrust of many migrants has not increased their feeling of detachment from Spanish society, but rather had the opposite effect: it has activated a desire to influence the political and social dynamics in the society of origin, with the objective of bringing about structural changes that will allow them to return.

These approaches to new processes of European mobility open innovative perspectives for researchers interested in the complex interplay between economy, society and politics within the European Union. Free movement is not only a fundamental principle of the European single market, but also a fundamental
right of European citizens entitling them to move freely across borders and reside anywhere in the EU. Hence, the chapters compiled in this book open further research perspectives on the evolution of patterns and networks of intra-EU mobility and the scale and impact of this mobility on the social and economic systems of the sending and receiving countries. Finally, whether and how perceptions and attitudes towards migration are related to support for the welfare state can be extended in further investigations.

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Birgit Glorius & Josefina Domínguez-Mujica