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ILLEGAL MIGRATION IN THE CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN SECURITY: CASE OF GERMANY

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Introduction

Nowadays, the international community is developing in the globalizing world and it is migration processes that are integral part of globalization caused by uneven development of particular region of the globe. In the modern conditions more and more states involve in migration processes and there are practically no countries, which have never been touched by migration problems and its consequences. State integrations and cooperation in various fields and spheres are being created that contribute to the partial elimination of generally accepted state borders. The movement of individuals becomes more accessible and effortless within such unions. In addition, differences in economic, social and political development act as pushing factors for individuals from third countries to leave their homelands for more developed countries. This sparks migration flows, which have acquired a global character and an incommensurable number. Research in the field of migration is quite controversial, in terms of the impact of immigrants on host countries. In recent decades, the role of international migration in shaping the population of most European countries has increased in times. Amid the growth of migration activity one can suggest the beginning of the second Great migration of peoples, changing the socio-cultural image of Europe. Governments around the world are quite sympathetic to circulation of goods and capital, however they are more concerned with regard to the movement of people. Drastic restrictions on access to European labor markets for third-country populations, which began in the 70s of the last century, gave rise to the phenomenon of illegal immigration, which at the beginning of the 21st century took the most dangerous and comprehensive form.

The topic of this paper is just about the migration situation in the European Union and the reaction of EU members states on Migration crisis 2014-2015 as well as impact of migration flows on the European security. In particular, this work deals with the effectiveness of migration regulation policy of the EU and analyzes the interdependence between migration inflows and security of the country on the example of Germany as a country, which accepted the greatest number of immigrants in the framework of Migration crisis. The increasing scale of migration processes dictates the need to study migration policy and its implications not only at the moment of migrant arrival on the territory of a receiving state, but also with the prospect of the majority of immigrants will not leave this territory. This causes the **relevance** of the further research, since, nowadays, knowledge about migration processes are incomplete and the research works in this very sphere are rather controversial. Moreover, growing immigration flows in Europe and weak legal basis for management of migration movements requires a profound analysis of the challenges and opportunities of European countries with regard to migration regulation. Migration situation in Germany has been chosen as a case study due to the fact that Germany in recent decades act as a sole representative of the European Union and is one the main economic drivers in the EU. Therefore, economic and social impact brought by immigrants may turn crucial for the whole Union and entail destructive consequences.

The **timeline** considered in this research covers the period after the World War II up until the present time. This chronology helps to analyze the development of European, in particular, German migration policy since the beginning of major immigration flows and the evolution of its approach toward immigrant population.

Moreover, consideration of this period helps to detect the moment when migration acquired a threatening character. Due to this, the author indicates the **aims** of the research:

– Analyze the migration situation in the European Union;
– Evaluate the effectiveness of migration management of the EU: define main challenges and implications of the Migration crisis;
– Analyze the influence of migration society on the European society on the example of Germany and detect its impact on the security of the country (not only with regard to criminal activity, but also economic, cultural and social);
– Suggest possible measures for migration management in the case of Germany;

To accomplish these goals one needs to consider the list of **tasks** to give an objective assessment:

– Define and explain the main roots of Migration crisis in the European Union 2014-2016;
– Analyze the legal base of immigration regulation in the EU and main approaches of EU member states;
– Consider dynamics and examine statistics of migration flows in Europe;
– Define integration policy of migrants in Germany;

The author defines the European Union and Germany as the **research object** of this work, while the **research subject** is the interdependence of immigration flows and security of Germany.

This research is conducted prove the hypothesis about the existence of interdependence between the growing number of immigrants and security of German society.

In order to achieve the set tasks and goals, one needs to use methods of analysis of various researches and legal acts as well as to apply statistical analysis of data on European Union and Germany in particular.

Conducting research the author referred to a number of **sources**. Special attention was paid to the official documents and statistical reports of the European Union and Germany: Eurostat data, reports of the European Commission and the EU agencies, analytical reports prepared by BAMF and Federal government of Germany, which provided a practical image of the considered situation. The roots of migration inflows and the preconditions of the Migration crisis are highlighted in works of such authors as: Francesca Maria Corrao, M. Vestfrid, M.M. Agafoshin, T.A. Shakleina.

The problems of migration regulation in the European Union and security challenges are considered by: O.U. Potemkina, N. Kudeyarova, S.U. Kashkina.

S. Pogorelskaya, G. Steinmann, R. E. Ulrich, Söhn J., Özcan V. analyze the problem of immigration society in Germany and German migration policy. In this research the author deals with both theoretical and practical sources, which allowed to conduct a profound analysis of reasons, problems and implications of migration inflows in Europe.

Working on the dissertation the authors used several scientific methods. Historical method allowed to consider the roots and the dynamics of immigration movements to Europe and, in particular, Germany. Then, important role plays the statistical method of analysis, as it provides more precise picture and allows to trace the evolution of migration movements as well as to assess the effectiveness of measures on immigration control. In addition, the forecasting method was used, that allowed to suggest further course of events as well as make suggestions on possible measures for integration and regulation of migrations flows in the case of Germany.

For more detailed consideration of the set tasks, the author has divided the main part in three chapters:

− The first chapter covers main theories and concepts of migration and defines the roots of Migration crisis 2014-2016. This part discusses the situation in Africa and the Middle East and analyses the preconditions for migration boost to Europe in 2014. Moreover, this chapter points out the characteristics of the Migration crisis.

− The second chapter is more practical, where the author discusses the general migration situation in the EU across regions and analyses the EU answer to the Migration crisis. This chapter also considers the challenges and effectiveness of migration management and the implications of Migration crisis for the European Union.

− The third chapter is devoted to the particular consideration of the case of Germany. It deals with the history of migration flows to Germany and examines the legal framework of migration regulation in Germany. This chapter also highlights the influence and position of immigration population in Germany as well as the problems of its integration. This part provides suggestions and forecasts with regard to migration situation in the country.

Chapter One – Theoretical approach towards migration

1.1. Theoretical and political aspects of migration processes

In the 21st century the international community was involved in the globalization processes, both positive and negative, with the world migration becoming one of the central problems of political stability and national security of the state.[1] Migration is a complicated socio-economic phenomenon, which covers a considerable part of all aspects of people life. Almost all historical stages of our evolution were triggered by various forms of migration of population. Nowadays the role of migration in the international arena and its effect on political and social aspects of life are different, since the qualitative and quantitative features of migration processes are changing. The question why people migrate and how to manage migration flows remains on the agenda for policy-makers. It is theories of migration, which help us to understand better population movements within political and economic context. Thus, before proceeding with a more profound research and analysis of the development of migration flows in the European Union, one should get familiar with theoretical aspect of the migration, its concept, reasons and main tendencies.

Having analyzed modern notions of "migration", one can distinguish at least four main approaches to its definition.[2] Migration should be viewed as the movement of masses of people within a territorial organization, as well as movement of separate social groups within territorial structure. Moreover, migration can be defined as movement of people, which leads to territorial redistribution. The very first scientific definition of migration is believed to be created in 1880 by Ernst Georg Ravenstein, a German-English geographer, who defined migration as a permanent or temporary change of a person residence. E.G. Ravenstein first concluded that it is "push and pull" factor which rules migration; that is, unfavorable conditions in one place (oppressive laws, political persecution, heavy taxation, harsh climate conditions, etc.) that "push" people out of their homelands, and favorable conditions in an external location "pull" them out.[3] In his article "The Laws of Migration", published in 1885, he established a theory of migration, which became a basis for modern migration theory, and pointed out the following principles of migration:

1. The great part of migrants proceed only a short distance.
2. It is the natural outcome of this movement of migration, limited in range, but universal throughout the country, that the process of absorption would go on in the following manner: The inhabitants of the country immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth, flock into it j the gaps thus left in the rural

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[1] A.V. Chernyak Political cooperation between Russia and the EU in migration regulation: condition and perspectives– Orel, 2015, 230 p.

[2] L.L. Rybakovsky Migration of population: forecasts, factors, politics. – M.: Science, 1987, p. 18

[3] Migration Studies, Volume 7, Issue 2, June 2019, p. 269–278; https://academic.oup.com/migration/article-abstract/7/2/157/5513127?redirectedFrom=fulltext

population are filled up by migrants from more remote districts, until the attractive force of one of our rapidly growing cities makes its influence felt, step by step, to the most remote corner of the kingdom.

3. The process of dispersion is the inverse of that of absorption, and exhibits similar features.

4. Each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current.

5. Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centers of commerce or industry.

6. The natives of towns are less migratory than those of the rural parts of the country.

7. Females are more migratory that males.[4]

Thus, Ravenstein's laws stated that the primary cause for migration was better external economic opportunities; the volume of migration decreases as distance increases; migration occurs in stages instead of one long move; population movements are bilateral; and migration differentials (e.g., gender, social class, age) influence a person's mobility.[5] Although Ravenstein's theory was not flawless, his works constituted a basis for his successors in migration studies. Thus, American scientist Everett Lee developed Ravenstein's "push and pull" ideas and elaborated the Push and Pull Theory, known as Lee Theory. Everett Lee has systematized the factors associated with the decision to migrate into the following four categories: 1. Factors associated with area of origin; 2. Factors associated with the area of destination; 3. Intervening obstacles and 4. Personal factors.[6] What is more, Lee pointed out hypotheses concerning the characteristics of the migrants:

1. Migration is selective by nature. Due to differences in personal factors, the conditions at the places of origin and destination, and intervening obstacles are responded differently by different individuals. The selectivity could be both positive and negative. It is positive when there is selection of migrants of high quality, and negative when the selection is of low quality.

2. Migrants responding to positive factors at destination tend to be positively selected.

3. Migrants responding to negative factors at origin tend to be negatively selected.

4. Taking all migrants together, selection tends to be bimodal.

5. Degree of positive selection increases with the difficulty of intervening obstacles.

6. The heightened propensity to migrate at certain stages of life cycle is important in the selection of migration.

The characteristics of migrants tend to be intermediate between the characteristics of populations at the places of origin and the place of destination.[7] Everett Lee in his "Theory of migration" reformulated Ravenstein's theory and focused specifically on positive or negative factors, that may retain people in their territory or, on

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[4] The Laws of Migration; Journal of the Statistical Society of London. Vol. 48. No.2. (Tun., 1885). p. 167-235

[5] Ibid.

[6] Lee, E. (1966). A Theory of Migration. Demography, 3(1), p. 47-57.

[7] A Theory of Migration Everett S. Lee Demography, Vol. 3, No. 1. (1966), p. 47-57.

the contrary, stimulate to leave. Among the positive factors the scientist mentioned patriotism, aspiration to keep family ties and current residence; as a negative factor, Lee mentioned problems, which people face during the move to another land and adaptation on a new territory. What is more, he analyzed the influence of "intervening obstacles" and other restrictions, which exist between areas of origin and destination. These obstacles include the distance, revenue and expenses on a new territory, transport and housing prices. It is worth mentioning that these factors can present a huge barrier for some migrants, while other will be able to overcome them. According to this, appears a migration model based on the balance of push and pull forces, acting in the areas of origin and destination, which is affected by "intervening obstacles".

We see that theories, presented by E.G. Ravenstein and Everett Lee, concentrate mostly on the issues why people migrate and what are the main trends of migration. Nevertheless, in the 21st century the European community has faced with the problems of adaptation and assimilation of migrants in different society, so it is this type of issues that European states are to deal with in future and for further consideration of the Migration crises of 2015, one should take into account theories that focus on integration of migrants and stages of migration processes.

The first theory, which was developed by H.G. Duncan, explains the process of the migrant enter into the life of the state-recipient. Generations of migrants join the local community step by step: first generation conducts economic penetration into accepting society and has only external features of permeation. On this stage only economic and social integration takes place, while emotional part and moral values are formed within a particular ethnical group. The second generation penetrates emotionally and psychologically into a new society, this generation of migrants is able to cope with emotional and psychological obstacles of their parents through the school education and acquisition of professional skills, it embraces values of a new social environment, but still, they carry the culture of the first generation. Finally, the third generation already commits assimilation. Only this generation of migrants is able to embrace values and culture of the receiving society and completely assimilate.[8] However, Duncan did not include in his research the peculiarities of the mechanism of assimilation itself and the types of migrants, which are more prone to assimilation.

Another important concept, elaborated by S.N. Eisenstadt, examines the phases of migration and assimilation and points out three interdependent indices of adaptation of migrants in a new country, which lead to full absorption. They are 1. Institutional dispersion: immigrants are not concentrated in one sector of the economic and political sphere and hence cease to have a separate identity; 2. "acculturation": immigrants learn a number of new norms and customs and internalization of these new patterns of behavior; 3. Personal adjustment and integration of the immigrants implies that there are no indices of personal disorganization like suicide, crime, mental illness.[9] One can observe here the correspondence of these ideas with the Duncan theory and we can conclude that the indices, mentioned above, refer to the third generation, which completes assimilation. After

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[8] H.G. Duncan, Immigration and Assimilation, 1933, p. 270-276
[9] Theorien zur internationalen Migration p. 44-62

analyzing Jewish migrants in Israel and Jewish migrants in Palestine 1950s, S.N. Eisenstadt developed the theory of three phases. The first phase is characterized by the emergence of migration motivation, which means that a potential migrant starts to experience dissatisfaction with his living conditions. Eisenstadt emphasizes that a potential migrant sees migration as the only way to improve the quality of life not only in the economic, but also in socio-cultural and psychological sense. The second phase implies migration to another territory and change of habitation, which is tightly connected with the process of desocialization: the former acquired skills of survival in the society become useless in the new environment. Quiet often a migrant experience doubts and dissatisfaction, which took place during the first phase, since a migrant faces the problem of involuntary resocialization and learning unfamiliar norms and rules of the new society. During the third phase migrants integrate into a receiving society, this takes a long period of adaptation and assimilation. Eisenstadt highlights three stages of this phase: institutionalization of daily social roles and everyday routine of migrants through the learning of local language, rules and customs of a new society; adaptation of migrants, which is seen by scientist as combination of conditions from migrants and receiving society; another stage is the penetration of migrants into institutional environment of receiving, during this process migrants lose their ethnical identity and the feeling of belonging to one ethnical and cultural group. Thus, when migrants completely change their identity, the full penetration of migrants into the receiving society takes place.[10]

So, for the further analysis these theories help to understand the laws of integration and assimilation of migrants, as well as to have a clear perception, why people tend to change their habitation. However, the majority of migration theories, which are considered classical were formulated before the process of globalization assumed a great role in the international arena. Nowadays, international migration presents a multidimensional phenomenon in its reasons, strategies, forms and level of effect on the society and economics. This manifold makes the study of migration more complex for scholars of various subjects, as a result, their theories on migration become disconnected between each other. Those factors, which were considered as a result of birth of internal causes for migration in the 19th century, in the late 20th century will be considered in view of development of information, transport infrastructure, the world market and social networks, in other words, all the products of globalization. As has already been stated, E. Ravenstein is considered to be a founder of the migration theory, and despite the fact that his "laws of migration" were formulated in the late 19th century, some of his ideas still respond to modern issued of migration, with the idea that at the heart of migration lie mostly economic reasons remaining the most relevant point. Nevertheless, economic reasons is a very vague concept and to conduct further research one should clarify who we are going to talk about and what reasons to migrate these people have. First of all, those who migrate due to economic reasons may do it both legally and illegally. Legal economic migrants include migrant workers: persons admitted by a country other than their own for the explicit purpose of exercising an economic activity remunerated from within the receiving country; international civil servants: foreigners working for

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[10] S. N. Eisenstadt, Analysis of patterns of immigration and absorption of immigrants, Population Studies, 1953, p. 167-180

international organizations located in the country of arrival; employment-based: foreigners selected for a long-term settlement because of their qualifications and prospects in the receiving country's labor market; entrepreneurs and investors: foreigners granted the right to long-term settlement in a country on condition that they invest a minimum sum of money or create new productive activities in the receiving country.[11] With regard to economic migrants who migrate illegally, one should pay attention to the fact that migrants themselves should not be called "illegal" but "undocumented" or "irregular". The most comprehensive text on international migration adopted by the international community at the time affirmed that "undocumented or irregular migrants are persons who do not fulfil the requirements established by the country of destination to enter, stay or exercise an economic activity".[12] This approach has been recognized by the key institutions of the United Nations and these terms have been officially adopted at the sessions and conferences: 'illegal immigrants' should be avoided and replaced by the internationally accepted definitions of 'irregular' or 'undocumented' migrants, which more accurately describe the situation…".[13] Thus, people who can be classified as "undocumented" migrants are divided into the following types:

1. Foreigners, entering the country or those, who already stay in a foreign country without identification documents or with fake documents;
2. Migrants, who have violated the law of the country of arrival while crossing the borders, or whose rights for entering the country were artificial;
3. Foreign citizens, who stay on the territory of the state with an expired visa, foreign students, who did not leave the country after their studies has been officially finished and workers, whose job contracts have been expired;
4. Children, who were born in the migrant family (depends on the legislation of the particular country).

In this paper it is only illegal migration and undocumented migrants that will be taken for further analysis, however it is still important to pay attention to the fact that during the Migration Crisis of 2015, which will be considered afterwards, not only economic illegal migration took place, but there were another reasons that engendered such a considerable consequences for Europe and have changed the demographic picture of the world. Before proceeding with the roots of migration in the European Union, one should discuss the phenomenon of illegal migration, which became the main challenge for Europe.

Thus, an important difference between forced migration and illegal migration is that the person who decides to migrate does so in compliance with all the formal regulations provided for by the legislation of the receiving country. Reasons for forced migration may be political beliefs, economic, legal, racial, national or other

11 Recommendations on statistics of international migration; Department of Economic and Social Affairs Statistics Division; Statistical Papers – United Nations, New York (1998), p.31-50
12 Program of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), Cairo, 1994
13 UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navi Pillay, 12th session of the Human Rights Council, 22 September 2009

considerations. At the same time, forced migration may be illegal under certain circumstances. Such circumstances may be a hopeless situation or other compelling reasons in the migrant's opinion. Illegal migration is the movement of people with violation of the legislation of a particular state, which involves illegal entry by any methods and means, and their employment in the host country out of the current legislation. In the vast majority of countries of the world, illegal migration is a criminal offense that implies severe sanctions provided that there are aggravating circumstances. Among the causes for migration are economic inequality, growing poverty, environmental degradation, human rights violations, and lack of peace and security.

One can point out the following types of illegal migration:

- Organized and disorganized (spontaneous);
- Individual and collective;
- The crossing of the state border through unguarded areas or beyond checkpoints using fake documents;
- Illegal entry and non-entry after the permitted period of stay of an individual;

Illegal migration can also occur not only as a result of illegal border crossings, but also on legitimate grounds, with subsequent illegal employment in the country of arrival. As its consequence, illegal migration contributes to the emergence and development of certain negative economic trends, such as:

- Significant financial resources are diverted from the host country to the ethnic homeland of migrants through tax evasion and further acquisition of foreign currency for the purpose of their subsequent transfer to their homeland using banking and other financial mechanisms;
- The existence and development of ethnic foreign communities in those regions of the host country without high level of unemployment. Moreover, local diasporas have a strong connection with their compatriots who live in various foreign countries, with many of whom the host country may not have a visa regime for one reason or another;
- There is a rapidly growing imbalance between the local population and newcomers due to the low birth rate of the former and the high birth rate of the latter (people from Muslim countries and countries of the Asia — Pacific region). As a result, there are frequent cases of violent clashes on ethnic and religious grounds;
- Violation of the balance in the labor market, displacement of native residents of the host country from certain areas of employment by newcomers;
- The growing social burden on infrastructure, in particular on the health and education sectors, because of the increase in number of residents (due to migrants), which further increases the negative attitude towards migrants from local population of the host country. The burden on budgets at all levels is increasing, which makes the overall socio-economic situation more complex;

Currently, illegal migration poses a serious threat to the national security of a single state, as well as to a group of countries and even to the world as a whole. This is especially true today, when migration processes have begun to have a tangible impact not only on the policy making process of a number of European States, but also on the formation of new challenges and threats on the European continent as a whole. Migration is one of the most acute and dangerous global problems of our time, in fact — a global civilizational challenge.

Analyzing illegal migration as a challenge for the states of a particular region, its relationship with other challenges and threats of our time, it should be mentioned that illegal migration is closely linked to terrorism, drug trafficking, maritime piracy, kidnapping and human trafficking, as well as other criminal activities. Transnational organized criminal groups respond flexibly to changes and adapt quickly to new methods of transporting illegal goods, cash or people and transport routes. The main routes of illegal migration of large numbers of people pass through the territory of the Western Balkans region, which is not only a transit region, but also the main source of weapons sold on international arms markets, drugs, as well as money laundering through investments in real estate and commercial companies. In source or transit countries, organized criminal groups use ethnic or national links with diasporas in the EU.[14]

The concept of illegal migration as it has been discussed above, is rather controversial with referral to the Migration crisis and European Union migration regulation. Firstly, one can observe that originally it was forced migration, caused by particular events, which will be discussed further. Secondly, the European Union voluntarily started to accept huge flows of refugees and it was the problems of migrant distribution and guaranteeing their rights and freedoms that were on the agenda for the EU during the migration crisis and further, rather than the problem of illegal migration and its curbing. Thus, in this context, one can claim, that Migration crisis as an event should not be considered as a crisis of illegal migration, but the crisis of migration policy and regulation of the EU, but this will be analyzed later. However, the EU has gathered all the types of illegal migration within its borders. This became the result of earlier stimulation by the EU of labor migration and open- door policy during the Migration crisis. In the first case, labor migrants stayed in the host countries after their job expired and brought their families, which resulted into a surge of illegal employment of migrants; in the second case, the example of a successful acceptance of refugees, fleeing from wars and desperate conditions, huge flows of migrants also headed to developed Europe and by deceiving the authorities started to cross European borders in search of better conditions.

Thus, along with the economic "push factors" there were political and demographic issues, which made people flee their homes and move to absolutely different region. Having identified the core subject of this paper, one

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[14] I.S. Vlasov, N.A. Golovanova, Imigration and crime: the comparative analysis, 2012, Institute of legislation and comparative law under the government of the Russian Federation, p. 320

should look at the very beginning, when migration movements started to rise and flows of migrants became uncontrollable in the European continent.

1.2. Roots of the Migration crisis in the European Union

The migration patterns in Europe acquired its modern character and got a significant impetus for immigration in 1990s, when the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the collapse of the Iron Curtain and the opening the borders of Eastern Europe sparked new migration flows across Europe. The end of the Cold War as well as wars on the territory of former Yugoslavia resulted in the inflow of asylum seekers to Western Europe. For example, in the period of between 1989 and 1992 asylum applications increased from 320,000 to 695,000, to decline to 455,000 by the end of the decade and increase again to 471,000 in 2001. Until the 1990s, the vast majority of migrants could be classified under the categories "family reunification", "labor migration", and "asylum". Since the 1990s, however, migration motives have become increasingly diversified, including a growing number of young people migrating to attend higher education. The top-five countries of origin during this period were the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (836,000), Romania (400,000), Turkey (356,000), Iraq (211,000), and Afghanistan (155,000). In the first decade of the 21st century, new asylum applications followed the conjuncture of admission restrictions and numbers of violent conflicts. Between 2002 and 2006, asylum applications in the EU-15 decreased from 393,000 to 180,000.[15] From 2006 onwards, however, asylum applications rose due to the conflicts in Afghanistan, Iraq, and more recently, the Arab Spring. By 2010, the EU-25 plus Norway and Switzerland had received 254,180 applications, and humanitarian migration accounted for 6 % of newcomers to the EU (ibid.). Most applications were made in France (47,800), Germany (41,300), Sweden (31,800), the UK (22,100), and Belgium (19,900).[16] Analyzing Eurostat data on annual number of asylum applications received by the EU member states, one can point out 3 watersheds in immigration processes to the EU: - fall of Berlin Wall; - start of Kosovo war; - start of Syrian conflict. Thus, it is in 2015, when EU member states received twice as much asylum seekers (1 325 000) as in the previous watershed, when in 1992 the EU accepted 700 000 migrants and almost three times more than in 2002, as a result of Kosovo war (463 000).[17] From 2014-2016 in Europe, the most acute migration crisis in the last several decades began.

Among the main reasons for this rapid growth in migration the flow is called the events in the Arab world in 2010-2011 (Arab revolts) and the ensuing domestic political destabilization in several countries of North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula and the Middle East. First of all, these are the wars in Syria and Libya, the expansion of the activity of the Islamic State terrorist group in Syria and Iraq, the weakening security situation in Afghanistan due to the activation of the Taliban.

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[15] Hansen, R. Migration to Europe since 1945: Its history and its lessons. The Political Quarterly, (2003). 74(s1), 25–38.

[16] International migration outlook 2013. Paris, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

[17] Number of Refugees to Europe Surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015, Pew Research Center, 2016

Started in December 2010 in Tunis popular unrest that has grown and later spread to almost all the countries of the Arab world, had a huge impact not only on the regional development of processes in all areas of life, but also had a great significance, which is hard to underestimate in the world scale. As one of the most important reasons for the social explosion in the countries of the region is considered poor economic situation in many Arab States, which was aggravated by the global financial crisis of 2009. This led to a sharp decrease in the level of investment, an increase in prices for food and household goods, and, consequently, to general significant deterioration of the standard of living of the population. Popular discontent escalated amid corruption of the ruling regimes, which by that time had acquired hypertrophied scales. All this has greatly aggravated the social and political problems that have been maturing for a long time. At the same time, one should mention that each Arab state had their own social risks, which were aggravated by economic and political demise. Among them one should include the presence of national or religious communities that require political identification (for example, Shiites, Copts, etc.); the struggle between different tribes and clans for power; political stagnation with active economic modernization.[18] Years of fear, political repression and total censorship could not prevent the growth of a political conscience. Improvement in the school system, the spread of international literature festivals, proliferation of theatre activities and large-scale distribution of films and music had educated a peaceful new generation. These young people are aware of what their rights should be and ready to give their life to obtain them in order to build a better future.[19] The backwardness of economic development, the corruption of the authorities, unemployment and poverty are the factors that ultimately led to the formation of numerous rallies and protests in the Middle East. Demography and the complex ethno-confessional structure of the population of Syria and Iraq played a large role in the conflicts that arose on the territory of these countries. From the middle of the 20th century dramatic transformations in the population structure have occurred in the Arab countries of Asia. The population of the region has grown from 20.2 million people (1950) to 152.5 million people (2015).[20] For countries such as Iraq, Jordan, Yemen, Lebanon, Syria, the problem of rapid population growth with a predominance of youth in its structure was especially harsh. Unemployment among the young population was extremely high due to the low level of economic development and infrastructural backwardness. Corruption, the lack of decent earnings caused acute discontent, which resulted in a desire to reform or overthrow unfavorable regimes, or else to immigrate to Europe.[21]

It is common knowledge that the Middle East is the region of strategic importance, therefore the change of balance of power in this region, due to the change in the development paradigm of the Arab countries, provides both regional and non-regional players with opportunities to manipulate the situation to their advantage. If in Tunisia, Egypt and Algeria there were indeed nationwide protests that were triggered by public self-

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[18] M. Vestfrid, The Arab spring: the causes and key features, №1(30) 2014, p. 60-63

[19] Francesca Maria Corrao, Arab Revolutions: The Cultural Background, n,13 2011, p. 9

[20] Agafoshin M. M. Migration factors of the population from Arab countries to the EU // Natural science, 2017. №2. p. 61-64.

[21] Ibid.

immolations of young people usually with higher education, then in Libya, one can observe the process of tribal separatism in the individual province; in Yemen the revolution itself more reminded not the struggle with the regime, but the struggle of tribes and clans for redistribution of power in the country together with involvement of such a destabilizing factor as armed groups of "Al Qaida".[22] The "Arab spring" in the monarchies of the Persian Gulf was particularly specific. So, on the "day of anger " in Saudi Arabia only one person came out, and the very opposition movement in this country was not expressed in the form of demonstrations and protests, and in the form of an open letter to the king with a request to allow the creation of a political party.[23]

Social, economic, political, and ideological preconditions of Arab uprisings set up public masses not only against a particular political leader or even a regime, but against entire political systems and development models in their various forms - liberal-capitalist, social-democratic, Baathist, or jamahiri. Despite the variety of these models, they all had one thing in common - they were secular models of development and they were carried out by secular leaders and parties. It was the disillusionment with secular modernizing ways that made Islamic parties and Islamic model of development more attractive for public. In addition, it is important fact that in the eyes of public Islamist parties were not linked with corruption.

The overthrow of the dictatorship and transition to a new form of government only worsened the situation and allowed powerful terrorist groups to increase their influence and spread to other countries. The United States has opened a boiling pot with interventions and military actions. By invading Iraq and trying take the role of "global watchdog" following the example of the Russian Empire in the 19th century, the United States triggered the growth of radical Islamist sentiment among citizens and activated potential followers of Jihad. At this point, National Security Strategy of the US 2010 paid a special attention to the role of the US in fight against international terrorism, stabilization of situation in the Middle East and resolving of global economic problems. Therefore, the Obama doctrine stated that there was no other country except for the US that would better suit for the implementation of global leadership in the era of globalization.[24]

Thus, having declared itself a country responsible for the state of affairs in the international arena, the US did a lot to complicate the situation in particular regions and states. And the Middle East was among these regions; there was no alternative offered to replace one dictatorial regime, and the Arab countries, accustomed to the cruel "whip" of their dictators, did not manage to come together for peaceful coexistence. Despite the non-democratic policy, the dictators of the Middle East maintained an optimal balance of power, eliminating uprisings and minor conflicts in time, and did not allow them to develop into mass demonstrations and waves of protests until the "Arab", informational, imposed, operational and coordinated "spring" came.

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[22] M.A. Sapronova, Past, present and future of the countries of Arab, Expert comment, 2011

[23] In Saudi Arabia only one person steps out on "the day of anger", RIA Novosty [Electronic source] - http://ria.ru/world/20110311/344939633.html accessed: 05.05.2020

[24] T.A. Shakleina, Evolution of the US global strategy (2001-2011), №3 2011, International relations and world politics, p. 50-55

So, following the uprisings in neighboring countries in the Middle East, the political crisis reached the Syrian Arab Republic and consequently turned into largescale military conflict of international significance. On March 15, 2011 a civil war broke out in Syria, caused by a conflict between the Syrian government, supporters of President Bashar al-Assad, the Free Syrian army, Kurdish separatists and radical Islamist terrorist groups (the Islamic state of Iraq and the Levant (DAESH), Jabhat al-Nusra, etc.). The beginning of the conflict was marked by the first wave of anti-government protests by citizens for the resignation of President Bashar al-Assad and the overthrow of the ruling Ba'ath party, which has been in power since 2000. The protests in Syria began because the Baath stands for one-party rule, authoritarianism, and the persecution of the political opposition. The discontent of citizens was caused by the affiliation of Bashar al-Assad and his officials, who hold leading positions in the state, to the Alawite religious movement, and the main condition of the opposition was the immediate departure of Bashar al-Assad from the post of President. The civil war in Syria made thousands of people migrate to the European Union, which led to new unrest in Europe. What is more, by the summer of 2015, the Islamic state terrorist group has captured more than half of the territory of Syria, conducting on the occupied territories numerous executions. Thus, Syrians started to flee from these areas, but on the territory controlled by government forces, conditions after more than 4 years of war unsuitable for living: no job, not enough food, drinking water, medicine, partially destroyed housing, lack of elementary facilities for the accommodation of refugees, fights on the streets of the cities, and no confidence in the future.[25] The growth of migration flow to European countries, and not to neighboring countries of the region, can be explained by several reasons. Firstly, the Persian Gulf monarchies did not sign the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, and therefore they had the right both to reject refugees and not to decide on their provision and accommodation. Secondly, 48% of the population of the Gulf countries are migrants from South-East Asia, while in Qatar, Kuwait and the UAE this number exceeds 75%.[26] Political stability, economic well-being, higher earnings were favorable factors that attracted migrants and refugees to the countries of the European Union. An important role in stimulating migration was also played by the state policy of providing social benefits, which is widespread in the EU. In addition, the lack of border control within the Schengen area allowed migrants to move freely within the EU.[27]

One of the most important causes of the migration crisis in Europe is also the aggravation of the socio-economic situation in sub-Saharan Africa. In the XXI century, Africa's GDP growth was at the same level as the global one, but significantly decreased in 2015-2017. In addition, populations growing rapidly in African countries, created major problems in the development of human capital and poverty reduction. What is more, internal conflicts and the activities of terrorist groups such as Boko Haram in Nigeria posed serious obstacles to economic growth. Massive influx of refugees to EU countries in 2015-2016 was a big surprise for some European states. In particular, countries such as Austria, Sweden and Germany, in comparison with the number

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[25] A.M. Vasilyev, I.E. Kopchenko, European Migration crisis (2014-2015): causes and basic parameters, 2015
[26] Ibid.
[27] Migration crisis in Europe, TASS [Electronic source] - https://tass.ru/info/5336277 accessed: 07.05.2020

of their own population, have accepted a huge number of migrants on their territory. However, from a global point of view, the situation in Europe is only the "tip of the iceberg", because the vast majority of internally displaced persons come to developing countries located in the neighborhood of conflict zones. So, in 2015, under the mandate of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), developing countries received about 14 million refugees, which is 86% of their world.[28] Conflicts in Central Africa, as well as the genocide in Rwanda, have forced millions of people to leave their homeland. When the situation in these countries was more or less restored to normal, East Africa and the countries of the Horn of Africa became the main sources of refugees, with this trend remaining in growth recent years. In particular, increased violence coupled with extreme weather conditions in Somalia and North and South Sudan caused many people to leave the region.[29] The chaos and devastation in Libya led to the fact that many migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa , who had previously arrived in Libya in search for a quieter life, began to move to Europe on rubber boats. Most of the migrants were from Senegal, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Mali, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria, as well as from the DRC, Cameroon, Sudan and the Horn of Africa.[30] According to the International Organization for Migration, in 2016 181,436 migrants arrived in Italy by sea - this is 18% more than in 2015, and 6% more than in 2014. However, since 2014, the countries of origin of migrants have changed. Thus, in 2014, most of the migrants arriving from Libya were from Syria, while in 2016 only 1000 Syrians arrived in Europe from North Africa. This means that the number of those who came from Sub-Saharan Africa has increased. In connection with the aggravation of the migration crisis in Europe, on November 11-12, 2015, the leaders of the EU and African countries (in total more than 40 participants) held a summit in Valletta (the capital of Malta), the purpose of which was to find ways to resolve the key causes of destabilization, involuntary resettlement and irregular migration from the Sub-Saharan Africa.[31] The summit in Valletta resulted in the creation of the EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa, whose activities should have been aimed at supporting the most affected and unstable African countries.[32] Funds were allocated mainly to countries of three regions: the Sahel region, the Horn of Africa and North Africa - in the amount of 25 countries, including 21 countries from sub-Saharan Africa, with the size of the fund amounted to 1.8 billion

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[28] Global Trends. Forced Displacement in 2015, The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (the UN Refugee Agency) [Electronic source] - https://www.unhcr.org/statistics/unhcrstats/576408cd7/unhcr-global-trends-2015.html accessed: 07.05.2020

[29] Verwimp P., Maystadt J.-F. Forced Displacement and Refugees in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Economic Inquiry, World Bank Group [Electronic source] - http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/ en/546181468194940969/pdf/WPS7517.pdf accessed: 07.05.2020

[30] Migrants Surge From Sub-Saharan Africa Into Italy, Voanews [Electronic source] https://www.voanews.com/a/migrants-surge-from-sub-saharan-africa-into-italy/3264783.html accessed: 07.05.2020

[31] Valletta summit on migration, 11-12 November 2015 - action plan and political declaration, European Council [Electronic source] - http:// www.consilium.europa.eu/de/press/press-releases/2015/11/12- valletta-final-docs/ accessed: 07.05.2020

[32] EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa [Electronic source] - https://ec.europa.eu/ europeaid/regions/africa/eu-emergency-trust-fund-africa_en accessed: 07.05.2020

euros.[33] The fund is financed by the European Commission, separately the countries of the European Union themselves, as well as Norway and Switzerland. In November 2018, the size of the fund is 4.1 billion euros.[34] Another reason for increasing migration flows in Europe was a dramatic deterioration of the situation in refugee camps due to lack of funding located in neighboring, unaffected by war countries-Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan. In 2015, according to experts, an amount of $ 5.5 billion was needed to help refugees, but at the end of June, only 24 % was transferred. In this regard, refugees living in camps located in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan were forced to pay for gas and water. In addition, they did not have the right to work, and most children did not have the opportunity to attend school. As a result, a great share of those refugees left the camps in search for better living conditions in Europe, and new refugees refuse to settle in these camps, preferring to immediately set a course for European countries.

Finally, another important reason was the decision taken by the Macedonian authorities in June 2015, that refugees can freely stay on its territory for 72 hours, and then they must either leave this state or apply for asylum. This decision allowed refugees to cross Macedonian borders without registration and move on through the Balkans to Eastern and Central European countries.[35] This decision, however, was the only salvation for little Macedonia, since, according to the Dublin agreement of 1990 regulating the EU common immigration policy, the responsibility for processing the application on asylum is assigned to the country whose border is the first to be crossed by migrants, when entering the territory of the European Union.

Thus, migration disaster, which occurred in 2015 became a total surprise for the European countries, and despite the fact that already in 2011 there were some manifestations of the crises and many scientists have forecasted an unfavorable course of events, the European Union still appeared absolutely unprepared for a such challenge. According to the research, conducted in Syria from 2011, by 2015 more than a half of the Syrian population became either refugees (4 millions) or internally displaced people (8 millions), which became the first sign of the coming crisis.[36] United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees reported that in 2015 Europe saw the inflow of 1 million of migrants, with 4 thousands of them have being died in the sea.[37] Numerous deaths of migrants in the seas was the first challenge international community faced with. The majority of migrants arrived to the EU borders by the sea, with some of them using boats of smugglers, which resulted in death of a great number of people, since these boats were not properly equipped and were not

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[33] Jafali Kasozi. The refugee crisis and the situation in Sub-Saharan Africa, ÖGfE Policy Brief [Electronic source] - https://oegfe.at/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/OEGfE_Policy_Brief-2017.16.pdf accessed: 10.05.2020

[34] EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa [Electronic source] - https://ec.europa.eu/ europeaid/regions/africa/eu-emergency-trust-fund-africa_en accessed: 10.05.2020

[35] Refugees in Macedonia: to leave the country within 72 hours' 2015, Deutsche Welle [Electronic source] - https://www.dw.com/ru/беженцы-в-македонии-покинуть-страну-за-72-часа/a-18663554 accessed: 13.05.2020

[36] Middle East, North Africa, Afghanistan and Pakistan: Humanitarian Snapshot, United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs [Electronic source] - https://docs.unocha.org/sites/dms/ROMENA/Hum_Snapshot_en_Nov_Dec_2014_Final.pdf. accessed: 13.05.2020

[37] Over one million sea arrivals reach Europe in 2015, The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (the UN Refugee Agency) [Electronic source] - https://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2015/12/5683d0b56/million-sea-arrivals-reach-europe2015.html accessed: 13.05.2020

designed for long-distance trips. The first countries of destination for those, who arrived by the sea in Europe became Greek islands and Italy. UNHCR identified 10 countries, which were the countries of origin for 84% of migrants: Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Iraq, South Sudan, Somalia, Myanmar, Sudan, Kongo, Central African Republic and Eritrea.[38]

In addition, the number of people who arrived in Europe by land was 34 thousand people, which is less than the number of people who arrived in Europe by sea. The majority of them were traveling from Turkey to the Greek islands Kos, Chios, Lesbos and Samos on fragile inflatable or wooden boats.[39] According to UNHCR, every second refugee who arrived in Europe by sea was from Syria, 20% were from Afghanistan and 7% from Iraq. Despite the storm and strong wind, migrants continued to arrive by sea until the very end of 2015. Moreover, the conditions of their transportation completely did not meet any safety standards. Thus, on December 30, 2015, 69 refugees from Afghanistan arrived on the island of Lesbos in Greece in a boat designed for only 8 people.[40] The International Organization for Migration provides similar data, reporting that from January to November 2015, more than 1 million people sought asylum in the EU, as well as in Norway and Switzerland. Migrants entered the EU through 6 countries: Greece, Bulgaria, Italy, Spain, Malta and Cyprus. Most of the migrants who died in the sea - 2889 people - tried to get from North Africa to Italy, and 700 people died in the Aegean Sea on the way from Greece to Turkey. Only 3.5% of migrants travel by land to Greece or Bulgaria via Turkey.[41]

Considering the ways that refugees are trying to get to Europe, the Organization for economic cooperation and development (OECD) outlines three main routes. The first route lies through the Eastern Mediterranean and the Western Balkans following which refugees from Syria, Pakistan, Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as Jordanians and Egyptians from Turkey and Greece end up in Macedonia, then in Serbia, and then move to Hungary. If in the first half of 2015 66 000 of refugees used this road, then only in July – August this number reached 137 000.[42] It should be mentioned that Albanian Kosovars often join refugees from Asia as economic migrants. Their final destination is Germany, where Albanian Kosovars have a large diaspora, which was formed in the 80-90s of the 20th century during the period of Albanian unrest in Kosovo on the decline of the Socialist Yugoslavia and during the Yugoslav wars (1991-1995) and the Kosovo crisis (1998-1999).

Secondly, one of the most famous routes (Central Mediterranean) from Africa to Europe is considered the way to the Mediterranean sea from Libya to Italy. This road is used mostly by residents of North African States-Libya, Egypt, Algeria, as well as Eritrea, Nigeria, Somalia, the Gambia and Sudan. Refugees from Syria prefer

[38] Global Trends. Forced Displacement in 2017, The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (the UN Refugee Agency) [Electronic source] - https://www.unhcr.org/5b27be547.pdf accessed: 17.05.2020

[39] Ibid.

[40] Desperate Journeys, The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (the UN Refugee Agency) [Electronic source] - https://www.unhcr.org/desperatejourneys/ accessed:

[41] World Migration Report 2015, International Organization for Migration (IOM) [Electronic source] - http://publications.iom.int/system/files/wmr2015_en.pdf accessed: 17.05.2020

[42] The unfolding humanitarian crisis: how does it compare with previous ones? // Migration Policy Debates. 2015. № 7. p. 2.

the first way through the Eastern Mediterranean and Western Balkans, as they need a visa to stay in Libya. Therefore, only 6 % of Syrian refugees used the sea route from Libya to Italy in 2015.[43]

Finally, the third route (Western Mediterranean) is from the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla in Africa via Gibraltar to Spain. It is used mainly by residents of Morocco and Western Sahara, while Asian refugees do not reach it. In addition, it important mention Baltic route, which became popular later and is actively used by illegal migration flows heading to Scandinavian countries. On this route it is Moscow that acts as a transit point for migrants.[44]

Having experience in solving the migration problem only in relation to African countries, EU members began to solve the crisis by traditional methods: each country had to deal with the problem on its own without outside help. Therefore, Italy, as before (it is primarily about the islands of Sicily and Lampedusa), was thrown alone at solving this problem, following the example of the treatment of migrants from African countries. The only difference at the first stage was the number of shipwrecks and deaths at sea during the journey to Europe. But this time, the problem turned to be more large scale. Italy received support only by the end of 2015, when the naval operation "Sofia" began, in the framework of which the salvation of migrants and control of the sea routes took place.

Operation "Sofia" began in 2015 as one of the measures to combat the acute migration crisis that erupted at that time, which swept Europe. The operation itself was named after the girl, who was born by the rescued woman on the Italian military plane. «I will suggest to Member States that we change the name of our Operation: instead of calling it EUNAVFOR MED, I suggest we use the name: Sophia. To honor the lives of the people we are saving, the lives of people we want to protect, and to pass the message to the world that fighting the smugglers and the criminal networks is a way of protecting human life" - Federica Mogherini said. The operation involved ships of the naval forces of the European Union. Their tasks included humanitarian operations in international waters off the coast of Libya, the rescue of ships in distress with refugees, and the fight against illegal migration. [45] The mission core mandate is to undertake systematic efforts to identify, capture and dispose of vessels and enabling assets used or suspected of being used by migrant smugglers or traffickers, in order to contribute to wider EU efforts to disrupt the business model of human smuggling and trafficking networks in the Southern Central Mediterranean and prevent the further loss of life at sea. Since 7 October 2015, as agreed by the EU Ambassadors within the Security Committee on 28 September, the operation moved to phase 2 International Waters, which entails boarding, search, seizure and diversion, on the high seas, of vessels suspected of being used for human smuggling or trafficking.[46] Later on 20th of June 2016, the Council extended until 27 July 2017 Operation Sophia's mandate reinforcing it by

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[43] Ibid.

[44] O.U. Potemkina, Immigration policy of the EU: problems and perspectives, 2010. M., p. 45

[45] EUNAVFOR MED operation SOPHIA [Electronic source] - https://www.operationsophia.eu/about-us/ accessed: 18.05.2020

[46] Ibid.

adding two supporting tasks: training of the Libyan coastguards and navy; contributing to the implementation of the UN arms embargo on the high seas off the coast of Libya.[47]

Within the European Union, tensions over the disproportionate distribution of refugees among member countries have sharply increased. They urgently needed support from the EU member states, since they lacked their own forces and resources to resolve the situation that arose due to the influx of hundreds of thousands of migrants within one year.

Following the results of the emergency EU summit held in September 2015, countries approved the main proposals of the European Commission to resolve the migration crisis in Europe. They voted by a majority for the deployment of 120 thousand migrants in the territory of the EU member states, while the migration flow through the Mediterranean and the Balkans continued. But finally it was possible to agree on the placement of 66 thousand migrants, with the remaining 54 thousand people, it was decided to place, after it was possible to determine, which countries they will be sent.[48] It was decided to distribute those migrants who were in Italy, Greece and Hungary, since it was they who received the most migrants in their territory in 2015 and had difficulty registering and accommodating such a large number of people. Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Romania voted against this plan, but their votes were not enough to cancel it.[49] According to the adopted plan, it was necessary to distribute 120 thousand of refugees in 2 years: 54 thousand people from Hungary, 50,400 people from Greece and 15,600 from Italy. But since Hungary opposed the adoption of this proposal, its quota of 54 thousand people, it was decided to distribute them between Italy and Greece.[50]

Thus, one can observe that a number of factors resulted in a largescale humanitarian disaster with long-lasting consequences for the European continent as well as for the whole international community. The Migration crisis became a new turning point in the history of the EU and required at immediate effective answer from member states. The further chapter will discover the effectiveness of migration management of the EU in the framework of the Migration crisis as well as find out the implications for the security of the European Union.

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[47] Ibid.

[48] Relocation and Resettlement, European Commission [Electronic source] - https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/cs/IP_16_2435 accessed: 18.05.2020

[49] Migrant crisis: Why EU deal on refugees is difficult, BBC NEWS [Electronic source] - https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34324096 accessed: 18.05.2020

[50] Ibid.

Chapter Two – Migration in the EU in the context of security

2.1. General migration image of the EU

This chapter deals with the migration situation in European countries, common principles of the EU towards migration, answers the questions: How the European Union was dealing with the Migration crisis? What is the Union undertaking to protect itself from illegal migration and what implications does the crisis have? The phenomenon of migration situation is a combination of factors, connected to entry, stay, transit and exit of foreign citizens and individuals without citizenship affecting social-economic and demographic situation, domestic and foreign policy as well as national security of the receiving state. In other words, migration situation is the balance of two processes taking place in the state: migration and integration. It should be noted that Europe has not always been attractive for migrants. It is post-war changes that became a turning point for the migration image of Western Europe.

Thus, the rejection of military methods for solving inter-state discords, improvement of the political climate and stability in Europe in the 60-70s (the new "Eastern policy" of Germany, the Helsinki process and etc.), democratic transformations in Germany, Italy, Spain and other countries, construction of socially oriented states, renewal of industrial capacities, increase of the population welfare and production of consumer goods. The integration processes in Western Europe became the most significant impetus for maintenance of interstate relations, intensification of trade, economic and industrial development, expansion of national labor markets, formation and subsequent development of a common, and later a single, market. These processes started with the establishment of intergovernmental regional European coal and steel Association in 1951. The first members of the ECSC were France, Germany, the Benelux countries and Italy. The stumbling block for European integration became the establishment of a supranational level of public authority that implied a voluntary restriction of state sovereignty of member countries. Now, this problem is known as "communitarian method", which contrasts to "intergovernmental method" adopted in international (intergovernmental) organizations. The "communitarian method" was developed by J. Monnet and is the basis of the Monnet — Schumann plan. It bases on four main principles:

- Federal goal. "By combining the main production facilities and the creation of a new Supreme body... the present proposal (plan Monnet-Schumann) will ensure the creation of the first real foundations of the European Federation necessary for the preservation of peace."
- Gradual and step-by-step integration. The Federation as the ultimate goal of the integration process does not mean the immediate establishment of the United States of Europe. This is a step-by-step movement in the given direction — federalization.
- Ensuring "merging of inherent interests" and integration as a way to solve public problems. One of the main differences of Schumann's ideas from earlier versions of the European concepts is its focus on practical problems. I was claimed that one should unite Europe not just for the sake of a "high idea", but in order to make people lives better regardless of their place of residence and nationality. Thus, the

activity of an integration organization should proceed from the "merging of the inherent interests" of countries and peoples, and, first of all, should base on the principle of economic unification, as well as focus on solving urgent problems that they cannot solve one by one.

- Restriction of state sovereignty and creation of supranational authorities. The "communitarian method" of integration involves the unification of the peoples of Europe within a single organization with real powers. Under this concept, states do not disappear, but they delegate a certain part of their sovereign rights to supranational institutions endowed with all the functions of public power: legislative, executive, judicial and control. Therefore, a new supranational level of political power is created, which should strive for the formation of the "common good" not for one, but for other many peoples at once.[51]

These principles are very important in making decision concerning common agenda and implementing common policy urgent issues, such as migration in our case. The following decades confirmed the correctness of the strategic line the Western countries have decided on. Integration covered all areas of life, including economy, industry, education, regional policy, finance, agriculture, justice, and common security. Today the European Union acts as a major player in the international political and economic arena and proves the advantages of combining the countries potentials in solving various problems. Demographic and economic resources of the European Union have increased even more with accession of Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Malta, Cyprus, Hungary, Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. Development of industrial and economic potential of Western European countries in the post-war period contributed to decrease of unemployment rates and increase in employment rates of local population. These conditions on European space created a great demand from third countries population, who saw the migration to highly developed countries, which respect human rights and democracy, as a real opportunity to flee from economic, political and social hardships in their home countries. Thus, currently, the European Union is a unique interstate entity, which receives a huge number of migrants every year, who cross the borders of the EU member states for different purposes and by different means. The modern migration system that has been developed in Europe, is characterized by close economic, cultural, political, geographical links between the "Central" countries, which allows one to define it as a single migration system. This system is characterized by the diversity of migration flows, their multidirectional nature, the emergence of new countries of immigration and the inclusion of new sending countries, the formation of a new migration vector "East - West", which replaced the recent dominant vector "South-North". In the European migration system, the centers of attraction of labor force is represented by the countries of the West, North, East and South Europeans.

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[51] S.U. Kashkina, The European Union Law . M., 2014. p.17

Today the population of the European Union is 446 million inhabitants, 21.8 (4.9%) million of whom were born outside the EU countries.[52] The main center for immigration flows during the last century in Europe was and remains Germany, which by the present time has welcomed more than 10.1 million migrants.[53] Its population is third in the world (after the United States of America and the Russian Federation) by the number of migrants staying in the country.

The beginning of the XXI century made clear that, legal basis of the EU migration policy needs to be reformed and improved. EU governments should coordinate efforts with regard to the following aspects: to improve not only the secondary legal framework in the field of migration policy, but also to create a primary one; to develop a common asylum policy, to harmonize national legislation on this issue; to add the legislative basis in the field of illegal migration and to monitor the implementation of already existing regulations; to create a legal framework for issues of inter-state personnel exchange within the EU, as the single European market implies free circulation of labor power. It should be noted that the need to address issues of legal regulation of EU migration policy is dictated by the need to maintain sustainable economic and social development of the region. The modern migration policy consists of the following elements:

- Intensification of fight against illegal migration;
- Promotion and stimulation of legal migration;
- Positioning immigration as an important factor for relations between the EU and countries of migrant origin;
- Integration of migrants living within the EU;

EU migration policy can be considered as the cornerstone of the overall European security. However, legal regulation for combating illegal immigration at the European level does not properly satisfy current realities. The major vector of the EU migration policy is still to focus on traditional measures for strengthening control mechanisms. Migration policy of the EU had been designed out of the following factors:

- Inevitability of immigration flows in the EU in future;
- Benefits, the EU will get from migrants;
- Benefits, migrants will acquire themselves;

The fundamental principle of EU migration policy stated that migrants were given rights and responsibilities equal to rights and obligations of EU citizens, with the EU linking this issue to the duration of migrants stay

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[52] Migration and migrant population statistics [Electronic source] - https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics accessed: 15. 07.2020
[53] Living in the EU [Electronic source] - https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/figures/living_en accessed: 15.07.2020

in the EU. The issue of necessity for integration strategy and eradicating of racism and xenophobic mood arose. The EU migration policy should have included the following principles:

- Transparency and rationality;
- Differentiation of migrant rights depending on their period of residence in the EU;
- Improved procedures for applying for entry;

In order to manage migration flows and develop cooperation between EU members as well as with third countries one should haven taken into account various forms of migration: humanitarian, economic, family, illegal migration and human traffic. The European Council paid special attention to the issue of integration of the EU migration policy into the common foreign policy of the EU in relation to third countries. According to the European Council, the long-term goal of the EU there should be a universal, balanced approach towards elimination of the main reasons for illegal migration.

Discussing migration policy of the European Union, one should mention the ideological fundament of it. It is the concept of multiculturalism that became the original basis for the development of European approach towards migration. The main goal of multiculturalism is creation of integrated society, where any intercultural or international conflicts are impossible. It is one of the aspects of tolerance, which requires a peaceful coexistence of different culture with the aim for future mutual penetration and enrichment of mass culture. The idea of multiculturalism was mainly promoted by highly economically developed states and was perceived as an inclusion in European system of values different cultures of the "third world".[54] This policy of multiculturalism promoted comprehensive respect to every culture and nation, however Europe has not managed to create an American "melting pot" and Europeans did not have any clue how to implement integration with people with diverse cultural, religious and social background. In the case with the United State of America, it has originally positioned itself as a nation of immigrants and anyone could become an American with keeping own traditions and culture. In case with Europe, immigrants were perceived as not an inherent part of newly forming society, as in the US, but first as a cheap labor force and foreigners, who came to European society with a long and rich history and culture. In the post-war period Europe was aspiring to create a single European society and deepen its inner integration. However, it did not happen and recent events say that this approach failed. Thus, Europe did not intend to diversify the ethnic and cultural composition of its society, but to get foreign labor force, which would already carry European values and norms. In this case, multiculturalism acted as a kind of treaty between Europe and labor migrants, according to which migrants could preserve their traditions and culture while temporarily living in European country. For example, one can provide the case of Germany, when Germany accepted huge inflows of Turkish labor migrants with a strong believe that they would leave the country after working contracts expired and there was no need to take any

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[54] Multiculturalism, EU Center Background Brief, 2019 [Electronic source] - http://aei.pitt.edu/97423/1/Multiculturalism.pdf accessed: 15.07.2020

measures for their integration into German society. However, it turned out that, having an opportunity to preserve own culture, the interest in integration in European society disappeared and migrant community started to isolate itself. They associated themselves exclusively with their motherland, while Germany was perceived as a country-employer and a place that provides better conditions for living.

Analyzing migration policy and integrated in it concept of multiculturalism, one can point out 5 models of migration policy in Europe, so that one will get an overall image of situation in Europe by regions concerning immigration policies.

<u>Scandinavian model</u>

The standard of living in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland remains the highest among Western European countries, while the state policy of these countries is based on liberal freedoms, social support and tolerance. Already in the 20th century these countries adopted the model of "social state" with a variety of preferences for unemployed, large families, refugees, political exiles and other groups. Already in the middle of the 20th century, the Swedish government took a course on extreme loyalty to foreign migrants based on the desire to their integration into Swedish society on equal conditions. Every foreign migrant has equal rights with Swedish citizens, except for the right to vote in parliamentary elections. Tolerant attitude to representatives of foreign cultures and multiculturalist approach of Swedish authorities have led to a number of problems, especially after the increased inflow of economic migrants and refugees from Africa and Asia. Highlighting the problems of migration in Sweden one can emphasize 3 main problems:

- The problem of a changing of social structure of modern Sweden. The modern Swedish population is no longer homogeneous, as residents of the country have a very different, sometimes very exotic origin. Every fifth person of the current Swedish population was born in another country. Since a significant share of immigrants prefer not to work, and live on social benefits, or fill a niche of heavy and unskilled labor, the overall social well-being of the Swedish population. Thus, the share of marginalized groups in the population of the country increases.[55]

- Problem of growing segregation of Swedish society. Both Swedes and immigrants tend to keep maximum distance from each other due to numerous stereotypes and biases that exist in both Swedish and immigrant environments. A significant proportion of immigrants coming to Sweden do not intend to assimilate and even integrate into the host society. On the contrary, migrants are starting to build "mini-Somalia, "mini-Syria", "mini-Iraq".

- Problem of extremely high proportion of young male migrants who have a very high level of aggression, as a result, they often act as subjects of mass riots on the streets of Swedish cities. Despite these problems, Sweden is not going to tighten migration policy, but on the contrary continues to adhere to a very liberal way to solve them.[56] Moreover, in European comparison,

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[55] Sweden and migration [Electronic source] - https://sweden.se/migration/#2015 accessed: 15.07.2020
[56] Ibid.

Sweden stands out as a country with extremely low anti-immigration attitudes. According to social surveys, Sweden has the largest proportion of respondents who have positive perceptions of the impact of immigrants on their society (76%). In addition, 83% of Swedes claim that they feel comfortable with having social relations with immigrants.[57]

The most educated incomers were able to adapt to local living conditions and get a job in trade and services. The rest, without professional training and sufficient level of education opted for living on benefits or to be employed for unskilled work. They did not seek assimilation and integration, settled in ethnic ghettos and closed communities in the suburbs of major cities. A serious problem for Sweden, as for many other EU countries, is illegal immigration (the situation has deteriorated significantly with the entry into force of the Schengen agreement). It's getting complicated also due to the fact that not all arriving refugees in the country have with them an identity document, usually as a result of a loss or theft of a document. Over the past four years, 182,399 refugees did not provide a passport. At the same time, many of them received a residence permit. The majority of refugees and undocumented immigrants in 2014 was from Afghanistan, Eritrea, Somalia, Iraq, Morocco. The situation with "legal" Syrians in 2014 improved due to the passed law on provision of Syrian refugees with permanent residence in Sweden.[58]

One can observe the similar situation in Denmark. This country as well as Sweden has always been a monoethnic state. And as other countries of Northern Europe Denmark lacks high qualified labor force due to ageing population. Therefore, in late 20th century Denmark started to attract foreign migrants. However, the case of Denmark is very important to mention, because in contrast to the Swedish policy, Denmark has one of the strictest policies in the field of immigration control. To a certain extent, Denmark can be a good example for its Northern neighbors how to elaborate migration policy in modern conditions. In the XXI century Danish migration policy has been significantly tightened. Now, a foreigner staying on the territory of Denmark can be forever deported from the country for any offense, regardless of the presence of a residence permit and even real estate in the country. Moreover, migrant children must be separated from their families for at least 25 hours a week for mandatory instruction of Danish values, including the traditions of Christmas, Easter and Danish language.[59] Denmark is currently among other countries Europe has one of the largest representations of right-wing radical political parties in the country's legislative bodies, which also affects the direction and content of its migration policy. Thus, in 2019 more migrants left the county than entered.[60] One can see that the most effective migration policy model is demonstrated by Denmark, which managed to adopt a strict

[57] Standard Eurobarometer 88 Autumn 2017 [Electronic source] -
https://www.compete2020.gov.pt/admin/images/Standard_Eurobarometer_88_UE_dez-2017.pdf accessed: 15.07.2020
[58] A.M. Volkov, Migrants in the Northern European countries: Swedish approach., 2018, RAN, - p. 104
[59] Immigration policy, the Scandinavian model [Electronic source] -
https://www.ldnews.com/story/opinion/2019/03/18/immigration-policy-scandinavian-model/3200340002/ accessed: 17.07.2020
[60] More migrants leaving Denmark [Electronic source] - https://www.infomigrants.net/en/post/24537/more-migrants-leaving-denmark accessed: 17.07.2020

immigration control, while Sweden, Finland and Norway appeared to be vulnerable. In this case we see the discrepancy in migration policies of Northern European countries, when Sweden willingly accepts migrants, while Denmark impose all possible restrictions on immigration and has opposite views on multicultural approach. Therefore, the policies on immigration vary across the Northern European states, there is a common perception of the Scandinavian. Region as a wealthy and secure place where all migrants receive a full support to become self-sufficient through work and education. Despite harsh measures in Denmark and social tensions in Northern European societies, Northern states still focus on positive sides of immigration. Thus, Nordic Council of Ministers claims in its report of 2018 that new segment of the population (foreign migrants) can be an important resource enriching communities and society. For rural regions suffering from out-migration, ageing population and diminishing services, immigrants can be an important social capital contributing to improving demographic, social and economic stability.[61]

<u>British model.</u>

Great Britain has long been considered as a country with an effective policy of multiculturalism, despite the fact that multiculturalism was not proclaimed as an official doctrine. Great Britain has developed a system of measure aimed at supporting national minorities, with special laws on equality of all cultures being adopted and tolerance was declared obligatory for every citizen.

Considering the UK's multicultural policy from the historical perspective, it should be noted that it reached its peak during the period when the Labor party was in power (1997-2010), while the Conservative party has always being opposing the development of social life in Britain in a multicultural way and has being advocating assimilation model of migrant integration. It should be noted that the Labor party, which was actively promoting multiculturalism and tried to woo Muslim voters in national and local elections to get their votes. This was happening due to the fact that in the 1980s, voters from the "white organized working class " started to lose trust to the Laborist leaders the party's policies. Traditionally the overwhelming part of the Muslim population of the UK cast their votes for Labor party. In the 1997 parliamentary elections, more than 90% of Muslim electorate voted for Labor representatives. However, after the UK supported the US in the war in Iraq and Afghanistan, the trust of the Muslim community for Labor has significantly declined. Thus, in 2001the Labor party was supported by 75% of Muslims, and in 2004- by only 38%. Dissatisfaction with the policies of the Labor government led to an increase in the number of Muslim voters voting for Liberal-democratic party.[62] Multiculturalism approach in politics, carried out by the Labor government, was based on three principles:

- Rejection of Western universalism as the basis of cultural dominance of the West;

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[61] State of the Nordic region 2018; Immigration and integration edition [Electronic source] - file:///Users/darakornusina/Downloads/Nordregio2018StateoftheNordicRegion2018 MigrationandIntegration.pdf accessed: 17.07.2020

[62] V.V. Saharova, Multiculturalism and policy of immigrant integration: comparative analysis of the experience of leading Western states, 2011, p. 115

- Equality of rights of people from the former colonies of Great Britain and its indigenous people;

- Focus on preserving ethnic and racial identity of immigrants and rejection of their social and civil integration;[63]

The UK example is a clear manifestation of "hard" multiculturalism. Thus, the state has elaborated not only a broad system of support measures for ethnic minorities in order to preserve their identity, culture, traditions and customs, but also adopted a number of laws aimed at prevention of any form of discrimination against nation or race. Originally, Great Britain expected the inflow of labor force without carrying about their integration and assimilation, the chosen policy was based on endless tolerance from the local population. Tolerance literally has turned into dogma that required strict compliance. But it is the "hard" multiculturalism approach that has led the UK to huge problems of co-existence of migrants and local population. Consequently, in turned out that migration in Britain became the case when guests behave like hosts. And what is interesting is that the law enforcement institutions do not react to any conflicting situations and, despite numerous statements from local residents, the police only watch the ongoing outrages, not having the desire to stand up for the local residents and encourage migrants to follow with English law. As a result, Great Britain faced with forced marriages, women mutilation, spiritual rituals, conducted by African migrants. Moreover, Great Britain became a hub for kat (narcotic tree) trafficking, which was distributed by African immigrants.[64] As a result, in 2019 64% of Britons claimed that immigration was bad for the UK. Indeed, it appears Britain has changed its mind about immigration and there are three important reasons why that might have happened:

- The Brexit vote itself may have led some to assume that the immigration issue has been dealt with and therefore it is not seen as such a risk.

- The national debate on immigration during elections and the Brexit referendum may have focused people's minds on the social, practical and economic trade-offs involved in cutting migrant numbers, resulting in a more nuanced response to the issue.

- The millions of European migrant workers who came to the UK after 2004 initially caused something of a culture shock in neighborhoods unaccustomed to immigration. Now many of those arrivals have integrated into society, put down roots, formed relationships and become a familiar part of the local scene. Any culture shock has probably dissipated as migrants have made friends and started families.[65]

Thus, one can point out several problems of multicultural migration policy of Great Britain:

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[63] Ibid.

[64] Female Genital Mutilation in England and Wales: Updated statistical estimates of the numbers of affected women living in England and Wales and girls at risk Interim report on provisional estimates [Electronic source] - https://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/3865/1/Female%20Genital%20Mutilation%20in%20England%20and%20Wales .pdf accessed: 18.07.2020

[65] Crossing Divides: Has the UK changed its mind on immigration? [Electronic source] - https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-47428515 accessed: 18.07.2020

- Rapid immigration processes, when the national composition of the population changes for 1-2 generations;
- The presence of historical and economic links between the host country and countries of origin (Africa, Asia);
- Inability of local authorities to implement a proper control over migrants' activities in the country and their illegal stay and entry;
- Misperception of migrants' impact on the society (They were perceived as temporary labor force, who would return to their home countries, while in reality they stayed and brought their families.);

What is more, the problem of migration situation in Great Britain was due to the fact, that major inflows of migrants were amid the process of Brexit and turbulent situation in Europe and in Great Britain. It was a mistake to accept a huge number of migrants with strong religious and ethnic identity to the country with uncertain crisis of its own identity. Now, following the completed Brexit, Great Britain is making the same mistake with forcing labor migration. The new program on attraction of low qualified workers is expected to enter in force in 2021. This program includes the following conditions:

- Low-skilled migrants will be able to come to Great Britain without an invitation form an employer and will have one year to find a job;
- The limits on the number of qualified workers will be abolished;
- The establishment of a fix salary in 30 thousand pounds for qualified foreign specialists;
- Labor migrants will have to leave the country in case they do not find a job in one year;[66]

However, it is not hard to predict that British authorities are unlikely to guarantee that each migrant will leave the country in one year. So, Britain has many chances to appear in the situation of uncontrolled immigration and expansion of migration population on the territory of the country.

German model

The case of Germany will be analyzed in more detail in the third chapter, however in order to get an overall understanding of migration approach of European countries, one should give a description of German migration situation as well. Thus, after the World War II Germany faced a serious shortage of human resources, as most of the working male population were taken away by the devastating war. Human resources were needed for restoration of economy, reconstruction of infrastructure damaged during the war, development of its export-oriented industry, which was accompanied by the "Marshall plan", so more and more general labor was required for construction sites, factories. Therefore, it is foreigners that became the main source of covering the labor deficit, who were being attracted to Germany in the framework of international agreements on foreign workers. The first such agreement on the recruitment of workers was concluded with Italy in 1955. This followed a series of agreements with the countries of the Mediterranean region: Spain (1960), Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and

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[66] Immigration policy of Great Britain after Brexit: what is the government suggesting [Electronic source] - https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/features-russian-46631899 accessed: 18.07.2020

Yugoslavia (1968). Original plan the German government was fully contracted. Integral part of this plan was the principle of rotation, according to which it was assumed that foreign workers should leave Germany after a certain period of time and their place would be taken by newcomers.[67] At that period a great share of incoming labor migrants was made up of Turkish general workers, who immediately started to bring their families to Germany. Over time, some working-class immigrants from Italy, Spain and Greece returned to their home countries, but Turkish workers in their turn were reluctant to do this due to the increasing gap between the living standards of these countries. In order to curb the huge number of foreigners the German government decided to conduct a number of attempts on repatriation. Thus, in 1984, special grants were established for those who voluntarily agreed to return to their countries. At the same time the period between the 1970s and 1980s became a time for Germany when integration of foreigners had no longer a "temporary" character, but more and more one could observe migrant communities with several generations.

By 1988, the number of foreign citizens in Germany reached 4.5 million people or 7.3% of the total population. Generally speaking, no one wanted migrants to become a part of German society, but since it happened that foreigners did not want to leave the country, Berlin needed to guarantee their loyalty to Germany. As a result, the solution Germany has found was by the end of 60s was multiculturalism, which was interpreted in the following way: "Keep your culture, but at the same time, guarantee your loyalty to the state where you live».[68] Later, in 2000, with the support of the government a new law on citizenship was elaborated, this law allowed children of foreigners born in Germany automatically receive German citizenship, if one of the parents legally resided in Germany at least eight years. These measures were aimed at confirming Germany's commitment to liberal principles in relation to representatives of communities carrying another religion and culture, which ultimately led to their cultural isolation and reluctance to integrate into German society. In case of Germany it should also be noted that following the World War II Germany has been experiencing the feeling of guilty for the past and the choice towards policy of multiculturalism can in some way be explained by the moral duty of the country and its population. So that German people were ready to give way for immigrants in practically every sphere. Thus, in case of Germany we see some similarities with migration situation in Great Britain. One can see that both countries were actively attracting foreign labor force and perceived migrants as a temporary phenomenon, which turned into a huge a massive invasion of foreign culture into European society and the problem of integration. In Germany permission to bring migrants families to the country has radically changed the situation in German society. It was at this time that German society experienced the shock of prospects for multiculturalism, as this concept collapsed before its eyes. As a result, in October 2010, at a meeting with young members of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) in Potsdam, near Berlin, the German Chancellor Angela Merkel stated that attempts to build a multicultural society in Germany "completely

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[67] E.U. Koryakina, The peculiarities of migration policy of Germany on the boundary of the 20th and 21st centuries [Electronic source] - https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/osobennosti-migratsionnoy-politiki-germanii-na-rubezhe-hh-hhi-vv/viewer accessed: 19.07.2020

[68] Die Zuwanderungsprofiteure [Electronic source] - https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/zuwanderung-aus-bulgarien-und-rumaenien-wie-bayern-profitiert-a-943640.html accessed: 19.07.2020

failed".[69] Nevertheless, one could observe that it is Germany that during the Migration crisis 2015 welcomed a record number of migrants and still continues to attract labor migration without putting any tangible restrictions protecting German population as well as migrants.

French model

For a long time, France was a single, unitary, centralized state, where any tendencies towards autonomy and federalism from national minorities were suppressed. The first half of the twentieth century demonstrated successful results of immigration, when migrants arrived in France from different countries, and made up a small proportion of the total population of France. At that time French culture absorbed foreign cultures and as a result French culture was enriched. The process of assimilation of national and cultural minorities was completely implemented, leaving positive results. However, the situation changed after the World War II under the influence of processes of decolonization and requirements of the French economy. In that period the situation in France was similar to that in Germany. Originally, labor migrants involved in French industrial construction, intended to return to their home countries, and their integration was not obligatory. However, as a result of the increasing difference between living conditions at home and in France, they changed their plans. Many wanted to extend their stay in France, and even to get French citizenship. The main distinguishing feature of this category of migrants from their predecessors were their belonging to Islamic culture, desire to preserve your own identity and refuse to accept values of the Greek-Roman-Judaic-Christian culture, which the French belong to.[70] The process of migrants integration into French society is based on granting citizenship and involving migrants to active social and political life of the country. Getting the status of a citizen in France, migrants are immediately given equal rights and responsibilities. At the same time, migrants are no longer required to continue cultural assimilation, but they should share the core values of French society.[71] A distinctive feature of French case is that the state seeks to prevent the development of communitarianism. French policy of cultural diversity management is based on the principle of priority of the individual over the group. The integration process is aimed at an individual, not a community or diaspora. This process involves only two parties – the immigrant and the state, without mediation of immigrant communities.

Interest in multiculturalism in France is due to a decreasing effectiveness of the traditional model of migrant integration. There is a huge debate in political and scientific circles about advantages and disadvantages of the multicultural model and the possibility of its application to French migration community. It is unwise to borrow the migration experience from other countries and copy their models, since each society has its own traditions and institutions. Supporters of the universalist model of integration draws attention to the fact that this approach encourages people with foreign culture to gradually embrace norms and values of Western culture. The universalist model rejects any racial or religious organization of the immigrant community, but

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[69] Merkel says German multicultural society has failed [Electronic source] - https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-11559451 accessed: 19.07.2020

[70] Immigration [Electronic source] - https://www.vie-publique.fr/immigration#m accessed: 20.07.2020

[71] I.S. Novoshenova, Immigrants in France: integration of foreigners, 2011., p. 233

accepts religious, cultural, and household differences. Main focus of this model is put on universal values.[72] "Whoever we are - practicing Catholics, Jews, Negroes, homosexuals, ccommunists or snail lovers, we are, first of all, people».[73] In case with France we can draw a parallel with Great Britain, since again one can see the presence of historical and economic links between the host country and countries of origin. The majority of migrants is coming to France from North and West of Africa, where former French colonies are. At the moment, French migration policy due to its inconsistency does not bring any tangible results on immigration and integration issues. Denigrating situation with immigrants in France and their influence on French society has led to change of people attitude and raise of right forces. Thus, 52% of French respondents believe that France welcomes too many foreigners; 53% are scared of terroristic threat due to increasing number of migrants; 71% is worried about the fact that because of cheap foreign labor force the salaries of French people will decrease.[74] Only now, when there is not much time left until the presidential elections in 2022, Emanuel Macron decided to divert his attention to peoples opinion, especially when in the presidential party 40% stand against immigration and more and more political structures support Marine Le Pen and her approach to restriction of immigration control.[75] At the moment, one can describe French migration policy as not effective, since it led to political and social division in the country and did not manage to successfully integrate migrants in the society.

Spanish model

Spain is the only European country that borders with Africa (the city of Ceuta and Melilla and The Ifni territory), therefore one of the main immigration flows to Spain is African. The reasons for immigration in Spain are generally obvious: 1. South African States are among the world's poorest and insecure states; 2. it is natural that from the point of view of an African emigrant, Spain is a European Union member and has a developed economy (compared to most African economies) and ,what is more important, it is located in close proximity to Africa. It is known that Spain was one of the world's largest colonial empires. In the 15th – 19th Spanish colonial territories included most of the modern States of South and Central America (including Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Venezuela, Cuba, Uruguay, part of modern United States), separate territories in Africa (Morocco, Equatorial Guinea, Western Sahara), and in Asia (Philippines). The main part of this empire (Latin America) gained independence in the 19th century, the remaining part in the 20th century (Spanish Morocco, Western Sahara, Equatorial Guinea and etc.). While Spain was left only with Canary

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[72] Models of Integration in Europe [Electronic source] - https://www.robert-schuman.eu/en/european-issues/0449-models-of-integration-in-europe accessed: 20.05.2020

[73] L'Europe des nations sans révision unanime des traités, c'est possible! [Electronic source] - http://elar.uspu.ru/bitstream/uspu/5724/1/21Kazantsev.pdf accessed: 20.07.2020

[74] How French perceive migrants [Electronic source] - https://www.rfi.fr/ru/frantsiya/20181202-dobro-pozhalovat-ili-ponaekhali-tut-kak-frantsuzy-otnosyatsya-k-migrantam accessed: 20.07.2020

[75] Europe lives its hard times: France is expecting changes [Electronic source] - https://az.sputniknews.ru/news/20190930/421878477/-SEG-Evropa-perezhivaet-ne-luchshie-vremena-vo-Frantsii-nazrevayut-peremeny.html accessed: 20.07.2020

Islands remained and some cities in Africa.[76] However, the cultural significance of Spain for these countries is still great. In most of these States, Spanish is the official language, most believers (especially in America) confess Catholicism (the main religion of Spain). In addition, traditionally Spain conducts an active foreign policy with these countries, as well as intensive economic relations. Thus, one can assume that a number of residents of the former Spanish colonies (which often show very low economic indicators and their standards of living are significantly lower than in the former metropolis), consider Spain (a member of the EU, a country with a relatively developed economy, the world tourist center), as a safe place with better prospects for future wellbeing. These historical and cultural factors form one of the immigration inflows in Spain.[77] Considering the composition of immigration flows in Spain, one can point out the following categories:

- African immigration;
- Former colonies immigration;
- Transit immigration from Africa with the aim to move in central Europe;

Describing migration policy of Spain, one can make the following statements:

- There is no independent executive institution, which would be responsible for the entire range of issues in the migration policy. Functions of attraction and regulation of the foreign labor force is distributed among the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The leading Agency in this matter is the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the subordinate Department of foreign Affairs;
- Spanish migration legislation has its own history. Its main milestones are the adoption of the law "On freedoms and rights of foreigners" in 1985, the "Law on foreigners" of 2000, amendments introduced to this law in 2004 and reforms of migration legislation in 2009-2010;
- The main tendency in development of Spanish legislation on immigration is a gradual tightening of the rules for entry into the country, getting permission for work and acquisition of residence permit due to social-economic problems that appeared as a result of over liberality of Spanish government, which took place in the late 20th century;
- Spanish lawmakers are looking for additional funds and opportunities for restricting immigration flows in the country, in order to favor local population in the question of employment in own labor market; In this case the fight against illegal migration plays a significant role;
- With regard to the peculiarities of Spanish legislation on refugee issues, one can conclude that Spain is a party to the 1951 Geneva Convention "On the status of refugees", which sets forth mandatory prohibitions on rejection for applications and the expulsion of refugees to the regions where there is danger to their lives and freedoms. In addition, Spanish government has adopted quite strict legislation

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[76] Spain's American empire: the conquests [Electronic source] - https://www.britannica.com/topic/Western-colonialism/Spains-American-empire accessed: 21.07.2020

[77] A.A. Potapova, Geographical peculiarities of the external migration in Spain; 2017, p. 113

on the detailed rights and obligations of refugees, with most of the refugees obtaining residence permits and work permits in Spain, stay in Spain legally.[78]

Generally speaking, Spanish migration policy can be considered as effective and more consistent and balanced if comparing with its colleges in Central and Northern Europe. Spain diversify migration flows and therefore its strategy towards there regulation. Thus, Spain facilitates integration of migrants from Latin America due to their cultural and religious closure, while migrants from African region, Spain implements their incorporation strictly into labor sphere without participation in political life of the country and acquisition of citizenship and residence permit. This is made in order to protect Spanish labor market and population from social and economic tensions and instability. Spain actively practices deportation of those migrants who do not adhere to the Spanish law and pose any threat to local society. Thus, in order to stay in Spain, migrant should prove an appropriate civil behavior and the level of integration into Spanish society; moreover, to get a resident permit and nationality of the country, a foreigner should reject its initial citizenship. In addition, legal basis on immigration in Spain manages to satisfy immigration attacks and regulate migration situation within the country.

Eastern European model

Considering migration situation and immigration approaches in the countries of Eastern Europe, one should understand that, in contrast with other EU member states, these group of countries acts as an emigration region rather than immigration one. Thus, migration flows from the CEE (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia) countries are directed to the West, to the EU-15 countries. The development of these processes can be divided into four periods:

1. Since the beginning of the transformation period to the mid-1990s;
2. Period of active preparation for accession to the EU;
3. After accession to the EU to the beginning of financial crisis of 2008;
4. From 2008 to the present time;

During the first period, the majority of migration flows from the CEE countries was of a one-time nature and was primarily associated with ethnic repatriation. The largest of these flows was the movement of ethnic Germans to the newly reunified Germany. Among 1.2 million people migrated from CEE states to Western Europe in the three years after the fall of the "iron curtain", this group was the most numerous. Only in 1989 721,000 ethnic Germans moved to the West, which made up 61% of all immigrants to the EU that year. German migrants were divided into two categories: "Übersiedler" - migrants from the GDR, and "Aussiedler" -migrants from other countries CEE (mainly from Poland and Romania) and former Soviet Union. It is estimated that before 1994, the total average annual inflow exceeded 200 thousand people. The second largest group of migrants in the early 1990s was refugees from areas of armed conflict in the Balkans, primarily from

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[78] N. Kudeyarova, Spain after immigration influx: social-economic and foreign policy dimension; 2019., Modern Europe., p. 87

countries of former Yugoslavia. In addition, there was a one-time exchange of population between Czech Republic and Slovakia (mainly to the Czech Republic), accompanied dissolution of Czechoslovakia in 1992-1993[79].

During the second period, the volume of permanent labor migration of CEE population outside the region was relatively small (about 20 – 30 thousand people a year in countries such as Poland and Romania) and even slightly decreased. This was due to severe restrictions on entry from the main countries of immigration, especially Germany, which was the desired destination for a half of all emigrants. This process carried illegal character, with workers repeatedly leaving the host country to their homelands and returning back again. Seasonal migrations for construction and agricultural workers acquired a massive character at that period. In the Western Balkans after the end of hostilities in Bosnia and Croatia, a new wave of migration has begun, associated with the mass repatriation of refugees from the countries of Northern and Western Europe.[80]

The third period was characterized by significant changes in volumes of emigration, its geographic vectors and, what is the most important, its massive legalization. The expansion of the EU to the East in 2004 became a turning point in migration composition on the European continent and brought visible economic transformations in European societies. Thus, the accession of CEE countries to the EU in 2004-2007 had a significant impact on the expansion of the presence in the Apennines of immigrants from Eastern European countries. During 2004-2007 the number of Ukrainians in Italy increased from 58 thousand to 120 thousand, while previously the number of immigrants from the CIS space reached only 36 thousand people, mainly Russians, Ukrainians, Moldovans, Belarusians, Georgians, Armenians and Azeri.[81] Now, Ukrainians are the fourth foreign diaspora in Italy (214.7 thousand people), while Moldovans are the sixth (135.5 thousand people). With the beginning of the economic crisis emigration from Italy of EU citizens increased, but not as significantly as from Greece or Spain. In 2005 about 57 thousand citizens of other EU member states emigrated from the Apennines and 70 thousand in 2008. Unfavorable socio-economic situation in the country has led to an increase in emigration of local population. In 2008-2011, the Italians ranked third (after the Poles and Romanians) by number of people who left their country of origin.[82]

The fourth period was associated with the beginning of the global financial and economic crisis, which led to a noticeable decline in international labor mobility, primarily due to Romania and Poland. This was primarily due to a sharp increase in unemployment among migrants from CEE region in receiving countries, since the migrants were mainly involved in those sectors of the EU-15 economy that appeared most affected by the

[79] I.S. Sinitcina. Labor migration in the Central and South-Eastern Europe, 2017., p. 105-109

[80] Bélorgey N., Garbe-Emden B., Horstmann S. et al. Social Impact of Emigration and Rural Urban Migration in Central and Eastern Europe. 2012., Synthesis Report, Köln., p. 186

[81] Immigrazione. Dossier statistico 2013. Dalle discriminazioni ai diritti, Centro studi e ricerche IDOS. – Roma, 2013, 479 p.

[82] Monti P. Labour mobility from the EU member countries: The impact on Italy; Free movement of workers and labour market adjustment: Recent experiences from OECD countries and the European Union. – P.: OECD Publishing, 2012. – P. 133–146.

crisis (construction, service sector). The exception was the Baltic States, where, due to the extremely difficult economic situation, emigration, increased by 2011 more than three times compared to 2008 and only later has stabilized, but at a very high level (about 60 thousand people per year, which is about twice as high as in 2004). At this period the return migration took place, however its volumes and character varied from country to country. Thus, in the first decade of the 21ˢᵗ century, the number of migrants from Eastern Europe to the EU-15 countries increased 5 times (from just over 1 million in 2001 to about 5.3 million people in 2011), accounting for about 19% of the total number of non-residents in Western Europe.[83]

Thus, one can see that migration image in Eastern European region differs from the rest of EU members, whose main concern is immigration control and protection of their population from illegal migration. In case of CEE states, it is the issue of emigration, which is on the agenda of states migration policy, since there is a huge outflow of young educated people and working population to the Western Europe: Romania lost about 10% of population for the recent decade.[84] In this situation, conservative nationalistic parties came to power in Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic, which strive for retention of their working population. In the questions of immigration these countries have chosen their own path and fiercely defend their policy. Thus, the fact that Eastern European countries have lost a great share of their population has brought a considerable change in opinions and perceptions of political elite as well as ordinary people of CEE region. Therefore, they aspire to preserve their identity and scare to lose their self-determination feeling, so that they stand against any migration from the Middle East and Africa, which carry foreign religion and culture. At the same time, these countries willingly welcome migrants form the post-Soviet space, primarily from Ukraine and Belarus, there is even a kind of competition for Ukrainian workers between Poland and Czech Republic.[85] Thus, during Migration crisis 2015 and afterwards Polish and Czech governments strictly defended their positions that they refuse to accept refugees from Africa and the Middle East, since they already welcome Ukrainian labor migrants. In 2017 the interior minister of Poland Mariusz Błaszczak claimed that at that moment Poland had more than a million of Ukrainian citizens, the majority of whom were labor migrants. He added that this situation satisfies Poland and "unlike Muslims Ukrainians have integrated very successfully".[86]

So, analysis of the image of migration policy in European regions allows to come to the conclusion that each model of migration approach varies from country to country and depends on national interests, historical background, political culture and level of involvement into globalization processes. Each European region has its own vision of immigration and own approach toward its regulation. Thus, since the late 20ᵗʰ century Europe saw foreign migrants exclusively as an instrument to improve existing economic problems, usually in labor

[83] De la Rica S., Glitz A., Ortega F. Immigration in Europe: Trends, Policies and Empirical Evidence, IZA Discussion Paper No. 7778, November 2013, 98 p.

[84] South and Eastern Europe are more concerned about emigration rather than immigration; Survey, [Electronic source] - https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/rus/news/2019/04/1/7094628/ accessed: 25.07.2020

[85] Why Eastern Europe opposes migrants [Electronic source] - https://riss.ru/events/53339/ accessed: 25.07.2020

[86] "Labor migrants": why CEE countries ready to accept Ukrainian migrants [Electronic source] - https://russian.rt.com/world/article/549441-evropa-ukraina-trudovie-migranti accessed: 25.07.2020

market, and therefore did not intend to somehow include foreign societies into their countries, as in the cases of Great Britain and Germany. The popularizing multiculturalism made European migration policies weak in the face of growing tensions and wars in the third countries, which sparked huge migration movements to the West. European states did not have a clear understanding and future perspective of multiculturalism, claiming that its aim is a peaceful coexistence of different cultures and religions and comprehensive tolerance and respect. However, those EU countries who stepped on this multicultural path, did not bother about the ways to reach this goal and guarantee peace and security both for local population and migrants (Sweden, Great Britain, Germany and France). At the same time, there are European states that have put the interests of their nations and domestic economy before EU policy (Italy, Denmark, Spain and CEE countries) and started to conduct strict immigration policy and adequately answer their economic interests, while others, like Germany, decided to place a bet on quantity rather than quality. It is also very important to mention that European countries receive different migrants, it means not the type of migration (economic, labor etc.) but in this case we talk about cultural and ethnic dimension of migrants. Thus, in the case with France and Great Britain it is the historical background that explains that migrants from the former colonies are likely to arrive to former metropolis (from North Africa to France; from South Africa and Asia to Great Britain). On the one hand this tendency makes integration of migrants a little bit easier due to the legacy of political systems and language, however the factors of religion and cultural diversity play a significant role in division of the society and creation dissatisfaction among the local population as in case with France. The case of Eastern European countries demonstrated the situation when countries have taken a firm stand against acceptance of any strange culture and migrants with different religion, while concentrated on post-Soviet space migrants, who are close to CEE states history and culture. What is more, the tendency can be observed, that European populations have a different voices and influence on migration policy of the countries. Thus, despite the bright dissatisfaction and frustration of French society, government continued its "open door" policy and started to somehow reform it only when it came to presidential elections. While in Italy people's discontent has led to the change of government. One can see, that all factors mentioned above indicate to the reasons of division and contradictions within the EU.

Despite the fact that for a long period of time European Union has been striving to develop and elaborate common policy of all member states in every sphere of questions, the issue of migration proved the real division within the European Union and demonstrated the inability of the EU institutions to coordinate policies and elaborate a single approach towards immigration issues. This inconsistency in migration policy led to the rise of Eurosceptic movements and controversial actions of the states with regard to migration regulation. Thus, striking example of escalating contradictions was the incident with the flotilla of three ships of the charity organization "SOS Mediterranean" and "Doctors without borders" led by the ship "Aquarius". In June 2018, 629 people rescued in the Mediterranean Sea of migrants were gathered on the "Aquarius", but the Italian and Maltese governments refused to accept them. Overloading, food shortages and the need for medical assistance to the rescued people were aggravating the crisis situation. Spanish Prime Minister Pedro Sanchez

ordered to receive the flotilla in the port of Valencia. "We are obliged to help to avoid a humanitarian disaster and provide these people with a safe harbor, complying with international legal obligations", - the Chairman of the government reasoned the decision. Subsequently, half of those rescued expressed a desire to go to France, 80 people requested asylum there, and 330 people were distributed among 13 autonomies in Spain.[87] The situation in Nordic region when due to too loyal migration policy in Sweden Denmark had to close borders with neighbor country. Or the situation when Italian parliament adopts a law on tightened responsibility for captains and owners of vessels for illegal assistance to immigrants and at the same time a new ship of charity organization "SOS Mediterranee" Ocean Viking, which rescue refugees trying to reach Europe by the sea, left the port of Marseille.[88] Migration crisis of 2015-2016 has demonstrated the inability of the EU to counteract illegal migration and properly guarantee security on its borders due to contradictive measures and absence of a clear vision of future perspectives. Currently, having realized the failure of immigration policy, EU countries are already literally competing with each other for the restrictions for refugees in order to reduce the attractiveness of the country. Austria has violated EU laws and announced that it will accept no more than 80 asylum applications per day. Germany has introduced a provision for the expulsion of refugees from those countries that are recognized as safe - Albania, Kosovo, Montenegro, Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. These actions indicate that European countries pursue policies based on their national interests, regardless of the fundamental values and basics of European integration.

Thus, analyzing the peculiarities of migration situation in different regions of the European Union, one can think of two possible scenarios. At the moment European Union demonstrated that all members are not able to unify its approaches towards immigration and in this case one can suggest the European Union, in particular those countries promoting multiculturalism and "open door" policy, to stop trying to influence all EU members and impose the common policy. Therefore, countries will be able to independently decide on their migration regulation policy in compliance with their needs and interests of their population. However, this will definitely mean the failure of European Union and lead to rise of Eurosceptic movements. Another variant is to adopt a common approach (whether it is restriction or easing of immigration control) and act as a single entity. In this case, of course, it is about the need for restriction of migration policies and focus on existing population of migrants on the territory of the European Union. In both cases there is a terrible need for cooperation and dialogue within the Union, since there will be no real results and effective policy on immigration if the situation remains when in Italy captains-rescuers are threatened with prison and in France they are awarded with medals.

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[87] N. Kudeyarova, Spain after immigration influx: social-economic and foreign policy dimension; Modern Europe., 2019., p. 89

[88] France and Italy are getting ready to accept migrants [Electronic source] - https://ee.sputniknews.ru/politics/20180629/11404466/vostochnaja-evropa-otkupatsja-migrantov.html accessed: 25.07.2020

2.2. European answer to the Migration crisis and its implications

The events of Migration crisis were discussed in the first Chapter, however in order to get a complete vision, general facts should be mentioned. For the European Union 2015 became a turning point in the development of migration policy and clearly demonstrated all the weaknesses and obvious shortcomings of the Union in these questions. Therefore, 2015 is officially called the beginning of the Migration crisis in Europe. According to the Schengen agreement, border controls were lifted at the internal borders of the parties to the agreement (26 countries). Due to this, access to these countries has been eased, since in order to move freely through the territory of the EU countries, one needed only to cross an EU border. The policy of providing social benefits and opportunities to get a job has also become an impetus for increasing migration flows. The situation was also complicated by the fact that according to the Dublin agreement (1990), the greatest responsibility for refugees is assigned to the countries where the migrant entered first, these are the border states of Europe - Italy, Greece, Hungary and Spain. A sharp influx of migrants began in June 2015. The influx of refugees has led to the division in Europe among the countries that are in favor of accepting migrants and states with anti-migration stance. Eastern European countries have tried to blame Western countries for what is happening, since the latter are involved in a military operation in Syria. The Eastern Europe sees the growing dissatisfaction with the EU plan adopted in September 2015 on distribution of 120,000 refugees and migrants. In 2015, according to Eurostat data, 1.25 million refugees arrived in Europe, which is more than twice bigger number than in 2014 (562.68 thousand). These numbers are official statistics, which means that these are migrants, who received refugee status, with about 35% of the flow was directed to Germany.[89] The ethnic composition of migration flows as follows: the major share of the refugees are Syrians (29%), and half of them asked for asylum for the first time in Germany, 14% of all refugees in Europe are residents of Afghanistan, 10% are Iraqis. Bulgaria (91% according to the 4th quarter of 2015), Malta (91%), the Netherlands (86%), Denmark (77%), Cyprus (76%) and Germany (72%) showed the highest percentage of approval of applications for refugee status from applicants. In France and the UK, these figures are significantly lower, at 28% and 37% respectively. 98% of applications from Syrian refugees receive a positive response, while the share of approved applications from the Balkan migrants is less than 3%. Europe, despite the growing tensions within the Union, continues a soft policy in relation to refugees. As a result, this has a negative effect on the rating of political leaders, as they lose credibility amid of mass riots and an increase in economic hardships.

With regard to the routes of migration flows, the main routes are central Mediterranean, Eastern Mediterranean, Western Mediterranean, routes through Italy (regions Apulia and Calabria). From Turkey, mostly Syrian and Afghan migrants are heading to Greece, from where they go to Hungary. This route accounted for 57% of refugees in 2015. The second direction is through Italy (39.5%), refugees from Eritrea,

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[89] Eurostat: Asylum in the EU Member States, 2015 [Electronic source] -
https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/7203832/3-04032016-AP-EN.pdf/790eba01-381c-4163-bcd2-a54959b99ed6 accessed: 30.07.2020

Nigeria and other African republics arrive in Europe. Another small flow of refugees from Syria and African republics. This direction, however, is losing popularity due to the tightening of control by the Moroccan authorities. Italy, Greece and Hungary become hub bases, while the main flow is directed to the center of Europe. Those who have been rejected in other European countries apply to Hungary for refugee status, with all movements to the territory of the European Union are committed illegally.

Before proceeding with the analysis of the EU answer to migration crisis and its implication for Europe, one should get a structural image of factors which were forming the EU migration policy by the moment when it faced Migration crisis.

Considering the main internal factors influencing migration policy of the EU, one can point out the following:

- Open borders, set forth in the Schengen agreement, which allows migrants to enter the territory of 26 states parties to the agreement, provided that they enter any EU country.

- The lack of solidarity between the member states of the European Union, which is manifested in inconsistency of joint decisions to resolve the problems of refugee settlement, which demonstrated the lack of mutual understanding between the member States and the desire to protect only their own country from the flow of migrants rather than the whole Union.

- Uneven economic development of countries within the European Union. Europe was not ready for such an influx of refugees, since the initial quota for refugees was about 66 thousand.

- Identity crisis in a number of EU countries (Germany, France, Great Britain). EU refugee programs do not provide for their further integration and adaptation, as refugees arriving in Europe remain in the country temporarily and will leave as soon as possible. This approach is due to the fact that Europe is sure that such religions as Christianity and Islam cannot coexist together, however they demand peace between Sunni and Shia, establishment of multiculturalism.

- The increased terrorist threat. In Europe, there is an opinion that the migration crisis is one of the "easy ways" for terrorists and recruiters. This assumption is not baseless, since more than 50% of migrants are men from conflict zones in the Middle East. For example, the Dutch authorities found about 50 potential refugees (in 2014) and 30 (in 2015) suspected of war crimes. According to information provided by Europol, in 2016 there were about 5 thousand specially trained jihadists on the territory of the European Union.[90] These reports create tensions, fear and hostility towards refugees among the local population of Europe. The threat to national security arose in connection with the riots on the New year's eve in the German cities of Cologne, Hamburg, Stuttgart, Berlin, Frankfurt am Main and Nuremberg.

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[90] European Union terrorism situation and trend report, 2016 [Electronic source] - https://www.europol.europa.eu/activities-services/main-reports/european-union-terrorism-situation-and-trend-report-te-sat-2016 accessed: 30.07.2020

- The concept of multiculturalism as the basis of the EU migration policy. This concept does not promote integration, but only deteriorates the situation and provokes numerous interethnic clashes, although all EU countries are fighting against cultural and racial discrimination within their borders.
- The spontaneous nature of migration. Migration flows went out of control and have acquired accidental character.

Among external factors one can emphasize:

- The events of the "Arab spring", triggered by the attempt to establish a democratic regime in the Middle East, engendered a rapid increase in migration movement, which became a serious challenge to the Arab world and a threat to Europe.
- The activities of the Islamic State and terroristic groups, which under the cover of refugees send specially trained people to Europe for subsequent recruitment of new members and implementation of terrorist attacks.
- Position of Turkey. On March 20, 2016, an agreement with Turkey and the EU on refugee accommodation came into force. Those migration flows, which will include Afghans, Iraqis and Pakistanis except Syrians, can create new routes to Europe – through North Africa or the Caucasus. Turkey also believes that the EU will not be able to cope with economic problems without its participation. This is the case of ultimatum situation, when Turkish government believes that the EU should make concessions with regard to visa regime for Turkish citizens and its membership in the EU, otherwise the flow of refugees from the country will no longer be contained.

Thus, in June 2014 the European Union faced with a number of various tasks and challenges: to develop and adopt new principles and a program of action in compliance with the fundamental principles of freedom, security and justice in immigration policy; to set long-term goals and priorities, while trying to resolve the current situation. It should be noted that by the time when the Migration crisis burst out, the EU first acted in accordance with existing common ground of migration policy, which was born with the adoption of Common Convention on Refugee status in 1951. Now, the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol are the key legal documents that form the basis of the work of the UN Refugee Agency. With 149 state parties define the term 'refugee' and outlines the rights of refugees, as well as the legal obligations of States to protect them. The core principle is non-refoulement, which asserts that a refugee should not be returned to a country where they face serious threats to their life or freedom. This is now considered a rule of customary international law.[91] There is no special international refugee court or tribunal that is responsible for monitoring whether or not countries adhere to or violate the Refugee Convention. However, the United Nations High Commissioner

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[91] The 1951 Refugee Convention, UNHCR [Electronic source] - https://www.unhcr.org/1951-refugee-convention.html#:~:text=The%201951%20Refugee%20Convention%20is,the%20basis%20of%20our%20work.&text=The%20core%20principle%20is%20non,rule%20of%20customary%20international%20law. Accessed: 30.07.2020

for Refugees (UNHCR) supervises how countries implement the provisions of the Refugee Convention, which includes monitoring the situation of refugees and engaging with governments in relation to issues of concern. Thus, the 1951 Convention does not define how States parties are to determine whether an individual meets the definition of a refugee. Instead, the establishment of asylum proceedings and refugee status determinations are left to each State party to develop. This has resulted in disparities among different States as governments asylum laws based on their different resources, national security concerns, and histories with forced migration movements.[92] Today, there are a number of problems in implementation of the Convention:

- The Convention definition of refugee is outdated, as is its notion of exile as a solution to refugee problems;
- It grants no right of assistance on refugees unless they reach a signatory country, it imposes no obligation on countries not to persecute or expel their citizens, and it imposes no requirement for burden sharing between states;
- The asylum channel is providing a way for irregular migration and is linked with people smuggling and criminality;
- The Convention takes no account of the impact (political, financial, social) of large numbers of asylum seekers on receiving countries;
- There is inequality of outcomes between 'camp' and 'Convention' refugees. Priority is given to those present, on the basis of their mobility, rather than to those with the greatest need;
- There is a major disparity between what Western countries spend on processing and supporting asylum seekers, and what they contribute to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for the world refugee effort;[93]

Another important agreements, which determined the policy of states and the course of the events during Migration crisis are the Schengen Agreement of 1985 on creation of the Schengen area, when European countries agreed on gradual removal of controls on their common borders and introduce freedom of movement for all nationals of the signatory EU States, other EU States or non-EU countries. The Schengen Convention, signed on 19 June 1990, supplements the Agreement and lays down the arrangements and safeguards for implementing freedom of movement.[94] Then, in 2005 the Hague Programme was initiated by the European Council, which set forth 10 priorities for the next 5 years:

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[92] IJRC: ASYLUM & THE RIGHTS OF REFUGEES [Electronic source] - https://ijrcenter.org/refugee-law/ accessed: 02.08.2020

[93] The Problem with the 1951 Refugee Convention, 2000, Social Policy Group [Electronic source] - https://www.aph.gov.au/about_parliament/parliamentary_departments/parliamentary_library/pubs/rp/rp0001/01rp05 accessed: 02.08.2020

[94] Schengen Agreement & Convention [Electronic source] - https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/e-library/glossary/schengen-agreement-convention_en accessed: 02.08.2020

- Fundamental rights and nationality;

- Fight against terrorism;

- Migration management. To elaborate a balanced approach to migration regulation and develop common immigration policy, with strengthening control over illegal migration and human trafficking;

- Internal and external borders. Visas;

- Common asylum zone. Establishment of a common asylum zone in compliance with international law and respect to human rights;

- Integration and highlighting of positive role of migration in society and economy. To facilitate advantages from migration for receiving countries;

- Security in sharing information. To ensure full respect of fundamental rights of privacy and establish a balance between privacy and security in sharing information;

- Fight against organized crime. To develop a strategy on the fight against crime at the EU level including cooperation on judicial, legislative levels and facilitate and expand the work of Europol and Eurojust;

- Effective European area of justice. To ensure and effective access to justice for all;

- Sharing responsibility and solidarity between EU members;[95]

At the moment it is the Dublin Regulation III that is in force since 2013 and is followed by all states except Denmark. It is based on the same principle as in Dublin Regulations I and II. The first member-state, which keeps fingerprints and application for asylum, carries a responsibility for an application and asylum seeker. It should be noted that with the introduction of the Dublin III Regulation, the Dublin system itself has not been significantly reformed. This Regulation only specified application of certain provisions of legal acts that constitute The Dublin system. Dublin III established the criteria and mechanism for determining the EU member state responsible for reviewing an application for international protection filed by a third-country national or a stateless person in one of the EU Member States. In accordance with the Dublin III Regulation, any state party to the Dublin system can declare itself the state responsible for processing asylum-seekers applications. If earlier, the Dublin Convention provided with an asylum, seeker with an opportunity to choose the state of potential asylum, then currently, the "Dublin II" and "Dublin III" Regulations transfer this opportunity to states parties to the Dublin system. Moreover, the "Dublin III" Regulation extends the powers of those states whose borders are also the external borders of the EU. This group of states has the right to impose a ban on the movement of asylum-seekers within the territory of other EU member states, since in accordance with the general rules of the Dublin system they are responsible for reviewing applications of asylum seekers. Thus, the Dublin III Regulation finally formed the Dublin system, which de jure regulated procedure for determining the state responsible for the process of applications of an asylum seeker and the

[95] The Hague Programme: Ten priorities for the next five years, 2005 [Electronic source] - https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/MEMO_05_153 accessed: 02.08.2020

process of granting the relevant status in the territory of one of the state parties to the Dublin system.[96] However, one can observe that Dublin System proved to be ineffective due to the following reasons.

First, it is the failure of the member States of the Dublin system to comply with their international obligations in accordance with the provisions of international agreements and legal acts of the EU forming the above system. Despite the fact that a procedure of processing of asylum applications has been elaborated and adopted in the framework of the EU, some member states after the beginning of migration crisis are firmly rejecting to fully implement the legislation forming this system.

A clear example of this situation is the migration situation in Greece. Before the entry into force of the Regulation "Dublin III" and before the emergence of the migration crisis, Greece accepted almost all asylum seekers and provided and ensured freedom of movement for this category of forced migrants to other EU states. In accordance with the Dublin system, migration service of Greece must record and put in a database of "EURODAC" the information about each person seeking asylum. Migration control, acting within the framework of the EU, also provides for the fingerprinting and putting this information into the system "EURODAC". The Greek authorities were aware of their obligations in the field of forced migration within the EU, however, Greece deliberately violated the provisions of the Dublin acts. This is due to the fact that if other member States refuse to accept asylum seekers on its territory, all of them had to be returned back to Greece, because it is the first state of entry into the territory of the EU member States.

Another point to consider is that there is a lack of coordination and coherence in the actions of EU member States. At the beginning of the migration crisis in the Middle East in 2011, German Chancellor Angela Merkel stated that Germany was ready to grant refugee status to 500 thousand citizens, but Germany did not predict that this influx would increase in times. As a result, the situation went out of control. Statistics shows that in Germany and other EU countries, only 33% of the total number of applications submitted by Syrian refugees, while the remaining 77% of applications have been submitted citizens of Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, and other states.

Then, another problem is the absence of emergence and implementation of responsibility for non-compliance and non-fulfillment of full obligations under the Dublin system. The European Commission has long had reliable information that the Southern European countries are not fulfilling their obligations. Later, Hungary, Croatia, and Slovenia joined these states. Now, these countries are violating not only the regulations of Dublin system, but also the provisions of universal international agreements on refugee protection. However, the EU authorities are not able to charge these states and call for responsibility. The thing is that the above-mentioned states appeal to the EU authorities and refer to a violation of the principle of "sharing responsibility" both by the EU and by other EU States. One should note that the absence of sanctions for non-compliance with the obligations of the Dublin system leads to such negative consequences. Moreover, in this case the EU member States have completely forgotten about their so-called "European solidarity".

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[96] D.V. Ivanov, S. Iyordanovsky, International legal aspects of European asylum system, 2017., p. 26

Another point to consider is inconsistent decisions taken by both EU member States and EU bodies. This leads to a collective non compliance with taken decision, while all states parties to the Dublin system are claiming about the necessity of their implementation.[97]

Another legal framework that regulated the activity of European states during the Migration crisis and further is the Common European Asylum System (CEAS), which has been developing since 1999 and acquired its final form in 2010. Nowadays, there are 5 regulations and laws that constitute the CEAS:

− The Asylum Procedure Directive. The Asylum Procedures Directive sets out rules on the whole process of claiming asylum, including on: how to apply, how the application will be examined, what assistance the asylum seeker will be given, how to appeal and whether the appeal will allow the person to stay on the territory, what can be done if the applicant escapes or how to deal with repeated applications. This Directive creates a coherent system which ensures that decisions on applications for international protection are taken more efficiently and more fairly.[98]

− The Reception Conditions Directive. The Reception Conditions Directive deals with reception conditions for asylum seekers while they wait for the examination of their application. It ensures that applicants have access to housing, food, healthcare and employment, as well as medical and psychological care.[99] The Directive also provides particular attention to vulnerable persons, especially unaccompanied minors and victims of torture. Member States must conduct an individual assessment in order to identify the special reception for vulnerable persons and to ensure that vulnerable asylum seekers can access medical and psychological support. It also includes rules regarding detention of asylum seekers, ensuring that their fundamental rights are fully respected.

− The Qualification Directive. The Qualification Directive specifies the grounds for granting international protection. Its provisions also set forth a series of rights on protection from refoulement, residence permits, travel documents, access to employment, access to education, social welfare, healthcare, access to accommodation and access to integration facilities, as well as specific provisions for children and vulnerable persons. The minimum standards in the previous directive were to a certain extent vague, which maintained divergences in national asylum legislation and practices. The chances of a person being granted international protection could vary tremendously depending on the Member State processing the asylum application.[100]

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[97]Ibid.

[98] DIRECTIVE 2013/32/EU OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 26 June 2013 on common procedures for granting and withdrawing international protection

[99] Council Directive 2003/9/EC of 27 January 2003 laying down minimum standards for the reception of asylum seekers.

[100] Council Directive 2004/83/EC of 29 April 2004 on minimum standards for the qualification and status of third-country nationals or stateless persons as refugees or as persons who otherwise need international protection and the content of the protection granted.

- <u>Dublin regulation</u>. The main principle that that the responsibility for examining claim lies primarily with the Member State which played the greatest part in the applicant's entry or residence in the EU. The criteria for establishing responsibility run, in hierarchical order.[101]

- <u>Eurodac Regulation</u>. The Eurodac Regulation establishes an EU asylum fingerprint database. When someone applies for asylum, no matter where they are in the EU, their fingerprints are transmitted to the Eurodac central system. Eurodac has been operating since 2003 and has proved a very successful IT tool. Some updates were, however, required, in particular to reduce the delay of transmission by some Member States, to address data protection concerns and to help combat terrorism and serious crime.[102]

Thus, in addition to numerous regulations and directives in migration issues, the EU has established special agencies in order to deal with specific tasks like provision of information and consultation, preparation and making decisions, policymaking support and implementation of operations.

FRONTEX, which is the European Border and Coast Guard Agency, is designed to implement European border management. To help identify migratory patterns as well as trends in cross-border criminal activities, Frontex analyses data related to the situation at and beyond EU's external borders. It monitors the situation at the borders and helps border authorities to share information with Member States. The agency also carries out vulnerability assessments to evaluate the capacity and readiness of each Member State to face challenges at its external borders, including migratory pressure. Frontex coordinates and organizes joint operations and rapid border interventions to assist Member States at the external borders, including in humanitarian emergencies and rescue at sea. The agency deploys European Border and Coast Guard teams, including a pool of at least 1 500 border guards and other relevant staff to be deployed in rapid interventions. The members of the rapid reaction pool must be provided by Member States upon request by the agency. It also deploys vessels, aircraft, vehicles and other technical equipment provided by Member States in its operations. In addition, Frontex may carry out operations on the territory of non-EU countries bordering at least with one Member State, in case of migratory pressure at a non-EU country's border. The agency assists EU Member States in forced returns of people who have exhausted all legal avenues to legitimize their stay within the EU. This help includes obtaining travel documents for the returnees by working closely with consular authorities of the relevant non-EU countries. It can also organize voluntary departures of nationals of non-EU countries who were issued return decisions by Member State authorities. Frontex also organizes return operations on its own initiative and "collecting return operations", where returnees are returned with escort officers and transportation

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[101] Regulation (EU) No 604/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 June 2013 establishing the criteria and mechanisms for determining the Member State responsible for examining an application for international protection lodged in one of the Member States by a third-country national or
a stateless person
[102] Council Regulation (EC) No 2725/2000 of 11 December 2000 concerning the establishment of 'Eurodac' for the comparison of fingerprints for the effective application of the Dublin convention.

provided by their countries of origin. It has created several pools of return experts to be deployed in Member States when needed.[103]

Europol, which is the European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation, became an EU agency in 2010 with the aim to assist EU Member States' police forces in preventing and combating serious crime such as terrorism, drug trafficking, people smuggling, cybercrime, and other organized crime activities. Services offered by Europol to national law enforcement services include facilitating exchanges of information, providing criminal analyses and threat assessments, and assisting and coordinating cross border investigations and operational actions. Unlike national police forces, Europol does not have any autonomous investigative or coercive powers.

Since 2016 CEPOL, the European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Training, facilitating cooperation and knowledge sharing among law enforcement officials of the EU Member States and to some extent, from third countries, on issues stemming from EU priorities in the field of security; in particular, from the EU Policy Cycle for organized and serious international crime. CEPOL brings together a network of training institutes for law enforcement officials in EU Member States and supports them in providing frontline training on security priorities, law enforcement cooperation and information exchange. It also works with EU bodies, international organizations, and third countries to ensure that the most serious security threats are tackled with a collective response.[104]

EASO, the European Asylum Support Office, was established in 2011 for coordination of member states on asylum issues and for assisting member states in implementation of the Common European Asylum System. The objectives of EASO are the following:

– to facilitate, develop and coordinate practical cooperation among EU Member States on asylum by facilitating the exchange of information;

– to contribute to the implementation of the CEAS by collecting and exchanging information on best practices, drawing up an annual report on the asylum situation in the EU and defining technical orientations on the implementation of the Union's asylum instruments;

– to coordinate activities relating to information on countries of origin by gathering relevant, reliable, accurate and up-to date information and by drafting reports on countries of origin;

– to support EU Member States subject to particular pressure on their asylum and reception systems by providing technical and operational assistance.[105]

In May 2015 the European Commission introduced a "European Agenda on migration", which pointed out priorities, challenges the European Union is facing in the field regulation of migration flows, asylum and

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[103] FRONTEX: Origin and Tasks [Electronic source] - https://frontex.europa.eu/about-frontex/origin-tasks/ accessed: 10.08.2020

[104] European Commission: Agencies [Electronic source] - https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/agencies_en#6 accessed: 10.08.2020

[105] European Asylum Support Office: About us [Electronic source] - https://www.easo.europa.eu/about-us/what-we-do accessed: 10.08.2020

protection of the external border. It is noteworthy that the program was announced at the press conference by the first Vice-Chairman of the Commission Franz Timmermans, high representative for foreign Affairs and security policy, Vice-Chairman of the Commission Federica Mogherini and only the third was a member of the Commission directly responsible for migration issues, Dimitrios Avramopoulos. This sequence of speakers demonstrated the intention of the EU to involve instruments of foreign policy into management of Migration crisis.

Therefore, the "European Agenda on migration" includes short-term offers:

– Development of a temporary emergency mechanism for resettling asylum seekers across the territory of all member States based on several criteria, and subsequently submit legislation to establish a permanent system of such distribution;

– To accommodate 20 thousand refugees from UN camps located outside the EU: in Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon, so to allocate 50 million euros for 2015-2016;

– To triple the budget and capacity of the FRONTEX Agency, responsible for management of EU border protection, to conduct search and rescue operations "Triton" and "Poseidon" in the Mediterranean sea;

– Allocate 60 million euros to member States located on the southern border of the EU for establishment of registration centers, where with the assistance of FRONTEX, Europol and the European Asylum Support Office, the host authorities will register applicants and take their fingerprints for identification and entry into the national register of asylum seekers fingerprint information system;

– To strengthen the joint operation of Europol and the European Union police College for collecting information on people smuggling in the Mediterranean;

– To conduct an operation within the framework of the General security and defense policy in order to destroy the networks and "business model" of smugglers, for which it is necessary to find, capture and destroy the vessels they use.[106]

In addition to these short-term measures in the "Agenda" there were offers for a longer period of time:

– Countering illegal migration;

– Border protection and rescue of those in distress in the Mediterranean sea;

– Strengthening the General asylum policy and the reform of the existing system;

– Development of legal migrant integration and the revision of the blue card Directive for attracting highly qualified migrants.

The European agenda was endorsed by the European Parliament, as well as by the heads of state and government who declared the need for a "comprehensive and a systematic approach" to resolving the crisis. Such approach, in particular, included diplomatic efforts high-Level representative Mogherini and the foreign service in support of the UN's efforts to form a government in Libya, in exerting pressure on Turkey and the Western Balkan countries, African States, in order to encourage them to cooperate more closely to eliminate

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[106] A EUROPEAN AGENDA ON MIGRATION, 2015, Brussels

the causes of mass illegal migration. One of the central and most controversial proposals of the "Agenda" is the establishment of a temporary settlement system of asylum seekers by EU member States. In essence, this mechanism meant a temporary departure from the principles of the Dublin regulation, which defines that the first EU country, where an asylum seeker ends up is responsible for processing their application. Under the new system, a different distribution model was supposed to be introduced based on certain criteria: GDP of the country, population, level of unemployment, the number of asylum applications accepted. Based on the Commission's initiative, in September 2015 the EU Council without the consensus of member States made a decision on temporary placement of 120 thousand asylum seekers from Greece and Italy for two year. Moreover, member States have committed to receive another 20 thousand people from refugee camps in the Middle East. The first relocation was conducted in October 2015, when 19 Eritrean refugees were sent from Italy to Sweden; 12 days later, 19 more Eritreans and Syrians were transported to Sweden and 48 to Finland. In November, Luxembourg expressed its intention to receive 30 asylum seekers from Greece. As a result, by March 2016 only 885 people were relocated to Finland, Sweden, Luxembourg, France, Spain and Germany. According to experts, if the same rates remain, the settlement plan would require 750 years.[107]

The second measure for the resettlement of asylum seekers was the creation of registration camps in "hot spots" on the territory of Greece and Italy. Due to this, it was supposed to use the operational capabilities of FRONTEX, Europol and European Asylum Support Office agencies, which were supposed to send experts identification of newcomers: fingerprinting and interviewing to distinguish potential refugees from economic migrants, as well as prepare for the expulsion of those who were rejected from a refugee status. The Commission tripled its funding of FRONTEX operations "Triton" and "Poseidon" in the Mediterranean and significantly expanded the Agency's staff for work in registration centers. However, the process of the staff expansion is very slow, thus, in 2016 only 8 experts arrived in Italy and 12 – in Greece.

Another important step, taken by the EU in the framework of settlement of Migration crisis was the Readmission Agreement with Turkey, concluded in 2016. Immediately after the signing of the Readmission Agreement, all illegal migrants who were in Greece were returned to Turkey. The readmission agreement guarantees to the persons returned to Turkey the opportunity to submit applications for refugee status on its territory. In the framework of balanced distribution of asylum-seekers, the EU is obliged to accept the same amount of applicants on its territory in order to process their applications and provide these individuals with international protection. Thus, we can conclude that the EU and Turkey have agreed the rules for the exchange of asylum seekers, which means that in exchange for one illegal migrant sent from EU member States to Turkey, the EU commits to accept one asylum seeker who is a Syrian citizen on their territory, provided that they have already submitted an application for a refugee status in the territory of Turkey. The parties to the Agreement paid special attention to the safe movement of asylum seekers. Turkey took over obligations to develop, adopt and comply with all measures necessary to prevent new sea and land illegal routes of forced migrants. In turn, the EU pledged to provide humanitarian assistance to asylum-seekers who are in temporary

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[107] O.U. Potemkina, Migration crisis and the policy of European Union, 2016, p. 53

accommodation centers on the territory of Turkey. According to the agreement, the Turkish side is obligated to guarantee that asylum-seekers applications will be considered in accordance with international law. In particular, Turkey has committed to pay special attention to vulnerable groups of asylum seekers, such as minors and unaccompanied children. Applications of this group of people should be considered in consideration of their vulnerable situation. Moreover, Turkey is obliged to guarantee the right of asylum seekers for appealing a decision in court, in case of refusal to grant refugee status. Indeed, The EU's main ambition in this agreement – to reduce the inflow of irregular migrants – has been fulfilled to some degree. According to the IOM, the period from 1 January to 7 December 2015 saw a total of 757,278 arrivals by sea to Greece, whereas 172,234 were reported for the same period in 2016.[108] However, despite the fact that de jure this agreement was designed to deal with the issues of illegal migration and international protection of a category of people under the agreement, in reality the major part of the Agreement was aimed at regulation of political interests of the parties. Thus, for Turkey humanitarian concerns were put on the back burner, while national interests were prioritized. Therefore, under the Readmission Agreement, the EU was obliged to consider the possibility of simplifying the visa regime between EU countries and Turkey. Before July 2016 the EU should have developed and adopt regulations aimed at simplifying the entry and exit of Turkish citizens to the EU, up to the abolition of the visa regime. Then, in accordance with article 23 of the EU Readmission Agreement the EU provides Turkey with financial resources in the amount of 6 billion euro as technical assistance for the implementation of mutual agreements. Then, in accordance with the Annex "Mutual declarations of the parties for technical assistance" to the Readmission Agreement, the EU undertakes to expand benefits for Turkey, which is a member state of the Customs Union of the EU.[109] Thus, when Turkey discovered that none of the abovementioned EU obligations were implemented and its interests went deducted from ones of the European Union, Turkey immediately suspended its participation in the Readmission Agreement. Thus, in July 2019 Turkey announced its suspension in the readmission agreement with the EU. "We will not wait at the EU's door. The readmission agreement and visa-free deal will be put into effect at the same time,"- Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu stated.[110] Therefore, one can conclude that amid Migration crisis Turkey decided to use its position and its role of a buffer zone for migration flows heading to the EU territory. Ankara made an attempt to strengthen its positions and promote its national interests in Brussels, and partially it succeeded: the process of visa regime liberalization and negotiations on EU accession were launched. Special attention should be paid to the security dimension in the framework of Migration crisis and how the EU states are managing to protect themselves after the Migration crisis. One should mention the

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[108] Peter Seeberg, The EU-Turkey March 2016 Agreement As a Model: New Refugee Regimes and Practices in the Arab Mediterranean and the Case of Libya, 2016, Centre for Contemporary Middle East Studies., p. 15
[109] EU-Turkey statement, 18 March 2016, European Council [Electronic source] -
https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/03/18/eu-turkey-statement/ accessed: 13.08.2020
[110] Readmission agreement with EU no longer functional, Ankara says [Electronic source] -
https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2019/07/23/readmission-agreement-with-eu-no-longer-functional-ankara-says
accessed: 13.08.2020

problem of migrant smuggling; one of the most decisive steps taken by the EU on crisis settlement which is the development and implementation of an Action Plan against migrant smuggling. This plan introduced a series of measures to tackle migration crisis between 2015 and 2020, which are summarized into 4 groups:

- Enhanced police and judicial response;
- Improved gathering and sharing of information;
- Enhanced prevention of smuggling and assistance to vulnerable migrants;
- Stronger cooperation with third countries;[111]

This suggestion of the Commission was endorsed by all member states and no one objected the expulsion of illegal immigrants identified during interviews in registration centers. There was no disagreement about the naval operation in the Mediterranean as part of a Common security and defence policy of the EU, which was renamed into operation "Sofia". However, the operation gave results only in terms of collecting information about the paths smugglers use and the number of ships. Detention of several vehicles carrying migrants could not properly strike the business of smugglers, as it was originally was planned, so it was decided to strengthen the operation by involvement of NATO forces. On February 11, 2016 NATO announced an operation in the Aegean sea in order to prevent refugee boats from reaching Greek coast and counteract the business of smugglers. Three NATO vessels will stop refugee boats and send them to Turkey, that FRONTEX was not able to do, since its actions are limited only to Greek waters. However, the question arises whether Turkey will accept refugees who will not be stopped by NATO ships, and whether the operation will lead to a violation of migrant rights to asylum.

In the fight against migrant smuggling the EU agency Europol also support the member states cooperation by exchange of information, expertizing and analytical work. In 2016 Europol established the European Migrant Smuggling Center to facilitate investigations and coordination between the agencies involved. The EMSC acts as an information hub and cooperates with national authorities in such areas as identification, intelligence sharing, criminal investigations and early warning notifications.[112]

In 2015 after the Charlie Hebdo terrorist attacks in Paris, the European Commission introduced the European Agenda on Security 2015-2020, which set forth the following priorities:

- Combating terrorism and preventing radicalization;
- Combating organized crime;
- Combating cybercrime;[113]

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[111] EU Action Plan against migrant smuggling (2015 – 2020) COM (2015) 285 final, Brussels

[112] EUROPEAN MIGRANT SMUGGLING CENTRE – EMSC [Electronic source] -
https://www.europol.europa.eu/about-europol/european-migrant-smuggling-centre-emsc accessed: 13.08.2020

[113] The European Agenda on Security Strasbourg, 28.4.2015 COM (2015) 185 final

This Agenda focused on information exchange and operational cooperation between the EU law enforcement authorities. Now, this Agenda proved to be not effective enough, since it was not able to provide an immediate answer to increasing security challenges. Thus, amid constantly changing security environment, when such phenomena as terrorism, organized crime, drugs and human trafficking remain the direct threat to European societies, a new Security Union Strategy 2020-2025 has been adopted. However, this document highlights the same priorities as its predecessor and does not expand the authorities of specific agencies or precise the necessary measures. Only with regard to organized crime, the European Commission issued a new EU Drugs Agenda and Action plan as well as a new Action plan on firearms trafficking modernizing the norms on the import and export of guns.[114]

All in all, one can observe that the majority of measures and efforts taken by the EU since the time when Migration crisis broke out was directed at adoption of various laws, conventions and strategies as well as establishment of numerous agencies, which do not perform any decisive and effective measures. Operations conducted by FRONTEX could bring more tangible results if more harsh steps were undertaken towards migrant detention and expulsion. However, all European agencies act exclusively in accordance with fundamental rights and freedoms and must guarantee security and care of refugees, who sometimes in response to approaching border vessels open fire from guns and disappear. Indeed, one can claim that the mistake of the EU was to rely on existing migration legislation at the moment then migration crisis started, since these laws were adopted under the different conditions and can not adequately provide response to the current situation. What European Union had to do, is to give an immediate reaction by concrete unified actions rather than building new legislation and inventing numerous strategies declaring aims and principles. Thus, it is clow decision making process and discord in actions of the EU member states which prevented the Union from protection of its borders and curb the situation. The example with the Schengen area, when European countries did not immediately close their borders led to the phenomenon of "asylum shopping", when migrants, having no barriers in movement across the EU, choose a country with more attractive reception conditions and social support and aspire to apply for an asylum there. Of course, there is Eurodac system of identification and Dublin regulation, however, refugees are inventive and burn their fingers or damage them in a way that they cannot be identified by registration centers.

Indeed, the European Union has initiated a lot of measures to combat illegal migration, however the main obstacle for their effective implementation is division within the EU and discord in migration policies. Thus, the Migration crisis created dilemma: to prioritize internal security and national interests or provide international protection for refugees and protect fundamental rights. As a result, the migration crisis has caused an escalation of contradictions between the "old " EU States and those that joined in 2004-2007 CEE countries, especially the Visegrad group, which strongly oppose the basic principles of EU immigration policy. On September 30 2015, with referral to the article 263 of the TFEU, which allows to challenge decisions made by

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[114] Security Union Strategy, European Commission, [Electronic source] - https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/security-union-strategy_en accessed: 17.08.2020

the EU institutions, the Slovak government filed a lawsuit in the European Court of justice against plans of refugee resettlement approved by the European Council. Following the Prime Minister of Slovakia R. Fico his Hungarian counterpart V. Orban also filed a lawsuit in the EU Court against the system of mandatory quotas for settlement, the relevant decision was also approved by the Parliament of Hungary on November 16, 2015, on the grounds that quotas violate the principle of subsidiarity and deprive the parliaments of member States of the opportunity to express their opinion. For his part, Minister of foreign Affairs of Germany Frank-Walter Steinmeier warned Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia that legal actions may be introduced against them, if the position of Visegrad group regarding migrant resettlement does not change. In this case the question about cutting their subsidies from European funds may be raised. Visegrad states are accused of deviating from Western European liberal norms, and commitment to the idea of "illiberal" democracy as an alternative to liberal democracy in Western Europe with different understanding of European values from other countries –solidarity, tolerance, political correctness.

Thus, the migration crisis has led not only to economic and social troubles, but also to a crisis of solidarity in the European Union. At the beginning of February 2016, an informal meeting of Ministers took place, which was dedicated to restoration of solidarity in the EU. However, the more people talk about solidarity at different meetings, the less solidarity member States demonstrate on practice. There are two groups of countries that are in a confrontation: one group, led by Austria and Slovakia, does not believe in the EU's ability to resolve the crisis by joint efforts and stands for renationalization of EU immigration policy, another group, led by Germany and the Mediterranean countries acts together with the Commission for a common European solution to the problem.[115] Advocating the renationalization of migration policy, European extremely right parties as well as the Visegrad group do not propose any specific measures to return the decision making process on migration on the national level, except for the suggestion to establish the principle of unanimity in the Council. It is likely that renationalization does not mean the complete rejection of joint competence in the field of migration and asylum, but expansion of the field for maneuver of member States regarding EU policy, when ignoring supranational legal restrictions or preventing the introduction of new regulations national governments are trying to push their own interests in various areas, including migration and asylum policies. In this regard, the speech of the member of the political party "Identity and democracy" MP Hynek Blazhko at the plenary session of the European Parliament in October 30, 2019 is significant and demonstrative: "Those who continue to support migration through meaningless directives, court decisions, and ill-considered migration policies, provide unjustified benefits to migrants and therefore are responsible for the disastrous position of refugees".[116]

Therefore, one can see that the European Union is spending much time on influencing each other and trying to impose their approaches to the rest of member states, as Germany did, when it used the EU institutions to pursue its national interests. As a result, the EU cannot come to a single approach and agree on common

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[115] O.U. Potemkina, Migration crisis and the policy of European Union, 2016, p. 57
[116] O.U. Potemkina, After the crisis: "New start" of the EU migration policy, 2019, Modern Europe, No.6, p. 28

actions, since each member state acts out of its own interests and needs and any forces and disputes will not bring any success in resolution of the migration problem.

Thus, the crisis has revealed the vulnerability of the EU's external borders, the lack of a unified approach to migration problem, weaknesses of the Schengen system. The crisis and increasing challenge of illegal migration has a huge political implication as well as economic and cultural. The more specific discussion of migration influence on the European society will be discussed in the third chapter on the example of Germany. In this case, in the context of European Union one can conclude that Migration crisis and the threat of increasing flows of illegal migration should be considered not as threat of direct security of European society in the sense of terrorism and crime, but the most important threat migration issues poses to security of the EU as an organization and its institutions. This directly entails the transformation of interstate relations within the Union and changing public mood in the countries. Generally speaking, the unmanaged migration issue threatens the stability and integrity of the whole European Union. At the moment, it is early to speak about the end of the Migration crisis and one can expect a new wave of illegal migration flows. And here a number of questions for agenda arise: What to do with migrants who already live in the EU? How can one block new routes from appearing? and What is the influence and role of migrant community in the European society? and etc. These problems will be further considered in the third chapter on the example of Germany, as a sole representative of the EU and a country, which has chosen the most radical liberal migration policy and played an important role in migration distribution in Europe.

Chapter Three – Case of Germany

3.1. German opportunities in adopting migrants and legislation development

This part considers the history of inflow of migrants to Germany, reasons of welcoming migration policy together with the change in German migration legislation. Consideration of these issues will help to conduct profound analysis of the main challenges and weaknesses in German migration regulation policy and furthermore make proper conclusions regarding prospects and recommendations on migration policy. It is common knowledge that German policy towards migration issues varied in different periods, which could be explained by not only political factors, but also by the economic and social conditions within the country: demography, working age population, economic growth, development and other factors, which influence the German policy in migration management.

According to Federal Statistical Office of Germany, immigration in Germany boosted in 1991, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and collapse of bipolar world order, when Germany received 1 211 350 foreign migrants. Then, one can observe an approximate balance between arrivals and departures of people until the events in the Middle East in 2011. Thus, since 2011 immigration in Germany steadily exceeds emigration up to nowadays. The biggest migration inflow of 2 016 241 people took place in 2015, when Migration crisis reached its peak. In 2019 Germany accepted 1,345,943 foreign migrants, while 961,258 people left the country.[117] Thus, in 2019 21.2 million people had a migration background, representing 26.0% of the population of Germany. Considering the composition of current migration population in Germany, one should mention that it is people from Syria, Iraq, Turkey and Afghanistan who constitute the majority of immigrants in Germany. 30% of immigrants are men and, what is noteworthy, 50,1% are children.[118] It should be mentioned that along with migrants entered Germany in the framework of Migration crisis 2015-2016, Germany is also very attractive for other EU countries. Thus, in 2019 about 594 000 of EU citizens moved to Germany, with the majority of them were from Romania (188 091), Poland (101 467) and Bulgaria (68 815).[119] Today, modern migration processes take place amid globalizing environment, where the development of economic, informational and technological space, as well as close interaction between peoples and cultures leads to huge migration of the population to more developed countries. As a result, we have transnational societies, which unite representatives of the common culture, aiming at influencing the politics of the receiving

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[117] Migration of foreign citizens between Germany and foreign countries 1991 to 2019, Statistisches Bundesamt, 2020 [Electronic source] - https://www.destatis.de/EN/Themes/Society-Environment/Population/Migration/Tables/migration-foreign-citizens-between-germany-foreign-countries.html?nn=23816 accessed: 25.08.2020

[118] Overview of statistical practice, Asylum Information Database, 2020 [Electronic source] - https://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/germany/statistics accessed: 25.08.2020

[119] Zahlen und Fakten, Medien Dienst, 2020 [Electronic source] - https://mediendienst-integration.de/english/facts-figures.html accessed: 25.08.2020

state. Migration of the population to the German territory has a long history and the case of Turkish community is a good example for analyzing the nature and peculiarities of migrant integration into German society.

Nowadays, Muslim society in modern Germany is extremely diverse both in religious and ethnic dimensions. However, it is Turks who present the majority and are divided into ethnic Turks, which are considered as Turkish residents living in Germany, and German residents of Turkish origin. In 2019 more than 1,5 million people were registered with Turkish passports.[120] The majority of Turkish community in Germany is Sunni. This can be explained by the social-ethnic composition of Turkish population: most of the Turkish population in Germany are descendants and family members of the so called "Gastarbeiter", coming to Germany in 1960-1970s from particular parts of Turkey, while Shia comprises minority of Turkish community in Germany. In the post war period the lack of work force and the rise of German industries resulted in huge import of general workers from the South of Europe: Portugal, Greece and Italy. Initially, German government intended to limit imported workers only to south European ones and there was no need in attracting Turkish work force. However, at this time Turkey itself was in need of export of its work force. Export would help Turkey to relieve its labor market, then workers, coming back from Europe could make a huge impact in modernization of industry sector. At this period Turkish economy was in poor condition and the level of unemployment was extremely high. Indeed, Turkish migration to German territories has deep historical roots, when Prussian emperors were hiring Ottoman soldiers and accepting them with families. In 18th century Ottomans concluded several trade treaties with Prussia. Thus, in 1961 the government of Turkey and the federal government of German Republic signed an agreement on employment, which gave a start for migration process between Turkey and Germany. About 4 million people came to Germany in the framework of this agreement and about half of them have returned to Turkey. During the period from 1971 to 1974 about 900 000 Turkish people came to Germany, with half of them being relatives of those "Gastarbeiter". In 1980 Turkish population reached 4,5 million people.[121] In 1992 about 82% were not intended to leave Germany and expressed their desire to stay and receive a resident permit.

In 1960-1970s 77% of Turkish population were involved in agriculture, while only 10% worked in industry.[122] Amid rapprochement between Turkey and Europe and its strategic relations with the USA, Germany had nothing but to accept Turkish workers. At the first step, German authorities did not perceive integration of Turkish migrants into German society as a goal, since migrants were seen as temporary workers, who would leave the country as soon as their job contracts expired. However, job contracts were being prolonged, since employers were reluctant to find new employees and teach them all necessary skills. Consequently, workers families started to move to Germany and settle in workers areas. With modern technologies developing, the need for general labor decreased, however those workers did not intend to leave the country. That is why the rise of Turkish diaspora in Germany continued no more due to labor migrants, but through "family

[120] Ausländische Bevölkerung Ergebnisse des Ausländerzentralregisters, Destatis, 2020, p.23

[121] Heimat Almanya, 2018 [Electronic source] - https://www.bpb.de/internationales/europa/tuerkei/253189/heimat-almanya accessed: 25.08.2020

[122] S. Pogorelskaya; Turkish community in FRG: between integration and Islam: - p.17

reunification". This principle works up to nowadays and Turkish community regularly renews, since young Turkish got used to take their spouses from remote regions of Turkey, where young girls are not westernized. Paradoxically, but Turkish population in Germany is more conservative and religious than population of Turkey. This can be explained by the fact that first "Gastarbeiter" from Turkey were representatives of lower classes from underdeveloped rural areas, where religious traditions are especially strong. Thus, Turkish population in Germany appeared in much more complex situation in comparison with other groups of immigrants, like political refugees or Russian Germans. Nowadays, it is already the third generation of the Turkish, who remain in dual position. In this case, the term of "hybrid identity" exists in the field of social sciences, which is described as a form of mixture, combination or interbreeding. As typical elements of "hybrid identity" the following characteristics are to be mentioned: multiple cultural backgrounds, experience exchange between self and external assignment and the ongoing process of own identities negotiation. The central feature of the hybrid identity is the belongingness, which may take various forms. Some migrants, especially those from the first generation, have a clear sense of mono–affiliation to the country of origin. But even if this feeling emotionally persists, however at a cognitive level multiculturalism is recognized, which indicates a degree of hybridity small to medium, with only a few reflections and internal negotiations.[123] Thus, "hybrid identity" implies simultaneous belongingness to two or more cultural environments. It is often claimed that Turkish community is reluctant to integrate into German society. It is already the third generation, which recognizes itself totally Turkish and keeps ties with its ancestor homeland. Even after receiving citizenship, they become German only "on paper" without embracing culture of German society.[124]

1990s saw another wave of immigration in Germany, which had nothing to do with labor migration, as in the case with Turkey. At this period ethnic Germans pushed from the dissolved Soviet Union, Jewish refugees, Muslim refugees from Bosnia, Kosovo Albanian and other victims of political turbulence of those years have dramatically changed the composition of foreign population of Germany. In late 1990s German government decided to put the process of integration into legal boundaries, at the same time realizing that Germany became country of immigration. In late 1990s the FRG Konstitution (Grundgesetz) saw amendments, regulating the issues of acquisition of German citizenship. According to this reform, "blood principle" (jus sanguinis), which provided that the nationality was awarded to an individual based on the nationality of his/her parents, gave way to the "principle of soil" (jus solis). That means that children, who were born in foreign families in Germany, are able to acquire German citizenship in case when by the moment of birth at least one parent had been living legally in Germany for 8 years. What is more, the terms of naturalization were reduced from 15 to 8 years, which made the acquisition of German nationality easier.[125] The Law on immigration of 1 January, 2005 became a turning point in immigration policy of Germany. Adopting this law, Germany determined its

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[123] Consuela Wagner; Migration and the Creation of Hybrid Identity: Chances and Challenges, 2016, Research Association for Interdisciplinary Studies, p. 16

[124] S. Pogorelskaya; Turkish community in FRG: between integration and Islam, p.17

[125] Gesetz über den Aufenthalt, die Erwerbstätigkeit und die Integration von Ausländern im Bundesgebiet [Electronic source] - http://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/aufenthg_2004/__19a.html accessed: 27.08.2020

role as an immigration country. This means that the state as well as designed institutions and society took responsibility for legal and illegal migrants. At that moment this law helped immigrants to understand their rights and responsibilities, and served for the state as guidelines for taking necessary decisions and measures. Thus, this law should be considered in more detail. The law set forth that any foreigner, which enters Germany, falls under any of the following categories:

- Citizens of any other EU state;
- Residents of the third states, coming for family reunification;
- Ethnic Germans, coming from Eastern Europe and the post-Soviet space;
- Individuals seeking asylum;
- Contract workers or season workers from third countries;
- Foreign students;
- Jewish immigrants;

To stay in Germany any foreigner needs to receive a special document like visa, temporary or permanent residence permit. Schengen visa allows to stay within its validity period for tourist purposes in the following Schengen countries: Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Finland, France, Greece, Italy, Iceland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Austria, Portugal, Spain and Sweden. A residence permit is also limited in time and is issued for staying in the country for certain purposes, with the length of stay being determined depending on the purpose. The last option is to obtain a permanent residence permit, which is issued for an indefinite period and automatically includes the right to work. In order to obtain a document allowing to stay in the country, one should meet the following criteria:

- Valid passport or another identification document;
- One should be able to sustain himself financially;
- Identity and citizenship should be detected;
- There should be no reasons for expulsion from the country;
- Residence should not jeopardize or contradict the interests of Germany;
- There should be no restriction for entry and stay in the country;

Entry to the country as a part of the program for family reunification is allowed under condition when a member of family who is already living in Germany meets certain requirements:

- Possess residence permit;
- Or permanent residence permit;
- Has enough space for living;

Arriving members of family need to meet requirements to get residence permit, however they can be rejected from residence permit, in case they require social support from the state. Nevertheless, this rule does not cover refugees and the program for family reunification works even in cases when there is not enough space for accommodation and minimal livelihood.

This new law also introduced two kinds of residence permit: temporary and permanent (unlimited). It creates more favorable conditions for graduates of German high schools, since after graduation they could stay in the country for one more year to find a job. It is important that at this moment the question of security was included into the legislation. Thus, the law introduced the list of individuals who may be refused to enter Germany:

- Individuals, who undermine social order and security;
- Individuals, committed military crime;
- Leaders of prohibited organizations;
- Individuals suspected in terroristic activities;
- Individuals, promoting racial and religious discrimination in Germany. [126]

Another important fact is that the law of 2004 set forth regulation of migrants integration. According to the law, obligatory language courses and integration trainings were proclaimed as a key instrument of successful naturalization.[127] The general program of integration support for migrants includes history and culture of Germany as well as study of German legal system. The law obliges migrants to attend integration courses in case they:

- Do not possess basic German language;
- Receive any social benefit and the institution, which provides migrants with any kind of assistance considers integration courses necessary;

Integration course ends with an exam and migrant receives a certificate with a certain level. This law managed to structure and generalize previous legislation on immigration, which had only fragmented regulations. Most notably, one of the results of the law was recognition of the government of Germany that Germany is the "country of immigration".

It worth mentioning that in the beginning of the 21st century some changes took place regarding management of intellectual migration. It happened because in late 1990s German economics saw a boost in information technological sector, which sparked huge demand in skilled workers in IT field. Due to this, German

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[126] New immigration law: who Germans want to see?; Deutsche Welle:
[Electronic source] – http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,1262853,00.html accessed: 27.08.2020
[127] Gesetz zur Steuerung und Begrenzung der Zuwanderung und zur Regelung des Aufenthalts und der Integration von Unionsbürgern und Ausländern [Electronic source] -
https://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/downloads/DE/gesetztestexte/Zuwanderungsgesetz.pdf?__blob=publicationFile &v=1 accessed: 27.08.2020

government again turned to attraction of foreign labor forces. Thus, changes started in 2000 with the introduction of "Green card" program aimed at attraction of non-EU IT specialists in Germany. Only graduates of information technologies speciality could participate in this program. An important change implied permanent residence permit for IT specialists, provided that a foreign specialist had a particular job offer from an employer and in case there are no qualified German workers for this position. In other words, Germany started to broaden intellectual migration, with increasing opportunities for this category of migrants.[128] Later, in 2009 European Union introduced another program – "Blue card", which allows non-EU residents to live and work in most EU states. This program was aimed again at attraction of more specialists from all over the world. Applicants for "Blue card" should have high education or 5 year working experience in the sphere of their specialization. In contrast with "Green card", European employers were released from their obligation to look for German specialist for the vacant position, before hiring a foreign one.[129] In other words, henceforth highly skilled foreign professionals could compete equally with local specialist in the job market. What is more, we see the situation of 1960s repeating, when a huge wave of migrants headed to Germany, after government started to attract foreign labor forces. In those times the massive immigration was due to family reunification of working migrants, mainly Turkish. In this case, new program provides families of "Blue card" owners with an easier access to the country, since they are not required to speak German language and have a permission for work.[130] Thus, we see, that during these two waves of immigration (1960s and 1990s) Germany was purchasing a goal of attracting labor forces and developing different sectors of economics at the expense of foreign specialists and general workers. And it is this goal that determined regulations on migration in this period, which are considered above. So, one can claim, that labor force is one of the factors that Germany viewed as an opportunity and benefit for the country from stimulating immigration.

Another domestic issue that Germany aspired to resolve thanks to immigration is demography. During the War Germany lost a great share of its population and it still cannot stabilize or increase the population growth. Despite the constantly growing number of residents, the birth rate remains low. There are a number of factors influencing the demographic situation in Germany. First of all, fertility rate in Germany is lower in comparison with other European countries and in later decades equaled less than 1,4 children per woman. After 2010 this number increased to 1,5, but still, in order to stabilize the population number the average number of children should be 2,1.[131] Reasons for low birth rate can be economic and social factors. Nowadays, requirement on

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[128] Gesetz über den Aufenthalt, die Erwerbstätigkeit und die Integration von Ausländern im Bundesgebiet// [Electronic source] - https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/aufenthg_2004/BJNR195010004.html accessed: 27.08.2020

[129] Die Blaue Karte EU in Deutschland [Electronic source]-
https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Forschung/Forschungsberichte/fb27-blaue-karte-eu.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=14 accessed: 28.08.2020

[130] Familiennachzug von Drittstaatsangehörigen nach Deutschland, BAMF 2017 [Electronic source] - https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/11b_germany_family_reunification_de_final.pdf accessed: 28.08.2020

[131] Die demografische Entwicklung in Deutschland [Electronic source] - https://www.bpb.de/politik/innenpolitik/demografischer-wandel/196911/fertilitaet-mortalitaet-migration accessed: 28.08.2020

labor market do not allow women to properly combine family issues and work. As a result, women tend to delay giving birth to children or choose not to have children at all: along with Switzerland, Italy and Finland Germany has the highest rate of childlessness. Another important factor, which influences the process of depopulation is growing life expectancy. Thank to developing high technological medicine in Germany, people live longer and pass away only in old age. Now, the average life expectancy for women is 83 years and 78 years for men, which is 10 years more than in 1970. Today, one can see change in proportion of young and old people in Germany: people over 60 years old constitute 25% of population, while by 2050 this percentage is expected to increase up to 37%.[132] In this context German population can be characterized as ageing and forecasts are not positive. Another point to consider is emigration factor, which also determine demographic crisis in Germany. According to social surveys, every second resident is ready to emigrate from the country (more than 55%). As the main reasons for leaving the country Germans name their aspiration to live in more relax and comfortable environment (38%), quality of life (33%) and weather (31%), also political instability and salaries.[133] So, we see, than Germans quiet actively leave their country, which worsen the demography even more, and even positive growth of the population at the expense of immigration flows does not restore demographic situation in the country. However, even in 2018, when Migration crisis had already shaken German economics and society, German scientists and politicians still relied on immigration as a tool for solving demographic crisis.[134]

Thus, on 14 July, 2006 Germany held the first summit on integration, introducing the road map of integration policy and launching the process of migrant integration and naturalization in German society. On the agenda were such issues as elaboration of National integration plan, key questions in the sphere of education, youth support, integrational courses and etc. All participants (political parties and organizations) were advocating social security for migrants and expansion of rights and opportunities for immigrants. German association Caritas highlighted that "there is no chance for German integration efforts to fail".[135] However, only one year later in 2007, another migration summit was threatened to fall through. This summit again was aimed at improving integration process and creating more favorable conditions for immigrants. On the eve of the summit, 4 major associations of migrants of Turkish origin, living in Germany (Federation of Turkish parental association in Germany, Turkish-German Healthcare Fund, Turkish community in Germany, Turkish Islamic Union) refused to participate in integration summit, because of the recent reforms in Migration Law, which

[132] Familienpolitik und Fertilität: demografische Entwicklungen und politische Gestaltungsmöglichkeiten, BMFSFJ [Electronic source] - https://www.bmfsfj.de/blob/76228/3439c9738349eaf8aba65b595cd22df5/monitor-familienforschung-ausgabe-27-data.pdf accessed: 28.08.2020

[133] Kristina Antonia Schäfer; Immer mehr Deutsche wandern aus [Electronic source] - https://www.wiwo.de/blick-hinter-die-zahlen/blick-hinter-die-zahlen-3-auswanderer-immer-mehr-deutsche-wandern-aus/25486152.html accessed: 28.08.2020

[134] Stoppt Zuwanderung den demografischen Wandel? [Electronic source] –
https://www.deutschland.de/de/topic/leben/demografischer-wandel-und-zuwanderung-in-deutschland accessed: 28.08.2020

[135] Der Deutsche Integrationsgipfel [Electronic source] - https://heimatkunde.boell.de/de/2006/11/18/der-deutsche-integrationsgipfel accessed: 28.08.2020

were perceived as discriminatory and offensive towards immigrants living in Germany. In particular Turkish organizations were opposing new rules of family reunification, since, according to the law, which will be discussed further, foreign bride should be at least 18 years old in order to get married with German resident and acquire the right for permanent residency. Moreover, the new law obliged future wives to learn the basics of German language and learn at least 500 words before coming to Germany.[136] New rules implied also financial sanctions in the amount of 1000 euro for those migrants who avoid attending integration courses and miss language classes. This law was initiated by the conservative CDU/CSU coalition, thus, Hans-Peter Uhl, political expert of the CDU/CSU fraction stated that in Germany there are still many not integrated migrants, which should be considered as a problem for German society. He claimed: "It is already 50 years of continuing immigration in Germany and as much time politician discuss the need to integrate migrants without making any requirements to them. One should think about measures of influence on those who receive social benefits, but refuse to learn at least the basics of German language."[137] It is important to mention that at this period in the German government it was CDU/CSU that was the leading coalition, while SDP (Social Democratic Party) played a role of a junior partner and not have a weighty voice. However, later, when in 2013 SDP gained 25,7% of votes, the gross coalition with conservative CDU/CSU was established and migration policy underwent changes.

Nevertheless, this summit took place and National Integration Plan was introduced, which constitutes the basics of legislation on integration up until now and sets the rules of migrant rights and responsibilities in German society. This project received 750 millions of euro and the next year was claimed the Year of Migration. As a result, in 2010 the number of various integration courses exceeded 16 thousand. Mainly there were language courses, also migrants could study German history and fundamental social and legal studies. In the document one can point out key priority directions in the process of integration:

- Integration through education;
- Integration through language learning;
- Measures, aimed at establishing free access to education and career development;
- Integration in the field of science;
- Integration programs for women, aimed at upbringing of future generations;
- Integration through sport;
- Integration through study of German culture;[138]

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[136] Merkel's Integration summit appeared on the brink of failure [Electronic source] - https://www.dw.com/ru интеграционный-саммит-у-меркель-оказался-под-угрозой-срыва/a-2678517 accessed: 28.08.2020

[137] New immigration law in Germany will satisfy not everyone [Electronic source]- https://www.dw.com/ru/новый-закон-фрг-об-иммиграции-обрадует-не-всех-иностранцев/a-2608991 accessed: 28.08.2020

[138] Der Nationale Integrationsplan [Electronic source] - https://www.bundesregierung.de/resource/blob/975226/441038/acdb01cb90b28205d452c83d2fde84a2/2007-08-30-nationaler-integrationsplan-data.pdf?download=1 accessed: 30.08.2020

The central role in integration was playing language policy. Government perceived every success of migrants in the sphere of education and studying of German language as an investment in German future. According to National Integration Plan studying of German language was supposed to start in early childhood. Due to this a number of institutions were established for children aged under 3 years. Government offered to create 4579 classes for learning language spending 17,5 millions of euro, with allocating later another 31,5 millions of euro for projects, aimed at general integration on the local level.[139] It worth mentioning that not only activity of projects, initiated in National Integration Plan, make contribution in forcing migrants integration into society, but also non-governmental organizations and media. Thus, ARD (huge association of German regional broadcasters) elaborated program, supporting editors, actors and authors of foreign origin. Moreover, media company DeutscheWelle also started to offer job opportunities for new generation of journalists from among migrants.[140] November 2008 saw the third summit on integration, which made first conclusions of National Integration Plan implementation; important point is that Germany declared itself "the country of integration", which means that integration was identified as separate area in immigration policy. On the fifth summit in 2012 National Integration Plan started to develop into National Action Plan on Integration, which aim was to cover more opportunities for migrants in the fields of integration courses, professional qualification, involvement in state service, culture, healthcare, sport, media and residence issues.[141] Further summits brought another simplifications and opportunities for migrants in Germany, in particular, the sixth and seventh summits in 2013, 2014 simplified the recognition of professional qualifications and introduced the Diversity Chart, which aim was to stimulate diversity in labor market and promote equal opportunities regardless of origin, religion and believes.[142] Creation of these favorable conditions for newly comers in Germany became extremely attractive for potential immigrants during 2015-2016 Migration Crisis in Europe (which has been considered in the first Chapter), where Germany became the most desirable target for refugees from the Middle East and Africa. Thus, in 2015 Germany welcomed 1.2-1.5 million asylum claims, with 202.000 asylum claims being registered in 2014.[143] This was the period of discord between political powers in Germany; Chancellor Angela Merkel advocated open-door policy and principle "We can do it!", while political parties and officials formed an opposition against welcoming migrants.[144] However, one can observe and follow the changes in legislation as an answer to new challenges. Thus, In 2015, after the beginning of a

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[139] Ibid.

[140] Deutsche Welle: Medienentwicklung [Electronic source]. – http://www.dw.de/dwakademie/medienentwicklung/s-11812 accessed: 30.08.2020

[141] Nationaler Aktionsplan Integration [Electronic source] -
https://www.bundesregierung.de/resource/blob/992814/441026/136cdd0c82e45766265a0690f6534aa9/2012-01-31-nap-gesamt-barrierefrei-data.pdf?download=1 accessed: 30.08.2020

[142] Charta der Vielfalt [Electronic source] - https://www.charta-der-vielfalt.de/ueber-uns/aktuelles/ accessed: 30.08.2020

[143] Germany faces 1.5 million asylum claims this year – report [Electronic source] - https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34442121 accessed: 30.08.2020

[144] We Can Do It! (Or Can We?) Angela Merkel's Immigration Politics [Electronic source] -
https://epicenter.wcfia.harvard.edu/blog/we-can-do-it-angela-merkel-immigration-politics accessed: 30.08.2020

mass influx of refugees, Germany introduced a temporary border control with Austria. In accordance with article 23 of the Schengen border code, any of the participating countries of the EU has the right to temporarily (up to 6 months) resume passport control at internal borders "in the event of a serious threat to public order and security". However, such a precedent undoubtedly served as the main impetus for increasing instability of the Schengen area as a whole. A number of other countries, such as Austria, Hungary, Slovakia, and others took the similar measures further. Germany initiated a quota system both within the country and beyond its borders. According to the Konistein key program, asylum seekers were to be distributed over the territory of Germany in the following percentage: North Rhine-Westphalia 21%, Bavaria 15%, Berlin 5%.[145] On October 24, 2015 Asylum Proceeding Act was developed into Asylum Law, which acquired more structured and strict character. During the Migration crisis, this law went through several waves of changes and amendments. The version of 2015 included:

- Classification as "safe country of origin": in order to have opportunity to immediately deport asylum seekers from the Balkan States, Albania, Kosovo and Montenegro, these countries were classified as "safe countries of origin". Asylum seekers from there must remain in primary reception facilities until the asylum procedure is completed.

- Accommodation in the initial reception centers: Asylum seekers must be up to six months. It is allowed to stay in primary reception institutions for three months and receive only material support instead of money. Payment of money must be max. a month in advance.

- Undeclared deportation: in order to avoid falling into illegality, asylum seekers who have been rejected must be deported without prior notice.

- Accelerated asylum procedures: asylum procedures must be completed in three months. The staff of the Federal office for migration and refugees (BAMF) was increased. Inherited procedures should be performed faster in the future by more decision makers.

- Humanitarian aid instead of money: in order to avoid financial incentives for asylum seekers who came to Germany only because of economic interest, they should receive humanitarian aid in the future, such as food, clothing, personal hygiene products, tobacco products or tickets for local public transport.

- Financial assistance from the Federal government: The Federal government allocates to the Federal lands a monthly fixed fee of 670 euros for each designated refugee, provided that these funds are distributed among their municipalities.

- Accommodation: some building codes that delay the construction of winter quarters are suspended (for example, when choosing a location, protecting against noise, or using renewable energy sources).

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[145] Germany's Domestic „Königstein Quota System" and EU asylum policy [Electronic source] - https://verfassungsblog.de/germanys-domestic-koenigstein-quota-system-and-eu-asylum-policy accessed: 30.08.2020

- Integration: integration courses and German language courses are offered to asylum seekers with good prospects for obtaining a residence permit, assistance in integrating into the labor market is offered, and access to internships is simplified.
- Health care: the Federal government facilitates Federal States in introduction of a health card for refugees on a voluntary basis.[146]

On February 3, 2016 other changes were introduced in the Asylum Law, which covered such issues as family reunification, protection of children and youth.

Another legislative reaction of Germany on migration crisis was Integration Law, adopted on July 31, 2016. Its main principle sounded like "encouragements and demands" and set forth the following regulations:

- The residence requirement is intended to prevent a mass influx to cities. The law allows Federal lands to set rules for the choice of residence for recognized refugees. Federal lands must decide whether they provide for specific places of residence or prohibit moving to certain cities or regions. The regulation must be limited to three years and does not apply to refugees who have obtained a job, apprenticeship or study in a place that does not correspond to a designated residential area.
- The right to permanent residence for recognized refugees should be tightened. You no longer have to get a settlement permit after three years, as before. In the future, this permanent residence permit will only be available after five years if, among other things, sufficient language skills (level A2 of the European competence system) and a largely secure livelihood are confirmed. Only those who are eligible for asylum, recognized refugees, and refugees for resettlement who have reached an advanced language level (level C1) and who are largely responsible for their own upkeep will receive permanent residency after three years.
- The priority check, which ensures that asylum seekers and transferables can only be hired if the job cannot be filled by eligible applicants from Germany or the EU, should be suspended for three years in regions with below-average unemployment rates. Refugees after a three-month stay in Germany should also be able to find temporary employment.
- Young asylum seekers with good prospects of staying should be granted guaranteed residence status during their professional training. If asylum seekers are accepted after completing their studies, they will be granted safe residence status for an additional two years after completing their studies. If you do not have a job, your right of residence is extended for six months to search for a job.
- For asylum seekers, "100 000 additional jobs for low-threshold entry into the German labor market" must be funded from Federal funds. Federal employment Agency (BA) should be able to oblige refugees to take reasonable jobs. If the measures are rejected, BA benefits should be reduced. Refugees from safe countries of origin should be excluded from the planned measures.

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[146] Asylgesetz, Bundesamt für Justiz

- Integration courses consist of a language course and an orientation part. In the future, the orientation part should cover 100 hours instead of the previous 60. Asylum seekers should be able to participate earlier than before; they should also be able to participate. The right to participate in the integration course should expire in a year. In case of non-participation, social benefits may be reduced.
- Family reunification is allowed only after two years for persons who have only been granted additional protection.[147]

In July 20, 2017 the law on effective obligation to leave the country, which gave opportunities for potential criminals to prolong their stay in Germany, since authorities were initially relying on voluntary return. At the same time, this law provided for measures on identification of newcomers, in order for BAMF to check there citizenship and identities.[148] Only in 2019 Bundestag approved new package of migration regulation, aimed at strengthening deportation procedures and denationalization. Thus, new regulations provided for imprisonment for migrants, who were designed to be deported from Germany; with regard to nationality, those, who practice polygamy, will be refused from nationality, as well as those, who participated in terroristic activities abroad will be withdrawn from German nationality. The latest law on labor migration came into force on March 1, 2020, which was designed to structure and specify who has the right to enter Germany for work or getting education. At the same time, this law introduced some relaxation of existing immigration regulations: new rules do not require potential foreign specialists to prove "deficit" of their qualifications; the recognition of foreign certificates has become simplified.[149]

Therefore, this part has answered the following questions: 1. What are the reasons for German welcoming migration policy? 2. How did waves of migration in Germany develop 3. How did German migration legislation answer external changes? One can claim that it is the need in foreign labor forces and demographic crisis that pushed Germany towards open immigration policy. Considering German legislation on migration issues, one can observe, that initially Germany perceived legislation on labor migration as a priority, however with growing inflow of migrants, Germany started to put the process of migrant integration on the agenda, which at the certain period brought much success. At the same time, Migration crisis has revealed quite a few weaknesses of German migration legislature, but this will be discussed further.

3.2. Immigration influence in Germany.

Huge migrations flows change not only legislature, but has a great qualitative effect on the life of the country. Thus, this part will discuss the influence of migrants on German economics, society and politics and consider both positive and negative sides. Thus, many migrants come to Germany because of economic interests, since

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[147] Integrationsgesetz Vom 31. Juli 2016 [Electronic source] - http://www.fluechtlingsinfo-berlin.de/fr/zuwg/IntegrationsG.pdf accessed: 02.09.2020

[148] Gesetz zur besseren Durchsetzung der Ausreisepflicht [Electronic source] - https://www.buzer.de/s1.htm?g=Gesetz+zur+besseren+Durchsetzung+der+Ausreisepflicht&f=1 accessed: 02.09.2020

[149] Germany attracts new labor migrants [Electronic source] - https://legal-dialogue.org/ru accessed: 02.09.2020

Germany is known for developed economy and favorable social policy. However, the society often perceive immigrants as a burden for State budget. Since foreigners often cannot immediately provide themselves with a job, for various reasons such as: lack of language skills, insufficient qualifications, as well as simple unwillingness to work, the state pays an allowance for the unemployed, called " Hartz-IV ".[150] In 2012 this allowance amounted to 374 euros per adult, for married couples - 337 euros for each spouse, and 219 euros for small children under five years. This benefit costs German taxpayers 570 million euros. In Germany, there are 6.3 million recipients of such support, including 1.7 million children under the age of 15. Employment among immigration families also affects how much a family receives from the state. In 2020 3 919 031 people received this unemployment benefit.[151]

It should be noted that the main part of the immigration society in Germany consists of representatives of Muslim countries and the other part comes from other countries of the European Union. However, four times as many people live on unemployment benefits among Muslim migrants as among the German population. Muslim migrants have an average of 43.6 people per 100 people who live mainly on welfare, while the German population has an average of 10.4 people. Based on these indicators, it can be calculated that approximately 80% of the total amount allocated for benefits is spent on the maintenance of immigrants, which in monetary terms is about 416 million euros. Such a large amount of government spending, which must be provided by working taxpayers, and this is mainly the German population, causes great dissatisfaction among society, since it turns out that they must work to support newcomers. In addition to this, birth rates in Muslim families, which are much higher than among local population, play an important role, since the level of benefits increases with the appearance of a new member in the family. Children of immigrants, especially in Muslim families with their own culture and upbringing do not want to go to school, as children from German families. Among the children of immigrants, about 30% do not graduate from school at all, and only 14% have a certificate of maturity. With such indicators, it will be difficult to find a normal and well-paid job and the state will again have to pay additional funds for their maintenance. The fact that immigrants often do not want to work is also explained by the payment of benefits. Most immigrants are employed in the service sector, or in jobs with low wages. The state system for calculating the amount of benefits is designed in such a way that in many cases it is more profitable for a person to receive support in the form of benefits than to work. Thus, one can conclude, that such economic support can be considered as a burden for domestic economic growth, since guaranteed financial support deprives newcomers from any incentive to maintain themselves independently. Another problem is illegal labor of foreign workers. Illegal labor was used most often in agriculture (occasional, seasonal work) and permanent in construction business. The ability to hire skilled labor at low rates, treating it at will, bypassing trade unions, social insurance, and paying no taxes, attracted unfair employers. From the point of view of German labor law, the employment of illegal labor ("black labor") is prohibited both in the

[150] Hartz IV [Electronic source] - https://www.arbeitsagentur.de/lexikon/hartz-4 accessed: 03.09.2020

[151] Hartz IV Auszahlungstermine 2020 [Electronic source] - https://hartz4antrag.de/hartz-4-auszahlung-zahlungskalender/ accessed: 03.09.2020

interests of the state Treasury and local organized labor unions workers. From the police point of view, foreign workers, those who entered the country illegally or with tourist visas,

pose a threat to the security of citizens: working illegally they do not have a permanent place of residence, they are not registered anywhere, and are often associated with criminal structures that "arranged" their entry into the country. The fight against these violators of the law was conducted as a way to tighten control over entry into the country with tourist visas, and within the country by conducting unexpected inspections of objects under construction and "catching" violators.[152]

Other monetary costs are also associated with immigrants – these are the costs of integration courses. At the legislative level, special support for foreigners has been created in the form of mandatory courses that provide visitors with the necessary knowledge. Courses are paid, and those who can pay for them contribute, but most immigrants, as mentioned earlier, live on benefits and the state has to bear the cost of their integration into society. 2008 in Germany was declared the "year of integration" and the government allocated about 750 million euros for the necessary measures. What is more, in 2018 federal government supported municipalities by allocating 7,5 billion euro for covering the expenses on refugees and work on their integration.[153] Moreover, there were expenses 15,5 billion euro, which were not allocated to federal lands, but these funds were used to support border control and justice. All in all, according to federal government report, 23 billion euros were spent on immigrant issues.[154] In addition to the obvious costs from the state in the form of benefits and various types of support, it is worth taking into account remittances, which are gaining momentum with the growth of immigration. Germany is one of the driving economic forces of the European Union, which is a source of cash receipts made by money transfer agencies. It should be noted that official data may be significantly underestimated, since there is no data on the transfer of funds through unofficial channels. Migrant communities create alternative ways to send money back home, usually using informal personal and ethnic channels and networks. At the same time, one can assume that under certain circumstances these channels can be used for money laundering and other illegal operations, including the financing of terrorism. What is more, the research conducted by German scientists, Gunter Steinmann and Ralf E. Ulrich, deals with two questions: Does the presence of foreigner influence labor market status? And Does labor market status determine attitudes toward foreign migrants? Thus, the presence of foreigners in a labor market is not significantly associated with the likelihood of a German resident being unemployed. There is weak evidence that German people living in neighborhoods where they believe many migrants are present have a lower probability of employment. At the same time, there is difficulty in determination of measure of foreign presence, since it is self-reported by the respondents. This means that, when asked about the number of foreigners in their neighborhood, the unemployed responded "many" more often than other groups. The fact that negative reactions towards

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[152] S.V. Pogorelskaya, Immigration and problems of security: case of Germany, M., 2008, p. 36

[153] Die Kosten der Flüchtlingskrise [Electronic source] - https://www.handelsblatt.com/politik/deutschland/migration-die-kosten-der-fluechtlingskrise/25146570.html accessed: 05.09.2020

[154] Asylbewerberleistungen [Electronic source] - https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Gesellschaft-Umwelt/Soziales/Asylbewerberleistungen/_inhalt.html accessed: 05.09.2020

foreigners based on labor market status are not generally focused on foreigners in general but towards particular groups of migrants (Turks, but not South Europeans), could be taken to imply that non-economic parameters linked to prejudice and discrimination toward those particular groups lie behind the attitudes. The employment impact of immigrants on German citizens and German attitudes towards foreigners could diverge depending on the particular immigrant group being considered and the specific German group being examined.[155]

Considering cultural and social dimension of the migrant influence, one should mention the status of German language as one of the pillars of German society and culture. According to social survey, 52,7% of the respondents claim that they experience great influence of foreign languages on German language and believe that German classical language is likely to change under the pressure of migrants.[156] Thus, a new language has appeared called Kiezdeutsch, which presents a kind of combination of German and other languages of various peoples and cultures living side by side in urban areas. This language is used mainly by the youth, as a result, German pundits claim about German language being simplified and German young generation becoming illiterate, due to including Turkish or Arabic words in their speech.

The German food habits and the gastronomic landscape have changed in a special way in recent decades, with foreign products and dishes have become common among German society. The variety of grocery stores with foreign products, especially the Turkish greengrocer and the Asia Shop, has local customers.

According to a study by the Allensbach Institute for Demoscopy on Popularity of foreign specialties among German restaurant visitors prefer around 50%, among the age group under 30. The Turkish Turnspike Döner is now the most popular dish in Germany since the end of the 1990s and has become a highest turnover product developed in the catering sector. Two developments are taking place in the field of food culture: on the one hand, the supply of products is increasing due to immigration and the emergence of niche economies takes place (Turkish Kebab stalls, Arabic cook shops); on the other hand, the expansion of the product range in supermarkets and the variety of restaurants as part of economic and cultural globalization. When one speaks about mutual rapprochement of cultures in the integration process, then it is the area of food culture. The everyday culture of the German society has been changing sustainably through foreign food and local population successfully accepts it. [157] Another area is media, where two aspects appear particularly relevant: immigrants are consumers and producers of media as well as immigrants as are the subject of German media. More than 50 foreign-language newspapers are produced in Germany, with Turkish newspapers being numerically most represented. In addition, there is a Turkish radio station in Berlin. As far as the representation of migrants in the German media is concerned, different tendencies can be identified. Especially in the field

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[155] Steinmann G., Ulrich R. E. (ed.). The economic consequences of immigration to Germany. – Physica, 2013., p. 150

[156] Bereicherung oder Verfall? Wie sich die deutsche Sprache durch Migration verändert [Electronic source] - https://www.alumniportal-deutschland.org/deutschland/kultur/deutsche-sprache-migration/ accessed: 05.09.2020

[157] Der Einfluss von Zuwanderung auf die deutsche Gesellschaft [Electronic source] - https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Forschung/Forschungsberichte/fb01-einfluss-zuwanderung.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=12 accessed: 05.09.2020

of sensation and tabloid press often conveys a distorted, undifferentiated, often negative image of foreigners. Media researchers criticize the absence of objectivity in reporting, while serious media goes, therefore, carefully, sometimes with an extremely serious political correctness with the topic. Certain prejudicial images, such as the woman with a headscarf, are, however, persistently used by all media over and over again to express otherness or to mediate backwardness. Migrants as "media makers": journalists, news anchors or moderators, still do not have obvious positions in the German media. According to the recent research, conducted by University of Dortmund, political orientation of media plays a very important role in creation of immigrant image. Thus, left and liberal media more often depict the position of migrants than right and conservative media and online platforms.[158] In Germany 25% of all publications are made up of negative images of migrants. Discourse is defined by political parties (29,1%), police and institutions of justice (19,4%).[159] Thus, there is a tendency among political parties to enter online world and actively use internet to promote their interests. The right populist party "Alternative for Germany" (AfD) was the first to use online information platforms and media, then CDU, SDP and liberal parties followed the example of AfD. Thus, AfD depicts migrants as criminals, terrorists and aliens, while Free Democratic Party attracts public attention towards the problems of discrimination against foreign people and discusses the poor position of immigrants in Germany. There are exceptions only in the entertainment sector: in pop culture, where exoticism is in demand. Therefore musicians, dancers and performers of " exotic " appearance (mostly dark skinned) in soaps or entertainment shows quite an everyday phenomenon on German TV. The consumption of " exotic strangeness, however, carries the risk that only clichés are served without inclusion of those in the country of living minorities. A permanent place in German television, however, has comedy programs by Turkish-born cabaret artists such as Kaya Yanar ("what are you watching?"), Django Asül, or the Munich-based Duo Erkan and Stefan, the in their pastiches of self-confidence, ethnic jokes, and the Turkish-German stereotypes play. Thus, media in this form can serve as an instrument as well as an indicator of relaxing interethnic and intercultural relationships.[160]

Proceeding with consideration of the educational culture among the immigration population, one can state that due to the huge flow of poorly educated immigrants the overall intellectual level of the local population denigrates, since they produce significantly more children than native Germans. At the same time, the most disturbing result of opinion polls is that 60% of the total number of respondents in Germany support the criticism of Muslim immigrants, which was expressed in the book by Thilo Saracin "Germany is self-destruction".[161] The author defines immigration from the third world as a threat to the ethnic composition and

[158] Deutsche Medien berichten überdurchschnittlich viel über Migration, 2020 [Electronic source] -
https://www.sueddeutsche.de/medien/medien-migration-studie-1.4757010 accessed: 05.09.2020
[159] Flüchtlinge und Migranten in Medien oft negativ dargestellt [Electronic source] -
https://www.migazin.de/2020/07/09/studie-fluechtlinge-und-migranten-in-medien-oft-negativ-dargestellt/ accessed: 05.09.2020
[160] Ibid.
[161] Thilo Sarrazin, Deutschland schafft sich ab, Deutsche Verlangs-Anstalt, 2010, 461p.

stability of the Federal Republic of Germany. According to him, due to the low birth rate, the population of Germany will be reduced to a minimum and due to the high flow of immigrants will change ethnically. This will happen because newcomers with their own habits, religious and cultural customs will replace European population. It is clear that the author presents a subjective opinion on immigrants. However, this is also the case, since it most clearly characterizes the mood of society as a whole in relation to foreigners living in Germany: in 2019 52% of German respondents believe that there are already to many immigrants in Germany and 49% think that the country cannot welcome more migrants, since there number has reached its limit.[162] What is more, the topic directly related to social security issues is foreign crime, which presents a great concern among the population. In this case one should analyze how German population perceive immigrants. Thus, according to social survey, since 2004 till 2014 German people named economic issues as their major fears (increase in living costs, poor economic circumstances, costs for tax-payers of EU debt crisis), however since 2014, when Germany faced with huge migration inflows German's greatest fears became "terrorism" (2017 – 73%) and effects of migrant crisis. In 2019 56% of respondents claimed they were scared that Germany would not be able to manage the number of refugees.[163] Moreover, criticism of integration politics remains high: 71% of respondents believe immigration is an extra burden for the state and common welfare. Two thirds scare of conflicts between immigrants and local people. More than 63% believe that too many migrants are reluctant to embrace German values and approximately the same percentage is concerned about the problem in schools and lack of accommodation in the cities.[164] According to the statistics, in 2019 the share of "not Germans" among suspects in crimes constituted 30,4% (not including immigration legislation). Interesting fact is that Federal ministry of Internal Affairs distinguish such category of crimes as "political motivated crime – foreign ideology". This means that crimes are based on the ideology, developed abroad, however this does not imply that suspects are foreign individuals, German people commit these crimes as well. Thus, statistics claims that in the period from 2017 to 2018 the number of this type of crimes increased on 54%.[165] Federal Criminal Police Office register the group of "immigrants" in police statistics of crimes as asylum seekers, quota refugees as well as illegal immigrants. Thus, in 2019 "immigrants" made up 8% of all suspects, that 0,6% less than in 2018. Overall, "immigrants" were suspected of robbery, fraud and bodily injuries.[166] Analyzing reasons and background of violence and crime among immigrants some pundits posit that criminal activities may be defined as side effect of the period, when young people of migrant background are looking for their place in

[162] Deutsche bewerten Einwanderung weiter skeptisch [Electronic source] -
https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/bertelsmann-studie-migranten-skepsis-101.html accessed: 05.09.2020
[163] German Angst 2019 [Electronic source] - https://www.dw.com/en/german-angst-2019-germans-less-fearful-than-ever-before/a-50303704 accessed: 05.09.2020
[164] Deutsche bewerten Einwanderung weiter skeptisch [Electronic source] -
https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/bertelsmann-studie-migranten-skepsis-101.html accessed: 05.09.2020
[165] Politisch Motivierte Kriminalität im Jahr 2018 [Electronic source] -
https://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/downloads/DE/veroeffentlichungen/2019/pmk-2018.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=2#page=2 accessed: 05.09.2020
[166] Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik [Electronic source] -
https://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/faqs/DE/themen/sicherheit/pks/pks.html accessed: 05.09.2020

German society. This creates tensions and problems with identity, which may lead to negative self-esteem and creation of image of outcast. In this case, one can claim that readiness for violence from migrants can be considered as a result of failed integration, when migrants from cultures with brutal traditions do not experience cultural adaptation to modern society of human rights. This approach is used in the context of honor killing. Indeed, this phenomenon takes place among German society and triggers great concern on women rights. Already in 2020 were registered 38 honor killings and 43 attempts. All suspects were from Turkey, Afghanistan, Syria and Palestine.[167] Another point to consider is unfavorable conditions of migrants and their social status, which can be considered as a pushing factor for violence in society. Especially young men lack social recognition, which plays very important role for oriental men, as a result delinquent behavior serves the demonstration of power.[168] Thus, statistics says that average age of asylum seekers in 2018 was 29,4, with 63% being male. According to the research conducted by Ministry of healthcare in the Netherlands, 41% of refugees from the Middle East have psychological problems as a result of military injuries, deprivations and separation from families, with many of them suffering post-traumatic stress disorder. Moreover, the vast majority of young men (55% of refugees are under 25) came to Germany without women, so their suppressed instincts lead to cases of sexual aggression.[169] Of course, one should not perceive it as any justification of migrant criminal activity, which has shaken German society. Indeed, nowadays, ethnic criminal groups control the whole regions in German cities, for example, in Duisborg, Essen and Gelsenkirchen police do not even visit these districts. Ethnic groups control drug trafficking, frauds and robberies. By the end of 2016 the federal system of refugee accounting did not work properly: every land conducts its own accounting, however, there were no unified standards and data bases were not systematized neither on federal nor on European level. This led to different kind of misuses. It is also important to distinguish between immigrants those, who were recognized as residents in Germany and those, who have little perspectives to stay in the country, since those with perspectives are less likely to commit crimes. Another crucial issue concerning security of the country is terrorism. In 2015 – 2016 more than 1,1 million of asylum seekers entered Germany without any identification. Weak readiness of European borders was immediately misused by terrorist groups, which started to send terrorists disguised as refugees in need. Thus, in 2016 Berlin saw a terrorist attack on Christmas market with 12 people killed, which was committed by Syrian "refugee" Anis Amri, who was living in refugee camp and entered Germany under cover of juvenile refugee. After he entered the country, he attracted police attention by establishing ties with Islamic state preacher Abu Walaa, however surveillance was halted, since police did not manage to prove any preparation of attack. As a result, Islamic state took responsibility for terrorist attack, conducted by Amri. What is more, jihadists coming to Germany promote their ideas and indoctrinate potential young terrorists. Thus, in 2016 a 16-year old Syrian was arrested on

[167] Dokumentierte Ehrenmorde [Electronic source] - https://www.ehrenmord.de/doku/doku.php accessed: 06.09.2020
[168] Migration und Jugenddelinquenz - Mythen und Zusammenhänge – [Electronic source] - https://mediendienst-integration.de/fileadmin/Dateien/Gutachten_Kriminalitaet_Migration_Walburg.pdf accessed: 06.09.2020
[169] Migrants commit more crimes in Germany [Electronic source] - https://inosmi.ru/politic/20181126/244085429.html accessed: 06.09.2020

charges of preparation of terrorist attack in Cologne; same year 12-year-old pupil made two failed attempts to start a self-made explosive device.[170]

At the same time, if we look from another perspective, in 2018 47 042 asylum seekers and refugees became victims of crimes, which is 2 times more than in previous year, with 81% of crimes were bodily injuries. In 2019 Germany saw 1746 crimes against refugees: 126 of them were directed at accommodation of migrants, other 1620 – at individuals. Also 124 attacks on people and organization supporting refugees were registered, while 2018 registered 95 same attacks.[171] One must note that attacks on refugee camps are rarely punished. In the period from 2015 to 2018 only 206 cases out of 2500 were recognized as crimes.[172] The problem of racist and anti-Islamic vibes takes place in German society. So, statistics says that 52% of the respondents perceive Islam as a threat; 40% would object a Muslim in their family and 13% would prohibit Muslims to enter the country. More than a third of people in Germany agree with the statement "because of a huge number of Muslim people I feel myself stranger in my own country".[173] 2019 registered 950 anti-Islamic and anti-Muslim attacks on mosques and individuals, which is 4% more than in previous year. Interesting fact is that those who know Muslims personally are likely to have a positive image of people and their religion. However, knowing something about Islam – as opposed to personally knowing a Muslim – is less associated with these positive feelings.[174] According to social research, 53,8% of German respondents agreed with the statement "I think that there are a lot of religious bigots among Muslims"; 56,3% opposed the statement "I support classes on Islam religion in our schools" and 45,3% disagreed with the statement "I do not mind a Muslim to become the head of my district". However, after personal contacts with Muslim people the respective results were the following: 72% disagreed with the statement "I think that there are a lot of religious bigots among Muslims", 40% supported the statement "I support classes on Islam religion in our schools" and 51% agreed with the statement "I do not mind a Muslim to become the head of my district".[175] This data proves that personal contacts help against prejudices and stereotypes about Islam and Muslim people, which means that the problem of perception exists in German society. This problem is aggravated by active propaganda of German political party "Alternative for Germany" (AfD), which uses the issue of immigration and problems of integration as

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[170] Viele Anschlagsversuche missglückt [Electronic source] - https://taz.de/Islamistischer-Terror-in-Deutschland/!5368078/ accessed: 06.09.2020

[171] Angriffe gegen Flüchtlinge [Electronic source] - https://mediendienst-integration.de/desintegration/rassismus.html#c1333 accessed: 06.09.2020

[172] Der schwache Staat [Electronic source] - https://www.tagesschau.de/investigativ/swr/rechtsextreme-polizei-justiz-101.html accessed: 06.09.2020

[173] Flucht ins Autoritäre: Rechtsextreme Dynamiken in der Mitte der Gesellschaft [Electronic source] - https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/leipziger_autoritarismus-studie_2018_-_flucht_ins_autoritaere_.pdf#page=104 accessed: 06.09.2020

[174] In Western Europe, familiarity with Muslims is linked to positive views of Muslims and Islam [Electronic source] - https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/07/24/in-western-europe-familiarity-with-muslims-is-linked-to-positive-views-of-muslims-and-islam/ accessed: 06.09.2020

[175] Islam und Muslim*innen in Deutschland: Die Sicht der Bevölkerung Ergebnisse einer bundesweiten Umfrage [Electronic source] - https://www.ekd.de/ekd_de/ds_doc/Islambefragung-SI-EKD-f%C3%BCr%2024-09-18.pdf accessed: 10.09.2020

its central agenda. AfD party has great political momentum in the Eastern lands, which population constitute a great share in social surveys on the problem of immigration. According to AfD reports, 95% of crimes are committed by immigrants, while only 5% make up German criminals. Media researchers claim that AfD distorts the real picture on crimes statistics, thus in 2017 AfD made numerous publications in media about the "epidemic of knives", claiming that refugees tend to commit hundreds of crimes with knives, however national policy agency stated that only 2,8% of registered crimes were committed with the use of knife.[176] One can observe that right forces promote hostility towards immigrants and fuel violence and rejection in the German society. Obviously, following Migration crisis the clash of cultures takes place, and migrants indeed practice influence on German culture, especially on young people. However, with regard to security, in opposition to right populists claiming that immigrants have made Germany less safe, one can posit that the rates of criminality in Germany has not increased since 2015.

Nevertheless, the question of disproportional involvement of refugees in criminal activity takes place, which reasons are discussed above. We see that the influence of immigrants in the sphere of security is mainly exaggerated by wrong perceptions of people about Islam and Muslim people: there is a share of those, who are indoctrinated by the ideas of right forces and another great share constitute those, who simply scare Islam and Middle East culture in general, because of lack of information and personal contacts. Thus, fueling hysteria is accompanied by political and cultural illiteracy of the mass of the indigenous population, although they have lived for decades side by side with Islamic immigrants, but, as a rule, they have no idea how Shiites differ from Sunnis, who alevis are, and etc. Under these conditions the average person is a potential victim. If he is conservative, he is indoctrinated with the idea of an Islamic threat. If he adheres to left-wing multicultural beliefs, it can become easy prey for Islamic missionaries who paint it the perfect picture of Islamic brotherhood. The Federal center for political education carries out considerable "political and educational" work, however, this is not enough. Mosques and cultural associations from time to time declare "open days", however, in recent years, due to the negative image that Islam is beginning to acquire in Europe, interest in attending such events has been decreasing.[177]

Another important aspect, which should not be left without attention is political one. The Muslim diaspora in Germany is not only extremely large, but it is also heterogeneous: ethnically, religiously (different directions of Islam are represented), by social status, and by political views. The dominant part of permanent residents in Germany are Turks, 80% of them are Sunni. In comparison, Muslims from the Arab world are represented much weaker. In addition to Shiites, there are also alevis and Ahmadis. Social and political spectrum is extremely broad: from Islamist Muftis to functionaries of the Kurdistan Workers ' party; from the richest entrepreneurs to impoverished refugees. The Diaspora does not have a single organizational structure that would allow the state to cooperate with it as with whole, but its individual components (organizations, unions)

[176] Studie zeigt: So systematisch schürt die AfD Vorurteile gegen Zuwanderer [Electronic source] - https://www.haz.de/Nachrichten/Politik/Deutschland-Welt/Studie-zeigt-So-systematisch-schuert-die-AfD-Vorurteile-gegen-Zuwanderer accessed: 10.09.2020

[177] S.V. Pogorelskaya, Muslims in Germany: peculiarities of integration, European issues, № 1, 2008, pp. 146-176

are extremely active both in Germany and on the pan-European market level. However, this activity has been shown until recently mostly outside of officiaš German politics. Moreover, Turkish Diaspora has a tradition since the times when the Turkish leadership defended the interests of "guest workers" before the German government, and the "attachment" to Turkish politics is extremely strong. German politicians even sometimes complain that the Turkish state "still feels responsible for the Turks in Germany" and thus makes it difficult for them to integrate into German society. This, of course, does not mean that citizens of the Muslim faith are not represented in German political parties. However, here we are talking mainly about individual political priorities that do not relate to the "Islamic" cause. For example, the second generation - children of Turkish workers, who were born and raised in Germany were no longer satisfied with the minimal role of quiet "hard workers", which had to be performed by their parents throughout their working life, were active in trade unions and joined the SPD. The third generation is the educated young people (teachers, lawyers, doctors) are represented in all political parties. Especially many of them have joined "Green", where some of them they managed to take leadership positions. Turkish deputies are united in the organization "network of deputies of Turkish origin", Federal and European parliaments, regardless of their party affiliation. At the same time, the influence of Turkish-born deputies in the political decision-making process in the life of the Turkish Diaspora is small, they do not want to drive themselves into an "ethnic" corner, preferring to address a wide range of important political issues for the entire society. Cultural and political organizations uniting Muslims living in Germany, even such strong as Turkish-Islamic Union (DITIB), do not have any direct access to German politics, nor its own lobby in German political parties. One can even say that in a political sense, DITIB is closer to official Turkey than to Germany. As for the "Islamic community" that opposes the Turkish authorities "Milli Görüs", tries to alienate itself from official politics, moreover, in Germany it is suspected of sympathizing with radical Islamism and has long been under the supervision of the constitutional protection Service.[178] Since organizations of Muslims living in Germany due to differences on political and religious grounds do not always treat each other well, even if they unite people from the same country, so, the Islamic Diaspora, as already it was noted, does not have a single "parent" organization. There are organizations that claim this role – for example, "Coordinating Council of Muslims in Germany" based in 2007, Council united other two organizations that had previously applied for the leading role– "Islamic Council of Germany" and "Central Council of Muslims in Germany". The "coordinating Council" was created in order to be able to negotiate with the German government on important issues of religious life of the Islamic Diaspora in Germany as a subject of civil law. What is more, coordinating council plays an important role in supporting the process of integration and support for refugees. Thus, in 2015, more than 1100 volunteers from coordinating council, including imams, were assisting refugees in healthcare, accommodation issues, provided families with food. Now, council conducts numerous seminars and created a platform in internet, aimed at

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[178] State Policies and Islam in Europe: Milli Görüş in Germany and the Netherlands [Electronic source] - https://www.researchgate.net/publication/233337433_State_Policies_and_Islam_in_Europe_Milli_Gorus_in_German y_and_the_Netherlands accessed: 10.09.2020

helping and looking after children-refugees and the youth. Moreover, the council circulates German Constitution in Arabic language, make refugees familiar with local culture and tradition in Arabic, which is very important for first steps of integration. 110 mosques have organized clothing shops, Muslim doctors, speaking Arabic, give every medical support for refugee families, also in 150 municipalities Muslim volunteers provide migrants with food and clothes. However, with increasing immigrant flows, council capacities showed their limits, since council conducts all its activities without any financial support from the state.[179]

The "Islamic conference of Germany" was established by the German government in 2006 in order to establish cooperation with Muslim organizations on a permanent basis. The forum was designed as an institution responsible for "the process of negotiations between the German state and representatives of Muslims living in Germany." It is interesting that not only representatives of unions, but also individual intellectuals from different countries were invited to participate in the second phase of the "Islamic conference". The founders of the forum meant by "Muslims living in Germany" not only people who profess Islam and are organized in unions, but also those who came to Germany from Islamic countries, regardless of their faith. The negotiations under the slogan "Muslims in Germany – German Muslims" were conducted in thematic working groups including such topics as secularization or equality of men and women, as well as special - teaching Islam in schools, building mosques, training imams in Germany. This slogan implies the following aims: - involvement of loyal Muslim organizations into cooperation and political and social marginalization of radical branches of Islam: non-participation in Islamic conference of radicalizing organizations impedes the religious life for their members in the framework of their communities; - structural integration of loyal Muslims and provision of their unions with the status of the public law subject. During the work, some unions expressed dissatisfaction with the composition of the "Conference": in their opinion, the representation of individual critics was disproportionately overstated. It can hardly be said that the organizations and unions participating in the "Islamic conference", in the course of its work, carry out any influence on German politics. Rather the impression occurs that German politics is trying to influence them.[180] Another example of participation of migrants in political life of Germany is the emergence of the first political party of Muslim migrants called "Union of renewal and fairness", which advocated migrants interests and maintained their conditions and rights, as well as integration into German society. In 2009 two candidates from this party managed to enter local council of Bonn, however they were active only in questions regarding religion, for example, wearing of traditional Muslim scarf, niqab, in public places. What is more, "The Green" party has appointed as its co-president a German politician of Turkish origin D. Ozdemir. Following this, SPD party introduced special

[179] Flüchtlinge - wie kannst Du helfen? [Electronic source] - http://www.zentralrat.de/fluechtlinge accessed: 10.09.2020

[180] Deutsche Islam Konferenz [Electronic source] - https://www.deutsche-islam-konferenz.de/SiteGlobals/Forms/Suche/Ergebnisse-Empfehlungen-Suche_Formular.html?nn=598094 accessed: 12.09.2020

quotas for people with migrant background, so that in future migrants will make up 15% of the party leadership.

Islam does bring together immigrant flows from Muslim countries according to the religious principle, however it does not "unite" them ethnically, politically, and socially. Islamic community is extremely diverse: Sunni make up two thirds of Muslim community in Germany, but there is also Shia movement, Alevis, Ahmadi, Sufi and radical salafi. Different branches of Islam disagree on fundamental issues of Islam, therefor they cannot coexist in one union. Moreover, it is very hard for Muslims to establish an organization, which would meet all the requirements of a "public law subject". Currently, there is only one organization named Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat in Hamburg, which meets these criteria. This organization has the right to conclude agreements with the government concerning the questions of functioning of its communities, including the rights for religious holidays, rituals. An ordinary German person has the common perception that all Muslims are the same, and the standard is usually not moderate intellectuals, but Islamic bigots, theorists of the "European Caliphate", terrorists, or young people from disadvantaged social background. Thus, there are organizations that maintain inter-religious dialogue and mutual understanding, which are, for example, the "Initiative for Islam and dialogue", the Institute " Risale-i-Nur", the Islamic community "Yaamaat un-Nur". The development of German-speaking Islam is supported by the Islamic community of Germany (Arab Sunnites), established in 1958 in Munich. This community cooperates with the Association of Muslim (Arab) students, whose central office is located in Frankfurt am Main. Since 1992 Turkish alevis, which is a liberal branch that does not recognize the dominance of Sharia) have been united in the Alevi Federation Germany (AABF), which is one of the biggest organizations founded by people with a migratory background in the Federal Republic of Germany and with about 700 000 members one of the biggest religious communities in Germany. One of its missions is creation of spaces for action and discourse serving the goal of a peaceful and tolerant coexistence of people of different faiths, cultural and ethnical background as well as different way of lives, whether it is within the association via training courses or advisory offerings or via our project work. [181] Among the Shia organizations, the most famous is the Islamic center in Hamburg and the "Al-ul-Bayt" Islamic community Council. Islamic Center in Hamburg plays an important role in peaceful promotion of Islamic values and culture in Germany. This center supports mosque of Imam Ali, which sponsors various seminars, libraries and consultations. It also circulates two magazines in German language: "Al-Fadschr" and "Salam Kinder" (for children). Moreover, the Islamic Center organizes exhibitions of Muslim artists and welcomes everyone for "open doors" days in the mosque of Imam Ali, in order to get everyone familiar with Muslim people and their religion.[182] The Germans who converted to Islam also have their own organizations: the German Muslim League in Hamburg and German Muslim League in Bonn, which members are mostly German women married to Muslim migrants. The main goal of this unions is to create a

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[181] Alevi Federation Germany – Togehter for Diversity [Electronic source] - https://alevi.com/en/home/ accessed: 12.09.2020

[182] Islamisches Zentrum Hamburg [Electronic source] - https://izhamburg.com/ accessed: 12.09.2020

society, where Muslim and people of other faith will live side by side in peace and fairness. These organizations are working on establishment of peaceful dialog between Christianity and Islam, organizing various festivals, conferences and exhibitions ("Trinity Festival", "Religion and power" conference), promote women rights among Muslim society (combating honor killings and women mutilation).[183] Moreover, the projects and initiatives of the German Muslim League in Bonn have international recognition: such projects as "the United Religions Initiative", "Christian-Islamic festival" have been rewarded by the EU Commission and the UN Organization.[184]

Therefore, one can conclude that migrants have succeeded in their self-organization in political life of Germany by establishing numerous unions and organizations. Analysis has demonstrated that these organizations play a significant role in bringing together migrants and German society by promoting values of both sides getting familiar with their cultures. Moreover, these unions assist refugees in many ways and help them to adapt in new community by involving them in various activities. However, the life of this organizations totally depends on voluntary donations, which make their activity limited. At the moment it is Turkish community, which presents the most powerful immigrant force in political sphere, while others representatives do not have any influence and voice in German politics.

All in all, one can see that migrants have a considerable influence on German society, both positive and negative. With regard to cultural interaction, Germany willingly accepts foreign food, music and media products, which is successfully embraced by young generation: "Türkisch für Anfänger" (Turkish for Beginners) became the most popular TV show on German television. This series narrates about multinational family, cross-cultural relations, Muslim traditions and how young people from different ethnicities communicate with each other. At the same time, it is Islam that remains a stumbling block in relations between German society and migrants: German society scares stranger religion and has mostly negative perception and prejudice towards Muslim people. Indeed, Migration crisis has brought considerable economic burdens and sparked tensions within the society: increasing conflicts on the basis of race and faith, popularization of nationalistic and radical ideas. The question of terrorism and radicalization remains on the agenda of security issues in Germany, and terrorist groups continue to make efforts for attracting young migrants and smuggling terrorists across the border. However, as it has already been indicated, migrants did not make the country less safe in the sense of physical security of German population. But it is inconsistent integration and constantly increasing number of migrants, who are not able to integrate and embrace European values and lifestyle as fast as German government expects, that can make peaceful coexistence impossible. Thus, in case of Germany, the problem of integration planning arose, as well as drawbacks of migration legislation, which will be discussed in the next part.

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[183] Die Deutsche Muslim Liga e.V [Electronic source] - https://www.muslim-liga.de/ accessed: 12.09.2020

[184] Selbstdarstellung Deutsche Muslim-Liga Bonn e.V. [Electronic source] -http://www.muslimliga.de/selbst/DMLB-Selbstdarstellung_2014.pdf accessed: 12.09.2020

3.3 Analysis of German migration policy.

Nowadays the issue of reform of migration legislation, as well as of the choice of the proper integration strategy is under discussion among all political circles in Germany. Migration crisis has revealed weaknesses of migration legislation, especially in the questions of border control and rights and responsibilities of refugees in Germany. Following the events of 2015-2016 the need for proper integration arose, which required immediate adaptation of newcomers in European society and maintain peace and security within the emerged multicultural and multireligious society. On the one hand, as has been indicated above, one can see tangible results of measures for social adaptation of migrants into German society in various spheres, but still, controversial issues remain much more visible and harmful for future development. Statement, made by Angela Merkel in 2010 about the collapse of the concept of "multiculturalism" is the direct manifestation that integration approach needs to be reconsidered and showed political confusion and uncertainty. Thus, this part will discuss the problems of migration legislation and integration policy in Germany.

Thus, Germany made a number of mistakes in legal immigration regulation, the structural consequences of which were not apparent until decades later. On the wave of the first immigration flows German government failed to create a precise and systematic vision of how it is going to deal with immigrants and what consequences it may bring to the country. This experience has demonstrated that the country, inviting guest workers must determine its interests in relation these categories of people in advance and, if necessary, clearly define conditions and borders of their stay in the country. The training expenses for these workers should be correlated with the duration of their stay, in case this training is not performed in the framework of a charitable policy, but out of the interests of the receiving country. In the case of refugees accepted for humanitarian reasons, as well as in the case of other foreigners temporarily staying on its territory, like students, the country should decide to what extent they can be useful to the country and, therefore, determine their employment status. It should also be clearly established which groups of migrant workers the country intends to provide with permanent residence and according to this, elaborate regulations for effective system of integration of these immigrants. Nevertheless, Germany did not do so, and by the first wave of labor immigrants in 1950s-1960s Germany did not have unified migration legislation and enter and stay of different groups of people were regulated by separate and controversial norms, with the status of the majority of immigrants remained temporary. The lack of regulation of migration legislation led to the situation when the country, which did not officially accept foreigners, became overloaded with a huge number of non-integrated migrants without any benefit for itself. Germany accidently turned into a multicultural country and never implemented the concept of multiculturalism, since its immigration policy was based on the temporary stay of the majority of foreigners in the country. To better understand the general picture, one should determine several factors, which define the weaknesses of migration policy of Germany.

Historical factor.

Until the end of the twentieth century, Germany did not officially declare itself "a country of immigration"; At the legislative level, as it has been mentioned, there were no regulations in the field of migration policy; The German economics could not manage the pressure in some industries and, as a result, depended on foreign specialists, the majority of whom was not highly qualified workers, but general employees.

Domestic political factor

We see that German government has failed to elaborate flexible, detailed and structured migration legislation. Laws that regulate immigration issues are cumbersome and migration policy is inconsistent; migration laws contain mostly general terms and only Integration Plan suggest some detailed measures regarding integration and adaptation. Here the security issue should be mentioned, which implies that by the moment of Migration crisis Germany was not ready to effectively manage the border control and the process of identification of individuals, as well as police and courts activities failed, which led to political, social and security turbulence within the country.

Integration factor

Very low level of migrant integration into German society leads to creation of sustainable isolated and often criminal communities, which do not recognize culture and social norms of German society. What is more, there are no legal instruments to control this communities, which does not allow to detect threats to German society as well as to immediately react on them. In its integration strategy, Germany focuses on labor issues and considers access to German labor market and successful employment as a key factors for complete integration, which puts integration process into constrains of labor legislation.

In order to identify strong and weak sides of German migration legislation, the SWOT Analysis has been conducted, which provides a more structured information.

SWOT-Analysis of migration policy in Germany

Strengths	Weaknesses
o Creates favorable conditions for establishing a tolerant attitude towards every ethnicity; o Elaboration of legislation for integration of migrants into society; o Contributes to the development of equal access to ethnic minorities for labor market, education, healthcare services.	o Ineffective system of control over illegal immigration; o Social dissatisfaction with immigrant flows; o Political division; o Isolation of immigrants from local society;

Opportunities	Threats
o Significant labor resources; o Opportunity for the state to develop any sphere of economics; o Demography	o Abundance of unqualified workforce; o Excess of population on the territory of the country; o Security threat: terrorism, radicalized groups among German and foreign societies; o Demography

It should be explained that "demography" can be considered both as opportunity and threat, since, on the one hand, in the period from 2015 to 2017 the number of marriages between migrants and German people increased, since migrants used it as opportunity for more or less safe and legal life in Germany. This tendency may improve demographic crisis and the problem of ageing population. However, later, when migrant community gained more positions in Germany, they started to isolate and preserve their community. Thus, in 2018 2780 Syrians registered marriages in Germany, with 988 marriages to Syrians partners and 602 marriages to Germans.[185] This, on the other hand, may lead to growing migrant population and increasing dissatisfaction and not acceptance within the society.

With regard to integration policy, one can claim that there is a link between weakly integrated migrant society and security of the society in the sense of social tensions and direct crimes and terrorism. Due to this, several suggestions can be made concerning improvements in integration approach and security issues. Indeed, German government made every effort to involve young migrants into education system and accepted them in German schools and universities, however due to religious or cultural traditions of migrant families, children are often restricted from natural integration into life of German adolescents, while school and university authorities should work with families and stimulate familiarization with European norms. For example, if a Muslim girl is prohibited to attend classes for physical culture or to join a school trip, school should not simply accept it, but explain or even oblige family to participate in the public life. Another example is when a young migrant commits a robbery, the court can not immediately let him free, since there should me a direct connection between crime and punishment. This is more important for immigrants from the Middle East countries, since people there adhere to law and norms in case when the punishment brings the same consequences as the crime.[186] While Germany got used to the situation, when rules are followed even when there is no punishment. German mistake was to believe that migrants will behave as Germans do and accept

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[185] Das haben wir schon geschafft [Electronic source] - https://www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2019-08/migration-fluechtlingspolitik-integration-kosten-fortschritte#ist-die-kriminalitaet-in-deutschland-durch-den-zuzug-der-fluechtlinge-gestiegen accessed: 17.09.2020

[186] Iran cuts off man's fingers for theft [Electronic source] - https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-50179741 accessed: 17.09.2020

and respect all the social norms and regulations of European society. However, it did not happen so and it is time for Germany to refuse for a while from some principles of democratic legal state. It is common knowledge that Germany experiences the moral duty based on the feeling of guilt for the past and aspired to rehabilitate the image and reputation of the nation. However, in this case Germany took not only personal responsibility for immigration flows, but this responsibility appeared to be shared with the whole Europe. As a result, evidence shows that the policy of "welcoming culture" (Willkommenskultur) and "multiculturalism" approach failed and it became clear that integration and adaptation of a huge number of people from different cultural and religious background is not an easy and fast process. Nowadays, German officials actively discuss the ways how to maintain peace and security within the country without denying principles of political liberalism and norms of pattern German democracy. In this case, one can suggest to link the concept of "security state" (Sicherheitsstaat) with the term "monitoring state" (Überwachungsstaat). This means that state needs to undertake sometimes tough measures towards society, in order to guarantee security and peaceful coexistence of multicultural and multireligious society. This approach implies the establishment of institutionalized system of comprehensive state surveillance over the population: introduction of biometric documents, video surveillance in public places, control over the electronic nets (social networks). These measures will be effective for prevention of terrorist attacks on the phase of planning. What is more, creation of a unified base biometric data and fingerprints of all migrants entering and living in the country will significantly intensify the process of identification of migrants, getting in touch with radicalized groups or promoting terroristic ideas. In addition, the use of federal military or creation of separate armed forces in addition to police can also be considered as an effective instrument in combating terrorism. These measures obviously will require legal basis in existing laws and elaboration of new regulations. At the moment, legal transformation will not bring any effective changes to the current situation, since only real measures are needed to be taken. Thus, Germany needs to impose a temporary restriction on entry into the country for refugees and general workers migrants and concentrate the whole attention to the management of already living group of migrants. Labor migration can be continued only in case of high qualified specialists. What is more, with regard to entry into Germany, the program for family reunification should be halted for refugees, who do not meet necessary requirement set forth in the Law on immigration of 2005. This is needed for the unloading of the German labor market, since people reuniting with their families present an increasing burden for labor market and states budget, due to allocation of social benefits. Another important issue is marriages among migrant society. As has already been indicated above, migrant families tend to marry off young girls to men from their home countries, as a result a vicious circle appears, since foreign spouses acquire visas or residence permit, then the program for family reunification comes into power and a huge family arrives to join a new family. Thus, German government can temporarily reject people from the third countries, who get married to migrants already living in Germany from visas or residence permit. So that those willing to bring a bride or a groom from their country will have to return to their homeland to create a family.

Another point to consider is interaction of German population with migrant society and measures for building stability and mutual understanding. One should pay attention at the fact, that migrant relations with the German state and local population were sometimes reduced only to communicating with officials of migration services and receiving social support benefits. Due to this, a number of unions and organizations were established by people with migration background, in order to support each other and keep their traditions. These organizations are usually based around Islam, which is the most powerful uniting force for migrants and deal with religious customs and education. However, as has been discussed above, Muslim unions and organizations play an important role in bringing German and migrants societies together. In addition, organizations give any assistance to refugees and help them to get familiar with European culture. In this case, it can be beneficial for German authorities to provide these organizations with financial support, since, on the one hand, the state will acquire a network of effective instruments that will work with migrants and help them to adapt to new conditions as well as get German population familiar with Islam and make them less scare of foreign culture. On the other hand, through financial assistance to these unions German government can oversee their activities and react faster in case of suspicious movements towards radicalization. Moreover, these organizations need to have legal status and be regularly observed by special institutions, which can be achieved by cooperation with them and recognizing these unions, like in the case with Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat. Another topic of discord between Muslim society and German authorities is inclusion of Islam studies in the school program. Due to absence of Islam studies in schools, migrants' children attended Quranic schools in mosques, where classes were conducted by Mufti invited from Muslim countries or political refugees. Among teachers appeared radicalized Islamists like Cemalettin Kaplan, known as "Khomeini from Cologne".[187] Moreover, after 2010 Salafism studies started to gain power in Germany and were declared a potential terroristic movement. Radical Islamist movements always look for young followers and indoctrinate the youth with their ideas, which is quite easy to do in independent schools in mosques. In this case, one can suggest to establish Islam studies as a mandatory class in schools, where children will study not only religion and Quran, but also history of Islam. This will be useful both for German pupils, who will be able to learn more about another religion and its history, and for Muslim children, who will be taught by tested and credible professors without any risk of being indoctrinated by wrong and dangerous ideas. This will reduce chances for terrorist groups and radical Islamists to expand their networks throughout the country and conduct their activities. It is vital for Germany to establish a sustainable dialogue with the whole Muslim community, thus, there is no a separate entity that would act on behalf of all Muslims in Germany. However, if the work of the Islamic conference expands and more Muslim organizations participate and put forward their suggestions and interests, it will be easier for German government to find out the problems and claims of Muslim community.

In the questions of integration Germany put an emphasis on state politics and institutions, however real integration can be achieved only through personal interaction with local population, work of organizations,

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[187] Eine verstaubte Geschichte? [Electronic source] - https://www.kas.de/de/web/islamismus/der-kalifatsstaat accessed: 17.09.2020

which promote political and social interests of migrants, rather than decisions of the government. Due to this, the focus on inclusion of migrants in labor market and development of labor legislation does not enough for successful integration. Even these efforts are not quite effective, since the level of migrant employment is still low – by 2019 only 28% of migrants were involved in German labor market.[188] This happens due to the following reasons:

- Lack of working places;
- Tendency to engage immigrants on jobs, which are rejected by German workers due to hardships and low payments;
- Need to maintain proportion; which is the most controversial issue, since in case when the share of immigrants exceeds the number of local workers in labor collective, integration processes not only terminates, but require a reversed vector.

In this regard, Germany overestimated the capacity of its labor market. Now, there is a tendency for automatization in every industry and robotics technologies more and more interchange human forces. Due to this, uneducated and in most cases illiterate migrants have little chances to be employed, which leads to emergence of criminal groups and illegal trade as a source for living. In this case, Germany has to focus on migrant education beginning from elementary school. It is common knowledge that in many cases migrants are reluctant to study or send their children to German schools. Therefore, a state program should be introduced, which will stimulate migrants, who will attend schools and colleges and show particular results. This stimulation should be in financial form and after graduation in school, those who pass exams and demonstrate a high level of German language can be accepted in universities on a cost-free basis. What is more, it is kindergartens where children of migrant origin have an opportunity to embrace German language as early as possible, however there is the tendency that the majority of migrant mothers are unemployed and, as a result, decide not to send their children to kindergarten, but to take care of them at home. According the survey conducted by the Federal government's commissioner for migrants, whereas for German children there is no clear correlation between kindergarten attendance and further school success, this observation does not hold in the case of non-German children. Of those foreign children who had attended kindergarten 51.4% succeeded in entering intermediate or higher secondary school tracks. In contrast, only 21.3% of the children who had not attended kindergarten reached the same school level. In a multivariate analysis the positive effect on the school career of kindergarten attendance is confirmed for foreign but not for German children.[189] Thus, migrant families should be stimulated to send their children to kindergartens and, what is more important, they

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[188] Wie läuft die Integration auf dem Arbeitsmarkt? [Electronic source] - https://www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2019-08/migration-fluechtlingspolitik-integration-kosten-fortschritte#ist-die-kriminalitaet-in-deutschland-durch-den-zuzug-der-fluechtlinge-gestiegen accessed: 17.09.2020

[189] Söhn J., Özcan V. The educational attainment of Turkish migrants in Germany, 2006, Turkish Studies, №. 1, p. 105

should be explained about the benefits their children will get by learning German and socializing in German society.

Indeed, it will become a burden for the state budget, but it may be an effective contribution into increasing the level of education of migrants, who are already a part of Germany and it is now the interest of the country to oblige this group of population to get education and properly socialize.

Thus, in order to achieve successful integration, the work on civil society should be carried on and numerous fears, stereotypes and prejudices are to be eradicated in German perception of migrants, Islam and foreign culture, as well as huge work on forcing migrant society to accept and respect local system. Indeed, elaboration of the National integration plan became a significant step made by German government, however language courses are not enough for migrants to become a part of European society. Now, it is German duty to integrate Muslim community and Islam. It should be understood that even if in recent times Muslim diasporas were the subject to German state influence and regulation, now, they have developed their own integration claims. Thus, it has been analyzed that Germany needs to divert its integration policy towards deeper interaction with society and pay special attention to religious factor, which is the corner stone of building mutual understanding.

COVID-19 pandemic, which erupted in December 2019 in China, has brought considerable transformations in world economy, trade and movement of people. In this regard, pandemic in some way has helped Europe and Germany, in particular, with management of migration flows. In combating the spreading coronavirus infection the European Union has taken unprecedented measures: entry into the EU zone was prohibited for non-EU residents; any public events were banned; going outside was allowed only in case of emergency. Coronovirus became an effective argument for closing borders, however this is a temporary measure and after the pandemic will be defeated Germany will have decide on what way to follow in migration policy. Europe will have to choose between paying for keeping migrants and spending these finances for defence of southern boarders. Thus, it would be a wise step from Germany to impose temporary harsh restrictions on immigration as it did for prevention of infection. Of course, there is no comparison between refugee flows and COVID-19, however these both phenomena, if not to override take them under control, have terrible and devastating consequences for German economy and society. Now, one can see that Germany does not intend to help Greece to manage huge flows of migrants on its borders. At the moment the future strategy of Germany is inconsistent and unclear, the position of SPD party sounds like this: "We need to rescue as many children as possible without fueling another immigrant flow".[190] Germany as well as Austria are reluctant to throw their forces to Turkish-Greek borders and refrain from the situation. Because of pandemic, the whole Europe should reconsider its immigration policy and turn its attention towards existing migrant society, rather than welcoming more immigration flows. An important factor is that, now, on the wave of another migration crisis

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[190] United in name only [Electronic source] - https://rg.ru/2020/03/05/novyj-migracionnyj-krizis-mozhet-dobit-edinuiu-evropu.html accessed: 20.09.2020

coming Europe needs to consolidate its efforts and act as a single entity in the fight with humanitarian and economic catastrophe.

By the moment it is hard to make any forecasts considering the migration situation in Europe. The only fact is clear is that real decisive measures are need to be taken rather than reforming of the legislation. Germany has underestimated the volumes of migration flows that will head to the country and failed to elaborate an effective integration strategy. Now, if Germany continues the policy of open doors and welcomes another flows if migrants, it will lead to uncontrolled division of society and harsh economic crisis. German state will not be able to deal with another mount of migrants without finishing integration of the first wave of newcomers, otherwise, new migrants will become another burden for German economy and German society as tax payers will rebel against this unfairness towards them and their fears and hatred will come out. Moreover, German society can appear on the brink of extinction and German culture and religion will be totally absorbed by Muslim world. This is a rather negative scenario, however if Germany do undertake concrete measures and Europe will act as a single organism, one will see positive course of events.

Conclusion

Today immigration is one of the essential components of the globalizing world. Since the processes of globalization have already been launched, migration flows are gaining more and more significance in the past two centuries. Some countries have the role of donors of immigration, while other countries accept the flows of people who are looking for a new place to stay. The countries sending the largest flows of immigrants are often characterized by poverty, insecure regions, high birth rates and political crises. Therefore, for various reasons, people leave for more developed countries with a favorable "climate". As a result, host countries face a number of challenges that require careful analysis and solutions.

The author achieved the set tasks and goals and conducted a profound analysis to prove the declared hypothesis about the interdependence between the immigration flows and the security of the European Union on the example of Germany.

Thus, the first chapter discussed the theories of migration and analyzed the roots of Migration crisis 2014-2016. The author pointed out a number of factors resulted in a largescale humanitarian disaster with long-lasting consequences for the European continent as well as for the whole international community:

- The demographic growth in the countries of Africa and the Middle East. By 2010 African population reached 1 billion people with the growth rate of 2,5%. The great share of young people in the population in Africa and the Middle East, with young people in the Arab world being enough educated. Arab countries in Northern Africa and countries of the Middle East provide proper education opportunities, while one cannot use these opportunities further in labor marker, due to high rate of unemployment and absence of any social lift and youth mobility, which pushes this category of population to move to more developed states and look for more favorable conditions.

- Arab revolts in 2011 and consequences. "Arab spring" escalated already unstable and turbulent political and economic situation in the Middle and set in motion the whole Arab world. Unemployment among the young population was extremely high due to the low level of economic development and infrastructural backwardness. Corruption, the lack of decent earnings caused acute discontent, which resulted in a desire to reform or overthrow unfavorable regimes. Demography and the complex ethno-confessional structure of the population of Syria and Iraq played a large role in the conflicts that arose on the territory of these countries. From the middle of the 20th century dramatic transformations in the population structure have occurred in the Arab countries of Asia. The population of the region has grown from 20.2 million people (1950) to 152.5 million people (2015).[191] The overthrow of the dictatorship and transition to a new form of government worsened the situation and allowed powerful terrorist groups to increase their influence and spread to other countries.

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[191] M. M. Agafoshin, Migration factors of the population from Arab countries to the EU, 2017, Natural science, №2. p. 61-64.

- <u>Syrian conflict</u>. Following the uprisings in neighboring countries in the Middle East, the political crisis reached the Syrian Arab Republic and consequently turned into a largescale military conflict of international significance. The discontent of citizens was caused by the affiliation of Bashar al-Assad and his officials, who hold leading positions in the state, to the Alawite religious movement, and the main condition of the opposition was the immediate departure of Bashar al-Assad from the post of President. By summer 2015, the Islamic state terrorist group has captured more than half of the territory of Syria, conducting on the occupied territories numerous executions. The civil war in Syria made thousands of people migrate to the European Union, which led to new unrest in Europe.

- <u>The politics of the US in the Middle East</u>. Not always sagacious politics of the US and its interference into domestic matters of Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria has brought these countries to the brink of survival. By invading Iraq and trying take the role of "global watchdog", the United States triggered the growth of radical Islamist sentiment among citizens and activated potential followers of Jihad. At this point, National Security Strategy of the US 2010 paid a special attention to the role of the US in fight against international terrorism, stabilization of situation in the Middle East and resolving of global economic problems. Therefore, the Obama doctrine stated that there was no other country except for the US that would better suit for the implementation of global leadership in the era of globalization. The politics of the US and other world industrial powers prevented the group of Arab states to naturally shift to new forms of governance with account of national subtleties, which created a "destabilizing effect" resulted in the devastating revolts and further to humanitarian disaster.[192]

The Migration crisis became a new turning point in the history of the EU and required at immediate effective answer from member states. With regard to the issue of illegal migration, the author has highlighted the following statements:

- Originally migration flows in the framework of the Migration crisis were forced, caused by particular events.

- The European Union voluntarily started to accept huge flows of refugees and it was the problems of migrant distribution and guaranteeing their rights and freedoms that were on the agenda for the EU during the migration crisis and further, rather than the problem of illegal migration and its curbing.

- Migration crisis as an event should not be considered as a crisis of illegal migration, but the crisis of migration policy and regulation of the EU. During Migration crisis the EU member states were concerned about how to agree on a common approach and persuade each other in the need for acceptance and distribution of refugees, while only after migration population started to continuously

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[192] T.A. Shakleina, Evolution of the US global strategy (2001-2011), №3 2011, International relations and world politics, p. 50-55

grow, with dissatisfaction of local population increasing on the territory of European states, the consequences of Migration crisis appeared tangible and the problem of real migration regulation arose.

- The EU has gathered all the types of illegal migration within its borders. This became the result of earlier stimulation by the EU of labor migration and open- door policy during the Migration crisis. In the first case, labor migrants stayed in the host countries after their job expired and brought their families, which resulted into a surge of illegal employment of migrants; in the second case, the example of a successful acceptance of refugees, fleeing from wars and desperate conditions, huge flows of migrants also headed to developed Europe and by deceiving the authorities started to cross European borders in search of better conditions.

The second chapter discovered the effectiveness of migration management of the EU in the framework of the Migration crisis as well as found out the implications for the security of the European Union.

The author examined the general migration image of Europe by regions and considered the models of immigration policies and national determinants of their migration strategies. Therefore, the analysis of Scandinavian, British, German, French, Spanish and Eastern European models allowed to come to the conclusion that each model of migration approach varies from country to country and depends on national interests, historical background, political culture and level of involvement into globalization processes. Each European region has its own vision of immigration and own approach toward its regulation. Thus, since the late 20th century Europe saw foreign migrants exclusively as an instrument to improve existing economic problems, usually in labor market, and therefore did not intend to somehow include foreign societies into their countries, as in the cases of Great Britain and Germany. The popularizing multiculturalism made European migration policies weak in the face of growing tensions and wars in the third countries, which sparked huge migration movements to the West. European states did not have a clear understanding and future perspective of multiculturalism, claiming that its aim is a peaceful coexistence of different cultures and religions and comprehensive tolerance and respect. However, those EU countries who stepped on this multicultural path, did not bother about the ways to reach this goal and guarantee peace and security both for local population and migrants (Sweden, Great Britain, Germany and France). At the same time, there are European states that have put the interests of their nations and domestic economy before EU policy (Italy, Denmark, Spain and CEE countries) and started to conduct strict immigration policy and adequately answer their economic interests, while others, like Germany, decided to place a bet on quantity rather than quality. It is also very important to mention that European countries receive different migrants, it means not the type of migration (economic, labor etc.) but in this case we talk about cultural and ethnic dimension of migration. Thus, in the case with France and Great Britain it is the historical background that explains that migrants from the former colonies are likely to arrive to former metropolis (from North Africa to France; from South Africa and Asia to Great Britain). On the one hand this tendency makes integration of migrants a little bit easier due to the legacy of political systems and language, however the factors of religion and cultural diversity play a significant role in division of the society and creation dissatisfaction among the local population as in case

with France. The case of Eastern European countries demonstrated the situation when countries have taken a firm stand against acceptance of any strange culture and migrants with different religion, while concentrated on post-Soviet space migrants, who are close to CEE states history and culture. What is more, the tendency has been detected, that European populations have a different voices and influence on migration policy of the countries. Thus, despite the bright dissatisfaction and frustration of French society, government continued its "open door" policy and started to somehow reform it only when it came to presidential elections. While in Italy people discontent has led to the change of government.

These all factors indicate to the reasons of division and contradictions within the EU with regard to migration policy.

The consideration of the EU answer to Migration crisis demonstrated that the majority of measures and efforts taken by the EU since the time when Migration crisis broke out was directed at adoption of various laws, conventions and strategies as well as establishment of numerous agencies, which did not perform any decisive and effective measures. Operations conducted by FRONTEX could bring more tangible results if more harsh steps were undertaken towards migrant detention and expulsion. However, all European agencies act exclusively in accordance with fundamental rights and freedoms and must guarantee security and care of refugees, who sometimes in response to approaching border vessels open fire from guns and disappear. Indeed, one can claim that the mistake of the EU was to rely on existing migration legislation at the moment then migration crisis started, since these laws were adopted under the different conditions and cannot adequately provide response to the current situation. What European Union had to do, is to give an immediate reaction by concrete unified actions rather than building new legislation and inventing numerous strategies declaring aims and principles. Thus, it is slow decision-making process and discord in actions of the EU member states which prevented the Union from protection of its borders and curb the situation. The example with the Schengen area, when European countries did not immediately close their borders led to the phenomenon of "asylum shopping", when migrants, having no barriers in movement across the EU, choose a country with more attractive reception conditions and social support and aspire to apply for an asylum there. Of course, there is Eurodac system of identification and Dublin regulation, however, refugees are inventive and burn their fingers or damage them in a way that they cannot be identified by registration centers.

Indeed, the European Union has initiated a lot of measures to combat illegal migration, however the main obstacle for their effective implementation is division within the EU and discord in migration policies. Thus, the Migration crisis created dilemma: to prioritize internal security and national interests or provide international protection for refugees and protect fundamental rights. As a result, the migration crisis has caused an escalation of contradictions between the "old " EU States and those that joined in 2004-2007 CEE countries, especially the Visegrad group, which strongly oppose the basic principles of EU immigration policy. Thus, the migration crisis has led not only to economic and social troubles, but also to a crisis of solidarity in the European Union.

Thus, the crisis has revealed the vulnerability of the EU's external borders, the lack of a unified approach to migration problem, weaknesses of the Schengen system. The crisis and increasing challenge of illegal migration has a huge political implication as well as economic and cultural. In this case, in the context of European Union one can conclude that Migration crisis and the threat of increasing flows of illegal migration should be considered not as threat of direct security of European society in the sense of terrorism and crime, but the most important threat migration issues pose to the security of the EU as an organization and its institutions. This directly entails the transformation of interstate relations within the Union and changing public mood in the countries. Generally speaking, the unmanaged migration issue threatens the stability and integrity of the whole European Union. At the moment, it is early to speak about the end of the Migration crisis and one can expect a new wave of illegal migration flows.

The third chapter discussed the case of Germany and examined the influence of immigration on German society in economic, cultural and social dimensions. Also, in this chapter the authors defined the weaknesses of German migration policy and gave suggestions on measures for migration regulation in the current situation. Thus, Germany made a number of mistakes in legal immigration regulation, the structural consequences of which were not apparent until decades later. On the wave of the first immigration flows German government failed to create a precise and systematic vision of how it is going to deal with immigrants and what consequences it may bring to the country. This experience has demonstrated that the country, inviting guest workers must determine its interests in relation to these categories of people in advance and, if necessary, clearly define conditions and borders of their stay in the country. Nevertheless, Germany did not do so, and by the first wave of labor immigrants in 1950s-1960s Germany did not have unified migration legislation and enter and stay of different groups of people were regulated by separate and controversial norms, with the status of the majority of immigrants remained temporary. The lack of regulation of migration legislation led to the situation when the country, which did not officially accept foreigners, became overloaded with a huge number of non-integrated migrants without any benefit for itself. Germany accidently turned into a multicultural country and never implemented the concept of multiculturalism, since its immigration policy was based on the temporary stay of the majority of foreigners in the country.

Indeed, immigration society presents a considerable burden for the German economy, since integration programs, social benefits for migrants as well as creation and keeping of refugee camps require considerable financial allocations from the budget. With regard to cultural dimension, young German population quite successfully embraces foreign culture, however amid growing immigration population, concerns about the future preservation of German identity take place in the scientific and political circles. At the moment, analysis demonstrates that migrants have not made Germany a less safe country, however one can observe the political and social division and rise of clashes on the ground of racial and religious discrimination. Considering the issue of security there is a link between weakly integrated migrant society and security of the local population in the sense of social tensions and direct crimes and terrorism. Thus, in order to achieve successful integration, the work on civil society should be carried on and numerous fears, stereotypes and prejudices are to be

eradicated in German perception of migrants, Islam and foreign culture, as well as huge work on forcing migrant society to accept and respect local system. Indeed, elaboration of the National integration plan became a significant step made by German government, however language courses are not enough for migrants to become a part of European society. Now, it is German duty to integrate Muslim community and Islam. It should be understood that even if in recent times Muslim diasporas were the subject to German state influence and regulation, now, they have developed their own integration claims. Thus, it has been analyzed that Germany needs to divert its integration policy towards deeper interaction with society and pay special attention to religious factor, which is the corner stone of building mutual understanding.

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Summary

Introduction

Nowadays, the international community is developing in the globalizing world and it is migration processes that are integral part of globalization caused by uneven development of particular region of the globe. In the modern conditions more and more states involve in migration processes and there are practically no countries, which have never been touched by migration problems and its consequences. State integrations and cooperation in various fields and spheres are being created that contribute to the partial elimination of generally accepted state borders. The movement of individuals becomes more accessible and effortless within such unions. In addition, differences in economic, social and political development act as pushing factors for individuals from third countries to leave their homelands for more developed countries. This sparks migration flows, which have acquired a global character and an incommensurable number. Research in the field of migration is quite controversial, in terms of the impact of immigrants on host countries. In recent decades, the role of international migration in shaping the population of most European countries has increased in times. Amid the growth of migration activity one can suggest the beginning of the second Great migration of peoples, changing the socio-cultural image of Europe. Governments around the world are quite sympathetic to circulation of goods and capital, however they are more concerned with regard to the movement of people. Drastic restrictions on access to European labor markets for third-country populations, which began in the 70s of the last century, gave rise to the phenomenon of illegal immigration, which at the beginning of the 21st century took the most dangerous and comprehensive form.

The topic of this paper is just about the migration situation in the European Union and the reaction of EU members states on Migration crisis 2014-2015 as well as impact of migration flows on the European security. In particular, this work deals with the effectiveness of migration regulation policy of the EU and analyzes the interdependence between migration inflows and security of the country on the example of Germany as a country, which accepted the greatest number of immigrants in the framework of Migration crisis. The increasing scale of migration processes dictates the need to study migration policy and its implications not only at the moment of migrant arrival on the territory of a receiving state, but also with the prospect of the majority of immigrants will not leave this territory. This causes the **relevance** of the further research, since, nowadays, knowledge about migration processes are incomplete and the research works in this very sphere are rather controversial. Moreover, growing immigration flows in Europe and weak legal basis for management of migration movements requires a profound analysis of the challenges and opportunities of European countries with regard to migration regulation. Migration situation in Germany has been chosen as a case study due to the fact that Germany in recent decades act as a sole representative of the European Union and is one the main economic drivers in the EU. Therefore, economic and social impact brought by immigrants may turn crucial for the whole Union and entail destructive consequences.

The **timeline** considered in this research covers the period after the World War II up until the present time. This chronology helps to analyze the development of European, in particular, German migration policy since the beginning of major immigration flows and the evolution of its approach toward immigrant population. Moreover, consideration of this period helps to detect the moment when migration acquired a threatening character. Due to this, the author indicates the **aims** of the research:

- Analyze the migration situation in the European Union;
- Evaluate the effectiveness of migration management of the EU: define main challenges and implications of the Migration crisis;
- Analyze the influence of migration society on the European society on the example of Germany and detect its impact on the security of the country (not only with regard to criminal activity, but also economic, cultural and social);
- Suggest possible measures for migration management in the case of Germany;

To accomplish these goals one needs to consider the list of **tasks** to give an objective assessment:

- Define and explain the main roots of Migration crisis in the European Union 2014-2016;
- Analyze the legal base of immigration regulation in the EU and main approaches of EU member states;
- Consider dynamics and examine statistics of migration flows in Europe;
- Define integration policy of migrants in Germany;

The author defines the European Union and Germany as the **research object** of this work, while the **research subject** is the interdependence of immigration flows and security of Germany.

This research is conducted prove the hypothesis about the existence of interdependence between the growing number of immigrants and security of German society.

In order to achieve the set tasks and goals, one needs to use methods of analysis of various researches and legal acts as well as to apply statistical analysis of data on European Union and Germany in particular.

Conducting research the author referred to a number of **sources**. Special attention was paid to the official documents and statistical reports of the European Union and Germany: Eurostat data, reports of the European Commission and the EU agencies, analytical reports prepared by BAMF and Federal government of Germany, which provided a practical image of the considered situation. The roots of migration inflows and the preconditions of the Migration crisis are highlighted in works of such authors as: Francesca Maria Corrao, M. Vestfrid, M.M. Agafoshin, T.A. Shakleina.

The problems of migration regulation in the European Union and security challenges are considered by: O.U. Potemkina, N. Kudeyarova, S.U. Kashkina.

S. Pogorelskaya, G. Steinmann, R. E. Ulrich, Söhn J., Özcan V. analyze the problem of immigration society in Germany and German migration policy. In this research the author deals with both theoretical and practical

sources, which allowed to conduct a profound analysis of reasons, problems and implications of migration inflows in Europe.

Working on the dissertation the authors used several scientific methods. Historical method allowed to consider the roots and the dynamics of immigration movements to Europe and, in particular, Germany. Then, important role plays the statistical method of analysis, as it provides more precise picture and allows to trace the evolution of migration movements as well as to assess the effectiveness of measures on immigration control. In addition, the forecasting method was used, that allowed to suggest further course of events as well as make suggestions on possible measures for integration and regulation of migrations flows in the case of Germany.

For more detailed consideration of the set tasks, the author has divided the main part in three chapters:

- The first chapter covers main theories and concepts of migration and defines the roots of Migration crisis 2014-2016. This part discusses the situation in Africa and the Middle East and analyses the preconditions for migration boost to Europe in 2014. Moreover, this chapter points out the characteristics of the Migration crisis.

- The second chapter is more practical, where the author discusses the general migration situation in the EU across regions and analyses the EU answer to the Migration crisis. This chapter also considers the challenges and effectiveness of migration management and the implications of Migration crisis for the European Union.

- The third chapter is devoted to the particular consideration of the case of Germany. It deals with the history of migration flows to Germany and examines the legal framework of migration regulation in Germany. This chapter also highlights the influence and position of immigration population in Germany as well as the problems of its integration. This part provides suggestions and forecasts with regard to migration situation in the country.

Today immigration is one of the essential components of the globalizing world. Since the processes of globalization have already been launched, migration flows are gaining more and more significance in the past two centuries. Some countries have the role of donors of immigration, while other countries accept the flows of people who are looking for a new place to stay. The countries sending the largest flows of immigrants are often characterized by poverty, insecure regions, high birth rates and political crises. Therefore, for various reasons, people leave for more developed countries with a favorable "climate". As a result, host countries face a number of challenges that require careful analysis and solutions.

The author achieved the set tasks and goals and conducted a profound analysis to prove the declared hypothesis about the interdependence between the immigration flows and the security of the European Union on the example of Germany.

<div align="center">**Main part**</div>

Thus, **the first chapter** discussed the theories of migration and analyzed the roots of Migration crisis 2014-2016. The author pointed out a number of factors resulted in a largescale humanitarian disaster with long-lasting consequences for the European continent as well as for the whole international community:

- The demographic growth in the countries of Africa and the Middle East. By 2010 African population reached 1 billion people with the growth rate of 2,5%. The great share of young people in the population in Africa and the Middle East, with young people in the Arab world being enough educated. Arab countries in Northern Africa and countries of the Middle East provide proper education opportunities, while one cannot use these opportunities further in labor marker, due to high rate of unemployment and absence of any social lift and youth mobility, which pushes this category of population to move to more developed states and look for more favorable conditions.

- Arab revolts in 2011 and consequences. "Arab spring" escalated already unstable and turbulent political and economic situation in the Middle and set in motion the whole Arab world. Unemployment among the young population was extremely high due to the low level of economic development and infrastructural backwardness. Corruption, the lack of decent earnings caused acute discontent, which resulted in a desire to reform or overthrow unfavorable regimes. Demography and the complex ethno-confessional structure of the population of Syria and Iraq played a large role in the conflicts that arose on the territory of these countries. From the middle of the 20th century dramatic transformations in the population structure have occurred in the Arab countries of Asia. The population of the region has grown from 20.2 million people (1950) to 152.5 million people (2015). The overthrow of the dictatorship and transition to a new form of government worsened the situation and allowed powerful terrorist groups to increase their influence and spread to other countries.

- Syrian conflict. Following the uprisings in neighboring countries in the Middle East, the political crisis reached the Syrian Arab Republic and consequently turned into a largescale military conflict of international significance. The discontent of citizens was caused by the affiliation of Bashar al-Assad and his officials, who hold leading positions in the state, to the Alawite religious movement, and the main condition of the opposition was the immediate departure of Bashar al-Assad from the post of President. By summer 2015, the Islamic state terrorist group has captured more than half of the territory of Syria, conducting on the occupied territories numerous executions. The civil war in Syria made thousands of people migrate to the European Union, which led to new unrest in Europe.

- The politics of the US in the Middle East. Not always sagacious politics of the US and its interference into domestic matters of Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria has brought these countries to the brink of survival. By invading Iraq and trying take the role of "global watchdog", the United States triggered the growth of radical Islamist sentiment among citizens and activated potential followers of Jihad. At this point, National Security Strategy of the US 2010 paid a special attention to the role of the US in

fight against international terrorism, stabilization of situation in the Middle East and resolving of global economic problems. Therefore, the Obama doctrine stated that there was no other country except for the US that would better suit for the implementation of global leadership in the era of globalization. The politics of the US and other world industrial powers prevented the group of Arab states to naturally shift to new forms of governance with account of national subtleties, which created a "destabilizing effect" resulted in the devastating revolts and further to humanitarian disaster.

The Migration crisis became a new turning point in the history of the EU and required at immediate effective answer from member states. With regard to the issue of illegal migration, the author has highlighted the following statements:

- Originally migration flows in the framework of the Migration crisis were forced, caused by particular events.
- The European Union voluntarily started to accept huge flows of refugees and it was the problems of migrant distribution and guaranteeing their rights and freedoms that were on the agenda for the EU during the migration crisis and further, rather than the problem of illegal migration and its curbing.
- Migration crisis as an event should not be considered as a crisis of illegal migration, but the crisis of migration policy and regulation of the EU. During Migration crisis the EU member states were concerned about how to agree on a common approach and persuade each other in the need for acceptance and distribution of refugees, while only after migration population started to continuously grow, with dissatisfaction of local population increasing on the territory of European states, the consequences of Migration crisis appeared tangible and the problem of real migration regulation arose.
- The EU has gathered all the types of illegal migration within its borders. This became the result of earlier stimulation by the EU of labor migration and open- door policy during the Migration crisis. In the first case, labor migrants stayed in the host countries after their job expired and brought their families, which resulted into a surge of illegal employment of migrants; in the second case, the example of a successful acceptance of refugees, fleeing from wars and desperate conditions, huge flows of migrants also headed to developed Europe and by deceiving the authorities started to cross European borders in search of better conditions.

The second chapter discovered the effectiveness of migration management of the EU in the framework of the Migration crisis as well as found out the implications for the security of the European Union.

The author examined the general migration image of Europe by regions and considered the models of immigration policies and national determinants of their migration strategies. Therefore, the analysis of Scandinavian, British, German, French, Spanish and Eastern European models allowed to come to the conclusion that each model of migration approach varies from country to country and depends on national interests, historical background, political culture and level of involvement into globalization processes. Each

European region has its own vision of immigration and own approach toward its regulation. Thus, since the late 20th century Europe saw foreign migrants exclusively as an instrument to improve existing economic problems, usually in labor market, and therefore did not intend to somehow include foreign societies into their countries, as in the cases of Great Britain and Germany. The popularizing multiculturalism made European migration policies weak in the face of growing tensions and wars in the third countries, which sparked huge migration movements to the West. European states did not have a clear understanding and future perspective of multiculturalism, claiming that its aim is a peaceful coexistence of different cultures and religions and comprehensive tolerance and respect. However, those EU countries who stepped on this multicultural path, did not bother about the ways to reach this goal and guarantee peace and security both for local population and migrants (Sweden, Great Britain, Germany and France). At the same time, there are European states that have put the interests of their nations and domestic economy before EU policy (Italy, Denmark, Spain and CEE countries) and started to conduct strict immigration policy and adequately answer their economic interests, while others, like Germany, decided to place a bet on quantity rather than quality. It is also very important to mention that European countries receive different migrants, it means not the type of migration (economic, labor etc.) but in this case we talk about cultural and ethnic dimension of migration. Thus, in the case with France and Great Britain it is the historical background that explains that migrants from the former colonies are likely to arrive to former metropolis (from North Africa to France; from South Africa and Asia to Great Britain). On the one hand this tendency makes integration of migrants a little bit easier due to the legacy of political systems and language, however the factors of religion and cultural diversity play a significant role in division of the society and creation dissatisfaction among the local population as in case with France. The case of Eastern European countries demonstrated the situation when countries have taken a firm stand against acceptance of any strange culture and migrants with different religion, while concentrated on post-Soviet space migrants, who are close to CEE states history and culture.

What is more, the tendency has been detected, that European populations have a different voices and influence on migration policy of the countries. Thus, despite the bright dissatisfaction and frustration of French society, government continued its "open door" policy and started to somehow reform it only when it came to presidential elections. While in Italy people discontent has led to the change of government.

The consideration of the EU answer to Migration crisis demonstrated that the majority of measures and efforts taken by the EU since the time when Migration crisis broke out was directed at adoption of various laws, conventions and strategies as well as establishment of numerous agencies, which did not perform any decisive and effective measures. Operations conducted by FRONTEX could bring more tangible results if more harsh steps were undertaken towards migrant detention and expulsion. However, all European agencies act exclusively in accordance with fundamental rights and freedoms and must guarantee security and care of refugees, who sometimes in response to approaching border vessels open fire from guns and disappear. Indeed, one can claim that the mistake of the EU was to rely on existing migration legislation at the moment then migration crisis started, since these laws were adopted under the different conditions and cannot adequately

provide response to the current situation. What European Union had to do, is to give an immediate reaction by concrete unified actions rather than building new legislation and inventing numerous strategies declaring aims and principles. Thus, it is slow decision-making process and discord in actions of the EU member states which prevented the Union from protection of its borders and curb the situation. The example with the Schengen area, when European countries did not immediately close their borders led to the phenomenon of "asylum shopping", when migrants, having no barriers in movement across the EU, choose a country with more attractive reception conditions and social support and aspire to apply for an asylum there. Of course, there is Eurodac system of identification and Dublin regulation, however, refugees are inventive and burn their fingers or damage them in a way that they cannot be identified by registration centers.

Indeed, the European Union has initiated a lot of measures to combat illegal migration, however the main obstacle for their effective implementation is division within the EU and discord in migration policies. Thus, the Migration crisis created dilemma: to prioritize internal security and national interests or provide international protection for refugees and protect fundamental rights. As a result, the migration crisis has caused an escalation of contradictions between the "old " EU States and those that joined in 2004-2007 CEE countries, especially the Visegrad group, which strongly oppose the basic principles of EU immigration policy. Thus, the migration crisis has led not only to economic and social troubles, but also to a crisis of solidarity in the European Union.

Thus, the crisis has revealed the vulnerability of the EU's external borders, the lack of a unified approach to migration problem, weaknesses of the Schengen system. The crisis and increasing challenge of illegal migration has a huge political implication as well as economic and cultural. In this case, in the context of European Union one can conclude that Migration crisis and the threat of increasing flows of illegal migration should be considered not as threat of direct security of European society in the sense of terrorism and crime, but the most important threat migration issues pose to the security of the EU as an organization and its institutions. This directly entails the transformation of interstate relations within the Union and changing public mood in the countries. Generally speaking, the unmanaged migration issue threatens the stability and integrity of the whole European Union. At the moment, it is early to speak about the end of the Migration crisis and one can expect a new wave of illegal migration flows.

The third chapter discussed the case of Germany and examined the influence of immigration on German society in economic, cultural and social dimensions. In this chapter the author also defined the weaknesses of German migration policy and gave suggestions on measures for migration regulation in the current situation. Thus, Germany made a number of mistakes in legal immigration regulation, the structural consequences of which were not apparent until decades later. On the wave of the first immigration flows German government failed to create a precise and systematic vision of how it is going to deal with immigrants and what consequences it may bring to the country. This experience has demonstrated that the country, inviting guest workers must determine its interests in relation to these categories of people in advance and, if necessary, clearly define conditions and borders of their stay in the country. Nevertheless, Germany did not do so, and

by the first wave of labor immigrants in 1950s-1960s Germany did not have unified migration legislation and enter and stay of different groups of people were regulated by separate and controversial norms, with the status of the majority of immigrants remained temporary. The lack of regulation of migration legislation led to the situation when the country, which did not officially accept foreigners, became overloaded with a huge number of non-integrated migrants without any benefit for itself. Germany accidently turned into a multicultural country and never implemented the concept of multiculturalism, since its immigration policy was based on the temporary stay of the majority of foreigners in the country.

Indeed, immigration society presents a considerable burden for the German economy, since integration programs, social benefits for migrants as well as creation and keeping of refugee camps require considerable financial allocations from the budget. With regard to cultural dimension, young German population quite successfully embraces foreign culture, however amid growing immigration population, concerns about the future preservation of German identity take place in the scientific and political circles. At the moment, analysis demonstrates that migrants have not made Germany a less safe country, however one can observe the political and social division and rise of clashes on the ground of racial and religious discrimination. With regard to integration policy, one can claim that there is a link between weakly integrated migrant society and security of the society in the sense of social tensions and direct crimes and terrorism. Due to this, several suggestions can be made concerning improvements in integration approach and security issues. Indeed, German government made every effort to involve young migrants into education system and accepted them in German schools and universities, however due to religious or cultural traditions of migrant families, children are often restricted from natural integration into life of German adolescents, while school and university authorities should work with families and stimulate familiarization with European norms. For example, if a Muslim girl is prohibited to attend classes for physical culture or to join a school trip, school should not simply accept it, but explain or even oblige family to participate in the public life. Another example is when a young migrant commits a robbery, the court can not immediately let him free, since there should me a direct connection between crime and punishment. This is more important for immigrants from the Middle East countries, since people there adhere to law and norms in case when the punishment brings the same consequences as the crime. While Germany got used to the situation, when rules are followed even when there is no punishment. German mistake was to believe that migrants will behave as Germans do and accept and respect all the social norms and regulations of European society. However, it did not happen so and it is time for Germany to refuse for a while from some principles of democratic legal state. It is common knowledge that Germany experiences the moral duty based on the feeling of guilt for the past and aspired to rehabilitate the image and reputation of the nation. However, in this case Germany took not only personal responsibility for immigration flows, but this responsibility appeared to be shared with the whole Europe. As a result, evidence shows that the policy of "welcoming culture" (Willkommenskultur) and "multiculturalism" approach failed and it became clear that integration and adaptation of a huge number of people from different cultural and religious background is not an easy and fast process. Nowadays, German officials actively discuss the ways how to maintain peace and

security within the country without denying principles of political liberalism and norms of pattern German democracy. In this case, one can suggest to link the concept of "security state" (Sicherheitsstaat) with the term "monitoring state" (Überwachungsstaat). This means that state needs to undertake sometimes tough measures towards society, in order to guarantee security and peaceful coexistence of multicultural and multireligious society. This approach implies the establishment of institutionalized system of comprehensive state surveillance over the population: introduction of biometric documents, video surveillance in public places, control over the electronic nets (social networks). These measures will be effective for prevention of terrorist attacks on the phase of planning. What is more, creation of a unified base biometric data and fingerprints of all migrants entering and living in the country will significantly intensify the process of identification of migrants, getting in touch with radicalized groups or promoting terroristic ideas. In addition, the use of federal military or creation of separate armed forces in addition to police can also be considered as an effective instrument in combating terrorism. These measures obviously will require legal basis in existing laws and elaboration of new regulations. At the moment, legal transformation will not bring any effective changes to the current situation, since only real measures are needed to be taken. Thus, Germany needs to impose a temporary restriction on entry into the country for refugees and general workers migrants and concentrate the whole attention to the management of already living group of migrants. Labor migration can be continued only in case of high qualified specialists. What is more, with regard to entry into Germany, the program for family reunification should be halted for refugees, who do not meet necessary requirement set forth in the Law on immigration of 2005. This is needed for the unloading of the German labor market, since people reuniting with their families present an increasing burden for labor market and states budget, due to allocation of social benefits. Another important issue is marriages among migrant society. As has already been indicated above, migrant families tend to marry off young girls to men from their home countries, as a result a vicious circle appears, since foreign spouses acquire visas or residence permit, then the program for family reunification comes into power and a huge family arrives to join a new family. Thus, German government can temporarily reject people from the third countries, who get married to migrants already living in Germany from visas or residence permit. So that those willing to bring a bride or a groom from their country will have to return to their homeland to create a family.

Another point to consider is interaction of German population with migrant society and measures for building stability and mutual understanding. One should pay attention at the fact, that migrant relations with the German state and local population were sometimes reduced only to communicating with officials of migration services and receiving social support benefits. Due to this, a number of unions and organizations were established by people with migration background, in order to support each other and keep their traditions. These organizations are usually based around Islam, which is the most powerful uniting force for migrants and deal with religious customs and education. However, as has been discussed above, Muslim unions and organizations play an important role in bringing German and migrants societies together. In addition, organizations give any assistance to refugees and help them to get familiar with European culture. In this case, it can be beneficial for

German authorities to provide these organizations with financial support, since, on the one hand, the state will acquire a network of effective instruments that will work with migrants and help them to adapt to new conditions as well as get German population familiar with Islam and make them less scare of foreign culture. On the other hand, through financial assistance to these unions German government can oversee their activities and react faster in case of suspicious movements towards radicalization. Moreover, these organizations need to have legal status and be regularly observed by special institutions, which can be achieved by cooperation with them and recognizing these unions, like in the case with Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat. Another topic of discord between Muslim society and German authorities is inclusion of Islam studies in the school program. Due to absence of Islam studies in schools, migrants children attended Quranic schools in mosques, where classes were conducted by Mufti invited from Muslim countries or political refugees. Among teachers appeared radicalized Islamists like Cemalettin Kaplan, known as "Khomeini from Cologne". Moreover, after 2010 Salafism studies started to gain power in Germany and were declared a potential terroristic movement. Radical Islamist movements always look for young followers and indoctrinate the youth with their ideas, which is quite easy to do in independent schools in mosques. In this case, one can suggest to establish Islam studies as a mandatory class in schools, where children will study not only religion and Quran, but also history of Islam. This will be useful both for German pupils, who will be able to learn more about another religion and its history, and for Muslim children, who will be taught by tested and credible professors without any risk of being indoctrinated by wrong and dangerous ideas. This will reduce chances for terrorist groups and radical Islamists to expand their networks throughout the country and conduct their activities. It is vital for Germany to establish a sustainable dialogue with the whole Muslim community, thus, there is no a separate entity that would act on behalf of all Muslims in Germany. However, if the work of the Islamic conference expands and more Muslim organizations participate and put forward their suggestions and interests, it will be easier for German government to find out the problems and claims of Muslim community.

In the questions of integration Germany put an emphasis on state politics and institutions, however real integration can be achieved only through personal interaction with local population, work of organizations, which promote political and social interests of migrants, rather than decisions of the government. Due to this, the focus on inclusion of migrants in labor market and development of labor legislation does not enough for successful integration. Even these efforts are not quite effective, since the level of migrant employment is still low – by 2019 only 28% of migrants were involved in German labor market.

This happens due to the following reasons:

- Lack of working places;
- Tendency to engage immigrants on jobs, which are rejected by German workers due to hardships and low payments;
- Need to maintain proportion; which is the most controversial issue, since in case when the share of immigrants exceeds the number of local workers in labor collective, integration processes not only terminates, but require a reversed vector.

In this regard, Germany overestimated the capacity of its labor market. Now, there is a tendency for automatization in every industry and robotics technologies more and more interchange human forces. Due to this, uneducated and in most cases illiterate migrants have little chances to be employed, which leads to emergence of criminal groups and illegal trade as a source for living. In this case, Germany has to focus on migrant education beginning from elementary school. It is common knowledge that in many cases migrants are reluctant to study or send their children to German schools. Therefore, a state program should be introduced, which will stimulate migrants, who will attend schools and colleges and show particular results. This stimulation should be in financial form and after graduation in school, those who pass exams and demonstrate a high level of German language can be accepted in universities on a cost-free basis. What is more, it is kindergartens where children of migrant origin have an opportunity to embrace German language as early as possible, however there is the tendency that the majority of migrant mothers are unemployed and, as a result, decide not to send their children to kindergarten, but to take care of them at home. According the survey conducted by the Federal government's commissioner for migrants, whereas for German children there is no clear correlation between kindergarten attendance and further school success, this observation does not hold in the case of non-German children. Of those foreign children who had attended kindergarten 51.4% succeeded in entering intermediate or higher secondary school tracks. In contrast, only 21.3% of the children who had not attended kindergarten reached the same school level. In a multivariate analysis the positive effect on the school career of kindergarten attendance is confirmed for foreign but not for German children. Thus, migrant families should be stimulated to send their children to kindergartens and, what is more important, they should be explained about the benefits their children will get by learning German and socializing in German society.

Indeed, it will become a burden for the state budget, but it may be an effective contribution into increasing the level of education of migrants, who are already a part of Germany and it is now the interest of the country to oblige this group of population to get education and properly socialize.

Thus, in order to achieve successful integration, the work on civil society should be carried on and numerous fears, stereotypes and prejudices are to be eradicated in German perception of migrants, Islam and foreign culture, as well as huge work on forcing migrant society to accept and respect local system. Indeed, elaboration of the National integration plan became a significant step made by German government, however language courses are not enough for migrants to become a part of European society. Now, it is German duty to integrate Muslim community and Islam. It should be understood that even if in recent times Muslim diasporas were the subject to German state influence and regulation, now, they have developed their own integration claims. Thus, it has been analyzed that Germany needs to divert its integration policy towards deeper interaction with society and pay special attention to religious factor, which is the corner stone of building mutual understanding.

Conclusion

COVID-19 pandemic, which erupted in December 2019 in China, has brought considerable transformations in world economy, trade and movement of people. In this regard, pandemic in some way has helped Europe and Germany, in particular, with management of migration flows. In combating the spreading coronavirus infection the European Union has taken unprecedented measures: entry into the EU zone was prohibited for non-EU residents; any public events were banned; going outside was allowed only in case of emergency. Coronovirus became an effective argument for closing borders, however this is a temporary measure and after the pandemic will be defeated Germany will have decide on what way to follow in migration policy. Europe will have to choose between paying for keeping migrants and spending these finances for defence of southern boarders. Thus, it would be a wise step from Germany to impose temporary harsh restrictions on immigration as it did for prevention of infection. Of course, there is no comparison between refugee flows and COVID-19, however these both phenomena, if not to override take them under control, have terrible and devastating consequences for German economy and society. Because of pandemic, the whole Europe should reconsider its immigration policy and turn its attention towards existing migrant society, rather than welcoming more immigration flows. An important factor is that, now, on the wave of another migration crisis coming Europe is able to manage new immigration flows in case it consolidates its efforts and act as a single entity in the fight with humanitarian and economic catastrophe.

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