



International Migration Institute
James Martin 21st Century School
University of Oxford



Policy Dilemmas of Labour Importing Areas

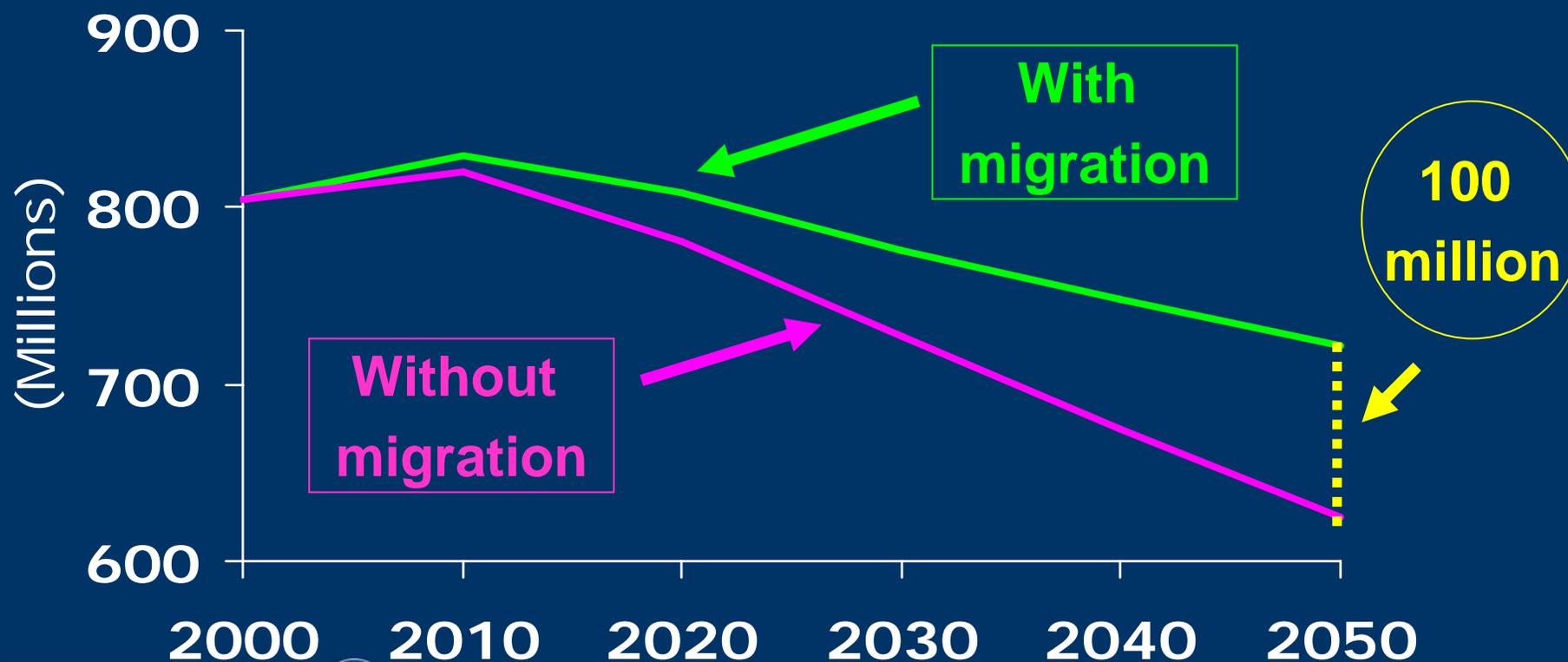
Stephen Castles

The European Commission (2005) on Europe's labour '*need scenario*' (a)

- EU25's working age population will fall by 20 million between 2010 and 2030.
- This '*will have a huge impact on overall economic growth, the functioning of the internal market and the competitiveness of EU enterprises*' (b)
- Member States are already experiencing substantial labour and skill shortages.
- These concern '*the full range of qualifications – from unskilled workers to academic professionals*' (a)

UN Population Division: labour force projection for developed countries

Projected population aged 15-64
(medium variant)



BUT: Migration and minorities are perceived as a MAJOR PROBLEM

Politicisation of migration since 1990

- Media campaigns
- Growth of extreme right
- negative public opinion
- Migrant workers seen as *threat to jobs and welfare states*
- Perceived *failure of integration models*
- New minorities seen as a *threat to security*
- Diasporas thought to *undermine nation-state*

Migration as a problem: The myth of 'invasion'



Policy Dilemmas

1. Industrial countries want *workers but not people*
2. The more governments try to control migration, the more *irregular migration* there seems to be
3. Government cannot resolve conflicts between economic and political objectives (*states versus markets dilemma*)

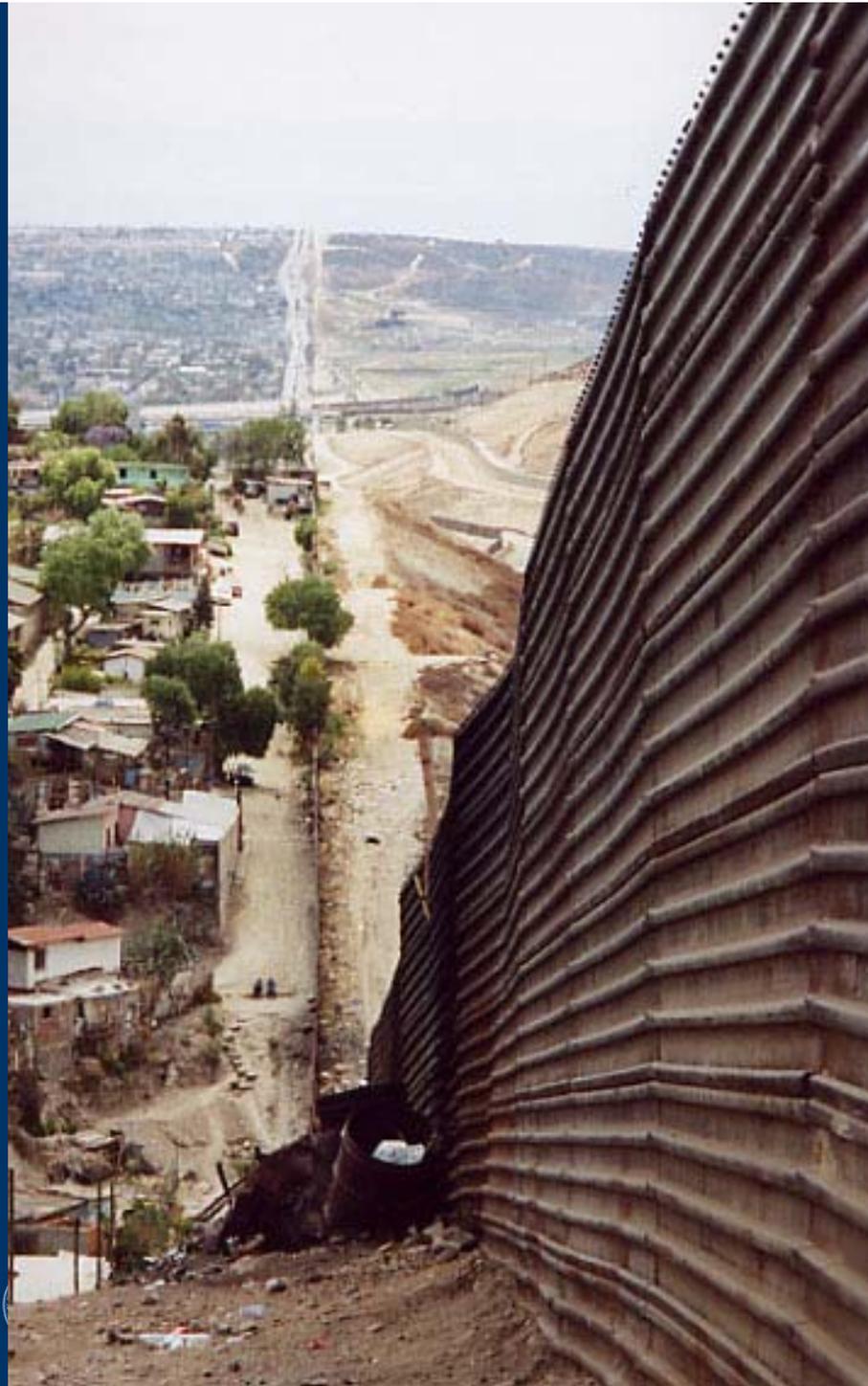
Solutions of Northern states

'Migration management'

- *Differentiation* of migrants:
 - highly-skilled: welcome
 - lower-skilled: strictly limited
 - Mainly from EU Accession States
 - Only temporary or seasonal from outside EU
 - asylum seekers: reduce numbers
- *Circular* migration
- Linking migration to *development*
- Tight *border control*



Hadrian's Wall between England and Scotland – started in 122 AD
to keep the barbarians out of the Roman Empire:







Policy failure

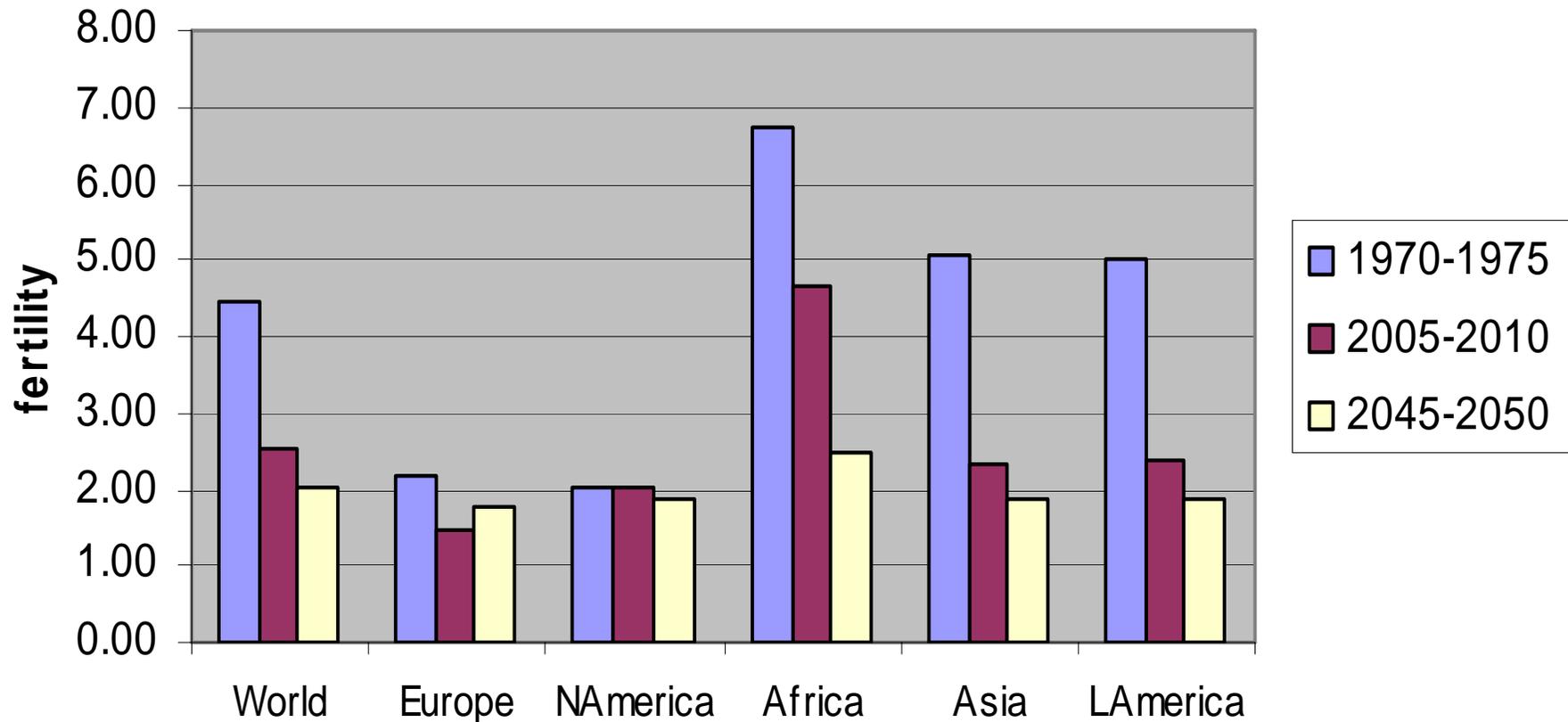
- Policies to attract qualified personnel cause *loss of human capital* for poor countries
- Restrictions on low-skilled migration lead to *exploitation and violation of human rights*
- Inability to meet labour market demand for workers all *skill levels*
- Result: *undocumented migration*:
 - 12 million undocumented residents in USA
 - 4-7 million in Europe
 - Undocumented migration as a *deliberate system*

Reasons for policy failure

- Migration seen as *exceptional and problematic*
- Inability to see migration as an integral part of *globalisation*
- Inability to see migration as a *self-sustaining social process*
- Border control as *ideology* – difficult for governments to resolve economic and political contradictions
- *Dishonesty* in migration policies
- *Short-term perspectives* of politicians

Global fertility decline 1970-2050

(Total Fertility Rate = children born per woman)



Source: UNPD 2007

Migration issues by 2050?

- Severe shortages of workers in all of Europe?
- Shortages of labour market entrants in former non-European sending countries?
- Serious gender imbalances in China, India?
- Many new industrial countries competing for migrant labour?
- More diverse societies?
- Towards global governance of migration?

Towards *fairer* and *more effective* policies: National and European levels

- Consultation with public on migration policies
- Assessment of demand for migrant labour with employers and unions
- Honest policies and good information
- Stronger role for European Parliament
- Sanctions against smugglers, traffickers and exploitative employers – not migrants
- Effective anti-discrimination and anti-racist laws

International level

- *Cooperation on migration* with states of sending countries
- Skilled migration policies to *avoid brain drain*
- *Circular migration* must:
 - include option of *permanent stay*
 - be linked to *training and investment programmes*
 - return migration based on *incentives*
- *Full social and civil rights* for all migrants
- *Migrants and their associations* as key partners in policy development and implementation

THE END

Thank you for your attention

