The trade-migration nexus: venue-shopping for international mobility

2013 ISA Convention in San Francisco

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Starting point

•«Absence of international migration regime» thesis and restrictive/selective domestic migration policies

versus

•Dynamic liberalization agenda in trade-related mobility issue

How can we explain this expansionist liberalization agenda in spite of prevailing restrictionism on migration?

Analytical framework

1.Venue-shopping by service industries and developing countries in WTO (GATS mode 4) and bilateral FTAs

- Trade-context shielded from immigration debates
- Dominated by trade ministries (\rightarrow immigration ministers side-lined)
- Intransparent
- Technocratic, depoliticized
- Liberal normative context (openness, non-discrimination, MFN...)

2. Power shifts

- Rising economic power of mobility-promoters (esp. India, Mexico)
- Resistance against minimal deals in WTO and promotion of liberal norms in plurilateral and bilateral FTAs
- 3. Institutional dynamics within multilayered regime complex
 - «Lock in» effect of WTO-deals
 - Expansionism of MFN-clause in GATS for bilateral/plurilateral treaties
 - Dynamic interpretation of GATS commitments through bilateral/plurilateral treaties

Dynamism in the Trade-Migration Nexus – Bilateral Level

1. Expansion of categories of service providers

	Highly Skilled	Non Highly Skilled
Related to commercial presence	Intra-corporate transferees Business visitors Traders/Investors (e.g. FTAs: Mexico-Peru, Mexico-Colombia, India-Singapore, India- Malaysia)	Trainees (envisaged in the EU-India FTA)
Independent from commercial presence	Self-employed/independent professional (e.g. FTAs: India-Malaysia, India-Japan, India- Korea) Contractual Service Suppliers (e.g. FTAs: India-Singapore, India-Malaysia, India-Japan, India-Korea)	Technicians (e.g. Mexico-Peru FTA) Installers (e.g. India-Malaysia)

Dynamism in the Trade-Migration Nexus – Bilateral Level (cont'd)

- 2. Expansion of sectors covered
- 3. Expansion of durations of stay (e.g. FTAs India-Japan, Mexico-Japan)
- 4. Abolition of regulatory barriers (ENTs, qualification requirements, quantity restrictions, etc.)
- 5. Family rights for spouses/dependents (e.g. FTAs: India-Singapore, India-Malaysia, India-Japan, India-Korea)

Conclusion: Will liberalization progress?

Negative outlook:

 trade venue may be closed by immigration ministers in the face of increasing salience and manifest interdependencies between service-mobility provisions and migration policies (see US Congress against USTR)

Positive outlook:

- Power shifts and hard negotiations by India (and possibility others) will make future trade deals conditional on wider concessions
- Support for liberalization agenda from service industries
- And changing labour demand in Western countries (ageing etc.)