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The reality of contemporary migration - global and local initiatives and approaches

Abstract: Contemporary modernisation and migration processes have made the issue of migration policies and integration strategies one of central interest in the social sciences. The notion of the free flow of people is becoming dubitable even within the EU itself. The ubiquitous effects of migration in today's society have been increasingly underlining the fact that migration terminology itself has become both politically dangerous and conceptually useless. Recently the use of the instrument of circular migration has been on the increase. Its principal aim is to fill the gaps in the labour market, particularly in the EU, to facilitate the development of migrants' countries of origin, and to prevent circular migration from turning permanent. Standard practice shows that the state of Slovenia likewise encourages immigration when in need of a new workforce, yet as a rule does not attend to the integration of migrants. Migration in the contemporary world, although essentially a natural and common human phenomenon, has become one of the main problems of European governments at the local as well as the global level. The governments attempt to impose control, restriction, filters, and, above all, selection.

Key words: circular migration, integration, security, Mediterranean region, Slovenia

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Sodobna migracijska realnost – globalne in lokalne spodbude in pristopi

Izveček: Sodobni modernizacijski in migracijski procesi so vprašanje migracijskih politik in integracijskih strategij postavili v samo ospredje zanimanja družbenih znanosti. Vsenavzoči migracijski vplivi v današnji družbi vse bolj opozarjajo, da je sama migracijska terminologija postala politično nevarna in konceptualno neuporabna. V zadnjem času je vse bolj v ospredju uporaba koncepta krožnih migracij. Glavni cilj le-teh je zapolniti vrzeli na trgu dela, zlasti za EU, prispevati k razvoju držav izvora, predvsem pa preprečiti spreminjanje krožne migracije v trajno. Standardna praksa kaže, da v Sloveniji država spodbuja priseljevanje, ko potrebuje delovno silo, za integracijo migrantov pa ne poskrbi. Migracije v sodobnem svetu povsem naraven in esencialen človeški fenomen, so postale eden od glavnih problemov evropskih vlad na lokalni in na globalni ravni. Le-te jih poskušajo nadzorovati, omejevati, filtrirati in predvsem selekcionirati.

Ključne besede: krožna migracija, integracija, varnost, Sredozemlje, Slovenija

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Preface - Contemporary migration reality

Contemporary modernisation and migration processes have made the issue of regulating migration policies and integration strategies one of central interest in the social sciences.

Migration processes, particularly undocumented ones, fill Europe and the larger world with fear – justified, according to some,

by sundry forms of migrants' violence against the majority population and the state, by economic imbalance, by their concentration on the fringes of large cities, and also by the political and economic exploitation of their problems. Other causes of fear are contemporary political changes at both national and international levels, as well as a growing collective desire for safety. This desire goes hand in hand with an economic crisis that is spreading even in the most affluent countries.

Due to economic conditions and based on the increasing need for manpower, the increased proportion of economic migrants will represent despite the current economic crisis and recession, one of the main compensation mechanisms for the shortage of manpower on the labor market. However, the problem of immigration is not listed high on the agenda of the current European policies – it is mentioned only under the general heading “Security”.

Globalisation, transport, and communication have speeded up and facilitated migration, which used to be far less simple and viable. While some routes of migration have been dictated by the historical ties of colonialism (with Algerians, for example, moving to France, Indians to Great Britain, or the Surinamese to the Netherlands), trends have revealed that, particularly since the fall of the Eastern bloc, migrants have been looking for new destinations on the basis of suggestions by friends, agencies, or their families.

Despite publicized reports of raids, and threats of sanctions against lawbreakers, traffic in humans and – ever more frequently – human organs, as well as prostitution, is still on the rise.

Some migrants, especially those in transit across the Mediterranean, are the victims of human traffickers - women and children who, even if they reach land safely, will be condemned to a life of exploitation and abuse². Human traffickers are well aware of the legal

² Source: *L'espresso*, May 17. 2007, p.10.

loopholes; in fact, they run less risk than any other illegal activity. Today nation states attempt to regulate the fluidity of labour in relation to the capital, while capitalism attempts to set the price of labour on the basis of the global minimum, regardless of global needs.³

Despite the increasing military enforcement of national borders and severe penalties, the international fight against undocumented migrations has yielded results that are far from ideal. How can a state defend itself against a process which is globally linked to its own development? How can migration offices form precise rules to distinguish legal migrants from illegal ones? In terms of the relationship between globalization and migration, state laws often contradict each other.

The deregulation of labour makes the labour market easier to control at a global level, while at the same time stimulating the informal economy, which involves migrants more than it does the resident labour force. The political and ruling elites are preoccupied with the issue of who belongs to the developed world (Europe, the USA, Canada, Australia), and who has a right to stay 'here'. In Europe, undocumented migrants are 'invisible', and it is in the interest of many that they become even more so.

*"People who are living in the EU illegally should be returned to the countries where they came from, but it should be done with dignity,"*⁴ says ex European Commissioner Frattini in a press release from 2005. A semblance of concern – in reality a phobia about refugees and asylum seekers – is incessantly fuelled by campaigns against 'bogus asylum seekers', 'asylum seeking parasites', and 'economic refugees', especially those coming from the so called Third World. The closure of borders, strict controls, and especially the visa regimes, generate new migrants and a need for smugglers,

³ Tapinos, 1999.

⁴ Source: *Delo*, September 2, 2005, p. 4.

while the intolerance-fostering political actions always find support in some of the mass media.

Articles, interviews, on-the-spot reports, commentaries, letters to the editor and so on can shed light on the perception of national security and the relationship between the media and the public. This type of discourse, embedded in all spheres of everyday life, generates the sense of a 'new threat', a 'constant danger', a peculiar 'panic circle'. The latter may be interpreted as embodying the typical attitude to migrants, especially undocumented ones. Yet on the other hand the media indirectly stimulate illegal migrations themselves, by painting pictures of a better life elsewhere. For people living in the east and south, the images of the affluent north and west as transmitted by global media networks are incentives not only to consumerism, but also to migration.

Integration and Terminology or 'The Terminology of Integration'

The pressure to protect national borders is increasing, and the measures listed above are evidently intended to protect the state apparatus, not people. There is no doubt that increasing control of migrations is helping to obtain cheap labour.

The omnipresence of migration flows in modern society draws attention to the fact that even migration terminology itself has become both politically manipulative and conceptually useless. This is further confirmed by the terminology widely used in official EU circles, which many find to be largely mechanistic, and hence dehumanizing.

The very terminology used by state agencies implies the potentially criminal nature of migrations, which therefore require increased surveillance, well-organised border controls, alerts to other countries, and other all-round measures.

In European Commission circles and documents the following terms are the most outstanding: ‘action’, ‘action plan’, ‘instruments’, ‘instrumentarium’, ‘mechanisms’, ‘operations’. As an illustration, ‘Operation Ulysses’ is a good example of new EU standards of security and also an application of very popular terminology.

More and more open questions about ‘Operation Ulysses’

In 2005 EU members, who are supposed to harmonize policies on all aspects of migration, including repatriation and asylum, organised a controversial project and worked together for the first time.⁵ In January 2005, Spain formally began the notorious ‘Operation Ulysses’, in which ships from Spain, Britain, France, Italy and Portugal patrolled sections of Europe’s Mediterranean coastline, with the aim of detaining and deterring the hundreds of small, overloaded boats that head north from the African coast.⁶ Ships from five European countries began patrolling the Mediterranean in an attempt to control the rising tide of foreign immigrants trying to enter Europe illegally.

Spain and Italy are the chosen destination for many boatloads of would-be immigrants desperate to start a new life in the EU, but the issue of undocumented migrants extends beyond the Mediterranean countries.

Even before it was launched, ‘Operation Ulysses’ was mired in controversy. Refugee rights groups argued that the aim of this border project - to detect boats in international waters and return all those onboard, regardless of whether or not they were asylum seekers - was in breach of Article 31 of the Geneva Convention.

⁵ Source: The International Herald Tribune: http://www.gcsp.ch/e/publications/Issues_Institutions/ME_Med/Academic_Papers/Lutterbeck-Med_Politics-March06.pdf.

⁶ Ibidem, 2006.

In addition to the threat that it poses to human life and human rights, the movement of people across the Mediterranean has a number of other important consequences. Because such movements are irregular in nature, they can give the impression that the destination countries are no longer in control of their borders, and thereby contribute to the xenophobic sentiments that are to be found in many parts of the EU.

Countries in North Africa are confronted by growing numbers of people who congregate in coastal cities, waiting for the opportunity to leave. When ships' captains discover stowaways or encounter people in distress on the high seas, it is often unclear where and when those people can be disembarked.⁷

Anti-immigrant parties are gaining political support in Europe. In Spain, where the center-right government blames immigrants for rising crime, increasing numbers of Spaniards oppose more immigration. In Spanish and EU official circles 'Operation Ulysses' in the Canaries was 'very positive' and showed 'concrete results' in the matter of reception and interception of irregular migration. But a growing cross-section of Spanish civil society disagrees. Groups working with migrants in Spain say that it is extremely difficult for many migrants, especially from Africa, to enter Spain legally, and that EU governments should do more to improve legal channels and assist the integration of foreign workers.

The questions increasingly raised in the official circles are: How safe are we from the 'turbulent' migration flows in modern society? How safe are our jobs from migrants; how safe are our houses and streets? But the opposite question could be asked as well: How safe are migrants from the European need for new workers, a low birth rate, the desire to earn fast income, and extra profit?

⁷ Fargues, 2008.

Migrants or slaves?

Given the above, it seems perfectly reasonable to draw a comparison of migrants and slaves, which has been made by numerous scientists dealing with migration processes (Stephen Castels, Max Miler, Nikos Papastergiadis, Klaus Bade, Steven Vertovec). Both terms above refer to a non-free workforce subject to coerced movement. The comparison of migrants as workforce or 'non-free workers', and slaves from the time of colonialism, also seems appropriate to Stephen Castles for the following reasons: migrants as a rule have limited access to health and economic rights, as well as work contracts;⁸ they are also frequently excluded from certain professions, senior positions and functions; and they have problems acquiring work permits specific to one employer, which means that workers (also in Slovenia) cannot seek employment with another employer, so that some are ultimately left with no other alternative but to return to their home countries.

Dynamic political deviations of the new world order (e.g. globalization, the EU, the Schengen regime, the de-industrialisation of the West) bring radical change to reasons for migration flows and create new hindrances for migration.⁹ Change has also occurred in categories that define the notion of a migrant worker. Moreover, even the seemingly simple difference between an economic migrant and a political refugee may signify deportation in one case and asylum in another.¹⁰

One can observe the sheer importance of the arrangements for movement or the right to enter and leave a country that the developed world has set up for all potential migrants. The strongly and rhetorically present legalization of migration is becoming a volatile challenge. Migration becomes undocumented and in fact illegal

⁸ Castels, 2006.

⁹ Papastergiadis, 2000.

¹⁰ Medica, 2007.

once new laws have been introduced setting a new *modus vivendi*, new rules on movement in a given area.¹¹

As long as there is a widespread stereotypical conception of immigrants in the public mind, as long as the attitude of the state towards immigrant workers and its political, religious and cultural expectations permit them to be scorned by their immediate community or at work, and to be marginalized in the society at large, it is paradoxical to talk of the implementation of integration into wider society.

Circular migration, ‘circular integration’

The concept of circular migration appears to be all the rage in international policy circles, and this concept is becoming an increasingly mentioned form of migration. In the opinion of the European Commission it could, if well managed, facilitate a balance between the international supply and demand of workforce and thus contribute to economic growth. In this respect, the European Commission points to the fact that, in the event of improper design or mismanagement, circular migration could develop into a permanent migration, thus preventing the realization of the Commission’s objectives.

The two main forms of circular migration that are considered the most relevant by the European Union are as follows:

1. The circular migration of third-country nationals residing in the EU. This form of circular migration would enable them to engage in the pursuit of their activities in their country of origin while retaining their main residence in an EU member state. It primarily covers business people, doctors and pedagogical workers.

¹¹ Bade, 2005.

2. Circular migration of people residing in a third country. This form of circular migration covers people residing in a third country who come to an EU member state temporarily for work, study, training or a combination of these, on the condition that, at the end of the period for which they were granted entry, they must return to their country of origin where they have permanent residence.¹²

Circularity may be fostered by providing migrants, once they have been re-admitted to employment or training, with simplified and faster administration procedures to re-enter an EU member state in which they were formerly residing. The categories of third-country nationals eligible for such privileges comprise in particular seasonal workers, students who wish to receive training in EU member states, and researchers. Talks are currently underway to re-launch the circular migration concept in the EU and a growing importance is being placed on this concept, officially called an *instrument of circular migration*, which is to be integrated into the comprehensive migration policy.

Therefore at least two basic elements play a crucial role in formulating migration policies and strategies: the first is the regulation of migration flows, and the second concerns measures targeted at migrants in host countries by placing emphasis on integration.

The main idea is that circular migration systems could be managed in ways that bring the proverbial ‘*win-win-win*’ results (i.e. benefits for receiving countries by meeting labour market shortages, for sending countries by the guarantee of remittances for development, and for migrants themselves by offering employment and control over the use of their wages). Circular migration is also

¹² Klinar, 2009.

being advocated as a potential solution (at least in part) to a number of challenges surrounding contemporary migration. What are policy-makers suggesting, why now, and what should we bear in mind if circular migration is indeed to be the way forward in global policy?¹³

The Circular Migration Concept - new perspectives and possibilities for migration processes, or back to the past?

In the last fifteen years the EU member states have been noticing substantial flows of immigration, and the characteristics of international migration flows are also undergoing qualitative change. This major change has occurred in the reasons for migration as well as in the ethnic composition of migrant workers. The question of migration regulation is becoming one of the key agendas in the European Union, particularly for two interrelated reasons:

The first concerns the demographic trends in EU member states, in which low birth rate, prolonged life expectancy, and an aging population affect the changing structure of the labour market, as the share of the working or employable population is in decline.

The other reason stems from the economic situation, which manifests a stronger need for a cheaper workforce, while the increased share of economic migrants is becoming one of the central options for tackling the deficit in the labour market.

Social, economic, legal, security and other problems concerning the causes and effects of migration processes affect everyday life in all spheres of society. At the foreground of this complexity are the processes of globalization, the rapidly growing economy and the low birth rate of the European population.

¹³ Vertovec, 2007; Castels, 2006.

The established practice shows that the host state encourages immigration when the need arises for a new workforce, but usually does nothing to provide for the integration of immigrants. On the other hand, during periods of increased unemployment or social unrest immigrants often find themselves targeted as ‘scapegoats’ and at the top of the redundancy list.

However, as with other kinds of temporary migration policies, there are a number of concerns to bear in mind when designing circular migration policies.

These include referring to Vertovec’s questions such as:

- Will migrants get ‘locked-in’ to modes of dependency and exploitative relationships with employers?
- Will ‘circular’ migrants work permits be non-portable (i.e. restricted to specific employers or sectors), thereby increasing the chances of exploitation and lessening the chances of socio-economic mobility?
- Will policy-regulated circular migration systems become closed labour markets, with limited opportunities for access among new would-be migrants?
- Will enforcement mechanisms become more draconian – since any temporary migration scheme will only function if migrants indeed return to their home countries after their statutory period of employment?
- Since circular or other temporary migrants will be required to leave after short stays, will this preclude any kind of ‘integration’ strategies for them (including language training or information about living in the host society)? Consequently, will the lack of integration strategies make migrants more vulnerable, socially excluded and geographically encapsulated?
- Since they will have to leave after a time, will there be no chances for circular migrants to naturalize (and, in doing, gain

dual citizenship which would help them ‘circulate’ more easily)?

- Even given the creation of ideal circular migration policies and systems, will it not remain cheaper and less bureaucratically burdensome for employers simply to continue hiring undocumented migrants?
- A final question arises when considering the current popularity of circular migration in policy circles. Is it not true that such schemes, such as the American *bracero* programme (1942-1964) and the German *Gastarbeiter* Gastarbeiterprogramm (1955-1973), have all been tried – and dropped – a long time ago?¹⁴

Therefore, in light of the above and with reference to circular migration, the increasingly advocated integration reveals a contradictory aspect to circularity. The latter actually signifies temporariness, inconstancy, changeability, instability and, finally, uselessness.

Yet when considering anything – particularly an approach to global policy – that portends to be a kind of magic bullet, caution should certainly be taken. The ‘wins’ of the win-win-win scenario may not be as mutual as imagined.¹⁵

Migration as geographical movement constitutes a single act, whereas integration is a process involving development strategies, and key elements for the understanding and discussion of the contemporary world.

The rotation concept of circular migration has proven contradictory in theory, useless in the long term in practice, and ethically unacceptable. The hiring of workers for a limited period of time on the assumption of returning them to their country of origin is a short-term solution.

¹⁴ Vertovec, 2007.

¹⁵ Vertovec, 2007.

The situation of ‘circularity’ in Slovenia

The EU legislation process, which also sets the rules for Slovenia, is engaged in an intensive search for long-term strategies and efficient migration policy programmes.

Various forms of coercion, administrative measures, classic strategies and approaches to addressing migrations have proved useless or even counterproductive.

The profile of an average migrant worker in Slovenia is as follows:

- a man of around thirty,
- a citizen of one of the republics of the former Yugoslavia (particularly from Bosnia and Herzegovina),
- a non-qualified worker (first and second degree education) engaged in construction in central Slovenia,
- on the basis of a personal work permit or employment permit¹⁶.

Migrant workers from the territory of the former Yugoslavia are a constant in Slovenia. Their influx is the greatest due to continuous contact and close proximity; they can be easily brought to the country and re-sent back home once they are no longer needed.

At present, most workers come from Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the unemployment level is highest. The number of migrant workers from the new EU member states (Romania, Bulgaria) is small, and even smaller is the number of immigrant workers from other countries, mainly Africa and Asia.

Despite the continuous influx, ‘circulation’ and presence of a migrant workforce in Slovenia, few data are available on the social conditions of their stay and life, their value orientations, expectations or needs – in short: on the level of their integration into Slovenian society.

¹⁶ Source: Zavod RS za zaposlovanje: <http://www.ess.gov.si/slo/Dejavnost/Tujci/Tujci.htm>, 30.6.2008.

The situation in the labour market dictates an increased influx of workforce when necessary in relation to other economic factors such as increasing economic growth, declining unemployment, a small number of appointments of EU nationals, and an increased demand for workers, especially those who are scarce in the Slovenian labour market (construction, metallurgy, transport, catering, domestic work - *care drain*, services, agriculture).

Migrant workers are inadequately informed that they enjoy equal rights with their Slovenian counterparts. For the first two years they are dependent on their employers. Those who have worked for the same employer for two years and have at least vocational education are granted a personal work permit for a three-year period. Moreover, the Republic of Slovenia has no regulations regarding workers' living conditions, which have attracted the most critical attention.

Integration in theory

However, from a formal legal perspective, the foundations of Slovenian integration policy were set in 1999 with the adoption of the Resolution on the Immigration Policy of the Republic of Slovenia. The pluralist integration model as defined by the resolution of 1999 was further confirmed by the new Resolution on the Immigration Policy of the Republic of Slovenia passed in 2002. The latter outlined a pluralist (multicultural) model of Slovenian integration policy that guarantees immigrants equal inclusion in the Slovenian society, while enabling them to preserve their cultural identity.¹⁷ The selection of a pluralist model seems appropriate, reasonable and feasible at the present time as it takes into account the actual multicultural character of Slovenian society.

Furthermore, immigrants are granted the right to preserve their ethnic identity, culture and language. In Slovenia the prohibition

¹⁷ Bešter, 2003

of discrimination and equality before the law are ensured in accordance with the constitution, but there are still no specific programmes for the active prevention of discrimination of immigrants in various areas of social life.

It is still far too early to talk of any concrete results of the integration policy in Slovenia. The first step towards the expansion of social contacts in society could be Slovene language courses, an idea that seems to be of no interest to employers.

While certain activities are performed to provide immigrants with aid in terms of inclusion into Slovenian society, these are individual efforts made by a handful of non-governmental organisations (UNHCR, Slovenian Philanthropy, GEA 2000 Foundation, Jesuit Refugee Office, trade unions, etc), whereas there is still a severe shortage of coordinated government programmes.¹⁸

Integration in practice

While from a theoretical point of view integration has almost reached its qualitative peak, practice has turned out to be not so one-dimensional - in fact, quite the contrary.

Instead of focusing on the integration and inclusion of these migrant workers, whom this country needs on a long-term basis, we can only discuss the absence of any form of integration in actual practice, as well as the absence of any strategic consideration thereof.

The starting points for the formulation of migration policy in the EU and Slovenia indicate two basic approaches to migration management with regard to the economic aspects of migrations:

The first approach focuses on the regulation of migrant flows, while the second targets measures concerning migrants who are

¹⁸ Source: Smernice za izobraževanje otrok tujcev v vrtcih in šolah: http://www.zrss.si/pdf/OENM_TUJCI%20-%20SMERNICE%20-%20ousklajeno%20junij%20doc%2021%208%202009.pdf.

already in the receiving state, whereby integrations are referred to as the most important instrument. In reference to circular migrations, however, this gives the increasingly advocated integration a contradictory interpretation of circularity.

Another danger that such ‘circular’ migration may lead to lies in a potential transformation of this public policy into a means of supervision and exploitation of migrant workers. On the basis of field work and direct interviews conducted with migrant workers we have arrived at **three** extremely alarming conclusions:

The first (tokenism) relates to the supervision of migrant workers in the context of ‘circularity’ of migrations. Being aware of their substantial economic dependence on the employer, some migrant workers decide to become so-called ‘tokens’. Who are ‘tokens’? This unique practice, which we have characterised as ‘tokenism’, aims to persuade workers that uncompromising loyalty is in their best interest, even though it is not – quite to the contrary. The term ‘token’ may be associated with a bus token. In the case of workers at construction sites, we have identified a phenomenon where workers report on their co-workers to their superiors for a pittance. According to their accounts, the payments range between 10 and 50 euros – illustratively for the price of one token. As a result, the reported workers are transferred to other, more demanding or more distant construction sites, they become subject to financial sanctions or are fired.

The second is: status granting as an instrument of extortion. This conclusion relates to the system of migrant circulation that has been changed by employers into a system of extortion on the basis of conditions for the granting of a certain status or permit. The confounding effect of this pattern is illustrated by the example below, which we identified in an interview conducted with workers from the workers’ residence hall of the company Primorje d.o.o. on 5 October 2010:

A person worked for four years and eight months at Euro stan

nepremičnine d.o.o., where the employer paid all his contributions and registered him. Then he was transferred to another company, where he has not been registered, even though the employer has been promising for some time now that he will do so. He is only four months away from the right to permanent residence and he would like to know what he can do. Another worker from the same company told us that the employer threatened that he will destroy his visa and will not pay him the money he owed him... This company does not pay its workers regularly.

(Izola, Workers' Residence Hall of Primorje, d. o. o., 5 October 2010)

During the course of research we found on several occasions that employers use extremely effective means to extort workers by making the granting of status subject to various conditions, as well as by refusing to (fully) inform them.

A parallel migration market - the third conclusion, which derives from the actual treatment of the problem of circular migrations, is that a parallel migration policy was formulated during the period of intensive economic growth just before the economic and social crisis. This particular policy may be defined by the aforementioned pattern of extortion of workers, by exploiting the rules for the granting of certain long-term statuses, and identified as an informal, quasi-personnel migration policy mainly implemented by employment agencies.¹⁹ According to the Labour Inspectorate of the Republic of Slovenia, the latter are often not registered at all.²⁰

¹⁹ According to the latest data for November 2010, the Register of Employment Agencies contains 194 such agencies. Accessible at: http://www.mddsz.gov.si/si/delovna_podrocja/trg_dela_in_zaposlovanje/posredovanje_in_zagotavljanje_dela/.

²⁰ See the annual report of the Labour Inspectorate of the Republic of Slovenia for 2009. Accessible at: http://www.id.gov.si/fileadmin/id.gov.si/pageuploads/Splosno/porocilo_2009.pdf.

One of the most extreme implications of this system is illustrated by the example of two workers from Bulgaria, which was documented in August 2010. Before they came to Slovenia, an employment agent promised them very good earnings. The workers said that they worked without payment for a full month, from morning till evening. It was only when they tried to find their employer that they realised he had gone. The two Bulgarian workers returned home with the assistance of the Bulgarian Embassy, and their employer disappeared without a trace. On the other hand, such a system brings the purported 'employers' enormous profit.

This led to the creation of a parallel system of migrations in the labour market that has developed its own vocabulary. Just how dangerous the implications of this system are is, not least, shown by the mere use of words. As has been revealed in our interviews with workers, their 'employers' treat them as slaves, and for this reason workers begin to identify themselves as 'slaves' as well.

However, police activity aims to protect the system – the social and political domination, which includes regulating the labour market. The latter is nowadays achieved primarily by tracking economic migrants, refugees, and migrants without papers. The measure of success is a well-organized raid, the number of captured people, and border control. The police are often joined by the media in measuring success by such standards. Improved control of border crossings and striking news items about captured fugitives on the crime pages create the impression that we are safe, secure, well provided for and, of course, well-informed.

In place of a conclusion

The main reasons why people migrate are sheer economic necessity, as well as greater economic profit, while employers perceive migrants as cheap labour in the market. On this basis, the migrant's

public identity has more or less become encapsulated in the image or stereotype of a cheap (construction) worker. The system of 'circularity', or in the name of circularity, has placed migrants in a state of complete dependence and inferiority, which has subsequently led to their extreme passivity and apathy. The latter clearly signals that this is not a separate migrant segment but rather, that in society as a whole the system of operating, thinking and functioning manifestly breeds an increasing sense of inferiority and passivity. That is why the circular migration concept hardly could be the way forward in global policy.

On the other hand, migrations – essentially a natural and common human phenomenon – have become one of the main problems of European governments. These attempts to impose control, restriction, filters, and, above all, selection. At present, it is becoming palpably clear that unless civil society forges stronger initiatives and comes fully to the fore in the future, not even the best decisions of political elites will bring the desired results. In view of the social, economic, and ecological, as well as notional uncertainties of the time in which we live, the discussion on the topic at hand is expected to continue.

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