The Emerging ‘Migration State’

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Agenda

• Migration and globalization

• The emerging ‘migration state’ and the ‘liberal paradox’

• Dilemmas of migration control in Europe and the U.S.

• Reactive populism and the end of the ‘liberal interregnum’

• Migration interdependence and the ‘L-Curve’
I. Migration and Globalization

Are we experiencing a ‘migration crisis’?
Trends in International Migration: A ‘Crisis’?

International Migrants, 1960-2013

International Migrants, Total

International Migrants (% of World Population)

Source: World Bank Data Bank 2015
### Three Pillars of Globalization: Trade, Finance (money), and Migration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Trade</th>
<th>Finance</th>
<th>Migration</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Change in stock and flow since 1945</td>
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<td>Change in regulation and organization since 1945</td>
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<td><img src="downvote.png" alt="Downvote" /></td>
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<td>Volume of trade, propelled by GATT/WTO—logic of comparative advantage</td>
<td>Volume of FDI and finance, facilitated by IMF, World Bank—liquidity and exchange rate stability.</td>
<td>Increased migration and mobility—but no regime and no organizing principle</td>
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Clearly Europe has experienced a crisis with the influx of refugees in 2015-16.

If the trend continues, 2015 will be the high point of refugee inflows into Europe.
Contrast refugee flows into the U.S.

NOTE: Fiscal years.
Ad hoc responses to the crisis in Germany and Europe

• Germany: from ‘kein Einwanderungsland’ to ‘Wilkommenskultur’
• From ‘wir schaffen das’ to ‘schaffen wir das?’
• Angela Merkel: ‘if we rescued the banks, we can save the refugees’
• A chance for redemption of Germany, following the euro crisis
• A remarkable humanitarian response—almost 1 million arrivals in Germany alone in 2015
• But Germany cannot manage the exodus unilaterally—need for responsibility sharing and a common European policy
• Need for the EU to regain control of borders, hence the ‘deal’ with Turkey
The greatest disaster is forgetting but moral hazard looms.
Wir schaffen das.
After March 20, 2016: migrants arriving in Greece are returned to Turkey. EU accepts 1 Syrian who did not try to get to Greece (1 for 1)
II. Emerging ‘Migration State’

And the ‘liberal paradox’
States have evolved in their functions over time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The state</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Garrison state</td>
<td>Absolutist 16(^{th}) - 17th</td>
<td>Security (subjects)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trading state</td>
<td>Nation 18(^{th}) – 19th</td>
<td>Economic (firms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migration state</td>
<td>Liberal post 1945</td>
<td>Rights (citizens)</td>
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</table>
The migration state encompasses a number of characteristics

- A state which is relatively open to immigration/emigration and returns
- A state which manages mobility and regulates migration to maximize economic benefits and minimize costs
- Gains for receiving states: manpower and human capital (Canada)
- Gains for sending states: remittances and returns/brain gain/circulation (Philippines)
- A state which clearly defines the status (rights) of foreigners (Canada)
- A state which has legal provisions for settlement, naturalization, citizenship, and return migration.
We have formalized these characteristics into five dimensions that constitute an analytical framework:

1. Institutional and legal capacity
2. Quantity and quality of rights
3. Safe and orderly migration
4. Market-based migration management
5. Regional and international cooperation
Is the US a Migration State?

• Yes, on one dimension
  • Highly developed legal immigration policies.
  • Human capital, H-1B
• No, on another dimension
  • High levels of illegal immigration.
  • Not confronting the status of 10-12 million illegals
• Will a guestworker program solve this problem?
  • ‘We asked for workers and people came instead.’
• People are not shirts!
The Centrality of Rights—No ‘rights-markets/numbers’ tradeoff…

Rights and outcomes, 2014
Equally weighted average across eight rights and outcome dimensions (labor market mobility, family reunion, education, health, political participation, permanent residence, access to nationality, anti-discrimination)

Weighted score (out of 100)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Weighted Score</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
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<td>Italy</td>
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<tr>
<td>UK</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
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<td>France</td>
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<td>EU27</td>
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<td>Greece</td>
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<td>Japan</td>
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<td>EU10</td>
<td>42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>24</td>
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</tbody>
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The Liberal Paradox

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

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

• This is a **paradox**—liberal states, like the U.S., must be simultaneously open and closed (Hollifield, 1992, 2004)
States balance a number of factors in formulating migration policy (or the lack thereof)…
III. Dilemmas of Migration Control

Convergence or divergence in the U.S., Canada, and Europe...
US & Europe, different histories but today same dilemmas

• **US & Canada**: shaped by immigration, newcomers start over in lands of opportunity; myth of self-reliance, small government

• **Europe**: shaped by emigration, rebuilt after wars & border changes. Solidarity with refugees—it could be me!

• Social contract revolves around welfare state

• Goal-outcome gaps: governments lack credibility
  – US: many unauthorized = 11 of 42 million, 26%, adjust status
  – Europe: we want skilled, but few ‘Blue Cards’; Low-skilled arrive via asylum (help victims)
Nations v. Countries of Immigration (Hollifield, et al., 2014)

• Is immigration part of the “founding myth” of the nation?
• US & Canada—Nations of Immigrants, *E Pluribus Unum*, multicultural citizenship (Kymlicka)?
• France and the ‘republican’ tradition (Hollifield).
• Germany and the *Volksgemeinschaft*
• *Staatsnation v. Kulturnation* (Gelner)
• *jus soli v sanguinis* (Brubaker)
• *Policy convergence or divergence?*
Market dynamic: demand-pull and supply push
Turkish guestworkers (*Gastarbeiter*) in Germany (circa 1970s)
Agricultural workers in California (circa 2010s)
Should they be given rights and citizenship?
Search for a Common European Policy

• Respecting *non-refoulement*, designating safe countries
• 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?)
• Turkey and ‘suasion games’
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, AFD in Germany, FN in France, Danish People’s Party, UKIP
- 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
IV. Reactive Populism

And the end of the liberal interregnum...
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
Cultural and Security Dynamic

“Must be hard to be locked up! You get use to it!”
Le droit à la différence?
Le débat est lancé!
‘Germany does away with itself’
Immigrants threaten national culture.
We must ban Muslims from coming to the USA
La France aux français!
Etre français cela se mérite!
Kriminelle Ausländer raus!

= 30,6% aller Straftaten wurden von Ausländern verübt

Quelle: Landeskriminalamt Baden-Württemberg

Mach` mit - WIR tun was!

NPD
Die Nationalen

www.npd-bb.de

Herausgeber: NPD-Regionalverband Böblingen-Stuttgart-Ludwigsburg
V.i.S.d.P.: Janus Nowak, Seelenbinderstr. 42, 12559 Berlin, E.B.
Rights Vary

• But they have a long half life
• They are deeply institutionalized
• In constitutions (US) and conventions (UDHR and Refugee Convention)
• And they are protected by courts (SCOTUS and ECHR)
• Demand for hi- and lo-skilled migrant labor remains high, demographic decline in the west and East Asia, Japan, South Korea, China.
V. Migration Interdependence

And the ‘L-Curve’
Migration Interdependence: stock

International migrant stock\(^1\) by region, 1960-2010

- Arab World
- Central Europe and the Baltics
- Latin America & Caribbean
- East Asia & Pacific
- Middle East & North Africa
- Sub-Saharan Africa
- Europe & Central Asia
- European Union
- North America
- South Asia
- Europe & Central Asia
- East Asia & Pacific
- Arab World
- Sub-Saharan Africa
- Latin America & Caribbean
- European Union
- North America
- South Asia

International Migrant Stock (% population)

Year

Migration Interdependence: remittances

Remittances by region, 1975-2013

- Arab World
- Latin America & Caribbean
- Central Europe and the Baltics
- Middle East & North Africa
- East Asia & Pacific
- North America
- Europe & Central Asia
- Sub-Saharan Africa
- European Union
- South Asia

Remittances (% of GDP)

Year

Countries fall into three key types along the L curve: senders, receivers, and transition

SENDERS
- El Salvador
- Honduras
- Philippines

RECEIVERS
- United States
- Turkey

TRANSITION
- Guatemala
- Nicaragua
- Morocco
- Panama
- Mexico
- Costa Rica
- Thailand
- Belize
- Mexico
Some countries are rapidly evolving on migration, which indicates increasing interdependence.
Many states, like Mexico, are in transition

Net migration between US and Mexico

This trend continued between 2015 and 2017
Regional Responses

• Helping the front-line states, Turkey (3 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?
International Responses

• More direct assistance for front-line states
• More help for UNHCR, reinforcing the international refugee regime
• Can migration management be defined as a global public good?
• Any global regime must address the issue of ‘legal and orderly movement’
• And the needs of the sending countries, tremendous asymmetries of the IPE
A public goods approach to migration

- Following Ruggie, **three tenets of multilateralism**:
  - Indivisibility—the object of regulation should take the form of a public good
  - Norms of conduct/principles around which actor expectations converge
  - Diffuse reciprocity—respect for the rules of the game

- Qualities of public goods
  - Benefits are non-rivalrous in consumption
  - Non-excludable (available to all)
  - Example of a traffic light
  - Benefits—smooth flow of traffic are available to all—nonrivalrous in consumption
  - Difficult to create a market to sell traffic safety to individuals or groups—benefits are non-excludable
  - Orderly, legal movement of people takes form of a public good; migration regime is like a traffic light but there are costs
Despite this increasing interdependence, migration governance / institutions remain weak.