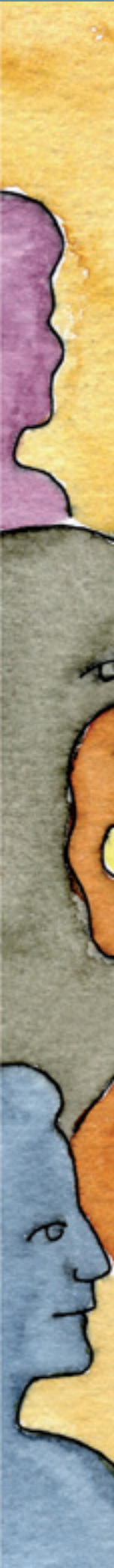




The Impact of EU Migration Policy in the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean

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Abstract

Mediterranean and Middle East/North African countries (Med-MENA) have transformed into countries of immigration, transit and asylum. The region receives and produces more refugees than any other region in the world. This situation is deteriorating because of the Darfur and Iraqi crises.

EU Bilateral Action Plans contain an agenda for political and economic reform and recommendations and actions concerning issues of primary interest to the EU, such as border control and readmission agreements. They reflect the European understanding of the most important changes to be undertaken in terms of asylum and migration but do not reflect the general policies and concerns of third countries. Recently, the Commission has announced a major change from a primarily security-centred approach to one guided by a deeper understanding of all aspects relevant to migration. The Commission believes that the decline in the working age population in the EU and growing migratory pressures mean that 'there can be no going back to tackling immigration in isolation'.

The main focus of the European Commission and of European Council policies and meetings has been to counter the entry of illegal migrants through the southern and eastern borders of the European Union (EU). The security shift in EU migration policy contradicts the so-called global approach to migration recommended by the United Nations, which warns against sustained restrictive policies that do not protect the human and social rights of migrants or tackle the root causes of migration. The EU is perceived not as attempting to help third countries to resolve their problems, but instead as helping them to manage these problems within their own borders, thereby avoiding exporting them to the EU.

Summary of Recommendations

The European Union (EU) should avoid formulating unilateral migration policies and instead promote partnership with countries of origin and transit. In defining the level of beneficial migration, the EU should take account of the need for and the consequences

of migration in both the country of origin and the destination country, most notably with regard to the decline in the number of people of working age in the EU and the need for developing countries to retain their highly skilled professionals. To this end, the EU should support continuing research on the various dimensions of migration.

EU migration policy should not focus exclusively on security issues and border control. Instead, the EU should help third countries to manage refugee flows and broaden its asylum policy.

The EU should support third countries to develop legal frameworks and institutional capacities to deal with all forms of migration, especially those concerning asylum and migration legislation, and to train policymakers.

Associations and stakeholders from migrant communities should be included in the processes of defining and implementing EU policies on the integration of migrants into the host country and the economic development of their country of origin.

1. Introduction

Migration from the Mediterranean, the Middle East and North Africa (Med-MENA) to Europe is not a new phenomenon.¹ The volume and pattern of migration have changed drastically since the 1960s due to economic constraints and changes in national migration policies. Currently, Europe represents the main outlet for migrants from the Maghreb and Turkey and, to a lesser extent, from the Near East. Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Turkey have recently become transit countries into Europe for illegal migration from sub-Saharan Africa and the wider Middle East.

The 1999 European Council in Tampere, Finland, established the elements of a common EU migration policy. The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), launched in 2004, completes the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP), which governs EU migration policy towards Med-MENA countries. The Tampere agenda sought a balance between humanitarian and economic admissions, and the ENP has aimed to establish a common area of peace and stability within a free market zone. However the main focus of the European Commission and Council meetings has been to counter the entry of illegal migrants through the southern and eastern borders of the European Union (EU). To further enforce this goal, countries close to European coastlines (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Turkey) have been encouraged to cooperate on specific security issues, including border management and readmission agreements.

This security shift in EU migration policy contradicts the so-called global approach to migration recommended by the United Nations, which warns against sustained restrictive policies that do not protect the human and social rights of migrants or tackle the root causes of migration. Basing their conclusions on the literature on the impact of international migration and related financial flows, international bodies have emphasized the need to couple migration and development, and to establish a solid partnership between countries of origin, destination countries and stakeholders. Disappointingly, the impact of migration on the development of democratization is

¹ The Med-MENA countries are Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, the Palestinian Territories, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey.

almost completely overlooked – especially in the case of Med-MENA countries, most of which are governed by authoritarian regimes.

The EU is perceived not as attempting to help third countries to resolve their problems, but instead as helping them to manage these problems within their own borders, thereby avoiding exporting them to the EU – especially with regard to the management of illegal migration (Bayoumi, 2007).

Countries of origin have called for further dialogue between host countries, countries of origin and migrant communities in order to define integration policies that see migrants not as from between two cultures but as *of* two cultures (Fargues, 2006).

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2. Migration to the EU from the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean

From the beginning of the 1950s until the end of the 1960s, Western European countries enjoyed high growth rates of up to 5 per cent per year. Governments developed specific guest worker programmes to support the immigration of mainly low-skilled workers. Migrants came mainly from Southern Europe (Italy, Spain, Portugal), North Africa (Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco) and Turkey. In France, for example, the population of North Africans increased by 700,000 between 1962 and 1970, which represented a quarter of the total increase in the population during this period (World Bank, 2009a).

Immigration was strictly restricted after 1974 because of the severe consequences of the energy crisis on the labour market. In France, Belgium and the Netherlands, for example, the unemployment rate rose from under 2 per cent in 1970 to 10 per cent in 1985. During the same period, the average level of emigration to France from North Africa halved. Few migrants returned to their country of origin, however, and family reunification or asylum became almost the only channels for legal migration. Illegal migration began to rise in consequence. Since the 1990s, migration has increased from Morocco, Egypt and Lebanon. For example, the number of Moroccans registered at their consulate in the EU almost doubled between 1993 and 2004 (Fargues, 2007).

Data on the number of migrants varies according to whether the country of origin or the host country produces the statistics, and the criteria used to define a migrant, that is, nationality or place of birth. Moreover, some countries apply the so-called right of blood (*jus sanguini*), which does not allow the naturalization of foreigners, while others apply *jus soli* (law of ground), which permits naturalization under conditions of residence or birth in the host country. Germany, for example, strictly applied *jus sanguini* until 1999. Of the 2 million Turkish nationals residing in Germany in 2005, only 49,000 had dual citizenship (Fargues, 2005).

Migrants to the EU from Med-MENA countries represent almost 65 per cent of the total number of migrants from Med-MENA countries across the world, but this proportion varies greatly from one country to another.

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Box 1: Number of migrants in the EU according to country of origin and destination, selected countries

- According to the countries of origin, the number of migrants from Med-MENA countries in the EU is approximately 8.3 million, an estimate comprising all persons born in a Med-MENA country, legal and illegal migrants and migrants with dual citizenship.
- According to the host countries, the number of migrants from Med-MENA countries in Europe is 6.43 million, among whom 2.52 million are from Turkey, 2.1 million from Morocco, 811,000 from Algeria, 365,000 from Tunisia, 177,000 from Egypt, 145,000 from Lebanon and 100,000 from Syria (CARIM, 2009).

Patterns of EU-Arab migration have changed significantly since the 1950s. France and Germany now host three-quarters of migrants from Med-MENA countries in Europe and past countries of emigration, such as Spain and Italy, have become new destination countries. Spanish municipal records show a 13.2 per cent increase in the number of Moroccan immigrants in 2007 (CARIM, 2009).

Box 2: Proportion of migrants in the EU according to country of origin

- At least 80 per cent of migrants from Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Turkey live in Europe.
- Migrants from the Near East are divided between three main destinations: North America and Australia, the Arab oil-producing countries and Europe. A quarter of Lebanese migrants live in Europe, one-fifth in an Arab country and the rest in North America and Australia (CARIM, 2005).

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The second change is the increasing proportion of qualified or highly qualified migrants from Med-MENA countries, although this varies greatly from one country to another. The vast majority of migrants from Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Turkey are not well qualified. However, the majority of migrants from Syria, Lebanon, Israel and the Palestinian territories arrive qualified, for example, as clerks, technicians, managers or lawyers.

Moreover, the distribution of qualified migrants varies according to the migration policy of the host country. The most skilled occupations account for less than 20 per cent of migrants from Med-MENA countries in France and Spain, in contrast to the United Kingdom where the figure is between 40 to 60 per cent (CARIM, 2009).

Third, Med-MENA countries have transformed into countries of immigration, transit and asylum. The Med-MENA region receives and produces more refugees than any other region in the world. This situation is deteriorating because of the Darfur and Iraqi crises.

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Box 3: Number of immigrants in Med-MENA countries

The total number of immigrants in Med-MENA countries is estimated at 3.6 million, among whom 2 million are regular migrants, 1.4 million are refugees and 200,000 are transit migrants (CARIM, 2009).

EU migration policy should not focus exclusively on security issues and border control. Instead, the EU should help third countries to manage refugee flows and it should broaden its asylum policy.

3. Migration, Development and Democratization

By addressing issues such as the protection of migrants or the optimization of labour policies, intergovernmental organizations raise indirectly the issue of democratization, which encompasses several intertwined issues including elections, participation, human rights, gender equality, the rule of law and constitutional affairs, and transparency and accountability.

The protection of immigrants and refugees is a crucial step in the democratization process. The implementation of legal frameworks and the promotion of integration policies are priorities in Arab countries that are host to significant numbers of immigrants and refugees, such as Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States, Libya, Egypt or Lebanon. The case of Morocco, which is examined below, shows that the EU can play a significant role in the promotion of such frameworks and policies.

Migration and democracy building are closely linked because of the various forms of transnational citizenship. Highly qualified migrants who return to their country of origin frequently become involved in national and local politics, and active lobbies for the promotion of democracy are often found among the migrant communities and the diaspora. The Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM) recalls that returning migrants and exiles have assumed significant leadership roles in nascent democracies after years of authoritarian rule. The *Handbook on Establishing Effective Labour Migration Policies in Countries of Origin and Destination* (OSCE, IOM and ILO, 2008) suggests participation by civil society in countries of origin and destination countries when designing migration policies.

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elections (International IDEA, 2007). Voting from abroad raises complex political issues that are unique to each country (Brand, 2006). However, article 41 of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families stipulates that migrant workers and members of their families shall have the right to participate in public affairs in their state of origin and to vote and be elected in the elections of that state.

It is important to remember that the principal forces driving migration are differences in development, demography and democracy. Reports on migration issues in the MENA region should take account of the authoritarian nature of most of the Arab regimes, but the nexus between migration, development and democratization is often regarded as secondary. A World Bank report on job mobility in the MENA region, for example, does not mention the issue of democracy (2009a).

The main reason for this lack of interest is the weight of external political factors that paralyse the democratization process in the MENA region: Western support for Israel and for authoritarian regimes that oppose radical Islamism in order to secure oil reserves in the Gulf.

Migration and Development

The literature on the impact of emigration on developing countries focuses particularly on issues connected to economic development and financial flows: remittances and the 'brain drain'. The financial flows generated by migration are considerable. International remittances by migrant workers represent the second most important source of external funding in developing countries after Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Remittances are generally considered to have a positive impact on a country because they contribute to raising living standards among migrants' family members. Moreover, remittances represent a source of foreign currency which can help to offset persistent balance of payments deficits in developing countries.

However, remittances are rarely invested in labour-creating business activities and the large influx of foreign currency can lead to the appreciation of the local currency, stimulating imports and making exports less competitive. Moreover, the impact of remittances on income inequalities is unpredictable. In some cases they reduce inequalities because they reach the remote areas where migrants originate. In other cases they aggravate inequalities because access to migration opportunities differs among social groups according to the existence of financial, educational and social capital (Carling, 2005).

The impact of skilled migration on countries of origin has been widely debated by scholars and experts. The notions of brain drain and brain gain refer to the conviction that skilled migration is detrimental to countries of origin, while the economies of the host countries benefit from the inflow of skilled labour.

Some scholars suggest that the potential gains from skilled migration from developing economies could be higher than the costs.

However migration by the highly skilled also has positive consequences, not least because underemployment of skilled

Box 4: Facts about remittances in Egypt, Morocco and Lebanon

- Egypt, Morocco and Lebanon were ranked 14th, 15th and 16th among the world's top remittances receiving countries in 2007.
- Between 2000 and 2008, remittances increased from USD 2.8 billion to USD 9.5 billion in Egypt, from USD 2.1 billion to USD 6.7 billion in Morocco and from USD 1.6 billion to USD 6 billion in Lebanon.
- As a percentage of Gross Domestic Product, Lebanon was among the top 10 remittances receiving countries in the world and the largest remittances sending country in the world in 2006 (World Bank, 2008).

workers in developing countries detracts from their impact. Moreover, migrants gain experience and return even better skilled. Some scholars suggest that the potential gains from skilled migration from developing economies could be higher than the costs. Oded Stark (2003) even argues that the prospect of being able to emigrate may increase incentives to acquire education and skills and encourage additional investment in education.

Med-MENA countries are particularly affected by the brain drain. The expatriation rate among the highly educated is higher in Med-MENA countries than in other regions, particularly in Lebanon. Furthermore, the share of the highly educated in the total stock of migrants has increased since 1990 because of the increasing proportion of educated individuals in sending countries and the adoption of selective migration policies in receiving countries, especially North America (World Bank, 2009a).

4. The European Union's Migration Policy

The EU set out the elements for a common EU immigration policy at the 1999 European Council in Tampere. Its adoption was confirmed by The Hague programme in 2004. The Lisbon Treaty reconfirmed the EU's commitment to the development of a common immigration policy and extended qualified majority voting procedures to apply to asylum and immigration issues. However, EU member states reserve the right to determine the volume of admissions of third country nationals seeking work.

The elaboration of a common immigration policy remains a complex and controversial issue. In defining the level of beneficial migration, the EU should take account of the need for and the consequences of migration in both the country of origin and the destination country, most notably with regard to the decline in the number of people of working age in the EU and the need for developing countries to retain highly skilled professionals.

EU policy towards the countries of the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean is mainly governed by the EMP, which was launched at the 1995 Barcelona Conference. The aim of the Barcelona Process is to establish a common area of peace and stability and a free market zone, and to promote understanding and exchanges between cultures and

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civil society through bilateral and multilateral agreements. This process involves three issue areas: dialogue on security, stability and the promotion of democracy and human rights; financial and economic cooperation; and dialogue on social and cultural issues. Migration cuts across all three areas.

Since 1995 the Commission has negotiated and concluded Association Agreements with third countries, which serve as a basis for the gradual liberalization of trade in the Mediterranean area and set out conditions for economic, social and cultural cooperation between the EU and each partner country. Migration is discussed in two sections of these agreements and in various subsections, including on 'illegal migration' and 'non-discrimination between workers'.

Association Agreements differ in their content from one country to another. It is interesting to note that because of the growing importance of security issues, although cooperation and preventive measures to control illegal migration (border control, visas, asylum, illegal migration and repatriation) are not mentioned in the agreements signed in 1995 and 1996 with Morocco and Tunisia, respectively, they are included in the agreements signed after 2000 with Lebanon, Egypt and Algeria (Doukouré and Oger, 2007).

The Security Shift

The agenda of the European Council in Tampere included fair treatment for third country nationals, partnerships with countries of origin and co-development policies. In its Communications, the Council insisted on an economic and demographic perspective on development, taking into account the impact of migration on countries of origin and on the integration of migrants in host countries (European Union, 2000). However, the Commission mainly focused on the fight against illegal migration, despite increasing awareness of the failures of the security approach. The 2004 Hague programme and the ENP confirmed the security shift in EU migration policy by offering a new framework for the management of migration.

The Hague programme set out 10 priorities for the EU with a view to strengthening areas of freedom, security and justice over the next five years. It insisted on the setting up of a common asylum procedure, and the integration of migration issues with the fight against illegal migration. The latter includes cooperation with third countries on security issues, the return of illegal migrants and the adoption of a plan for legal migration. Moreover, The Hague programme relates migration issues to other priorities in the security field such as the fight against international terrorism, integrated management of the EU's external borders and tackling organized crime, including the trafficking of people.

Meanwhile the ENP completed the Barcelona process by encompassing Eastern European countries, offering the EU's neighbours a privileged political relationship and economic integration on the basis of democratic values and market economy principles. In the area of migration, however, the aim of the ENP is border management and cooperation against illegal immigration, the management of legal migration and the implementation of migration plans specifically for North African countries and Egypt (European Union, 2004). Bilateral Action Plans contain an agenda for political and economic reform and recommendations and actions concerning issues of primary

interest to the EU, such as border control and readmission agreements. They reflect the European understanding of the most important changes to be undertaken in terms of asylum and migration but do not reflect the general policies and concerns of third countries (Doukouré and Oger, 2007).

Recently, the Commission has announced a major change from a primarily security-centred approach to one guided by a deeper understanding of all aspects relevant to migration. The Commission believes that the decline in the working age population in the EU and growing migratory pressures mean that ‘there can be no going back to tackling immigration in isolation’ (European Union, 2009). Future developments will hopefully show the Commission truly engaging with EU migration policy in a genuine partnership with third countries to implement the UN’s global approach to migration.

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Perceptions from the Med-MENA Countries

Perceptions in Med-MENA countries of EU migration policies vary according to the EU’s specific relations with each country and the dominance of security and political goals. The EU’s vision when dealing with Med-MENA countries follows the logic of avoiding crises and problems linked to illegal migration or international terrorism.

In Morocco, responses to EU demands for the management of illegal migration and the implementation of a national policy on Morocco and abroad are openly debated in the media by politicians, scholars and NGO activists. By contrast, in Libya, the authoritarian nature of the regime and the importance of foreign policy interests to migration issues forbid any public discussion (Hamood, 2006; Lassueur, 2009). In Lebanon, migration by the highly skilled and relations with the diaspora are crucial economic and political issues.

6. Policy Recommendations

An accurate analysis of the perceptions in the Mediterranean of EU migration policy should be undertaken at the country level to identify the different opinions held by the media, and in ministries, political parties, the civil service and civil society.

International bodies emphasize the need to couple development policy with migration policy and to protect migrants’ rights. They often lobby for more liberal labour migration policy and warn against sustained restrictive policies that do not tackle the roots causes of migration. The governance of international migration should be enhanced at the national, regional and global levels. There should be greater coherence in migration policies and greater cooperation and dialogue between states, international organizations and stakeholders. These efforts must be based on a better appreciation of the close linkages between migration, development and other key policy issues – especially trade, aid, state security, human security and human rights.

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The EU is directly concerned in these recommendations. Intergovernmental organizations warn that efforts to stem irregular migration should not jeopardize human rights, including the right to seek asylum, and that legal and normative frameworks to protect migrants should be strengthened and the integration of migrants into host societies actively supported.

The EU should implement the requirements of the UN's global approach to migration and base its migration policy on an equal partnership with third countries. The EU should avoid unilateral policies, especially those which shift the burden of border control, externalize the management of illegal migration or make development conditional on cooperation.

The EU should define the volume of necessary and positive migration by taking account of the needs and consequences for both countries of origin and destination countries. The development of circular migration in coordination with third countries is a useful solution, but it is crucial that the EU take account of two main issues in the long term: the consequences of the decline in the number of people of working age in the EU; and the consequences of the emigration of educated and skilled workers on developing countries. To this end, the EU should support continuing research on the various dimensions of migration. In particular, the EU should support data standardization and collection, macroeconomic analyses and qualitative fieldwork.

The EU should support third countries in the completion of legal frameworks and institutional capacities to deal with all forms of migration. The EU should particularly support enforcement and monitoring so that asylum and migration legislation comply with international human rights standards, the training of policymakers to define and execute migration policy and the creation of an independent body to represent the interests of the countries of the southern and eastern Mediterranean.

EU migration policy should not focus exclusively on security issues and border control. Instead, the EU should help third countries to manage refugee flows and broaden its asylum policy.

Associations and stakeholders from migrant communities should be included in the definition and execution of EU policies for the integration of migrants into the host country and the development and democratization of the country of origin. Participation by migrants in the political life of their countries of origin and destination countries should be promoted.

Finally, integration policies should support the transmission of migrants' linguistic, cultural and religious inheritance, avoiding the development of ghettos and ensuring the maintenance and development of relations between migrants and their country of origin, particularly with reference to productive investment and skills transmission.

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Annex 1

The management of illegal migration: The case of Morocco

Morocco is one of the leading countries in the Med-MENA region when it comes to advanced cooperation with the EU. Morocco signed an Association Agreement within the framework of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership (EMP) in 1996, soon after the 1995 Barcelona conference. In 2004 it was among the first seven countries to sign an Action Plan after the launch of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). The Moroccan press welcomed the Action Plan, regarding it as an opportunity for Morocco to move towards an advanced status of economic integration into the European market and to benefit from financial aid (Mouaffak, 2004).

Moroccan scholars and local non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have severely criticized the effect that EU migration policy has on Morocco. Abdelkrim Belguendouz, a professor at the University Mohammed V, Rabat, has published several books and numerous articles on EU migration policy towards Morocco and Moroccan policy towards its expatriates. In March 2000, when the Association Agreement between the EU and Morocco entered into force, he denounced the EU's focus on illegal migration and security issues stating that 'the main objective [of the agreement] is to stop migration flows and for Morocco to be Europe's constable and auxiliary in the fight against illegal migration, and to encourage return' (Belguendouz, 2000).

Abdelkrim Belguendouz's criticisms are based on a detailed analysis of EU external policy towards Morocco. Returning to the creation of the European High Level Group on Asylum and Migration in 1998, he shows that Morocco represented an experimental field for the definition of Action Plans aimed at fighting illegal migration and stopping the flow of asylum seekers. He denounces the doublespeak of the EU about development and integration policies, while focusing on security issues, and criticizes the misuse of economic and financial cooperation (MEDA programme I and II). He also accuses the EU of blackmail in forcing Morocco to sign a readmission agreement that includes all illegal migrants from Morocco, including transit migrants. Finally, he condemns the detention of illegal migrants in camps for foreigners in Morocco, recalling that Algeria and Tunisia have refused to set up such camps (Belguendouz, 2005).

These severe criticisms are widespread among other scholars and the numerous NGOs based in European and Arab countries who are defending migrants' and refugees' rights, such as those federated in the Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network. For example, GADEM (the Anti-racist Group Assisting and Defending Foreigners and Migrants) was created in Morocco in July 2006 during the Euro-Africa Ministerial Conference on Migration and Development in Rabat. Since its creation the association has published three reports on the situation of migrants in Morocco: on the 2006 Moroccan repression as a consequence of EU migration policy (2007); on the legislative framework relating to the condition of strangers and its implementation by the executive and the judiciary (2009a); and on the implementation of the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrants (2009b).²

² Available at <<http://www.gadem-asso.org>> or <<http://www.cimade.org>>

Hachem Rachidi, a member of GADEM, calls for a national Moroccan strategy on the integration of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa instead of the security approach inspired and financed by the EU. He argues that the externalization of the management of illegal migration raises serious human rights issues because Morocco has neither the human and financial means, nor a tradition of granting asylum. He recalls that the legislation on migration and asylum passed in 2003 authorizes the authorities to expel migrants but does not guarantee judicial protection. Finally, he raises concerns over the negotiations on a new legal status for refugees in Morocco, which would present an excuse for the EU to limit access to European countries without any guarantee of the implementation of refugees' rights (Sakhi, 2009).

In addition to the promotion of legal frameworks, the EU should support third countries in developing institutional capacities to deal with all forms of migration. The EU could train policymakers to develop and implement migration policy.

Annex 2

EU integration policy

The integration of migrants and their families into the host society is an important issue in EU migration policy. In June 2007, the European Commission established a European Fund for the Integration of third country nationals for the period 2007 to 2013. The Third Annual Report on Migration and Integration, presented by the Commission in September 2007, continues the monitoring process of policy development on admission and integration of third country nationals into the EU (European Union, 2007).

According to the Commission, immigrants should gradually acquire core rights and assume obligations, in particular in relation to family reunification, access to work and civic citizenship, for non-naturalized immigrants, and the fight against discrimination. Each member state should facilitate this integration through various policies: urban, housing, education, linguistic, health, cultural and religious.

In December 2005, the Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration (CARIM) organized a seminar in Tunis on perceptions of the EU's integration policy in Med-MENA countries. The main objective was to confront the objectives of the EU integration policy with a range of reforms and provisions adopted by the countries of origin, including the creation of specific institutions to optimize labour migration and to develop relations with their migrants (Fargues, 2006).

These reforms and provisions vary greatly from one country to another and concern three main issues: first, to facilitate employment abroad and the transfer of remittances and encourage productive investment by returning migrants; second, to preserve migrants' linguistic, cultural and religious heritage especially among second and third generations; and, third, to protect migrants' rights in the host country and organize their political participation in their country of origin.

The conclusions of CARIM's seminar highlight the need for dialogue between host countries, countries of origin and migrant communities in order to define integration policies based on common values and principles in which all participants are actively involved. Labour migrants should not be seen by the country of origin solely as a source of external financing but as a human, cultural and social resource.

Integration policies should encourage multiculturalism and combat the development of discrimination. For example, the creation of mixed neighbourhoods and the development of bilingualism among migrants and non-migrants alike avoid ethnic enclaves; the promotion of the role of imams in the transmission of moral values prevents the rise of radical religious leaders; and the development of affirmative action during a transition period and under certain conditions, especially in the media and democratic institutions, represents an instrument of positive identification for migrants within a host society.

In sum, migrants should be seen not as *between* two cultures but as *of* two cultures, and all countries, including EU member states, should recognize the right to possess two nationalities and take part in the political life of both the country of origin and the destination country.