

Against Virtual Odds

Migration and Development in the Globalised Era

Abstract

Contemporary international society goes through rapid transformations, including migratory flows on a greater scale than experienced hitherto. The African and the European Union have claimed joint responsibility in treating the root causes of migration by instigating development in sending countries. With the current pace, the common goal of reducing migration is far from being reached and new grounds for political cooperation are needed. The Unions' different approaches to migration and development, within the spectrum of positive and pessimistic theory, witness great challenges of being united and greater precaution on addressing ideological divergence is required for successful cooperation. Identification of migratory flows, reflecting the interaction between social, financial and human capital is concurrently vital to reduce migration. For political action to keep up with the complexity of globalization, cooperation between the Unions asks for a pluralist perspective to have considerable influence on the future of migration and development.

Keywords: Migration, development, cooperation, policy coherence.

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Abbreviations

| | |
|-------|--|
| AU | African Union |
| EDF | European Development Fund |
| EU | European Union |
| ILO | Immigration Liaison Officers |
| MDG | Millennium Development Goal |
| NEPAD | New Partnership for Africa's Development |
| OAU | Organization of African Unity |
| OECD | Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development |
| UN | United Nations |

1 Introduction

Migration, stretching back to times of unwritten history, has in virtue of globalization grown to be a phenomenon with multiple components. As globalization is catching momentum the international political arena has become increasingly interdependent, suggesting cooperation prior to conflict. Still the globalized deterritorialization of national borders, has furthermore transformed the international circumstances, generating political challenges of unknown nature.

The acknowledgement of asymmetrical globalization was amongst others expressed by the international community in the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDG) (OECD 2003:2). About half of these goals being both dependent and independent variables of migration, encourage the interconnected current world in unison to take action to reduce migration. It is believed that 50 millions of the worlds reported 200 million migrants are African obligating the African Union (AU) to act on the issue (GCIM 2005:32 and AUEC 2006:Intro). The European Union (EU) experiencing an extended magnitude of African migrants, both legal and illegal, has inspired joint political initiatives on migration between the AU and EU. Despite the Unions' fundamental approaches being hard to align, they've agreed on development as a mean of reducing migration. Still if development continues with the current pace in Sub-Saharan countries, it will take another 150 years to achieve the MDGs (Thomas 2008:487). The need for political action is obvious and in 2006, nearly half way to the finish line of the MDGs' deadline, both Unions published respective action plans on migration and development. Later that same year *The Joint Africa-EU Declaration on Migration and Development* was launched to meet the needs of political cooperation and reduce international migration.

In a globalized era the diverse approaches to concepts like migration and development are countless and this incidence is no exception. In the spectrum between positive and pessimistic convictions towards migration, the perceptions of the two Unions become virtual obstacles for successful cooperation. Therefore matching perceptions of dimensions having influence on migration is of uttermost importance for achieving successful cooperation. For political action to gain any significant effect with the preconditions of globalized migration, addressing coherence between diverging political discourses is required. Both internally between the AU and EU but also externally aligned with globalized migratory trends. How these precautions are taking form in the AU and EU's approaches to migration and development will be further examined in this paper.

1.1 Objective and Research Questions

The overall motivation of this paper is to question international political cooperation in taking cultural and positional differences into consideration, when practiced across cultural borders. Not the least will increased attention upon this issue, enhance the likelihood of successful future cooperation. It will concurrently demand a more pluralist approach, accommodating the variation and diverse currents in a globalized world. An increased awareness upon that not only national or regional interests, have a say in the matter of multilateral cooperation, but also fundamental discursive perceptions have extended significance in such activities. The shared interests of managing migration from the African and the European Union promise of prosperous grounds for successful cooperation. Still trends as irregular migration continue to increase in virtue of the globalised ease of movement and the motivation for African migrants to search for greener pastures in Europe. In order to prevent this inclination from expanding, the political initiatives from both Unions have to correspond with the currents of the globalised era. On this basis it is in this paper intended to identify the requisites for cooperation between the two Unions and in that sense improve the preconditions for a successful management of migration. By determining opposing attitudes, obstacles of cooperation are easier to detect. A conscious awareness of the two parties' predetermined perceptions of the link between migration and development can help to a conscious shift in policymaking in order for the Unions' policies to cohere and in that sense be efficient. These reflections lead to the following research questions:

- How do the African Union and the European Union respectively approach migration and development?
- How do these approaches cooperate and cohere in a globalized consensus?

1.2 Disposition

The introductory section from this point on will consist of a short summary of chosen theories and methods, which will be elaborated on in chapter two and three. The delimitation of the broad subject migration in regard to development will then be motivated. In order to accommodate the potential of misperceptions in the process of reading, it will be followed by definitions of concepts. A brief introduction of the material employed will intentionally provide background knowledge and simultaneously align the reader's mindset with the intended discourse of this paper. Furthermore a critical position on the material examined is presented, before the elaboration of theories on migration and development in chapter two. Chapter three is an extended description of the method applied on the material, in order to analyze the link between migration and development which

in chapter four will be comparatively analyzed. After a summary on the conditions for cooperation and policy coherence put in a pluralist perspective, a concluding section follows before the list of references.

1.3 Theory and Method

Migration and development as interconnected phenomena have led to several theories upon how to approach the reciprocal effect between the two. A method of idea- and ideology analysis facilitates a scrutiny of the two Unions' ideal perceptions of migration and development. Max Weber's constructive idea of ideal types as a tool of analysis (Esaiasson et al. 2009:158), enables the detection of where in between polar ideal types, the two Unions find themselves. Therefore two opposing branches of theories will be presented as the *positive* and the *pessimistic* approach (Haas 2008a:23-31). The analysis is not comparative in its traditional meaning but involve comparative elements. As the examination progresses, a pluralist perspective (Haas 2008a:31-49), covering several elements from both branches of theories will be employed to identify the favorable and inauspicious conditions for cooperation and policy coherence between the AU and EU.

1.4 Delimitation

As the issue of dealing with international migration between sending, transit and receiving countries, is growing, the cooperation between the AU and EU will be in focus as an example of interconnected responsibility of managing migration in a globalized world. As Hein de Haas describes migration: "...*migration is not an independent variable explaining change, but is an endogenous variable, an integral part of change itself in the same degree as it may enable further change.*" (Haas 2008a:43) Of the three factors, security, human rights and development, all having great influence on migration, development has been chosen to be in focus in this paper. First of all development is potential of constructive political action corresponding to a globalized mindset. Whereas security has protectionist connotations and human rights are of healing character, not enabling preventative action. Secondly development is of both of curative and future sustainable nature.

Development as an absolute human right constitutes states' primary responsibility for creating circumstances in favor of development (UNGA 2008: Article 1 and 3). Policies on development and migration are areas where diverging political actors have the chance of cooperation and in that sense improve international relations on other policy areas. Of course it concurrently is an area of conflict, but the parties' common interests are more likely to be balanced regarding managing migration, than for example regional security policies.

Development as both a cause and effect of migration, depending on theoretical conviction, will here focus on the political cooperation as a mean of managing international migration. On the basis of these motivations, political approaches to migration and development from the AU and the EU will constitute the framework of this paper.

1.5 Material and Source Criticism

Declarations on migration and development by the AU and documented initiatives from the EU will constitute the units of analysis. The *African Common Position on Migration and Development* is based on the AU experts' meeting on migration and development, held in Algiers from the 3rd to the 5th of April 2006 (AUEC 2006). The *draft African common Position on Migration and Development* was adopted by the AU Executive Council at the Banjul Summit in July 2006 (AUEC 2006: Intro). It is the first product of its kind from the AU and was agreed upon as a forerunner to the Africa-EU meeting in Sirte in November 2006. What concerns the EU, the Presidency Conclusions on the 15th -16th of December 2005, published in January 2006, as Annex 1 contains a *Global Approach to Migration: Priority actions focusing on Africa and the Mediterranean* (CounEU 2006), will make up the second unit of analysis. In order to clarify the cooperative elements and identify the diverging fields of policies, the analysis will be juxtaposed with the *Joint Africa-EU Declaration on Migration and Development* from the same year (JAEUDMD 2006).

Due to the longer lifespan of the EU, the European initiatives on migration and development are not as scrutinizing of migration and development in this single document, as it is one document in a series. In this regard the EU's declaration must not be taken out of context and separated from previous EU examinations on migration and development. Previous initiatives by the EU will therefore make up complementary information. The AU declaration is on the other hand the first upon the issue and examines the subject more in depth. As these documents are written by the Unions' commissions, the notification of specific authors is not possible. Of course this is not a favorable situation, especially in the light of the documents being translated to multiple languages.

As we are dealing with an issue of intercontinental character with great cultural and discursive differences, the theoretical background material in this paper is somewhat biased. The theoretical framework being based on the mindset of Thomas Faist from Center on Migration, Citizenship and Development, Germany (Faist 2008) and Hein de Haas from University of Oxford, United Kingdom (Haas 2008a) amongst others, provide theoretical thoughts from solely Western perspectives. The use of "*Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal*" (Massey et al. 1993) provides a theoretical framework from authors with multiple nationalities, such as European, South- and Middle American and Australian. Still it doesn't contain African theoretical thought on migration, which might contribute to a distorted theoretical point of view, as the

examination will not be theoretically balanced between African and European scholars. This might effect the heuristically examination of the AU's and EU's approaches to migration and development. On the other hand the developed and dominant school within migration and development being Western, the theoretical validity is assessed to be relatively high.

Finally a short notice of the information obtained from respective websites. As it is the information from these websites which is examined and the primary source of information of for example the two Unions, the internet sources are considered reliable due to the given context.

2 Method

The ideology analysis as a tool of identifying the Unions' seemingly divergent approaches is the motivation for the choice of method. The employed material suggests an analysis on the level of ideas and the methodology will not go into any specific case studies. On the contrary the inspiration of Max Weber's' ideal type analysis will be constituted upon two polar ideal types. The objective is not to identify whether the respective approach is either positive or pessimistic, but to identify where in between the two polar ideal types, the Unions' approaches are located. The motivation for two polar ideal types is the facilitation of illustrating a nuanced image of the degree of divergence between the two parties (Esaiasson et al. 2009:158-163). Taken change over time into consideration, the analysis will focus on the time where the documents were written.

2.1 Ideal type analysis

The thought of constructing ideal types in this particular case, is to draw a clear image of the positive and pessimistic view upon three dimensions connected to migration and development. *Social Capital* is made up of social networks and the value of connections within or between such networks. These rather virtual links are especially important in times of globalization, which connect the world and are part of inspiring migratory processes. As we all know in the current global context, societal development is unlikely to happen on a significant scale without economical support. Therefore the second dimension is *Financial Capital*, consisting of financial remittances, aid or other kind of economical investment. Thirdly is *Human Capital* which refers to human skills, in terms of labor or knowledge and the value of human experience. Despite the world agenda being financially based, the essential humanity in society, doesn't deny the worth of human values and ideas.

On this basis I tend to identify where the two Unions' find themselves in the spectrum between positive and pessimistic theories in their approaches to migration and development. As the identification of ideas is still far from the identification of operational ideas, the analysis will furthermore consist of two levels on the inspiration of Hein de Haas, Göran Bergström and Kristina Boréus (Haas 2008a:44 and Bergström et al. 2000:148-178). One level being the macro-level in a developmental context, implying the global economic systems, social civilizations and global political interaction across multiple international relations. It indicates the political conditions above the regional, national and bilateral international implying the Unions' overall view upon examined dimensions and

general valuation of it. The other is the micro-level indicating development on a local level of society, implying for example social facilities, regional development programs and concrete implementable suggestions (Bergström et al. 2000:148-178).

Changes in conditions on the macro-level can effect migration in one way, where changes on the micro-level can effect migration in a different way. Migrations' effect on micro-level is for example cultural unities across national borders. The typical result being violent conflict, consequently effect the future policy making on the national micro-level. In documented times, there is hitherto no evidence of migrations' effect on macro-level (Pécloud et al. 2007:x). Increased attention upon environment on the other hand can motivate an arrow from 'migration' to 'macro-level'. As receiving countries will have to take the environmental burden into consideration in case of severe Diasporas caused by for example climate changes (AUEC 2006:4.2). The reverse effects from micro- to macro-level are self-evident as they constitute multiple international relations, established by a couple or several countries. The motivation for constructing these levels as a part of the methodology is to clarify how some policies affect these levels differently and result in internal or external policy incoherence.

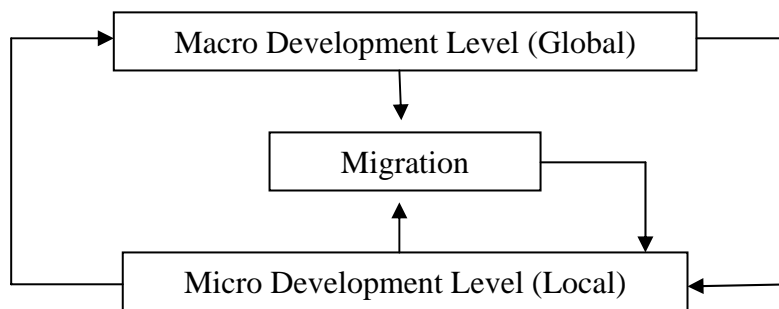


Figure 1: Framework for analysis of link between migration and development (Inspired by Hein de Haas. (Haas 2008a:44)).

→ Arrow indicates direction of effect.

The ideological correspondence between the two Unions is located on the ideal types' indications. But in order to expose the explicit field of cooperation, the analysis is followed by juxtaposition with the *Joint Africa-EU Declaration on Migration and Development*, as previously mentioned. Concurrently the juxtaposition provides a discrimination of the main conflicting ideological pitfalls between the two Unions. By exposing these potential obstacles in the cooperation between the AU and EU, the areas in need of improved endeavors are identified. By putting the comparative analysis into a pluralist perspective, a whole new approach is made visible in the aim of ideal cooperation.

3 Theories on Migration and Development

3.1 Positive Theory

The functionalist and neo-classical approach, here presented as the positive theory, sees development as contributing to less migration and dominated the development policies in the 1950'ies and 1960'ies (Haas 2008a:25). Development in sending countries is viewed upon as the potential of inspiring education and modernization. The social capital's value in positive theory is of great significance in the transfer of human skills, ideas of democracy and gender equality (Faist 2008:22). As migrants abroad inspire expansion of human skills in country of origin, the social remittances simultaneously function as investments in human capital. The positive views praise the social capital of epistemic networks which witnesses of an overall win-win attitude in positive theory (Faist 2008:31). 'Migration without borders' scenario is closely linked to the positive branch of theories (Pécoud et al. 2007). With open borders transnational migrants can contribute with positive effects on development in country of origin (Faist 2008:22). Furthermore the evolvement of transnational migrants, belonging to more than one country, suggests an ability of cultural compromises, which correspond to a world of globalization (Faist 2008:22). An ability which might have a positive impact on a macro-level is reflected in politicians' decision-making. Migrants as important agents in development, has aspired a potential paradigm shift of how to perceive the role of migrants (Faist 2008:26).

Financial remittances are also believed to be generally higher from temporary migrants, arguing for the ideal situation of migrant circulation (Faist 2008:26). The notion of 'reverse brain drain' or 'brain gain' as a positive effect of migration, is followed by the dimension of 'temporary return', inspiring circular migration as a positive effect on development (Faist 2008:27). Foreign currency is perceived as a primary mean in the development of the local economy (Haas 2008a:26). It is also believed to have a positive effect as it allows the funding of education, expanding human skills and rising the level of human capital in sending countries (Haas 2008a:25). Expansion of the middle class demotivates migration as conditions in sending countries improve and further social equality is reached (Haas 2008a:24). Another positive consequence of migration is the increase of demands for agricultural products, usually supplied by sending countries, also called 'spread effects' (Haas 2008a:27). In positive theory the financial capital is consequently expected to flow in the opposite direction of migration and finally lead to less migration (Haas 2008a:24). Overall the view

upon both migration and development is a positive reciprocal dynamic contribution to balanced growth (Haas 2008a:23).

3.2 Pessimistic Theory

The pessimistic approach represents the structuralist and neo-Marxist aspects, viewing upon migration as a way of escaping misery. It implies no potential of immediate development and became dominant from the 1970's onwards (Haas 2008a:27). Transnational migrants were at the time perceived as a sign of failed development in sending countries (Faist 2008:22). Though migrants rarely belong to the poorest social layers of society, the pessimist view is that migrants are forced to migrate out of poverty (Haas 2008a:26). The 'migrant syndrome' is perceived as contributing to asymmetrical development, attributing 'brain drain' in sending countries (Haas 2008a:23). Furthermore do pessimist theories mention the 'brawn drain', as migrants primarily consisting of young people, leave the country of origin lacking labor skills and human capital (Haas 2008a:28). The approach is in this manner characterized by the win-lose mentality. The pessimist approach does not suggest a flow of social remittances that will instigate education or advance human capital. On the other hand a capitalist development in terms of financial remittances leads to oblivious consumption (Haas 2008a:29 and 30).

As financial remittances flows the dependency in sending countries on migrants abroad increase (Haas 2008a:24). Gunnar Myrdal presented the 'cumulative causation theory', suggesting that the capitalist development in line with financial remittances, inevitably bring along deeper and broader gaps between rich and poor in the international perspective (Haas 2008a:24 and 29). Also described as the 'backwash effects', which is only handled by fierce state control of financial capital flows (Haas 2008a:27). The pessimistic theory advocates that financial remittances from abroad undermine the local economy in such a way, that the dependency on foreign currency rise (Haas 2008a:28). In such manner financial remittances are counterproductive as the dependency on foreign aid stagnates. As the increased financial capital will cause an expansion of the middle class, the amount of migrants in search of a better life will increase proportionately and lead to further brain drain (Faist 2008:32). In the 1970's financial remittances were viewed upon as means of developing underdevelopment (Haas 2008a:27). Overall the pessimistic view does not suggest migration as a cause of enhancing development in developing countries. As well as development's effect on migration will contribute to more migration, which either way ends in a win-lose situation (Haas 2008a:30).

The two theories' views upon the dimensions' effect on migration and development is here applied to the ideal type.

| | Positive Theory | Pessimistic Theory |
|--------------------------|---|--|
| Social Capital | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Transfer of skills, increasing human capital - Epistemic networks' independence - Instigates equality - Transnational migrants: Agents for further development | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Transfer of consumptive habits - Dependency on social networks - Instigates inequality - Transnational migrants: A sign of failed development |
| Financial Capital | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Foreign currency develops local economy - Decreases migration - Investment in human capital via education | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Foreign currency undermines local economy - Increases migration - Instigates consumption prior to education |
| Human Capital | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Brain gain - Spread effects - Win-win mindset | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Brain drain - Backwash effects - Win-lose mindset |

4 Approaches to Migration and Development

This section first of all shortly presents the AU and the EU as actors in international migration. Concurrently their background of having the respective approach to migration and development is clarified. Secondly the Unions' positions on migration and development will be analyzed on the basis of the presented ideal types. *The Joint Africa-EU Declaration on Migration and Development* will be juxtaposed to the analysis in order to clarify the elements of policy coherence between the AU's and the EU's policies. Simultaneously it enables an identification of the Unions' diverging policies on migration and development, on the basis of the comparative analysis. To put the cooperating parties' viewpoints into perspective, a suggestion of a pluralist approach is presented on the inspiration of Hein de Haas.

4.1 Introduction to the AU and the EU as Actors in International Migration

4.1.1 The African Union

The African Union, formerly known as the Organization of African Unity (OAU), was constituted in 1999, on the instigation of Libyan Head of State Muammar al-Gaddafi. The Union's vision is to unite the African continent, by strengthening the socio-economic ties between African countries (AU1). AU seeks to encourage peace, security and stability as a mean of development and integration on the African continent (AU1). In addition the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was established in 2001 envisioning to establish strong economic ties between African countries to enhance financial development and improve global competitiveness. All 53 nations on the African continent are member states and represented by the current Libyan AU chairman Muammar al-Gaddafi, working from the headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (AU1). The lacking international relations between Libya and EU does not promise of successful cooperation on the level of the AU. Libya being notorious of its rather provocative attitude towards the West, especially since the oil crisis in 1973 can be interpreted as rather problematic for the two Unions' cooperation. Moreover Libyan migration policy doesn't allow illegal migrants to seek asylum, does not sustain a role model for other African countries (Hamood 2008:21). Still it is

important to note that the AU is not Libyan, though the Libyan influence is not to be denied.

On an overall scale the estimate 1/3 of the world's migrants being African (AUEC 2006:1), motivates the AU's position on protecting and enhancing the system under which migration takes place. Conflict and political instability being some of the root causes of migration, encourages the AU in unison to work across artificially constructed borders, instead of against colonialisms leftovers. In light of the African challenge to motivate development and modernization, is the cooperation with the EU on this issue, an evident opportunity for the AU to instigate continental development. The poor socio-economic conditions of most African countries, leaves the continent in a rather desperate position, likely to grab every possibility it gets for improving sustainable development.

4.1.2 The European Union

Due to the context a short summary of the EU's reasoning for its migration policies, is favored prior to an introduction of the EU's history. Given the internal circumstances of the EU extending its borders, naturally has caused a strengthening of external borders (Turner et al. 2006:67). After years of negotiating in 2004, the EU countries agreed on a common immigration and asylum policy, to be reached in 2010 (Turner et al. 2006:67). In addition Frontex was established in 2005 as an intelligence driven agency, responsible of external border control (Carrera 2007:9). EU's remote control policies include financial support to African governments despite ideological believes, in order to strengthen border control in migrants' countries of origin (Turner et al. 2006:67). This external border control has been much debated as the policy allows support to undemocratic governments and furthermore is hard to control if the finances are spent on the intentional area of border control or not.

Migration being the main source of population growth in Europe, simultaneously with the general European population getting older, is a rather new challenge of balancing migration flows (Harris 2007:40). The EU's strategy of managing irregular migration flows is primarily based on promoting legal migration and to maximize the positive effects of migration in the country of origin (EU1). On this basis the EU has launched the European Development Fund (EDF) which in cooperation with third countries is to meet the MDGs (EU1). The EU's member states being focal points of migration naturally imply a European approach towards migration as one of preventing African Diasporas. In addition the European Commission put forward initiatives in 2005 to promote migration's impact on development. These amongst others included encouragement of circular migration, which ensures a certain outflow of migrants in some proportion to the influx of migrants (EU1).

4.2 Comparative Analysis

As previously mentioned the analysis carry comparative elements as the analysis of the two Unions will take place simultaneously. The aspect of social, financial and human capital will be analyzed on both micro- and macro-level. Each section ends with an illustration of where in between positive and pessimistic approach the respective Unions approximately are located, indicated by the arrows.

4.2.1 Social Capital

Social migration networks having expanded rapidly in times of globalization, makes both Unions call attention upon increased regulation of migration flows, to untangle illegal networks (CounEU 2006:9 and AUEC 2006:2). The aim of expanding the number of migrants moving through the legal system of migration, asks for even greater demands of border controls' cooperation between sending, transit and receiving countries (CounEU 2006:2,8). The diametrically different conditions for European and African countries to define their borders, creates a gap in their respective policies, which early on experiences the travelling problem.¹ The much debated externalization of border control from the EU to African countries is in direct controversy with AU's approach, having connotations of unregulated borders (Pécoud et al. 2007:24). Recent and artificial colonial constructed borders in Africa are still in conflict in a cultural context and not peacefully defined. Conflict being one of the root causes of migration makes AU emphasize unregulated border control, as possibly contributing to domestic security (AUEC 2006:3.6).

Preventing regional destabilization by the free movement of people belongs to macro-level conditions which the EU cannot refer to with its internal control of border definitions. Therefore the debate upon pessimistic European policies to practice remote control policies are continuously questioned (Rasmussen 2006:15). The strict immigration controls of the EU furthermore contributes to lock poverty in sending countries, as migrants entrance to EU countries from a positive perspective is a part of development, in virtue of transnational migrants (Harris 2002:119). In this context the policies regarding climate changes are furthermore hard to align between the two Unions as their needs are diverging (AUEC 2006:4.2). As Sub-Saharan countries already suffer from draught and EU does not, we once again encounter the travelling problem. On the other hand the EU has to take population movements' affect on the environment into consideration on the overall macro-level (AUEC 2006:4.2). Aspects which should be taken into consideration, in attempting to apply European solutions to African issues of border control regulations.

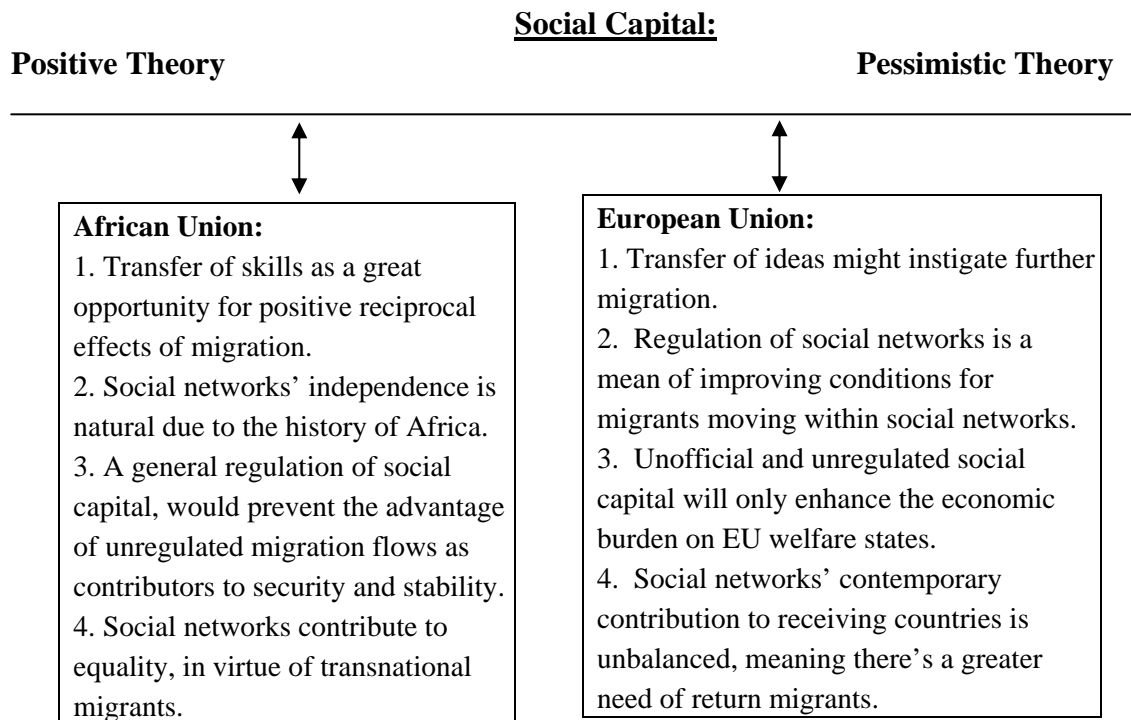
¹ Refers to policy which cannot be transferred to other fields of politics and still maint its intended effect.

The latter speaks for an improvement in knowledge upon the area, as both Unions seem to lack in depth knowledge of migratory currents. Advanced knowledge on both a micro- and macro-level is supported by both Unions. The EU specifically points out the aim of understanding the root causes of migration as a contribution to long-term management of migration (CounEU 2006:11). Intensified research will intentionally improve the knowledge upon migration and its cause and effect on development. The aim is met by the AU but again the initial starting points are not identical (AUEC 2006:12, C.b). The desired undocumented free movement of people by AU does not correspond with the EU's idea of improved knowledge upon migration by documenting border control. Where the EU suggests Networks of Immigration officers to halt irregular migration (CounEU 2006:10), the AU does not express concrete suggestions of how to intensify the documentation of intercontinental migration (AUEC 2006:3.6). Along with the AU's emphasis on the positive effects of unregulated migration, the Unions' perceptions of the data needed to increase the knowledge on migration seem to be of rather diverging character.

As it is commonly known illegal migration networks carry the potential of great dangers and insecurity to migrants involved. In protecting the rights of migrants, be they legal or illegal, suggest extended control of social networks, regarding migration across the Mediterranean. Where unregulated social capital exposes severe pitfalls to migrants, is in regard to information of the conditions of migration. Official information campaigns on migrants' rights and the consequences of migration, could resolve parts of the obstacles migrants experience when having reached country of destination. On the micro-level the AU address the somewhat poor conditions of the accessibility and quality of social services for migrants abroad (AUEC 2006:4.4). Of course the AU has interest in migrants abroad, being treated equally to citizens of the given society. But restrictive immigration policies or what might appear to be politics of xenophobia in receiving countries, as a belated attempt to reduce the given society's attraction for migrants, reflect on the public attitude (Pécoud et al. 2007:20). For example is the main reason for rather strict immigration policies in Denmark, reasoned with migrants as an economical burden to the welfare system (Turner et al. 2006:81). Still the immigration policies seem to have reflected upon the public attitude of migrants being latent invaders of the Danish society. This is evident in the increase of votes to the 'Danish People's Party', generally having a very pessimistic approach towards migrants or 'foreigners' as it is rhetorically expressed (Turner et al. 2006:81).

Such a situation witness of the need for tackling migration challenges in their right context. Implying the amount of migrants in the EU should be defined and realized when migrants are still in country of origin, something which requires strict regulation of interregional migration systems in sending countries. Yet this is another point where the different approaches to migration from the two Unions stand in each others' way. How the conditions for social capital should be handled in order to benefit most parties involved is clearly a continuous challenge for the cooperating parties to agree on. The challenging point arises in agreeing upon policies covering both macro- and micro-level, as the policies affect the levels

differently and that is where the conflict of interests occurs. The AU pinpoints the micro-level transfer of skills through social networks as assistance to an overall positive mean of development (AUEC 2006:3.3). Furthermore the AU emphasizes that the transfer of labor can make up the need for labor in European countries (AUEC 2006:3.3). But as it has been pointed out, the need of labor from a European perspective is far smaller than the flow of migrants from Africa. A fact the AU does not confront in its *Common Position on Migration and Development* (AUEC 2006). It is clear that only an unbalanced benefit will accommodate this challenge and as it seems the EU is not ready to give in to these circumstances.



4.2.2 Financial Capital

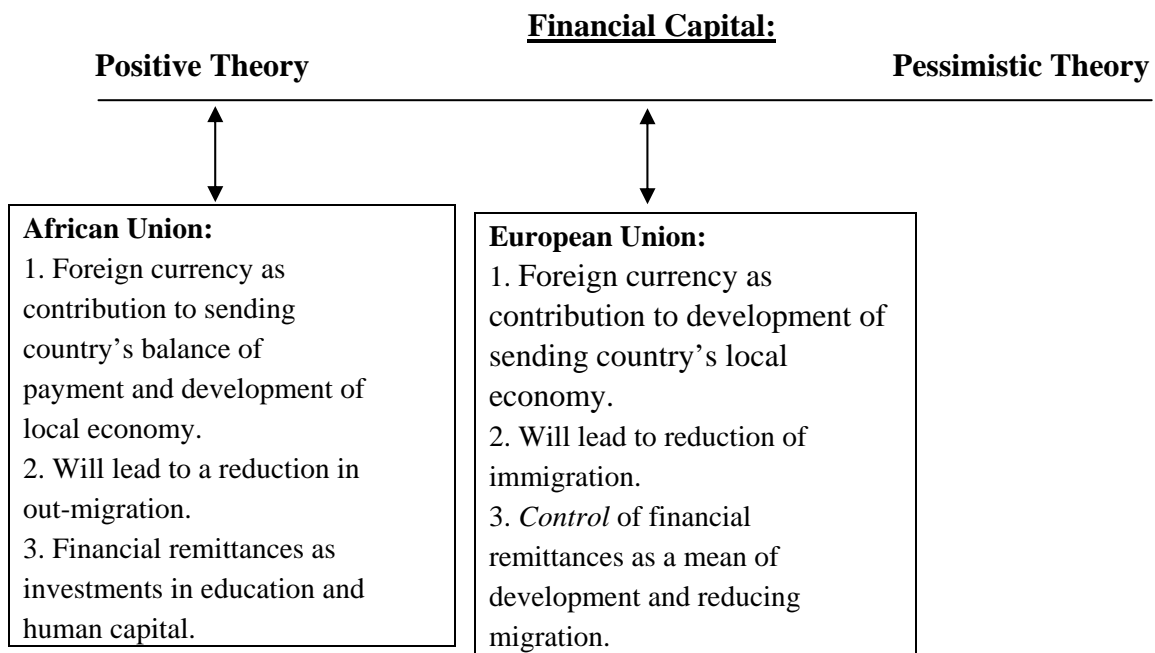
In a world where the economical market is dominant, financial capital is highly valued as a positive mean of development, pinpointed by the AU (AUEC 2006:4.3). In virtue of the MDGs, the two Unions seem to agree on the positive notion that development in sending countries is a way of minimizing the financial inequality on a global scale. At the same time development is perceived to contribute to a reduction of migration and prevention of a brain drain (AUEC 2006:3.2 and CounEU 2006:12). Global financial competitiveness is therefore essential for the development of African countries, concurrently making European countries less attractive to migrate to. On this basis the AU's objection on the macro-level conditions of limited access to the financial markets of developed countries, is not surprising (AUEC 2006:4.3). The hitherto pessimistic policy of restricted market access is followed by EU's suggestion of opening markets (CounEU 2006:3). The simultaneous promotion of economic growth suggests financial capital as a positive mean, inspiring development on a micro-level

(CounEU 2006:3,9). The concrete suggestion of opening markets is an idea which has not yet been operationalized. African countries continuously struggle with the lack of financial competitiveness on the European market, primarily caused by the European agricultural subsidy, making the price of African products uncompetitive (Castles et al. 2003:285). The European acknowledgement of the need for economic reforms in the EU, alongside the MDGs, suggests yet another interest in the economic development of African countries as future trading partners (CounEU 2006:5,18). Inspiring financial capital on a local level in Africa is therefore a common interest of the EU and the AU. A questioning of the ulterior motives of the EU is not beneficial in light of the cooperative aim. On the contrary it is interesting in which sense financial capital should contribute to development.

The positive view upon foreign currency as a mean of contributing to sending countries' balance of payment, correspond with the AU's positive view upon financial remittances' effects on development (AUEC 2006:3.4). The AU does not mention an aim of making these remittances official but concludes that the number of unofficial remittances probably double the official number of remittances being 100 billion dollars² (AUEC 2006: 3.4). The EU's suggestion of channeling all financial remittances through cheaper official financial systems, would contribute to the overall knowledge and significance of financial remittances (CounEU 2006:12). Yet it carries pessimistic connotations of Myrdal's cumulative causation theory, suggesting extended control of financial flows across states (Haas 2008a:27). According to the AU the financial remittances flowing into Africa exceeds the foreign aid provided by developed countries' governments (AUEC 2006:3.4). The magnitude of official and unofficial financial remittances is of a proportion which both involves macro- and micro-level of society, insinuating to be considered a dependent variable of migration.

If it was for the AU to decide the actual number of aid reaching the continent, the union would probably change this balance, making aid exceed financial remittances. The call from the AU to address the issue upon aid from developed countries does not make EU the sole responsible (AUEC 2006:4.3). But if the commitment to the MDGs of Africa's financial development is to be fulfilled, an encouragement from the EU to meet developed countries' commitments in this regard seems reasonable. Again the need for economic reform in Europe as mentioned previously calls for EU's interest in fulfilling the commitments to African aid. In the long run it will have significance for the micro-levels of both European and African societies, as the financial market on a macro-level is in constant transformation (Woods 2008:252). The recent example of Muhammad Yunus' developed concept of micro credits, as having great success in the development of agriculture, shows how a micro-level concept can change the perception of sustainable development and possibly reach the macro level at some point (Tickner 2008:272).

² Supposedly US dollars but it is not explicitly mentioned.



4.2.3 Human Capital

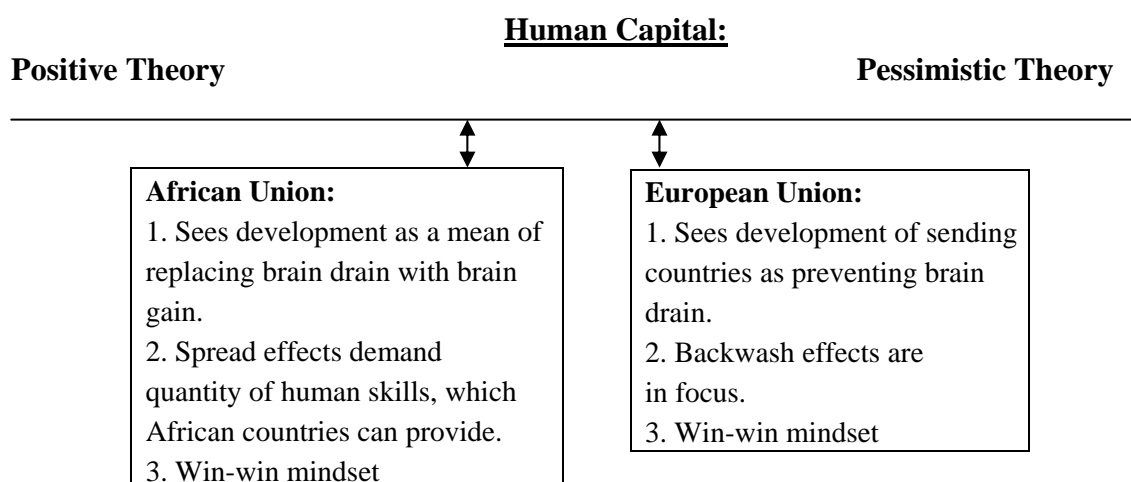
Though the general perception is that development uttermost comes along with economic development, human capital is not to be underestimated in any context of society's migratory transformation. If the unthinkable happens and all systems collapse, human capital is the only capital of any value. Though this scenario is rather irrelevant to the context, it shares the overall transformation of changing demands of skills, equal to what the world is experiencing at the moment. At least according to the AU, which expresses this exact change consequently making women representing about half of all international migrants (AUEC 2006:3.8). The hard facts should satisfy the feminist branch of politics and the MDGs of gender equality, though the numbers quite the opposite might indicate great sexual exploitation of female migrants. Something that has to be taken into consideration in migration policies, as it is an inherent human skill which probably never will change in demands. Exploitation or underpaid human skills continuously asks for the AU and EU to prevent human trafficking and smuggling. In continuation the EU's initiative on Immigration Liaison Officers (ILO) as yet another mean of control, should be established to report on illegal immigration and trafficking (CounEU 2006:10). Yet again the EU approach is turning down the pessimistic road in aiming for a positive associated goal.

The EU's intention of identifying the impact of skill losses might contribute to clarifying trends of migratory flows as part of the overall research upon the issue. Again it carries pessimistic connotations as it implicitly refers to the pessimist attention upon brain and brawn drain (CounEU 2006:12). The AU expresses similar concerns as it is perceived that essential skills for development on a micro-level have been lost in virtue of brain drains (AUEC 2006:3.2). The shortage of human resources as an effect of migration, corresponds to the pessimistic perception of migration's affect on development (Haas 2008a:28). In opposition it

should be taken into consideration that African countries have been experiencing veritable population booms, leaving a large amount of young Africans with human skills, unable to enter the labor market (Rasmussen 2006:12). On account of these conditions, the AU focuses on the positive ‘spread effects’ (AUEC 2006:3.11). African countries have a chance of providing the quantitative amount of labor skills, where the EU is lacking human capital (Harris 2007:40). Human capital is found everywhere but the question is where it is needed and for what costs. By stressing the effort to establish multilateral relations of labor migration, accommodating the global supply and demand of labor, the AU meets the globalized conditions of the time being (AUEC 2006:3.11).

As well as the global society being in need of human skills, so are Unions’ views upon the need of education of urgent necessity for development (JAEUDMD 2006:8 and AUEC 2006:3.8). Transnational migrants as agents of positive developmental change in sending countries, is closely aligned with the recent positive notion of co-development (Faist 2008:26). Besides being part of epistemic networks and transferring human skills, transnational migrants can have a much greater impact on the future perception of migration in itself (Faist 2008:26). The benefits of transnational and circular migration are seen as instigators of education by the AU (AUEC 2006:3.2). Aligned with the transfer of skills, the overall need of protecting the migrants’ rights when arrived at destination, is essential if circular migration is to have a positive impact on development, as stressed by the AU (AUEC 2006:3.7).

The increased transnational preconditions in the macro-level of a globalised world, place great value upon the social networks providing inspiration for further education. What by pessimistic theorists is perceived to be brain drain is what can finance the improvement of human capital in African countries. In this manner the temporary brain drain could from a positive perspective, be viewed upon as a long-term investment of human capital in migration. Eventually showing its worth in the brain gains of return migrants or simply brain circulation and thereby achieves greater development (Faist 2008:22). A human skill of flexibility and coherence carrying cultural value is the ability of humans to adapt to new circumstances. In the nomadic history of Africans, this skill is decidedly irreplaceable.



4.3 Cooperation and Policy Coherence

On the basis of the comparative analysis, the grounds for cooperation, constituted in *The Joint Africa-EU Declaration on Migration and Development* will be presented (JAEUDMD 2006). In addition it will be discriminated where the Unions' policies cohere, in the common aim of circular migration and development. A clarification of diverging or incoherent political views upon migration and development will follow. In order to present possible improvements of the cooperation, a pluralist perspective will make up for a more varied view upon migration and development in a globalized world.

4.3.1 Joint Africa-EU Declaration on Migration and Development

The AU and EU both recognize the need of cooperation on managing migration and encourage circular migration, as a win-win situation to all parties involved (JAEUDMD 2006:2). The agreement upon more advanced research on migration is stated as a field demanding action to better manage migration, by bringing together existing data for the sake of future research (JAEUDMD 2006:9). In this manner the root causes of migration will be easier to identify and thereby more accessible for taking action upon reducing migration from Africa to Europe. As in all politics, compromises are the basic agenda which seems to be the agenda here as well. The call upon assistance for developing national African policies as open to free regional movement, partially accommodates the ultra-positive approach to migration from the AU (JAEUDMD 2006:9). This initiative reflects one aspect of circular migration, which is expressed as the overall interest of both Unions (JAEUDMD 2006:7). Another aspect of circular migration is the EU's return policies, which in practice seem to have a rather strict and pessimistic touch to it (JAEUDMD 2006:10). Furthermore has it made readmission agreements quite desirable for sending countries, which facilitates migration as a national income resource (Haas 2008b:1311). The different aspects of how to achieve circular migration, is yet another illustration of the Unions' diverse approaches how to reach a common goal. In addition it should be mentioned that the declaration encourages support of Diaspora networks and instigate brain circulation (JAEUDMD 2006:7). The operationalization of brain circulation by facilitating migrants working in both home and host countries is more advanced and not further elaborated upon.

The perception of economic development reducing international migration as a root cause of migration is united in one positive approach (JAEUDMD 2006:3). Though the management of financial remittances seem to be a compromise for the EU's advantage, as it is suggested to set up cheap mechanisms to channel future remittances (JAEUDMD 2006:7). The general agreement upon a positive approach towards financial dimensions, besides the rather pessimistic management of remittances, corresponds to the analysis of financial capital earlier in this paper. In this consensus it is questionable how come an essential need of

improving African products' access to European markets is in parenthesis (JAEUDMD 2006:8). No further explanation follows on this crucial point for Africa's future development but early on in the declaration it is stressed how: "...to ensure that Africa's concerns are properly reflected at the Africa/Europe dialogue..." (JAEUDMD 2006:4). A point like this is a good example of how the declaration compromises the two Unions' at times diametrically opposed interests, instead of treating the root causes of migration in order to reduce it.

4.3.2 Diverging or Incoherent Policies as Obstacles for Cooperation

The fact that the two Unions' cooperation is based on unequal positions of being either sending or receiving countries, are reflected in either a very positive or rather pessimistic approach to migration. Therefore the paths in reach of the MDGs are consequently worlds apart, as the Unions' initial starting points hardly could divert more. The fundamental divergence between the two Unions approaches to migration and development furthermore carry elements of being based in history. The history of migration in Africa as the link between African countries, reflect in the AU's policies with tendencies of open borders (Peberdy et al. 2007:177). Its counterpart, the EU, has on the other hand experienced great migration flows, when external borders have been extended and has evoked fear of open borders (Pécoud et al. 2007:16). On the contrary the pessimistic attitude towards migration, implying movement within strictly limited borders, does not seem to comply with a globalized mindset (Pécoud et al. 2007:7). Quite the opposite does strict EU immigration policies seem to prevent circular migration and instigate permanent migration. Difficulties of reentering Europe forcing migrants not to return to country of origin, witness of counterproductive elements in EU immigration policies (Pécoud et al. 2007:16).

Counterproductive policies have shown incoherence when policies simultaneously effect both micro- and macro-levels of society. The EU agricultural subsidy undermining African prices prevents a liberalization of African food markets, according to the Washington-consensus (Thomas 2008:475). An EU policy which externally has a negative effect on the development of sending countries, conflicting with the international commitment of achieving the MDGs (Thomas 2008:487). Though the policy on a micro-level, internally in the EU is meant to improve agricultural circumstances, the affect on the macro-level is severe to African possibilities of reaching the developed countries' level of competition. Policy coherence as a concept covering both internal and external policies seems to be of great challenge to the EU in terms of managing the financial capital. "*There is little point, for example, in providing development aid to improve a country's ability to engage in trade if the donor countries then maintain trade barriers that keep the developing country's goods out.*" (OECD 2003:1). As previously pointed out cooperation between financially unequal parties asks the EU to give in to a compromise which might conflict to vested interests (OECD 2003:4).

The complex globalized era requires challenging demands for policy coherence, though it is essential to the success of achieving common international objectives as the MDGs. Policy coherence is obviously not only to be considered between cooperating parties but also internally (OECD 2003:1). The EU consisting of diverse countries with already established policies on this field is a challenge the AU is not exposed to in the same manner. An obstacle which brings along an internal European level of compromises, in order to get around a united policy which otherwise would be unachievable. The AU's member states do not yet have deep rooted political traditions due to the nations' recent post-colonial history, in the same manner as European countries. Overall African countries share the general national concerns in terms of enhancing development, where the EU's policies reflect conflicting national interests (Turner et al. 2006:69). One thing is to constitute cohering policies on migration and development another is to enforce them in practice. But without international policy coherence across continents, little sustainable development is likely to be achieved by the AU and EU.

4.3.3 A Pluralist Perspective in a Globalized Consensus

The complex globalized circumstances have in recent years asked for a more nuanced theory to answer the questions of migration. Historic migratory flows before times of globalization do not reveal any signs of great chaos in the free movement of people (Pécoud et al. 2007:x). But the globalized circumstances bring along multiple variables affecting the contemporary scale of migration. An overall change is the growing diffuse definition of terms regarding time and space. For example the term 'temporary' has transformed into a broad concept, with no specific implication of the time dealt with (Haas 2008a:38). It is of urgent necessity to remain open to concept's transformation in order to keep up with the pace of globalization and acknowledging the fast effects it has on migration and development.

A fundamental change in attitudes towards migrants could turn out beneficial for accommodating the inevitable currents of a globalized era. As it has already been suggested the role of migrants are changing in times with globalization and can no longer be perceived as criminals or victims (Turner et al. 2006:96). Furthermore the evolving transnational trends have aspired people feeling attached to more than one place, as country of origin might not be the country of upbringing (Haas 2008a:39). The increasing blurred specification of migratory terms and thereby trends make it difficult to preclude functionalist or structuralist elements. As the prospects of migration do not seem to decrease, the management across borders requires political compromises of greater variation, than what is evident in the current *Joint Africa-EU Declaration on Migration and Development*. As the pluralist perspective suggests, decision making upon migration policies cannot be made on either one assumption or the other (Haas 2008a:37). The pluralist perspective accommodates that development can have both positive and negative effects on migration and thereby adapt to the

contemporary diverse reality (Haas 2008a:45). In this manner both benefits and costs of migration have to be considered in a balanced evaluation (Turner et al. 2006:95). For example does the optimism of the AU correspond to this perspective as the brain drain is expected to be followed by a brain gain (AUEC 2006:3.11). Here the dimension of time furthermore becomes significant as society is in constant transformation and changes happening over time have to be predicted in order to accommodate the pace of globalized development.

In achieving successful cooperation, the already existing policies and ideas may not be the only obstacles but also the perception as impediment for cooperation. Yoram Levy and Marcel Wissenburg suggest 'policy telos' as an agreed upon interpretation of given policies to achieve sustainable development (Levy et al. 2004:786). The theoretical attempt of embracing pluralism and accommodating trans-nationalism requires extreme precaution to avoid the imminence of illuminating global diversity and pluralism. Policy telos as a mean of reconciling conflicting interests will demand a political discursive closeness despite global variation, vulnerable to Marxist alignment (Levy et al. 2004:792). If a global interpretation of a given policy will change the way of achieving the stated objective by respective Unions or states, is furthermore questionable. As we have already experienced the approach to given policies is not the only obstacle but also the interpretation and idea of how to reach the aimed policy, of for example brain circulation, is diverse.

The current political discourse being based on political actors trying to maximize gains according to vested interests, conflict with the need of a moral authority as the catalyst of future international political cooperation (Levy et al. 2004:792). As well as circumstances for international politics have been transformed, a transformation of the initial approach to international politics though might prove to be beneficial for all parties. As the classical realist Niccoló Machiavelli suggested, society blossoms when times and methods cohere (Machiavelli 2006:136). Therefore policy coherence is not solely about the AU and the EU's policies cohering or internal policy coherence but also about the political discourse cohering to the current globalized era. Greater development coherence in the two Unions' policies will concurrently contribute to a more equal distribution of globalization's positive effects on migration and development, most likely achieving the common goal of reducing migration (OECD 2003:1).

5 Conclusion

Migration as a common phenomenon of African history, demystifies AU's ideally positive approach to an unregulated natural flow of circular migration. Despite the ideal notion, AU as an international actor acknowledges the need of reducing international migration, as African human capital is attracted to developed focal points of Europe. A positive view upon development inspired by all social, financial and human capital, is therefore of high priority to the AU, in order to prevent a continuous brain drain of the continent. The general positive approach is only slightly questioned in the context of human capital. The current reality of brain drain will on the contrary be resolved by developments positive effects on reducing migration.

Though unregulated migration in history do not witness of being equal to chaos, the fear of this exact scenario has been a prime emphasis in EU's rather protectionist approach to migration. Ideally the vision of circular migration is aligned with the acknowledgement of the globalized future, suggesting an expansion of multilateral relations, including African countries. The support of increasing financial capital in African countries could be considered a European investment in its own future. Despite intentions financial development is a positive element in EU's approach to development. The current cautious migration policies as an expression of wanting to inspire development in sending countries, furthermore adds positive elements to the rather broad pessimistic ideology. Overall the examination shows a rather biased European approach to migration and development.

The Unions' diverging approaches to migration and development not being fully addressed in the cooperative declaration, consequently result in the different viewpoints being obstructing instead of supplementing each other. The identification of pessimistic and positive perceptions upon causes and effects, of respective dimensions, are essential for successful cooperation, which in this incidence do not seem to be the case. Moreover does awareness of policies' travelling problem across micro- and macro-level and the continental space of Africa and Europe, seem to be lacking in the Unions' cooperation, resulting in incoherent policies. Furthermore does the absence of officially recognized African theorists on migration and development, reflect the hardships of implementing Western developed development-strategies, as a mean of reducing international migration and instigating circular migration.

The globalized consensus with countless webs of international relations, necessarily maintain its complexity when international issues are to be resolved or visions as the MDGs are to be achieved. Managing migration in a globalized era indisputably requires a pluralistic approach to migration and development, as sustainable solutions are recommended to be of similar character as the issues to

be solved. All in all it is of urgent importance for international actors to achieve internal and external policy coherence, by addressing ideological divergence. Whether multifaceted migration is a reflection of international political pluralization or in reversed order, is hard to detect and witness of a reciprocal effect of migration and globalization's development.

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