

Full Length Research

THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION PROCESSES ON THE STABILITY OF EUROPE (IN GERMANY'S CASE)

Dilshod Muydinov

PhD Fellow, The National University of Uzbekistan, Tashkent. E-mail: muydinov.d@gmail.com

Accepted 24 October 2018

The paper concentrates on a description of the essentials of migration processes and their impact on the stability of Europe. Immigration may adversely affect political stability if conflict becomes endemic among heterogeneous groups of people living in close proximity due to the process of migration. The European migration crisis has gained worldwide attention with diverse policy positions from EU member states. Before this crisis, the EU was an example of a strong union with relatively consolidated common positions. However, today member states have preferred to keep their sovereignty in solving the problem of refugee distribution. With regard to its territorial size, economy and political power; Germany represents one of the most sustainable, competitive and economically developed Member States of the European Union. However, development of the knowledge-based economy on one hand and negative demographic trends on the other hand will force Germany to cover the growing demand for high-skilled labour force from non-EU countries in the coming years to keep this position. The article features an analysis of the main changes in migration movements in Germany presents contemporary tendencies.

Keywords: migration policy, migration, political stability, European Union, Germany, refugees, labour migrants.

Cite this article as: Muydinov, D (2018). THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION PROCESSES ON THE STABILITY OF EUROPE (IN GERMANY'S CASE). *Int. J. Polit. Sci. Develop.* 6(7) 219-224

INTRODUCTION

When analysing the notion of stability, it is important to distinguish between the political stability and political instability approach to this concept. However, there is no single definition of political stability and political instability. The inconsistent definitions of political stability and political instability may incur problems, which are pointed out by various authors (James C. Davies Vol 13, Issue 1, 1969; Hurwitz, Leon.vol. 5, no. 3, 1973; Ake, Claude vol.7, no.2, 1975)

For example, Ake, Claude (1975) emphasises that political stability is the regularity of the flow of political exchanges. The more regular the flow of political exchanges, the more stability. Alternatively, we might say

that there is political stability to the extent that members of society restrict themselves to the behavior patterns that fall within the limits imposed by political role expectations. Any act that deviates from these limits is an instance of political instability¹. According to Hurwitz, Leon (vol. 5, no. 3, 1973) the most common and immediate view of political stability is to equate the concept with the absence of domestic civil conflict and

¹ Ake, Claude. "A Definition of Political Stability." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1975, pp. 271–283.

violent behavior².

Migration to Europe is an old, recurrent phenomenon. People have been migrating from different geographies to Europe for a long while and for a variety of different reasons. Migration to Europe reached its peak in the aftermath of the Second World War, when European economies expanded rapidly. In these years, migrants were seen as valuable contributors to European economies.³ During the 1970s, European states slowed their recruitment of foreign labour and, in the following years, a gradual shift took place from liberal immigration policies towards stricter ones.⁴

Despite the stricter policies and regulations of European states, people continued to migrate through family ties and refugee flows. Today, Europe is the home of 21.6 million⁵ migrants and it is the second most attractive destination after the US for potential migrants from all over the world. In line with this, all European states are now net immigration countries.⁶

The last two decades were a time of dynamic political change within continental Europe, symbolised by the fall of the Iron Curtain and the development of the EU. The EU's development was a crucial factor in building a new European migration space, both as an institutional regime within the EU's legal and regulatory system and as migration patterns to and within the EU. It must be noted that what can be regarded as the European migration regime is something absolutely unique and distinct, with no comparison in the contemporary world in terms of scale or legal and institutional framework.

Migration trends at various levels are explored in their work by both foreign and Russian researchers, including Yu.V.Balakin, N.N. Bolshova, S.E. Dadashova, R.G.Kvachakhia, N.A.Medushevsky, N.Ibryamova, Jeff Huysmans, B.Buzan, O.Waever, J.P.Décieux, A.Findlay, N.Witte, G. Zimmermann, etc. In their works, scientists explore the essence of migration processes that occur in the modern world, analyze the causes of migration phenomena, assess the consequences of migration that are observed in different states.

According to the scholars, identity-based collective groups perceive migration as a threatening development for the preservation of their identities. They view migration as a threat to their identities because they think that their identities will be 'overrun and diluted' by

² Hurwitz, Leon. "Contemporary Approaches to Political Stability." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 5, no. 3, 1973, pp. 449–463.

³ Maggie Ibrahim (2005) 'The Securitization of Migration: A Racial Discourse' *International Migration* 43(5): 163-187.

⁴ Nouray Ibryamova (2002) *op.cit.* p. 5.

⁵ Source: Eurostat <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/>

⁶ Christine Boswell (2005) *Migration in Europe* unpublished paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration, pp. 1-23.

incomers and, as a result. That their community will cease to be what it is.⁷ In a similar vein, Huysmans says that:

Migration is identified as one of the main factors weakening national tradition and societal homogeneity. It is reified as an internal and external danger for the survival of the national community or western civilization. This discourse excludes migrants from the normal fabric of society, not just as aliens but as aliens who are dangerous to the reproduction of the social fabric.⁸

Thousands of people are leaving Africa and the Middle East in search of a better life. The reasons for this phenomenon are many:

- the lack of employment opportunities for a significant number of citizens in their homeland;
- economic instability, which is observed in the territory of a significant number of countries in the Middle East;
- significant impoverishment and high risk of dying of hunger in their homeland;
- social injustice reigning in eastern countries;
- the desire to get a decent education, which can be obtained in Europe;
- natural disasters that threaten health and life and are observed in many eastern countries;
- high probability of being in the epicenter of hostilities.

The latter reason is the most urgent today, because in the Middle East new armed unrest is constantly arising, as a result of which thousands of people, mostly civilians, are suffering. This is evidence that the inhabitants of the eastern territories decide to overcome a considerable distance with a great desire to save life and their relatives.

Along with the mentioned above, the EU is unique with respect to unauthorized immigration because of a combination of several factors. Its location creates the potential for large inflows. Its commitment to free mobility within most of the EU means there is no enforcement at most internal borders. This gives migrants who can enter one country easy access to other countries. Rigid labor markets, strict regulations, and high taxes have led to large, thriving shadow economies in some countries, creating demand for unauthorized workers. Aging populations and growth in export-oriented economies,

⁷ Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde (1998), p. 121.

⁸ Jeff Huysmans (2000) 'The European Union and the Securitization of Migration' *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38(5): 751-777, at p. 758.

such as Germany, mean rising demand for foreign workers, including unauthorized ones. Meanwhile, frequent regularization programs and uneven enforcement of EU policies in some countries may have fostered beliefs that unauthorized immigrants can easily acquire legal status.

According to the calculations of the Agency for the Protection of the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union (FRONTEX), more than 1,500,000 migrants have already arrived in the EU countries since the beginning of 2015. Germany is still the main destination country in Europe (28% of all asylum applicants in the EU in the 3rd quarter of 2017) and applicant numbers started to decrease only in 2017 due to delayed registration procedures. Asylum applicants are mainly from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran and Eritrea and recently also from Turkey and Nigeria.⁹

In 2016, there were 18 million people in Germany with a migrant background¹⁰ or 22.5% of the population. The foreign population numbered 10 million, or 12.1% of the population. This made Germany the second largest country of immigration in the world after the US (Statistisches Bundesamt, OECD). Various waves of immigration have shaped Germany's identity as a country of immigration.

Reflecting on recent migration processes to Germany, the arrival of asylum seekers in rapidly growing numbers since 2014 is the most impressive, drastic and consequential migratory movement since the end of the Second World War. It not only changed the ethnic, cultural and religious fabric of places and spaces of arrival, but also triggered an increasingly polemic discussion on security, identity and belonging within German society, which was also reflected by the election results of the parliamentary elections of 24 September 2017.¹¹

Historically, there are two types of migrant flows that exist in parallel. The first group is economic migrants who have moved to European countries over the past few decades, and the second is refugees, they are moving to Europe in the same ways as economic migrants. In certain circumstances, reducing economic migrants can contribute to improved living standards in countries from which migrants travel, poverty alleviation and the creation of conditions for economic development. This is precisely the focus of the main efforts of the UN and EU economic development programs.

It should be admitted that the difficulties that migrants

flee from are not an incentive for their development and professional growth in new conditions. On the contrary - European states are increasingly dealing with the following trends: Firstly, most refugees behave like consumers. They are confident that no state will dare to refuse them to the shelter; secondly, Syrians, Egyptians and other migrants who move to Germany do not want to integrate into the European space, to adopt European values. On the contrary, they are in favor of preserving their national and religious identity; thirdly, given the level of education and experience of dealing with weapons, such migrants quickly form criminal groups, threatening the safety of local residents. Already now, in the newly quiet European cities there are areas from which representatives of indigenous nations left because of the danger to life and health, and people from Africa and Asia remained; fourthly, the emergence and popularity of numerous right-wing groups and parties is due to the growing discontent with the increase in the number of migrants in European countries. Conflicts on an inter-ethnic and inter-religious basis among refugees can become an everyday reality, especially given the active propaganda of radical Islamists by the terrorist organization of Islamic State.

These and other points are permanent evidence of a problem that is becoming increasingly acute on the European continent. It has already reached such a level that it needs a global solution. Thus, the European Commissioner for Migration, Internal Affairs and Citizenship Dimitris Avramopoulos stressed that this migration crisis is the largest since the Second World War, and German Chancellor Angela Merkel noted that this problem has now eclipsed all other problems that exist in present in the European Union and stated that "we have common ideal in that we want to reduce illegal migration, that we want to protect our external borders and that we are responsible on all topics."

Exploring the migration policy of Germany, it should be noted that the country has developed a favorable environment for migrants. This situation is determined by the following factors: a high level of economic development in this country, an opportunity to find a job, a high salary, an opportunity to get an education. Therefore, the German government began a policy of regulating various migration flows. This issue is dealt with in the country by the Migration Board.

The main objectives of this institution are: strengthening the fight against violators of the law when illegally crossing the border, entering into fictitious marriages or finding employment without permission; reduction of social benefits to migrants, increased requirements for qualifications, knowledge of the language and history of the country.

Migration for Germany has become the driving force behind population growth. Thus, in 2014, the press service of the Federal Statistical Office reported that the

⁹ Integration of Refugees in Austria, Germany and Sweden: Comparative Analysis (2017). Policy Department A: Economic and Scientific Policy. at p.8. 3-60

¹⁰ The Statistisches Bundesamt defines people with migrant background all immigrants and foreigners born in Germany.

¹¹ Birgit Glorius. Migration to Germany: structures, processes, and discourses. Regional Statistics, Vol. 8. No. 1. 2018. at p.15.1-26.

population of Germany reached 81.2 million people.

The resettlement of migrants in Germany is not proportional: most of them live on four lands (at least 1 million. Foreigners): Baden-Württemberg (18%), Bavaria (21%), Hesse (15, 8%), North Rhine - Westphalia (29,8%)¹². In the new federal states, the share of foreigners does not exceed 2% in Brandenburg and Saxony. Most foreigners are concentrated in large industrial centers, and not in rural areas. Thus, in the cities, the share of foreigners reaches 15%. Evidence of this is the situation in Berlin, where the proportion of migrants is about 25% of the total population¹³.

The spatial concentration of migrants in German cities causes a number of social problems, namely: the demand for low-skilled workers grows and social degradation appears, the "poverty circle" is created, which includes the unemployed, single mothers, children who grew up in an environment with poor schools.

Social payments in Germany are arranged as follows: a migrant can get help if he can prove that he is unable to feed himself, there is no housing, there are no rich relatives. The size of social assistance should not harm the local population, so that there is no negative attitude towards foreigners on their part. Also, the migrant himself must make a lot of effort to get adapted in the country, to conduct a constant search for work. The immigrants being often hired to do the so-called 3D jobs.¹⁴

The type and amount of social benefits depends in Germany on a number of factors: the age of the migrant, the number of people in the family, the presence of children and the place of their education. Taking into account all these factors, the German government monthly pays 250 euros to the head of the family and 150 euros for each of its members. It should be noted that the payment period is not limited¹⁵. Also, the state in these payments includes the cost of rental housing and additionally pays for it, if the area does not exceed 50 square meters for each family member.

Such a general liberalism and social policy of the German government depends on the payment of taxes of the local population, therefore, in modern Germany, there is concern about the number of migrants that the local population must maintain. As noted in the statistical data

¹² Das Statistische Bundesamt. Migration & integration. year in review.

¹³ Das Statistische Bundesamt. Migration & integration. year in review.

¹⁴ Interpretation can differ according to the source, but the "3Ds" usually stand for "dirty, dangerous, and demanding/difficult". Čajka, P., Olejárová, B., Čajková, A. 2018. Migration as a factor of Germany's security and sustainability, *Journal of Security and Sustainability Issues* 7(3): 399-408.

¹⁵ Корякина Н. Миграционная политика ФРГ в современных условиях // В книге: Collegium Linguisticum-2017. Тезисы докладов ежегодной конференции Студенческого научного общества МГЛУ. 2017. С. 253

of the German government, the number of recipients of social benefits increased from 2014 from 780.6 to 2142.5 thousand people, or from 9 to 22%.¹⁶

Over the past few years, the political discourse on migration and migrants in Germany has been dominated by the assumption that the debate on immigration to the Federal Republic of Germany has undergone a change (Angenendt/Kruse 2003; Schmalz-Jacobsen 2001). The reasons given for this are the reform of the Nationality Act as of January 1, 2000 and the introduction of the new Green Card Regulation, which was announced by German Chancellor Schröder on March 3, 2000 and took effect on August 1, 2000 (Hunger 2003), as well as the draft of an Immigration Law introduced by Interior Minister Schily in 2001, which was passed in 2004. The whole political and academic debate on migration policy has been shaped by the long drawnout reform process, as well as the persistent self-presentation, revived by the Immigration Law, of Germany as a non-immigration country (Bade/Bommes 2000). It is in this context that the integration and assimilation of migrants and relevant political decisions in this process became the main focal point of research and political discourse. Here, in particular "the willingness or reluctance, ability or inability of migrants to become integrated..." (Bade/Bommes 2004: 12) and possible social and legal obstacles to this end became the main interest of studies.

The discourse on the conditions for the political participation of migrants in Germany is shaped by a lack of political integration (due to restrictive naturalization policies and the lack of the right to vote for foreign residents). To a large extent, political organisations such as trade unions and even political parties, and the changes that they have undergone through the participation of migrants, were mostly not included in such studies. There is empirical evidence that migration and migrants have had an impact on political institutions and organisations, which has been proven for local and regional governments and administrations as well as trade unions. However, while the influence of migrants and the growth of migrant-specific structures are observable in political parties, there are no studies to support this. In more recent research the political attitudes of migrants and their organisation in associations are studied.

Thus, today, in the European Union as a whole and in Germany in particular, an ambiguous attitude has been formed towards refugee flows, and the state institutions of the Federal Republic of Germany cannot comprehensively and effectively solve the problem of uncontrolled migration flows.

Attitudes to immigration however are a multidimensional construct. This means that, when forming attitudes, people consider the economic impact

¹⁶ Das Statistische Bundesamt. Migration & integration.

of immigration, its cultural impact, whether the country should have a moral obligation to take in migrants, whether migrants are refugees or have economic motivations and a plethora of other issues. A study by Purpose found that most Germans (58%) are neither completely “anti” or “pro” immigration but fall in an “anxious middle” (IPSOS, 2016). 21% of Germans reported being sceptical of the impact immigration could have on Germany but believed that the country had the moral duty to welcome certain migrants. Another fth of the population considered immigrants an important economic asset for Germany but expressed concern about differences in lifestyle and values.¹⁷

In Germany, most migrants have settled in the West and in Berlin, areas in which attitudes to immigration are more positive. A commonly stated hypothesis is that repeated and significant contact with migrants has a liberalising effect on attitudes to immigration (e.g. Dixon, 2006; Ha, 2010). Anxieties concerning migrants' difference in values, lifestyles, and security concerns seem to be reduced when local people are in contact with migrants. Some scholars have also suggested that the structure of attitudes to immigration is different in the East as opposed to the West. Eastern Germans that hold negative attitudes to immigration are more likely to fear economic competition from migrants than their Western counterparts (Clark and Legge, 1997).

It should be admitted that the policy of excessively humanizing European society in this situation is harmful for European states, because tolerant and democratic attitude towards refugees has caused an uncontrollable surge in migration flows that Europe cannot cope with. These trends make the European leadership seriously think about the solution of this issue.

Taking into consideration of individual institutions to solve the migration problem, it can be argued that, perhaps, Europe will manage to solve the problem of hundreds of thousands of refugees, however, this process is likely to be long and incredibly difficult. So far, European politicians are not inclined to be active and shift the responsibility for solving migration problems to the UN representatives. However, a situation that worsens literally every day should still force them to deal with these unpopular issues, because it is the only way to find the resources for the survival of Europe.

Summing up, the key finding is that higher immigrant share leads to less political stability. The negative effect of immigrant share on political stability is stronger in places with assimilative citizenship laws. The focus of the paper on immigration is timely as globalization has created wide-ranging economic opportunities and an ever

more increasing number of people are migrating to exploit them. Investigating the link with political stability is essential as political instability has invariably been shown to hamper economic growth. Immigration has impacted widely on European societies, and it will continue to do so. Europe has diversified itself culturally. This has led to the development of new forms of dealing with discrimination, social exclusion, racism and xenophobia. Any specific conclusions that can be made must remain hypotheses. Large gaps in knowledge concerning these phenomena were identified in most of the countries under review. Also, it is hard to distinguish between the influence of immigration in European societies and that of stability. Social life and worldview formations have changed in Europe through immigration as well.

REFERENCES

- Ake, Claude. “A Definition of Political Stability.” *Comparative Politics*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1975, pp. 271–283. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/421552.
- Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, p.21.
- Clark, J. and J. Legge (1997), “Economics, racism, and attitudes toward immigration in the new Germany”, *Political Research Quarterly*, 50, 901-917.
- Čajka, P., Olejárová, B.Čajková, A. 2018. Migration as a factor of Germany's security and sustainability, *Journal of Security and Sustainability Issues* 7(3): 399-408.
- Christine Boswell (2005) Migration in Europe unpublished paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration, pp. 1-23.
- Dixon, J.C. (2006), “The Ties that Bind and Those that Don't: Toward Reconciling Group Theory and Contact Theory of Prejudice”, *Social Forces*, 84: 2179–2204.
- Décieux Jean Philippe, Witte Nils: *Die Dynamiken und Folgen internationaler Migrationsprozesse // Ad-hoc-Gruppe im Rahmen der Jahrestagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie 2018. Deutschland im Wandel*, pp 101-114.
- Findlay, A. et al. (2015): *New Mobilities Across the Life Course: a Framework for Analysing Demographically Linked Drivers of Migration*. In: *Population, Space and Place* 21: 390-402.
- Jeff Huysmans (2000) ‘The European Union and the Securitization of Migration’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38(5): 751-777, at p. 758.
- James C. Davies *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. Vol 13, Issue 1, pp. 1 – 17. Political stability and instability: some manifestations and causes.
- Hurwitz, Leon. “Contemporary Approaches to Political Stability.” *Comparative Politics*, vol. 5, no. 3, 1973, pp.

¹⁷ Public attitudes to immigration in Germany in the aftermath of the migration crisis. Teresa Talò, Research Associate, Migration Policy Centre. Issue 2017/23. September 2017. at p.3-8.

449–463. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/421273.

Maggie Ibrahim (2005) 'The Securitization of Migration: A Racial Discourse' *International Migration* 43(5): 163-187.

Mitra, Samarendranath, and Pietro Cerone. "Migration and stability." *Genus*, vol. 42, no. 1/2, 1986, pp. 1–12. jstor, jstor, www.jstor.org/stable/29788474.

Zimmermann, Gunter E. 2016: Räumliche Mobilität. In: Schäfers, Zapf (Hrsg.) 2016: Handwörterbuch zur Gesellschaft Deutschlands. Opladen, S. 514–524.

Public attitudes to immigration in Germany in the aftermath of the migration crisis. Teresa Talò, Research Associate, Migration Policy Centre. Issue 2017/23. September 2017. at p.3 3-8.

A year in review. European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union https://frontex.europa.eu/assets/Publications/General/A_Year_in_Review.pdf

Das Statistische Bundesamt. Migration & integration. <https://www.destatis.de/EN/FactsFigures/SocietyState/Population/Migration/Migration.html>

Source: Eurostat <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/>

Integration of Refugees in Austria, Germany and Sweden: Comparative Analysis (2017). Policy Department A: Economic and Scientific Policy. at p.8. 3-60.

Корякина Н. Миграционная политика ФРГ в современных условиях // В книге: Collegium Linguisticum–2017 Тезисы докладов ежегодной конференции Студенческого научного общества МГЛУ. 2017. С. 253.