

EU Immigration and Integration

Introduction:

National debates about immigration in several EU member nations clearly have an impact on the process of integration in the EU as a whole. In this lesson, students take a short survey on the impact of immigration generally and compare their responses to survey respondents in the United States, Canada, and EU nations. Students then consider the costs and benefits for a national immigration policy. To conclude the lesson, students work in groups to examine case studies of EU immigration and present their cases to the class.

Objectives:

- Describe the costs and benefits of immigration to the host country.
- Use immigration policy case studies to evaluate the costs and benefits of each.
- Conduct research to evaluate the effectiveness of EU immigration goals using case studies describing the lives of several immigrant groups in EU nations.

Materials and Preparation:

- Make copies of the following lesson handouts for all students: (1) Impact of Immigration: Survey; (2) Costs and Benefits of Immigration; (3) EU Goals for Immigration Integration; (4) Immigration Case Study Questions.
- Make enough copies of the two sets of Case Study cards (Immigration Policy Case Study cards and Immigration Case Study cards) for one-third of the class to have each.
- Students will need access to research materials on the Immigration Case Studies.

Teaching Time: 3 class periods

Procedure:

1. Distribute the Impact of Immigration: Survey handout and ask students to respond to the five questions about the impact of immigration. Go over the results at the bottom of the handout; ask: What do these results show about attitudes toward immigration?
2. Distribute the Costs and Benefits of Immigration handout. Ask: Do students agree that immigration policies ideally should maximize costs and minimize benefits?
3. Divide the class into three groups and give each group one of the Immigration Policy Case Study Cards. Using the cost/benefits analysis provided in the handout, one group will evaluate Germany and its guest worker program; the

second group will evaluate the UK quota and point system; and the third group will evaluate the “EU free movement of workers policy.”

4. Have groups report out on their analysis. Then ask: Which policy do you believe would give the United States the most benefits and the fewest costs? To close this part of the lesson, ask students which metaphor they believe represents the most desirable picture of integration of immigrants—melting pot, fruit salad, mosaic, flashlight with replacement batteries? Which metaphor best describes the immigration issue in the United States?
5. Distribute the handout titled EU Goals for Immigration Integration. Ask: Which policies appear the most important? Are there any you disagree with?
6. Divide the class into three groups and distribute Immigration Case Study #1 (Turks in Germany) to the first group; Immigration Case Study #2 (Algerians in France) to the second group; and Immigration Case Study #3 (the Roma) to the third group. Also distribute the Immigration Case Study Questions handout.
7. Explain that each group will conduct research to find out more about the immigrant groups that are the focus of their case study. The European Union allows member states to handle immigration issues. Nation states have their own immigration issues usually based upon economic concerns. Groups should develop a five-minute presentation to include answers to the questions on the Immigration Case Study Questions handout.
8. When students have completed their research and reports, return to the survey you administered at the beginning of the lesson and ask students to discuss how, if at all, delving into European immigration in some depth has influenced their views on immigration in the United States or generally. Would they change their responses on any of the questions? Why or why not?

Handout

Impact of Immigration Survey

1. Overall, do you believe immigration to the United States creates more problems or opportunities?
2. Do you believe the United States has an effective immigration policy now?
3. Estimate the percentage of the U.S. population who were born in other countries.
4. Do you agree or disagree: Immigration enriches the national culture of the United States.
5. Overall, does immigration have a positive or a negative effect on the U.S. economy?

Results of Transatlantic Trends Survey Funded by the German Marshall Fund

1. 53% of U.S. , 65% of UK, and 53% of Spanish residents polled said immigration created more problems than opportunities; in contrast, 27% of Canadians, 42% of French, and 39% Dutch residents believed immigration creates more problems than opportunities.
2. 73% of U.S., 70% of UK, and 61% of Spanish residents disapproved of current immigration policies. Only Canadian public opinion was closely split, with 48% positive and 43% negative.
3. U.S. residents estimated the percentage of immigrants in the population at 39%; the actual figure is less than 14%.
4. Of Europeans who had immigrant friends, 68% believed immigration enriches national culture; only 40% of Europeans with no immigrant friends held the same views.

Source: *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration 2010 Partners*, Project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, www.transatlantictrends.org.

Handout

Costs and Benefits of Immigration

Benefits:

1. Immigration allows existing capital, land, and technology to be used more efficiently, making business more productive.
2. Immigrants pay taxes; the average immigrant pays \$1800 more in taxes than they use in benefits (Source: National Research Council)
3. Immigrants expand the economy by purchasing goods and services (estimate gain to U.S. economy +\$13 billion per year).
4. Immigrants expand the labor supply and perform jobs native citizens view as undesirable.
5. Immigrants are about twice as likely to start a new business. (In 2008, more than 5% of immigrants in the United States launched a new business compared to less than 3% of native born.

Can you think of other benefits?

Costs:

1. Lower wages are paid for low-skilled jobs due to the increased supply of workers for those jobs.
2. Immigrants increase public costs for education, health care, and other services.
3. Unemployment may go up if the skills of immigrant workers do not match the jobs available.
4. Immigrants from poorer countries tend to have a low educational level and are more likely to become unemployed.

Can you think of other costs?

“The economic effects of immigration depend not on population growth or density but on the characteristics of the immigrants themselves. While every mouth brings a pair of hands, these hands sometimes make more than they eat and sometimes less. On balance, immigration usually produces economic benefits for the receiving country. Immigrants are more economically active than the native population; are paid less than natives with similar skills; are more energetic than natives; and more willing to take undesirable jobs, such as those with unsocial hours.”

—Professor John Kay, <http://tutor2u.net/economics/revision-notes/a2-micro-labour-market-migration.html>

Source of information on costs and benefits: *Wall Street Journal* online, http://online.wsj.com/public/article/SB115100948305787940-tA5PP0Ya_9U0AIXBQQhnaDyMIYc_20060725.html?mod=tff_main_tff_top

Immigration Policy Case Study #1: German Guest Worker Program

"We asked for workers and we got people." Max Frisch

After World War II, Germany received Marshall Plan funds to rebuild and create new industries, but was short of workers. Starting in 1955, the Germans negotiated with countries with high unemployment – including Spain, Italy, and Greece – to create a guest worker program. In 1961, workers from Turkey, Morocco, and elsewhere were added to the program. Guest workers were to work in specific jobs and then return to their home countries after a year to be replaced by new guest workers.

In the 1960s, these foreign workers helped fuel the production of popular German products, such as the Volkswagen, which were shipped throughout the world. The idea was that workers would come, work for a year, and then return to their home country with their savings. Both countries would benefit. Many German employers, however, did not like the program. They did not like sending workers home after they had trained the workers. "Economically, it is nonsense for the factories to change every year the personnel," stated Safter Cinar, an official with the Turkish Federation in Berlin. The program ended in 1973, when the oil crisis created a recession and unemployment rose, but many of the workers remained in Germany.

By 1970, three million foreign-born people lived in Germany, with Turks making up the largest percentage. As workers were joined by their families, the number increased to 7.3 million in late 2001. Currently, about three of every four Turks living in Germany are not citizens, including many who have lived in Germany for decades. Citizenship is very difficult to obtain and for many years required other citizenship to be given up, which older Turks were reluctant to do. Around 200,000 Turks live in Berlin today in neighborhoods filled with Turkish doctors, lawyers, shops, and restaurants. Crime and unemployment in these neighborhoods is high. Many Turks do not take part in the political life of their adopted country.

Immigration Policy Case Study #2: United Kingdom Quota System

Beginning in 2010, the UK placed a cap of 22,000 on the number of work visas issued for non-EU nationals. This represents about one-fifth fewer visas than were available in 2009. As a member of the EU, Britain must allow citizens of most other member states to live and work in the UK. There are currently limits on immigration by Bulgarians and Romanians, and these workers are only allowed to work in agricultural or food processing jobs. There is widespread concern in the UK that in 2011, when all EU member countries are required to lift restrictions on immigration within the EU, the UK will be flooded with new EU immigrants.

“Britain for the British” was a campaign slogan for the Conservative Party in the last election. “Working in Britain for a short period should not give someone the right to settle in Britain. Studying ... in Britain should not give someone the right to settle in Britain,” stated one politician. Business leaders generally opposed the immigration cap, fearing that it would make it impossible to fill positions in vital areas. Gerwyn Davies (public policy advisor, Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development) argued “Now is not the best time to impose a cap, because we need those workers to consolidate and strengthen what is already a fragile economic recovery.”

Unemployment in the UK is currently 7.8 percent, which is slightly lower than it has been recently. However, 7.82 million workers are in part-time jobs, the highest figure since 1992. Most visas to the UK are given to students (60%, or approximately 262,000 a year) and family members of workers with visas (20%). The cap also includes quotas for different types of workers. For example, 1000 visas are reserved for scientists, academics, and artists. Within the 22,000 cap are additional categories: Tier One (investors, entrepreneurs, post-degree study), Tier Two (skilled worker), Tier Four (general and child student), and Tier Five (temporary worker).

Last year, Tier One visas were limited to 600 per month. In October, the limit was met only half way through the month. To qualify for a visa in a tier, a worker needs to be awarded a minimum number of “points.” Points are given for college degrees, skills in a high need profession, amount of money in savings, age, and other areas. The goal, stated Home Secretary Theresa May, is to reduce the number of immigrants from “hundreds of thousands to tens of thousands.”

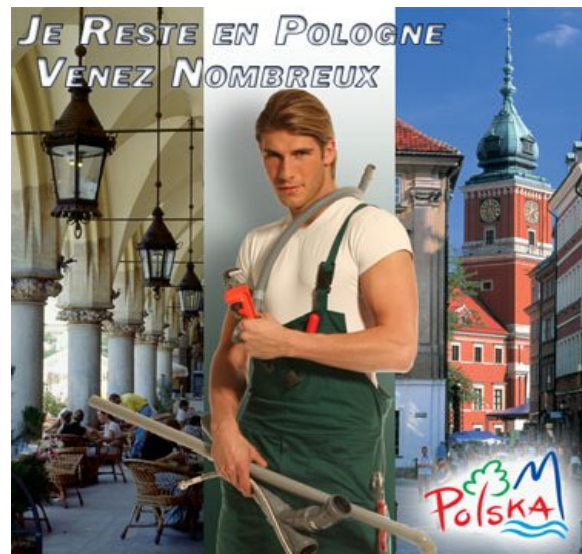
Immigration Policy Case Study #3: European Union Freedom of Movement

With a gross domestic product of more than \$16 trillion, the EU is the largest economy in the world today. The basis for this success has been the single economic market supported by the “four freedoms” of movement: goods, services, people, and money. Residents of member states in the EU are free to live and work in any other member state. The transition from independent states protecting their borders and workers to a supranational economic unit has not been without problems, however.

As the EU expanded in the 1990s to include countries that had been part of Eastern Europe, citizens in countries with older EU membership were concerned that their homelands would be overrun by floods of workers willing to take low paying jobs. These workers, it was feared, would replace native workers and drive down wages. One example of this fear was the Polish Plumber campaign launched in 2005 in France by opponents of the European Union Constitution. Piotr the plumber touched a nerve in a country with high unemployment and anxiety about the economy in general. As a result, new member countries such as Poland had to sign seven-year transition agreements that severely limited access to jobs in several countries, including France.

This year marks the end of the seven-year transition period, and it appears that fears of Piotr stealing French jobs were unfounded. According to the EU Commission, workers from Eastern Europe have helped meet demand for labor in the older EU countries without hurting wages or causing a rise in unemployment for native workers. Poles now make up about .5 % of the resident population in the EU’s richest nations, up just .2% from 2004 (most of these Poles live in Ireland and Britain). The Commission believes that these findings support removing the remaining barriers to free movement of workers in the EU. This would also reduce black market labor.

Ironically, Poland has launched a campaign to promote travel to Poland, featuring Piotr Adamski, a sexy, tanned, and athletic plumber who promises to stay in Poland to greet you when you arrive.



Source of photo: “An Excellent Polish Tourism Campaign,” Tomgpalmer.com (June 22, 2005), <http://tomgpalmer.com/2005/06/22/an-excellent-polish-tourism-campaign/>.

Handout

EU Goals for Immigration Integration

1. Immigration is a dynamic process of mutual accommodation by immigrants and residents.
2. Respect for the EU's basic values should be upheld.
3. Employment is key and central to immigrants' participation in society.
4. Basic knowledge of the host country's language, history, and customs is essential for integration.
5. Education is critical in order for immigrants and their children to be successful members of society.
6. Equal access for immigrants to institutions (schools, hospitals, etc.) as well as goods and services.
7. EU Charter of Fundamental Rights guarantees the practice of diverse cultures and religions unless they conflict with national law.
8. Participation of immigrants in the democratic process , especially at the local level, supports integration.
9. Integration measures should be part of all relevant policies, levels of government, and public services.
10. Clear goals and evaluation mechanisms are necessary to evaluate progress on integration and adjust policies.

Source: "The EU and Immigration: Opportunities and Challenges," *EU Focus* (Washington, DC: Delegation of the European Commission to the United States, September 2008), <http://www.eurunion.org/News/eunewsletters/EUFocus/2008/EUFocus-Immigrat-9-08.pdf>.

Immigration Case Study Questions

Read your case study. Then conduct additional research to answer the questions below. You will present the results of your research in a five-minute presentation to the class.

- What is the historical background for the immigrant group in your case study? Why have they immigrated within and/or to the EU? When did the immigration occur? Is it still occurring?
- Are there any special circumstances unique to the immigrant group you have researched?
- Has the host nation(s) in your case study welcomed the immigrant group? Discriminated against them?
- Has the group you studied assimilated? Hypothesize reasons why or why not.
- How, if at all, does current EU and/or member nation immigration and integration policy affect the status of the immigrant group you have studied?
- Which goals of EU immigration have been met or not met in this case, based on your research?

Immigration Case Study #1: Parallel Societies – Turks in Germany

Sixteen-year-old Abdul Tavit lives with three generations of his family in an apartment. His neighborhood is filled with Turkish shops, doctors, and lawyers, and Turkish is spoken everywhere. One such neighborhood in Berlin is so thoroughly Turkish, it is known as Little Istanbul.

Abdul and his family are some of the 2.5 million Turks who live in Germany. Many families came as part of the guest-worker program during the 1950s and 60s. Abdul attends the local Hauptschule, where he has classes three days a week; he goes for on-the-job training in auto-mechanics two days a week. Students in Germany are tested when they are 10 and then sent into one of three tracks for the rest of their education. Public education is free beginning in grade one, but families must pay for kindergarten. Due to the cost, many Turkish families are not able to send their children to kindergarten. So many Turkish-German students start first grade without adequate skills in German. Few Turkish students qualify for the college preparatory gymnasium schools at age 10, and only 10% of Turkish students go on to any sort of post high school education. But Abdul loves auto-mechanics.

At home, the apartment is divided into separate areas for the men and women. The living room is for the men, who eat meals on a coffee table. Conversation revolves around work and sports. Abdul is serious about his religious beliefs. He prays five times a day and spends most of his free time at the local mosque. In the future, Abdul hopes to move to Saudi Arabia, where he visited two years ago. He likes the fact that all women there are covered and feels more at home in Arabia than he does in Germany. The Prime Minister of Turkey encourages Turks in Germany to retain their Turkish culture. On a recent visit, he told Turks living in Germany “Integrate yourselves into German society but don’t assimilate yourselves. No one has the right to deprive us of our culture and identity.”

For many years, Turks in Germany were not able to become citizens. The separate societies that now exist are partly a result of this policy. In 2000, the laws were changed. Now Turks who are born in Germany whose parents have worked legally for 8 years can choose German citizenship when they turn 18. All Turks, whether citizens or not, receive benefits from German social and economic programs. However, non-citizens cannot serve in the military, have no voting rights, and are excluded from civil service jobs, one of the largest employment sectors in Germany. In order to become German citizens, Turks must swear allegiance to the German Constitution and renounce Turkish citizenship, something many are unwilling to do. A few naturalized German-Turks serve in national and state parliaments. Non-citizens can have some influence on local policies by voicing their opinions to the foreign advisory councils. Turkish-Germans also can advise neighborhood development projects, and Turkish groups can compete for cultural grants.

Immigration Case Study #2: Parallel Societies – North Africans in France

“I was born in France. I am a citizen of France. How much more French can I be?” asked rapper Medine in a 2004 interview. Medine is one of the approximately three million ethnic North Africans living in France. Exact numbers are not available because the French ideal of equality has made it illegal to ask for race or ethnicity in population studies. France grants citizenship to all children born in France. Children of foreign-born parents must live in France for at least five years after age eleven before they can apply for citizenship.

In 2003, the government adopted new policies to promote integration. Immigrants arriving in France are now required to sign an integration contract, committing to follow instruction in French social values, in order to obtain a residence permit. Under the banner of liberty, equality, and brotherhood, all citizens are to be treated the same; everyone is French. However, the ideal is not the reality experienced by residents of the *banlieue* housing projects outside the city centers.

In 2005 and 2007, riots erupted in the *banlieues* (housing projects) where most of the French North African population lives. The *banlieues* were built as temporary housing when France recruited North Africans to work in reconstruction after World War II. Since Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco were all French protectorates until the mid-1950s or early 1960s, the workers were French citizens. Freedom of movement between Algeria and France was not limited until 1962.

Today, the *banlieues* are run down; schools are crumbling and many youth are unemployed. Second-generation Algerians, for example, are three to four times more likely to be unemployed than their French counterparts with similar education. Some social scientists put unemployment estimates in the *banlieues* as high as 40-50%. As Medine stated, “The people who live in projects like those... are treated as second-class citizens. We have less access to the rights and services of the republic – schools are run down; job opportunities are remote. What we do have is a supermarket, a mall for low-cost shops, a few fast-food joints and maybe a movie complex. That’s it. The idea is to create just enough diversion so we stay where we are. The message is, Don’t come in to mix with the people in the city centers. That’s what the police tell you when they stop you on a bus coming into town: ‘You have no business in the center? Then you have no reason to be there. Go back where you belong.’”

Although racial discrimination is illegal in France, it is practiced informally using names and addresses on employment forms and apartment applications. Amadiou, a social scientist at the Sorbonne, estimates that a French job applicant of North African origin gets one-third as many responses as comparable white applicants.

His figures also reveal that, in 2009, only 7% of local councilors and .4% of mayors were from ethnic minorities. “Doors are closed when you are an Arab,” says Yazid Sabeg, a businessman.

France has tried to address the problem of integrating immigrants by creating numerous agencies, including a Directorate for Populations and Migrations and the High Council for Integration. Most recently, the Conseil Francais de Culte Musulman (French Council for Muslim Culture) was created to represent the Islamic community in France. The CFCM oversees tax status for mosques, Muslim practices, and training of imams. Imams who train abroad must take training in the French language and citizenship before they are allowed to practice. Sabeg is one of the sponsors of a “diversity charter,” which encourages companies to “reflect the diversity of French society” in their hiring. While this voluntary program may or may not succeed, many in France believe it is time to change the approach to integration.

As Medine stated, “I’m French, I’m Muslim, and there are millions like me. We live here, and we’re not going anywhere. So let’s start getting used to it.”

Sources:

Medine, “Viewpoint: How Much More French Can I Be,” *Time* (November 14, 2005).

“France’s Ethnic Minorities; To Count or not to Count,” *Economist* (March 26, 2009).

“World Directory of Minorities: France—North Africans” (London: Minority Rights Group International, n.d.), <http://www.minorityrights.org/?lid=1639&tmpl=printpage>.

Immigration Case Study #3: EU Nations and Roma Repatriation

France

At least 400,000 Roma live in France, most of whom are part of long-established communities. In recent years, however, thousands have been arriving from Bulgaria and Romania, many of whom live in unauthorized camps. In July 2010, President Nicolas Sarkozy launched a crackdown on these illegal settlements after a gang of Roma men rioted in St Aignan, in the Loire Valley, following the shooting of a local Roma man.

Mr Sarkozy pledged to dismantle some 300 of these camps, which he said were "sources of illegal trafficking, of profoundly shocking living standards, of exploitation of children for begging, of prostitution and crime." More than 200 settlements have since been dismantled and 1,000 of their inhabitants deported to Romania and Bulgaria. In some cases, French authorities have offered financial incentives to migrants who return home – such as grants for agricultural business schemes. But France has been accused of violating EU rules on human rights by allegedly targeting an ethnic group.

A leaked memo from the interior ministry showed that French authorities had been instructed to make Roma camps "a priority," rather than deal with migrants on a case-by-case basis.

EU Justice Commissioner Viviane Reding called the deportations a "disgrace." "This is a situation I had thought Europe would not have to witness again after the Second World War," she said. The European Parliament passed a motion "expressing its deep concern" at the measures taken by the French authorities, urging them to immediately suspend all expulsions of Roma. But French Interior Minister Brice Hortefeux said the new measures were "not meant to stigmatize any community, regardless of who they are, but to punish illegal behavior."

Italy

About 140,000 Roma live in Italy, half of whom (70,000) are Italian citizens. Many were migrant workers who came from Yugoslavia in the 1980s when the Cold War thawed. Many more arrived in the 1990s following the conflicts in Bosnia and Kosovo.

In the past decade, however, tens of thousands of Romanian Roma have arrived, many of whom have not been granted residency. These communities became a focus of suspicion and hostility. In April 2008, Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi memorably described illegal immigrants as "an army of evil." A month later, his government launched a high-profile campaign using "extreme measures" to target

Roma migrants living in “nomad camps.” The camps were dismantled and thousands of Roma are believed to have left or been expelled from Italy.

The government has also passed laws to ease the expulsion of foreign nationals, including EU nationals, which “appear to be particularly aimed at Roma from Romania,” according to a report by the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights.

Spain

Spain has a large and well-established population of Roma, known as Gitanos, many of whom hail from Andalusia. More than 700,000 Roma live in Spain.

Like France, Spain has also received a recent influx of Romanian Roma. But unlike France, there has been no high profile crackdown against Roma. Spain's Prime Minister Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero is seen as more tolerant to Roma migrants than his counterparts in France and Italy.

Germany

Like Italy, Germany has a strong contingent of Roma who arrived from the former Yugoslavia. Many of Germany's estimated 105,000 Roma are now long-term residents with protected status. Others have *duldung* (tolerated) status, meaning they do not have permanent residency, but instead have to apply frequently to have their status renewed. Their access to employment, healthcare, and freedom of movement may be restricted. Those who have been “tolerated” for six years or more are eligible to apply for a residency permit.

In recent years, thousands of Roma have been forcibly expelled or expelled under pressure from Germany. But many true Roma have remained, as they are not welcome in their home nations. Consequently, Germany has been unable to secure conditions for their safe return.

UK

About 250,000 Roma live in the UK, most of whom are from native Traveller and Gypsy communities. Since the 1990s, thousands more have arrived from Slovakia, Poland, Romania, and the Baltic states. Initially, most sought refugee status, but now many are exercising free movement rights, following EU expansion. In June 2009, about 100 Roma were forced to leave Belfast after a spate of attacks on their homes. The migrants later returned to the community. In recent years, the UK government has moved to tighten its borders, expelling illegal immigrants and failed asylum seekers, who have included Roma.

Source: “EU Nations and Roma Repatriation,” BBC News online (September 17, 2010), <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11344313>.