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### **The migration challenge: the U.S., Germany and Europe compared**

All countries in the world today face the reality of controlling migration. The dilemmas of control are especially acute in liberal democracies, like the United States and Germany, where economic and humanitarian pressures push for openness to migration while political, legal, and security concerns argue for greater control. This is what I have called elsewhere the '**liberal paradox.**' How can a liberal society tolerate the presence of individuals who are members but not citizens? Should not all individuals who are members be accorded the full panoply of rights (social and political as well as civil) enjoyed by those who are citizens? This is the paradox that liberals face, and it is particularly acute in countries like the United States that have large numbers of illegal migrants, or Germany, which has multigenerational foreign populations that remain outside the social contract. Immigration can no longer be debated strictly in economic or demographic terms; citizenship, membership in national and local communities, and basic human rights must also be addressed.

People move across borders for many reasons—economic, social and political—but rights are the key to migration governance, as modern states strive to fulfill three key functions: maintaining security, promoting trade and investment, and regulating migration. International migration and mobility raise a host of security concerns for states in the global north and the south. The garrison state was linked with the trading state in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The twentieth and twenty-first centuries have seen the emergence of what I call the **migration state**, where managing migration is as important as providing for national security and the economic well-being of the citizenry. The challenge for scholars is to explain why some states are more open to migration than others over time, how migration has contributed to interdependence, and what the implications of more open borders are for economic growth and political development.