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Review article

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GLOBAL MIGRATION TRENDS IN AN ERA OF GLOBALIZATION

Abstract: The author analyzes the impact of globalization on the transformation of international migration flows. The author considers the features of global trends in international migration: growth of international migration, expansion of international migration geography, quality shifts in migration flows structure, determining role of economic migration, permanent growth and structural intricateness of illegal immigration, increase of forced migration, increasing role of international migration in demographic development, dual character of migration policy. Author points that only by reasonable migration policy can be provided the legitimate field of international migration and rational use of migrants' skills.

Key words: international migration, illegal migration, demographic development, globalization of migration processes, migration policy

Извод: Аутор анализира утицај глобализације на трансформацији међународних миграционих токова. Аутор сматра да су карактеристике глобалних кретања у међународном миграције: раста међународне миграције, ширење међународни миграције географије, квалитет промене миграционих кретања, одређивање улоге економске миграције, стални раст и структуре илегалне имиграције, повећање присилних миграција, повећање улоге међународне миграције у демографском развоју, двојаки карактер миграционе политике. Аутор истиче да само разумном миграционом политиком може се обезбедити легитимна област међународне миграције и рационално коришћење способности миграната.

Кључне речи: Међународна миграција, илегалне миграције, демографски развој, глобализација миграционих процеса, миграциона политика

In the second half of the 20th century the mankind witnessed of the insurmountable and irreversible power of globalization processes, which influence all spheres of social life and create a global system of interdependency between countries and nations.

This growing interdependency is related to:

- development of integration processes and expanding economic interdependency between national economies;
- growing gap in the levels of economic development between developing and developed countries caused, inter alia, by the demographic factor;
- improvement of communication facilities and the transport system, which allows information, goods and people to move freely and quickly even between territories that are located very distantly from each other;

- activities of international institutes and transnational corporations that engage employees from different countries and promote their movements across the borders;
- social connections that develop as a result of international migration and interracial marriages, in particular, and promote formation of the global system of mutual aid.

Globalization processes within impetuous changes in global political and economic systems have abrupt intensification of global migration flows and have witnessed dramatic shifts in global migration trends that are resulting in formation of a new stage of migration history of the mankind.

We summarized those trends in the 1990-s and 2000-s (see Aleshkovski, Iontsev, 2008; Aleshkovski, Iontsev, 2015) and by now, they have become well-formed. The most significant of the trends are:

- unprecedented growth of the international migration flows and formation of “nation of migrants”;
- widening geography of international migration flows by involving practically all the countries of the world in migration flows;
- qualitative changes in the structure of the international migration flows in compliance with the requirements of globalizing labor market;
- determinant role of economic migration, primarily labour migration;
- sufficient growth and structural intricateness of illegal migration;
- growth of the scale and geographical widening of forced migration;
- growing importance of international migration for demographic development of the world, countries of origin and destination;
- dual character of migration policy at global, regional and national levels.

Growth of the International Migration

The collapse of the USSR and appearing in its place of separate independent states, important political and social changes in the Eastern Europe, the collapse of Yugoslavia and prolonged conflict between Serbians and Albanians, the crisis in the Persian Gulf, civil wars in Rwanda, Somalia and Sudan, conflicts in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria - all these and other events of 1990-s and 2000-s set in motion vast and often uncontrolled international migration flows and moved out international migration of population among the most important global phenomena, which had an influence on the world economy and, accordingly, conditions of its globalization.

The scale of international migration allows us to talk about it as a phenomenon, which has a global influence. According to the United Nations Population Division 2015 estimates, more than 244 million people live outside their country of birth, 57 per cent of all international migrants live in more developed regions. Currently, international migrants make up nearly 1 of every 32 people in

world, almost 1 of every 8 people in the developed regions and nearly 1 of every 65 people in developing regions. Collectively, international migrants could now constitute the world's fifth most populous nation if they all lived in the same place - after China, India, the United States and Indonesia (UN, 2015b).

It should be noted that these figures do not include illegal immigrants whose number according to different estimates amounts from 10 to 15 % of all international migrants (from 24 to 36 million people) and international tourists whose number exceeded 1200 million. If we add 150 million labour migrants together with their family members, more than 10 million seasonal and frontier workers, and no less than 60 million forced migrants (refugees, displaced people, asylum seekers, 'ecological refugees', etc.), we will have the total number of people who are involved in the international migration in this or that form which amounts to over 1.5 billion people. If we summarize all the categories of migrants then every fifth Earth's inhabitant is an international migrant. The latter brings up the idea of the so-called "nations of migrants", which can be compared by its quantity with the quantity of two biggest nations of the world.

As it can be seen from Table 1, in the last 50 years there have been significant changes in the regional distribution of international migration flows. If the majority of international migrants (57.2%) in 1960 located in the developing regions, now more than (57.6%) of international migrants has settled in the developed regions. The most perceptible changes were observed in the Europe and the North America where the number of international migrants has increased over the period of 1960–2015 5.3 times and 4.3 times respectively. Currently, the region with the highest number of international migrants is the Europe (more than 76.15 million people in 2015), followed by the Asia (75.08 million people) and the North America (54.49 million people) (UN, 2016a).

Table 1. International migrant stock at mid-year by major area, region, millions, 1960–2015

Major Area, Region	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005	2010	2015
World	75.46	81.34	99.28	152.56	172.70	191.27	221.71	243.70
Developed regions	32.31	38.36	47.46	82.38	103.38	117.18	132.56	140.48
Developing regions	43.15	42.97	51.82	70.18	69.32	74.09	89.15	103.22
Europe	14.24	18.79	21.89	49.22	56.27	64.09	72.37	76.15
Africa	9.13	9.94	14.10	15.69	14.80	15.19	16.84	20.65
Asia	28.48	27.82	32.11	48.14	49.34	53.37	65.91	75.08
Latin America and the Caribbean	6.01	5.68	6.08	7.17	6.59	7.23	8.24	9.23
Northern America	12.51	12.99	18.09	27.61	40.35	45.36	51.22	54.49
Oceania	2.13	3.03	3.75	4.73	5.36	6.02	7.13	8.10

Source: *Trends in Total Migrant Stock: The 2005 Revision*. *Trends in Total Migrant Stock: The 2005 Revision*. New York: United Nations, 2006; *Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2015 Revision*. New York: United Nations, 2015. <http://esa.un.org/migration>.

The important indicator, which reflects the ratio of international migration is the growing part of international migrants in the total population

of the receiving states. In 1960, there were 27 countries in the world where the percentage of international migrants was up to 10 %, while in 2015 the number of such countries reached 92, and in 16 countries the portion of international migrants in total population exceeded 50 % (UN, 2015b).

Most significantly the share of migrants in the total population during 1960–2015 increased in the oil-producing countries of the Persian Gulf: in Bahrain from 17.1 % to 51.1 %, in Kuwait from 32.6 % to 73.6 %, in Qatar from 32.0 % to 75.5 %, in the UAE from 2.4 % to 88.4 %, in Saudi Arabia from 1.6 % to 32.3 % (see table 2).

Table 2. Countries with the largest percentage of international migrants in the total population

country	1960	country	2015
Israel	56.1%	UAE	88.4%
Jordan	43.1%	Qatar	75.5%
Kuwait	32.6%	Kuwait	73.6%
Qatar	32.0%	Bahrein	51.1%
Singapore	31.7%	Singapore	45.4%
Brunei Darussalam	25.2%	Oman	41.1%
Côte d'Ivoire	18.0%	Jordan	41.0%
Bahrein	17.1%	Lebanon	34.1%
Australia	16.6%	Saudi Arabia	32.3%
Canada	15.0%	Switzerland	29.4%

Remark: only for countries with the population exceeding 500 thousands persons.

Source: *Trends in Total Migrant Stock: The 2005 Revision. Trends in Total Migrant Stock: The 2005 Revision. New York: United Nations, 2006; Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2015 Revision. New York: United Nations, 2015. <http://esa.un.org/migration>.*

Thus, international migration flows in the contemporary world became the global phenomena, which have an influence on all spheres of life of the global community, and international migration became one of the key factors of social and economic development of states.

Expansion of International Migration Flows Geography

Nowadays, all countries of the world are involved in international migration to a greater or lesser extent. Even such “closed” states as Northern Korea or Cuba are getting more and more proactive in the migration processes, considering that emigration from there is much more strictly controlled than immigration, as opposed to many other countries.

It should be noted that in spite of the fact that the majority of international migrants originate from developing countries, the contemporary migration flows don't have only “South-North” or “East-West” vectors. Nearly half of all reported

migrants move from one developing country to another and approximately the same amount move from developing countries to the developed ones. In other words, the number of migrants who move from “south to south”, approximately balances out the number of migrants who move from “south to north”.

In the 21st century, all countries and territories in the world are, in one way or another, countries of destination for some migrants. The era of fast transportation within the world affects every country, and international migrants appear everywhere. According to the UN Population Division, in 2015 the only sovereign state in the world, where the number of international migrants was less than 1 000 people, was the Republic Tuvalu (number of its inhabitants is below 10.5 thousand people) (UN, 2015).

Whereas in 1965 there were 41 countries with the number of migrants exceeding 300 thousand people, in 2000 the number of such countries rose to 66, and by 2015 it reached 81, moreover, in 37 of them the number of international migrants exceeded 1 million persons, while in 10 countries it was over 5 millions persons. At the top of the list are the USA (46.6 mln persons), Germany (12.0 mln persons) and Russia (11.6 mln persons) (see table 3).

Table 3. Countries hosting the largest numbers of international migrants, millions

country	2000	country	2015
USA	34.81	USA	46.63
Russia	11.90	Germany	12.01
Germany	8.99	Russia	11.64
India	6.41	Saudi Arabia	10.19
France	6.28	United Kingdom	8.54
Ukraine	5.23	UAE	8.10
Canada	5.51	Canada	7.84
Saudi Arabia	5.26	France	7.78
United Kingdom	4.73	Australia	6.76
Australia	4.39	Spain	5.85

Source: *Trends in Total Migrant Stock: The 2005 Revision. Trends in Total Migrant Stock: The 2005 Revision. New York: United Nations, 2006; Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2015 Revision. New York: United Nations, 2015. <http://esa.un.org/migration>.*

Thus, the shifts in the global migration situation over the last 60 years were primarily related to considerable changes of geography of international migrant flows and the increasing number of countries involved in international migration processes.

Quality Shifts in Migration Flows Structure

Profound changes that happened in the world in the second half of the 20th century are rooted in the development of the post-industrial sector of economy

and corresponding transformation of the global labor market demands, as well as liberal reforms and democratic shifts in the post-communist and developing countries. This encouraged a qualitatively new stage in international migration. The key changes in the international migration regime are the following:

Shift from Permanent to Temporary Migration

Existing data do not provide reliable information on temporary migration flows and for the most part temporary movements are not recorded in the statistics, whereas detailed information on temporary migrants is not regular. Meanwhile, surveys conducted in some countries of destination and statistics on travelers prove that in the recent five decades the number of permanent (or long-term) migrants was rising gradually, however, the number and frequency of short-term movements were growing much faster.

Among all the forms and types of international migration, labor migration was growing most rapidly during the last decades.

This has to do with spreading and greater availability of transport facilities, making migration easier and “reducing” the distance between countries and continents. Under these conditions temporary work abroad is more preferable, than emigration, because it involves fewer material and non-material costs.

On the other hand, globalization of the world labor market requires more flexibility of migration behavior that can be partially guaranteed by labor migration. Attraction of foreign workers on a temporary basis also corresponds to goals of immigration policy in developed countries that are the “globalization elite” and in many respects define conditions, under which other countries participate in globalization processes.

Shifts in the Qualitative Structure of Migration Flows

In labor markets of developed countries that determine the direction and activity of international labor migration flows is there a constant demand for foreign labor at two qualification “poles”: workers with low skills and workers with high skills in technologically advanced occupations. At the same time, the demand for foreign labor in countries of destination evolves towards more qualified labor force, and receiving countries strenuously encourage attraction of qualified immigrants in the branches and sectors of a national economy that face labor deficit.

Shifts in the qualitative structure of migration flows mean first of all the growth of the number of skilled professionals among international migrants. This trend is closely related to probably the most painful phenomenon in international migration, “brain drain”, i. e. non-return migration of highly skilled specialists – scientists, engineers, physicians, etc. (including potential intellectuals such as students, post-graduate students, trainees). The policy specially aimed to attract skilled personnel from other countries is widely used

by developed countries, first of all by the USA. On the other hand, low- and non-skilled migrants face new barriers on their way that close for their access to the countries of final destination. At the same time, push factors in less developed states still exist, together with pull factors in receiving countries. Thus, the receiving states are obligated to develop guest workers programs for temporary attraction of low-skilled migrants (ILO, 2006, p. 127–151).

Feminization of Migration Flows

It is traditionally considered that the majority of international migrants are males. Females, when they took part in international migrations, were usually family members of male migrants. But in the beginning of the 1990-s researchers noticed that today more women wre migrating not to join their partner, but in search of employment in places where they will be better paid in comparison to their home country. At 2015 women’s share among international migrants in the developed countries exceeded 51 % (totally in the world – 48 %). The proportion of female migrants is the biggest in Nepal (69 %), Moldova (65%), Latvia (60%) (UN, 2015b).

Table 4. Female migrants as a percentage of the international migrant stock by major area and region, 1960–2015

Major Area, Region	1960	1970	1980	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
World	46.8	47.2	47.2	49.0	49.2	49.1	48.8	48.3	48.2
Developed regions	48.9	48.9	49.8	51.1	51.1	51.1	51.2	51.7	51.9
Developing regions	45.3	45.8	44.8	46.6	46.5	46.1	45.1	43.3	43.3
Europe	48.4	47.7	48.1	51.3	51.5	51.6	51.8	52.1	52.4
Africa	42.3	42.7	44.1	47.2	47.3	46.9	45.8	46.3	46.1
Asia	46.4	46.8	44.6	46.0	45.9	45.6	44.6	42.0	42.0
Latin America and the Caribbean	44.7	46.8	48.2	49.8	50.0	50.1	50.3	50.3	50.4
Northern America	50.5	51.5	52.6	51.1	50.8	50.5	50.3	51.1	51.2
Oceania	44.4	46.5	47.9	49.0	49.5	50.1	50.4	50.3	50.6

Source: *Trends in Total Migrant Stock: The 2005 Revision. Trends in Total Migrant Stock: The 2005 Revision. New York: United Nations, 2006; Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2015 Revision. New York: United Nations, 2015. <http://esa.un.org/migration>.*

In many respects, the latter fact is connected with structural modifications in the world economy, which accompany globalization processes. Development of the services economy encourage growth of this sector in the labor market structure in developed countries (textile industry, leisure industry, social

service, sex services, etc.) and constantly growing need in female migrants including those occupied in unqualified jobs.

Thus, feminization of migration flows is one of the important trends of the contemporary international migration, which in its turn is accompanied by the increase of human trafficking, smuggling of migrants and other exploitative practices. The latter happens because women tend to work in the gender-segregated sectors of economy, such as domestic services and a leisure sphere, and due to the fact that they are much more likely to suffer gender discrimination than their male counterparts (IOM, 2006, p. 20). These trends pole the challenge of defending human rights of labor migrants (first of all women) in the line of priority tasks of national and international institutes, which deal with migration issues.

Determining Role of Economic Migration

International migration flows develop under the influence of different factors, among which economic factors are preliminary. The growing role and scale of economic migration (first of all, labor migration) is the most stable and long-lasting trend of international migration. It gained crucial impulse with expansion of capitalist economy and commercialization of labor. From the point of view of globalization of the world economy the most important issue is formation of the world labor market that exists in export and import of labor resources and has reached an unprecedented scale.

Table 5. Distribution of migrant workers, by broad subregion, 2013

Broad subregion	Millions	%
World	150.3	100
Northern, Southern and Western Europe	35.8	23.8
Eastern Europe	13.8	7.0
Northern America	37.1	24.7
Latin America and the Caribbean	4.3	2.9
Sub-Saharan Africa	7.9	5.3
Northern Africa	0.8	0.5
Central and Western Asia	7.0	4.7
Arab States	17.6	11.7
Eastern Asia	5.4	3.6
South-Eastern Asia and the Pacific	11.7	7.8
Southern Asia	8.7	5.8

Source: *ILO Global estimates of migrant workers and migrant domestic workers: results and methodology / International Labour Office - Geneva: ILO, 2015. P.16.*

Despite the fact that it's difficult to estimate the total scale of international labor migration flows as not all the countries make such monitor

the number and a considerable part of labor migration is illegal, international labor migration happens indeed on a considerable scale and is a growing trend.

According to recent ILO estimates, there are 150.3 million migrant workers in the world in 2013 compared to 86 million in 2000 and 3.2 million in 1960. Almost half (48.5 per cent) of migrant workers are concentrated in two broad subregions, Northern America and Northern, Southern and Western Europe. These subregions together make up 52.9 per cent of all female migrant workers and 45.1 per cent of all male migrant workers (ILO, 2015).

Despite the fact that migrant-workers make up less than 4.2 % of the total number of economically active population of the developed countries, the role of labor migration for many receiving countries is much more significant. It's necessary to note that many countries are simultaneously sending and receiving countries. For example, Canada is a traditional country of destination for migrants, but it also sends a great number of workers, especially high-skilled, to the USA.

Three key factors determine expansion of international labor migration and increase of its role (IOM, 2006, p. 18):

- the “pull” of changing demographic situation (first of all population ageing) and labor market needs in developed countries;
- the “push” of demographic factors in developing countries and growing differences of income and possibilities between developing and developed regions, and an increasing gap between the most dynamically developed countries and other developing world;
- established inter-country networks based on family, culture and history.

Remittances are the immediate and tangible benefit of international labor migration. While receiving countries financially benefit from labor migration mainly via receiving tax payments, for sending countries financial inflow from migrant workers is more diverse.

Thus, labor migration, as a global transference of human capital, which it presents, has become an important factor of development of the global economy and at the same time it is a result and source of increasing interdependence of countries and regions of the world. Considering that international mobility of people in search of jobs in the globalizing world will definitely increase, it is necessary for countries of origin and countries of destination of migrant-workers to develop effective and fair management of labor migration.

Permanent Growth and Structural Intricateness of Illegal Immigration

Labor migration is closely related to another trend of the contemporary international migration – permanent growth of illegal immigration.

There are no reliable data on illegal migrants in the world. According to the different estimations, 10 to 15 % of all international migrants stay in the countries of destination in violation of the law. In other words, illegal migrants are about half of legal migrant-workers, and their number is not reducing despite restricting immigration rules and special laws directed against illegal immigration. Moreover, countries where the use of labor of illegal migrants is widely practiced are replenished with developing countries. For example, Mexico, the biggest supplier of illegal immigrants in the world, is at the same time a receiving society for about one million illegal immigrants from countries of Latin America and Caribbean. It should be noted that development of illegal immigration is followed by appearance of new categories and groups of migrants who violate the law (migration laws, labor codes, etc.), both in destination countries and transit countries.

Whatever routes and methods migrants use to enter a destination country and whatever methods are practiced to stop them, we think that it is barely impossible to effectively counteract illegal immigration under the existing governance of capitalistic norms when employers are interested in cheap and rightless labor of illegal migrants in receiving countries, so that illegal migrants become “pure taxpayers” beneficial for employers and receiving state. In combination with demographic pressure and economic push factors in sending countries, these circumstances make illegal migration in the contemporary world structurally insurmountable.

The latter does not mean, however, that the scale of illegal immigration is not to be restrained. In particular, it can be done by means of more effective management of legal migration flows. The most important issue for receiving governments is to realize that illegal immigration is neither a form of terrorism or criminality, which needs to be fought by all means by states. Nor they are to run to another extreme and open the doors wide for migrants, so that the citizens will have to defend their indigenous rights against undesirable invasion.

Increase in the Scale and Geography of Forced Migration

Forced migration is a totality of spatial movements related to permanent or temporary changes in place of residence caused by extreme reasons not depending on people’s will (political and ethnically based persecutions, natural disasters, technological accidents, ecological catastrophes, armed conflicts, etc.). Forced migrants include: refugees, internally displaced people, asylum-seekers, ecological refugees, stateless people and others. For most of them, emergency and life-threat push factors are determinative.

Increase in the scale and geography of forced migration is related to the current stage of international relations filled with political tension, wars, ethnic conflicts, and ecological disasters (after Second World War, over 150 global

and regional conflicts happened in the world). According to the UNHCR data, by the end of 2015 the global figure of forced migrants was at 55 million, of which 13.7 million were refugees, 32.3 mln internally displaced people, around 1.8 million asylum-seekers and 3.5 million stateless people (UNHCR, 2015).

Therefore, forced migration as one of essential contemporary international migration trends has gained global scale.

Table 6. Estimated forced migration stock at mid-year by major area, region, 1960-2015, millions

Major area or region	1985	1990	1995	2000	2006	2015
World	10.7	14.9	27.25	21.8	32.86	54.96
Europe	0.7	0.1	6.5	5.58	3.43	3.90
Africa	3.0	4.6	11.8	6.06	9.75	17.76
Asia	5.1	6.8	7.9	8.45	14.91	25.94
Latin America and the Caribbean	0.4	1.2	0.1	0.58	3.54	6.67
Northern America	1.4	1.4	0.9	1.05	1.14	0.62
Oceania	0.1	0.1	0.05	0.08	0.09	0.07

Source: *Populations of Concern to UNHCR. New York: UNHCR, 2015.*

Increasing Role of International Migration in Demographic Development

During the major part of the history of the mankind changes in the population size were primarily resulting from natural increase of population. Mortality and fertility rates, growing gap in demographic potentials between less developed and more developed nations, as well as globalization of the world economy have resulted in the growing role of international migration in the demographic development of the globe.

Nowadays, international migration is one of the major factors of stabilization of the world population. As for developed states, it is the principal (and in some countries – the only one) determinant of the population growth, while in the developing states it contributes to the decrease in the population growth rate and alleviates “population pressure”. Thus, net migration from less developed regions to more developed regions exceeded 100 millions persons during 1950–2010 (UN, 2015b).

Considering the global tendency of decreasing population growth rates developing regions are at the initial stage of this decrease while in developed countries the rate of natural population growth is often negative. For this reason, the migration potential in developing countries remains high while developed countries are dependant on immigrants inflow to withstand local population ageing. In 1950-1955 migration increase gains only 1.7% of total population increase of more developed regions, and in 2010–2015 migration increase gains more then 65% of total population increase (table 7).

It is important to highlight that international migration is not only a way to increase the whole population size but it also has a positive impact on its age and gender structure, bringing higher reproductive standards.

In the 1990-s the latter argument was used in the “replacement migration” concept which emphasized the potential of international migration from “demographically younger regions” to compensate for negative demographic trends in the “older” receiving states (UN, 2000). Whether “replacement migration” is able to solve population ageing problems in developed countries is a scientific problem which requires further discussion. Taking into account constant negative trends in demographic development (first of all, population ageing) in developed countries, the number of immigrants required to replace them seems too big. There are forecasts that the EU countries, in order to “compensate” for ageing of their labor-active groups, are to “import” annually 12.7 million immigrants before 2050. Russia, in order, to provide a stable number of the labor-age population, is to admit annually (up to median forecast) about 700,000 – 800,000 migrants (net migration) and gradually increase this number up to 1.5 – 1.7 million migrants by 2025 (UN, 2000).

Table 7. Indicators of Demographic Development of More Developed Regions, 1950-2015

Time periods	Average annual rate of population change	Average annual rate of natural increase	Average annual rate of migration increase
1950–1955	11.9	11.8	0.1
1955–1960	11.7	11.7	0.0
1960–1965	10.8	10.3	0.5
1965–1970	8.5	7.8	0.7
1970–1975	7.7	6.5	1.2
1975–1980	6.5	5.2	1.3
1980–1985	5.8	4.7	1.1
1985–1990	5.5	4.2	1.3
1990–1995	4.4	2.3	2.1
1995–2000	3.2	1.0	2.2
2000–2005	3.4	0.7	2.7
2005–2010	4.0	1.3	2.7
2010–2015	2.9	1.0	1.9

Source: *World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision. New York, United Nations: 2015.*

In the 21st century depopulation trends and population ageing will make international migration a non-alternative factor of the population growth in the majority of developed countries. In this context, not only the impact of immigration on the population size in receiving countries is to be considered, but fundamental shifts in reproductive behavior, gender, age, and ethnic structure of the receiving countries’ populations due to inflow of immigrants from distant regions.

Dual Character of Migration Policy

Transformation of migratory streams into a global phenomenon contributed a significant interest of scientists, officials, politicians, international public organizations and *public* to the questions of international migration. In its turn, a need emerged for improvement of migratory processes management tools at national and regional levels, formation of migration policy at the global level which represents a system of international treaties, agreements and other bilateral and multilateral normative legal acts on regulation of interstate territorial movements of population, and which pursues social, economic, demographic, geopolitical purposes, etc.

The results of our analysis showed that one of the established measures system characteristics in the field of interstate territorial movements of population management became its dual character.

At the current stage of globalization the dual character of migration policy is distinctly noticeable at three levels (Aleshkovski, Iontsev, 2015):

- ***the global (world) level*** as a result of contradictions between interests of various factors of international relations system (developed and developing countries, international organizations and certain states);

- ***the regional level (level of integration associations)*** as an existence of counteracting trends for liberalization of migration regime inside integration associations and simultaneous toughening of migration policy in relation to citizens of third countries;

- ***the national level (level of certain states)*** as a contradiction between social and demographic and economic interests, on the one hand, and reasons of national security, on the other hand.

At the same time, contradiction between migrants and adopting states, businessmen and society in general gets a special meaning. It is especially important to keep this fact in mind because, in recent years, a policy of migrants integration in developed countries can be implemented both at the regional and national levels.

Global (world) Level of Migration Policy

The core of the international normative framework on international migration is constituted by agreements, recommendations and others legislative acts, which are adopted at different meetings and conferences, conducted under the auspices of the largest international organizations, mainly the United Nations and its agencies (UNFPA, UNCTAD, UNHCR), International Organization for Migration (IOM) and International Labour Organization (ILO).

The Compendium of Recommendations on International Migration and Development, published by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of

the Secretariat in 2006, defines to what extent the adopted documents should provide guidance to the governments to promote co-development initiatives in international migration management (see UN, 2006, p. 95–98).

Thus, the conducted analysis showed that resulting documents of conferences and summits contain various recommendations for improvement of migration policy. At the same time, *a duality of approaches at the global level to migratory processes management* can already be seen there. The duality at the global level, first of all, is based on various actors' interests of the international relations system which are often in conflict with each other. For example, there are contradictions between the main countries of emigration and countries of immigration. As a result, many documents and agreements signed at international conferences, owing to the fact that they were ratified by an insignificant number of countries, remain for many years non-consummated or are applied in a limited number of countries.

Table 8. Ratification of international legal documents dealing with international migration

Agreement	Year of coming into force	Participants of agreements as of 01.09.2006		Participants of agreements as of 01.09.2016	
		Number of countries	Percentage of countries	Number of countries	Percentage of countries
The 1949 Convention No. 97 of the ILO on migrant workers	1952	45	23	49	26
The 1975 Convention No. 143 of the ILO concerning Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers	1978	19	10	23	12
The 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families	2003	34	17	48	25
The 2000 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children	2003	97	50	170	88
The 2000 Protocol against the smuggling of migrants by land, sea and air	2004	89	46	142	73
The 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees	1954	143	73	145	75

Source: data of the UN (United Nations Treaty Collection) and ILO (ILO Information System on International Labour Standards).

A typical example of that is the situation with ratification of international conventions dealing with migrant workers and affecting economic interests of receiving states. For example, the 1949 Convention No. 97 "On migrant workers" of the International Labor Organization has been ratified up to present time by only 26% of the countries, and the 1975 Convention No. 143 "Concerning Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers" of the ILO has been ratified by 12% of the countries. In its turn, the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families was adopted in 1990, came into force only in 2003, and has been ratified so far by only 24% of the countries (see table 8).

To conclude an overview of the migration policy at the international level one particular characteristic of the international community towards the problem of international migration should be emphasized: it was always viewed as a function of changing political, economic and social conditions.

However, all those discussions on migration issues have three main features: 1) lack of reliable and complete statistical data on migration; 2) complex nature of international migration and absence of a comprehensive theory of migration; 3) difficult interrelation between migration and development, incomplete understanding of totality of interrelations between migration and various factors (demographic, economic, political, ecological, etc.).

Search of an answer to these problems is necessary for development of a well-grounded migration policy, decision making on all actual aspects of interrelation of migration and development, realization of potential of international migration as a factor of development of countries of departure, transit and destination.

Regional Level of Migration Policy

Regional cooperation for the management of labor migration can be divided into formal mechanisms of regional integration (*migration policy as a component of regional integration*), regional inter-state agreements (*migration policy in the framework of inter-state agreements within a region*) and less formal mechanisms, such as regional consultative processes and other informal arrangements.

The conducted analysis revealed that *the dual character of migration policy at the regional level is expressed in two aspects*.

First, under the conditions of actively developing processes of the regional integration in the modern world, we witness liberalization of the migration policy, the appearance of "transparent borders" in the framework of regional unions, and the freedom of movement for the population and labor

force among the member countries across the internal state borders of those unions. On the other hand, many countries adopt increasingly strict measures towards migrants from “the third countries”, caused by different aspects of the national security (including a fight against the threats of the international terrorism and protection of the national labor markets).

The second aspect is that the interests and problems of integration association in general cannot coincide or can even contradict the interests of its separate member states. For example, the position of the United Kingdom from the very beginning of its accession into the EU (1973) had a somewhat special limiting character which, afterwards, found its reflection in that it refused to sign the Schengen agreement. Now, the government of Great Britain considers a possibility of introduction of limiting measures in relation to migrants from other countries of the European Union, and also restrictions on their use of social services and system of social protection of Great Britain. In the North American free trade zone (NAFTA) between the USA, Canada and Mexico, the freedom of travel of citizens, including migrant workers, is ensured between the USA and Canada while possibilities of labor migration of the Mexican citizens to these countries are significantly limited.

National Level of Migration Policy

At different times in history, different components of the government migration policy (emigration or immigration) dominate and define migration policy during a definite period.

In periodical UN publication on demographic policy (World Population Polices Database), there is a special chapter on different national government views and state policy on international migration.

Table 9. Views of national governments in relation to immigration policy, 2011

Region	Policy in the field of immigration level			
	To reduce	To maintain	To raise	Without intervention
World in general	16%	60%	11%	13%
Europe	11%	64%	25%	–
Africa	19%	38%	2%	41%
Asia	30%	55%	12%	2%
Latin America and Caribbean Region	12%	79%	3%	6%
North America	–	100%	–	–
Australia and Oceania	–	94%	6%	

Currently, only 13% of sovereign states (the most part of which is located in Africa) do not regulate an immigration level. Whereas policy of emigration is

not pursued by 45% of the states, generally countries of Africa, Europe and North America. At the same time, all developed countries realize measures in the field of immigration regulation whereas emigrations are regulated by only 20% of them (see table 9 and 10).

Thus, under the modern conditions in the majority of countries, an immigration policy becomes prevailing within which governments show a great interest to what immigrants are, and impose on those entering a country various requirements concerning an education level, profession, qualification, financial position, age, marital status, etc. Special attention is paid to the last characteristics both taking into account a situation in the national labor market and goals of a population policy, and taking into account aspects of the national security.

It should be noted that the greatest changes which happened in national migration policy since the end of the 1950s, are connected with exactly its immigration component. For states which traditionally pursue immigration policy, the essence of changes consists in that the adopted laws were directed, first, at encouragement of immigration of highly qualified specialists, secondly, at a struggle against illegal migration.

Table 10. Views of national governments in relation to emigrant policy, 2011

Region	Policy in the field of immigration level			
	To reduce	To maintain	To raise	Without intervention
World in general	24%	22%	9%	45%
Europe	18%	14%	–	68%
Africa	25%	15%	2%	58%
Asia	21%	29%	29%	21%
Latin America and Caribbean Region	33%	36%	–	30%
North America	–	–	–	100%
Australia and Oceania	31%	19%	31%	19%

Source: *International Migration Policies 2013*. New York: United Nations, 2013.

The analysis of laws adopted in the recent years and directed at counteraction against illegal migration demonstrates a duality of policy of receiving states: on the one hand, policy for newly arriving migrants becomes more and more restrictive, on the other hand, policy of legalization is pursued in relation to those who entered a country earlier and found a job illegally. In developed countries from 1980 to 2016, over 30 migration amnesties were held and over 10 million illegal immigrants were amnestied. Thus, it is not actually about eradication of illegal immigration, but about legalization of those who entered a country earlier and found a job illegally. For example, in 2014, the US President B. Obama signed an executive order reforming the immigration system of the USA which provided for legalization over 5 million illegal

migrants. It should be noted that a number of experts speak against implementation of such campaigns as the last, in their opinion, only increase potential scales of illegal immigration (Aleshkovski, Iontsev, 2015).

The duality of migration policy at the national level also reveals itself in contradictions of economic, demographic and geopolitical character. For example, in the interests of a demographic and economic development, it often seems necessary to hold a liberalization of migration policy while interests of the national security quite often insist on its toughening. The last contradiction especially clearly revealed itself after the events of September 11, 2001.

As for migration policy of Russia, then, on the one hand, certain legislative base in the field of regulation of migratory processes has been created during the modern period of its development (1991–2016), and, on the other hand, in Russia there is still no strategic vision of migration as a positive phenomenon.

The duality of migration policy of Russia reveals itself in that at the highest national level (in particular, in the Concept of the state migration policy of the Russian Federation, the President of Russia's Addresses to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation) the thesis about the necessity of conducting reasoning immigration policy, involvement of our compatriots from abroad and qualified legal manpower is being proclaimed, whereas at the "executive" level, the relation of the state to migratory processes management remains, in many respects, of a police-officer type, and migration itself is considered, first of all, as a process threatening the national security of Russia. Preservation of such a situation contradicts the interests of the economic and demographic development of Russia. The last conditions the need of a further improvement of the migration policy of Russia.

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Ivan Aleškovski

GLOBALNI MIGRACIONI TRENDOVI U ERI GLOBALIZACIJE

Закључак

У закључку је потребно напоменути да, верујемо да превазилажење двојног карактера миграционе политике и коришћења потенцијала међународне миграције као ресурса развоја може се постићи само путем реализације разумног и стратешки прилагођеног приступа међународном управљању миграцијама.