Immigration Trends in Europe and the US

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Disclaimer: The views expressed are those of the presenters and do not reflect the views of the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas or the Federal Reserve System.
Illegal border crossings into EU spike in 2015

Source: Number of non-EU citizens refused entry from Eurostat (migr_eirfs); number of illegal border-crossings detected from Frontex Annual Risk Analysis reports (various years).
Asylum applications in the EU rise dramatically

European Union (28 countries)

Source: Eurostat (migr_asyappctza). Data are for first-time applicants.
Many unauthorized immigrants in EU from Syria, Afghanistan

Millions of migrants by country of origin, 2008-2015

Source: Eurostat (migr_eipre).
Unauthorized immigrants concentrated in large economies, southern member states

National shares of migrants found to be illegally present, 2008-2015

Source: Eurostat (migr_eipre).
EU asylum applicants concentrated in Germany; Sweden third

Source: Eurostat (migr_asyappctza).
Sweden leads in applicants per capita

Number of asylum applicants per capita during 2008-2015

Source: Eurostat (migr_asyappctza).
Border controls have intensified
Immigration into U.S. by visa type

NOTE: Fiscal years.
U.S. unauthorized immigrant population down from peak

US border apprehensions of illegal crossers have declined sharply

NOTE: Fiscal years.
SOURCE: U.S. Customs and Border Protection.
Refugee arrivals in U.S. low, stable

NOTE: Fiscal years.
Refugee arrivals to U.S. by country of origin

NOTE: Data are for 2015.
Asylum applications in U.S. on the rise

NOTE: Fiscal years.
Individuals granted asylum in U.S.

NOTE: Fiscal years.
Individuals granted asylum in U.S. by country of origin

NOTE: Data are for 2015.
Migration politics is a ‘four-sided, two-level game’
The Liberal Paradox and the dilemmas of migration control

• The **Economic Logic** is one of openness—free trade (Rosecrance).

• But the **Political Logic** is one of closure—citizenship and nationality (Walzer).

• This is a **paradox**—liberal states, like the U.S., must be simultaneously open and closed (Hollifield, 1992)
Security Concerns & Cultural Backlash

- Paris attacks and heightened security concerns, ISIS and home-grown jihadis
- Revolt of East Europeans (the Visegrad group)
- Viktor Orban accuses Merkel of ‘moral imperialism’
- Cologne attacks and ‘rejection’ of Muslim refugees
- Trump and the US presidential campaign, the politicization of refugee policy
- Security and culture ‘trump’ rights and markets
- End of the ‘liberal interregnum’?
A Multi-dimensional Crisis

- **Humanitarian disaster**, originating in the Middle East, but also South Asia and Africa
- **Moral and legal crisis**, 1948 Declaration of Human Rights, 1951 Refugee Convention
- Moral crisis comes with **moral hazard**
- **Policy and political crisis**, collapse of Dublin regime, threat to Schengen, free movement, and to the EU itself?
Historical Analogies?

- Aftermath of World Wars I & II
- 12 million Germans flee to the west (*Vertribene*)
- Crises of decolonization, partition of India
- Expulsion/flight of the Palestinians
- Collapse of South Vietnam
- Mariel boatlift and Haitian exodus
- End of cold war and the Balkan wars
- Central American children
The greatest disaster is forgetting but moral hazard looms
Search for a European Policy

- Respecting *non-refoulement*, designating safe countries
- The end of the Dublin regime
- Distinguishing between political and economic migrants
- Controlling borders without abandoning Schengen
- Frontex is inadequate, need for a new approach to external borders
- Need for a common asylum policy, Merkel’s ‘good cop, bad cop’
- Quota system based on each state’s capacity
- Estimated cost: €10K/refugee/year: reception, processing and resettlement (repatriation?)
Long-term Policy Issues

• Integration of refugees, back to markets and rights
• Silver lining—Europe needs people, talent, workers because of demographic decline
• But, political and culture backlash, continued rise of right-wing, populist, xenophobic movements
• Undermining Schengen, free movement, and ultimately the EU itself
• Search for a common foreign and security policy (CFSP), a key pillar of European integration, along with EMU and JHA
Regional Responses

- Helping the front-line states, Turkey (2 million), Lebanon (1/4 people are refugees), Jordan (750K)
- Seeking a political settlement to the Syrian civil war—easier said than done
- Dealing with ‘failed states’ in East and Sub-Saharan Africa, and South Asia
- Where are the Gulf States? Not signatories to refugee convention
- Why not keep the refugees bottled up in the region?
- Fertile recruiting grounds for ISIS.
- How to force people to go where they do not want to?
Backup slides
Refugees by Country of Residence

NOTE: Data are for 2015.
From UN Refugee Agency’s 2015 Global Trends publication—number of refugees and asylum seekers