THE RYERSON CENTRE FOR IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT (RCIS) PRESENTS:

### GLOBAL GOVERNANCE OF MIGRATION: IS IT POSSIBLE?





The Ryerson Centre for Immigration and Settlement (RCIS) is a university-wide research centre where international experts collaborate to support the transdisciplinary exploration of international migration, integration, diaspora, and refugee studies. RCIS hosts monthly events with a diverse range of speakers coming from different backgrounds and disciplines. Visit <a href="https://www.ryerson.ca/rcis">www.ryerson.ca/rcis</a> to learn more.

#### Speaker

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# Global Compact on Migration: What Is and Is Not Working The Case of Europe

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### Asylum Seekers to Europe by Numbers

1992: 672, 000 [in EU-15]

2001: 424,000 [in EU-27]

2006: below 200,000

2013: 431, 000

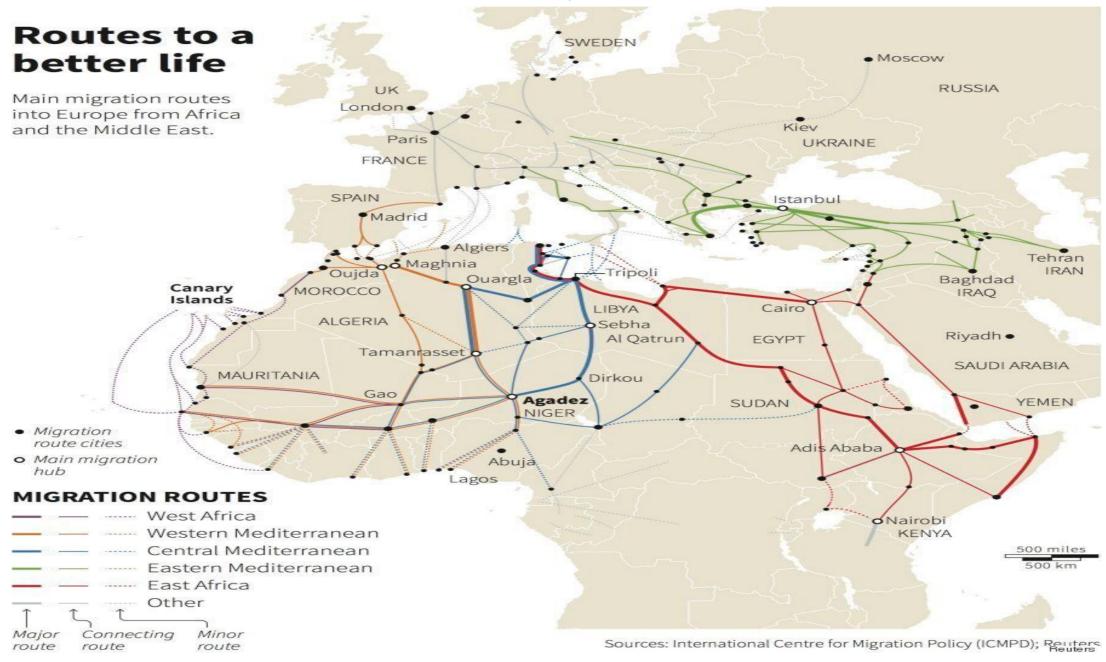
2014: 627,000

2015-2016: 1.3 million each year

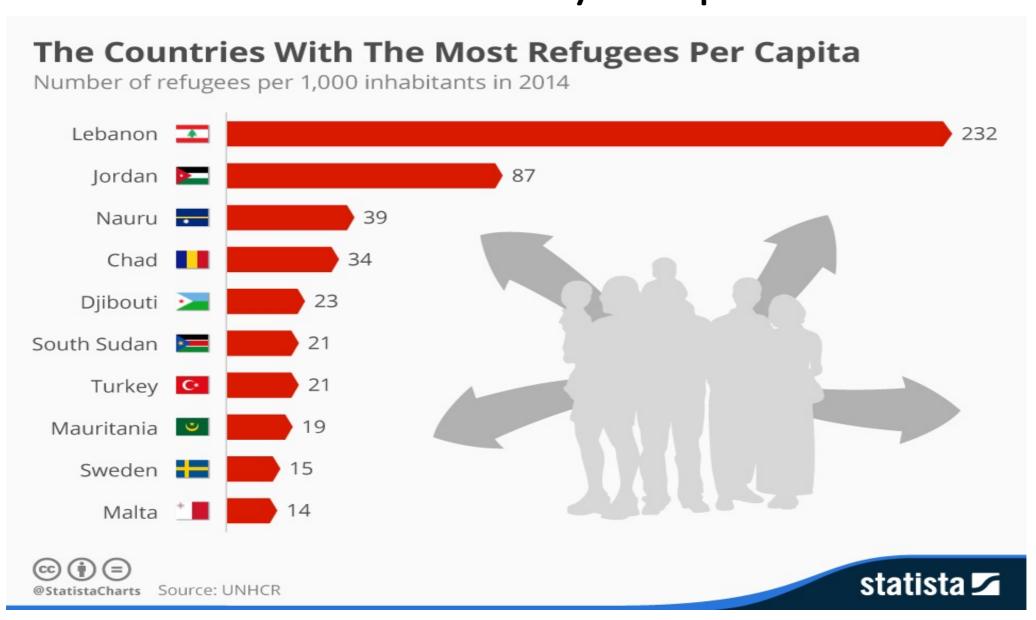
2017: 2.4 million

2018: 638,000

#### Where Do They Come From?



# Where Are the Largest Numbers of Refugees Relative to a Country's Population?



# The Global Compact on Migration: Key Takeaways

- Ease pressures on host countries
- Enhance refugee self-reliance: access to education and job market
- Expand access to third-country solutions
- Support conditions in countries of origin for return in safety and dignity

### Is the Global Compact Working?

#### Working

Measures to increase refugee self-reliance

NGOs and volunteer organizations

Elements of

Compact present

before its adoption

Skills partnerships

Support conditions for safe return with dignity

#### **Not Working**

- Negative political rhetoric
- Strict immigration laws, new border walls, diminishing legal pathways to immigration
- Low public awareness and understanding of issues
- Asylum procedures and implementation
- Unintended consequences

# Elements of Global Compact Before Its Adoption

- Inter-state consultation and cooperation (Dublin, EU and Turkey, North Africa, Global Forum on Migration and Development)
- NGOs and volunteerism
- Measures to increase refugees self-reliance
- Refugees stories in the media
- Inter-state financial support (EU-Turkey deal; EU funds to Niger+)

# Measures to Increase Refugees Self-Reliance Is the Cup Half empty or Half Full?

- Temporary guest card and free access to public health care (Turkey, Germany)
- Work permits (10,000 of 3 million, Turkey; UK, Denmark)
- Refugee children attend public school (Turkey: half a million in, half out of school; child labor)

#### Asylum Legislation, Institutions, Walls

- Legislation criminalizing the act of migration, those who help immigrants, and human traffickers
  - 'Stop Soros' law (Hungary); Denmark confiscates valuables from migrants; Austria, Germany and Switzerland confiscate their cash; Sweden excludes family reunification and cancels certain types of protection; Denmark legally defines ghettoes as urban areas with populations of "non-Western immigrants;" Constitutional amendment banning the "settlement of foreign populations in Hungary" in 2018.
- Legislation undermining access to asylum, weakening appeals rights, upholding detention of children, limiting humanitarian visas (France, Greece, Italy, UK)
- Walls and Border Controls
  - Hungary: 109-mile long wall on southern border, stems crossings from Serbia and Croatia
  - Macedonia: wall on its border with Greece (2015), cutting off asylum seekers bound North for Europe.
  - 800 Km wall between Suruc and Kobane

### Asylum Procedures, Offshoring

- Punitive processes:
  - Absence of proper institutional asylum framework (Serbia, Hungary, Czech Rep., Poland)
  - Sluggish and incompetent implementation of procedures; migrants treated like criminals; camp conditions worse 'than an Israeli prison' [Palestinian in Denmark] Denmark put 'unwanted migrants' on an uninhabited island
  - Corruption among law enforcement agencies
  - Limited rescue operations at sea and/or refusal to disembark those rescued (Italy)
  - Deportation to home countries while asylum cases still pending (Germany, Poland)
  - Closing immigrant shelters (The Netherlands)
- EU agreements with non-EU countries with fewer resources and legal or institutional frameworks to process refugees/migrants (Turkey, Libya, Niger, Chad)
- Processing asylum seekers on non-EU territories (disembarkation platforms outside the EU)

### Skills Partnerships

- Cuso International (Canada): Farming businesses
- UK government + partners: new steps to accelerate refugee employment
- Tent Partnership (private sector, governments, academia, service agencies):
  - Hiring and supply chains
  - Sourcing from refugee-owned businesses
  - Sourcing from businesses that employ refugees
  - Service delivery
  - Impact investment, by investing in refugee-owned businesses and in social enterprises that serve refugee needs

#### **Business Awareness**

• John Pettigrew, National Grid, UK: "We recognize the added value that refugees bring to our company through their wealth of expertise and skills, which ensure we have the best minds in the world to meet the needs of our customers and bill payers. Integrating more refugees into the UK workforce is not only the right thing to do, it makes business sense. Increasing refugee employment means the UK not only gains the additional economic benefits of their work but improved community cohesion too." (May 2019)

### Relieving Pressure on Host Communities

- Global Forum on Migration and Development: inter-governmental partnership for multilateral approaches (training, on-line employment, financing mechanism)
- The Netherlands/UNICEF/UNHCR/IFC/World Bank/International Labor Organization partnership to support host communities and refugees (Nov. 2018)
  - Job creation in Middle Eastern and Horn of Africa countries
  - Skills development
  - Prevention of child labor
  - Strengthening social services and protection
  - Private sector involvement

#### NGOs and Volunteerism

- The Good News: They exist
- The Bad News: They are hampered in their work, permits are withheld and public financing reduced or denied (Hungary, Poland +)
- Volunteers and NGO workers smeared in the media by antiimmigration government agencies (Hungary, Poland+)
- Anti-rumor strategy (Spain and beyond)

# Support for conditions of safe return to home countries: Again, half full or half empty?

- EU countries support international efforts to insure accountability for atrocities and abuses in Syria that led to current protracted crisis
- They support and advance steps for the prosecution of Myanmar's armed forces campaign of ethnic cleansing of Rohingya Muslims
- Suspension of trade preferences are also being considered for countries that abuse human rights (Myanmar, Cambodia)
- Human rights violations in Ukraine have also been raised by the EU
- Muted reactions to human rights violations in Middle Eastern and North African countries

### Political Rhetoric: For or Against Migration?

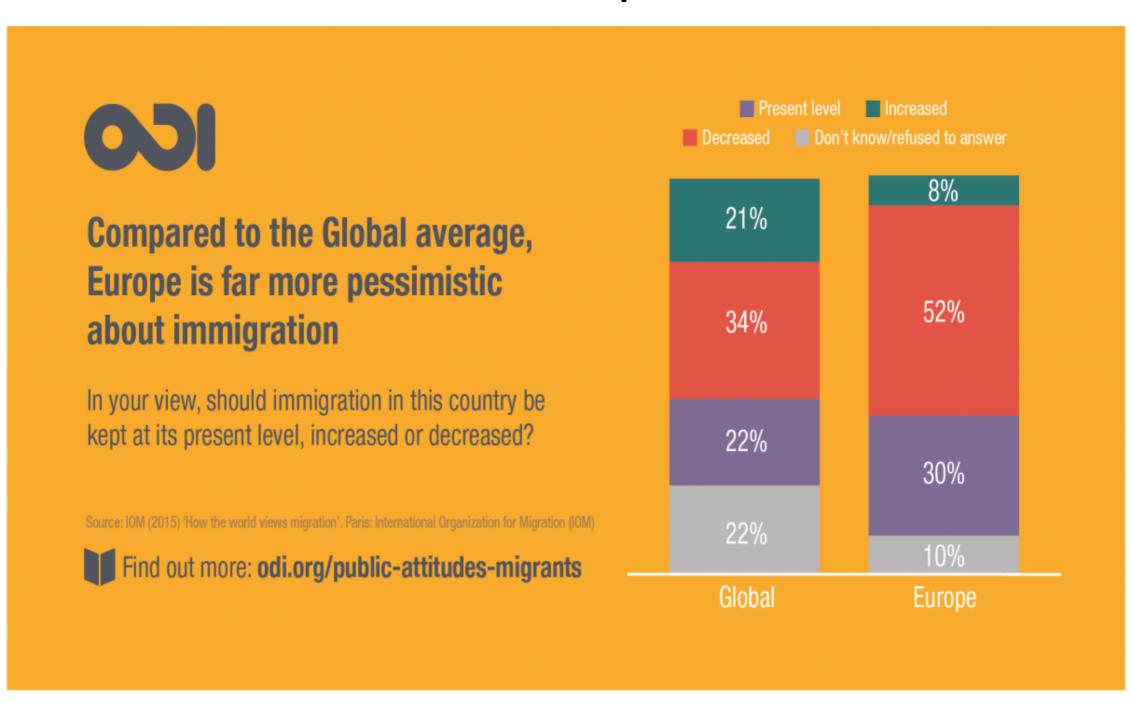
- Viktor Orban, Prime Minister, Hungary: "If immigration continues, terror will become part of life in large cities. We don't see these people as Muslim refugees. We see them as Muslim invaders."
- Inger Stojberg, Danish Immigration Minister: "If you are unwanted in Danish society, you should not be a nuisance to ordinary Danes. They [migrants] are undesirable in Denmark, and they must feel it!"
- Lydia Gull, Human Rights Watch: "When people hear on a 24/7 basis that migrants are here and they're waiting to come and invade your country and rape your wife and devastate your culture, eventually they are going to believe what they are told."

- Swiss ambassador for development, forced displacement and migration: "It looked like an impossible bet, but the Global Compact has cut through the noise of xenophobia and populism."
- UNHCR Refugees Filippo Grandi: "No country should be left alone to respond to a huge influx of refugees. Refugee crises call for a global sharing of responsibility, and the compact is a powerful expression of how we work together in today's fragmented world."

2018 Anti-Immigration Election Poster: Hungary



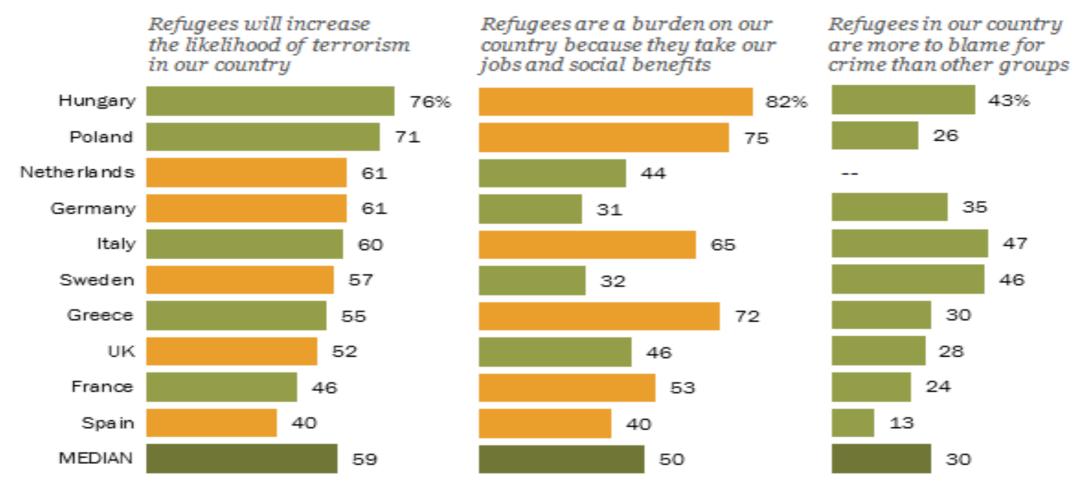
#### Global versus European attitudes



#### How Do Europeans Translate Political Rhetoric?

#### Many Europeans concerned with security, economic repercussions of refugee crisis

#### Top choice



Note: Netherlands excluded on question about crime (Q51b) due to administrative error.

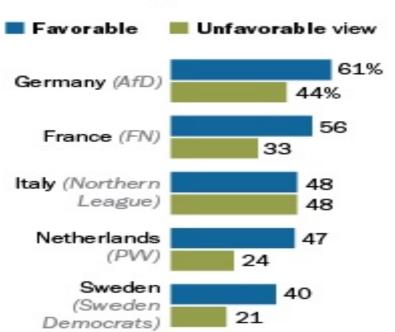
Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q51a-c.

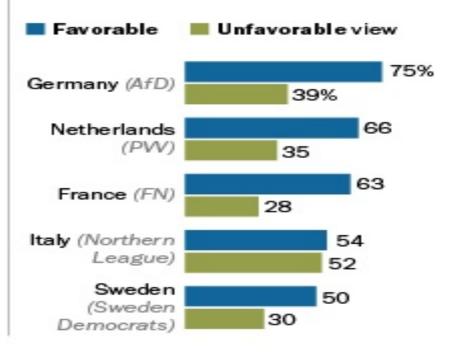
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# Do Europeans feel culturally threatened by immigration?

#### Supporters of populist parties are more likely to believe that their culture is superior and that Islam is incompatible with their values

% saying they agree that their people are not perfect but their culture is superior to others % saying Islam is fundamentally incompatible with their culture and values





Source: Survey conducted April-August 2017 in 15 countries.

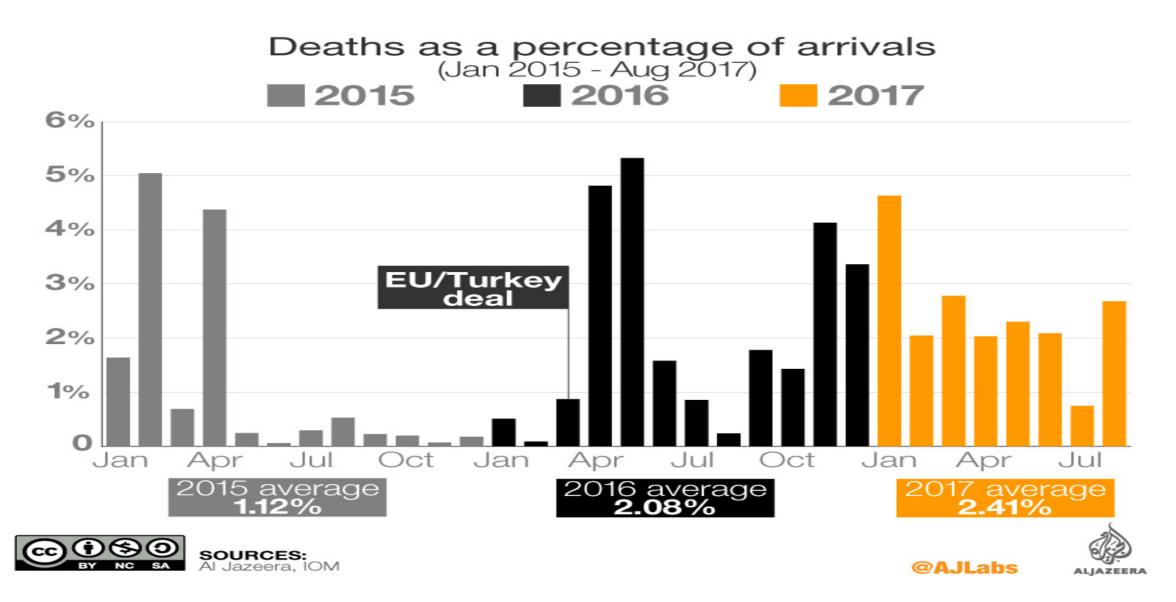
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#### Unintended Consequences

- Overpopulated refugee camps, poor sanitary conditions, cases of suicide and violence: Moria camp on Lesbos (Greece) +
- Niger: (recipient of largest amount of EU aid among non-EU countries)
  pressure on the government to stem migration and secure borders
  have led to corruption among security forces (who ask for a cut from
  human traffickers); traffickers who end up chased by security forces
  forcing them to choose alternative routes that are dangerous, through
  the desert.
- Lybia
- Deaths in the desert or at sea
- Violence against immigrants (Denmark, Germany, Hungary, Italy+)

#### **Deaths on the Mediterranean**

Even though the **number of arrivals has decreased**, refugees and migrants attempting to cross the Mediterranean are **dying at a quicker rate** than previous years.



### She, The North



## Thank you!

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