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# Immigration and Integration in the European Union

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## Policy Brief

Immigration into the EU and the integration of those who have immigrated constitute two multifaceted and highly complex policy areas. These topics feature prominently in current political debates, which have been taking place at all levels within European society and government. These debates have also been held within the centre-right European People's Party (EPP) and are playing a prominent role in many election campaigns.

There has been a need to illuminate the ongoing debate on immigration and integration, inform national and European policies, and highlight areas of EU-wide importance. The Centre for European Studies (CES), the political foundation of the EPP and its member foundations, has therefore created the book *Opening the Door? Immigration and Integration in the European Union*, which was published in January 2012.<sup>1</sup> Written by 24 academics and policy experts, this book covers 13 EU countries and one region, as well as the EU itself. Most of the authors of these country and region chapters were appointed by CES member foundations; the remaining authors were appointed by the CES. The authors and their appointing foundations are listed in the Appendix.

This Policy Brief is entirely based on this book. It consists of two parts, Analysis and Policy Recommendations.

<sup>1</sup> V. Novotný (ed.), *Opening the Door? Immigration and Integration in the European Union* (Brussels: Centre for European Studies, 2012)

## Analysis

The chapters presented in *Opening the Door?* demonstrate that the debates on immigration and integration are framed quite differently depending on the country and circumstances involved. The emphasis can be placed on any one of a number of factors: illegal immigration, security and territorial borders; economic immigration; human rights and refugee protection; education; religion; or the labour market. This analysis is divided into five sections:

- Economic immigration
- Asylum
- Illegal immigration
- Integration
- Policy design

### Economic immigration

The contributors to *Opening the Door?* largely support legal economic immigration into the EU, arguing that it brings much-needed talents and skills. Several authors also consider whether immigration can and should play a role in making European societies ‘younger’ by improving, albeit temporarily, the demographic balance between young and old.

Although individual chapters do not offer detailed recommendations on economic immigration, they provide useful information that can help to advance the debate. Labour-market policies have been an important factor behind immigration in many of the countries covered. Over the decades, governments in Germany, France, Spain, Austria, Greece, Belgium and Cyprus, among other European countries, have encouraged immigration in order to fill labour shortages.

Historically, some governments have imposed a quota system on immigration from non-EU countries. According to the authors of the chapters on Austria (Christian Kasper and Christian Moser) and Belgium (Paolo de Francesco), these two countries are now moving from a quota system to one in which applicants are assessed according to an established set of criteria that typically includes professional qualifications, education, language skills and age. At the EU level, the Blue Card scheme will operate on similar principles. The justification for these new policies is that they enable countries to better target desirable economic immigrants. The policies also potentially allow for greater flexibility in filling the gaps in a country’s skill set and in tackling labour shortages. Estonia, Romania and Slovenia continue to operate quota systems for economic immigration. The chapters dealing with this subject do not contain sufficient evidence to assess the relative effectiveness of the two systems.



In her chapter on the EU, Mary-Anne Kate characterises policies on economic immigration as cautious. The authors of some chapters, for example those on Slovakia (Ol'ga Gyárfášová et al.) and Spain (Mauricio Rojas Mullor), argue that current policies for legal economic immigration are unnecessarily restrictive and do not support the labour-market needs of domestic economies. According to Manfred Weber, MEP, the EPP Group supports the adoption of a single residence and work permit for third-country nationals, while allowing Member States a large degree of autonomy in immigration. The EPP Group has taken a cautious position on accepting seasonal employees from third countries, arguing that national governments need to be able to examine their labour markets before they decide whether to allow these workers access to jobs.

## Asylum

Overall, the chapters indicate deep problems with existing asylum systems in the Member States, in part because national asylum policies vary significantly. Mauricio Rojas argues that an overly restrictive asylum policy in Spain, combined with lax policies on illegal immigration, has led to extremely low numbers of asylum claims, especially when compared with the hundreds of thousands of immigrants arriving for economic reasons. In Spain in 2009, only 350 asylum applicants were granted a positive first-instance decision. In Slovakia and Romania, the number of accepted claims does not surpass a few dozen. In contrast, France accepts about 50,000 asylum applications a year. This demonstrates how widely Member States differ in both the effectiveness and quality of their asylum systems.

The chapters dealing with the EU and the EPP Group remind readers that Member States are bound by international treaties, including the Geneva Refugee Convention of 1951. A Member State may not expel an asylum seeker until a decision has been taken on the asylum request. The chapter on the EPP Group calls for existing laws to be applied and for the adoption of a harmonised European policy. Nevertheless, according to Weber, European asylum legislation should respect the principle of subsidiarity. He argues that legally binding instruments for sharing the burden of hosting asylum seekers are not desirable. His chapter expresses the EPP's cautious stance towards family reunification legislation.

A significant factor discussed in *Opening the Door?* is asylum seekers who are refused status. Once asylum seekers have reached Europe their chances of remaining are high, whether or not they gain legal status. They may launch legal procedures to delay their deportation or simply hide. Deficiencies in enforcement strengthen their hand. As a result, a large number of asylum seekers whose applications have been rejected are not returned to their countries of origin. Thus, only in a minority of cases is the right to permanent residence determined by asylum procedures. The removal of asylum seekers is politically sensitive, making regularisations necessary.



## Illegal immigration

The number of irregular immigrants in Europe is estimated to be between 2.8 and 6 million according to sources cited in Stefan Luft's chapter on Germany. It is predominantly the old Member States—Spain (including Catalonia), France, Greece and Belgium—that are targets for illegal immigration. Nevertheless, newer Member States, such as Cyprus and Malta, have become important destinations as well.

Illegal immigration has many faces: rejected asylum seekers, people who have overstayed their visas and those who have entered a country illegally. Their motivations for leaving their homelands range from seeking economic opportunity to avoiding persecution. Illegal immigration creates a large population living outside the law and produces an underground economy where malpractices and exploitation flourish. A person with no legal status cannot be integrated into society or be granted citizenship, and receives health care and education services only with great difficulty. In short, irregular immigrants have no access to the factors critical to successful integration.

As a number of chapters in *Opening the Door?* describe, European countries such as Belgium, Spain, Greece and Germany have undertaken regularisations, bringing irregular immigrants within the law and allowing them to stay in the country. Where regularisation is undertaken continuously, the process tends to go unnoticed. However, mass regularisations attract publicity. In several countries, including Spain, they have been opposed by member parties of the EPP, and a 2010 resolution of EPP ministers explicitly stated that mass regularisations do not solve the problem of illegal immigration.<sup>2</sup>

Member States increasingly look to the EU to help provide solutions. Manfred Weber's chapter on the EPP Group highlights the importance of Frontex, the EU agency that coordinates cooperation on border security. He argues that Frontex should have stronger enforcement rights and greater financial resources. A strengthened Frontex would enable a more consistent European border policy. The chapter by Syrigos argues that, if properly implemented, readmission agreements between the EU and third countries could solve many of the problems of illegal immigration.

## Integration

The authors of several chapters, including those on Austria and Germany, point out that immigration and integration were not a serious part of European political discussion until the late 1980s. The assumption was that immigration did not exist as a significant phenomenon in post-war Europe. Labour policies were based on the belief that immigrant workers would return to their countries of origin. Integration was not a priority and the process was often left in the hands of ethnic minority organisations, some of which were heavily influenced



<sup>2</sup> European People's Party, 'EPP Common Position on "Perspectives of the EU Asylum System"', 17 November 2010, accessed at <http://www.epp.eu/press.asp?artid=1505&fullview=1>.

by the politics of their country of origin. In Central and Eastern European Member States immigration issues only came under more thorough discussion in the 2000s.

Issues of integration were thus largely depoliticised for most of the second half of the twentieth century. According to Catherine de Wenden's chapter, integration policies in France were, at least until recently, less politically charged than immigration policies. While the centre-left idealised multi-ethnic societies, centre-right parties sometimes preferred not to address the issue at all.

In Western Europe it has been societal concern over issues such as street crime that has prompted the immigration debate. Right-wing populist parties have raised the issues of immigration and integration, often in inflammatory ways. They have broken the political taboo that once discouraged public debate on the subject and, in doing so, have pressed mainstream parties on the right and left to adopt stricter stances or at least to openly address the issue. Integration is not necessarily a primary concern for populists; they use it to tap into a general dissatisfaction with the state of the European economy and with the European project. This is illustrated in the chapter on Finland by Erkkka Railo, the chapter on Austria by Christian Kasper and Christian Moser, and the chapter on France by Catherine de Wenden.

The contributors to the book *Opening the Door?* agree that the goal of integration is equal access for immigrants to social, labour and civic rights, so that there is no difference in opportunities and living conditions between immigrants and other members of the host societies. The authors concur that a certain degree of adaptation by the immigrant to the host society is necessary for successful integration, which includes mastery of the host country's language and the acquisition of a reasonable understanding of its customs and history. Most authors stress the need for host societies to preserve their cultural identities, while also agreeing that immigrants must preserve a part of their identities as well. Some authors argue that adaptation depends on a degree of assimilation, while others see assimilation as a negative process.

To demonstrate the point, Mary-Anne Kate gives the official EU definition of integration as a 'dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States' which 'implies respect for the basic values of the European Union'. She nevertheless states that effective policies to bridge the gap between segmented communities have yet to be adopted.

Some of the authors, including those of the chapters on Austria and Spain, point out that parallel societies emerging alongside majority populations are a danger to the general constitutional order of European countries, as well as a source of problems such as forced marriage. Integration is therefore not only about improving immigrants' opportunities but has also become the basis for an important ideological and philosophical debate.



The issue of integration, like that of immigration, has many facets. These include the success of integration, economic policy, employment, education, citizenship, political participation and the Islamic religion.

### Assessing integration

The integration of immigrants into Europe is often said to be fraught with potential failure because of deficits in the socio-economic profile of immigrants and non-EU nationals. Immigrants and their descendants tend to have lower educational outcomes, live in poorer housing and earn lower wages for the same work than the local populations.<sup>3</sup> These factors, as well as the persistence of closed ethnic communities in Western European cities, seem to show that mistakes in integration policies have been made.

The authors in *Opening the Door?* do not agree on this matter. The two chapters on Germany (by Michael Borchard and Stefan Luft) offer a relatively positive view of integration policies, and Luft points out that Germany has not experienced urban riots such as those that have occurred in France. Several authors describe official attempts to improve integration. Elena Ribera, for example, outlines the steps necessary to create a universal reception service for immigrants across Catalonia—intended to assist them and ultimately increase their independence—that would provide information about the legal requirements they have to meet as well as the services available to them. Other authors, for example Rojas, point out that the provision of services to immigrants to Spain is overly generous, creating an entitlement to education and health care even for irregular immigrants and thereby providing incentives for ‘immigration to welfare’. Kasper and Moser and Charalambos Vrasidas et al. emphasise the deficiencies in the policies for the integration of immigrants in Austria and Cyprus respectively.

### Economic policy

Several authors make a link between immigration and economic policy. Economic growth and a rise in living standards in the 1990s created incentives for people to come to European countries such as Greece, Spain, Finland and Cyprus. As a result, these countries evolved from sources of emigration into destinations for immigration.

Immigration also plays a role in national economic policy. On average, people who come to Europe tend to have lower skill levels than the local populations. Rojas argues that importing cheap unskilled labour from abroad has postponed economic reforms in Spain.



<sup>3</sup> S. Green, ‘The Challenge of Immigrant Integration in Europe’, *European View* 5 (Spring 2007), 47–52.

## Employment

There is little disagreement among the authors of *Opening the Door?* that participation in the labour market is a precondition for successful integration into a host country. Through economic participation immigrants become self-reliant which, in turn, enables their integration into society. Employment allows people to live outside Europe's urban 'ethnic colonies'; it links immigrants to the majority society. In her chapter on the EU, Kate refers to the Europe 2020 strategy, which describes legal migration as a pull factor in addressing labour shortages and which also recognises the importance of immigrant integration into the labour market as a means of raising the overall employment level.<sup>4</sup> As we learn from the chapters on Austria, Germany and particularly Finland, many immigrant groups suffer from higher levels of unemployment and have lower labour force participation than the indigenous population. This contrasts with Spain and Hungary, where economic immigrants have had higher employment and economic activity levels than the native population.

Several authors refer to the economic abuse, maltreatment and marginalisation of immigrants by employers and make the case for improved support for victims of racism and xenophobia. Although these phenomena are highlighted in the chapters by Vrasidas et al. (Cyprus), Matej Avbelj (Slovenia) and Gyárfášová et al. (Slovakia), they are by no means limited to these countries. The chapters by Rojas (Spain) and Ribera (Catalonia) highlight immigrants' much higher vulnerability to economic downturns. Across Europe the labour market for immigrants is characterised by low wages, instability and a lack of regulation.

## Education

Education is closely linked to societal cohesion and political and civic participation, and there are two considerations when dealing with this in the context of immigration. One concerns the extent to which immigrants already possess education and skills that can be applied in the host economy. The authors of *Opening the Door?* indicate that European countries have been attracting immigrants with generally lower levels of education than those of the domestic populations, making immigrants more vulnerable to changes in the labour market.

The other consideration is the educational attainment of immigrants and their children in host countries, which is often below average. (Rita Izsák notes that Hungary may be the exception, with immigrants' performance possibly better than that of the native population.) Young immigrants are more likely to leave secondary education early and in several countries there are problems with their access to education.

Several authors cite evidence that higher unemployment and lower educational attainment persist into the second and third generations of immigrants. The second generation tends



<sup>4</sup> European Commission, *Europe 2020: A Strategy for Smart, Sustainable and Inclusive Growth*, Communication from the Commission, COM(2010) 2020, 3 March 2010, accessed at [http://ec.europa.eu/news/economy/100303\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/news/economy/100303_en.htm). The Commission has even argued, in its 2010 *Demography Report*, that the integration of migrants and their descendants is a condition for the success of the Europe 2020 strategy. See European Commission, *Demography Report 2010*, Commission Staff Working Document, 2010, accessed at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/population/documents/Tab/report.pdf>.

to feel alienated, which often results in anti-social behaviour, an elevated school drop-out rate and unemployment. (See, for example, the chapters on Austria, Spain and Germany).

The extent to which schooling helps overall integration is an important issue. The chapter by Angelos Syrigos outlines how the Greek education system helps children to find their way into society, although problems may arise in classes where the majority of pupils are the children of immigrants. The chapter on Cyprus notes that including immigrant children in education also helps their parents by stimulating the parents' interest in schooling, and notes the importance of developing an intercultural education for the majority and minorities alike.

The authors of the chapter on Austria cite a study on violence in schools in that country. It found that ethnic Austrian youths tend to display the same levels of violence as immigrant youths but that the motivations of the two groups differ: Austrian youths turn to violence out of anger or in self-defence, while immigrants use violence in an effort to be accepted.

As an essential part of education, language skill is a precondition for social, economic and cultural participation. This is mentioned by Rain Sannik in the chapter on Estonia, where the government has emphasised that knowledge of Estonian is important to preserve both a common identity and national security. The challenge lies in the fact that only 15% of non-Estonians believe they have a good command of the language.

## Citizenship

The authors of *Opening the Door?* hold different views on citizenship. Vrasidas et al. argue that immigrants' access to citizenship improves their chances of successful integration in Cyprus. Similarly, De Francesco states that in Belgium, awarding citizenship is seen as a step on the way to integration. Syrigos's chapter on Greece makes the opposite argument—that citizenship should come as a reward for an immigrant's efforts to integrate. In the chapter on Germany, Luft also encourages caution in granting citizenship, arguing that premature naturalisation creates disincentives for immigrants to integrate into society. Kate's chapter on the EU contrasts the views of the European Commission with that of the Member States: the Commission's view is that naturalisation facilitates integration; Member States generally view naturalisation as a reward for those who have already integrated. In some Member States citizenship tests act as barriers to naturalisation. Kate argues that this prevents access to European citizenship as enshrined in the Treaty of Maastricht. Gyárfášová et al. criticise the Slovak citizenship policy as too strict; de Wenden makes the same point about France. In contrast, de Francesco notes that Belgium has one of the EU's most liberal views on nationality. In Estonia, Sannik writes, the prevention of segregation based on nationality has been an important priority for the government.



The chapters on Hungary and Germany show that these countries have made use of preferential naturalisation for ethnic Hungarians and Germans respectively. In France, the republican tradition does not allow such an approach. Instead, French policy is based on territory, where socio-economic indicators determine the policies affecting people living in the country.

### Political and civic participation

Political participation on the part of immigrants and their descendants, one of the factors aiding or preventing integration into host societies, can be viewed from at least two angles. One is the presence of people of immigrant descent in governments, parliaments and regionally and locally elected bodies and political parties. From the evidence presented in *Opening the Door?* it can be seen that this representation can be rated as poor in all the countries covered.

Another angle is the degree of active participation of immigrants as voters and members of civil society. In his chapter on Germany, Borchard points out that where young people have high education levels, no difference exists in political participation between the majority society and people of immigrant origin. Borchard also mentions that the voting behaviour of second and third generations of immigrants is little different from that of the majority. Finally, he states that we do not have enough data on the electoral behaviour of immigrants and their descendants, a message that could be applied to all the countries featured in this publication. (One problem is that in several countries, including Germany and France, the ethnic or migratory background of citizens is not registered. This makes it difficult to statistically measure the different characteristics of immigrants and their descendants.)

There is little disagreement among the authors of *Opening the Door?* that if immigrants participate in society as volunteers, members of trade unions and within community organisations, this contributes to their integration and to a better society. Nevertheless, not all authors agree on the degree to which immigrant organisations should participate in shaping immigration policies. While Vrasidas et al. criticise the Cypriot government for ignoring civil society institutions representing immigrants, Kasper and Moser indicate that the immigration lobby may present inaccurate information. In addition, Manfred Weber, in his chapter on the EPP Group, states that non-governmental organisations should not be extensively involved in training the civil servants who work for the European Asylum Support Office. Furthermore, the chapters on Austria and Spain illustrate how minorities in the immigrant population may interpret political rights in a manner incompatible with a democratic regime.



## Islam

In Europe, Islam and Islamism have become increasingly controversial following terrorist attacks in the US and Europe in the first decade of the twenty-first century. These attacks have increased popular fear of Islam, a fear that tends to blur the distinction between Islam and terrorism. The electoral successes of right-wing populists with anti-Islamic agendas—for example in the Netherlands—are a reflection of a deep shift in public attitudes. The long history of Islam in Europe, especially in the southern countries, has been forgotten in the current debates.

In *Opening the Door?* Islam is high on the agenda in the chapters on Spain and Greece, which both mention organised militant groups and sympathies to, or tolerance of, violent Islam among a minority of Muslims. While there are a number of mosques in Spanish, French, German and Belgian cities, there are none in the urban areas of Greece and there is a concern that the informal prayer rooms that have been established operate on the margins of Greek society. Another issue is the wearing of the veil, and the chapter on the EU discusses the advantages and disadvantages of banning this garment.

Two chapters touch upon the book by the German Social Democratic politician Thilo Sarrazin, *Deutschland schafft sich ab* (Germany abolishes itself) published in 2010. This book has contributed to bringing the topic of integration onto the agenda of mainstream centre-right and centre-left parties in Europe. Sarrazin's central argument is that German society suffers from unproductive Muslim immigrants and their descendants, who do not integrate into society. Luft, in his chapter on Germany, and Kasper and Moser, in their chapter on Austria, argue that Sarrazin's book creates a stereotypical portrait of people of the Muslim faith, based on selective statistics and a false premise of biological determinism.

Overall, the contributors to *Opening the Door?* argue that the benefits of integration in Europe are not clear enough to many citizens and need to be further discussed by centre-right political parties. It seems that we still need a clear definition of the values and customs immigrants should aspire to and of what they should be encouraged to retain as part of their identity and cultural heritage.

## Policy design

Whether the topic is economic immigration, asylum, tackling illegal immigration or integration, this publication demonstrates that national positions on immigration and integration differ widely but that commonalities also exist across countries. These differences and commonalities concern the substance of immigration and integration policies, as well as their design—for instance, where policy decisions are taken within government structures and how different policies function together.



## Member States and the EU

The chapters in *Opening the Door?* operate on the correct assumption that the Member States hold the majority of constitutional powers on immigration and integration. As a consequence, national governments are dominant vis-à-vis the EU when it comes to policymaking. With the exception of federal Member States, national governments' powers are also much more extensive than those of sub-national bodies such as regions and municipalities.

The Lisbon Treaty of 2007 contains provisions to create common immigration and asylum policies.<sup>5</sup> The 2008 Pact on Immigration and Asylum sets out broad principles for EU migration policy: organising legal immigration, controlling illegal immigration, improving border controls, creating a Europe of asylum, and collaborating with countries of origin and transit.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, the chapters in *Opening the Door?* illustrate the fact that standards for immigration and integration have been difficult to set because of differences in national positions and circumstances.<sup>7</sup> As a result, progress in building common European policies has been slow and, in many ways, the EU's role remains aspirational. The economic crisis has only reinforced the role of the Member States in preference to EU structures.<sup>8</sup> At the EU level, a 'shared, supportive policy frame' for immigration is still missing.<sup>9</sup>

## Federal states

Unlike immigration policies, which invariably are regulated at the national level, integration policies may be decentralised in federal states. Of the countries covered in *Opening the Door?* such decentralisation is practised in Spain and Belgium, while Germany and Austria tackle most integration policies at the federal level.

In Belgium, integration is the responsibility of the language communities. This has led to differences in the programmes implemented. According to de Francesco, Belgium's integration models are inspired by the French republican tradition and the (now abandoned) Dutch multicultural models. One of the consequences is that integration programmes run by the French community are voluntary while integration programmes operated by the Flemish community are obligatory for third-country nationals. The latter programmes focus on civic integration and creating 'new Flemings'.

In Spain, there is a highly decentralised system with a weak national integration policy. As Ribera highlights in the chapter on Catalonia, the multi-level and multi-faceted nature of integration policies has been a source of disagreement between Catalan and Spanish authorities. This has concerned the language that immigrants in Catalonia should be primarily taught, as well as other requirements.



<sup>5</sup> Treaty of Lisbon (Consolidated versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union), Official Journal of the European Union C83 Volume 53 (30 March 2010), accessed at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/JOHtml.do?uri=OJ:C:2010:083:SOM:EN:HTML>. Articles 62, 63 and 63a.

<sup>6</sup> Council of the European Union, 'European Pact on Immigration and Asylum', 24 September 2008, accessed at [http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/justice\\_freedom\\_security/free\\_movement\\_of\\_persons\\_asylum\\_immigration/jl0038\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/justice_freedom_security/free_movement_of_persons_asylum_immigration/jl0038_en.htm).

<sup>7</sup> See E. Collett, 'Beyond Stockholm: Overcoming the Inconsistencies of Immigration Policy', EPC Working Paper 32 (Brussels: European Policy Centre, 15 December 2009), accessed at [http://epceu.accounts.combell.net/pub\\_details.php?cat\\_id=1&pub\\_id=513](http://epceu.accounts.combell.net/pub_details.php?cat_id=1&pub_id=513).

This confirms an earlier observation by Varvitsiotis that immigration and integration policies are 'shaped by the conflicts and idiosyncrasies of the actors involved'. See I. Varvitsiotis, 'Is a Common European Immigration Policy Possible?', *European View* 5 (Spring 2007), 115–20.

<sup>8</sup> Collett, 'Beyond Stockholm'.

<sup>9</sup> S. Lavenex, 'Which European Asylum System? Security versus Human Rights Considerations in the Europeanisation Process', *European View* 5 (Spring 2007), 63–70.

## Coherence and capacity of policies

Irrespective of the level of government involved, policy coherence is an issue in a number of countries. Very few have comprehensive policy frameworks for immigration. Several countries and regions covered in *Opening the Door?* have strategic policy documents for integration, including Germany, Estonia, Slovakia and Catalonia.

Strategic policy and comprehensive legislation is important, but it is not a substitute for a well-functioning immigration and integration system. A number of chapters point out problems with policy coordination and information sharing between government agencies and levels. The chapters on Belgium and Finland, in particular, highlight the fragmentation of political and administrative agencies. However, this problem is not limited to these two countries.

Policies need to be developed and coordinated across government departments. They should not be confined to ministries of the interior, the department that traditionally deals with immigration. In addition, national integration policies are often not assessed and evaluated by the appropriate authorities.

There is also a need to further develop the capacity of EPP member parties to deal with immigration and integration. As several chapters illustrate, their programmes and capacities could be improved.

## Policy recommendations

This final section offers policy recommendations based on the arguments presented in the book *Opening the Door?* As Member States are responsible for policymaking, the recommendations for both the EU and the Member States are presented jointly. Without the approval of the Council, composed of national governments, an EU immigration policy cannot exist. Integration policies are also predominantly within the competence of the Member States.

### Overall

- Bearing in mind national differences, further channels should be opened for legal immigration and efforts to close illegal channels should be enhanced.
- The EU should work with the Member States that have the greatest inflow of irregular immigrants and asylum seekers. The focus should be on improving administrative procedures and technical capabilities.



- With both legal and illegal immigration, it is necessary to ensure that officials are sensitive to the victims of human trafficking, torture and trauma. The Member States should therefore educate their police, judiciary and public prosecutors about human rights and immigration laws.
- Both Member States and the EU should implement policies for circular migration from North Africa.
- The EPP and its member parties should establish mechanisms for consultation and coordination on immigration and integration policies.

### **Economic immigration**

- It is crucial to recognise that programmes for legal immigration are currently underdeveloped. Legal avenues for migration could be expanded so as to meet skills shortages and assist with the resettlement of refugees.
- The EU and its Member States should continue to discuss the ways in which immigration can supply ageing European societies with workers, while keeping in mind that this is only one approach to dealing with the demographic challenge.

### **Asylum**

- Efforts should be continued to develop a Common European Asylum System to address both the differences in refugee protection between individual Member States and the sharing of responsibilities under the Dublin II Regulation on the return of asylum seekers within the EU.

### **Illegal immigration**

- Recognising that illegal immigration undermines the rule of law, the Member States and the EU should continue to exchange information and examples of good practice in tackling illegal immigration.
- The EU and its Member States should support a stronger Frontex, with the technical and personnel framework necessary to fulfil its role as well as an awareness of the rights of those who genuinely seek asylum in the EU.
- The EU should continue its dialogue with third countries on the readmission of irregular immigrants; existing readmission agreements have helped stem illegal immigration.



- Member States and the EU should continue discussing opportunities for regularisation on an ad-hoc basis for those migrants who are unlikely to return or be returned to their country of origin.

## Integration

- In developing integration policies for immigrants, Member States should draw on the experiences of countries that score highly on the Migrant Integration Policy Index.
- The EU should work with Member States to increase the employment rate of legal immigrants in accordance with a vision for humanity that seeks to enable each person, regardless of ethnic or religious roots, to be a productive and valuable part of the community.
- Member States should increase efforts to implement EU legislation on preventing racial discrimination in the work-place and providing equal access to services.
- Education for immigrants must be tackled, including the issues of educational attainment, leaving school early and language proficiency.
- The problem of second- and third-generation immigrants, who often feel alienated from society, must also be addressed.
- Member States should, in collaboration with the EU, continue discussing national citizenship for third-country immigrants.
- Member States, political parties and the EU need to work to improve the political representation of immigrants in parties, governments, parliaments, and regional and local councils.
- Member States should work with the EU to prevent the emergence of parallel societies based on ethnicity or religion that defy individual liberty. The laws and central norms of the host country, such as equal rights between women and men, need to be respected by all groups in society, irrespective of faith or culture.

## Policy design



- Member States and the EU should continue to formulate common European policies on immigration and integration.

- Member States should continue to develop national strategic policy frameworks for immigration and integration.
- Member States should examine the workings of agencies dealing with immigration and integration, and address policy and institutional cooperation as appropriate.

## Appendix: Authors of chapters in the book *Opening the Door? Immigration and Integration in the European Union*

Author	Chapter title	Appointing Foundation
Vít Novotný	Immigration and the Arab Spring	CES
Mauricio Rojas Mullor	Spain: time of reckoning after the immigration boom	Foundation for Social Research and Analysis (FAES), Madrid
Elena Ribera i Garijo	Catalonia (Spain): immigration and integration at the regional level	Miquel Coll I Alentorn Institute of Humanistic Studies (INEHCA), Barcelona
Marian Zulean and Irina Roventa	Romania: where Europe ends	Institute for Popular Studies (ISP), Bucharest
Rain Sannik	Estonia: integration of stateless individuals and third-country residents	Pro Patria Training Centre (KPP), Tallinn
Christian Kasper and Christian Moser	Austria: the Red-White-Red Card starts a new era	Political Academy of the Austrian People's Party (PoA), Vienna
Charalambos Vrasidas, Sotiris Themistokleous and Michalinos Zembylas	Cyprus: a country of growing immigration	Institute for Eurodemocracy Glafkos Clerides (EGC), Leukosia
Catherine Wihtol de Wenden	France: unresolved controversies facing a country with a long history of immigration	CES
Angelos Syrigos	Greece: the challenges of illegal immigration	Konstantinos Karamanlis Institute for Democracy (KKID), Athens
Paolo de Francesco	Belgium: immigration and integration in a federal state	CEDER Study Centre of CD&V, Brussels



Author	Chapter title	Appointing Foundation
Oľga Gyárfášová, Miroslava Hlinčíková, and Martina Sekulová	Slovakia: new migration flows and challenges for integration policies	Institute for Modern Slovakia (IPMS), Bratislava
Matej Avbelj	Slovenia: a transit country inhospitable to economic migrants	Institute dr. Jože Pučnik (IJP), Ljubljana
Rita Izsák	Hungary: a changing picture of immigration	Foundation for a Civic Hungary (PMA), Budapest
Stefan Luft	Germany: integration as a sensitive topic with many facets	Hanns Seidel Foundation (HSS), Munich
Michael Borchard	Germany: political parties and the integration debate	Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS), Berlin
Erkka Railo	Finland: the slow awakening of immigration policy	National Educational Association (KANSIO), Helsinki
Mary-Anne Kate	The EU: migrants' pathways and EU policy responses	CES
Manfred Weber, MEP	The EPP Group in the European Parliament: asylum and other immigration issues	CES
Vít Novotný	Synthesis	CES

## About the author

Vít Novotný, PhD, is a Research Officer at the Centre for European Studies. His expertise includes immigration and integration, equality policies (including disability, race and age), labour-market policies, public administration, and regionalism in Europe.



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