

# EU-Russia Cooperation on Migration Issues

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## Migration: stereotypes, misleading data and terminology

- Absolute numbers on stocks and flows (FMS)
- Vague categories (“illegal” migrants – UZ)
- No visa – No border controls - ???
- General context of relations vs. issue-area
- Visa Dialogue – Migration Dialogue
- Dialogue - Negotiations

## Immigration policy: major tasks

- Admission
- Integration
- Immigration Control
- **Preventive Measures (root causes approach)**
- **Removal (deportation)**

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# External Dimension of EU immigration policy

## External Dimension of EU Immigration policy (1)

- Concentric circles of EU migration regime
- Shifts of “buffer zones” (Potemkina) => growth of “proximity” challenges (Casier) => extension of “remote control” (Zolberg)
- “Structural foreign policy”: stimulation of changes in policies of EU partners, e.g. in migration policies of EaP and Russia (Keukeleire)
- **External dimension of EU immigration policy: external policy mechanisms for internal policy challenges** (Lavenex)
- Diversification of actors, including private ones: international organisations, transportation companies, security companies, etc. (Guiraudon)

## External Dimension of EU Immigration policy (2)

### Treaty basis:

- Maastricht Treaty (1992)
- Amsterdam Treaty (1997)
- Lisbon Treaty (2007)

### Substantive elements – multiannual programmes

- Tampere Programme (1999)
- The Hague Programme (2004)
- Stockholm Programme (2009)

### Major strategic documents of the European Commission

- Migration and Development (2005)
- Global Approach to Migration (2005, 2007)
- Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (2011)

## EU-Russia Cooperation on Migration: Background



## EU-Russia cooperation on migration: background (1)

**“The EU main fears of visa-free regime entailing increase of illegal immigration and criminality do not concern Russian citizens, but rather human traffickers through the porous Southern borders” (F. Valenzuela, 2010)**

### **Path-dependency in predominantly bilateral cooperation:**

- Cooperation on migration issues is included in the PCA (1994): focus on illegal migration
- Common strategy of the European Union on Russia (1999)
- Russia’s Strategy for Russia-EU relations (1999)
- Joint Action plan on the fight against organised crime (2000)
- Kaliningrad transit solution (2002)
- 2003 – start of negotiations on Visa Facilitation Agreement and Readmission Agreement

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## EU-Russia cooperation on migration: background (2)

- 2005: Road Maps, including the one for Freedom, Security and Justice
- 2006: Working Arrangement with FRONTEX
- 2006: Readmission and Visa Facilitation agreements (issue-linkage)
- 2007: two agreements entered into force, joint monitoring committees
- 2007: Start of Visa Dialogue
- 2011: Start of Migration Dialogue
- 2011: “Common Steps” for visa liberalisation

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# EU-Russia Cooperation on Migration: Misperceptions

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## EU-Russia cooperation on migration: misperceptions

### Practice: Existing evaluations of the FSJ Common Space

- Fixation with “a balanced implementation of the Road Map as a whole” (Progress Report 2011)
- Tendency to focus on “failures” and problems
- On the Russian side: “never-ending” visa free regime negotiations
- On the EU side: absence of groundbreaking achievements in the area of judicial reforms and human rights

### Theory: Prevailing Explanations of Cooperation

- Why does EU-Russia cooperation on migration management happen at all? Common challenges?
- What can explain Russia’s willingness to change its migration policy in line with EU strategy? Conditionality (visa facilitation ? **visa free regime**)
- How has the EU-Russia cooperation on migration management impacted Russia’s relations with third countries? **Coinciding interests** (Potemkina)

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# Case of Policy Diffusion: EU-Russia Readmission Agreement

## EU-Russia cooperation on readmission (1)

- “The first readmission agreement with a major partner country”  
(DG RELEX, 2007)
- “The EU badly needed... the readmission agreement... Visa-facilitation was not at all on the EU agenda and it was invented to bargain with Russia to attract it to the readmission agreement” (DG JLS, 2007)
- “A milestone on the way to a visa-free regime”  
(Sergey Yastrzhembskiy)
- “Russia has exchanged an elephant for a small dog, giving in to the EU and getting in exchange only a symbolic dividend... It might eventually jeopardize Russia’s interests” (Timophev Bordachev)



## EU-Russia cooperation on readmission (2)

- The obligation to readmit their nationals who are staying irregularly in the territory of the other party, as well as those third country nationals who transited through their territory
- Three-year transitory period, when Russia had to readmit only its own nationals as well as the citizens of those countries with whom Russia itself had already concluded readmission agreements (2007 – 2010)

### Transitory period was envisaged for:

- conclusion of implementing protocols with the EU Member States
- setting up of centres for migrants awaiting readmission
- improvement of border infrastructure
- conclusion of RAs with countries of origin and transit

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## EU-Russia cooperation on readmission (3)

Implementation of the RA over three years (Russian citizens):

- by November 2010 Russia has received 4715 readmission requests
- more than 3500 requests have been examined
- 2214 requests have been accepted as eligible for readmission
- 793 persons have been readmitted

Overall results:

- Implementation protocols with all EU Member States
- 5 centres for migrants (co-financed by the European Commission with participation of IOM)
- Russia has concluded readmission agreements with several countries
- Improvement of border infrastructure (several projects)

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## Diffusion potential of EU-Russia cooperation on migration (1)

- RA signed with Uzbekistan (summer 2007): package deal, with an agreement on labour activity and the protection of rights of citizens of the two countries
- Expectations of a «chain reaction», BUT major problems with Kazakhstan (RA signed only in June 2012)
- RA with Kyrgyzstan signed on 11 October 2012
- Tajikistan is still out of this picture: dependency on remittances (social stability) – fear to put at risk its citizens in Russia

## Diffusion potential of EU-Russia cooperation on migration (2)

- Wider than a Common Space:  
Russia's role in EU policy instruments' diffusion

### **Two vectors of diffusion:**

- EU-Russia relations
- Russia's relations with third countries:
  - Countries of the CIS (especially in Central Asia)
  - Other countries of the world (Vietnam, Turkey)
- Back to “concentric circles” agenda



## EU-Russia cooperation on migration: state of affairs

- Very mixed results
- **Evaluations of readmission cooperation – positive both from the EU and Russia**
- Russia's impact on EU policy tools and their use in the Neighbourhood, e.g. RA and VFAs
- Migration dialogue – policy transfer in other sub-fields: legal migration, asylum process, international subsidiary protection, combatting trafficking in human beings
- **Visa liberalization stalemate and ambiguous results of visa facilitation agreement**

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Thank you for your attention!

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