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## Comparative Study of U.S. and E.U. Experiences With Policies on Immigration Controls

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**COMPARATIVE STUDY OF U.S. AND E.U. EXPERIENCES WITH POLICIES ON  
IMMIGRATION CONTROLS**

A Master's Thesis

Presented to

The Graduate College of  
Missouri State University

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science, Defense and Strategic Studies

By

Daniel A. Brady

December 2018

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# **COMPARATIVE STUDY OF U.S. AND E.U. EXPERIENCES WITH POLICIES ON IMMIGRATION CONTROLS**

Defense and Strategic Studies

Missouri State University, December 2018

Master of Science

Daniel A. Brady

## **ABSTRACT**

The year 2015 marked a colossal change in how the world views immigration. The migration crisis of Europe and the emergence of President Donald Trump continue to have lasting impacts. Major political, demographic, and social conflicts are playing out in the U.S. and Europe over migration. In the U.S., President Trump has been able to enact anti-immigration sentiment into policy. Contrary to that, in Europe, the 28 member states of the European Union have failed to come up with a clear, unifying plan to deal with the migration crisis. The consequences of migration will be harsher and less manageable in Europe than in the United States for a number of reasons. How Europe handles the migration issue along with other issues will have an impact on the United States and its security alliance. In addition, how the United States and Europe handle foreign policy issues will depend greatly on cooperation and support from one another as both face internal challenges. This paper demonstrates how immigration affects national security, public perceptions, and policies within the European Union and the United States.

**KEYWORDS:** refugee, migrant, lawful permanent resident, asylum, asylum seeker

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In the interest of academic freedom and the principle of free speech, approval of this thesis indicates the format is acceptable and meets the academic criteria for the discipline as determined by the faculty that constitute the thesis committee. The content and views expressed in this thesis are those of the student-scholar and are not endorsed by Missouri State University, its Graduate College, or its employees.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction	Page 1
Chapter 2: Historical Effects of Immigration in the U.S.	Page 5
Chapter 3: Legislative Changes in the 20 <sup>th</sup> Century and Their 21 <sup>st</sup> Century Implications	Page 12
Chapter 4: How 9/11 Changed the Public Perception on Immigration in the U.S.	Page 19
Chapter 5: The Trump Administration’s Plan on Immigration	Page 28
Chapter 6: The Role of Migrants in American Society	Page 38
Chapter 7: European Evolution After World War II	Page 44
Chapter 8: Europe’s Migrant Crisis and its Implications	Page 54
Chapter 9: The Role of Migrants in European Society	Page 62
Chapter 10: The Role of the Migrant Crisis in Shifting the Political Landscape in Europe	Page 69
Chapter 11: Conclusion	Page 77
References	Page 82

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Immigration into the United States Page 10

Table 2. Number of Asylum Seekers in Europe Surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015 Page 51

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. U.S. Foreign-Born Share Projected to Hit Record Milestone by 2065	Page 15
Figure 2. Schengen Area Map	Page 49
Figure 3. Migration Paths to Europe	Page 56

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Humans have been migrating across the world for millions of years. Migratory flows had and still have a plethora of positive and negative effects for all societies. Protecting one's society from different identities, races, cultures, etc., dates back into centuries. Currently, the world is going through a refugee crisis with monumental socio-economic and political implications. The United Nations estimates that there were 65 million refugees and internally displaced people around the world in 2015. That is the highest number recorded in the United Nation's 70-year history, about one person in every 113 people on Earth.<sup>1</sup>

More than two million people crossed into Europe during the crisis in Syria, leaving the European community to scramble to find an answer to the crisis at hand. The effects of the recent migrant crisis have been felt in the United States as well: a record number of asylum seekers from the Middle East have applied to reside in the United States.<sup>2</sup> In addition, the United States has been struggling to solve the border issues in the South for decades. The political landscape continues to change in Europe and the United States as they undergo rapid alterations. Immigration has divided the Eastern and Western European nations: the majority of Eastern European nations have defied the demands to accept growing quotas of migrants. Immigration problems have also sharpened the ideological divides between Democrats and Republicans in the United States.

Migrants from areas of conflict in the Middle East and North Africa that include so-called "foreign fighters" create special security problems for receiving European states. Similar

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<sup>1</sup> Rice, Condoleezza, and Amy B. Zegart. *Political Risk: Facing the Threat of Global Insecurity in the Twenty-first*

<sup>2</sup> Connor, Phillip. "U.S. Admits Record Number of Muslim Refugees in 2016." Pew Research Center (2016).

problems begin to emerge for the United States. Terrorist organizations have openly stated in the past that they would exploit any openings in the flow of refugees into Western countries to sow violence and crime. In 2015 Europe essentially opened its borders, and then candidate Donald Trump announced his plans to essentially close the U.S. borders if elected.

Immigration policies in United States and Europe share similarities and possess differences. Both have had favorable views toward a more open immigration policy at one point in their respective histories, however currently, the general public on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean have growing serious concerns over expanding immigration flows. Following the events of 9/11, the refugee crisis of 2015, and the election of Donald Trump, both the European Union and the United States heard progressively more voices in favor of tougher immigration rules. The debate over immigration led to a U.S. government shutdown in 2018. The recent wave of terror attacks and growing criminality in European capitals led to the rise of anti-immigrant parties across Europe. Now, in late 2018, the number of migrants crossing into the United States and Europe has decreased, but the implications are beginning to play out on both landmasses.

Refugee: The United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, as amended by its 1967 Protocol, defines a refugee:

As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well- founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. In the case of a person who has more than one nationality, the term “the country of his nationality” shall mean each of the countries of which he is a national, and a person shall not be deemed to be lacking the protection of the country of his nationality if, without

any valid reason based on well-founded fear, he has not availed himself of the protection of one of the countries of which he is a national.”<sup>3</sup>

Refugee status is given to applicants by the United Nations or by a third party, such as the United States.

**Migrant:** The United Nations defines migrants:

“...as those who change their residence from one place to another for a given amount of time not including business people or tourists.”<sup>4</sup>

**Asylum:** The American Immigration Council defines asylum:

“...Asylum is a protection granted to foreign nationals already in the United States or at the border who meet the international law definition of a ‘refugee.’ The United Nations 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol define a refugee as a person who is unable or willing to return to his or her home country, and cannot obtain protection in that country, due to past persecution or a well-founded fear of being persecuted in the future ‘on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or a political opinion.’”<sup>5</sup>

**Asylum Seeker:** The International Rescue Committee defines an asylum seeker as:

“An asylum seeker is someone who is also seeking international protection from danger in his or her home country, but whose claim for refugee status hasn’t been determined legally.”<sup>6</sup>

Asylum seekers must apply for protection in the country of destination—meaning they must arrive at or cross a border in order to apply.

**Lawful Permanent Resident:** The Department of Homeland Security defines a lawful permanent resident as:

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<sup>3</sup> United, Nations. "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees." *Annual Review of Population law* 16 (1989): 14.

<sup>4</sup> Batsaikhan, Uriintuya, Zsolt Darvas, and Inês Gonçalves Raposo. *People on the move: migration and mobility in the European Union*. Bruegel Blueprint Series 28, (22 January 2018): 21

<sup>5</sup> "Asylum in the United States." American Immigration Council. 2018.

<sup>6</sup> "Migrants, Asylum Seekers, Refugees and Immigrants: What's the Difference?" International Rescue Committee (IRC). 2018.

“An alien admitted to the United States as a lawful permanent resident. Permanent residents are also commonly referred to as immigrants; however, the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) broadly define an immigrant as any alien in the United States, except one legally admitted under specific nonimmigrant categories.”<sup>7</sup>

Lawful permanent residents are legally accorded the privilege of residing permanently in the United States. They may be issued immigrant visas by the Department of State overseas or adjusted to permanent resident status by the Department of Homeland Security in the United States.

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<sup>7</sup> "Definition of Terms." Department of Homeland Security. 2018.

## CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL EFFECTS OF IMMIGRATION IN THE U.S.

Historically, the United States has a long celebrated story of attracting millions of people from around the world under one nation. Immigrants brought the entrepreneurial spirit to this country, enriched our lives and culture, and kept the United States demographically young and competitive. Immigrants help provide the U.S. access to global markets and augment American influence around the world. However, most recently, over the last few decades, Americans started experiencing concerns over the impact of immigration flows on their values, safety, security and economic wellbeing. The debate over “how many migrants is too many” has divided Americans, Republicans and Democrats alike, from having “open borders” to calls for building a wall at the southern border.

The Hoover Institution has determined in “*Making and Remaking America Immigration into the United States*” that overall, the United States has gone through three periods of immigration attitudes: a laissez-faire approach in which there were few limits of arrivals; qualitative restrictions, which did not limit the number of immigrant arrivals but excluded a certain group of immigrants, and finally quantitative restrictions, which included numerical limits as well as qualitative restrictions.<sup>8</sup>

The laissez-faire approach is considered to be the years 1780-1875 where the United States had an open door policy and essentially anyone could enter the country at their will. This isn't to say that there wasn't hostility towards certain groups that did arrive, but rather there were very few restrictions on the number of people coming in. Political leaders like Ben Franklin and Thomas Jefferson were skeptical about the amount of Germans coming to the country because

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<sup>8</sup> Martin, Philip L., and Peter Duignan. *Making and Remaking America: Immigration into the United States*. U.S: Hoover Press, (2003): 3.

they believed that the German language was a barrier not compatible with the language and culture that the previous settlers established. They were worried that the Germans were to preserve their own culture while changing the English culture and that they did not understand the value of personal liberty.<sup>9</sup>

Most colonists, however, wanted more people to come and develop the new nation that had just fought for its independence against the British. Industries from the manufacturing industries and shipping yards needed new labor and Europeans came in droves to fill those labor needs because workers were most easily found in Ireland and Germany.<sup>10</sup> Between the years 1783 and 1820, an estimated 250,000 new arrivals came to the United States. The Naturalization Act of 1790 helped new arrivals to obtain citizenship easily.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, slaves were becoming a bigger proportion of the population in the New World. By 1810, the slave population totaled around 1.1 million and by 1860 it had totaled to around 4 million.<sup>12</sup> The United States had imported around 600,000 to 650,000 Africans, only around 6 percent of all the slaves brought in from Africa.<sup>13</sup>

By the 1830's, the United States stood behind China, Australia, and Russia as the largest nation in the world and was a proven economic powerhouse at that time.<sup>14</sup> The mass influx of people, specifically the Catholic immigrants, began to result in violence as the new immigrants and nativists clashed on the streets. This was made evident by the homicide rate in New York

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<sup>9</sup> Zolberg, Aristide. "Rethinking the last 200 years of US immigration policy." *Migration Information Source*, (2006).

<sup>10</sup> Martin, Philip L., and Peter Duignan. *Making and Remaking America: Immigration into the United States*. U.S: Hoover Press, (2003): 3

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Kolchin, Peter. *American Slavery, 1619-1877*. New York: Hill and Wang, (2003): 22.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 22.

<sup>14</sup> Schweikart, Larry, and Michael Patrick Allen. *A Patriot's History of the United States: From Columbus's Great Discovery to the War on Terror*. USA: Penguin, (2004): 264.

City, which nearly tripled from 1830 to 1860.<sup>15</sup> New York City's population had gone from 123,000 in 1820 to 515,000 in 1850. The United States had more than 50,000 immigrants coming in a year in 1832, a majority from Ireland. Overall, immigrants and foreign-born residents in the U.S. rose from 60,000 in 1820 to 2.2 million by 1850.<sup>16</sup> The United States was very open to immigration during this period but the growing hostility towards immigrants would soon turn to the first anti-immigration legislation.

The qualitative restriction period in the immigration policies in the United States was from 1875 to 1920. The end of the Civil War shifted immigration regulation from the states to the federal government. The beginning of the qualitative restriction period began with the exclusion of convicts and prostitutes.<sup>17</sup> Following the ban of convicts and prostitutes, the United States enacted one of the first anti-immigration acts: The Immigration Act of 1882 also referred to as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Years earlier, many Chinese immigrants came by the thousands to the West Coast in search of employment. Resentment grew from the people already settled there and they quickly despised the Chinese. The Chinese Exclusion Act stated:

Chapter 126. - An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese. Whereas, in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof: Therefore, Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and until the expiration of ten years next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is hereby, suspended; during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborer to come, or, having so come after the expiration of said ninety days, to remain within the United States.<sup>18</sup>

Even President Woodrow Wilson showed his disdain for the new immigrants stating:

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid. 265.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 266.

<sup>17</sup> Martin, Philip L., and Peter Duignan. *Making and Remaking America: Immigration into the United States*. U.S: Hoover Press, (2003): 5.

<sup>18</sup> *Congressional Record-Senate*. Report. (1904).

“Immigrants poured in as before, but ... now there come multitudes of men of lowest class from the south of Italy and men of the meanest sort out of Hungary and Poland, men out of the ranks where there was neither skill nor energy nor any initiative of quick intelligence; and they came in numbers which increased from year to year, as if the countries of the south of Europe were disburdening themselves of the more sordid and hapless elements of their population.”<sup>19</sup>

The ban on Chinese immigrants was eventually lifted in 1943. Japan was excluded from this because the Japanese had agreed with the United States to limit the amount of passports it would issue for residency in the United States. This became known as the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907.<sup>20</sup> The negative sentiment towards immigrants continued, especially towards illiterate, poor immigrants. Congress voted on passing a literacy test for newly arriving immigrants over the age of 16.<sup>21</sup> The literacy tests failed to pass three times in 1896, 1913, and 1915, but in 1917 the veto was overridden due to national security fears of World War I, and any foreigners coming in who could not read in any language were barred entry.<sup>22</sup> The 1917 Act also implemented a new tax on the immigrants upon arrival and gave more discretion to immigration officials to make decisions on whom to accept and exclude.<sup>23</sup>

Claudia Goldin, author of *The Political Economy of Immigration Restriction in the U.S., 1890 to 1921*, found that where there was a greater percentage of foreign born in a city, there was lower sentiment towards restriction. A city’s population with 30 percent being foreign-born had overwhelming support for a pro-immigration stance. The anti-immigration stance was very

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<sup>19</sup> Martin, Philip L., and Peter Duignan. *Making and Remaking America: Immigration into the United States*. U.S: Hoover Press, (2003): 5.

<sup>20</sup> Zolberg, Aristide. "Rethinking the last 200 years of US immigration policy." *Migration Information Source*, (2006).

<sup>21</sup> Goldin, Claudia. "The political Economy of Immigration Restriction in the United States, 1890 to 1921." In *The regulated economy: A Historical Approach to Political Economy*. USA: University of Chicago Press, (1994): 224.

<sup>22</sup> Martin, Philip L., and Peter Duignan. *Making and Remaking America: Immigration into the United States*. U.S: Hoover Press, (2003): 5.

<sup>23</sup> "The Immigration Act of 1924 (The Johnson-Reed Act)." *Office of the Historian*. U.S. Department of State.

strong in cities where the population was 10 to 30 percent foreign born.<sup>24</sup> Immigration halted during World War I, but after the U.S. victory overseas, immigrants from Europe began to come to the United States once more. The literacy tests had failed to stem the flow of immigrants coming in. However, the House of Representatives commissioned a study and found that immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe had more “socially inadequate qualities” than Northwestern Europeans, effectively setting the next stage of the U.S. immigration policy.<sup>25</sup>

The final stage of the U.S. immigration, according to the Hoover Institution, is the Quantitative Restrictions period from 1921 onward. In 1921, the United States passed the Emergency Quota Act essentially ending the period of open immigration. The United States was no doubt a nation of immigrants by now. Many poor immigrants had made their way into America, but now America had finally closed the open door of immigration essentially overnight.<sup>26</sup> The Quota Act put specific number limitations on the amount of people who could come in. Each country’s number was set at 150,000 per year including wives and children.

Then came the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924, which further reduced the amount of people that could come in.<sup>27</sup> The Johnson-Reed Act provided that the immigration visas be two percent of the total number of people of each nationality in the United States per the 1890 national census. Asian immigrants were still barred from entering the country.<sup>28</sup> Immigration had fallen to 97,139 newcomers in 1931 and continued to fall to 23,048 in 1933 — the lowest immigration

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<sup>24</sup> Goldin, Claudia. "The political Economy of Immigration Restriction in the United States, 1890 to 1921." In *The regulated economy: A Historical Approach to Political Economy*. USA: University of Chicago Press, (1994): 224.

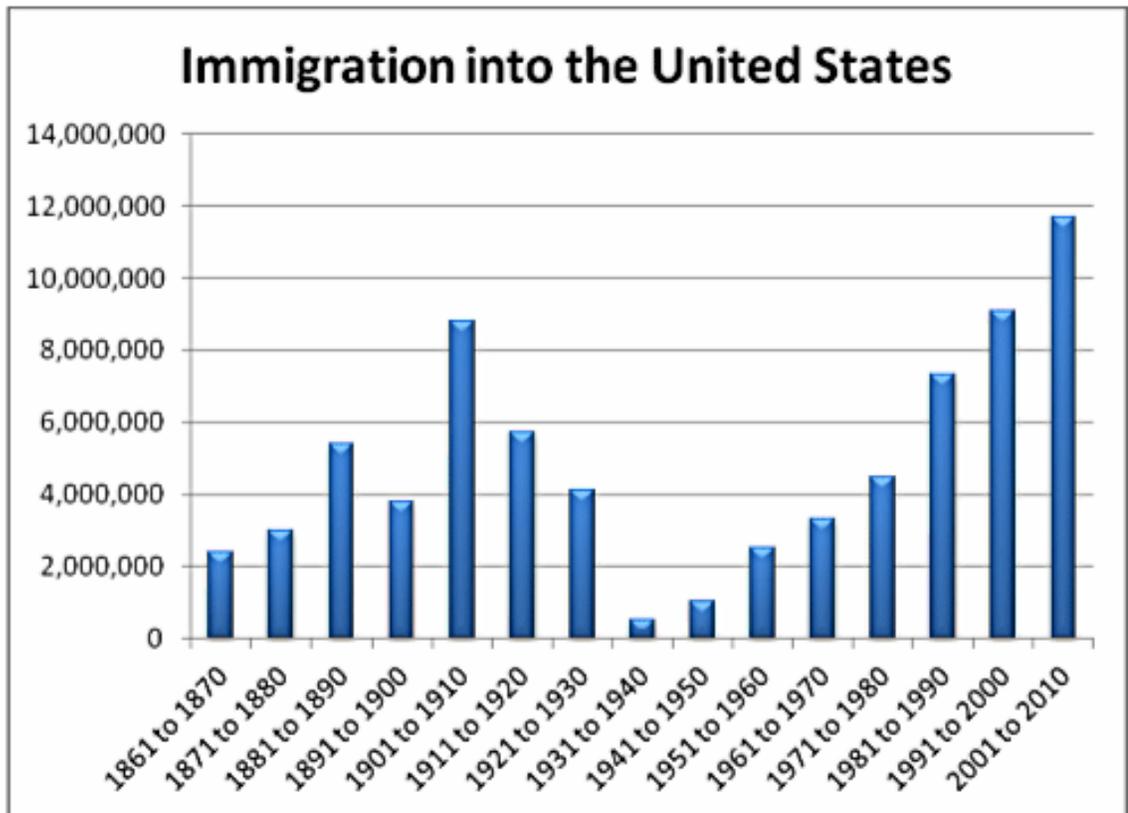
<sup>25</sup> Martin, Philip L., and Peter Duignan. *Making and Remaking America: Immigration into the United States*. U.S: Hoover Press, (2003): 5.

<sup>26</sup> Goldin, Claudia. "The political Economy of Immigration Restriction in the United States, 1890 to 1921." In *The regulated economy: A Historical Approach to Political Economy*. USA: University of Chicago Press, (1994): 223.

<sup>27</sup> "The Immigration Act of 1924 (The Johnson-Reed Act)." *Office of the Historian*. U.S. Department of State.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*.

level in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>29</sup> The Act, however, did not limit Mexican immigration. There was no border enforcement until 1924 and the number of Mexican-born U.S residents tripled from 120,00 to 368,000 during the 1920s.<sup>30</sup> The quota legislation had not applied to any country in North America hence Mexico not being barred entry. Mexican immigrants had been deported before World War II, but when the war broke out, the United States brought in Mexican immigrants to fill labor needs. Table 1 illustrates the amount of immigration that the United States has endured from 1861 to 2010:



**Table 1: Immigration into the United States (Source: U.S. Census Bureau)**

<sup>29</sup> Martin, Philip L., and Peter Duignan. *Making and Remaking America: Immigration into the United States*. U.S: Hoover Press, (2003): 6.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 6.

The population of Mexico and other Latin American countries would continue to grow inside the U.S. The Hoover Institution states, “Between 1955 and 1964, 50 percent of the immigrants were from Europe, 20 percent were from Latin America, and 8 percent were from Asia. Between 1975 and 1984, 13 percent of immigrants were from Europe, 44 percent were from Latin America, and 43 percent were from Asia.”<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Martin, Philip L., and Peter Duignan. *Making and Remaking America: Immigration into the United States*. U.S: Hoover Press, (2003): 7.

## CHAPTER 3: LEGISLATIVE CHANGES IN THE 20<sup>th</sup> CENTURY AND THEIR 21<sup>st</sup> CENTURY IMPLICATIONS

Despite the exclusionary legislation in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century that excluded some immigrant groups, the United States, today, is the third largest country by population with 327 million people. A new immigrant moves into the United States every 33 seconds according to the U.S. Census Bureau.<sup>32</sup> The U.S. culture has been shaped by people arriving from around the world while having a profound impact on the world. The United States is a very diverse country in terms of ethnic groups, languages spoken, etc. and has often been described as a “melting pot” of cultures under one nation.

Furthermore, the United States has no official language and the U.S. Census Bureau estimates more than 300 languages are spoken inside the country.<sup>33</sup> But waves of new immigrants have kept the United States young, competitive and enriched. It has kept our country economically competitive in the global market. Immigrants bring an entrepreneurial spirit and new ideas to the country and Americans in the 21<sup>st</sup> century have generally been welcoming to them and making them feel at home. There are indeed many factors that unite Americans such as the common allegiance to the ideas of freedom, liberty and the dream of giving our children a better life than the previous generation.

However, certain events and policies began to change how America views immigration. In *Illegal Immigration: A Reference Handbook*, the book cites four major elements when regarding immigration policy. First, is the effect that immigration has on the economy and the question of whether illegal immigration is an economic burden or a net positive. Second, how the

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<sup>32</sup> U.S. and World Population Clock." *U.S. Census Bureau*. (2005).

<sup>33</sup> "US Census Bureau. "*Census Bureau Reports at Least 350 Languages Spoken in U.S. Homes.* "

flow of immigrants, both legal and illegal, affects the very nature of the mix of race and ethnicity that makes up the American people. Third, how the second element affects the composite sense of “peoplehood,” and lastly, how immigration affects national defense, homeland security, and foreign policy.<sup>34</sup> Immigration, particularly Hispanic immigration from Mexico and Central American countries, has been increasing along the southern border for the last few decades. The wave of Hispanic immigrants along with Muslim and Asian immigrants has brought different societal norms and traditions compared to the European immigrants. For instance, immigrants from Europe derived from shared Judeo-Christian values whereas the new immigrants include Buddhists, Muslims, etc. The United States had a core culture founded upon Judeo-Christian values and settled populations insisted that newcomers learned English and assimilated into American values. To see how this ethnic demographic change occurred, we must look to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965.

As the Migration Policy Institute reports, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, also known as the Hart-Cellar Act, continues to shape the United States. This act was signed by President Lyndon B Johnson at the foot of the Statute of Liberty and put in motion the demographic changes and challenges America faces today. The law was signed to repeal the national-origins quotas that were in place since the 1920’s and ensured that immigration was primarily reserved for European immigrants.<sup>35</sup> This law ended the immigration policy that was largely based on ethnicity and race and allowed both legal and illegal immigration on a large scale to occur. Essentially this piece of legislation shifted immigration from Europe to other parts of the world. The Migration Policy Institute writes, “...the 1965 law abolished the national-

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<sup>34</sup> LeMay, Michael C. *Illegal Immigration: A Reference Handbook*. USA: Abc-clio, (2007).

<sup>35</sup> Chishti, Muzaffar, Faye Hipsman Muzaffar, Chishti, Faye Hipsman, and Isabel Ball. *Fifty Years On, the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act Continues to Reshape the United States*."

origins quota system. It was replaced with a preference system based on immigrants' family relationships with U.S. citizens or legal permanent residents and, to a lesser degree, their skills. The law placed an annual cap of 170,000 visas for immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere, with no single country allowed more than 20,000 visas, and for the first time established a cap of 120,000 visas for immigrants from the Western Hemisphere."<sup>36</sup>

While Congress did pass the Immigration Act of 1990 to bring in a great portion of highly skilled and educated immigrants, two-thirds of legal immigration continued to be family based.<sup>37</sup> At the time of the signing, President Johnson and others involved in the bill's passage, stated that the law would not affect the ethnic mix of American society and that it will not affect many lives. However, the leaders of the bill underestimated the effects of the bill and the number of lawful permanent residents (green-card holders) rose from 297,000 in 1965 to roughly about 1 million each year since the year 2000.<sup>38</sup> Data from the Pew Research Center Hispanic Trends Project shows that the foreign-born population rose from 9.6 million in 1965 to an estimated 45 million in 2015.<sup>39</sup> The bill originally called for immigrants with needed skills and education, but a last minute concession in the bill allowed for families to come, thus establishing families as the main immigrants arriving at the United States while European immigration remained largely flat. Figure 1 shows the projected trends of immigration into the United States:

A closer look at Figure 1 shows the amount of immigrants, mostly Hispanic, arriving into the United States increasing dramatically from 1965 to its projected date of 2065. The termination of the Bracero program in the late 1960s, which allowed temporary agricultural

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<sup>36</sup> Chishti, Muzaffar, Faye Hipsman Muzaffar, Chishti, Faye Hipsman, and Isabel Ball. *"Fifty Years On, the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act Continues to Reshape the United States."*

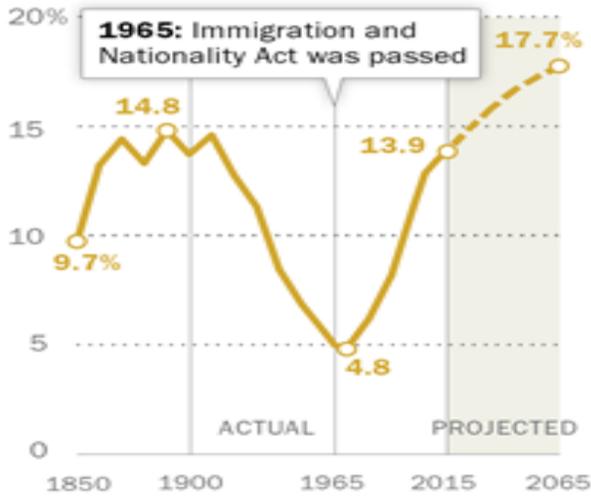
<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Pew Research Center's Hispanic Trends Project. *"Modern Immigration Wave Brings 59 Million to U.S., Driving Population Growth and Change Through 2065."*

FIGURE 1

### U.S. Foreign-Born Share Projected to Hit Record Milestone by 2065



Note: Data labels are for 1850, 1890, 1970, 2015 and 2065.

Source: Gibson and Jung (2006) for 1850 to 1890. Edmonston and Passel (1994) estimates for 1900-1955; Pew Research Center estimates for 1960-2015 based on adjusted census data; Pew Research Center projections for 2015-2065

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Figure 1: U.S. Foreign-Born Share Projected to Hit Record Milestone by 2065

(Source: Pew Research Center Hispanic Trends)

workers from Mexico to fill labor shortages, was ending. Even though the program was terminated, millions of workers continued to cross to fill the same jobs now filled by so-called “illegals.”<sup>40</sup> The termination of the Bracero program and the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965 essentially laid the groundwork for illegal immigration to occur in the coming decades.

<sup>40</sup> Chishti, Muzaffar, Faye Hipsman Muzaffar, Chishti, Faye Hipsman, and Isabel Ball. *Fifty Years On, the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act Continues to Reshape the United States.*

Many immigrants stayed as the Bracero program was terminated. Critics of the Immigration Act of 1965 say that the bill allowed for low-skilled workers to come in and drastically changed the country's culture homogeneity from a diverse subset to a majority Hispanic one.

Concern over illegal immigration picked up only years after the Immigration Act of 1965 was implemented and the Bracero program ended. To be clear, illegal immigrants include both those who enter the country without documents and those who overstay the length of their legally acquired visas. The concern over illegal immigration, coupled with a stagnant economy in the late 1970's, resulted in the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA), which was passed to control and deter illegal immigrants to the United States. It also included sanctions for employers who knowingly hired undocumented workers and increased border enforcement.<sup>41</sup>

The United States had recognized in the *1981 Final Report of the U.S. Presidents Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy* that a large portion of the world's population growth in the coming decades would come from countries that don't have the resources to cope with those growths.<sup>42</sup> By 1986, the Immigration and Naturalization Services apprehended over two million undocumented aliens attempting to cross the border, mostly from Mexico and Central America, fleeing poverty and high unemployment rates at home coupled with the attraction of economic growth in the United States. One major difference between the Hispanic immigrants and the European immigrants, who had arrived earlier, was that the European immigrants essentially cut off all ties with their former countries of origins and had set up shop in the United States. Likewise, the major wars of 1914 and 1939 displaced millions of people during and after the wars.

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<sup>41</sup> "Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA)." USCIS. (2016).

<sup>42</sup> LeMay, Michael C. *Illegal Immigration: A Reference Handbook*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, (2007).

The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 was enacted by the U.S. Congress to resettle hundreds of thousands of Europeans who had been displaced by the wars.<sup>43</sup> There have been no major conflicts that have displaced Hispanic immigrants like the conflicts that displaced European immigrants to the U.S. border. A good portion of Hispanic immigrants view the border as a nuisance rather than a barrier and continue to keep strong ties with their country of origin and loved ones back home.<sup>44</sup> Widespread dissatisfaction began to creep up in the American public opinion polls, news media, and within government because of this and over the ineffectiveness of the immigration laws to deal with the rising influx of immigrants.<sup>45</sup>

Data show that about 3.2 million illegal immigrants entries rose from 1986 to 9.3 million in 2002.<sup>46</sup> Between 2000 and 2005, more illegal and legal immigrants came into the United States than any other five-year period in U.S. history. An estimated 8 million entered into the United States, 3.7 million of those were estimated by officials to be illegal.<sup>47</sup> The U.S. Hispanic population, of which 70 percent came from Mexico, rose 54 percent during the 1980's and grew 27 percent between 1990 and 1996.<sup>48</sup> However, estimates can be hard to grasp because illegal immigrants do not identify themselves to the proper authorities. To get a hold of the amount of immigrants coming in and out of ports of entry, Congress passed the Immigration and Naturalization Service Data Management Improvement Act (PL. 206-215) in June 2000. This allowed the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to develop an automated system to track the exit and entry of all noncitizens entering or leaving any port of entry. This included land borders, seaports, and immigrants traveling by airplane.<sup>49</sup> Just a little over a year later,

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<sup>43</sup> "Displaced Persons Act of 1948." Immigration to the United States.

<sup>44</sup> "Families Allowed Hugs on the US-Mexico Border." *CNN*, Cable News Network, (2018).

<sup>45</sup> LeMay, Michael C. *Illegal Immigration: A Reference Handbook*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, (2007).

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> Hanson, Victor Davis. *Mexifornia: A State of Becoming*. New York: Encounter Books, (2007): 10.

<sup>49</sup> LeMay, Michael C. *Illegal Immigration: A Reference Handbook*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, (2007).

foreigners using airplanes would drastically change how the United States, along with Europe, view immigration.

## CHAPTER 4: HOW 9/11 CHANGED THE PUBLIC PERCEPTION ON IMMIGRATION IN THE U.S.

Just days before the 9/11 attacks, U.S. President George W. Bush and the President of Mexico Vicente Fox were scheduled to meet to discuss immigration and announce a new framework. The framework was to include an immigration reform plan that would increase border security, create a temporary worker program, and provide legalization to unauthorized immigrants. Both presidents were poised to work together as they had met five times in the first nine months of 2001. It was described as an “absolutely historic transition from a hostile relationship to a cooperative relationship.”<sup>50</sup> However, when the attacks occurred, the meeting was postponed and security became the top priority for the coming years. Congress would add more security to the southern border, expand the government’s power to detain and deport immigrants, and create programs such as the Department of Homeland Security.

In recent years, the policy debate of anti-terrorism measures became conflated with immigration control. The attacks had awoken Americans to the fact that our enemies can do harm by stealthily entering the United States through a visa system. In *U.S. Immigration Policy since 9/11: Understanding the Stalemate over Comprehensive Immigration Reform*, the Migration Policy Institute states that there were three major changes after 9/11: organizational changes, expanded enforcement powers within the United States, and visa security, immigration, and border controls.<sup>51</sup> The first organizational change was the creation of the Office of Homeland Security in the *Homeland Security Act of 2002*, which combined 22 federal agencies into a new Cabinet agency, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). The U.S. Immigration

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<sup>50</sup> Rosenbaum, Marc R. *U.S. Immigration Policy since 9/11: Understanding the Stalemate over Comprehensive Immigration Reform*. Report, (2011).

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

and Naturalization Service was now a part of DHS in what would be the largest restructuring of executive-branch functions since the establishment of the Department of Defense after World War II.<sup>52</sup>

The expansion of government powers within the United States resulted in *Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001*, more commonly known as the USA Patriot Act, passed in October 2001 with broad bipartisan support. The USA Patriot Act of 2001 proposed new authority to gather domestic intelligence, combat money laundering in terrorism finances, and speed the process up for deporting suspected terrorists.<sup>53</sup> Lastly, under Visa Security and Border Controls, Congress passed the Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act (EBSVERA) in May 2002. This included entry-exit tracking systems, data sharing, and a tightening of document security.<sup>54</sup> The EBSVERA program was implemented through the Justice Departments, National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS), which was initiated in September 2002. The system required non-immigrant men, mainly from Muslim-majority countries, to report to an immigration officer to be photographed, fingerprinted, and interviewed. The NSEERS program was later terminated in April of 2011.<sup>55</sup> In 2004, at the recommendations from the 9/11 Commission Report, Congress enacted the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism prevention Act (IRTPA). In regards to immigration, the bill addressed additional funding for surveillance and border enforcement.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Rosenbaum, Marc R. *U.S. Immigration Policy since 9/11: Understanding the Stalemate over Comprehensive Immigration Reform*. Report, (2011).

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

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<sup>55</sup> Auto, Ryan. "National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS)." Arab American Institute. *Cardozo Pub. L. Policy & Ethics J.* 2 (2003): 73.

<sup>56</sup> Rosenbaum, Marc R. *U.S. Immigration Policy since 9/11: Understanding the Stalemate over Comprehensive Immigration Reform*. Report, (2011).

Victor Davis Hanson, author of *Mexifornia: A State of Becoming*, said “While it may be true that the opponents of illegal immigration have used the post 9/11 fear of terrorism to further their own agenda of closing the border with Mexico, they are absolutely correct that presently the easiest way for jihadist cells to cross into the United States is overland from the south.”<sup>57</sup> He goes on to state that even before 9/11, Americans were looking at Europe and the problems they were having with immigration. Riots in France, support for jihadism among Pakistanis in London, Islamic demands in the Scandinavian countries coupled with slow-growing economies with high unemployment did not encourage Americans to let in a mass number of mostly poor illegal immigrants.<sup>58</sup>

“The system was a stable policy regime for many years because it assured a supply of low-wage immigrant workers without forcing lawmakers to confront difficult questions about how many immigrants (legally) to admit. But as the real and perceived costs of illegality increased, the system came under pressure to reform” notes the Migration Policy Institute.<sup>59</sup> Since 9/11, the United States shifted from a policy of nationality-based immigration to an enforcement apparatus with the goal of advancing national security. It allowed the creation of new relationships among local, state, and federal law enforcement with new data collection methods and databases to screen individuals in a multitude of ways. Many of the policies put into place became highly effective tools to track and remove unauthorized immigrants who posed little to no security threat. September 11<sup>th</sup> forever changed how the government viewed immigration, but illegal immigration continued to be a problem for the United States.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Hanson, Victor Davis. *Mexifornia: A State of Becoming*. New York: Encounter Books, (2007):

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Rosenbaum, Marc R. *U.S. Immigration Policy since 9/11: Understanding the Stalemate over Comprehensive Immigration Reform*. Report, (2011).

<sup>60</sup> Chishti, Muzaffar, and Claire Bergeron. "Post-9/11 Policies Dramatically Alter the U.S. Immigration Landscape." Migration Policy. (2017).

Ten years after September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001, Americans were growing weary over how the government was handling immigration. In 2011, Rasmussen polls showed that 59 percent of likely voters believed that the “policies and practices of the federal government encourage illegal immigration,” while only 23 percent disagree.<sup>61</sup> A Rasmussen poll in late 2013 showed that only 25 percent of likely voters thought that it is even somewhat likely that the federal government will secure the border and prevent illegal immigration with new immigration legislation, while 65 percent considered it unlikely.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, 80 percent of Americans support “stricter border control to try to reduce illegal immigration.”<sup>63</sup>

By this time Barak Obama was well into his presidency. When he was elected, Obama had promised to make immigration reform a top priority of his administration. Achieving comprehensive immigration reform had previously proven to be difficult by the failures in Congress. After eight years of George W. Bush, Obama entered the White House in 2009 along with Democratic control of the House and Senate. The same year, U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano laid out the Administration’s immigration policy comprising of a “three-legged stool”: legal status for undocumented immigrants, greater opportunities for authorized immigration, and an enforcement crackdown.<sup>64</sup> The first legislation attempt called “the DREAM Act” provided immunity to immigrants brought here to the United States, with no arrests, and had satisfactory educational or military. This act passed in the House but failed to reach the Senate. The next term saw Republicans take control of the House essentially ending any hope that comprehensive immigration reform would get passed in Obama’s first term.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> "What Type of "Wall" Can Be Built with Trump's Border Security Budget? Federation for American Immigration Reform." *The Cost of Illegal Immigration to US Taxpayers*. FAIR. (2018).

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Denvir, Daniel. "How Centrists Failed Immigrants." Jacobin. (2016).

<sup>65</sup> Skretny, John D., and Jane Lilly Lopez. "Obama's Immigration Reform: The Triumph of Executive Action." *Journal of Law and Social Equality* (2013).

The Obama Administration focused its enforcement effort on two key groups: the deportation of criminals and recently unauthorized border crossers. This was to deter illegal border crossings and remove unauthorized immigrants before they become integrated into American society.<sup>66</sup> Beginning under the first Bush administration, there were already reductions in border apprehensions because of declines in immigration. These reductions were due to the improving economic conditions in Mexico, the reduced post-recession job demand in the United States, increased law enforcement at the border and the introduction of new technologies deployed such as drone surveillance.<sup>67</sup>

The Obama Administration inherited a more militarized and enhanced border from the changes made under George W. Bush after 9/11. In the final days of the Bush administration, it launched Secure Communities, which allowed the fingerprints of those arrested by law enforcement to be matched up with federal databases.<sup>68</sup> As a result, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) received a vast amount of positive identifications on deportable immigrants. This, in turn, strengthened the links between immigration enforcement and the criminal justice system leading some Americans to believe that immigrants are criminals or hostile to the United States. It also prompted anti-deportation movements to rally against Obama creating a narrative of unsecured borders and criminal aliens.<sup>69</sup>

Fed up with the illegal immigrants still crossing into the United States, the state of Arizona passed a tough immigration law, citing the government's inability to stop illegal immigrants. Arizona signed the law SB 1070 in April 2010. The law states:

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<sup>66</sup> Chishti, Muzaffar, Sarah Pierce, and Jessica Bolter. "The Obama Record on Deportations: Deporter in Chief or Not?" Migration Policy Institute. (2017).

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Denvir, Daniel. "*How Centrists Failed Immigrants.*" Jacobin. (2016).

For any lawful contact made by a law enforcement official or agency of this state or a county, city, town or other political subdivision of this state where reasonable suspicion exists that the person is an alien who is unlawfully present in the United States, a reasonable attempt shall be made when practicable to determine the immigration status of the person. The person's immigration status shall be verified with the federal government pursuant to 8 United State code section 1373 (c).<sup>70</sup>

In essence, it allowed local law enforcement to stop people suspected of being undocumented even if no crime had been committed. At the heart of this issue and bill, among other things, was whether or not states have the authority to step in and regulate on immigration matters or whether that is a role designated for the federal government. On June 2, 2010, then U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton announced that the administration would bring a lawsuit against Arizona to block the implementation of S.B. 1070.<sup>71</sup> One of the major concerns of the Arizona bill was that it would target Hispanic residents. The Supreme Court ruled two years later that it was constitutional for police to check a person's immigration status while enforcing the law but struck down other key parts of the law that looked to deter illegal immigration.<sup>72</sup>

By then, the damage had been done. Secure Communities, a relatively unknown program that had been at the center of deportations, was now at the forefront receiving criticism from immigrant activists. Immigrant rights activists said the Secure Communities program made local police more like immigration officers and a de facto arm of ICE, leaving immigrants extremely anxious of what would happen if they reported a crime to local police. Critics became louder, and it wasn't long until cities like Arlington, Virginia and Santa Clara, California tried to block Secure Communities.<sup>73</sup> Obama had provoked the Latino community by trying to appease the Republicans. The Republican Party had been gaining momentum by taking control of the House

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<sup>70</sup> Selden, David A., Julie A. Pace, and Heidi Nunn-Gilman. "Placing SB 1070 and racial profiling into context, and what SB 1070 reveals about the legislative process in Arizona." *Immigration and Nationality L. Rev.* 32 (2010).

<sup>71</sup> "President Obama's Record of Dismantling Immigration Enforcement." *Federation for American Immigration Reform.* (2016).

<sup>72</sup> ARIZONA ET AL. v. UNITED STATES No. 11-182.

<sup>73</sup> Denvir, Daniel. "How Centrists Failed Immigrants." *Jacobin.* (2016).

in 2010 and was gaining ground in the Senate. Right-wing Americans began to feel as if their country were being taken over by illegal aliens.<sup>74</sup> Even the White House was up for discussion as former celebrity-businessman Donald Trump led the issue of Barack Obama's birth certificate. Frustration with immigration coupled with an economic downturn began to fuel anti-immigrant sentiment. That frustration began to pave a path towards a political outsider.

After years of back and forth between the Oval Office and Congress and the failure of the DREAM Act to pass in 2010, the time on completing immigration reform during the Obama administration was dwindling. Acting without Congress, President Obama signed an executive order on June 15, 2012 called the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA).<sup>75</sup> DACA targeted immigrants who were thirty-one years old or younger and who had been in the United States for at least the previous five years. To be protected by DACA, they had to be sixteen when they arrived to the United States, graduated high school or served in the military, and have no significant criminal record. In total, this would help around an estimated 1.8 million immigrants.<sup>76</sup> Latino support for DACA signaled to the Obama Administration that they were serious about immigration reform and helped propel the President onto a second term.

In November 2013, however, two million immigrants had been deported.<sup>77</sup> DREAMers began joining activist groups to demand the deportations be halted. By this time, mainstream media outlets began to cover the Remembrance Project, which highlighted the stories of families who had lost loved ones by the hand of illegal immigrants. The narrative on the right-leaning

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> "President Obama's Record of Dismantling Immigration Enforcement." Federation for American Immigration Reform. (2016.)

<sup>76</sup> Skretny, John D., and Jane Lilly Lopez. "Obama's Immigration Reform: The Triumph of Executive Action." *Journal of Law and Social Equality* (2013).

<sup>77</sup> Denvir, Daniel. "*How Centrists Failed Immigrants.*" *Jacobin*. (2016).

news outlets was that not only were illegal immigrants taking jobs, threatening American culture, but also they were killing Americans in the process.<sup>78</sup>

In 2014, the National Council of La Raza dubbed the President “deporter-in-chief”.<sup>79</sup> Opposition to the large quantities of deportation began to grow. Nevertheless, the deportations would continue as well as the narratives that illegal criminal immigrants were crossing the border en masse. Both political parties’ positions were becoming flawed and exposed as too weak or too strong. All the while, gang violence in the Central American triangle of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, began to escalate causing a large influx of residents to seek asylum in the United States.<sup>80</sup> The perception that the border was not adequately guarded also fueled the increase of residents to flee Central Americans up north to the United States. A report prepared by the Criminal Threats Unit of The Strategic Analysis Section of the El Paso Intelligence Center stated that 219 out of 230 migrants told Border Patrol that the primary reason for coming to the United States was that they perceived unaccompanied minors and adult women traveling with minors would receive a “free pass” to stay in the United States.<sup>81</sup>

In November 2014, Republicans had control over the House and the Senate. Obama viewed this as not a repudiation against his policies but rather that his administration needed to work harder.<sup>82</sup> In his eight years as president, the Obama Administration showed two realities on immigration. On the one hand, he was a strict enforcer of the immigration laws already set in place by previous administrations by deporting more illegal immigrants than any previous

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Nowrasteh, Alex. *Obama's Mixed Legacy on Immigration.* Washington: Cato Institute, 2017.

<sup>80</sup> Skretny, John D., and Jane Lilly Lopez. "Obama's Immigration Reform: The Triumph of Executive Action." *Journal of Law and Social Equality* (2013).

<sup>81</sup> Skretny, John D., and Jane Lilly Lopez. "Obama's Immigration Reform: The Triumph of Executive Action." *Journal of Law and Social Equality* (2013).

<sup>82</sup> President Obama's Record of Dismantling Immigration Enforcement." Federation for American Immigration Reform. (2016).

administration.<sup>83</sup> The deportations were made possible by the expansion of Secure Communities, which allowed local police departments to cooperate voluntarily with the federal government on deportation until Obama made it mandatory for all states to comply on deportations.<sup>84</sup> On the other hand, Obama's executive actions shielded hundreds of thousands of young immigrants who came here as children. He placed a much lower priority on those immigrants who had already been established in the United States and had no criminal record. This shift was evident in the decreased deportations towards the end of the Obama Administration.<sup>85</sup>

Both political parties became upset over the way the Obama Administration immigration. The notion became clear to some Americans that Washington could not get a handle on the border and that immigrants coming in were taking jobs, committing crime, and changing the American culture. The seeds had been sown for a political change. Americans increasingly looked to an outsider that could fix Washington. Immigration had become a political powder keg and all that was needed was a political candidate to light it. Enter Donald Trump.

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<sup>83</sup> Nowrasteh, Alex. *"Obama's Mixed Legacy on Immigration."* Washington: Cato Institute, (2017).

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Chishti, Muzaffar, Sarah Pierce, and Jessica Bolter. "The Obama Record on Deportations: Deporter in Chief or Not?" Migration Policy Institute. (2017).

## CHAPTER 5: THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION'S PLAN ON IMMIGRATION

On June 15, 2015, Donald Trump announced his candidacy for President of the United States. His campaign made immigration the signature issue after he generated headlines about the current state of immigration and Mexico. Some of his remarks included building a wall on the border between the U.S. and Mexico, making Mexico pay for the wall, and, most controversially, that Mexico was sending drugs and rapists over the border. At first he was brushed off by critics in the media as not having a chance to get elected, but the public had longed for an outsider to fix the issues that Washington seemed incapable of doing. One month later, a young woman named Kate Steinle was shot and killed by an illegal immigrant in San Francisco. This incident added fuel to the Trump campaign as he vowed to get tough on immigration and crime.<sup>86</sup>

Listed on the official Trump campaign website and stated on the campaign trail are the following steps the Trump Administration planned to take on reforming immigration<sup>8788</sup>:

- Triple the number of ICE officers
- Establish nationwide E-verify
- A mandatory return of all criminal aliens
- End “catch and release”
- Enhance penalties for overstaying a visa
- Cooperate with local gang task forces
- End birthright citizenship
- Turn off the “jobs and benefits magnet”
- Reform immigration to best serve the American people and their interests
- Ensure that other countries take back their citizens when they are deported from the United States.

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<sup>86</sup> Denvir, Daniel. *How Centrists Failed Immigrants.* Jacobin. (2016).

<sup>87</sup> Trump, Donald. "Immigration reform that will make America great again."

<sup>88</sup> Full Text: Donald Trump Immigration Speech in Arizona. POLITICO. (2016).

Before the 2016 Presidential election, there were a few security-related incidents that fueled the immigration and security discussion. The attacks in Paris and San Bernardino in 2015 along with attacks in Orlando and Brussels showed linkage to Muslim extremists, which led to an increase in calls for restrictive immigration policies.<sup>89</sup> Simultaneously, Europe was dealing with a massive inflow of immigrants, and Donald Trump stated that the United States could face the same issues if the border were not properly secured.<sup>90</sup>

By 2016, the American people decided on a new direction and elected Donald Trump as the 45<sup>th</sup> President. One of the first actions the newly elected President took was to implement the so-called “Muslim Ban.” On January 27, 2017, President Trump signed an Executive Order entitled “Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorists Entry into the United States.”<sup>91</sup> The executive action suspended admission to the United States of nationals from seven different countries: Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen. The suspension was set to last for 90 days. The order also suspended the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program for 120 days and placed a cap on the number of arrivals permitted for 2017.<sup>92</sup> The order was signed to compel foreign countries to provide information about their citizens as requested by the U.S. authorities, but it created a backlash that resulted in several U.S. courts getting involved.<sup>93</sup> Even the term “Muslim ban” had distracted the conversation away from its intended purposes of gathering more information on who is seeking entry into the United States to determine if they are a credible threat to the homeland.

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<sup>89</sup> McElmurry, Sara, Juliana Kerr, Theresa Cardinal Brown, Lazaro Zamora, and Bipartisan Policy Center. *Balancing Priorities: Immigration, National Security, and Public Safety*. Chicago Council on Global Affairs, (2016).

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Guild, Elspeth, Didier Bigo, and Sergio Carrera. *Trump's Travel Bans. Harvesting Personal Data and Requiem for the EU-US Privacy Shield*. CEPS Policy, (2017).

<sup>92</sup> Guild, Elspeth, Didier Bigo, and Sergio Carrera. *Trump's Travel Bans. Harvesting Personal Data and Requiem for the EU-US Privacy Shield*. CEPS Policy, (2017).

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

In the National Security Strategy released in 2017, the Trump Administration states, “Strengthening control over our borders and immigration system is central to national security, economic prosperity, and the rule of law.”<sup>94</sup> While campaign talk can sometimes differ from what is actually implemented, the strategy outlines the Trump Administration’s plan for securing the border and immigration. The National Security Strategy goes on to state that terrorists, drug traffickers, and cartels exploit our borders and threaten the public. It affirms that the United States has the right to determine who should enter the country while understanding that immigrants have made immense contributions to the nation.<sup>95</sup> On illegal immigration, the strategy says that illegal immigration burdens the economy, harms the American worker, puts the public at risk, and enhances smugglers and criminals.<sup>96</sup> Additionally, the United States will continue to let in those immigrants who come in legally, while enhancing the vetting process and closing loopholes that criminals can exploit. The Trump Administration also plans to shift from an extended family chain migration system to a merit-based system based on an immigrant’s ability to contribute to U.S. society.<sup>97</sup>

The National Security Strategy lays out four priority actions to be taken under the Trump Administration: enhance border security, enhance vetting, enforce immigration laws, and bolster transportation security.<sup>98</sup> On border security, the administration plans to build a border wall on the U.S.-Mexican border using a multi-layered defense and state of the art technology. The administration also plans to work with foreign partners to deter, detect, and disrupt anyone who

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<sup>94</sup> Trump, Donald J. *National Security Strategy of the United States of America*. Executive Office of The President Washington DC. US: Washington, (2017).

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Trump, Donald J. *National Security Strategy of the United States of America*. Executive Office of The President Washington DC. US: Washington, (2017).

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

attempts to enter the country unlawfully. Moreover, the administration plans to hire more border patrol and equip them with the resources they need.<sup>99</sup>

Secondly, the Trump Administration wants the U.S. Government to improve the vetting of immigrants, refugees, or any other foreign visitor who might pose a threat to the United States. The Administration plans to advance intelligence collection to identify any threats that may already be within the borders of the United States.<sup>100</sup> Next, the Trump Administration wants to enforce the immigration laws at the border and in the interior of the country. They have placed the apprehension and removal of illegal immigrants as critical importance to an effective border security strategy. This coupled with countering fraud in the immigration system, which can create security risks.<sup>101</sup> Lastly, the Administration plans to invest technology to counter threats to aviation, maritime, and on-the-ground transportation sectors. The National Security Strategy conditions that improving information sharing within the government and with foreign partners will advance the security of pathways in which people and goods enter the country.<sup>102</sup>

A major concern was crime and drugs pouring in. A 1996 Rand Corporation report titled “*National Security Migration: How Strong is the Link?*” argues that there are two immigration-related threats to national security, both of which President Trump brought to the spotlight. The first is the “potential loss of credibility in the federal government’s ability to protect its citizens from such unwanted elements as illegal immigrants, drug traffickers, and terrorists. Inaction or ineffectiveness in reestablishing and maintaining this credibility could become a serious threat to internal stability and confidence in the government.”<sup>103</sup> This was evident in the growing

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Trump, Donald J. *National Security Strategy of the United States of America*. Executive Office of The President Washington DC. US: Washington, (2017).

<sup>103</sup> Martin, Philip L., and Peter Duignan. *Making and Remaking America: Immigration into the United States*. U.S: Hoover Press, (2003): 49.

dissatisfaction over how the border was being secured in the years leading up to the election of Donald Trump, especially in 2014, when reports of tens of thousands of women and children apprehended in the Texas Rio Grande area leading to headlines of “crisis” and “floods” on the border.<sup>104</sup>

The second immigration national security threat relates to the first. That is the possibility of a massive, uncontrolled flow of migrants crossing the southern border into the United States.<sup>105</sup> The countries of Latin America have a long history of fighting corruption, gang violence, drug cartels, etc. If an incident or collapse within Latin America were to occur, it could potentially send thousands of migrants seeking refuge in the United States. As for the terrorists exploiting the immigration system, the threat remains low in the United States based on research from counterterrorism expert Peter Bergen.<sup>106</sup>

The United States put into place post-9/11 measures, such as the Department of Homeland Security and the National Counterterrorism Center, to help mitigate terrorist risks. This paired with a greater devotion of time and resources to counterterrorism, law enforcement, and intelligence also proved crucial.<sup>107</sup> The United States’ geographic location serves as an advantage for the homeland given its distance away from terrorist activity in places like the Middle East and North Africa. Americans do have a tendency to overestimate the threat of terrorism in their daily lives; likely due to the fact that September 11<sup>th</sup> had such a large impact on many Americans. Since the end of 2015, only forty-five people have been killed in jihadist terrorist attacks compared to the forty-eight that have been killed by right-wing groups and anti-

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<sup>104</sup> McElmurry, Sara, Juliana Kerr, Theresa Cardinal Brown, Lazaro Zamora, and Bipartisan Policy Center. *Balancing Priorities: Immigration, National Security, and Public Safety*. Chicago Council on Global Affairs, (2016).

<sup>105</sup> Martin, Philip L., and Peter Duignan. *Making and Remaking America: Immigration into the United States*. U.S: Hoover Press, (2003): 50.

<sup>106</sup> Bergen, Peter L. *United States of Jihad: Investigating America's Homegrown Terrorists*. New York: Broadway Books, (2016.):39.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.* 39.

government militants.<sup>108</sup> However, the United States must be aware that many of ISIS's recruits from Europe are from "visa waiver" countries, meaning they can travel to the United States without a visa for the first three months they're here, provided that they don't appear on a no-fly list.<sup>109</sup>

President Trump has essentially taken no chances on security-related immigration threats to the United States and its people. Even though border apprehensions had been in decline in the first few months of his presidency, his tougher immigration stance has shown signs of having an effect in his first few months as President. Despite having little progress on the southern border wall, apprehensions of unauthorized immigrants fell by about half from January 2017 to August 2017, compared to the same period in 2016.<sup>110</sup>

The border wall was by far Trump's most notable proposal regarding immigration. On January 25<sup>th</sup>, 2017, President Trump signed an executive order to "secure the southern border of the United States through the immediate construction of a physical wall on the southern border, monitored and supported by adequate personnel so as to prevent illegal immigration, drug and human trafficking, and acts of terrorism."<sup>111</sup> Actually building the border wall has proven to be difficult for the current administration due to funding, political backlash, and the mere size of the project. As of Spring 2018, border prototypes have been built and tested on while replacement on parts of the current border are underway. The border between Mexico and the United States stretches around 2,000 miles.<sup>112</sup> It is likely that the President will receive funding for the border

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid. 17.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid. 260.

<sup>110</sup> Pierce, Sarah, Jessica Bolter, and Andrew Selee. *Trump's First Year on Immigration Policy Rhetoric vs. Reality*. Report, (2018).

<sup>111</sup> "Executive Order: Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements." The White House. (2017).

<sup>112</sup> Pierce, Sarah, Jessica Bolter, and Andrew Selee. *Trump's First Year on Immigration Policy Rhetoric vs. Reality*. Report. (2018).

wall during his tenure, but it will also be likely that the funding falls short of the entire border. It also remains to be seen how Mexico will pay for the wall.

Also signed on January 25<sup>th</sup>, 2017, was the reintroduction of Secure Communities, the information-sharing program that crosschecks fingerprints of those detained by state or local authorities against the FBI and DHS database for determining if that noncitizen may be removable.<sup>113</sup> The program had been deactivated during the final years of the Obama Administration, which had replaced it with the Priority Enforcement Program, allowing local jurisdictions to determine the limits of their cooperation with ICE. The reactivation of Secure Communities increases the chance of removal when an illegal immigrant comes in contact with the criminal justice system, but given that many local jurisdictions have refused to accept ICE's detainers, the impact is not as strong as one might expect.<sup>114</sup>

Arrests and removal of unauthorized immigrants in the interior of the country have increased considerably but remain short of their highest levels in the previous two administrations.<sup>115</sup> As for refugees, the Trump Administration has endorsed cuts in refugee admissions to the United States. The amount of refugees coming into the United States hit its lowest point since 1980, when the formal program of letting refugees come into the U.S., began.<sup>116</sup> On DACA, President Trump announced on September 5<sup>th</sup>, 2017, that the program would end. The ending of the program placed the destiny of the DREAMERS into Congress' hands.

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Pierce, Sarah, Jessica Bolter, and Andrew Selee. *Trump's First Year on Immigration Policy Rhetoric vs. Reality*. Report, (2018).

<sup>115</sup> Pierce, Sarah, and Andrew Selee. "Immigration under Trump: A Review of Policy Shifts in the Year Since the Election." Migration Policy Institute, Policy Brief. (2017).

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

Homeland Security Acting Secretary Elaine Duke said the administration was facing legal challenges to the program and chose the least disruptive option by letting the program wind down in March 2018 and placing the outcome of DACA within Congress.<sup>117</sup> In fact, negotiations in Congress took a step backward leading to a shutdown of the government over the inability to find a compromise for DREAMERS that both the House and Senate could agree on.<sup>118</sup> In relation with DACA and the DREAMERS, many mayors assured noncitizens living in their cities that their cities would be sanctuaries, meaning that they would limit their assistance to ICE relating to immigration law. This caused tension between the sanctuary cities and the Trump Administration, which has stated that sanctuary cities need to cooperate with law enforcement.<sup>119</sup> The Administration has taken action to pressure such communities by threatening to withhold federal grant money.<sup>120</sup>

The Trump Administration has in effect ended temporary protection status for approximately 327,000 beneficiaries of Temporary Protected Status (TPS).<sup>121</sup> TPS was given to certain individuals who could not return to their home country due to conflict, environmental disaster, or any other type of security threat. The temporary protected status included countries such as Haiti and Nicaragua among others.<sup>122</sup> The Trump Administration has set out to limit family and employment-based immigration. On employment-based immigration, he issued the “Buy American, Hire American” executive order which instructed the Department of State,

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<sup>117</sup> "Historical Timeline - Illegal Immigration - ProCon.org." *What Are the Solutions to Illegal Immigration in America*, 2018.

<sup>118</sup> Chishti, Muzaffar, Sarah Pierce, and Jessica Bolter. "Shifting Gears, Trump Administration Launches High-Profile Worksite Enforcement Operations." Migration Policy Institute. (2018).

<sup>119</sup> *The Promise of Sanctuary Cities and the Need for Criminal Justice Reforms in an Era of Mass Deportations*. Report. Immigrant Legal Resource Center. (2017).

<sup>120</sup> Pierce, Sarah, and Andrew Selee. "Immigration under Trump: A Review of Policy Shifts in the Year Since the Election." Migration Policy Institute, Policy Brief. (2017).

<sup>121</sup> Pierce, Sarah, Jessica Bolter, and Andrew Selee. *Trump's First Year on Immigration Policy Rhetoric vs. Reality*. Report, (2018).

<sup>122</sup> Pierce, Sarah, and Andrew Selee. "Immigration under Trump: A Review of Policy Shifts in the Year Since the Election." Migration Policy Institute, Policy Brief. (2017).

Justice, Labor, and Homeland Security to issue new rules for protecting U.S. workers while preventing fraud and abuse within the system.<sup>123</sup> On family-based immigration, the White House targeted chain migration, which allows immigrants to bring family already including spouses and minor children. The Diversity Visa program, which allows people from countries with a low U.S. immigration rate to apply for a visa lottery, was also targeted.<sup>124</sup>

The Migration Policy Institute summarizes what the Trump Administration has done on legal immigration: "...the administration has initiated several small but well-calibrated actions through regulations, administrative guidelines, and immigration application processing changes. Taken together these steps have dramatically slowed down family-and employment-based immigration declared refugee admissions to their lowest numbers in decades, tightened who can receive the most common temporary work visa (H-1B), and restricted naturalization for immigrants serving in the U.S. military."<sup>125</sup>

Overall, the Trump Administration has been consistent with what the Trump campaign promised in 2016. They reduced refugee admissions, increased effort to enforce immigration laws, attempted to expand enforcement cooperation with local jurisdictions and law enforcement, slowed the process of legal admissions, and ended several executive actions by previous administrations while creating new ones such as border security and building a border wall.<sup>126</sup> However, major legislative reforms and funding for certain immigration enactments will have to come from Congress. It is likely that the President will not achieve everything laid out in his 2016 Arizona campaign speech, but many changes have occurred under the current

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<sup>123</sup> Chishti, Muzaffar, Sarah Pierce, and Jessica Bolter. "Even as Congress Remains on Sidelines, the Trump Administration Slows Legal Immigration." Migration Policy Institute. (2018).

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Chishti, Muzaffar, Sarah Pierce, and Jessica Bolter. "Even as Congress Remains on Sidelines, the Trump Administration Slows Legal Immigration." Migration Policy Institute. (2018).

<sup>126</sup> Pierce, Sarah, Jessica Bolter, and Andrew Selee. *Trump's First Year on Immigration Policy Rhetoric vs. Reality*. Report, (2018).

administration. President Trump rode his campaign on immigration troubles in the United States as many people felt that they were becoming a stranger in their own country.

## CHAPTER 6: THE ROLE OF MIGRANTS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

One of the main pillars of a society is the right to defend its own borders and self-interests. This concept dates back to the Greek city-states who understood the need to protect their own with clearly defined and defended borders. Without a defined territory, no society can enact laws, preserve culture, or build a military to protect its own self-interest. When borders go unenforced and security becomes lenient, so too does the society that resides within. Concurrently, that same society can lose a sense of who they are and what values they stand for. Residents can revert to tribalism, the state of being organized by a collective lifestyle and norms, if the residents feel the incoming citizens don't assimilate to their adapted customs, language, and cultural norms.

According to Tomas Jimenez of the Migration Policy Institute, the United States does an exceptional job at assimilating and integrating immigrants into American society by five standards: language proficiency, socioeconomic attainment, political participation, residential locale, and social interaction.<sup>127</sup> While people from around the world may bring different cultural norms such as language, food, religion, etc., they all left their country of origin to be a part of a culture that values personal freedom and liberty. The United States has also dealt with immigration on a mass scale before over several generations while adapting its own culture and policies.<sup>128</sup> The political institutions have also absorbed immigrants with differing views. The RAND Corporation notes, "...America's basic political institutions are showing no evidence of changing now, any more than they changed in response to past immigrations. Hispanics, like

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<sup>127</sup> Jiménez, Tomás R. "Immigrants in the United States: How Well Are They Integrating into Society?" Migration Policy Institute. (2015).

<sup>128</sup> Levine, Robert A., *Assimilating Immigrants: Why America Can and France Cannot*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, (2004).

their predecessors, have entered the constitutional structure, not challenged any of it.”<sup>129</sup> The United States has long embraced the “melting pot” status of the world, the idea that the United States can bring people from all different backgrounds, race, religions, etc. and assimilate them into American society. The idea is that anyone from any country can come to the United States and become “American.”

America has also been regarded as the “language graveyard” because the surrounding culture and incentives to learn English are overwhelming. The Cato Institute notes, “While Spanish has grown dramatically as a second language in the United States, there is no evidence that Mexican immigrants and their families are failing to learn English.”<sup>130</sup> In addition, immigrants from Latin America consider themselves to be religious, particularly Catholic. In 2005, the Hispanic population made up about 40 percent of the Catholic Church population, thus making it easier to assimilate into the United States given the country’s founding on Judeo-Christian values.<sup>131</sup>

A point of contention from the Trump administration was the Muslim immigrants. On the campaign, Trump signaled that Muslim refugees could be a “Trojan horse” that could do harm to the United States from the inside.<sup>132</sup> There is a minority of Muslims who wish to impose their beliefs and practices upon American society, possibly justifying the Trump Administrations actions. As such, Muslim immigrants, refugees, and travelers have all declined under the Trump Administration. From fiscal year 2016 through fiscal year 2018, Muslim refugee admissions declined 91 percent; immigrants from Muslim majority countries have dropped 26 percent, and 32 percent decline was recorded in temporary visa issuances from Muslim majority countries,

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<sup>129</sup> Levine, Robert A. *Assimilating Immigrants Why America Can and France Cannot*. RAND Corporation, 2004, *Assimilating Immigrants Why America Can and France Cannot*.

<sup>130</sup> Griswold, Daniel. "Mexican Migration, Legalization, and Assimilation." Cato Institute. (2005).

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Bier, David. "U.S. Approves Far Fewer Muslim Refugees, Immigrants, & Travelers." Cato Institute. (2018).

according to the Cato Institute.<sup>133</sup> Yet, Pew Research Center shows that Muslim Americans have a growing acceptance of mainstream Americans' views over the years. Whereas many Muslim Americans express concern over the current President, they remain optimistic about America.<sup>134</sup> This is likely due to the fact that many beliefs and practices are shunned in their own home countries, making the United States an attractive place for them to express their beliefs. About 80 percent of Muslim Americans say they are proud to be American and 70 percent still believe in the American dream saying that working hard will get you ahead in America.<sup>135</sup> Most notably, Muslim Americans have had a more positive outlook on homosexuality in the United States. The rate at which Muslim Americans think homosexuality should be accepted in society has nearly doubled from 27 percent in 2007 to 52 percent in 2017.<sup>136</sup>

Furthermore, crime rates among immigrants have shown some positive trends. Barry Latzer, the author of *The Rise and Fall of Violent Crime in America*, cites an analysis of 159 U.S. cities from the years 1980-2000 showing that, on average, cities that had growth in immigrant population showed a decrease in violent crime rates.<sup>137</sup> On a closer examination, some immigrant groups have been attributed to higher and lower rates of crime. For instance, Mexicans who entered California and Hispanics who entered Miami increased the cities' crime rates in the late twentieth century, while Chinese and Eastern Europeans had the opposite effect on New York City.<sup>138</sup> The author concludes his finding by stating that crime rates linked to immigration in the United States can be difficult to analyze given the vast geographic size of the United States, its

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<sup>133</sup> Bier, David. "U.S. Approves Far Fewer Muslim Refugees, Immigrants, & Travelers." Cato Institute. (2018).

<sup>134</sup> "U.S. Muslims Concerned About Their Place in Society, but Continue to Believe in the American Dream." *Pew Research Centers Religion & Public Life Project*, (2017).

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Bier, David. "Rapid U.S. Muslim Assimilation Continues Alongside Rapid Muslim Immigration." Cato Institute. (2017).

<sup>137</sup> Latzer, Barry. *The Rise and Fall of Violent Crime in America*. Encounter Books, (2017): 206-207.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid. 206-207.

more than 300 million people, and many different immigrant groups.<sup>139</sup> American views towards immigration have also improved from a decade ago. A Gallup poll in 2017 showed Americans are more likely to say immigrants improve life in the U.S. through culture, the economy, social and moral values, and crime among other things, than be a burden on society.<sup>140</sup>

However, Americans are cautiously aware of immigration, especially after the events of 9/11, observing a struggling Europe handle its massive intake of migrants and constant headlines of “crisis” at the southern border. A major issue in the United States on immigration is the southern border with children being separated from their parents, construction of the border wall, illegal crossings, etc. While much can be studied about the economic cost/benefit analysis, less can be studied about the consequences on culture and social norms given that it’s difficult to analyze cultural norms from a data and numerical perspective. Samuel Huntington, the author of *The Hispanic Challenge* and *The Clash of Civilizations*, says Hispanic immigration is unlike the previous immigration waves that America has dealt with in the past because of contiguity, scale, illegality, regional concentration, persistence, and historical presence.<sup>141</sup>

Huntington states that Americans attitudes towards immigrants were shaped by immigrants crossing over the Atlantic Ocean on a long journey to the United States. Now, he says, the United States is shaped by an inflow of people on a large scale from third world countries that are strikingly different in economic conditions. Huntington continues by saying that the diverse immigrant pool that the United States used to have before 1965 has been condensed into one dominant source of newcomers: Hispanics.<sup>142</sup> Overwhelmingly, the Mexican population accounts for the largest illegal immigrant population in the United States. Huntington makes the

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<sup>139</sup> Latzer, Barry. *The Rise and Fall of Violent Crime in America*. Encounter Books, (2017): 207-210.

<sup>140</sup> Mccarthy, Justin. "Americans More Positive About Effects of Immigration." *Americans More Positive About Effects of Immigration*, (2017).

<sup>141</sup> Huntington, Samuel P. "The Hispanic Challenge." *Foreign Policy*. (2009).

<sup>142</sup> Huntington, Samuel P. "The Hispanic Challenge." *Foreign Policy*. (2009).

case that Mexicans feel that they have special rights in the southwestern states where most of them reside--Texas, Arizona, California, Nevada, and Utah—since these states were once a part of Mexico until Mexico lost them in the Texan War of Independence of 1835-1836 and the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848.<sup>143</sup>

The Founding Fathers had warned that the dispersion of immigrants was critical for assimilating into the United States.<sup>144</sup> As done so successfully in the past with other immigrant groups, Americans assumed that their powers of assimilation and popular culture would work with the large wave of Hispanics coming in from the south—only to find that a great majority was coming in illegally, without English skills, and without a high school education.<sup>145</sup> Entire Hispanic communities began to spring up in the southwestern states, far removed from others with different backgrounds.<sup>146</sup> In the future, there could be cultural divisions between Hispanics and non-Hispanics if the trends continue, along with the racial divisions that already impede American society. Certain events have already highlighted this trend: in 1994, Mexican Americans demonstrated in Los Angeles in favor of welfare benefits to illegal immigrants by carrying Mexican flags and holding the U.S. flag upside down or when Mexican Americans booed the U.S. National anthem at a soccer game in 1998.<sup>147</sup>

More recently in 2006, Americans witnessed millions of illegal immigrants waving Mexican flags take to the streets of major cities like Chicago and Los Angeles to insist that their generous host met their demands, only confirming to Americans that the illegal immigration was getting out of control.<sup>148</sup> Additionally, Mexican citizens who reside in the United States illegally

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Hanson, Victor Davis. *Mexifornia: A State of Becoming*. New York: Encounter Books, (2007): Preface.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Huntington, Samuel P. "The Hispanic Challenge." *Foreign Policy*. (2009).

<sup>148</sup> Hanson, Victor Davis. *Mexifornia: A State of Becoming*. New York: Encounter Books, (2007): Preface.

send upwards of \$15 billion to Mexico in remittances annually.<sup>149</sup> “While politicians and academics assured the public that illegal aliens came only to work and would quickly assume an American identity, the public was seeing vast problems with crime, illiteracy, and illegitimacy, and these observations have been borne out by hard data,” said Victor Davis Hanson in 2007.<sup>150</sup>

Such frustration by the public shifted the immigration debate to the political right, which promised to get tough on illegal immigration and promised more security. Just across the Atlantic, many European governments are shifting rightward as Europe, itself, is going through a migration crisis. Europe was quick to criticize Trump’s hardline immigration stance, but now it seems the Europeans are following his approach. The sense of losing control over borders from people coming in with different cultural and religious beliefs has caused an internal rift between European nations. Some analysts have even stated that the European Union may even break apart because of the decisions it has made on immigration.

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid. Preface.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid. Preface.

## CHAPTER 7: EUROPEAN EVOLUTION AFTER WORLD WAR II

On the other side of the Atlantic, Europe is at a crossroads. The outlook for Europe looks bleak. The European Union is divided amongst financial tensions between the north and the south. To the east and west, divisions have fragmented amongst the Western bloc and skeptical Eastern and Central European countries over mass migration. Not only that, but Europe is facing two disturbing trends: an aging population and a rapidly changing demography. Additionally, President Trump is on Europe's doorstep asking for more money to be spent on the NATO alliance, Great Britain is leaving the European Union, and populist parties are increasingly prevalent across Europe.

Many people on the streets are rejecting the European Commission's central idea that Europe can handle millions of migrants. Many enter illegally or through smuggling routes and come without the skills and education to assimilate.<sup>151</sup> Riots now occur more frequently on the streets of Paris and Berlin.<sup>152</sup> After the Cold War, it seemed Europe would once unify under common ideas, values, and beliefs, but paradoxically, the continent is slowly drifting apart. A weakened Europe is troubling in a world where autocrats are looking to expand power in the region and where terrorism remains a threat to the continent. Europeans are finding that there is more that separates them than unites them than a single Euro currency could do. Yet, one of the major issues that will continue to be an issue is immigration into Europe. To see how Europe got to this point, we must look back at how Europe's immigration troubles began.

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Europe endured two devastating world wars leaving it destroyed and desolate. The immigration troubles that Europe had been facing in the last few years really

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<sup>151</sup> "Human Smuggling from Africa to Europe." Global Initiative. (2017).

<sup>152</sup> "Police and Protesters Clash in Paris." Euronews. (2018).

began at the end of the Second World War. World War II had caused millions of people to flee racial, religious, and political persecution from totalitarian regimes. After the war had ended, Europe found itself without the labor supply needed to fill the gaps of many jobs. During the 1950s and 1960s, countries like West Germany, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Belgium, and the Netherlands established guest worker programs to fill the labor shortages.<sup>153</sup>

Most of the foreign workers coming in were recruited and embraced by governments and private sectors alike to take cheap labor and fuel the now growing Western economies. Few Western scholars or policymakers were concerned about what would happen with long-term economic, social, and political problems.<sup>154</sup> It had been assumed by the politicians that they would assimilate into European society. It was expected that they would return home after their services were no longer needed. Yet the opposite occurred. Much like the Bracero program in the United States, the workers stayed in Europe and began bringing their families in as well.<sup>155</sup>

The migrants began coming from the less developed parts of the world: Turkey, Greece, India, Morocco, Pakistan, East Germany, etc. After the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1959, Germany was restricted on the immigrants coming in and began looking elsewhere. Turkish migrants began settling into Germany after the German-Turkish labor agreement of 1961. Turkish migrants also settled into Belgium and Holland but also other countries that were once colonies.<sup>156</sup> In fact, many of the incoming migrants coming to Belgium, France, Holland, the U.K., were considered “citizens” that were returning from their former colonies.<sup>157</sup> Bilateral

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<sup>153</sup> Murray, Douglas. *The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam*. London: Bloomsbury Continuum, (2017): 23.

<sup>154</sup> Messina, Anthony M. *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*. UK: Cambridge University Press, (2007): 2.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid. 2.

<sup>156</sup> Murray, Douglas. *The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam*. London: Bloomsbury Continuum, (2017): 23.

<sup>157</sup> Van Mol, Christof and de Valk, Helga. " Migration and Immigrants in Europe: A Historical and Demographic Perspective." In *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*, Springer, Cham, (2016): 34.

agreements between governments were also signed with Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965), and Yugoslavia (1968).<sup>158</sup> Between 1950 and 1973, Western Europe had around 10 million new people.<sup>159</sup> Immigration into Europe had credited the healthy economic growth experienced by the countries that let them in: France, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, West Germany, etc. These countries posted the highest rates of economic growth from 1945 to 1973.<sup>160</sup>

Both the Northern and Southern parts of Europe saw this immigration period as a win for both sides. The Southern parts of Europe were alleviating people that it could not support from high unemployment rates and a large, unproductive population. The Northern countries of Europe benefited from the newcomers taking the jobs that the affluent Northern Europeans did not want. The migration into Europe lasted up until the 1970's when the economy began to slowdown and anti-immigrant sentiment began to increase. Even Turkey felt the financial repercussions of the 1970's downturn because remittances to the country were a large source of revenue.<sup>161</sup> In the wake of the 1973-1974 oil crisis, the European nations stopped recruiting foreign labor. Switzerland and Sweden invoked a migration stop in 1970 and 1972. Germany and France followed in 1974. Yet, the people still came. Europe had little success trying to stop migrants from coming in along with their families in part, due to Article 19 of the European Social Charter of 1961, which states that family reunification of migrant workers, was considered a fundamental right.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid. 32.

<sup>159</sup> Kaya, Bülent. *The Changing Face of Europe: Population flows in the 20th century*. France: Council of Europe, (2002): 20.

<sup>160</sup> Messina, Anthony M. *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*. UK: Cambridge University Press, (2007): 21.

<sup>161</sup> Van Mol, Christof and de Valk, Helga. "Migration and Immigrants in Europe: A Historical and Demographic Perspective." In *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*, Springer, Cham, (2016): 33.

<sup>162</sup> Van Mol, Christof and de Valk, Helga. "Migration and Immigrants in Europe: A Historical and Demographic Perspective." In *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*, Springer, Cham, (2016): 35.

Douglas Murray, author of *The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam*, commented on the mass movement of people coming into Europe after the Second World War. He wrote, "...Europe got hooked on the migration and could not stop the flow even if it had wanted to. The result was that what had been Europe—the home of European peoples—gradually became home for the entire world. The places that had been European gradually became somewhere else. So places dominated by Pakistani immigrants resembled Pakistan in everything but their location, with the recent arrivals and their children eating the food of their place of origin, speaking the language of their place of origin, and worshipping the religion of their place of origin. Streets in the cold and rainy northern towns of Europe filled with people dressed for the foothills of Pakistan or the sandstorms of Arabia."<sup>163</sup> Douglas Murray believes that Europe is losing faith in its beliefs, traditions, and legitimacy. Europe, he says, is deeply weighed down with guilt from its past.

European concerns about the amount of people coming in began to show in the polls. A Gallup poll conducted in 1968 showed that 75 percent of the British public believed that controls on immigration were not strict enough. These figures would soon rise to 83 percent.<sup>164</sup> Then, in 1985, five European Union (EU) states decided to get rid of internal border controls thus forming an agreement known as the Schengen area. The notion was that the EU wanted to create an area where Europeans could travel within Europe without the hassle of border controls, passports, and bureaucracy thus creating economic gains from the free movement of people, ideas, and resources. The Schengen area is home to around 400 million people and now includes 26

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<sup>163</sup> Murray, Douglas. *The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam*. London: Bloomsbury Continuum, (2017): 2.

<sup>164</sup> Murray, Douglas. *The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam*. London: Bloomsbury Continuum, (2017): 15.

countries, 22 of which are EU states.<sup>165</sup> The European Commission notes that the agreement between the countries is also to ensure security within the border-free area. It has increased police cooperation, cross-border surveillance, and established joint police centers and teams.<sup>166</sup> It also states that the external border is a shared common responsibility but that it needs to remain open for people coming in for work or seeking refuge from war or persecution. On visas, the Schengen members allow a person to stay and travel within the territories of the Schengen area for a maximum of 90 days in any 180-day period.<sup>167</sup> Figure 2 indicates which EU state is a member of the Schengen Area and which state is not a member of the Schengen Area.

While difficult as it may seem to find disadvantages in this agreement, after all the advantages of unrestricted, free movement of people, services, and capital proved monumental, the agreement sent a message that Europe was essentially “borderless.” It appeared that Europeans grew weary over borders in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. Decades earlier, two world wars had broken out in 1914 and throughout the 1940’s, proving to be catastrophic for the continent of Europe. Borders were viewed as the fatal flaw over these wars rather than German militarism and Nazi aggression in the first and second world wars.<sup>168</sup> Although member states had pledged to police the external borders, the burden of the task fell on the countries where most of the migrants were entering during the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century: Italy, Spain, and Greece. These countries were left out on their own to bear the heavy burden of migration control.<sup>169</sup>

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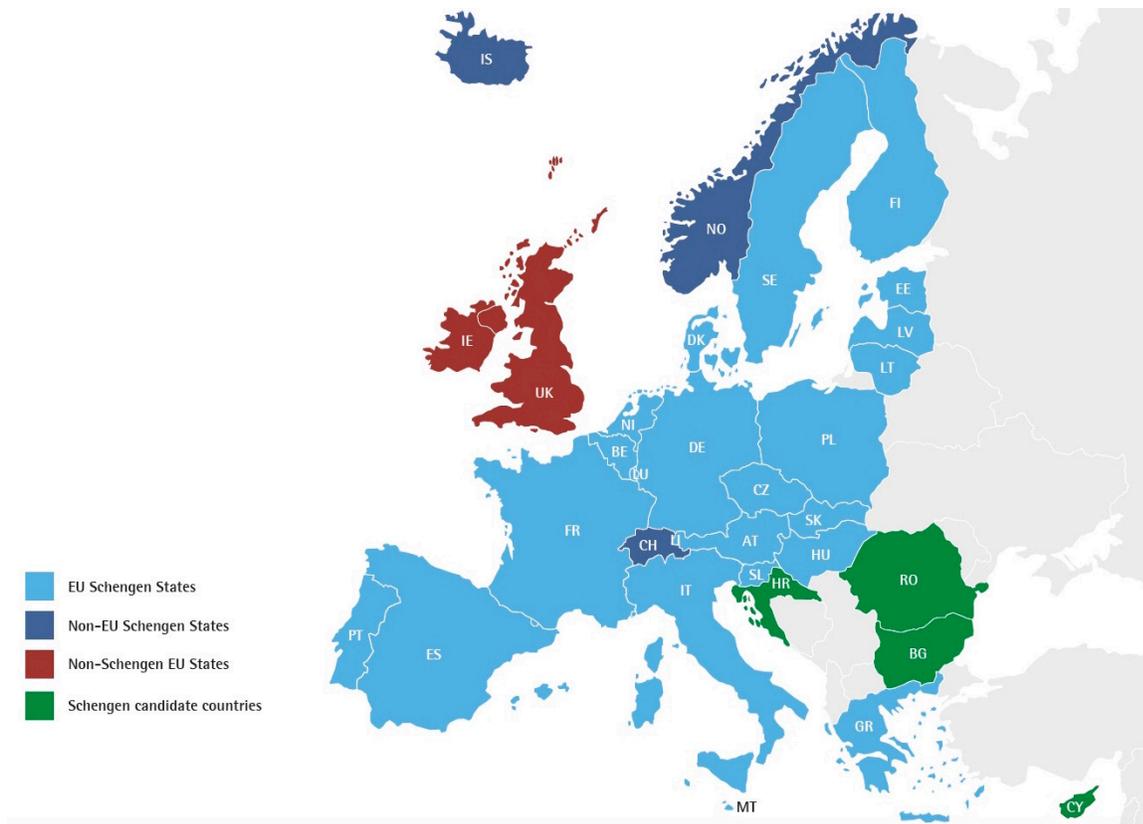
<sup>165</sup> Avramopoulos, Dimitris. *Europe Without Borders: The Schengen Area*. Report. European Commission Migration and Home Affairs. (2015): 4.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid. 6.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid. 8.

<sup>168</sup> Murray, Douglas. *The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam*. London: Bloomsbury Continuum, (2017): 180.

<sup>169</sup> Murray, Douglas. *The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam*. London: Bloomsbury Continuum, (2017): 180.



**Figure 2: Schengen Area Map (Source: Data State Inspectorate of Latvia)**

Around the same time of the signing of the Schengen Agreement, a couple of events also shaped immigration in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century: the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Yugoslavian wars. The fall of the Berlin Wall led to an east to west migration into the newly unified German state. The German government now had to deal with a massive influx of asylum seekers. Tens of thousands of people came from war-torn countries and failed states to take advantage of Germany’s lax asylum laws. The large majority of people came from Turkey and the former Yugoslavic states. Between 1990 and 1993, over 1.2 million people sought asylum in

Germany.<sup>170</sup> After the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1990-1991 and the conflicts in Croatia, Kosovo, and Bosnia, around 4.6 million people had left the areas to seek refuge. Some 300,000 to 400,000 Albanians fled their country seeking shelter in Greece, Italy, and other parts of Europe. The crackdown on immigration laws that followed only led to more impoverished people to cross into Western Europe illegally.<sup>171</sup> Table 2 shows the amount of asylum seekers entering Europe from 1985 to 2015:

Western Europe took the brunt of migration flows into Europe after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the south, Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain were not well equipped to handle such inflows either. These countries were experiencing little economic growth along with falling birth rates, which led to a labor shortage in Southern Europe. This in turn made it an attractive place for North African and Asian migrants to come in and fill the jobs that Southern Europeans did not want to take.<sup>172</sup> From the 1990s onward, there were three iterations of the Dublin Regulation on asylum. The objective of the Dublin Regulations was to guarantee to the EU member state that whatever state the migrant requested asylum in a particular state, that state would be legally obligated to take that application.<sup>173</sup> In reality, the burden once again fell on the southern states given that boatloads of people were arriving in Greece and Italy with or without documentation compared to the Netherlands or the United Kingdom. Dublin III came into effect in 2013, essentially stating that the country where fingerprints and asylum claims are stored is the state compelled to process and offer asylum to the migrants. What began to take place is that

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<sup>170</sup> Messina, Anthony M. *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*. UK: Cambridge University Press, (2007): 127.

<sup>171</sup> Kaya, Bülent. *The Changing Face of Europe: Population flows in the 20th century*. France: Council of Europe, (2002): 21.

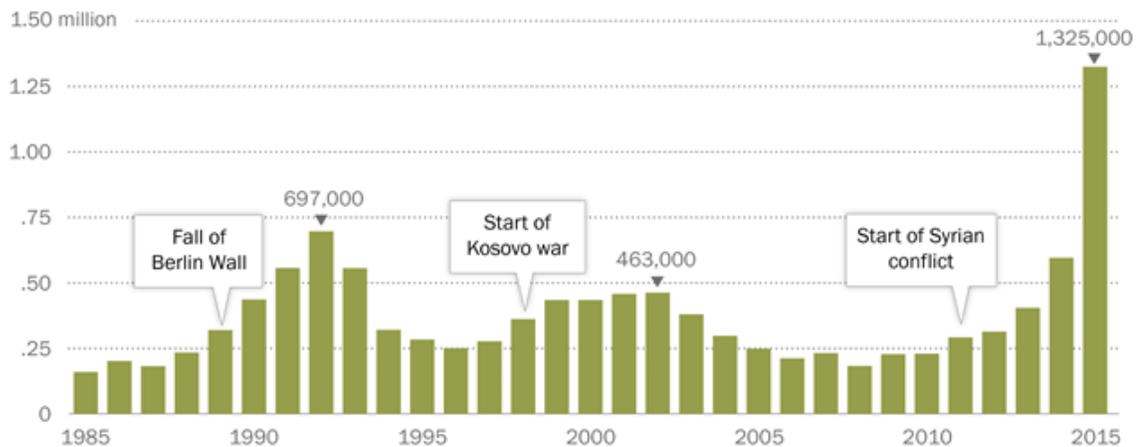
<sup>172</sup> Van Mol, Christof and de Valk, Helga. "Migration and Immigrants in Europe: A Historical and Demographic Perspective." In *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*, Springer, Cham, (2016): 37.

<sup>173</sup> Murray, Douglas. *The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam*. London: Bloomsbury Continuum, (2017): 180.

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## Number of asylum seekers in Europe surges to record 1.3 million in 2015

Annual number of asylum applications received by EU-28 countries, Norway and Switzerland, 1985 to 2015



Note: "Europe" consists of the EU-28, Norway and Switzerland. Asylum seeker definitions varied by European country prior to 2008. Numbers for asylum applications since 2008 are based on first-time applicants and do not include appeals or transfer of applications between countries. See [methodology](#) for more details. Data on asylum applications is missing for some countries in some years. See [Appendix A](#) for list of countries with missing data. All countries that are part of the EU today are included in previous years' data even though several were not part of the European Union in earlier years. Rounded to nearest thousand.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of Eurostat data, accessed June 22, 2016.

"Number of Refugees to Europe Surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

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**Table 2: Number of Asylum Seekers in Europe Surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015 (Source: Pew Research Center)**

the southern states pushed the migrants up north, undocumented, unidentified, and un-fingerprinted. What remains unclear is the sheer number of migrants that moved up north. What began as a process to make the asylum procedure smoother and clearer backfired by incentivizing countries not to participate in the system.<sup>174</sup>

At the start of the new century, 9/11 occurred and had a profound impact on the immigration debates in Europe. The attacks had sparked a fear of immigrants as a security threat.

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<sup>174</sup> Ibid. 181.

Previously, throughout the 1970s, 80s, and 90s, the immigrants were viewed as an economic threat by taking jobs and overwhelming the welfare system. Now, the security implications of immigration had the full attention of European governments. Members of The Justice and Home Affairs Councils, one of the configurations of the Council of the European Union, met a few days after 9/11 and decided upon a measure to strengthen control measures at the external borders and to examine the countries that are at risk of facing large-scale immigration while examining the countries that produce the exodus of such movements.<sup>175</sup>

Dace Schentz, author of the report *Did 9/11 Matter? Securitization of Asylum and Immigration in the European Union in the Period from 1992 to 2008*, notes that 9/11 increased the securitization of asylum and immigration in four ways. First, migration was viewed as a threat and a possible link between asylum-seekers and terrorism. Secondly, it was recognized that asylum was an unlikely method of entry for terrorist to enter so the focus turned to illegal migration into Europe, which became a top priority of the European Union.<sup>176</sup> Third, fewer safeguards were put in place for the asylum seeker along with an increased emphasis on keeping asylum seekers out by improving protection in the areas of origin. Lastly, securitization of asylum and immigration were strengthened through further development, i.e., heavily restricting legal entry options.<sup>177</sup>

While some measures were put in place to prevent the threats on the external borders of Europe, relatively little was done internally. A few years after 9/11, the Madrid and London bombings occurred in 2004 and 2005 along with the assassination of Dutch filmmaker and Islam critic, Theo van Gogh. These events sparked an increasing anti-immigrant sentiment. Acts of

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<sup>175</sup> Schentz, Dace. *Did 9/11 Matter?: Securitization of Asylum and Immigration in the European Union in the Period from 1992 to 2008*. Refugee Studies Centre, (2010): 20.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid. 29.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid. 29.

international terrorism in the name of Islam made Europeans feel disgruntled about the amount of migrants coming in—given that a large majority of the migrants coming in were, in fact, from the Muslim world. By 2015, European countries found themselves woefully unprepared for what was about to happen next. What happened next would change the course of Europe for decades.

## CHAPTER 8: EUROPE'S MIGRANT CRISIS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

In 2015, just as the United States was beginning talks of restricting immigration Europe was opening the door even further for the world to come in. The crisis can be traced back to the Arab Spring in 2011 when boats of people began coming in droves. Two years later, on October 3, 2013, a boat leaving Libya, carrying mostly sub-Saharan Africans, sank off the coast of Lampedusa, near Sicily. Over 300 people had perished which led to an international outcry to do more for refugees by international leaders and governments. The Italian government launched an initiative to allow the Italian navy to patrol almost 70,000 square kilometers in search-and-rescue operations.<sup>178</sup> While the policy did save lives, it allowed human smugglers to take advantage of the new policy. Human smugglers could now launch any boat into the water and the Italian navy would meet them halfway to come and help them. The operation lasted about a year and brought in an additional 150,000 people into Europe.<sup>179</sup> The speed at which arrivals were coming had quickly overwhelmed officials. Very few migrants, if any, were going to be sent back where they came from.

When word spread that Syrians were given preferential treatment by getting placed first in the asylum line of getting to enter Europe, a large number of people began claiming they were Syrian, even if they couldn't speak the local dialect or knew anything about the country itself.<sup>180</sup> Once landed on the shores of Europe, the migrants were free to move northward, given the Schengen area had essentially no internal border controls. On September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2015, the international outcry grew ever louder when it was discovered that a three-year old boy had died

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<sup>178</sup> Murray, Douglas. *The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam*. London: Bloomsbury Continuum, (2017): 68.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid. 69.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid. 72.

from trying to cross into Europe and washed up onto the shores of Turkey. A photographer had captured the moment and it quickly went viral making international headlines.<sup>181</sup>

Opponents of open-door immigration now had to defend their position and explain how they could be so immoral to not allow these people into Europe. Media and political leaders, who had been opposed to open immigration, now began to buckle and gave the approval for refugees to come in. Even social media and celebrities had joined in to give their empathy for the refugees.<sup>182</sup> British Prime Minister David Cameron agreed to allow 20,000 Syrian refugees in over a period of five years. Chancellor Angela Merkel, famously stated, “we can do this” to unite the rest of Europe behind Germany’s humanitarian outreach and there is “no limit” on the number of migrants that Germany would accept. *The New York Times* reported that within 48 hours, word had spread to Nigeria and other countries that people began to flock to Europe in droves as they saw a window of economic opportunity for citizenship in Europe.<sup>183</sup>

When the 2015 migrant crisis ramped up, Germany took the forefront propelling Chancellor Merkel and Germany as leaders of the crisis and in essence the European Union. The year before, in 2014, Germany had accepted a total of 202,645 asylum applications. The next highest recipient of asylum applications was Sweden with 81,180. By 2015, Germany received an estimated 800,000 asylum applications.<sup>184</sup> Figure 3 illustrates the paths taken by migrants into Europe:

Germany had been the best equipped to take in such large numbers due to its efficient application process system, economic size, and its communication with other European

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<sup>181</sup> Murray, Douglas. *The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam*. London: Bloomsbury Continuum, (2017): 82.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid. 82.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid. 82.

<sup>184</sup> Lee, Erica. *European Migration Crisis: Germany’s Response*. Report. (2015): 6.



**Figure 3: Migration Paths to Europe (Source: Geopolitical Intelligence Services)**

countries. German interior Minister, Thomas De Maiziere, recognized the reasons for the surge of applications. The reason was due to uncertainty in the Balkans and political turmoil in the Middle East and North Africa.<sup>185</sup> By opening its doors in 2015, Germany hoped to show the world that it had long put its past aside and was now an open and generous society. The public had backed the decision to increase the number of asylum seekers.<sup>186</sup>

However, not every country was on board with allowing migrants into their respective countries. When Jean-Claude Juncker, the President of the European Commission, proposed a

<sup>185</sup> Ibid. 7.

<sup>186</sup> Lee, Erica. *European Migration Crisis: Germany's Response*. Report. (2015). 6.

burden-sharing mechanism in mid-2015 for the asylum seekers amongst the EU member states, he faced pushback from some Central and Eastern European states.<sup>187</sup> Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Poland were the first to object to the EU's demands. By this point, populist anti-immigrant parties had been on the rise in Central and Eastern European countries. Countries began looking out for their own self-interest. The EU responded by threatening to impose penalties on those countries that did not meet their quotas. There was a lack of a common plan on how to handle the migration. Livia Benková, a contributor at the Austrian Institute for European and Security Policy, wrote, "Brussels tried to tackle these developments with proposing various initiatives, which have proven to be mainly unsuccessful. The major cause for the EU's inability to act effectively was the lack of a coherent and common migration and asylum policy, being the result of national sovereignty concerns."<sup>188</sup>

The migrant flows were proving to be too much to handle for Schengen countries. Eight countries introduced border controls based on Article 25 Schengen Border Code: Austria, Germany, Slovenia, Hungary, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Belgium.<sup>189</sup> Livia also noted that countries began placing caps and quotas restricting people coming in which in turn led to the collapse of the Dublin System and the partial suspension of the Schengen system.<sup>190</sup> Not only were questions about the Schengen agreement being raised, the call for increased border protections became louder. Former President Nicolas Sarkozy stated that "Schengen is dead" while the Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte said that border controls were imperative for the Schengen area to survive.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> Ambrosini, Maurizio. *Europe: No Migrant's Land?*. Edizioni Epoké. Italy: ISIP, (2017): 20.

<sup>188</sup> Benková, Livia. *Europe's Response to the Migration Crisis*. Report. (2017): 1.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid. 2.

<sup>190</sup> Benkova, Livia, *Europe's Response to the Migration Crisis*. Report. (2017). 2.

<sup>191</sup> Geddes, Andrew, and Peter Scholten. *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe*. US: Sage publications (2016): 5.

By early 2016, the European Union had reached an agreement with Turkey. Large portions of migrants were passing through Turkey to get to Europe. The main purpose of the agreement was to stem the flow of migrants entering Europe. Turkey agreed it would take back the refugees who came into Europe through irregular means. On top of the offer, the EU promised to speed up the previously allocated aid of \$3 billion to Turkey.<sup>192</sup> According to European Commission officials, Greece was receiving a peak of 6,000 migrants per day at the end of 2015, and by June 2016 that number reached 50 per day.<sup>193</sup> The effects were noticed immediately, but the foundation of the deal was fragile and was only meant as a short-term solution for a long-term problem. President Erdogan had repeatedly threatened to cancel the deal in hopes of influencing EU policy in favor of Turkey.<sup>194</sup> The EU's response was essentially to put out the immediate fires rather than come up with a long-term solution. The high numbers of refugees and migrants were placing a heavy burden on countries and their visa application systems, which could not keep up with the sheer number coming in.

In the summer of 2016, Great Britain sent shockwaves through the European Union as it voted to leave the bloc. In a survey conducted at the beginning of 2016 showed that 69 percent of British citizens believed immigration was too high. Around 93 percent of voters who had voted to leave also shared concerns about immigration.<sup>195</sup> Around the same time during the new year, a think tank called Migration Watch estimated that 4.8 million asylum-seekers could head to Europe and about half a million could arrive in the U.K. While that number may have been exaggerated, it certainly caught the attention of the public.

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<sup>192</sup> Benková, Livia. *Europe's Response to the Migration Crisis*. Report. (2017): 2.

<sup>193</sup> Vimont, Pierre. *Migration in Europe Bridging the Solidarity Gap*. Report. (2016): 9.

<sup>194</sup> Benková, Livia. *Europe's Response to the Migration Crisis*. Report. (2017): 2.

<sup>195</sup> Clarke, Harold D., Matthew J. Goodwin, and Paul F. Whiteley. *Brexit: Why Britain Voted to Leave the European Union*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (2017): 12.

Interestingly, the perception of immigration is often different from what the actual numbers are. A survey found that in all European countries people perceived that the migrant population was larger than what it actually was. This survey showed that this was consistent around the world, not just in the European Union.<sup>196</sup> Yet, polls continually showed that before Brexit immigration had been a concern among British voters for some years. “In Britain, the strong public demand for immigration reform was reflected clearly in the data. When the pollsters BMG gave voters a list of things that (David) Cameron was trying to achieve and asked them to choose the objectives they considered very important, the two most popular by a wide margin were reducing immigration and curbing welfare for migrants” note the authors of *Brexit: Why Britain Voted to Leave the European Union*.<sup>197</sup>

Comparisons were made between Brexit and the election of Donald Trump, namely that voters had felt that the ruling class was not listening to them and were exempt from their own policies. The governments were telling one story about immigration while the public was living and seeing another. A few days after Brexit, the European Union released a foreign affairs and security policy that looked to work with the United Nations and other international partners “to ensure shared global responsibilities and solidarity.”<sup>198</sup> The peak of the migrant crisis had passed, but Europeans were still largely concerned with the amount that came in and continues to come in. The number of migrants coming in declined after 2015. The decrease of border crossings in 2016 could be attributed in part to the strengthening of detection measures and strict border control measures taken at the Western Balkan countries and Turkey.<sup>199</sup> The decline in

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<sup>196</sup> Darvas, Zsolt, and GonçalvesRaposo. *People on the Move: Migration and Mobility in the European Union*. Report, (2018): 34.

<sup>197</sup> Clarke, Harold D., Matthew J. Goodwin, and Paul F. Whiteley. *Brexit: Why Britain Voted to Leave the European Union*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (2017): 12.

<sup>198</sup> Vimont, Pierre. *Migration in Europe Bridging the Solidarity Gap*. Report. (2016): 21.

<sup>199</sup> *2016 Annual Report on Migration and Asylum*. Report. European Commission: European Migration Network. (2017): 64.

trust and overall attitudes of the European Union were showing among member states throughout 2016.<sup>200</sup> Yet, 69 percent of Europeans said they were in favor of a common European policy on migration.<sup>201</sup>

In response to the border problems, the European Union established the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (Frontex) on October 6, 2016. The establishment of Frontex created a legal basis for shared management of EU external borders and was now a central role of reinforcing, assessing, and coordinating the actions of state's border management.<sup>202</sup> Frontex looks for vulnerabilities in countries' borders and provides them with assessments on how to improve by utilizing certain resources. One by one, member states implemented new solutions to fix their immigration policies: Belgium wrote legislation regarding passenger information; Sweden made progress in IT-solutions for dealing with passengers and name records; Slovenia created a national risk analysis unit, Germany implemented more security at airports; and Latvia modernized their border control operations.<sup>203</sup> A multitude of other countries was involved in increasing security measures around Europe.

From the start of 2017 to September 2017, the average number of applications suggests there was an expected total annual volume of 640,000 applications, well above the 2008-2011 averages of 265,000 per year, but still down from the 2015-2016 years.<sup>204</sup> As a whole, the European Union and its member states have adopted various measures to combat the crisis. These solutions include helping countries like Turkey with large inflows of refugees, building

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<sup>200</sup> Debomy, Daniel, and Alain Tripier. *European Public Opinion and the EU Following the Peak of the Migrant Crisis*. Report. (2017): 3.

<sup>201</sup> Darvas, Zsolt, and Gonçalves, Raposo. *People on the Move: Migration and Mobility in the European Union*. Report, (2018): 17.

<sup>202</sup> *2016 Annual Report on Migration and Asylum*. Report. European Commission: European Migration Network. (2017): 65.

<sup>203</sup> *2016 Annual Report on Migration and Asylum*. Report. European Commission: European Migration Network. (2017): 67.

<sup>204</sup> Darvas, Zsolt, and Gonçalves, Raposo. *People on the Move: Migration and Mobility in the European Union*. Report, (2018): 17.

relationships with North Africa to limit illegal immigration and the human smuggling epidemic, improving the protection of EU borders, and improving reception and integration of refugees and migrants in the EU.<sup>205</sup>

Still reeling from the economic downturns of 2008 and 2010, European leaders would soon face mounting pressure from the public about their immigration concerns. Countries that took in large amounts of migrants such as Germany, the U.K., France, Sweden, and the Netherlands, are struggling to cope with such large inflows. As the amount of refugees coming in winds down, the effect that has occurred on European politics has been ground shifting. Right-wing parties have taken hold of this issue and have stated their intent to, in essence, pull up the drawbridge on immigration. When Chancellor Angela Merkel famously said, “We can do this” when lending support for the refugees, the European public is now essentially responding back stating, “we won’t do this.” This, in turn, left serious divisions between East and West Europe and North and South. What became an external problem at the borders was now becoming an internal problem inside the European Union.

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<sup>205</sup> Ibid. 152.

## CHAPTER 9: THE ROLE OF MIGRANTS IN EUROPEAN SOCIETY

Given the turmoil in Syria and the Middle East, Western intelligence and security services were becoming increasingly concerned with foreign fighters returning to Europe from the Middle East and causing harm. The number of people coming into Europe in 2015 was overwhelming. The threats to Europe were increasing. In Paris, France, two gunmen stormed into the offices of the French magazine *Charlie Hebdo* on January 7<sup>th</sup>, 2015 killing 11 staff members and a police officer at the scene.<sup>206</sup> The gunmen were brothers who had claimed they were fighting on behalf of Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, which took credit for the attack. Before the attack, a video recording showed a third jihadist claiming that he was working with the two gunmen on behalf of ISIS. The third jihadist had killed a police officer and shot four other people.<sup>207</sup>

The return of foreign fighters proved a challenge for Europe as more foreign fighters were disenchanted about the conflict in the Middle East and had looked to return home to Europe. Paris was soon struck again in an attack that shocked Europe. On November 13, 2015, the Islamic state struck Paris with coordinated attacks of gunmen and bombings. The terrorist attacks left over 130 people dead. “The attacks fit with the ISIS strategy of using terrorism to put pressure on existing tensions in society, creating fears that ISIS had infiltrated the massive outflow of Syrian refugees and prompting a xenophobic backlash across Europe and in the United States.”<sup>208</sup> The authors of *ISIS: Inside the Army of Terror*, wrote, “A major attack in France was all but inevitable. The country has been the largest feeder, among European nations, of foreign fighters into Syria and Iraq, with more than two thousand citizens having emigrated to

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<sup>206</sup> Stern, Jessica Stern. and J. M. Berger. *ISIS: The State of Terror*. Harper Collins UK, (2016): 285.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid. 286.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid. 287.

link up with some jihadist movement or another—not necessarily ISIS. Two hundred and fifty French nationals are thought to have gone over and come back to France. Most of the Paris attackers were French nationals, although many had lived in the Molenbeek district of Brussels, long a hotbed of Islamist proselytization and recruitment.”<sup>209</sup>

Brussels, Belgium suffered a terrorist attack on March 22, 2016, when suicide attackers detonated bombs at the Brussels airport, killing 32 and injuring hundreds. ISIS claimed responsibility for the attacks.<sup>210</sup> France would then be struck again. On July 14, 2016, a Tunisian citizen that had been residing in France drove a truck into a crowd in Nice, France killing 86 people.<sup>211</sup> In Germany, a 24-year old Tunisian asylum seeker, who entered Italy in 2011, stole a truck and drove it into a Christmas market in Berlin in 2016. The attack killed 12 people as ISIL claimed responsibility for the attack.<sup>212</sup> In the United Kingdom, 22 people were killed and 59 injured after a bomb detonated outside a concert in Manchester, England. The attacker, Salam Abedi, had travelled to Syria, became radicalized, and returned to the United Kingdom before carrying out the attack.<sup>213</sup>

On June 3, 2017, three knifemen were shot dead by police after running over pedestrians on London Bridge in downtown London. The attackers had claimed allegiance to ISIS. Lastly, on August 17<sup>th</sup>, 2017, a terrorist drove a van that killed 13 people and injured over a hundred. Police killed five suspects wearing fake suicide belts in Barcelona, Spain. The attackers were

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<sup>209</sup> Weiss, Michael Douglas, and Hassan Hassan. *ISIS: Inside the Army of Terror: Revised and Updated*. New York: Regan Arts, (2016): 304.

<sup>210</sup> Pinto Arena, Maria Do Ceu. *Islamic Terrorism in the West and International Migrations: The “Far” or “Near” Enemy Within? What Is the Evidence*. Report. European University Institute. (2017).

<sup>211</sup> Dworkin, Anthony. *Europe's New Counter-Terror Wars*. Report. European Council on Foreign Relations. (2016): 20.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid. 20.

<sup>213</sup> Evans, Martine, W. Ward, and Robert Mendick. "Everything We Know About The Manchester Suicide Bomber Salman Abedi." *The Telegraph* 26, no. 05, (2017).

suspected ISIS affiliates.<sup>214</sup> The scenes of carnage and destruction had a big impact on the European public. They were now questioning the Schengen area and its allowance of free movement amongst people. Some countries called for a reintroduction of border controls within the Schengen area.<sup>215</sup> The freedom of travel within Europe had allowed some of the terrorists to travel, plan, and coordinate attacks.

Whereas terrorist attacks were making international headlines, flying below the radar was the rising crime that was occurring throughout Europe. One disturbing incident that made headlines occurred on New Year's Eve in 2015 in Cologne, Germany. It was reported that over one thousand men of varying migrant backgrounds sexually assaulted, raped, or mugged German women in front of Cologne's Central Station. Around 2,000 sexual assaults and robberies were reported across major German cities leading German officials to concede that this event was in direct correlation with recently arrived migrants.<sup>216</sup>

European leaders believed that since the migrants were coming from third world cultures, different to that of Western values, their open and tolerant societies could change the behavior of incoming migrants. Yet, the crime statistics shows that integration and assimilation of migrants into Europe hasn't worked as well as it has in the United States. European governments have been reluctant to publish the ethnicity and background of origin on the perpetrators of crimes in Europe, but there are some studies and statistics that show a correlation between the migrants arriving and the rising crime rates in some countries. For instance, in Sweden, gun violence has been on the rise. Attempted murder with guns has nearly doubled in the last nine years. The

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<sup>214</sup> Evans, Martine, W. Ward, and Robert Mendick. "Everything We Know About The Manchester Suicide Bomber Salman Abedi." *The Telegraph* 26, no. 05, (2017).

<sup>215</sup> Henley, Jon. "Extend Border Controls to Counter Terror Threat, Say France and Germany." *The Guardian*, (2017).

<sup>216</sup> Kassam, Raheem, and Nigel Farage. *No Go Zones: How Sharia Law Is Coming to a Neighborhood Near You*. Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, a Division of Salem Media Group, (2017): 3.

number of cars being set on fire has risen significantly, and police stations have been blown up by the use of hand-grenades.<sup>217</sup> Throughout Europe, the perpetrators of such crimes are rarely deported. About one out of seventy criminal aliens were deported in total in the year 2016.<sup>218</sup> In France, it is nearly impossible for immigrants to be deported due to the laws created by the European Court of Human Rights and other bureaucratic procedures.<sup>219</sup> Instead of being deported, French prisons are increasingly becoming overcrowded. Of the 67,500 people in French prisons in 2015, an estimated 70 percent were composed of Muslims—while they only compose of 8 percent of the population.<sup>220</sup>

The perpetrators of the rising crime rates are typically young, male, and Muslim. Since 2016, the border agency Frontex has been conducting interviews and assessments of migrant arrivals. They found that the top five nationalities of the whole sample of people interviewed were Syrians, Moroccans, Iraqis, Algerians, and Sudanese. Furthermore, the most common migrant belonged to the 18-35 age group (86%), were unmarried (69%), and were male (89%).<sup>221</sup> There were even some people who claimed that migrants were being used against Europe as a “Trojan Horse”. Retired top commander of NATO, General Phillip Breedlove, made the claim that the refugees were being weaponized by Russia against Europe.<sup>222</sup>

In Germany, a study carried out by three criminologists from the Zurich University of Applied Sciences, found that migrants are overwhelmingly responsible for a rise in violent crime in the area of Lower Saxony in recent years.<sup>223</sup> They found that violent crimes increased by 10.6

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<sup>217</sup> Atkinson, Janice. *Migrant Crime Wave: The EU-Cover Up Revealed*. Report. Europe of Nations and Freedom. (2018): 75.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid. 13.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid. 14.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid. 34.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid. 24.

<sup>222</sup> Schmid, Alex P. *Links between Terrorism and Migration: An Exploration*. (2016): 7.

<sup>223</sup> Hauteville, Jean-Michel. "Study Blames Migrants for Increased Violence, Calls for Integration." *Handelsblatt Global Edition*. (2018).

percent in this German state between 2014-2016 when over 1 million asylum seekers sought asylum in Germany. They also found that 92.1 percent of this increase is directly attributable to asylum seekers and that refugees are disproportionately the main victims of the rising crime.<sup>224</sup> Additionally, a study from the Niedersachsens Criminology Institute found that between 2013 and 2016, migrant crime has increased by 61 percent in the region while the non-German population has only risen from 3.8 percent to 4.2 percent.<sup>225</sup>

In Swedish cities, residents are so concerned about crime in certain regions they fear that the rest of Sweden will suffer the same fate. In 2015, 58 percent of the population under 44-years old is of non-Swedish background in the city of Malmo.<sup>226</sup> Crime levels in Malmo are higher than the national average. The city has suffered twice as many gun shootings and more gunshot murders than the nearby city of Copenhagen, Denmark, a city five times the size of Malmo, Sweden.<sup>227</sup> "...Swedes have grown accustomed to headlines of violent crime, witness intimidation, and gangland and executions. In a country long renowned for its safety, voters cite 'law and order' as the most important issue ahead of the general election in September."<sup>228</sup> In the United Kingdom, a similar pattern has emerged. As recently as of April 2018, London surpassed New York City in murders for the first time in modern history.<sup>229</sup> Police figures show that London's murder rate has increased by nearly 40 percent in three years.<sup>230</sup> A study from the

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<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

<sup>225</sup> Atkinson, Janice. *Migrant Crime Wave: The EU-Cover Up Revealed*. Report. Europe of Nations and Freedom. (2018): 34.

<sup>226</sup> Taylor, Pelle Neroth. *Sweden's Immigration Crisis*. Report. The Bruges Group. (2015): 20.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid. 20.

<sup>228</sup> Neuding, Paulina. "Sweden's Violent Reality Is Undoing a Peaceful Self-image." *Sweden's Violent Reality Is Undoing a Peaceful Self-image*. (2018).

<sup>229</sup> "London's Murder Rate Surpasses New York's for 1st Time Ever." CBS News. (2018).

<sup>230</sup> Ibid.

University of Oxford found that a 1 percent rise in the asylum seeker share of the local population is associated with a 1.1 percent rise in property crime.<sup>231</sup>

Also of importance is the degree to which Muslims in Europe wish to see Sharia law overtake European national law through culture and government. A 2014 report in the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* indicated that 65 percent of immigrants of Moroccan and Turkish background in Belgium, Austria, Sweden, Germany, France, and the Netherlands agreed that Sharia law is more important to them than the laws of the country in which they live.<sup>232</sup> Specifically, in Germany 47 percent of Muslims believe Sharia law is more important than German law while 52 percent of Swedish Muslims believe that Sharia law is more important than Swedish law.<sup>233</sup> Often the leaders of Europe reassure the public that it is only a matter of time before the newly arrived migrants assimilate in European society, but it seems few people are asking: What happens if they don't assimilate?

The citizens of these countries are not the only ones who share similar concerns on the mass entry of people coming in with differing viewpoints on society and democracy. German intelligence had warned in late 2015 that the number of people coming in would be overwhelming for the intelligence agencies to properly vet them.<sup>234</sup> A document from German intelligence warned, "We are importing Islamic extremism, Arab anti-Semitism, national and ethnic conflicts of other peoples, as well as a different understanding of society and law."<sup>235</sup> The German intelligence community also made it clear that it "will not be in the position to solve these imported security problems and thereby the arising reactions from Germany's

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<sup>231</sup> Bell, Dr. Brian, and Stephen Machin. *Immigration and Crime: Evidence for the UK and Other Countries*. Issue brief. The Migration Observatory, University of Oxford. (2013).

<sup>232</sup> Koopmans, Ruud. "Religious Fundamentalism and Hostility against Out-groups: A Comparison of Muslims and Christians in Western Europe." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41, no. 1 (2014): 33-57

<sup>233</sup> Ibid. 33-57.

<sup>234</sup> Bergman, Judith. "Europe: Making Islam Great Again." Gatestone Institute. (2018).

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

population.”<sup>236</sup> The German intelligence warnings had come to this realization as the public anger looked toward leaders who would solve the immigration problem.

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<sup>236</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER 10: THE ROLE OF THE MIGRANT CRISIS IN SHIFTING THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE IN EUROPE

In the United States, the majority of immigrants from the southern border come from a Christian/Catholic background. Many immigrants coming into Europe come from Muslim backgrounds. Religion and country background are important factors for indicating whether immigrants can assimilate in a host country. For instance, a 2016 study conducted by a German think tank, the Hanns Seidel Foundation, interviewed close to 1,000 refugees in Germany from Syria, Iraq, Eritrea, and Afghanistan. On democracy, around 80 percent of Eritreans agree that following the rules of their religion is more important than following governmental laws.<sup>237</sup> On views of women in society, nearly 25 percent of Eritreans also believe that women should not be able to choose their spouse, while Afghans wish to see the women stay at home and manage the household duties.<sup>238</sup>

The return of anti-Semitism has also risen with the influx of Muslim refugees. Largely unreported, Muslims in Europe often have unfavorable views towards the Jewish population. All refugee groups sampled in the study conducted by Hanns Seidel found that there was distaste towards the Jewish people. The study found that well over 50 percent of the refugee groups sampled felt that the Jewish population had too much influence in the world.<sup>239</sup> In France, home to 500,000 Jewish people, there have been physical assaults in the streets of Paris along with taunts and insults hurled at the Jewish populace.<sup>240</sup> Reminiscent of pre-World War II Europe, many Jewish people are leaving places like Germany and France and are moving to safer

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<sup>237</sup> Sessler, Stefan. "Study Shows: This Is How Bavaria's Asylum Seekers Think." (2017).

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid.

<sup>240</sup> Euronews. "Climate of Fear as Anti-Semitism Rises in Europe." Euronews. (2018).

communities inside those countries. Some have left Europe altogether for Israel and other locations.<sup>241</sup> In 1933, there were approximately 500,000 Jews living in Germany. Today, there are about 100,000. In 2017, the German government recorded 1,468 anti-Semitic incidents in the country.<sup>242</sup> In France, according to police statistics, Jews in France are 25 times more likely to suffer attacks than Muslims in France, despite the fact that the Muslim population is 10 times larger.<sup>243</sup> The problem has been going on for decades. A 2003 report by the European Monitoring Centre found that young Muslims were responsible for the increase in anti-Semitic attacks in Europe against the Jews, showing a little progress in assimilation.<sup>244</sup>

Another social issue continues to plague Europe and will continue to do so in the near future: a declining population and an aging population. Europe is projected to have almost 1 in 3 people over the age of 65 and more than 1 in 10 will be over the age of 80.<sup>245</sup> Currently, Western and Northern Europe have the oldest populations, but Eastern Europeans are close behind. The populations of Eastern Europe are projected to fall by around 20 percent in the next 50 years.<sup>246</sup> The ageing population is expected to strain the pension and welfare systems, which are one of the reasons why so many migrants are attracted to Europe. For a population to remain stable, a society must have a replacement rate of 2.1 children. As it stands, Europe's fertility rate falls below the 2.1 mark. Not one European country lies above the 2.1 mark. A 2015 United Nations report confirms this conclusion. For instance, Germany stands at 1.4; Spain, Greece, and Portugal stand at a low rate of 1.3, while Ukraine, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, and Romania are

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<sup>241</sup> Euronews. "Climate of Fear as Anti-Semitism Rises in Europe." Euronews. (2018).

<sup>242</sup> Murray, Don. "Anti-Semitism in Europe Is Back, and Some Blame Recent Refugees for Fueling It." CBCnews, (2018).

<sup>243</sup> Ibid.

<sup>244</sup> Murray, Douglas. *The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam*. London: Bloomsbury Continuum, (2017): 142.

<sup>245</sup> Creighton, Helen. *Europe's Ageing Demography*. Report. (2014).

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

around at 1.5.<sup>247</sup> Low fertility rates, an ageing population, and an inflow of new arrivals from the third world can be a toxic brew for a society.

What's most notable about the migration crisis in Europe is how divided Eastern and Western Europe is on the issue of migrants. Eastern European attitudes differ drastically in comparison to the West. Since the outbreak of the 2015 crisis, the Visegrad Group of Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic along with other countries have taken a hardline stance against Germany, and the European Commission's immigration quota demands. The European Commission had proposed a burden share-quota system of distributing migrants in which the Visegrad countries refused but offered to send more security to patrol the Schengen area's external borders.<sup>248</sup> In 2004, when the European Union was expanding, the former Soviet states were looking to reap the benefits of European Union membership. These benefits included military protection, economic aid, and investment among other things.<sup>249</sup> The EU wanted the newly joined members to abide by their political and institutional reforms, including accepting more migrants. But the Eastern bloc resisted, despite the Eastern European countries having a positive view on the EU.<sup>250</sup>

On March 15, 2016, the Prime Minister of Hungary Victor Orban essentially summed up the East's views on migration, culture and identity.

"Europe is a community of Christian, free, and independent nations; it is the equality of men and women, fair competition and solidarity, pride and humility, justice and mercy. The danger is not now threatening us as wars and natural disasters do, which take the ground from under our feet in an instant. Mass migration is like a slow and steady current of water, which washes away the shore. It appears in the guise of humanitarian action, but its true nature is the occupation of territory; and their gain in territory is our loss of territory. Hordes of implacable human rights warriors feel an unquenchable desire to lecture and accuse us. It is claimed that we

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<sup>247</sup> *World Fertility Patterns 2015*. Report. United Nations. (2015).

<sup>248</sup> Murray, Douglas. *The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam*. London: Bloomsbury Continuum, (2017): 238

<sup>249</sup> "In the EU, East and West Are Falling Out of Tune." Stratfor. (2018).

<sup>250</sup> Ibid.

are xenophobic and hostile, but the truth is that the history of our nation is also one of inclusion and the intertwining of cultures...but those who have come here with the intention of changing our country and shaping our nation in their own image, those who have come with violence and against our will, have always been met with resistance.”<sup>251</sup>

Whether it is a close sense of unity shown in national pride, a lack of guilt and tiredness expressed in Western Europe, or seeing what was happening in Western Europe, the Eastern bloc was not willing to take part in open door immigration. In Germany’s case, one of the main leaders of the migrant crisis, it came down to a shrinking population, a sense of guilt towards its own history, and they believed that bringing in migrants would keep them economically competitive. The Eastern European countries continually refused to bend to the pressures of the European Commission. The countries formerly ruled by Nazism and Communism had wanted to plan their own destinies. In June 2017, the European Commission had voted in favor of taking action against the countries that refused to abide by the migrant quotas.<sup>252</sup> One of the possible actions the EU Commission discussed was withholding funds to Eastern European countries since many are given funding from the European Union.<sup>253</sup> During the tumultuous times of the financial crisis, European leaders came together to save the euro currency. Now, the tensions between the two blocs have certainly fractured the European Union on immigration policy and elections across Europeans have shown this.

The so-called “populist” or right-leaning movements have gained traction over the past decade. *The Brookings Institution* notes that many analysts believed that the populist movements were created after the financial crisis in Europe in 2008-2010 and would recede now that an

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<sup>251</sup> Orbán, Viktor. "Interview with Prime Minister Viktor Orbán on the Kossuth Rádió Programme 180 minutes," (2016).

<sup>252</sup> Rzegocki, Marcin. "EU Refugees: The West Pays, the East Obeys?" *Action Institute*. (2017).

<sup>253</sup> Ibid.

economic recovery across Europe has taken place.<sup>254</sup> This wasn't the case and many dissatisfied Europeans made this clear at the ballot box. Immigration and cultural issues now serve as the top draw for these movements. William A. Galston, senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, commented on migration topping economic issues as the top concern: "If economic arguments had determined the outcome of the Brexit vote, Britain would have remained in the EU. If economic growth had been decisive in Poland, which enjoyed the faster growth rate in Europe between 1989 and 2015, the populist Law and Justice Party would have never become the country's dominate political force."<sup>255</sup>

Although Marine Le Pen and the anti-immigrant party, the National Front, lost in May 2017, voters sent a message that immigration needed to be addressed. Elsewhere in Europe, anti-immigration parties were gathering more support. In September 2017, the Alternative for Germany (AfD) won 12.6 of the vote and entered the Bundestag with 94 seats, causing shock across Germany.<sup>256</sup> The next month, anti-immigrant party leader Andrej Babis led the ANO Party to victory in Czech Republic and became prime minister. Also in October 2017, the Freedom Party of Austria joined the coalition after winning 26 percent of the popular vote and capturing 20.5 percent of the vote in the previous election.<sup>257</sup> The following year, in March 2018, the anti-establishment and anti-immigrant Five Star Movement gained significantly and became Italy's largest party in Italy. At the same time, the anti-immigrant League party went from 4 percent of the vote to 18 percent, becoming the dominant party on the right.<sup>258</sup> Likewise, right-wing parties such as the Danish People's Party in Demark, Finns Party in Finland, the Progress

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<sup>254</sup> Galston, William A. "The Rise of European Populism and the Collapse of the Center-left." Brookings Institution. (2018).

<sup>255</sup> Ibid.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid.

<sup>258</sup> Galston, William A. "The Rise of European Populism and the Collapse of the Center-left." Brookings Institution. (2018).

party in Norway, and the Movement for a Better Hungary in Hungary (Jobbik) all gained support.<sup>259</sup>

Now that the populist parties have gained seats and victories across Europe, what exactly are they proposing on the issue of immigration? The Alternative for Deutschland shifted its focus in 2015 from domestic security to immigration.<sup>260</sup> AfD has promised to increase border security while taking a swipe at Islam stating that a religion that does not respect the laws of the constitution is not compatible with German society.<sup>261</sup> Specifically, on immigration, the AfD opposes the mass immigration plan since it challenges German citizens demographically and ethnically. They advocate that German citizens should have larger families to obtain a higher birth rate.<sup>262</sup> Since the majority of migrants coming in is Muslim, the AfD states in its election manifesto that Islam opposes its laws, foundations, and its societal values, therefore making it in the eyes of the AfD party, not compatible with German democracy.<sup>263</sup>

Long plagued by economic woes and bearing the brunt force of migration, Italian voters backed Luigi di Maio of the Five Star Movement in Italy. Known for being anti-immigrant and anti-establishment, the movement has catapulted the party into the Italian government.<sup>264</sup> The Five Star Movement has demanded that the “sea-taxi service” into Italy from the Mediterranean, that has allowed hundreds of thousands of migrants in, be stopped immediately. The movement has also worked with the UKIP party of Britain, another anti-immigrant party, in the European Parliament.<sup>265</sup> One of the loudest critics of migration into Europe has been the Law and Justice

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<sup>259</sup> Davis, Lewis, and Sumit S. Deole. "Immigration and the Rise of Far-right Parties in Europe." *ifo DICE Report* 15, no. 4 (2017): 10-15.

<sup>260</sup> Eddy, Melissa. "Alternative for Germany: Who Are They, and What Do They Want?" *The New York Times*. (2017).

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>262</sup> *Manifesto for Germany The Political Programme of the Alternative for Germany*. (2016): 40.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.* 48.

<sup>264</sup> "Understanding Italy's Five Star Movement." *The World Weekly*, (2018).

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*

Party (PiS) of Poland. PiS made headlines when it declared it would not accept any of the refugees relocating to Europe despite the previous government's pledge to accept 7,000 of them.<sup>266</sup> The leader of the Party, Jaroslaw Kaczynski, even implied that the migrants coming in are "parasites" that could bring in disease and epidemics to Europe and Poland. The party has ignored warnings from the European Commission threatening to take away Poland's voting rights in the EU away if it does not change its behavior.<sup>267</sup>

It is important to note that the political and social changes have been shifting to the political right before the breakout of the migrant crisis in 2015. The shift was in part due to globalization, economic distraught among citizens, and a feeling of abandonment from voters by the ruling class. The European continent's rapidly changing demographics could also change how governments deal with other issues like defense. For example, in Sweden wherein 1990, the non-immigrant population was 3 percent, now resides around 14 percent.<sup>268</sup> Despite the changing population, Sweden's official budget in 2018 for migration is expected to be 50.4 billion Swedish kroner, surpassing its defense budget of 48 billion kroner.<sup>269</sup> If more internal strife continues in places like Sweden, France, and England, there could be budgetary restraints with countries in regard to one's own defense and collective defense in NATO. Not only could defense budgets be affected, but also Europe may start focusing more on this issue than external foreign policy.

Just a little more than two years after Chancellor Merkel announced the "welcome culture" of immigration, she was facing turbulence at the voting booths. Long thought of as the stable rock in the economic powerhouse of Germany, Chancellor Merkel's days in office are

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<sup>266</sup> Adekoya, Remi. "Why Poland's Law and Justice Party Remains So Popular." *Foreign Affairs*, (2017).

<sup>267</sup> Ibid.

<sup>268</sup> Murray, Douglas. *The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam*. London: Bloomsbury Continuum, (2017): 254.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid. 252.

coming to an end as more people are turning against her policies and turning towards parties favoring restricting immigration like the AfD. Germany may not be able to play its leadership role in the European Union as it focuses inward on its domestic issues. Europe has not been playing as large of role on the world stage as of recent. For instance, in the North Korea denuclearization talks, destroying ISIS, attempting to make China play by the international rules, and isolating Iran, Europe has largely been an observer to the matters at hand. With a collective GDP spending on NATO and a fertility rate both below 2 percent, Europe is slowly aging and declining. Hundreds of thousands of migrants saw Europe as divided and incapable or unwillingly to defend its sovereignty, traditions, religion, etc.

Yet, Europe can steer the ship back on course. The continent needs to have a balanced discussion on immigration and its challenges and not shout down political opponents who offer opposing viewpoints. Next, Europe must reform its Schengen and Dublin systems if it wants to be prepared for the next refugee crisis if or when it may occur. Europe must identify its values and what it stands for and protect them by ensuring their security for the next generation and beyond. Europe's population is much smaller than that of the United States and is therefore susceptible to colossal changes. Fewer immigrants may feel like a tidal wave given the small population sizes of some of the European countries. Douglas Murray warns Europe, "if the culture that shaped Western Europe has no part in its future, then there are other cultures and traditions that will surely step in and take its place."<sup>270</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> Murray, Douglas. *The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam*. London: Bloomsbury Continuum, (2017): 307.

## CHAPTER 11: CONCLUSION

Both the United States and Europe face their challenges on immigration. Both share similarities and differences when it comes to their respective immigration histories. But the United States is better equipped to handle this issue than Europe for a multitude of reasons. The United States has the resources, capabilities, and willpower to handle immigration. In addition, the United States is better equipped at assimilating immigrants than Europe can. The election of Donald Trump changed the rules on immigration into the United States to a more restrictive approach. The president attempted to temporarily ban citizens from seven majority Muslim countries from entering the U.S., suspended the arrival of refugees, ordered the building of a border wall on the U.S.-Mexico border through executive order, and has been a tough opponent on Latinos coming in illegally. Differing from Europe, the United States has legal checks and balances to ensure that no president becomes too powerful to act unconstitutionally. Restrictive policies were set in motion after 9/11, which led to a decade of tougher visa and immigration rules but were clearly not enough. The American public had felt their country was on the wrong path and elected the President who would change course on the issue of immigration.

Europeans were hostile towards Trump's immigration stance, but they found themselves restricting immigration throughout Europe after 2015, at least one year after President Trump taking office. Right-wing groups and populism will remain in the U.S. and Europe if the leaders of both the U.S. and Europe don't work to solve the issue. Currently, there is an active populist party in every Western European country. The border walls being erected on the U.S.-Mexico border and around Europe are both symbols of the long awaited wish for their concerns on immigration to be checked, while also serving as a measure for checking immigration. In

Europe, border walls have been erected between Hungary, Austria, and Slovakia. Elsewhere, they have been erected between Slovenia and Croatia along with Macedonia and Greece among other nations.<sup>271</sup>

One difference between the two is that immigration into the United States has occurred in large waves. Whereas in Europe, 50 million people emigrated out of Europe and into places like Canada, South America, and the United States. Only after the Second World War did Europe experience a steady increase in foreigners arriving before a large inflow occurring in 2015.<sup>272</sup> Yet, they share a similar story on how the problems on immigrant took root. The United States and Europe allowed temporary workers to come in for labor needs, even though the immigrants decided to stay, settle, and bring their families. Once economic troubles and other social issues began did the public take notice. The media's relentless coverage on immigrants pouring in attributed to citizens' sense of insecurity and loss of identity.

Moreover, the U.S. and EU overestimate the Muslim populations living within their countries. According to Ipsos MORI, a market research organization, people in the United States thought that the Muslim population was 15 percent when in fact it's closer to one percent.<sup>273</sup> In France and the United Kingdom, people over estimated the Muslim population by multiples of three and four, showing how paranoia and fear can guide policy.<sup>274</sup>

In Europe, crime and anti-Semitic attacks are on the rise. Some of the terrorists who committed their acts of terror used the refugee flows to their advantage. Similar to the U.S, many of the terrorists were their own citizens that were drawn to the ISIS ideology. The Jewish population is now leaving places like Berlin and Paris for safer communities, away from Muslim

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<sup>271</sup> Tasch, Barbara. "This Map Shows How Much the Refugee Crisis Is Dividing Europe." Business Insider. (2016).

<sup>272</sup> Lehne, Stefan. "Will Europe Follow Trump on Migration?" Carnegie Europe. (2017).

<sup>273</sup> Ibid.

<sup>274</sup> Lehne, Stefan. "Will Europe Follow Trump on Migration?" Carnegie Europe. (2017).

migrants. The United States, on the other hand, generally controls who enters the country, has protection from two oceans on both its eastern and western coastlines, and is better at integrating and assimilating immigrants into the country than Europe. Pew Research has shown that Muslim views are more inline with mainstream American views than compared to the Muslims in Europe. For instance, the views on homosexuality is used as a metric for assimilation because of the particularly negative views Muslims have towards homosexuality in their own countries.<sup>275</sup>

Secondly, Muslim Americans see themselves as patriotic and proud to be American. Pew Research showed that 92% of U.S. Muslims are proud to be American while 89% are proud to be both Muslim and American.<sup>276</sup> This holds importance because it signifies that Muslim Americans are increasingly assimilating into American society. It also allows the United States to be better prepared towards immigration-related threats. Immigrants that do cross illegally from the southern border are largely Catholic immigrants making the problem an ethnic, linguistic issue. Around two million impoverished and mostly Muslim men came to Europe and are having trouble finding employment and assimilating into society. Furthermore, Europe already has high youth unemployment rates and tepid economic growth. The European Union lacks the willpower, laws, and the resources to deport immigrants like the United States can.

Across Western Europe, political parties with favorable views toward Sharia law could gain prominence in areas where there is little to no pushback from right-leaning parties. For instance, in the Netherlands, two Turkish residents formed a party called *Denk* and surprised the nation when they won three parliamentary seats. The party ran on a pro-Turkish platform and against the integration of immigrants into Dutch society.<sup>277</sup> In Austria, Turkish residents formed the New Movement for the Future party in early 2017. The party strongly endorses Turkish

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<sup>275</sup> Oprea, Megan G. "Is the U.S. Better at Assimilating Immigrants Than Europe?" *The National Interest*. (2017).

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>277</sup> Bergman, Judith. "Europe: What Do Islamic Parties Want?" *Gatestone Institute*. (2017).

President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and writes some of its political ambitions in the Turkish language.<sup>278</sup> If these parties gain more influence, Europe's foreign policy could change to one favoring a nation such as Turkey and its goals.

Geopolitically, the European continent lies near a hotbed of activity. To the south lie the African countries of Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt. With a growing youth demographic and high unemployment, a second Arab spring would be catastrophic for Europe. In the southeast lie the Middle Eastern countries of Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, and even Turkey. The Syrian conflict has already proven catastrophic for Europe's borders. Turkey is in fact, one of the most important players on the geostrategic field. Millions of migrants coming from the Middle East passes through Turkey.<sup>279</sup> The EU and Turkey signed a deal to stem the flow of migrants to Europe, but the President of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has acted unfavorably to the West as of late and may not be relied upon to hold back the migrants from entering Europe.

Lastly, to the east, Europe and Russian relations have stalled, but the chances of millions of Russians flowing into Europe are small compared to those of the Muslim majority countries in Africa and the Middle East. The Schengen system allows Europeans to travel around most of the continent. Despite border building and passport controls, the close economic ties, numerous countries and differing cultures, and multiple points of entry into Europe, the level of control over who enters Europe is not comparable to the United States. By opening its borders and allowing internal markets to strengthen, the EU abandoned sovereign rights to control who came and went. The migrant crisis revealed the flaws within the Schengen system as countries quickly resorted to their own border controls. The issue of immigration will test both continents on their resilience and capability on handling this issue.

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<sup>278</sup> Ibid.

<sup>279</sup> "Why Don't Syrian Refugees Stay in Turkey?" BBC News. (2016).

Migration will continue even when border barriers are erected. It is in the interest of nation states to protect their sovereignty and defend their people. Even after barriers are erected, people will continue to come illegally. When mainstream politicians ignore public anger, the public will look for an authoritarian leader. Ivan Krastev, author of *After Europe* and a European affairs analyst, once said that in the United States immigration is a problem. In Europe, it jeopardizes the survival of the European Union and is a revolution that will not likely lead to a bright future.<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>280</sup> Mandelbaum, Michael. "The Impacts of Immigration: Europe vs. America." *The American Interest*. (2018).

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