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ОСНОВНЫЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ СОВРЕМЕННЫХ ОБЩЕСТВЕННЫХ ПРОЦЕССОВ В ЕВРОПЕ: МИГРАЦИЯ КАК ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЙ ИНСТРУМЕНТ

Аннотация. Рассматриваются актуальные проблемы миграционных процессов в Европе, в частности в Германии. Анализируются причины возникновения ксенофобии и расизма. Подчеркивается, что политические движения, в основном радикальные правые партии, критикующие миграцию, добились значительных успехов в политическом пространстве Европейского союза. Увеличение числа мигрантов, не встроенных в европейское сообщество, рассматривается как реальная угроза безопасности и национальной идентичности.

Ключевые слова и словосочетания: миграция, мигранты, права человека, «миграционный кризис», Европейский союз, беженцы.

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MAIN PROBLEMS OF THE CURRENT SOCIAL PROCESSES IN EUROPE: MIGRATION AS A POLITICAL TOOL

Current problems of migration processes in Europe and especially in Germany are considered. Migration processes that are the cause of xenophobia and racism in Europe are analyzed. Attention is drawn to the fact that political movements, mainly radical right-wing parties that criticize migration, have achieved significant success in the political space of the European Union. The increase in the number of migrants who are not embedded in the European community is seen as a real threat to security and national identity.

Key words and word-combinations: migration, migrants, human rights, "migration crisis", European Union, refugees.

Although humankind has been experiencing migration for a long time, it has been nowhere near as actual and discussed as today. XXI century is undoubtedly the "migration age" [1]. Indeed, migration is ubiquitous and it does not just belong to one nation or religion. Migration is today a socio-economic process that covers all areas and occurs in all regions

According to the United Nations Department for Social and Economic Affairs in 2017, globally, there are 258 million migrants [2] which constitutes 3.4% of the world's population and 60 million of them are forced migrants — refugees and asylum seekers. Migration is tending to expand year by year. Especially, the Arab Spring and the refugees that emerged as a result of the Syrian crisis have created "migratory crisis" for the EU.

Why is the European Union experiencing "migration crisis"? The answer to this question is diverse and numerous. Nevertheless, taking into consideration its fundamental factors, I have come up with three types. The first one is the shortcomings and problems in international law and regional legislation on migration and refugees. The second one is the lack of scientific research on migration. Third type is that migration is becoming a tool for many political movements and leaders than people's "grief" and "hatred".

Firstly, it is essential to note that migration is the product of human being's careless assumption. Different international human rights laws also cover the rights of migrants. However, many countries do not consider this when it comes to migrant workers because of false categorization.

The internationally recognized migration rights are either very difficult to implement or ignored consciously. In short, there is no clear internationally accepted legal instrument to tackle migration.

In particular, the Convention by number of 97 International Labor Organization (ILO) was signed by 49 countries as of 2013. Convention by number 143 was signed by only 23 states. The standard that guarantees the rights of migrants has already been proclaimed — The 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families was signed by 47 countries. The countries that signed these conventions are mostly the countries who serve as a source of migrants. The major migrant recipient countries, notably the United States, European countries, Russia, and oil-rich Arab countries have not joined these treaties eschewing unwelcomed responsibilities.

Apparently, there are some reasons why these developed countries are refusing to sign the convention. For example, illegal migrants are banned from leaving the country they have migrated, support for unification of legal migrant family members, and the right to vote and be elected in the country of their origin are the characteristics of the 1990 convention. As the host countries, such as North America and Europe, do not ratify the Convention, the Convention can not serve as a means of international co-operation. The fact that the above-mentioned conventions are not signed by developed countries also implies that the rights of migrants are not considered adequately. Instead, developed countries and migrant embassies are encouraged to work on migration based on their national legislation or on mutual and multilateral agreements. It is also appropriate to mention that the signatories of these conventions have been signed in order to protect their citizens' rights abroad.

At the same time, the developed and developing countries (ie, migrant recipients) have adopted the 2000 Protocol on combating transboundary migra-

tion (137 countries) and the Protocol to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings (157 states) signatures [3]. The above convention and protocols are primarily aimed at preventing human rights violations by the migrant recipient countries. Secondly, these conventions and protocols are aimed at preventing entry to Europe or the employer countries, rather than protecting the rights of migrant workers. Thirdly, it is also important to prevent the development of transnational crimes.

For developing or labor-sending contries, it is crucial for the citizens to avoid being deceived by their own compatriot who might be involved in human trafficking or other serious crimes.

Therefore, some recipient and sender countries have ratified a great deal of conventions and protocols which have been rapidly implemented. Even in the years passed, protocols on combating human trafficking and the prevention of illegal migration were signed by nearly a hundred countries.

However, the migration problem has not been efficiently solved yet. In many countries, the rights of immigrants who have been legally enrolled or have already been settled remain insufficient. We have to admit that Convention on Domestic Workers No.189, 2011, which deals with the protection of the rights of women employed in their domestic work, and the prevention of sexual and physical violence, has also been signed by very few countries. It is worth noting that crimes such as illegal migration and trafficking were actually caused by the prohibition of free movement of migrants, in line with boundaries and bureaucratic procedures. And today, such crimes are costly to tackle and in many cases they spiral into tragedies.

Therefore, such norms of international law should be developed so that the both migrant sending and receiving countries should meet the same obligation and responsibility. At the same time, the legal migration must be sustainable. In other words, it is necessary to develop a modern form of the gastarbeiter system, which provided the right to work temporarily fifty years ago. Otherwise, migrant workers selling what they have will continue searching a chance to migrate, and this will increase the number and forms of humanitarian problems.

Throughout the world, especially in Europe, refugees remain an unsolved issue. Although the 1951 Refugee Convention-UNHCR (144) and the 1967 UNHCR Protocol (145) were signed by many countries, the problem of refugees is particularly relevant to the EU's "refugee wave" in the years 2014-2016. Also, the fact that the EU countries failed to unite in the face of this problem has shown that the Treaty of Amsterdam and Tampere adopted by EU countries does not have a desired effect in the unexpected migration flow because, under the terms of these treaties, each body is to undertake to create conditions for refugees and asylum-seekers, however, during the "wave of refugees", many EU member states were ready to serve as a transit for migration, but refused to provide a shelter. Even in May 2015, European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker's proposal on the quota was refused by Eastern European countries [4].

It is clear that the problem of refugees is not a problem of Europe only. Similarly, the 1951 Convention for the Solution of Refugees does not meet modern regulatory requirements and conditions. Therefore, the demand for an interna-

tional convention on refugees needs to be vital. A large number of refugees that emerged during conflicts and riots were mainly concentrated in geographically close national, ethnic and religious backgrounds. This can be found in the works of Nachmais N. and Goldstein R [5]. It is well-known that 90 percent of Syrians fleeing have moved to neighboring countries. It is not a secret that the UNHCR and other international and regional organizations will undertake various measures to address the problem of refugees. However, the main problem, and the burden lies on the governments' distrust to refugees. There are many examples in this regard. President of Turkey R. Erdopan has repeatedly emphasized that his country has spent 30 billion dollars on Syrian refugees [6]. In this situation, states also try to extradite refugees to other countries to get rid of them. In view of these circumstances, it is necessary to amend and introduce additions to the 1951 treaty. In particular, it should be ensured that refugees that emerged during a conflict be located at temporary camps in neighboring countries peacefully. Under the auspices of the UNHCR, a working group should be set up to visit refugee camps situated at hotspots and provide necessary conditions and to take the bulk of costs (from international funds and donor countries). That means that such a tool should be developed that refugees should not be extradited to other states or to third countries where, first of all, this creates difficulties for refugees, and secondly, it can lead to various social problems in other regions.

Numerous studies on migration are currently being conducted. The reason for this is that the demand for such studies is rising. In my point of view, the issue whether migration is a process of mobility or a social process that affects other societies remains unclear. We know that E.S. Li was the first to recognize that migration was a mobility-oriented process [7] but J.J. Mangalam was one of the first scholars who was in favour of considering migration as a social phenomenon rather than mobility based on human activity [8]. However, these two concepts are still being discussed in institutional form. In particular, international organizations (UN, ILO, etc.) and other institutions see migration as a greatly beneficial process for mobility-based human movement and globalization, and have been encouraging this process all the time. On the contrary, they look at migration as a social process that affects the national community. However, at a national level, no country has recognized the importance of migration. For example, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, British Prime Minister D.Cameron and French President Sarkozy noted that the concept of "multinationality" was a failure and asked to take preventive measures.

Is migration a process based on mobility or a social process that affects society and values? Why is it so important to understand it? If migration is a mobility-based process (as I look at it considering the case in the era of globalization), it is almost impossible to limit it and it is unstoppable. However, many western scholars today interpret migration as a social process that is gaining popularity. As Hofmann (2008: 16) notes, a critical reappraisal of Hirschman's framework "can be of significant heuristic value to our understanding of the dynamics of present-day migration and its social and political implications [9]."

"Extensive evidence suggests that several countries use migration to influence politics of targeted countries in Europe and beyond. We mean by influence here the capacity to mobilize immigrants to change or contest measures taken by a government, to intervene in elections, to dissuade a host country for pursing a policy, or to bring it to support the exporting-migration country's policy" [10].

Another hinderance in migration researches is that, mainly, focuses are usually given on the origin or historical study of migration. According to the materials, migration consists of the classical and neo-classical economic theories (labor migration theory), the political (refugees, asylum seekers) theory, compulsory migration, the network theory, which includes various other causes, mainly migratory species, and explains the origins. However, immigration integration studies are almost invisible in the work of academics who developed and proposed these theories.

The need for more research is supported with a good example of migrants' integrity in the USA where there are few problems with immigration integration. In the USA, a Muslim or any other members of any religion or race can adapt faster than in Europe. Not knowing the language can cause economic problems for a person, but not social problems. Similarly, religious belief or values do not create any problems for people, nor can they be under pressure but at a quick pace every nation or religion becomes American. So why is it impossible in Europe? Are there any ways to achieve this? These questions, I believe must be the most acute issue for European academics and scholars.

As an interdisciplinary science, migration can be found in many areas and fields. However, I believe Europe's biggest concern for migration is its political significance.

According to the United Nations, in Europe in the year 2017, there were 77.9 million immigrants who make up 33% of all immigrants in the world. But the world's largest number of migrant workers, according to 2017 data, is based in Asia (79.6 million people) and many experts point out that their number is going to rise in the future. What makes the case unusual is that the EU is blaring out that it is currently in "migration crisis". However, according to the data from 2017 and even 2015, there are only 5 EU countries in top 20 immigrant receiving countries in the world, including Germany (12.2 million immigrants), Great Britain (8.8 million), France (7.9 million), Spain (5.9 million) and Italy (5.9 million). Surprisingly, the issue is that the rest of the EU countries, especially Poland, Hungary, Greece, and others, with almost no immigrants, are reluctant to accept refugees, and that such EU Member States' initiatives are nothing other than propaganda in Mass Media or PR.

As a proof of my statement, I will analyze again the data of UN of 2017. According to this data, the number of immigrants in Greece (1,220,000), Poland (641,000), Hungary (504,000), and Czech Republic (433,000) is much lower compared to the so called "migrant sending" countries including Kazakhstan (3 635 000), Malaysia (2 704 000), Iran (2 699 000) and even Uganda (1 692 000) which never complain about immigration [2].

Here is a natural question. Why do they have immigration problems in these countries? This is not just a case with the above-mentioned states, but I consider it a very important issue with socio-political processes in Germany, France, Austria, Switzerland and other countries. This means migration has become too political.

In many European Union countries, we can clearly observe the tendency of nationalist and ultra-right political parties and movements to grow. Such political parties are particularly strong in Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, Sweden and Poland, and strongly influenced the formation of governments in the recent elections. In France, Le Pen-led Front National (FN) party enjoys considerable public recognition. However, the outcome of the last 2017 election in Germany is on the agenda of the global community. The alternative für Deutschland (AWD) party, the first time in Germany after the Second World War, was 12.6 percent, becoming a third party and an opposition party.

There is a very similar point in the ideologies of the right-wing and nationalist parties that have succeeded in Europe — the objection to immigration. This situation indicates how much immigration is politicized.

We cannot deny that there are several reasons why migration in Europe is politicized. In my opinion, the first and foremost reason is the cultural factor. That is, the immigrant movement of other cultures. Resistance to that is a huge and dramatic resonance in the EU. Overall, the degree of political integration in a diverse society and the effectiveness of participation policies are difficult to assess [11].

It should be noted that the actions of nationalism and racism in Europe have not come out today but have a long history. However, today's nationalist and ultra-right parties and movements, as well as those outside their official circles, are opposed to the fact that members of the community who are absorbed in European culture or not belonging to a Christian community migrate to Europe. For example, in 2010, Bavarian Prime Minister Horst Seehofer said in an interview with FOCUS, "We do not need migrants from other cultures (Middle Eastern countries). Because their integration is difficult [12]." In addition, Hans Olaf Hankel, an AFD builder and leader, said that in some parts of Germany, indigenous, Indian and Chinese cuisines can be found at every step, but that they have little or no traditional gissen or turingen, and for this reason it is necessary to resist multidimensionality. In this regard, Swedish writer Max Frish also mentioned that the same "Wir Riefen Arbeitskrѧfte, es kamen Menschen" ("We asked for labor and people came") implied the emergence of another culture.

However, such words are pronounced by famous writers, scientists, and political leaders. From my viewpoint, the anti-immigration ideas are aimed at strengthening the position of new leaders, as well as criticizing the current government and extending its supporters. They talk about anti-immigration without the slightest idea of how to deal with migration. With their populist speeches, they seek to increase the number of their supporters.

For example, in Germany in 2014 a European anti-Islamic movement called PEGIDA was established. In its formation the words of previously prosecuted and

unsuccessful Lutza Bakhman and mass media tools (YouTube and Facebook) have played a significant role. The interesting fact is that this action was immediately supported by *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD). The reason is that the AfD had decided to increase the number of its supporters in the upcoming election, and so it happened. In view of the growing popularity of AfD, *Front National* leader Marine Le Pen met with AfD leaders. Thus, the right-wing forces in Europe demonstrate mutual solidarity. Their main objectives are to gain power. In doing so, they are using mainstream parameters of nationalist ideologies such as empowering immigrants and also strengthening national statehood and preserving traditions and values.

The second factor in the policy of migration in Europe is the collapse of liberal values. In other words, the problem of immigration arises simultaneously with the weakening of liberal values.

In my viewpoint, there are two opposite tendencies in Europe today. The first is to develop liberal-democratic values and to further strengthen these values in the era of globalization, as well as to spread them to third countries. Secondly, there are efforts to reinforce national statehood against these processes, and to restore conservative and nationalistic values.

Today liberal views based on the principles of free trade are subject to strong resistance. The 2008 financial crisis has had an impact on social welfare in Europe. Unemployment has increased and a number of public issues have emerged. In this connection, immigrants seem to be "massive" to the local population. However, most of these immigrants became significant labor force after the Second World War and played an important role in the economic development of many European countries. The assumption about immigrants as the cause of unemployment is not well grounded. In Germany, for example, in 2017, at the time of migration crisis, unemployment dropped to 3.6%. The problem is not with migration, but it involves changes in the capitalistic system that cause the liberal values to sink.

Quintessentially, Europe today faces great challenges in securing integration in a multinational society. Moreover, the flow of refugees increases the resistance against it in the EU. Immigration policy of the current governments and other socio-economic issues are causing additional discontent among supporters of the right-wing forces.

The attractiveness of EU is not only its economy but also its welfare standards, education, health and freedom. However, present intensification of anti-migration movements in the EU and increased pressure on immigrants can lead to the loss of the EU's attractiveness. This logically can lead to a number of humanitarian, economic, and political problems, not just migrants' reduction. Therefore, it would be expedient to develop and implement the right international legal documents on migrants and refugees, as well as to develop and implement different forms of integration with immigrants. These actions could make migration less politicized and stop it from becoming an instrument for parties and right-handed movements.

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