LIBERAL VS RESTRICTIVE CONCEPT OF THE EU IMMIGRATION POLICIES

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Abstract

The authors of the paper deal with the immigration policies in the European Union, i.e. in its member states as constituent parts of a complex community. The main aim is to determine what immigration policies are conducted by the EU member states depending on their public opinion, their social, demographic, and economic structure, as well as cultural, political-parliamentary and security policies. It is assumed that the immigration policies of the EU member states could be researched on an ideal-type scale, ranging from liberal to restrictive immigration policies. Based on all available quantifiers, we opted for MIPEX or the Migrant Integration Policy Index. Based on MIPEX, one can clearly see the tendency towards one of the borderline immigration policies on a scale ranging from liberal to restrictive immigration policies. The EU member states whose nationality is territorially bounded, (nation states, the civil-national principle) and which have long immigration tradition tend to opt for liberal immigration policies. Institutional measures such as allocating funds for welfare benefits and government efficiency point out to stable systems of welfare state where liberal immigration policy is dominant. In addition, communities which are economically strong and stable in terms of security, also show tendencies towards liberal immigration policy.

Keywords: liberal concept, restrictive concept, immigration policy, the EU, MIPEKS

1. INTRODUCTION

Generally speaking, the paper deals with the immigration policies in the European Union, i.e. in its member states as constituent parts of a complex community. Besides the research on the immigration policies on the level of the EU, i.e. Brussels as the official headquarters of the EU administration, the immigration policies of the individual member states were researched, specifically 28 countries that are included in this paper. The EU member states are as follows: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Greek,

Denmark, Estonia, Ireland, Italy, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Hungary, Malta, Germany, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia, The United Kingdom of England and Northern Ireland, Finland, France, The Netherlands, Croatia, The Czech Republic, Sweden, and Spain.

Generally speaking, immigration policies are institutionalized forms of predetermined policies. "An immigration policy is any policy of a state that deals with the transit of persons across its borders into the country, but especially those that intend to work and stay in the country." Thus, immigration policies imply "governments' statement on what they intend to do (either through action or laws, regulations, decisions or orders) regarding selection, reception, solving and deportation of the foreign citizens who live in the reception country" (Bjerre et.al., 2015). Immigration policies include "the combined frameworks of legal norms, laws and regulations, policies and traditions as well as organizational structures (sub-national, national, regional, and international) and the relevant processes that shape and regulate the States' approaches with regard to migration in all its forms, addressing rights and responsibilities and promoting international cooperation." The main aim is to determine what immigration policies are conducted by the EU member states depending on their public opinion, their social, demographic and economic structure, as well as cultural, political-parliamentary and security policies.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The overview of the immigration policies in the EU points out to their diversity in terms of migrant reception intensity and their treatment. It is assumed that the immigration policies of the EU member states can be researched on an ideal-type scale ranging from liberal to restrictive immigration policies. The ideal-type designed construct of liberal immigration policy supports indices and parameters of immigration policies which enable settling of immigrants and their family members into a new society without let or hindrance, as well as their successful integration. On the other hand, the restrictive concept of immigration policy implies the usage of strong political and security mechanisms thus preventing the migrants from entering the country's territory, or enabling restricted entry by applying selective asylum policy.

Among the social factors which significantly contribute to the choice of immigration policies, the following factors should be singled out as separate hypotheses or assumptions:

1.   Demography: The EU member states which have rather low and/or negative population growth opt for liberal immigration policy due to demographic deficiency. And vice versa, the member states which have positive population growth opt for the restrictive concept of immigration policy. Explanation: It is to be expected that the countries with demographic deficiency, especially those with developed labour market, will attempt to compensate for demographic deficiency with liberal immigration policy. And vice versa, the countries with lower demographic decline will opt for restrictive immigration policy model.

The increase or decrease of the population in a society significantly contributes to the modeling of immigration policies on a scale ranging from: liberal to restrictive immigration policy. The demographic

movement of the population, its growth or more significant decline, play an important role in maintaining the system of public services in a society (Knox, 2015). The lack of manpower can first be felt in the quality of services that the citizens of a country can feel in health care, prevention and treatment. The lack of manpower results in a greater demand for workers, especially those trained in specialized professions, so the hourly price of their work is very high. Societies that, due to low natural growth, have a problem with educating new generations of professional and highly educated people will try to compensate for this problem with some auxiliary means. It has been shown that the logic of capitalism requires quick and efficient measures in obtaining workers for whom there is a demand on the labor market (Papademetriou, 2004). Private companies, powerful concerns and corporations try to solve this problem by "importing workers" from underdeveloped countries. The logic of the entrepreneur showed that it is easier for the employer to support a new, "imported" worker and his family, than to satisfy domestic workers. Local citizens often refuse to do inappropriate, socially and status unattractive and undesirable jobs (Messina, 2002). They prefer to collect a modest compensation for the unemployed from the labor market, rather than doing undesirable and unworthy (so-called "dirty") jobs for more attractive earnings.

The sociobiological phenomenon of the "aging of the nation" is a demographic situation in which the share of the old population in the total population structure of the nation is constantly increasing. This results in an increase in the number of retired workers. The decreasing influx of the population into the area of active work, the problem of filling unattractive jobs and activities, the need to obtain "ready-made", already trained labor from foreign markets, and the like, brought the demographic issue into direct and indirect connection with the immigration issue.

2.   Identity, Culture: The societies of the EU member states whose identity is based on territorial, civil principle of nation state are inclined towards liberal immigration policy. And vice versa, the societies of the EU member states whose national identity is based on ethnic principle (whereby they usually comprise traditional and not fully integrated national and ethnic minorities) are inclined towards restrictive immigration policy. Explanation: Nationally homogenous societies of ethnically heterogeneous communities have territorial approach of nation state, they have higher cultural diversity so they already have proven mechanisms of cultural and identity integration and assimilation of immigrants. At the same time, the societies whose identity is based on ethnic principle show tendency for cultural homogenization and show significant resistance to the arrival of new cultures, habits and customs.

The European Union, in itself, represents a heterogeneous organization with complex mechanisms that make it up. In terms of immigration policy, at least until recently, it could be divided into five categories: a) "old host countries", or "old recipients"; b) "new host countries", or "new recipients"; c) transit countries, but also countries in transition to the EU; d) small island countries, and finally, d) "non-immigrant societies in the EU" (Triandafyllidou, Gropas, 2016). mmigration changes can be so violent and powerful that the statistical picture of society changes significantly in favor of "immigrants", who usually have such a higher birth rate that it is measured

"up to several times". As a consequence, this gives birth to a massive fear of being threatened in the domicile population, the so-called. "fear of otherness" produces collective frustration and even hysteria, especially in communities that have traditionally been ethnically more or less homogeneous. In such societies, there is a heightened awareness of the danger of foreign invasion, of the threat not only of the domicile culture and civilization, but also of possible changes in the biological fabric of the nation and its ethnic structure (Anspaha, 2008). Today, it is considered that the measures taken in terms of cultural integration of migrants are of great importance for every immigrant community, because they are a kind of security prevention. Therefore, these programs are well and thoroughly designed, and their goal is to show immigrants that they have become an integral part of new communities. And non-institutional factors of socialization through the extended influence of the native culture represent a significant form of reduced conflict in immigrant communities.

This is most often done by bridging the gap between the local population and migrants, connecting people (socializing, cultural events, etc.) and overcoming prejudices and stereotypes about the lives of migrants and the reasons for migration (Snel, Engbersen, Leerkes, 2006).

3. Economy: The stronger the economy of the EU member state, the more liberal its immigration policy is, and vice versa, the weaker the economy of the EU member state, the more restrictive its immigration policy is. Explanation: It is to be expected that migrants would flock to more affluent societies of western and northern Europe looking for employment. On the other hand, it is to be expected that the economically

developed societies have developed labour market, therefore the demand for the growth of labour force is higher. And vice versa, the EU member states which are not as well economically developed and do not have developed labour market, and thus lower needs, are closer to restrictive concept of immigration policy.

Migratory movements can have positive effects, but also negative effects. The positive effects include: "relaxation" of the high pressure of unemployment in the sending countries, reduction of social tensions and, for example, increase in income based on remittances. The most important negative effects of the economic factors of migration include: depopulation of the countries from which they emigrate, potential lack of labor, the need to import labor from third world countries, economic stagnation and economic decline... When it comes to the countries to which one immigrates, the unwanted effects are: a decrease in the number of vacancies, expenses for socialization, integration and training of immigrants, higher social allocations (Razin, Wahba, 2011).

4. Social expenditure: The more generous the EU member state is regarding allocating budget funds for welfare benefits, the more liberal its immigration policy is. And vice versa; it is to be expected that the countries which have restrictive social policy regarding allocating budget funds for the migrants, have restrictive immigration policy at the same time. Explanation: The member state which shows readiness to allocate significant funds for migrants' welfare benefits, naturally, has expectations from its immigration policy and therefore conducts its policy in a liberal way.

Certainly, societies with a long tradition of fostering immigration policy have a more

established and stable attitude towards this issue (Mc Laren, 2015). At the same time, strong political institutions, in conjunction with developed economic and social instruments for the inclusion of immigrants in the social flows of their countries, open the possibility of greater tolerance towards immigrants, so it is assumed that these societies strive for a more liberal immigration policy (Fleischmann, 2010).

5. Political institutions and security: The more stable political institutions are, the more liberal immigration policy is, and vice versa; the more fragile the political institutions are, the more restrictive immigration policy is. Explanation: It is to be expected that stable political institutions have higher absorbing power enabling successful and conflict-free integration of migrants into a new environment. The refugee crisis does not arise by itself, but is a consequence of increasingly complicated and complex relations on the international stage, whose key actors are the superpowers and their intersecting, imposing and opposing relations (Emiliani, 2016).

In order to perform the operationalization of the EU member states' immigration policies, it was necessary to determine a complex indicator which would comprise all important components which describe and define immigration policies in the most precise way, the components which contain all the ingredients necessary to merge the dependent quantifiers with that self-defining indicator.

Based on all the available quantifiers, we opted for MIPEX or the Migrant Integration Policy Index. MIPEX is a tool or an instrument for measuring immigration policy (Niessen, Huddleston, 2009), which describes political tendencies towards integration of migrants in all EU member states, Australia, Canada, Iceland, Japan, South Korea, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey and the USA.

MIPEX currently comprises indicators which are categorized into six basic areas of migrant policy: access to labour market, family reunification, duration of stay, political participation (political representation), national acceptance, anti-discriminatory policy (Mc Laren, 2015). Based on MIPEX, one can clearly see the tendency towards one of the borderline immigration policies on a scale ranging from liberal to restrictive immigration policies. The index is a useful instrument for evaluation and comparison of what the governments do to promote the integration of migrants in all of the countries which were analyzed.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

MIPEX shows the list of the EU member states according to the MIPEX value, starting from countries with the highest index on the scale to those with the lowest index. The countries like Portugal, Sweden, Finland, Belgium, The Federal Republic of Germany, and The Netherlands have high level of integration of migrants into their societies, whereas the countries like Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Poland, Malta, Lithuania, Slovakia, Cyprus, and Latvia have the lowest migrant integration index (Table 1).
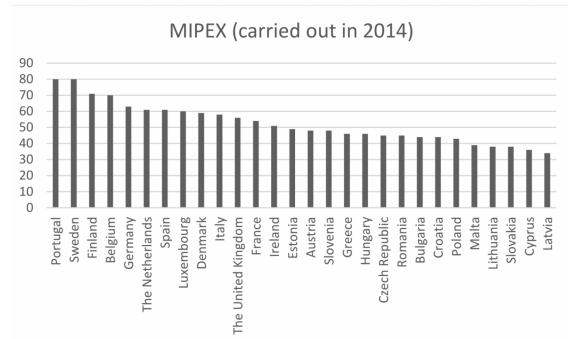
The MIPEX value is shown in the Graph 1.

In order to be able to test which dependent variables influence MIPEX, it is necessary to merge them with this index, draw correlative relationships and to point out to the intensity of correlativity. Correlativity will be derived

Table 1. Integration of migrants into society The EU member states MIPEX (carried out in 2014)

The EU member states	MIPEX (carried out in 2014)
Portugal	80
Sweden	80
Finland	71
Belgium	70
Germany	63
The Netherlands	61
Spain	61
Luxembourg	60
Denmark	59
Italy	58
The United Kingdom	56
France	54
Ireland	51
Estonia	49
Austria	48
Slovenia	48
Greece	46
Hungary	46
Czech Republic	45
Romania	45
Bulgaria	44
Croatia	44
Poland	43
Malta	39
Lithuania	38
Slovakia	38
Cyprus	36
Latvia	34

Graph 1.The MIPEX value

parameter R^2 (or "b" in regression y=a+bx) is of the utmost importance for deriving statistic verification, and it should clarify for how many units MIPEX changes when independent variable changes for one unit.

a)   Demographic decline in population directly influences the demand for labour force. Certain EU member states have huge issues when it comes to compensating for the lack of labour force and fill in the vacancies which are in great demand. Therefore, we chose Share of demand for (highly) qualified labour force as a relevant demographic indicator, since our starting point was the assumption that the manpower surplus will significantly   influence   the   migrant integration index (MIPEX) and thus the choice of immigration policies.

The graphical correlative representation of MIPEX and Share of demand for (highly) qualified workers is shown in the Graph 2.

b)   In a separate hypothesis we started with the assumption that cultural-identity homogeneity/heterogeneity   significantly influences the Migrant Integration Index (MIPEX), thus the choice of immigration policies on a scale from liberal to restrictive immigration policy. Therefore, we took into account the regression analysis of national homogeneity with the time of existence of immigration   tradition   as   independent

from the mathematical formula as follows: y=a+bx, where "a" stands for intercept or intersection of the line and Y axis, i.e. "a" shows at which level is the starting point of a value, because the starting point is not always at zero and sometimes goes into minus. At the same time, "b" stands for the line inclination and it is also an indication of correlation (the bigger the inclination, the more prominent inter-dependence). The
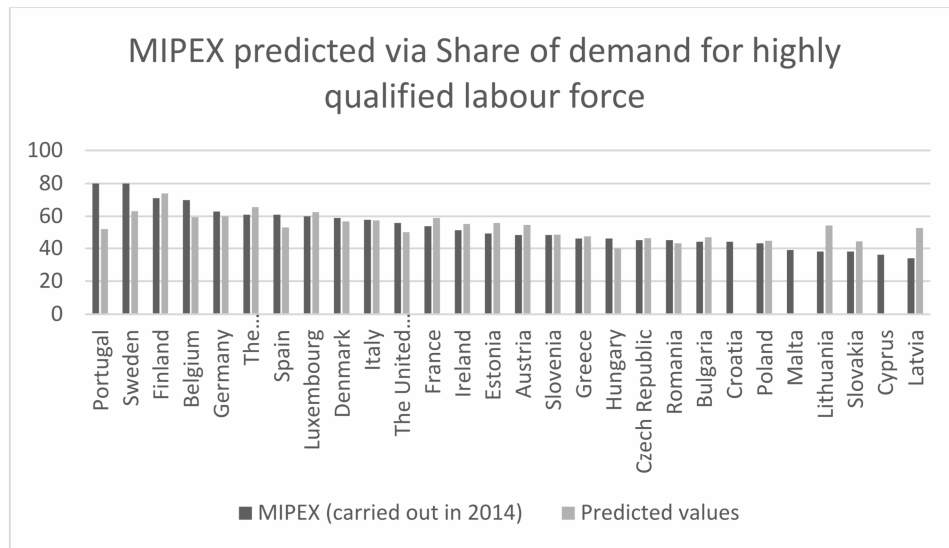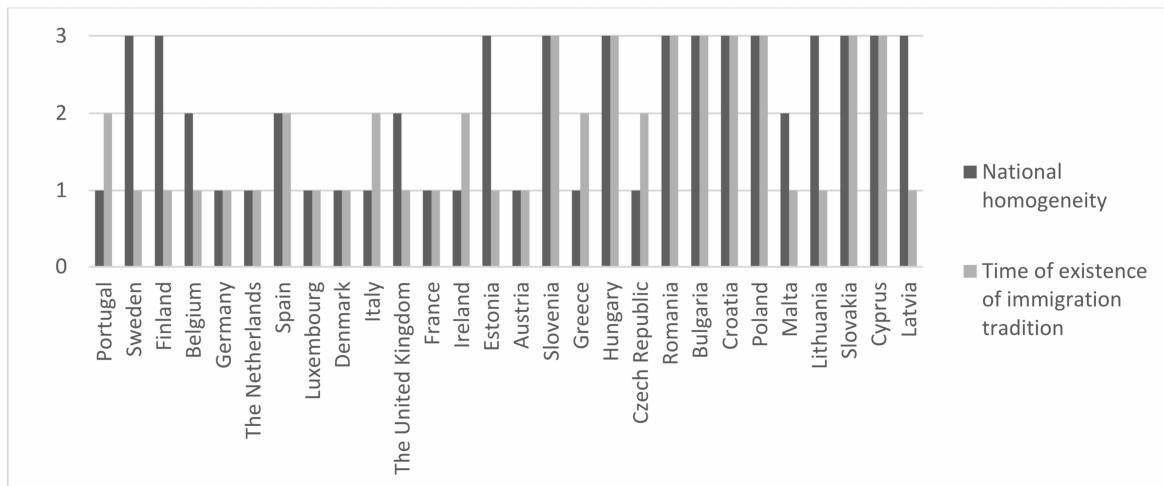
Graph 2. Share of demand for (highly) qualified labour force and MIPEX index

variable on X axis and brought it into relation with MIPEX (Graph 3).

From the regression analysis of national homogeneity with the existence time of immigration in relation to MIPEX, we derive the equation y=60-2,5X with R^2 of 0,068

National homogeneity:
1 - Internal or civicnational homogeneity
2 - Nationally heterogeneous
(multiethnic) without minorities
3 - Nationally heterogeneous and ethnically homogeneous with traditional minorities
Time of existence of immigration tradition:
1 - Long-established immigration
2 - Recent immigration
3 - Little and no immigration

Graph 3. National homogeneity, Time of existence of immigration tradition

meaning that homogeneity and the existence time of immigration equals 6,8% of contribution to the change of MIPEX, observed as the set of all groups together.

In other words, this would mean that the groups of countries with similar characteristics are grouped around similar MIPEX values.

The grouping is also confirmed by the results obtained from statistically significant Spearman's non-parameter analysis which point out to precise correlation of – 0,41. (Thereby, the correlation sign is not relevant because arbitrary codes were used for marking the groups of countries with arbitrary codes with statistic relevance of $p<0,03$).

On the other hand, from the regression analysis of merged "borderline value groups" of Group 1 and Group 5, we derive the equation $y=61-3,6x$.

Here it can be clearly seen that the EU member states from the Group 1 show tendency to liberal immigration policies, whereas the EU member states from the Group 5 opt for restrictive immigration policies.

It is clearly noted here that the European Union member states from Group 1 show a preference for liberal immigration policies, while the EU member states from Group 5 opt for restrictive immigration policies.

c) As a social policy indicator we chose Welfare benefits expenditure allocated from the budget, for each out of 28 EU member states in 2018 from the last survey in 2017.

Graphical representation of the relation between MIPEX and Welfare benefits expenditure expressed as percentage points out of overall sum allocated from GDP is shown in the Graph 4.

Based on the regression analysis results, regression line equation was obtained and it can be expressed with the following mathematical formula: $y=22,92+1,82x$.

Here, $R^2=0,38$ which shows the change in MIPEX for 38% which is direct relation with the change in expenditure for welfare benefits. The results show the sharp inclination of the curve of 1,82 for each unit of change of welfare benefits, thus MIPEX changes for 1,82 points.

d) Among indicators of stability, the government effectiveness always has an important role.

Graphical representation of the regression analysis of the relation between MIPEX and the Government Effectiveness Index (GEI) is shown in the Graph 5.
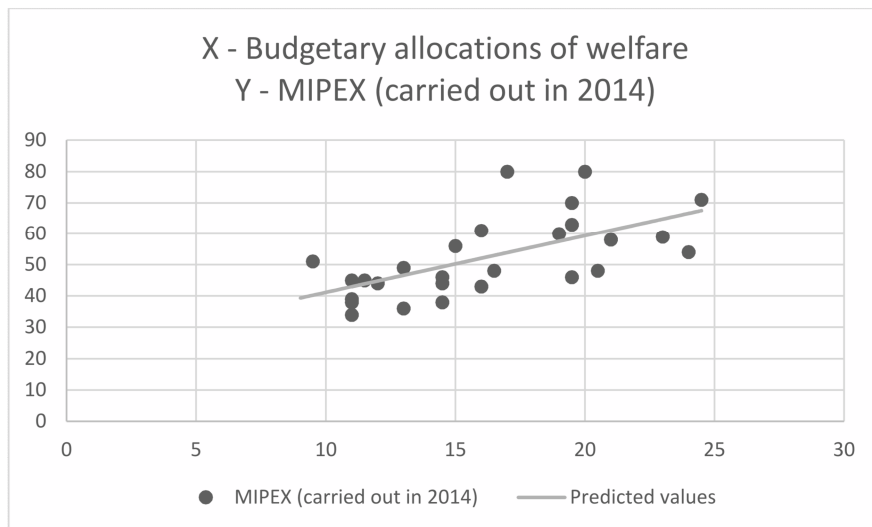
From the abovementioned regression analysis, we can draw a following conclusion:

The regression analysis shows level of R^2 of 38% ($R^2=0,38$), meaning that 38% of the change in MIPEX depends on the change in the Government Effectiveness Index (GEI). The coefficient with the X variable is 15,55 which is rather high positive line inclination and points out to strong correlation.
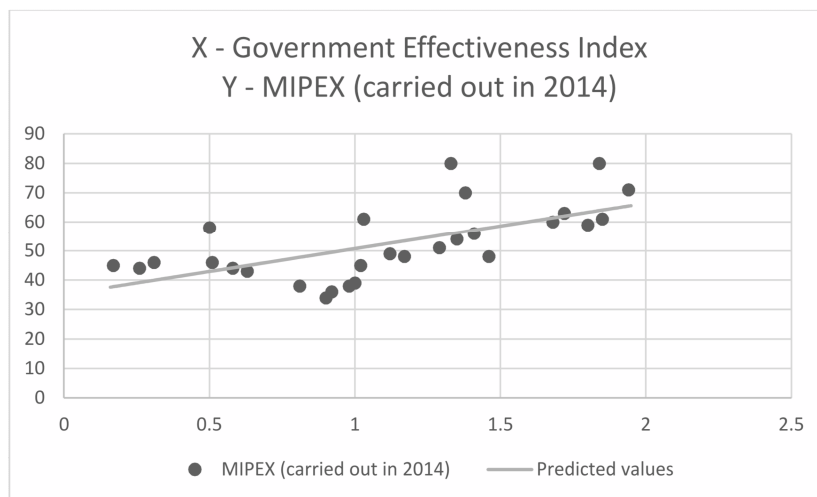
e) Political stability and absence of violence is one of the security indicators in the classification of the EU member states.

Graphical representation of the regression analysis of the relationship between MIPEX and the Index of political stability and absence of violence is shown in the Graph 6.

From the regression analysis we derived the equation $y=46,8+9,83$, thus showing the influence of the Index of political stability and absence of violence on the changes in MIPEX value of approximately 9% ($R2=0,088$). Such an outcome shows that this index must be taken into account as a very significant component of MIPEX.

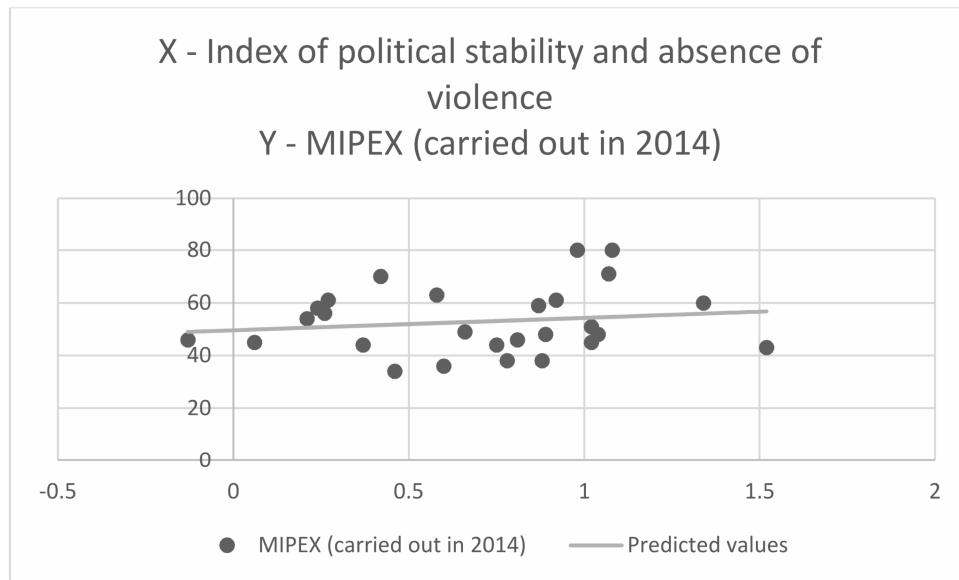*Graph 4.Budgetary allocations of welfare and MIPEX*

Graph 5.Government effectiveness index and MIPEX

4. CONCLUSIONS

This research separated the 28 member states of the European Union according to the strength of MIPEX (countries with higher MIPEX show a stronger tendency to integrate migrants into their own societies). As said, the higher MIPEX a country has, the stronger the tendency towards political integration of migrants and the tendency towards a liberal immigration policy. On the contrary, the lower MIPEX a country has, the weaker its integration capacity, thus showing a tendency towards a restrictive model of integration policies. The main findings of the research are:

The EU member states whose nationality is defined by the borders of their territory (civil-national principle) and which have long immigration tradition show tendency towards liberal immigration policies, unlike the EU member states whose nationality is

Graph 6. Index of political stability and absence of violence and MIPEX

ethnically defined, and which have permanent minorities (especially the countries without immigration experience) opt for immigration policies in accordance with restrictive model of migration behaviour.

At the same time, institutional measures such as allocating funds for welfare benefits, government effectiveness, point out to stable systems of a social state (so called „social paradise") where liberal immigration policy is dominant (which is also confirmed by the indicator of budget allocations for welfare programmes).

Then follows the economic strength of the countries which have tendencies towards liberal immigration policies. The communities with higher security levels also show tendencies towards liberal immigration policies, which is confirmed by correlativity of 9% (Index of political stability and absence of violence) and of 7% (Global Terrorism Index (GTI)).

The concepts of immigration policies of the EU member states are shown :

LIBERAL concept

Immigration is an instrument for filling-in the demographic gaps

The societies are based on territorial-civil concept of nation-state

Immigration tradition

Culture of differences – racial and ethnic tolerance

Legislative and administrative activity are directed towards migrant integration

Prominent role of local self-governments in the migrant integration process

Open labour market

Tolerant budget policy for migrants' welfare expenditure

Efficient services for issuing residence visas and work permits

Open borders

Developed system of financing the projects which encourage integration of immigrants into a new environment

Pragmatic approach towards solving migrants' issues

Security prevention through intelligence work

Positive public opinion about immigrants

RESTRICTIVE concept
Immigration threatens to change society's demographic structure
The societies are based on ethnic majority whereas traditional ethnic communities are minority
No immigration tradition
Racial and ethnic duality
Legislative and administrative activity are directed towards protecting their borders from immigration influx
Local self-government does not participate in the migrant integration process
Closed labour market
Immigrants are a burden for welfare system
Highly formalized legal procedures for issuing residence visas and work permits
Closed borders – asylum policy for the purpose of protecting the borders
Poorly developed system of financing the projects for migrant integration
Anti-immigrant party populism
Security prevention – anti-terrorist action
Negative public opinion about immigrants

The inconsistency of the immigration policy undermines the unity of the member states of the European Union, and Brussels' insistence on a single, uniform immigration policy is forcing many countries out of the Union. It seems that unification in the field of migration management would be an important measure that should be taken. Another important measure would consist in strengthening the external borders of the European Union. One of the measures to effectively remove the focus of the crisis would be the active cooperation of the European Union with the countries that are candidates for EU accession. Finally, much more needs to be done on the integration of migrants at the level of local communities, in areas where immigrants realize their full capacity for life and work.

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ЛИБЕРАЛНИ ПРОТИВ РЕСТРИКТИВНОГ КОНЦЕПТА ИМИГРАЦИОНЕ ПОЛИТИКЕ ЕУ

Андријан Максимовић и Зоран Милосављевић

Извод

Аутори рада се баве имиграционом политиком у Европској унији, односно у њеним државама чланицама као саставним деловима сложене заједнице. Основни циљ је да се утврди какву имиграциону политику спроводе земље чланице ЕУ у зависности од њиховог јавног мњења, њихове социјалне, демографске и економске структуре, као и културне, политичко-парламентарне и безбедносне политике. Претпоставља се да би се имиграционе политике земаља чланица ЕУ могле истраживати на скали идеалног типа, од либералне до рестриктивне имиграционе политике. На основу свих доступних квантификатора, одлучили смо се за MIPEX или Индекс политике интеграције миграната. На основу MIPEX-а, јасно се може уочити тенденција ка једној од граничних имиграционих политика на скали која се креће од либералне до рестриктивне имиграционе политике. Државе чланице ЕУ чија је националност територијално ограничена (националне државе, грађанско-национални принцип) и које имају дугу традицију усељавања теже да се определе за либералну имиграциону политику. Институционалне мере као што су издвајање средстава за социјалне бенефиције и ефикасност владе указују на стабилне системе социјалне државе у којима доминира либерална имиграциона политика. Поред тога, заједнице које су економски јаке и безбедносно стабилне такође показују тенденцију ка либералној имиграционој политици.

Кључне речи: либерални концепт, рестриктивни концепт, имиграциона политика, ЕУ, MIPEX

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