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An Assessment of the EU's Role in the Developing World in Relation to Migration

Esengül Ayaz\*

The aim of this article is to analyse the EU's role in the developing world in relation to migration. To achieve that reasons behind the migration from developing countries to EU countries are discussed and the impact of migration on the development of poor countries is analysed. The common migration policy of the EU is introduced and EU's policies to manage the migration flows are presented. The main argument of this article is that despite some attempts of the EU to manage migration relations between developing countries and the EU in favour of both sides, the Union still has a long way to go.

Keywords: European Union, Developing Countries, Migration, Development.

Esengul Ayaz University of Sheffield

Ph: 07599837603
Fax: 0114 222 1717

e-mail: e.ayaz@sheffield.ac.uk



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<sup>\*</sup> Doctoral Researcher, Department of Politics, University of Sheffield, UK



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### Introduction

The movement of people around the world and increased migration to Europe are inevitable results of globalisation and migration has been viewed as the human face of globalisation. People are migrating from their countries to others for various reasons and no country can isolate itself from the challenges of migration. As a result of its welfare and stability, Europe is one of the most attractive places for immigrants from developing countries. While migration affects EU countries and developing ones differently, unmanaged migration has negative effects on both sides.

The paper can be divided into two main parts. In the first part, reasons of migration from developing countries to EU member states and the impact of migration on poor countries through brain drain and remittances will be examined. In the second part of the paper, the EU's attempt to make migration a common issue of member states and its policies to manage the migration flows will be presented.

# Push and Pull Factors behind the Immigration to the European Union

Poverty, injustice and armed conflict cause millions of displaced people across the globe. In the last 30 years, the number of international migrants reached to 191 million worldwide. These include economic migrants forced to move, refugees and internally displaced persons and victims of human trafficking. The majority of these immigrants are economic migrants who have no reason to stay in their countries of origin. It is expected that there are between 30 and 40 million undocumented migrants worldwide who compromises nearly 15–20 percent of the world's migrant population.

The factors which influence migration should be taken into account by effective migration policies to tackle migration problem in the world in favour of migrants, their families, and sending and receiving nations. First of all, these factors which influence people' decisions to migrate should be known. They were divided into two groups as push and pull. Push factors are the forces which influence people's decisions to move. Poverty, insecurity, poor working conditions, high unemployment rates, low wages

<sup>1</sup> Global Commission on International Migration, "Migration in an Interconnected World: New Directions for Action," (2005) p. 11

<sup>2</sup> Demetrios G. Papademetriou, "The Global Struggle with Illegal Migration: No End in Sight", 1 September 2005, http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?ID=336 (Accessed 02 December 2009)



and low expectation for dignified employment are the most significant push factors.<sup>3</sup> Nearly 550 million people with jobs are living on less than \$1 a day and 2.8 billion workers earn less than \$2 a day.<sup>4</sup> This reality is one of the main reasons that forces people to migrate to developed countries such as European ones.

On the other hand, pull factors are the forces which make other destinations more attractive for migrants. The ageing of European population and low fertility rates are two of the main pull factors driving immigrants into Europe. The limited labour forces of European countries with large demand and capital is another reason for migration. "The global labour force will rise from 3.0 to 3.4 billion in the period of 2001 to 2010 (40 million yearly). Some 38 million of that annual growth will come from developing countries, and only two million from high-income countries." Unlimited intra-European mobility, expectations of better living standards, higher salaries, better working conditions or the prospect of family reunification are the other significant pull factors for immigrants.

The European Union is the largest area of freedom, democracy and social progress and it is accepted as one of the most powerful economies in the world. According to the World Bank, the GDP of Eurozone was \$9,984.1bn in 2005 while the GDP of Sub-Saharan Africa was \$621.9bn in the same year.<sup>7</sup> It is a daily reality for European people but it is a goal for hundreds of thousands of people. Hence, people who live below the poverty line or have suffer war conditions seek to leave their countries and to live in Europe.<sup>8</sup>

Income inequalities between the sending and the host country are not the only reason of migration. Geographic closeness and historical links such as colonial ties and common language are other factors which determine between 20% and 30% of bilateral migration flow between EU countries and their partners.<sup>9</sup>

In recent years, the EU has taken a global approach to these push and pull factors which means that the member states are attempting to bring all migration relevant policy areas together. These areas cover combating illegal entry, supporting overseas development, managing demand for skilled labour, and taking action against traffickers. The priority is given to Africa and non-EU countries in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe for the global approach. The main aspect for the European Commission is to cooperate with governments of countries in the region, to train border guards and immigration officials and to negotiate easier visa regimes. <sup>10</sup> However, the strategy is

<sup>3</sup> Louka T. Katseli et al., "Effects of Migration on Sending Countries: What do we know?", 31 August 2006, http://www.un.org/esa/population/migration/turin/Symposium\_Turin\_files/P11\_Katseli.pdf (Accessed 28 April 2008), p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Global Commission Report, p.11

<sup>5</sup> Global Commission Report, p. 14

<sup>6</sup> Katseli et al., p.11

<sup>7</sup> BBC, "Key facts: Africa to Europe migration", 2007, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/6228236.stm#immigrants (Accessed 26 April 2008)

<sup>8</sup> José L. Zapatero, "Europe is the answer", 26 October 2005, http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/oct/26/spain.eu (Accessed 24 April 2008)

<sup>9</sup> Katseli et al., p.22

<sup>10</sup> Brady, p.13



seen as an objective rather than a reality. Because the responsibility of these issues belong to the member states and it is not easy for individual governments to allow the EU to bring its various policies together to follow strategic objectives. Additionally, the Commission needs to persuade African countries to take their undocumented migrants back by offering aid and visas.<sup>11</sup>

After explaining factors that influence people's decisions to migrate from developing to developed countries, how migration affects developing countries through brain drain and remittances will be presented in the next part. Moreover, the EU's attempt to prevent brain drain and contribute to the development of poor countries through remittances will be discussed.

# Effects of migration on developing countries

### **Brain Drain**

Brain drain is a large emigration of specialized workers as a consequence of conflict, lack of opportunity or political instability. Migration of individuals with technical skills or knowledge has a negative effect on the development process of the developing countries. If a poor country loses its best and brightest people, its economy can not develop and it will cause future migration flows of the unskilled or illegal migrants to the EU or other developed countries. Central America and the Caribbean Islands, South West Asia, East Europe and the Balkans and Sub-Saharan Africa are the regions with high rates of brain drain and the EU is one of the most preferred destinations for the highly skilled of these regions.

According to the World Bank, each year nearly 70.000 skilled Africans migrate to European Union countries and the USA. <sup>15</sup> "It is noteworthy, however, that immigrants from Africa consist primarily of highly educated individuals (about 95,000 of the 128,000 African migrants)". <sup>16</sup> For instance, every year nearly 90% of the nurses and doctors migrate from Kenya to Europe and the USA. Between 1980 and 1991 years Ethiopia has lost 75% of its skilled professionals. Migration of medical and health service professionals make meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) more difficult in health programmes. Brain drain is conceived as a threat to the quality of medical care and the capacity for medical education and research. According the Africa Health Strategy, brain drain has a 'devastating impact' on health systems in Africa. <sup>17</sup>

While EU governments want skilled immigrants to fill the gaps in their local markets, they also try to prevent brain drain which affects developing countries negatively. 18

<sup>11</sup> Brady, p.14

<sup>12</sup> Europa, "Integration of concerns related to migration within the external policy" 2008, http://europa.eu/scad-plus/leg/en/lvb/l33207.htm (Accessed 25 April 2008)

<sup>13</sup> Brady, p.9

<sup>14</sup> Katseli et al., p. 8.

<sup>15</sup> William Carrington and Enrica Detragiache, "How Extensive Is the Brain Drain? Finance and Development", A quarterly magazine of the IMF, June 1999, Vol. 36, No 2, 1999.

<sup>16</sup> Carrington and Detragiache, p.48

<sup>17</sup> AU Health Strategy, Africa Health Strategy 2007-2015, 2007, p.12

<sup>18</sup> Brady, p.9



Some EU and national officials think that if national immigration and visa regimes are adopted, they can allow for circular migration which may be an alternative to long term settlement. The possibility of creating routes for migrants to enter, leave and reenter took part in the Commission's 2007 Communication on circular migration and mobility partnerships.<sup>19</sup>

It is believed that seasonal and temporary work arrangements that promote circular migration could maximise the gains of both the sending and host countries. On the one hand, labour shortages of the EU would be met and labour markets would be more flexible. On the other hand, skilled workers would go back to their countries regularly with money and ideas, African and other developing countries would not lose their skilled workers and they would maximise their gains from migration.<sup>20</sup> In this way, migration can shift from brain drain to brain gain. Additionally, these people return willingly to their countries if they know they would be allowed to come back. As a result, the number of illegal immigrants would decrease in EU countries. <sup>21</sup>

On the other hand, while the EU tries to prevent brain drain in developing countries by promoting circular migration, EU countries` policies that lack of principles of ethical recruitment cause brain drain. For instance, the UK is known as a country which applies unethical recruitment policies to attract highly skilled personnel in critical sectors such as health services.<sup>22</sup> Hence, this shows that EU's attempts to prevent brain drain is high in rhetoric but low in practicality.

### Remittances

The main impact of migration on development comes through remittances which migrants send to their families and relatives in their country of origin. In developing countries remittances contribute to the balance of payments and they are a main source of foreign exchange.<sup>23</sup> Development experts think that remittances play an important role to alleviate poverty and to promote the development of poorer countries.<sup>24</sup>

Eurostat launched a survey on flows to and from the European Union of remittances. According to this survey, non-EU migrants sent € 17.0 billion in 2005 and € 19.1 billion in 2006 to their home countries from EU countries. In 2006, € 5.6 billion was sent by non-EU migrants residing in Spain which is the biggest remitting country. The United Kingdom, Italy, Germany and France followed Spain and 85 % of total EU remitting outflows were sent from these five countries.<sup>25</sup>

Remittance is generally seen as a positive link between migration and development. It is defined as "an important and stable source of development finance" by World

<sup>19</sup> Commission of the European Communities, Proposal for a Council Directive on the conditions of entry and residence of third-country nationals for the purposes of highly qualified employment, Brussels, 2007

<sup>20</sup> Katseli et al., p.5 and Brady, p.9.

<sup>21</sup> Brady, p.9

<sup>22</sup> ICMPD, The East African Migration Route Report, Vienna, 2007, p.19

<sup>23</sup> Europa

<sup>24</sup> Brady, p.23

<sup>25</sup> Commission, "Remittance flows to and from the EU", 2007, http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY\_OFFPUB/KS-RA-07-025/EN/KS-RA-07-025-EN.PDF (Accessed 22 April 2008), p.3.



Bank.<sup>26</sup> However, remittance could affect developing countries negatively by causing inflation on local market. Additionally, low-skilled or semi-skilled migrants generally transfer their money while most highly skilled professionals do not because they reside permanently in the country of destination. Moreover, one of the main questions that needs to be answered is whether remittances can balance the negative impact of brain drain or not. When a Nigerian ICT expert sends 300 USD per month to his family, this means that s/he contributes 40 times more to the UK economy and its development. Because for every 300 USD remittance send to Africa, this person produces (in service) 120000 USD to the EU market.<sup>27</sup>

The high costs of transferring remittances from EU countries to developing countries are a significant problem of immigrants which also affects development of poor countries negatively. The Commission believes that public administration in hosting countries may be helpful to transmit these funds to developing countries cheaply and legally<sup>28</sup> because more than 40% of the total money can be creamed off by companies and governments when it is being sent. Moreover, Brice Hortefeux, France's immigration minister, proposed the establishment of an International Bank for Remittances. He argues that it would enable migrants to save and send money home by paying small cost.<sup>29</sup>

In sum, while remittances generally contribute to the development of developing countries, some regulations should be adopted to make remittances more effective in the development of poor countries. In the next part, the historical development of the Common Migration Policy of the European Union and the EU's attempt to make migration an issue of common interest and to regulate migration effectively will be introduced.

# The Common Migration Policy of the European Union

The desire to achieve the common migration policy has begun in late 1980s as a response to the changed nature of migration to EU countries and as a consequence of EU integration. Then, in 1985 the Schengen Agreement was signed by 5 members of the European Communities: Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. It was supposed to abolish border controls between the signatory states and create a zone of free-movement called as the "Schengen Area" without controls. This means that the citizens of these states may move freely inside the territory of the signatories. However for such freedoms to be fully enjoyed, it was also known that effective control of EU's external borders and cooperation between member states on issues such as cross-border crime, police and judicial cooperation are necessary. <sup>30</sup>

Schengen Implementing Convention (1990) followed the agreement and came into force on 26th March 1995. The Convention includes specific provisions which were

<sup>26</sup> World Bank, Global Development Finance 2003, Washington DC, 2003

<sup>27</sup> Carrington and Enrica Detragiache

<sup>28</sup> Europa

<sup>29</sup> Brady, p.23

<sup>30</sup> Gwendolyn Sasse and Eiko Thielemann, "A Research Agenda for the Study of Migrants and Minorities in Europe", Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 43, No 4, 2005, p. 655-671.



essential for the implementation of the Schengen ideas. The drive to cooperate in migration issues within the EEC provided the Single European Act. It was signed in 1986 by the EEC member states and came into force in 1987. The main goal is set as to create a frontier-free Europe within which people, services, goods and capital could move freely.

Immigration became an issue of common interest for the EU with the Maastricht Treaty in 1993. <sup>31</sup> Maastricht Treaty created an intergovernmental pillar of the EU dealing with Justice and Home Affairs. Then in 1997 with the Amsterdam Treaty, the Schengen agreement on borderless travel joined to immigration and asylum issues within a new Title IV of the Treaty. However there was anxiety among EU states towards a Community approach to migration and asylum policy. Denmark has decided to opt out of Title IV of the Treaty hence the common immigration policy does not apply to Denmark. The UK and Ireland also decided to keep their involvement optional in EU programs related to borders, immigration and asylum.<sup>32</sup> With this agreement, border and immigration cooperation between member states became legally binding but unanimity is still a requirement.

Shortly after the entrance of the Amsterdam Treaty into force, a list of objectives for EU asylum and immigration policies were prepared by EU leaders under the heading of the Tampere Programme. The programme outlined the framework for common migration and asylum policies with four main elements which are partnership with countries of origin, a common European asylum system, fair treatment of third country nationals and management of migration flows. <sup>33</sup> In 2004, new goals were added by the governments and its new name became the Hague programme. <sup>34</sup> This programme outlines the actions of the EU in security, freedom and justice areas for the period 2005-2010 and it calls for a common European asylum system on legal immigration; integration measures; partnerships with third countries; a fund for the management of external borders and the Schengen information system. <sup>35</sup> The first stage of the Common European Asylum system is complete. The Commission is invited to adopt second phase instruments of the Common European Asylum System by the end of 2010. <sup>36</sup>

In the Commission's communication of 2008 'A Common Immigration Policy for Europe, Principles, Actions and Tools', the Commission commented on the realities and implications of supranational competence:

"Immigration is a reality which needs to be managed effectively. In an open Europe without internal borders, no Member State can manage immigration on its own. We

<sup>31</sup> Commission, "Towards a common European Union immigration policy", 2008, http://ec.europa.eu/justice\_home/fsj/immigration/fsj\_immigration\_intro\_en.htm (Accessed 22 April 2008).

<sup>32</sup> Andrew Geddes, "Europe's Border Relationships and International Migration Relations", Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 43, No 4, 2005, p. 787–806.

<sup>33</sup> Migration as Foreign Policy? The External Dimension of EU Action on Migration and Asylum, Stockholm, Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies, April 2009

<sup>34</sup> Hugo Brady, "EU migration policy: An A-Z", 2008, http://www.cer.org.uk/pdf/briefing\_813.pdf (Accessed 23 April 2008), p. 18.

<sup>35</sup> Geddes, p.798-799

<sup>36</sup> Commission, "The European Union Policy Towards a Common European Asylum System", 2009, http://ec.europa.eu/justice\_home/fsj/asylum/fsj\_asylum\_intro\_en.htm (Accessed 25 June 2009).



have to deal with an area without internal borders that, since 20 December 2007, includes 24 countries and almost 405 million persons, as well as with a common visa policy. The EU economies are profoundly integrated, although many differences in the economic performance and in the labour markets still subsist. Moreover, the EU has become an increasingly important player on the global scene, and its common external action is constantly enlarging to new domains; immigration is one of this. All of this means that policies and measures taken by Member States in this domain do no longer affect only their national situation, but can have repercussions on other Member States and on the EU as a whole".<sup>37</sup>

The treaty of Lisbon was signed by EU member states on 13 December 2007 and entered into force on 1 December 2009. The ratification of the treaty by all EU member states means EU decisions on asylum, immigration and integration will be taken by qualified majority voting. However, under the Treaty an exclusive right belongs to member states to determine how many foreign nationals can be admitted to their respective countries. Moreover, in most EU legislation related to immigration, borders and visa, the European Parliament already has an equal voice with national ministers and under the treaty, the European Parliament will be more powerful in legal and illegal migration measures.<sup>38</sup>

Despite some problems on migration issues that EU members faced, attempts of EU member states to develop a common migration policy still continue. After this background information about the common migration policy of the EU, the EU's policies to manage migration flows from developing to European countries will be examined in the last part of the article. The impact of cooperation with the country of origin in controlling illegal immigration, following of preventive policies, the adoption of the blue card and the establishment of the Frontex will be discussed.

# What does/should the EU do to manage migration flows?

To manage migration flows effectively is one of the main policy priorities for European policymakers. It is believed that if migration is well managed, it can be beneficial both for the EU and the sending countries. It is also known that if it is not managed well, increased migration can be a cause of illegality, human trafficking and money laundering.39 For the well-being of both European and developing countries, the EU tries to cooperate with migrant-sending and transit countries, adopt the Blue Card and Improve Frontex capabilities and effectiveness.

### **Cooperation**

EU states have tried to manage problems related to migration through cooperation between the EU and migrant-sending countries and transit countries through which migrants travel. In its 2008 communication, the Commission highlighted the significance of dialogue with third countries:

<sup>37</sup> A Common Immigration Policy for Europe: Principles, actions and tools, Brussels, Commission of the European Communities: COM(2008) 359 final

<sup>38</sup> Brady, p.19

<sup>39</sup> Katseli et al., p.11.



"Effective management of migration flows requires genuine partnership and cooperation with third countries. Migration issues should be fully integrated into the Union's development cooperation and other external policies. The EU should work in close tandem with partner countries on opportunities for legal mobility, capacities for migration management, identification of migratory push factors, protecting fundamental rights, fighting illegal flows and enhancing possibilities to let migration work in service of development".<sup>40</sup>

Under the heading of cooperation with sending and transit countries, there are two different approaches.<sup>41</sup> The first one is the externalisation of European migration policy. According to this approach sending and transit countries would take part by strengthening border controls, fighting against illegal entry, migrant smuggling and trafficking.<sup>42</sup> For instance, without help from African governments, there is little which the EU can do to manage the growing numbers of African migrants coming to Europe. It is also known that only control mechanisms are not enough to manage levels of migration.<sup>43</sup>

The second type of policy is based on preventive policies. It means that some measures can be designed to change the factors which affect people's decisions to move or their chosen destinations. These measures cover attempts to find the causes of migration or to enable the access of refugees to protection nearer to their countries of origin. 44 Preventive approaches serve to increase the choices of potential immigrants through trade partnerships, conflict prevention, development assistance and political dialogue. 45

Many economists believe that supporting development through free trade and integrating less developed countries in global economic relationships are the most effective ways. These may cause increased migration in the short-term but in the long term they will reduce migration.<sup>46</sup> However, a report prepared by Oxfam shows that developed country trade restrictions cost developing countries \$100 billion a year and it is nearly twice as much as they receive in aid.<sup>47</sup> This shows that EU's support to free trade policies is high in rhetoric but low in reality. The EU tries to access the commodity and service markets of developing countries while it applies protective policies such as the Common Agricultural Policy to control the access to its markets. The EU exports its

<sup>40</sup> A Common Immigration Policy for Europe: Principles, actions and tools

<sup>41</sup> Christina Boswell, "The "External Dimension" of EU Immigration and Asylum Policy", International Affairs, Vol. 79, No 3. 2003, p.619-638

<sup>42</sup> Boswell, p. 619.

<sup>43</sup> Brady, p. 5.

<sup>44</sup> Boswell, p. 619-620.

<sup>45</sup> Channe Lindstrøm, "European Union Policy on Asylum and Immigration. Addressing the Root Causes of Forced Migration: A Justice and Home Affairs Policy of Freedom, Security and Justice?", Social Policy and Administration, Vol. 39, No 6, 2005, p. 587-605

<sup>46</sup> Philip L. Martin and Edward Taylor, "Managing migration: the role of economic policies", Aristide Zolberg and Peter Benda (eds.), Global Migrants, Global Refugees: Problems and Solution, New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2001, p. 95-120

<sup>47</sup> Oxfam Campaign Reports, Rigged Rules and Double Standards: Trade, Globalisation, and the Fight against Poverty, 30 Nov 2002, p. 5.



agricultural products at subsidized prices which are lower than the production costs and such exports have harmful effects on producers in developing countries.<sup>48</sup>

Additionally, trade between the EU and developing countries can cause conflict rather than making contribution to the welfare of these countries. The UNHCR underlines the significance of stopping illegal trading of diamond as a reason of internal armed conflicts. The UNHCR also warns to stop arms exports to conflict regions. <sup>49</sup> However, the EU has not shown willingness to accept economic sacrifices in order to prevent conflicts because the UK, France and Germany are among the biggest arms exporters of the world. This shows the fact that the EU does not really address the root causes of migration to the EU. <sup>50</sup>

The relation between human rights policy and root causes strategy is also undoubted. The EU has many instruments to implement this policy and most of them base on the idea to encourage and help third countries to strengthen the protection of human rights. However, this kind of encouragement can be seen as unwelcome pressure and as a shift from cooperation to coercion. Furthermore, this kind of implementation can weaken the legitimacy and acceptability of the policy.<sup>51</sup>

The addition of human rights conditionality clauses into agreements between the EU and developing countries is the most important step in the EU's human rights policy. In 1992, these clauses became an 'essential element' of agreements. The violation of an 'essential element' of an agreement by any party causes the postponement of the agreement partly or wholly under the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties. In 1995, the inclusion of this clause in all future agreements was decided. <sup>52</sup> However, the use of double standards between small poor countries and strategic strong countries in the application of conditionality causes question about the efficiency of it. <sup>53</sup>

In sum, it is difficult to say that the EU has a root causes strategy and the implications of policy decisions are at the top of the EU's policy objectives.<sup>54</sup> There seems a gap between theory and practice in EU policies to address the root causes of migration.<sup>55</sup>

### The Blue Card

Blue card is based on the US Green Card and is introduced as a solution to migration flows by Commissioner Frattini. However, the scheme is more restrictive than the US Green Card because all 27 EU member states should approve. <sup>56</sup> Commission President

- 48 Oxfam Campaign Reports, p. 115.
- 49 UN High Commissioner for Refugees, "Reconciling Migration Control and Refugee Protection in the European Union: A UNHCR Perspective", October 2000 http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3b8f5ebb22.html (Accessed 27 April 2008), p. 22.
- 50 Stephen Castles, "Why migration policies fail", Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol. 27, No 2, 2004, pp. 205-227
- 51 Sarah Spencer, "Tackling the Root Causes Of Forced Migration: The Role Of The European Union", European Commission, The European Union in a Changing World, Brussels: European Commission, 1996.
- 52 Spencer
- 53 Eva Brems, Human rights: Universality and diversity, The Hague, the Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 2001.
- 54 Spencer
- 55 Castles, p. 9.
- 56 BBC, "EU 'Blue Card' to target skilled", 23 October 2007, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/7057575.stm (Accessed 23 April 2008)



José Manuel Barroso said "At the moment, most highly skilled workers go to Canada, the United States and Australia," He added: "Why? Because we have 27 different and conflicting procedures in the EU".<sup>57</sup> This means that highly skilled workers have to face 27 different admission systems and lengthy procedures.

The Commission would have the power to set the criteria for granting a blue card and to ensure the same healthcare, tax and pension rights to cardholders. However, the authority to decide which member states admit how many workers does not belong to the Commission and also national governments do not want to delegate their power. The Blue Card allows the member states to set their own quotas. The member states are able to examine their labour market situation and they are able to apply their own national procedures as well as Community procedures before making a decision on an application. <sup>58</sup> Under the Blue Card proposal the member states have a right to set quotas for the number of highly skilled workers they allow onto their territory. <sup>59</sup> Hence it is difficult to say that the Blue Card aims to replace the 27 different immigration systems of member states. The Blue Card emerges as an additional channel of entry through a new common process and it does not make the Blue Card more attractive to highly skilled workers. <sup>60</sup>

A Directive was adopted on May 25, 2009 by the Council of the European Union which will make it easier for highly-skilled foreign citizens to settle and work in the EU. According to it, Blue Card holders will have equal rights with the issuing EU Member State nationals in relation to working conditions, freedom of association, education, training and recognition of qualifications, parts of national law relating to social security and pensions, access to goods and services and free access to that Member State's entire territory. The Blue Card system will help fill positions that require highly-qualified personnel. 24 of 27 member states (except the UK, Ireland and Denmark) are expected to integrate the Directive into their national legislation in two years.<sup>61</sup>

The EU is very attractive for migrants from Africa and Asia but what the Commission really wants is the management of the process more effectively. It is expected that the Blue Card will help regulate the flow and make EU countries more attractive for skilled young immigrants who could fill the gap in sectors such as engineering, information technology, pharmaceuticals, health care and teaching. Because of European aging population and a dearth of skilled workers in some sectors, Europe is in need of foreign labour and it is expected by officials that, 20 million migrants will come to the continent in the next two decades. The aim of the Blue Card is not only to "provide Member states and EU companies with additional `tools` to recruit, retain and better allocate

<sup>57</sup> Leo Cendrowicz, "A Green Light for Europe's Blue Card", 24 October 2007, http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1674962,00.html?xid=feed-cnn-topics (Accessed 24 April 2008)

<sup>58</sup> Commission of the European Communities, p.23

<sup>59</sup> Commission of the European Communities, p.10

<sup>60</sup> Apap, p.11

<sup>61</sup> Commission, "Blue Card opens door to recruiting highly-skilled foreign workers", 26 June 2009, http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/newsroom/cf/itemlongdetail.cfm?item\_id=3206&lang=en (Accessed 22 July 2009)

<sup>62</sup> Cendrowicz



(and re-allocate) the workers they need."<sup>63</sup> It also aims to offer third country highly skilled workers more attractive entry and residence to come to European countries.<sup>64</sup> These workers would send money home and return with new skills to their countries hence it can be good for the country of origin. This means that the receiving country, the sending country and also migrants will benefit. In other words, the scheme will create "win-win-win" results.<sup>65</sup>

Main goals of the Blue Card are to fulfil the MDGs and to fulfil its objectives without damaging the ability of developing countries to deliver basic social services. <sup>66</sup> However, it is argued that the policy of circular migration within the Blue Card scheme can be hiding from EU residents that the labour immigration will be permanent and this will bring about brain drain in developing countries. The lack of skilled workers in European countries because of ageing population and low birth rates shows that the EU will need workers at all skill levels and the Blue Card which supports circular migration to prevent brain drain in developing countries will not able to tackle this problem. <sup>67</sup>

### **Frontex**

The European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders known as Frontex was established in 2005. Frontex is responsible for directing the operational cooperation between EU members in managing the external borders, helping member states when they need special technical and operational support at the external borders. Moreover, it performs risk analyses and controls the external borders by using the latest research relevant for surveillance.<sup>68</sup>

Border police forces of the member states are still responsible for protecting the EU's external borders but because of the weak cooperation between national border police forces, it is difficult to say that these borders are secure. Therefore, member states decided to take cooperation one step further in quantitative terms. According to the new Council Regulation, joint border police teams would be deployed at all major border crossing points. In this way, the common border control standards are applied in a uniform way. Furthermore, as the results of the different backgrounds and skills of border police officers from different EU states, they can create a well-rounded team by learning from each other.<sup>69</sup>

The main obstacle of Frontex is that it has no executive power. It means Frontex is up to each individual member state to take its own decisions on how to prevent the possible

<sup>63</sup> European Commission, "Memo on Attractive Conditions for the Admission and Residence of Highly Qualified Immigrants", 23 October 2007, p.1

<sup>64</sup> Joanna Apap, "An analysis of the Proposal for an EU Blue Card for Highly Skilled Migrants: the Proposal for a Council Directive on the Conditions of Entry and Residence of Third Country Nationals for the Purpose of Highly Qualified Employment", 2008, p.5

<sup>65</sup> Apap, p.10

<sup>66</sup> Commission of the European Communities

<sup>67</sup> Stephen Castles, Back to the Future? Can Europe meet its Labor Needs through Temporary Migration, Oxford: International Migration Institute, University of Oxford, 2006.

<sup>68</sup> BMI, "Tasks and activities of the European Border Management Agency FRONTEX", 2007. http://www.eu2007. bmi.bund.de/nn\_1059824/EU2007/EN/DomesticPolicyGoals/Topics/Frontex/Frontex.html (Accessed 26 April 2008)

<sup>69</sup> BMI



entry of migrants without documentation. Moreover, the lack of enough resources and staff are another problems of Frontex. On paper, Frontex has a list of military assets including airplanes, helicopters and over 100 boats but this is only a record to help Frontex know what could be available in future missions. The assets belong to the member states and Frontex has to pay for the deployment of the assets. The director of agency Illka Laitenen said "an e-shop... Frontex doesn't have any vessels itself and cannot afford deployment of a big number of units to a chosen region"<sup>70</sup>

Ilkka Laitine states that without the power and resources, Frontex can not solve Europe's all border control problems. He also claims "Frontex is not and never will be a panacea to problems of illegal migration".<sup>71</sup> As a result, EU governments decided to give more responsibility and resources to Frontex and in 2007 they agreed to boost its budget by € 30 million. Additionally, a package of new border control was proposed by the Commission and under this package Frontex inspectors can order improvements to border controls if they consider it necessary.<sup>72</sup> However, whether these improvements are enough to make Frontex more effective or not is still a question.

### Conclusion

The EU with the successful combination of political stability and economic welfare in this region is an inviting place to live in the world and it attracts many people especially from the developing countries. After the emergence of migration as a matter of common interests for the EU, discussions have started but there is still not a clear agreement among member states because of their unwillingness to delegate their authority to the EU on migration.

Immigration from developing countries to developed ones has negative and positive impacts both on the sending and the receiving countries. While it affects the sending countries through remittances and brain drain, it provides necessary work force to the EU. However, if migration to the EU is not managed well, it could threaten the well-being of the EU member states and developing countries. The EU tries to manage illegal migration flows through cooperation with the country of origin, preventive policies, the blue card and frontex. While the EU tries to solve unmanaged migration problem, it is difficult to say that the Union is successful. Rather than just focusing on daily solutions, the EU member states should act together and concentrate on the main causes of migration to be successful in the long term.

<sup>70</sup> Matthew Vella, "Frontex: Out of control?", Maltatoday, 20 July 2008

<sup>71</sup> Vella

<sup>72</sup> Brady, p.8-9



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