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## The European Dream: Parallel to the American Dream?

Petra Netuková

*The main aim of this discussion paper is to deal with the immigration to the European countries, basically member countries of the European Union, one of the wealthiest countries in the world by using the parallel to the USA.*

### Highlights – key points of the discussion paper

- 60 % of refugees entering EU are not refugees but economic migrants. This is in coherence with statistics of the United Nations Refugee Agency on mixed migration.
- View on migrants entering EU, either refugees or economic migrants, was influenced mainly by public media stressing up the migration crisis, metaphor of flood and proposing solutions by using of police force.
  - Four point Obama's programme on migration concerns strengthening the border security, cracking down on employers that hire undocumented workers, creating a path to earned citizenship and streamlining respective immigration system as an inspiration for the solution of the EU immigration issue.
  - Efficiency of the EU Trust Funds and EU – Turkey agreement can lead to particular improvement of the situation.

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## The European Dream: Parallel to the American Dream?

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The main aim of this discussion paper is to deal with the immigration to the European countries, basically member countries of the European Union, one of the wealthiest countries in the world by using the parallel to the USA.

### Why to use parallel to the American Dream?

The American Dream is set of ideals in which freedom includes the opportunity for prosperity and success, basically based on migration either internal or external. It is rooted in the Declaration of Independence which proclaims that "all men are created equal with the right to Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" (Kamp 2009). However, the very same ballad is spoken by smugglers operating in developing countries that perform the European Dream or European Heaven. Can you then perceive the parallel with the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights? However, accomplishment of this dream became in the U.S. not completely fulfilled and the same problem is tackling the Europe.

President Obama created four point programme (White House 2014) consisting continuing to strengthen border security, cracking down on employers that hire undocumented workers, creating a path to earned citizenship and streamlining the US legal immigration system. On the contrary, policy of unification of family is the main difference to Canada and Australia that on the other hand are rather distant to conflict zones and do not experience such a huge influx of immigrants.

At about the same time, in 2015, the European Commission submitted its ambitious plan to split refugees all around the EU in the balanced amount according to the principle of solidarity (Article 80 of The Treaty on the Functioning of the EU, The Treaty of Lisbon). The attempt that was unsuccessful raised controversy all around the EU. The quotas, drafted in April 2015, were accepted by European Council five months later, in September 2015 with disagreement of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia and abstention of

Finland (EC 2015). The situation was in between dynamized by the Angela Merkel's statement on necessity to follow the principle of solidarity rooted in the Treaty of Lisbon and invitation of refugees to Germany (Respekt 2015). In January 2016, the European Commission published draft of Schengen Evaluation Report on Greece (EC January 2016) anticipated lacks in external border controls from Greek side and there were raised ideas to release Greek debt in exchange for better security of external borders (Rachman 2016). In March 2016 bilateral agreement on migration between EU and Turkey was negotiated.

### Migration: crisis?

About current state of migration caused either by civil wars or as a result of different circumstances we do not know much. However, current state of migration is the highest from the Second World War according to migration statistics (see more in Singleton 2016).

Across the old and new media could have been observed many information and sometimes watchers received even contradictory ones, very often speaking negative narrative on migration and leading to misconduct of public opinion. Media have introduced the topic of migration as so called "migration crisis" and main core of news was putted on security and administrative side of crisis. Media often mentioned police topics: controll, border security and security of detention facility. Experts on migration were interviewed marginally. Sources of the crisis were listed in a small amount and as a minor topic. Situation in countries of origin was not given in a context with long-term situation in the region (Arab Spring) and proposed solutions such as closing of borders in Schengen Area were mainly short-term solutions demanding use of police force. Escaping people were presented mainly as administrative problem and as a object of police operation. This connotation was underlined by using depersonifying language and specific metaphors, e.g. metaphor of flood. Suppression of humanitarian aspect and insufficient attention devoted to the critical situation in countries of origin may caused decreased ability of watchers on compassion with people leaving their countries (Tkaczyk, Pospěch, Macek 2015).

Current situation UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) explains as mixed migration and states that between refugees and migrants is essential difference. Migrants started their journey voluntarily with the main aim to arrange better living for themselves and their families. However, refugees were forced to leave in order to protect their live and freedom (UNHCR: Mixed Migration 2015). This is fully in line with statements that proclaim that 60 percent of refugees are not refugees but migrants (Lindner 2016). However, there appeared opinions proposing revision of the Geneva Conventions (ICRC 2014).

### Immigration as a trend

Possible motivation of immigrants to undergone dangerous journey to Europe or sent someone for this journey to Europe can help us understand the dynamic of the situation and the huge of the immigration wave<sup>1</sup>. The immigration issue can be perceived by push factors motivating to leave poverty, fear, disasters and / or unemployment and pull factors motivating to find safety, opportunity, stability and / or freedom. In the case of the EU migration flow

<sup>1</sup>In this paper the word "newcomer" or "immigrant" will generally describe a foreign-born person living in one of the EU countries, regardless of their immigration status or whether they have become the EU citizens.

can be found all the factors: environmental ones linked to natural disasters, social ones linked to find better quality of life or to be closer to family and friends, economic ones linked to find a work or follow a particular career path and political ones linked to escape political persecution or war. First two push and pull factors are reflecting the Geneva Conventions and the rest of them are valid for economic migration.

PUSH / LEAVE	PULL / FIND
Persecution, conflicts	Freedom, survival
Radicalism, tyranny	Stability: rule of law
Unemployment	Employment / education
Poor living conditions	High living conditions
Illnesses	Health-care system
Poverty	Welfare state system
Overpopulation	Decent place for living

Source: author.

Two worlds: contradictions of immigrants' and residents' views on the same situation.

Just imagine: You are running from the war-area, your former home, your house is destroyed or you sold it to get enough money for your journey. Then you become a "summer or winter camp" attendant in one of asylum centres that almost cannot work, almost everyone is afraid of him/her and the only one thing he/she is supposed to do is to wait until the time of his/her application for residence permit is sort out. Either successfully or not, it is only one position for you, just wait. So you are living in the middle of nowhere with almost no responsibilities, also almost no rights to move from the place where you are put in and still in hopes for a future. Waiting can lead to frustration, unfulfilled expectations and regardless of the society that migrant provided with food, clothing even accommodation, might lead to the attacks against the society that accepted them.

And now, try to imagine to be a European, you are working all your life to buy you own apartment/house, trying to figure out all your family needs and in one moment of incoming such a huge pile of migrants, mostly illegal, you might fail your trust in a system because you are the only one that is not gifted by one year "holiday" of waiting for decision, you are just forced to work.

Suprising statistic, see below, shows how the proportion of migrants to the U.S. has changed during forty years. The most intrinsic information see in 1960 sending countries that are composed from 75% of current EU member states. Thus can be the stability in the regions seen as the most important factor for stabilization migration to the EU.

TOP-TEN IMMIGRANT-SENDING COUNTRIES TO THE UNITED STATES	
2004	1960
1. Mexico	1. Mexico
2. India	2. Germany
3. Philippines	3. Canada
4. China,-People's-Republic	4. United Kingdom
5. Vietnam	5. Italy
6. Dominican-Republic	6. Cuba
7. El Salvador	7. Poland
8. Cuba	8. Ireland
9. Korea	9. Hungary
10. Colombia	10. Portugal

Source: Petsod, Wang, McGarvey (2015: 231).

### Economic consequences of migration

The US Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy shows how can from the immigration profit the taxation system of respective federal states. E.g. statistics for Delaware states that *"The vast majority of children with immigrant parents are U.S. citizens... The purchasing power of Latinos and Asians in Delaware has grown substantially over the past 25 years... Latino- and Asian-owned businesses are contributing to the state's economy, including by creating jobs... Unauthorized immigrants are paying millions of dollars in state and local taxes... Deporting all unauthorized immigrants would adversely affect Delaware's economy. If all unauthorized immigrants were removed from Delaware, the state would lose \$949 million in economic activity, \$421.5 million in gross state product, and approximately 6,300 jobs, even accounting for adequate market adjustment time, according to a report by the Perryman Group."* (American Immigration Council 2015). Identically, there can be found statistics for other U.S. federal states (American Immigration Council 2014b).

On the other hand, in the case of the EU we can see studies enumerating fiscal costs on migration. In Sweden, 2007, the net fiscal redistribution from the non-refugee population to the refugee population was almost exactly 1% of GDP. If these figures are scaled up to 2015, current redistribution to refugees is estimated to be 1,35% of GDP<sup>2</sup>. If these estimates could be used as indications of what substantially higher refugee intakes might imply for other European countries, it should be noted that the net per-capita costs in most other countries are likely to be somewhat smaller than in Sweden. This is because Sweden has a very advanced labour market with fewer simple jobs and a more compressed wage structure than any other European country. Second, it is because the Swedish welfare system is comparatively generous towards people without any history of earning wage income in the country. Hence, an unemployed refugee immigrant receives more from the public sector in Sweden than it would in most other countries (Ruist 2016).

<sup>2</sup> For budget 2016, Sweden has cut expenditures on election observation missions supporting long-term political stability in countries of origin in order to transfer fundings to immigrant integration as a result of 2015/2016 New Year's Eve incidents.

Efficient system?: Integration

The Immigration and Naturalization Act (INA) provides for an annual worldwide limit of 675, 000 permanent immigrants, with certain exceptions for close family members. Congress and the President determine a separate number for refugee admissions. The US immigration system works on principles of reunification of families, admitting immigrants with skills that are valuable to the U.S. economy, protecting refugees, and promoting diversity (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services 2013).

Very complicated precise numbers preserving delicate balance of countries of origin see in a Fact Sheet of (American Immigration Council 2014a).

However, estimations concerning the EU on the basis of Swedish case say that the best way to reduce the modest fiscal burden of refugees is to incorporate them as fast as possible into the labour market so they can start contributing to the public exchequer (Ruist 2016).

In comparison to Federal Strategic Goals of the U.S. Federal Strategic Action Plan on Immigrant & Refugee Integration issued by The White House Task Force on New Americans Goals 1 and 2 state the very same formula: integration into the workforce system (White House 2015: 35-36).

Comprehensive strategies for immigrant integration concerning not only strategies for integration on labour market see in (Petsod, Wang, McGarvey 2015). Immigrant integration is the process of economic mobility and social inclusion for newcomers and their children. As such, integration touches upon the institutions and mechanisms that promote development and growth within society. Successful integration builds communities that are stronger economically and more inclusive socially and culturally.

Questions Remaining

We know about terrible stories from Mediterranean and reaction of French magazine Charlie Hebdo (Zavis 2016) but do we know about contrabands of children each year reaching the borders of Swedish city of Malmö (Migrationsverket 2015)? Kids, mainly young boys from Afghanistan, that their parents sent to arrange at least the kids' survival?

Sociologist Valerie Hudson identified gender discrepancy among migrants that threatens mainly "smaller" countries of the EU (Sweden, Norway). Coming boys may in the future change balance in population composition in behalf of man. In comparison to larger EU countries and in regard to development in some Asian countries (China) this situation creates a potential for future gender disbalance (Hudson 2016).

Do we understand why these families are sending mainly boys to arrange their living in Europe? Have you even thought about the danger that these people face on their journey into the "holly land"? Like trafficking, smuggling and sale for organs? Black market is flourishing.

Which economic migrants are welcomed in Europe more than the others? Migration in 70's, 80's even 90's contained in CEECs people from south-east Asia, Balkans and countries of former USSR. From a long term period major society accepted them. On the other hand, in Western Europe the policy of multiculturalism evolved problems of non-integration and sometimes even ghettoization. In the Netherlands was the policy of multiculturalism revisited after murder of Theo van Gogh from religious reason (The Guardian 2004) and subsequent murder of Pim Fortuyn. Incidents in Charlie Hebdo, music club Bataclan, Brussels airport Zaventem shows the situation in Europe is not stable.

Did you know that:

- Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon are countries with the highest number of Syrian refugees.
- Only 10% of the Syrian refugees target the Europe.
- Typical price for smuggling to Europe from Turkey costs 6 000 euro.
- More than 100 Ukrainian families entered the Liozno District, Belarus, after the 2014 crisis escalation. Direct neighbouring regions of Belarus experience even more immigrants.
- Approximate cost on one refugee in the EU countries per month is approximately 750 euro (differ per diverse social systems of the EU countries).
- Uganda is recipient of the highest number of South-Sudanese refugees.

### SWOT analysis of EU approach to migration

As the migration is a multidimensional issue in this discussion paper will be used analysis at the supra-national, the EU, level<sup>3</sup>.

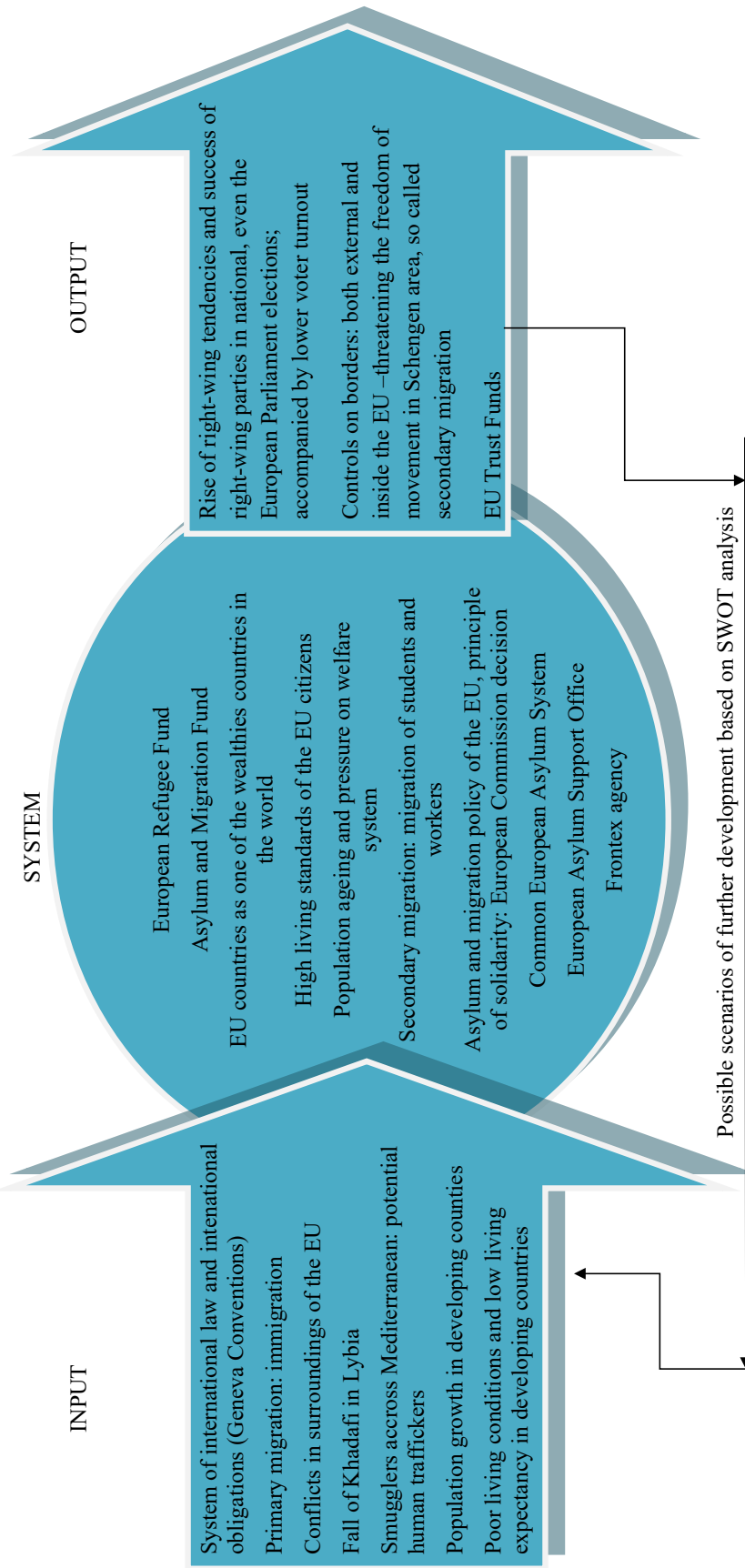
Below presented scheme of the EU political system takes into account push and pull factors of migration and visualizes key factors on input to the system which enable such a huge influx of migrants, demonstrates how is the EU system built and finally shows the outputs of the current situation. SWOT analysis subsequently offers insight in the complexity of the issue and further offers scenarios and recommendations how to handle it.

SWOT analysis is derived from the applied scheme of the EU political system with emphasis on migration issues. SWOT analysis thus targets at the EU level and anticipates the issue of migration from the perspective of political system of the EU. An explanation of situation in the EU leads to identifying opportunities and threats that endanger the opportunities utilization and contribute further to identifying scenarios of potential development of migration issue in the EU that subsequently leads to solution recommendations.

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<sup>3</sup> Analyzed can be the individual, state, supra-national or international level.

Schema of political system of the European Union with emphasis on migration issues



Source: Author, applied scheme of David Easton's political system.



Table 1: SWOT analysis for the EU political system targeting on migration issues

SWOT analysis	Positive	Negative
<b>Internal</b>	Strengths	Weaknesses
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High living expectancy in the EU countries.</li> <li>• Concept of welfare state systems.</li> <li>• Level of education.</li> <li>• Rule of law.</li> <li>• Standards in health-care system.</li> <li>• Providing of basic humanitarian aid.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Population ageing.</li> <li>• Not fully functioning free movement of labour the EU member states: difference in health and social insurance systems.</li> <li>• Crisis in eurozone.</li> <li>• Difference in protection of old settled and newly recognized minorities.</li> </ul>
<b>External</b>	Opportunities	Threats
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Foster and further strengthen the EU asylum and migration policy.</li> <li>• Equilibration of population pyramid.</li> <li>• Enrichment of culture.</li> <li>• External actions of the EU: fighting the smugglers.</li> <li>• Peace-making and peace-building actions in the countries of origin.</li> <li>• Tide of already educated population in a case of educated migrants.</li> <li>• If newcomers would be employed and become tax-payers, potential for budgetary income.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rise nationalistic and right-wing radical political ideas/parties.</li> <li>• Restriction of free movement inside the EU.</li> <li>• Possibility to disintegrate common asylum and migration policy.</li> <li>• Non-integration of refugees/migrants into the EU social and cultural systems, problems with second or third generation of migrants: radicalism, terrorism and social unrest.</li> <li>• Tide of non-educated, low skill manpower, if the EU will not be able to work with them, potential for unemployment, development of black market and possible radicalisation.</li> </ul>

Source: Author. Compare with European Agenda on Migration COM(2015) 240 final.

Scenarios of further possible development connected to the SWOT analysis:

- a) More coordination in the asylum policy at the EU level. Successful integration of migrants, potential for future growth of the EU economics. Stabilization of situation.
- b) Completely secure external borders of the EU with third countries (Frontex), scenario so called Fortress Europe. Threatening to evolve black market and potential for destabilization of situation.
- c) Radicalization in the EU member states (Bode, Blech, Elger eds. 2010) threatening the idea of democracy, controls within the EU member states' borders. Scenario of European integration trituation, close to breakup of the EU, threatening with potential for conflict in Europe. Destabilization of situation.
- d) Peace all over the world, rise of living standards in the developing countries, ensuring rule of law and law enforcement there. No high migration waves into the EU countries. Stabilization of situation.
- e) Others: variants of above mentioned scenarios.

Recommendations: What is the recipe for Europe based on American Dream experience?

- 1) Conceptual solution that is coming from periodization of particular steps:
  - a . short-term provisions offer solution within days:
    - I . effective border control: support the EU countries with problematic border areas – coordination by the Council of Ministers after consultation of the European Parliament on proposal of the European Commission after the demand of concerned member state, operated by Frontex, financed by the EC
    - II . not accepting people without passport, if thus security check needed in order to exclude applicants unwilling to cooperate with authorities, former radical fighter
    - III . different protection of economic migrants and refugees: quick decisions on admission / non-admission; those who are adopted arrange integration into society as soon as possible; in a case of those that are not accepted cooperation with other EU member states
    - IV . temporary controls inside the Schengen Area in order to gain a control
  - b . mid-term provisions offer solution within weeks:
    - I . fight against smugglers and potential human traffickers
    - II . deeper coordination of Europol and Frontex, strengthening the Frontex
    - III . language and culture courses for migrants leading to better integration of immigrants
    - IV . provisions leading to employment of legal immigrants: e.g. recognition of education
    - V . creating a path for illegals to earned citizenship

- c. long-term provisions offer solution within months:
- I. bilateral EU agreements with third countries on migration control and return of non-admitted immigrants
  - II. increase efficiency of the EU Trust Funds, currently they ensure only particular influence of the situation in countries of origin as the EU is not fully able to control them
  - III. streamline legal immigration system: evaluation of asylum / visa applications in country of origin, if not possible in country of origin then in the first safe country; application of similar model to that one Germany applied in 60's in Turkey when recruiting guest workers (details see in Prevezanos 2011)
  - IV. provisions against organized crime internally
- 2) Anticipate the situation as an opportunity to fix the weak places drawn in the design of the EU asylum system and migration policy.
  - 3) Be fully aware of European security in a way that links internal security and external solidarity.
  - 4) Be aware of the mistakes that lead to sorrowful incidents in the Netherlands, France and incidents on New Year's Eve. However, follow the cases of good practise in immigrants' integration that lead to successful integration of people with different religion / culture into major society, e.g. Germany and Turkish minority or Vietnamese people, so called Boat People.

#### Conclusion

The European Dream in comparison to the American Dream is rather difficult to anticipate as there is no common Immigration Policy in the EU. Migration Policy of the EU consists mainly from coordination and harmonisation of legislation, not standing on common roots as in the case of the USA as a nation of immigrants.

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## Vignette About the Author

**Petra Netuková** graduated at Masaryk University in Brno, Czech Republic, in the field of European Studies and International Relations. She is a Ph.D. candidate in European Studies at the Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University, dealing with topic of the European Parliament. During her studies she was an intern at the European Parliament, the European Commission Representation in Slovakia and The Region of South Bohemia Office in Brussels. Professionally, she provides information about European affairs and occasionally works as an electoral observer for the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe.

## Think tank – Mendel European Centre About the Project: Objectives and Mission

Foundation of Think tank – Mendel European Centre has a direct link to realisation of the European Commission project Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence at Mendel University in Brno, Czech Republic. The main objective of the think tank is to contribute to the discussion about advantages and disadvantages of membership in EU and Eurozone. Activities of the think tank also provide suggestions for further process of deepening of integration towards fiscal and political union.

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## Think tank – Mendel European Centre Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence – Economic Logic or Political Logic? Is Fiscal Union Feasible for EU?



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