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International Migrants Day campaign in Seoul in December 2014. © IOM 2014

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International Organization for Migration (IOM)



Introduction

Solon Ardittis and Frank Laczko¹

What will the key migration policy challenges be in various regions of the world in the course of 2015? Are the levels and structure of migration flows likely to evolve, for example in terms of types of migration, source countries, and number and profiles of migrants? And what will be the key policy debates around migration policy in 2015, for example in terms of draft legislation and/or new policy and programme interventions, political milestones (e.g. national or local elections) and public opinion trends?

These are the questions put to six distinguished experts in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Europe, Latin America and North America, in addition to the Director General of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, in this special issue of *Migration Policy Practice*.

In his opening article on the **global migration policy challenges in 2015**, Ambassador William Lacy Swing, the Director General of IOM, highlights four key challenges that the world faces in 2015. First, the *evolution of severe and varied humanitarian crises* over the past year has highlighted the crucial need for coordinated and efficient response mechanisms and innovative solutions to address the challenges facing humanitarian actors. Second, urgent action needs to be taken to reduce the *rising number of migrant fatalities* along the migratory route. Last year, worldwide, more than 5,000 migrants died trying to reach their destinations. Third, in order to avoid the risk that immigration policies in many countries will gradually be shaped by fears and misconceptions rather than facts and a strategic outlook for the future, there is a need to change *public perceptions of migration* and encourage political courage and accountability. Fourth, 2015 will provide a *historic*

opportunity to integrate migration into the post-2015 global development agenda. However, this will require an agreement on appropriate, sufficient, and effective measures to monitor and evaluate progress against the goals and targets set out in the new agenda. According to William Lacy Swing, “migration remains a defining feature of the twenty-first century, and the way in which we approach it will have powerful implications for societies around the globe and for generations to come.”

Discussing the **global asylum and refugee policy challenges in 2015**, António Guterres, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, foresees that the key challenges in 2015 will focus on issues of *protection at sea, access to territory and the future course of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS)*. The need to end routine *detention of asylum-seekers, improve child protection safeguards* and increase the focus on *durable solutions* will be additional matters of concern in the course of 2015. Mr Guterres further notes that the institution of asylum is today being heavily tested, including in many parts of the developed world. This underlines the responsibility that falls to mainstream politicians, journalists, educators and civil society leaders in fostering tolerance and dialogue to counter such tendencies. At the same time, governments have a duty to manage their borders in a way that not only ensures security but also respects the rights of people wishing to seek international protection. According to Mr Guterres, “the way governments and their populations respond to these challenges – in 2015 and beyond – will not only be an indicator of our societies’ strengths, but a determining factor in the future course of a century that is already being shaped so fundamentally by the phenomenon of people on the move.”

In **Africa**, according to Aderanti Adepoju, Coordinator of the Network of Migration Research on Africa (NOMRA), the most important challenge in 2015 will relate to the weak governance structures and inadequate institutional capacity of officials and key stakeholders to formulate and implement comprehensive migration policies, coupled with inadequate public support for migration issues, as reflected in the largely insufficient public funding for

¹ Solon Ardittis is Managing Director of Eurasyllum Ltd. Frank Laczko is Head of the Migration Research Division at IOM Headquarters in Geneva. They are the co-editors of *Migration Policy Practice*.

migration concerns. This will continue to translate into poor coordination, participation and collaboration in subregional agendas such as those promoted by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the South African Development Community (SADC), the East African Community (EAC) and, to some extent, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), which aim to support free or “facilitated” movement of persons, and to a varying degree, residence and establishment.

In **Asia**, Manolo Abella, Senior Research Associate at the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), Oxford University, and former Director of the International Migration Programme at the International Labour Organization (ILO) in Geneva, identifies three main challenges for 2015: the steep decline in oil prices, which will likely affect the implementation of many construction projects in the Gulf States; the establishment of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) in 2015, which is expected to raise overall incomes and employment across the whole region; and the curbing of the thriving business of smuggling of asylum-seekers through Asia and the need to provide a safe haven for those fleeing from violence and persecution. However, according to Mr Abella, it is difficult to predict the size of migration flows in 2015 since governments are only able to report on the number of workers who register their contracts prior to going abroad, and therefore their statistics do not include those not required by law or regulations to register before leaving or before doing clandestine movements across borders.

In the **Caribbean**, the key policy challenges identified by Joanne van Selm, Associate Director for Research at Eurasyllum, include: the boat departures to the United States, particularly by Cuban migrants attempting to reach Florida, following the political developments between Washington and Havana in late 2014, which have translated into uncertainty about future changes in the “wet foot–dry foot” approach to Cubans landing in Florida (whereby parole is granted to those who make it to land, and their immigration future is assured, whereas those intercepted at sea are returned to the island); trafficking in human beings, considering that some 10 per cent of victims worldwide are from Latin America and the Caribbean, and that Caribbean countries are all at either tier 2 (not complying with minimum standards, but making efforts to do so) or tier 2 Watch List (requiring greater efforts) on the US Department of State’s *Trafficking in Persons Report 2014*; and managing the status and

situation of Haitians, particularly in the Dominican Republic, the Bahamas, and Turks and Caicos Islands, taking account of the hundreds of thousands of Haitians who remain internally displaced five years after the devastating January 2010 earthquake.

In **Europe**, according to Elizabeth Collett, Director of the Migration Policy Institute Europe, the three key migration policy challenges for 2015 will include: issues of maritime migration, in view of the escalating number of both irregular migrants and asylum-seekers from across Africa and beyond – over 160,000 were rescued in 2014 alone – and the new urgency that this has created for European policymakers; asylum and humanitarian aid, after the European Union (EU) has seen an increase in asylum claims over the past couple of years, and in particular an increase by 50 per cent during the third quarter of 2014 compared with the same period a year earlier; and issues of mobility and security, particularly after the Paris attacks, which have created a new momentum for discussions on how to effectively prevent further terror acts in the absence of internal border controls, and taking account of the relatively limited checks on citizens arriving at the external borders of the EU.

In **Latin America**, William Mejía, Director of the Research Group on Human Mobility at the Technological University of Pereira, Colombia, identifies the following key challenges for 2015: the enforcement of the rights of migrants and other populations that move within the region, following the commitments made in 2014 by the Member States of Comunidad de Estados Latinoamericanos y Caribeños (Community of Latin American and Caribbean States, CELAC) to develop new policies to recognize migrants as subjects of law and facilitate the regularization of immigration; the linking of migration policies with other social and economic policies, including after the commitments made by CELAC recently to promote the inclusion of migration in the post-2015 development agenda; and the promotion of increased intraregional and South–South cooperation on migration policy, including on issues of governance, with a view to achieving a progressive harmonization of public policies, standards and procedures for the protection of refugees, and displaced and Stateless persons across the region.

In **North America**, Demetrios Papademetriou, President of the Migration Policy Institute Europe and President Emeritus of the Migration Policy Institute, identifies the key migration policy challenges in the

United States, Mexico and the Northern Triangle countries of Central America (i.e. El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras), and in Canada. According to Mr Papademetriou, the most fundamental migration policy challenge for the United States in 2015 will be to agree on a legislative package of reforms that updates and refocuses the US immigration system on immigration's contributions to economic growth and competitiveness. In Mexico and other Central American countries, a key challenge will relate to improved border controls along the United States–Mexico and Mexico–Guatemala borders, following the dramatic surge in illegal flows of unaccompanied migrant children and family units in the spring and early summer of last year. In Canada, the main challenge will be the successful rollout of the key elements of the country's re-engineered immigration programmes, particularly its Express Entry programme (which came into force in January 2015) and Canada's highly innovative experiment with a new investor programme, also due to commence in 2015.

We thank all the contributors to this issue of *Migration Policy Practice* and invite readers to spare a couple of

minutes to participate in a survey, which aims to help us identify our readers' profiles, the institutions they represent and their primary interests in our journal. Should you wish to participate in this survey, please [click here](#).

Finally, the editors of *Migration Policy Practice* would like to pay tribute to Prof Graeme Hugo, Director of the Australian Population and Migration Research Centre at the University of Adelaide, who passed away on 20 January 2015, at the age of 68. Graeme, who will be known to most *Migration Policy Practice* readers, was widely regarded as an outstanding academic and policy thinker. He had authored over 400 articles and books on migration policy and was a regular media commentator internationally. In 2012, he was named Officer of the Order of Australia for distinguished service to population research, particularly the study on international migration, population geography and mobility, and for leadership roles with national and international organizations. While at the hospital in January of this year, Graeme was preparing the Australian entry for this special issue of *Migration Policy Practice*. ■



Outlook on global migration policy challenges in 2015

William Lacy Swing¹

As we enter 2015, the challenges in the area of migration are varied and complex. Last year saw the continuation of serious humanitarian crises and the emergence of new ones, leading to mass displacement at an unprecedented scale. A record number of migrants lost their lives in border regions, and attitudes in much of the developed world towards those arriving have hardened. It is hard to be hopeful in this context, but we should not forget that much migration is necessary and desirable, and brings huge benefits if well-governed. I want to highlight four key challenges for 2015: 1) recognizing the migration impact of humanitarian crises; 2) saving migrants' lives; 3) changing public perceptions of migration; and 4) integrating migration into the post-2015 development agenda.

1. Recognizing that humanitarian crises have migration consequences

We are faced with an unprecedented number of humanitarian crises in which international migrants are especially vulnerable. Migrants may be unable to leave the crisis area, unwilling to leave, unable to access humanitarian assistance or may seek refuge across borders in adjacent countries.

Ongoing and new crises in 2014 contributed to a record level of 51 million people displaced by violence, conflict and human rights violations – the highest since World War II. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) data, over 1.7 million people were newly displaced by the conflict in Iraq between January and end of September 2014. The insurgency of Boko Haram, centred in north-eastern Nigeria, has displaced over 1 million people and threatens the subregion. In its fourth year, the conflict in the Syrian Arab Republic has pushed over 3 million people out the country. Worsening security conditions in Libya threaten to tip the country into turmoil for the second time in only a few years. In addition, 22 million people were displaced by natural disasters in 2013, bringing the total number of displaced people to at least 73 million. This situation shows no signs of abating.

The severe and varied humanitarian crises of the past year have exposed the weaknesses and lack of preparedness of the international community to deal with such a high number of large-scale, complex and protracted crises. It highlighted the need for coordinated and efficient response mechanisms and innovative solutions to address the challenges facing humanitarian actors. IOM has moved swiftly to respond to these needs by developing the Migration Crisis Operational Framework (MCOF) in 2012 and supporting the State-led Migrants in Countries in Crisis (MICIC) Initiative. The latter aims to improve the capacity of States and other stakeholders to prepare for and respond to crisis situations affecting migrants by alleviating their suffering and protecting their rights.

2. Saving lives

In the context of mass migration, the most urgent priority – a humanitarian imperative – is to save lives along migratory routes. Last year, more than 5,000 migrants died trying to reach their destinations worldwide. The real figure could be much higher, but official statistics are very hard to come by. An alarming number of people have risked their lives in 2014, driven by conflict, oppression and poverty. Last year, 3,300 migrants – women, men and children – died in the Mediterranean, four times the number in 2013, and over twice the deaths in 2011, during the Arab Spring.

This loss of life is outrageous – an emergency that remains hidden to most. While the Mediterranean has received considerable attention, the tragic phenomenon of migrant death at land and sea is present throughout the world – the Caribbean, the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, the Bay of Bengal, the Sahara, Central America and the southern borders of the United States. Many survivors have endured horrific abuse.

The desire to ensure safe passage at sea has already stimulated increased inter-agency collaboration and must be coupled with political will and commitment to reduce loss of life. The humanitarian imperative of saving migrant lives at land and at sea requires a comprehensive and coordinated approach at all phases of migrants' journey. This will require a

¹ William Lacy Swing is the Director General of IOM.

crackdown on smugglers who put migrants' lives at risk: the estimated profits of this global industry are in the billions, and research suggests that there is little risk of being caught and punished. We must work in partnership to bring criminal smugglers to justice.

The second pillar is facilitating regular migration for those seeking international protection and better economic opportunities. Rather than closing borders, we need to develop the means to better manage human mobility by facilitating legal and orderly movements of persons. In fact, an approach that targets smugglers exclusively may have the unintended consequence of pushing these processes deeper underground, causing routes and operational modes to change, thereby making the journey more dangerous.

The third pillar of saving lives requires addressing the causes of "desperation migration" – inequality and the lack of opportunities in countries of origin.

3. Change public perceptions of migration

Third, we are witnessing a troubling rise of anti-migrant sentiment in much of the developed world. We need a fundamental shift in perspective. Migration is often viewed as a problem rather than an inevitable process that carries vast potential to stimulate development, address labour market gaps, foster entrepreneurship and innovation, promote intercultural understanding, and facilitate political, social and economic linkages. Although migrants are productive members of society, their value is far too often misunderstood. Poor public perception of migrants has restricted the ability of politicians to develop realistic and evidence-based policies to manage migration and integration. There is a risk that immigration policies in many countries will be shaped by fears and misconceptions rather than facts and a strategic outlook for the future. We must therefore encourage political courage and accountability.

4. Integrating migration into the post-2015 global development agenda

Despite these challenges, I remain highly optimistic for 2015. Migration is a vital lifeline for more than 1 billion people today, offering opportunities to escape poverty and conflict. When the Millennium Development Goals were adopted in 2000, migration and its link to development received little attention. Since then, the benefits of migration for development have been increasingly recognized, and now we see real signs that migration can be part of the new development agenda for the next 15 years.

There are important references to migration in the report of the Open working Group (OWG) on Sustainable Development Goals: combatting trafficking in persons, protecting migrant worker rights, reducing remittances transaction costs, and facilitating orderly and safe migration. There are efforts to disaggregate data – including by migratory status – which is vital in ensuring that migrants are accorded their full human rights, including access to health services, education and social protection. The inclusion of migration in the OWG report marks a critical step towards ensuring a place for migration in the post-2015 agenda.

Much work remains – including an agreement on appropriate, sufficient and effective measures to monitor and evaluate progress against the goals and targets, and to ensure migration remains in the final agenda to be completed later this year.

Conclusion

In conclusion, migration remains a defining feature of the twenty-first century, and the way in which we approach it will have powerful implications for societies around the globe and for generations to come. We are called to better respond to the complex humanitarian crises currently testing the international community; not only can we help more people to safety, but we need to ensure the vast potential of those living in displacement is expressed. We need to save lives and ensure migration is safe and humane. Finally, we need to communicate effectively about migration so policies are based on evidence and foresight. If well managed, migration has great potential not just for migrants but also for their societies of origin and destination.

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Outlook on global asylum/refugee policy challenges in 2015

António Guterres¹

Refugee and asylum issues are at the centre of public debate today in ways they have not been in many years. With several regions of the world shaken by metastasizing conflicts, and old crises dragging on without being resolved, the number of forcibly displaced people worldwide – 51 million – is higher than at any time in our history.

At times like these, respect for the principles of refugee protection is more important than ever. It has to be applauded that, by and large, first countries of asylum continue to keep their borders open to refugees and communities the world over go on showing remarkable generosity and solidarity with the plight of people who have been forced to flee. This is especially the case in the world's poorest regions, where nearly 90 per cent of all refugees find shelter, and where their presence, often reaching the hundreds of thousands, overstretchers the capacity of governments and local communities.

But the institution of asylum is also being heavily tested, not least in many parts of the developed world. More and more people are being driven into the hands of populists and xenophobes, and a growing number of political parties and irresponsible elements of the media are fuelling such sentiments. These challenges sharply underline the responsibility that falls to mainstream politicians, journalists, educators, and civil society leaders in fostering tolerance and dialogue to counter these tendencies and build societies that are true to their own values and open to all. At the same time, governments have a duty to manage their borders in a way that not only ensures security but also respects the rights of people wishing to seek international protection.

In this context, the rising trend of asylum-seekers and migrants arriving in Europe by boat across the Mediterranean highlights some of today's key challenges in asylum policy: **protection at sea, access to territory** and the future course of the **Common**

European Asylum System (CEAS). More global challenges for asylum policymakers include the need to end routine **detention** of asylum-seekers, improve **child protection** safeguards and have a stronger focus on **durable solutions**.

Last year, nearly 220,000 people fled their countries by unsafe boat across the Mediterranean – more than three times the previous record during the Libyan civil war of 2011. Over half of them came from refugee-producing countries, mainly the Syrian Arab Republic, indicating that a majority of people now embark on these dangerous journeys out of fear of persecution and for lack of alternative routes to safety. Increases have also been seen in the Gulf of Aden, South-East Asia and the Caribbean, with 360,000 people worldwide estimated to have taken to the seas. Globally, more than 4,300 persons were reported dead or missing at sea last year as a result of these movements, and the real number is probably considerably higher. Countless others were abused and beaten by smugglers, or kidnapped and forced into trafficking networks.

Much of the public debate today focuses on what must be done to curb smuggling, and indeed a much stronger response is needed in this area to address the current tragedy. But notwithstanding these efforts, the most urgent priority with regard to **protection at sea** must be to save lives. After the phaseout of the Italian Mare Nostrum operation, which rescued some 160,000 people, it is worrying that there are currently no European plans to maintain a similarly robust search and rescue capacity in the Mediterranean. This gap must urgently be filled, or many more people may die trying to find safety.

The response to boat movements in Europe – like in the Asia-Pacific and other regions of the world – must also include more predictable regional frameworks for rescue and safe disembarkation and for access to protection and solutions for those rescued at sea. This cannot be done without close cooperation among the affected States to ensure that common responsibilities are shared fairly. Governments should also focus on strengthening reception conditions and ensuring that

¹ António Guterres is the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

people in need of international protection have swift access to asylum procedures.

The need for improved **access to territory** for the purpose of seeking protection is related to the challenge of mixed maritime migration, and also goes beyond it. Most fundamentally, this means protection-sensitive border management and abstention from such practices as push-backs and denial of entry at borders. But beyond this, governments must also create more legal alternatives for entry, to help reduce the number of people resorting to smugglers and unsafe means of travel. Resettlement and humanitarian admission places, flexible visa policies, expanded family reunification, private sponsorship and academic scholarships are some of the measures governments and civil society should strengthen to ensure people in need of protection are not forced to risk their lives to reach safety. This would also contribute to reducing the risk of human trafficking.

In addition to these global challenges, 2015 is also a key moment in Europe for defining the next phase of the **CEAS**, with the deadline for transposing the revised European Union (EU) legislation set for July. Many EU Member States are progressing on the implementation of the CEAS in their national laws and policies. However, a genuine common system will only emerge through full and effective implementation by all EU Member States, based on responsibility-sharing, solidarity and trust. At the moment, the quality of reception conditions, asylum practice and integration conditions vary enormously, which causes deep imbalances within the Union, with two countries (Germany and Sweden) receiving half of all asylum claims lodged in 2014.

On a global level, other asylum policy challenges deserve to be highlighted at least briefly. The routine **detention** of asylum-seekers, including children and families, is still a widespread practice that has been found to have a devastating human impact on people with often traumatic experiences of persecution and flight. UNHCR's global strategy *Beyond Detention* aims to support governments in ending this practice – most urgently for children – and use appropriate alternatives to detention.

Another challenge is **child protection**. The number of refugees and asylum-seekers under the age of 18 has been on the rise for several years, reaching 50 per cent of the world's refugee population at the end of 2013. In addition, more unaccompanied and

separated children are claiming asylum than ever before. Caring for and finding durable solutions for these children, considering their best interests, in line with the Convention on the Rights of the Child, poses many practical challenges to national asylum systems. There is an obvious need for strong safeguards, practical approaches and child-sensitive mechanisms. UNHCR and UNICEF have collaborated on guidance to European States on respecting the best interest of unaccompanied and separated children which puts forward practical ways to help address this problem.

A final challenge for 2015 relates to refugees' access to **durable solutions**. With serious obstacles to safe and sustainable return remaining in many countries of origin, voluntary repatriation trends have been low in recent years. This underlines the need for more effective conflict prevention and conflict resolution – essentially a question of political will. With so few refugees able to go home, improving access to durable solutions requires more robust resettlement programmes as well as better integration in asylum countries. But given the increased complexity and protractedness of displacement today, we need a broader emphasis on solutions that goes beyond traditional approaches. The focus should also be on supporting refugee self-reliance and livelihoods, forging closer partnerships with development actors, and fostering creative approaches such as the labour mobility schemes for refugees currently being explored in Latin America.

The unprecedented magnitude and complexity of forced displacement today, and the important protection dimension within it, has an enormous impact on asylum countries and host communities – but even more so on the lives of the individual refugees concerned. For many societies, the welcome they give to asylum-seekers and other foreigners has become the frontline in a battle of values. The way governments and their populations respond to these challenges – in 2015 and beyond – will not only be an indicator of our societies' strengths, but a determining factor in the future course of a century that is already being shaped so fundamentally by the phenomenon of people on the move. ■



Outlook on migration in Africa in 2015

Aderanti Adepoju¹

Migration Policy Practice: *Based on policy and legal developments in Africa in 2014, what are the three most important migration policy challenges for 2015, including labour migration, forced migration and asylum, and migration and development?*

Aderanti Adepoju: There are many important policy challenges in Africa in 2015, but the most important one relates to weak governance structures and inadequate institutional capacity of officials and key stakeholders to formulate and implement comprehensive migration policies. The lack of awareness within government departments at national and especially at subnational levels is evident in the few countries that have formulated a migration policy, albeit in draft form (such as Liberia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Uganda and Zimbabwe) or are in the process of crafting such policy, as in Burundi, Ghana, Mali and the United Republic of Tanzania. Allied with this is the fact that up-to-date migration data are scanty and where available are not collected and analysed in user-friendly format to inform appropriate policymaking.

The second key policy challenge relates to inadequate public support for migration issues manifest in insufficient public funding or, in some cases, zero budget allocation for migration concerns. This situation will worsen; with austerity budget in 2015, migration matters will receive lesser attention. Countries have relied on the international donor community to provide funding for migration, forced migration and asylum matters. Few countries have allocated regular budgets for these activities, relying instead on the European Union Development Fund/IOM Development Fund. In general, African governments have not factored migration issues into national development programmes, except for migration, diaspora and remittances issues.

The third policy challenge is the lacklustre political will, support and engagement in migration matters,

which also translates into poor coordination, participation and collaboration in subregional agendas as in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the South African Development Community (SADC), the East African Community (EAC) and, to some extent, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), which are promoting free or “facilitated” movement of persons, and to a varying degree, residence and establishment. There is a manifest disconnect between the political leaders and the general population on migration matters: the latter do not seem to trust – or have confidence in – their leaders, and the leaders do not carry along the population, and have failed to engage and involve the youth who are the target for migration programmes.

Migration Policy Practice: *Judging from current and anticipated trends, how are the levels and structure of migration flows in Africa likely to evolve in the course of 2015, for example in terms of types of migration, source countries, and number and profiles of migrants?*

Aderanti Adepoju: Several elements would determine the migratory configurations in terms of levels and structure of migration flows. These include the effects of the rapidly declining oil prices in Africa’s major oil-producing countries, namely, Angola, Libya and Nigeria; the lingering consequences of the Ebola crisis on travel restrictions, production and mobility; insecurity, especially the spread of the Islamic fundamentalist insurgency, initially localized in Nigeria but gradually assuming a subregional dimension (in West and Central Africa); and uncertainties about the presidential election outcomes in several African countries.

The volume of intra-African migration will shrink, as the major destination countries experience economic difficulties. High domestic unemployment will exacerbate xenophobic reactions against immigrants. Concurrently, failure by African countries to generate, in general, viable youth employment will trigger increased emigration, mainly to developed countries, some of which are also facing economic stagnation and sluggish recovery. These migrants will include younger cohorts of boys and girls who have struggled

¹ Aderanti Adepoju is the Coordinator of the Network of Migration Research on Africa (NOMRA).

unsuccessfully to secure employment, and worst still, failed to secure admission into, and dropouts from, tertiary educational institutions, as in Nigeria.

The triggers for emigration – young population, excruciating poverty and high unemployment – will intensify in 2015. The vast majority of the millions of Africa's youth to be released into the labour force do not possess the skills to enhance the prospects for employability. All over the region, the bleak job market situation, also a result of economic slowdown, will push many youth to join the queue of job-seekers surreptitiously into more prosperous parts of Asia, Europe and North America. The spectre of irregular migrants risking their lives to forcibly enter southern Italy on overcrowded rickety boats or across the desert (witnessed in 2014) would intensify, in large part because of the huge employment deficit in Africa, in the face of burgeoning young school leavers. Many of these youth will be more desperate, hoping to exchange misery and the bleak life at home with the uncertain future in Europe. For these reasons, several countries of emigration – such as Burkina Faso, Chad, Ethiopia, Lesotho, Mali and Somalia – will continue to experience perhaps higher levels of emigration in 2015.

Libya, once a major migrant-receiving country, is virtually a failed State, with many of its nationals fleeing internecine wars, seeking refuge in Europe. Côte d'Ivoire, another magnet for migrants in West Africa, is just recovering, albeit sluggishly, from years of instability. It is now a country of immigration, transit and emigration as is Nigeria, regarded as having the largest (services sector-based) economy in Africa. In all these countries, unemployment is a major development challenge and a trigger for emigration.

Take South Africa, for example – more than 50 per cent of its youth aged 15 to 24 are unemployed, the third highest in the world, after Greece and Spain. In Nigeria, over 1 million unemployed youth are applying for jobs where fewer than 5,000 people are needed. In 2012, 11.1 million youth (23.9%) in Nigeria were unemployed, and two thirds of them were 15 to 24 years old. The bleak picture is reflected in the figure that about 20 per cent of youth unemployment consists of university graduates, who remain unemployed for upwards of five years after graduation. This is to be added to another 20 per cent of unemployed with secondary school education.

Renewed conflicts in South Sudan and the Central African Republic, and conscription in Eritrea, will propel youth emigration, refugeeism and internal displacement. The insurgency in north-eastern Nigeria has forced thousands across borders into Chad, Cameroon and Niger, and there seems to be no end in sight. Several thousand others remain internally displaced in neighbouring States of the country.

Migration Policy Practice: *What are likely to be the key policy debates around migration policy in Africa in 2015, for example in terms of draft legislation and/or new policy and programme interventions, political milestones (e.g. national or local elections) and public opinion trends?*

Aderanti Adepaju: Many African countries, with assistance from IOM, have produced Migration Profiles (Benin, 2011; Cameroon, Cabo Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ghana, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, 2009; Ghana, 2006; Namibia, 2014; Sudan, 2011; Uganda, 2013; Zimbabwe, 2010), which are expected to form the basis for the formulation of migration policies. So far, draft migration policies exist in Burundi, Ghana, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria and Uganda. Botswana, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zimbabwe are in the process of formulating such policy with strong emphasis on curtailing irregular migration and human trafficking, as well as fostering the migration–development nexus via the diaspora and remittances. However, many of these drafts have not been approved nor endorsed by government.

The good news, however, is that a few African countries have now signed memorandums of understanding (MOUs) on mobility partnership with the EU to promote enhanced regional mobility, employment and integration, and bolster political will and momentum among African leaders and planners. 2015 and beyond will feature a series of MOUs on migration between African countries and multilaterally with the EU and bilaterally with individual European countries (e.g. Nigeria and the Netherlands in March 2014; Nigeria and Finland in January 2015) on irregular migration and human trafficking.

The populations of major migration-receiving countries are likely to be more intolerant, with migrants and asylum-seekers being targeted and harassed, as in South Africa, while hatred between local populations and immigrants will be on the rise.

The consequences of joblessness and diminished welfare for the working poor will heighten friction with immigrants being scapegoats for failures to improve incomes, living conditions and welfare of the people. With job losses looming in both the public and private sectors in Nigeria, 2015 is set to witness stronger resentments against immigrants, especially from ECOWAS Member States that have taken advantage of the protocol on free movement of persons, residence and establishment to reside in the country.

In South Africa, the lingering distrust and fear between and within various groups – nationals, immigrants, and unskilled and skilled persons – is amplified by the reality that there are not enough right people for the jobs, and there are not enough jobs for the right people. Economic growth in South Africa, a major country of immigration in Africa, is stunted by difficult labour relations and, recently, inadequate electricity supply.

Unlike the current trend in Europe where politicians can no longer ignore migration issues in election campaigns, only in South Africa have migration issues and discourse featured in municipal and national elections, and even then the focus has been on the negative perspectives of migration – the usual cliché that migrants are scavengers who steal jobs meant for the local population, exploit the social services, increase crime and “swarm the cities”. As national economies in major oil-producing countries – Gabon, Libya, Nigeria– as well as in South Africa and Côte d’Ivoire, continue to shrink, politicians may once more turn the search light on the immigrants as easy scapegoats for all the economic woes and failings of governments to provide jobs for nationals. The consequence is to further strain relations between immigrants and local population.

The simmering public discontent with the Chinese “invasion” of Africa’s small and medium-sized enterprise business could culminate in open confrontation with Chinese migrant workers and traders. With over 1 million Chinese, mostly in Angola, Mozambique, Nigeria and Zambia, the poor and harsh labour conditions of Chinese employers could further aggravate the resentment to aggressive and smart Chinese practices. The case of counterpart training is being neglected and the multiplier effect of most projects on local economies is severely limited. In official but mostly private discourse, the Chinese are also perceived as wooing and sustaining corrupt and

dictatorial leaders, for example in Zimbabwe and Sudan.

2014 witnessed unprecedented Ebola-related casualties in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone, and infections in Nigeria, prompting many governments in and out of Africa to close their borders and impose restrictions on movement of persons living in or transiting from the worst-afflicted areas. Countries around the world reinforced border controls to regulate travel from and within West Africa to prevent the spread of the Ebola virus. The high movements between Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone generated the infection of 18,000 and the death of 6,400 by 7 December 2014. While laudable progress has been made in curtailing the scourge, precautionary measures may trigger additional restrictions rather than a relaxation of existing measures on mobility of persons. Nationals of most West African countries are stigmatized in many countries of the world, a trend that may persist deep into 2015 and beyond.

About 14 presidential, legislative and municipal elections are scheduled for 2015 – in Burkina Faso, Burundi, the Central African Republic, Côte d’Ivoire, Ethiopia, Guinea, Lesotho, Nigeria, South Sudan, the United Republic of Tanzania, Togo and Zambia. Elections in situations of prevailing conflicts, ethnoreligious tensions, opposition to dictatorial and corrupt regimes in power, and attempts to falsify the electoral process and election results or to unconstitutionally prolong tenure in office could fuel civil unrest, leading to population displacements across the region, going by experience in Burkina Faso, Côte d’Ivoire, Kenya and Guinea. The intelligentsia, trade unionists and activists at the forefront of the crusade for democratic governance may be forced into exile in droves and seek asylum in developed countries, as was the case in Nigeria during the despotic military rule.

Internally displaced persons would escalate, as conflicts continue to rage in the Central African Republic, Libya, Somalia and South Sudan, as well as the insurgency in Nigeria that is gradually spreading to Chad and Cameroon. Many may be seeking refuge across national borders. In a situation of scarce and dwindling resources, friction between local populations, overwhelmed by the influx of displaced persons, is likely to inflame existing mistrust among both populations.

The discourse about Africans in the diaspora has been overshadowed by the huge remittances they send home, their skills, transnational practices, trade and investment. The flip side, relating to their involvement in the political process in their countries of origin, is increasingly assuming centre stage, more so as 2015 is a year of multiple elections at the national, provincial and local levels in over 14 countries. The diaspora populations are calling for recognition as economic actors, and also as importantly for legislation relating to dual citizenship, diaspora policy especially on voting rights, citizen-foreigner relations and participation in the democratic process. Nigeria has moved ahead to establish a diaspora committee in the National Assembly to, among other functions, foster closer collaboration with nationals in the diaspora. A Diaspora Day is observed annually on 25 July, and a Diaspora Policy has been drafted. On 20 January 2014, Kenya's President officially launched

the country's Diaspora Policy, designed to tap the enormous potential of the diaspora in terms of skills, knowledge and expertise. The huge remittance flows from the diaspora to their countries of origin in Africa will encourage other countries to follow the example of Kenya in formulating and officially endorsing diaspora policies.

With concerted advocacy, many more African countries should ratify the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrants and Members of their Families, and factor migration into the post-2015 Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goals by mainstreaming migration as an enabler at local and national levels for development. This will imply improving migration governance and institutional capacity and promoting and protecting migrants' rights. ■

“The huge remittance flows from the diaspora to their countries of origin in Africa will encourage other countries to follow the example of Kenya in formulating and officially endorsing diaspora policies.”



Outlook on migration in Asia in 2015

Manolo Abella¹

Migration Policy Practice: Based on policy and legal developments in Asia in 2014, what are the three most important migration policy challenges for 2015, including labour migration, forced migration and asylum, and migration and development?

Manolo Abella: In my view the three most important policy challenges for 2015 in Asia are:

- The steep decline in oil prices, which will likely affect the implementation of many construction projects in the Gulf States where more than 10 per cent of the 11 million migrant workers are in the construction sector, six in every 10 of whom are Asians. The majority of these construction workers come from South Asia, especially Bangladesh and India, and from South-East Asia, notably the Philippines and Indonesia. As in previous downturns, project contractors with a weak financial base will likely find themselves in trouble, leading inevitably to delayed payment of wages if not outright abandonment of workers who may have worked without receiving pay for some months. Authorities in the Gulf will need to closely monitor these developments, develop strategies for minimizing bankruptcies, and insure that workers are paid the wages and salaries due to them. Foreign workers laid off prematurely would not have had an opportunity to recoup their investments in migration and are likely to try to stay, even in an irregular situation, unless assisted in finding alternative employment. Other sectors in the economies of the Gulf region that employ large numbers of foreign workers – like retail trade, transport and domestic services – have proven more resilient in past economic downturns, and the migrant workers they employed have largely managed to stay in their jobs.

The halving of crude oil prices from 2012 to January 2015 is at the same time a boon to other countries, including the migrants' countries of origin. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that satisfactory alternative employment, at home or elsewhere, will be created in time to absorb those dislocated. Authorities in countries of origin will need to prepare for significant increases in return flows and non-extension of contracts during the latter part of 2015.

- For the Member States of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the establishment of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) in 2015 presents opportunities and challenges. The complete removal of tariff barriers and the commitment to bring down progressively non-tariff barriers to trade among the Member States is expected to profoundly impact on the economies of the region. These measures and other related commitments under the AEC are expected to bring about anywhere from 3 per cent to 12 per cent rise in GDP, depending on the country. Studies undertaken by the Asian Development Bank and the International Labour Organization (ILO) project that some of the biggest gains will be made by the new members of ASEAN like Viet Nam and Cambodia, which have lagged behind the original members. The creation of a single market for ASEAN farmers and manufacturers will lead to significant restructuring of industries, as each country exploits its comparative advantage in trade. As a consequence of the free movement of goods and services across national borders, some sectors/industries (or crops) in each country are likely to expand while others are likely to contract. While some jobs will be lost, on the whole the establishment of the AEC is projected to significantly raise overall incomes and employment across the whole region.

Economies of scale and the economics of agglomeration are, in the short to medium term, likely to bring about a concentration of investments in the economies that have well-developed infrastructure, ready supply of skilled workers, and advanced logistics and business

¹ Manolo Abella is a Senior Research Associate at the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), Oxford University, and former Director of the International Migration Programme at the ILO in Geneva.

networks in the region. The major challenge for policymakers in these countries is how to progressively steer industries away from path dependence in access to cheap low-skilled foreign labour, encourage industries to move up the value chains, and assist workers likely to be dislocated when labour-intensive operations are offshored to other countries. These challenges are particularly cogent for Malaysia and Thailand, two Member States of ASEAN where agglomeration advantages compounded by low wages for foreign workers lead to maintaining low-productivity industries. As Thailand has much better infrastructure and access to cheap migrant labour than Myanmar or the Lao People's Democratic Republic, it makes for an excellent production base for industries aiming to tap the ASEAN single market.

ASEAN has made less progress with creating a single market for services even if there is already an ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services (AFAS) aimed at liberalizing trade in services among the countries. Although in practice some countries are quite liberal, as a whole the ASEAN region appears to have more restrictive policies on services trade than other regions. There are shifts towards openness in some fields and towards more restrictions in others, although Singapore and Cambodia are the two countries that have consistently been open to importing services from other countries in and outside ASEAN. The challenge is for the other countries to resist pressures from business lobbies at home for protection and seriously live up to their commitments under the AFAS. All the Member States stand to gain from sharing expertise through the freer movement of skilled and professional personnel in many fields, from medicine to transport and tourism.

- The third challenge in 2015 is that of curbing the thriving business of smuggling asylum-seekers through Asia and providing a safe haven for those fleeing from violence and persecution. There is the plight of Rohingya refugees from Myanmar, more than 140,000 of whom are now living in temporary camps and shelters in South-East Asia according to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. After being forced out of the Rakhine State in Myanmar but refused entry into Bangladesh, most are "Stateless". There are about 200,000 Rohingyas living in Bangladesh, of whom only 32,000 are documented. The conflict in the Syrian Arab Republic has displaced millions of people, some of whom find their way to Asia

in the hope of being granted asylum in Australia. It is difficult to have a reliable estimate of their numbers, but the last few years have seen growth of a thriving business in the smuggling of refugees through Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand. Given the very slim chance of obtaining asylum through established formal channels, many Syrian and Afghan families are forced to rely on people smugglers who extort enormous sums for their services. Australia has adopted the controversial strategy of discouraging smuggling by refusing admission into Australia of apprehended asylum-seekers and instead keeping them offshore, in particular in Nauru and Papua New Guinea.

***Migration Policy Practice:** Judging from current and anticipated trends, how are the levels and structure of migration flows in Asia likely to evolve in the course of 2015, for example in terms of types of migration, source countries, and number and profiles of migrants?*

Manolo Abella: I think that in 2015 we will see the following migration trends:

- In 2008, the six Gulf Cooperation Council States reported having 11 million non-national workers on their territories, of whom at least 60 per cent were Asians. I foresee a significant slowdown of the Asian worker flows to the Gulf States, with increasing return flows towards the latter part of the year. Since domestic service workers are unlikely to be affected by economic slowdown, the composition of Asian workforce in the Gulf will become increasingly female. There will be some increase in the number of Asian workers in an irregular situation, as laidoff workers try to find alternative ways of recouping their investments in migration.
- A slowdown in the flows of workers to Thailand from neighbouring Myanmar and Cambodia on account of the sluggish growth of the Thai economy on the one hand, and the increasing employment opportunities in the source countries on the other hand.
- Increasing flows of production workers to the Republic of Korea and Taiwan Province of China, whose economies are closely tied to the United States and China.
- Continuing shifts in the composition of migrant workers admitted to Singapore from low- to high-skilled workers drawn not only from within the region but also from outside.

- Increasing flows of highly skilled Asian migrants to the United States, especially from India and the Philippines, as the US economy continues to grow at a rapid pace and the labour market tightens. On the other hand, Canada's oil-rich provinces will be unlikely to continue bringing in foreign workers as oil prices plummet.
- Increasing outflows of Chinese youth wishing to study abroad, especially to the Anglo-Saxon countries; at the same time, increased flows of Asian and other foreign students to China, which has launched a programme to promote such exchanges. China already hosts more foreign students than Australia or Canada.

Since there are large flows over porous borders in many parts of Asia, it is difficult to have a firm estimate of the size of yearly migration flows. Governments are only able to report on the number of workers who register their contracts prior to going abroad; hence, their statistics do not include those not required by law or regulations to register before leaving (such as in India) and doing clandestine movements across borders. Over four years, from 2005 to 2009, the number of workers reported by nine South- and East-Asian governments as migrating abroad for employment rose by over 40 per cent, from 2.7 million to 3.9 million. The growth is unlikely to be as fast in 2015. This will also hold true for the informal movements such as those of Burmese workers migrating to Thailand and Indonesian workers going to Malaysia.

In 2013, intra-ASEAN migrants numbered some 6.5 million. It is unlikely to increase in 2015 since one of the biggest destination countries, Thailand, is unlikely to absorb more. Countries that will increase absorption of foreign workers will be selective of the highly skilled whose numbers still represent but a small proportion of the total flows.

Migration Policy Practice: *What are likely to be the key policy debates around migration policy in Asia in 2015, for example in terms of draft legislation and/or new policy and programme interventions, political milestones (e.g. national or local elections) and public opinion trends?*

Manolo Abella: In the ASEAN, the most immediate issue is the serious implementation of the agreements on mutual recognition of professional qualifications. The ASEAN members have agreed to allow the free movement of the highly skilled and to facilitate

such movements through mutual recognition of qualifications earned in another Member State. Mutual recognition agreements have been reached in seven professions – medical doctors, dentists, nurses, architects, engineers and surveyors, accountants and tourism professionals – but adoption of the necessary measures at national levels to give substance to the agreements has been slow and many regulations remain opaque.

Although the large majority of the estimated 4.5 million intra-ASEAN labour migrants are in manual or low-skill occupations, allowing their free movement among the Member States is not yet on the agenda of the association.

The Gulf States are the main sponsors of the so-called Abu Dhabi Dialogue, which has yet to find a concrete project which the Asian and the Arab sides can jointly develop. What to do with the recruitment system to curb abuses and minimize recruitment costs paid by the workers remains a fundamental concern of all parties and would ideally be the common project for the Abu Dhabi Dialogue; however, the conditions in the labour market likely to emerge following the collapse of oil prices do not augur well for its success.

In Thailand, the Government is giving priority to combatting human trafficking including curbing terrible abuses of migrant workers in the fishing industry. Getting Thailand off the United States trafficking in persons tier 3 placement is the main concern because, as the Prime Minister put it, the country's reputation is at stake. There is also an ongoing campaign to register and regularize the status of undocumented migrants in Thailand. The Government has reduced fees and taxes to encourage more employers to register the migrants they employ.

In Japan, consultations are being held on the matter of establishing a specialized agency to oversee the foreign trainee system, which has become the main channel for small and medium-sized companies to access unskilled foreign labour, even for short durations. ■



Outlook on migration in the Caribbean in 2015

Joanne van Selm¹

Migration Policy Practice: Based on policy and legal developments in the Caribbean in 2014, what are the three most important migration policy challenges for 2015, including labour migration, forced migration and asylum, and migration and development?

Joanne van Selm: The Caribbean region will face several migration policy challenges in 2015. Some of these will be regionally specific, others will stem from exogenous factors, and particularly the consequences of policy changes and media messages from the United States.

Starting with one of the major outside influences and its impact on irregular migration flows from the Caribbean in particular – recent years have seen increases in **boat departures to the United States** from various Caribbean nations (3,378 migrants were intercepted in 2014, up from just over 2,000 in 2013). Most prominent among these statistically and politically are Cuban migrants attempting to reach Florida. Political developments between Washington and Havana in late 2014 translated into uncertainty about future changes in the “wet foot–dry foot” approach to Cubans landing in Florida (whereby parole is granted to those who make it to land and their immigration future is assured, whereas those intercepted at sea are returned to the island). People worried that an easy avenue to achieve legal immigration to the United States, albeit by a dangerous and irregular entry, might soon close are rushing to avail themselves of the opportunity. A spike in boat departures and interceptions was seen (there was a three-fold increase in interceptions – 117 people were intercepted in December 2013, and 481 in December 2014). This trend is likely to be sustained until there is more clarity on the impact of the re-establishment of diplomatic relations on travel and immigration status for Cubans arriving in the United States.

Citizens of other islands, as well as Mexico, have also been intercepted at sea in greater numbers than previously in late 2014, and there is no reason to think that their departure rate will be stemmed unless there are significant economic and social developments in the Caribbean nations, or greater enforcement and discouragement on the US side. Haitians, fleeing the endemic poverty in their country, as well as the lingering impacts of natural disasters and political turmoil, have been statistically second to Cubans in efforts to reach the United States by boat, followed by citizens of the Dominican Republic and Mexico.

The policy challenges for the Caribbean States lie in resolving those factors that stimulate the desire to leave in an irregular way – but given the significant economic and social gaps between developing countries and highly developed neighbours, that is going to be difficult. Obviously, the consequence of interceptions, whether at sea or in the form of apprehensions at some point during an irregular stay, becomes deportation, with the associated policy challenge of reintegrating those people to their Caribbean homeland.

Another migration area that will pose policy challenges to Caribbean nations is that of **trafficking in human beings**. The phenomenon of modern-day slavery has both domestic and international facets in the region. While relatively little research has been done on trafficking in the Caribbean as compared to Europe, Asia and North America, it is estimated that some 10 per cent of victims worldwide are from Latin America and the Caribbean. Caribbean countries are all at either tier 2 (not complying with minimum standards, but making efforts to do so) or tier 2 Watch List (requiring greater efforts) on the US Department of State's *Trafficking in Persons Report 2014*, with the exception of Cuba, which is on tier 3, for its non-compliance with international minimum standards to prevent trafficking in persons.

Children appear from the reports available to be particularly vulnerable, being abducted or sold into forced servitude and sexual exploitation both domestically and internationally. Haitian children have been particularly prominent in research to date,

¹ Joanne van Selm is Eurasyllum's Associate Director for Research, and is one of the Editorial Advisers of the *Migration Policy Practice*. She also works as an independent consultant on international migration, asylum and refugee policies, and is currently based in Kingston, Jamaica.

but the situation is not limited to Haiti, and trafficking takes place from all islands, as well as mainland Caribbean countries. A number of factors specific to the Caribbean play into the way trafficking and exploitation are propagated, including the relative ease, and lack of control on, departures and arrivals by boat, and particularly smaller craft; the links to drug trafficking and other organized crime with major Caribbean islands such as Jamaica being conveniently located on routes between supply in Latin America and demand in the United States and Europe. The Caribbean is not only a source of victims of trafficking but also a transit location, including for victims from China and elsewhere in Asia being taken to North America in particular.

Information campaigns are becoming more prominent on the Caribbean islands, educating the population and encouraging the ability to both identify victims and report to either non-governmental organizations or national authorities. However, both prevention and prosecution are low, and protection of victims is also lacking. Governments in the Caribbean will be challenged to strengthen both policies and implementation in order to bring these human rights violations to an end.

The third of what are likely to be the most important policy challenges for 2015 is more specific to the Caribbean region in many ways, namely **managing the status and situation of Haitians**, particularly in the Dominican Republic, the Bahamas, and Turks and Caicos Islands, and indeed finding ways to meet the challenges of Haitian migration for both economic and protection purposes.

Five years on from the devastating January 2010 earthquake, hundreds of thousands of Haitians remain internally displaced, living in very elementary shelters, without a real solution within the country to their loss of housing and often livelihoods, too. Answers, reconstruction and development are required within Haiti, but responses are also needed to those who seek a better life elsewhere. Not only recent of current migrants need a long-term solution, be it through sustainable return or status elsewhere.

In 2014, the Government of the Dominican Republic crafted legislation to reverse a previous decision, which had essentially rendered people born in the Dominican Republic of Haitian parents who had immigrated irregularly Stateless. In practice, the situation remains problematic. In theory, the 24,000

or so people of all ages who suddenly became Stateless in 2013, due to one or both of their parents being Haitians who had entered the Dominican Republic illegally, should have been re-regularized. Another 21,000 who can demonstrate that they were born in the Dominican Republic between 2007 and 2010 should also be on a path to citizenship. However, that still leaves about 200,000 people, according to a UN survey, who cannot prove their place of birth, and whose situation remains precarious. Some 120,000 people have apparently applied to regularize their situation, but only a few hundred have passed through the process to do so, with the rest lacking identity papers although they have lived their entire lives in the Dominican Republic and claim they were born there.

The Dominican Republic is dealing with both long-term citizenship and integration issues, and new arrivals from Haiti. The Governments of both the Bahamas and the Turks and Caicos Islands in particular also face frequent attempts by Haitians to arrive on their shores. Both Governments held talks with the Haitian authorities in 2014, aimed at forging agreements to prevent the flow of Haitians willing to undertake often perilous boat journeys in order to enter those territories irregularly to seek a better life.

In a region of disparities and extreme inequalities, Haiti stands out for its difficulties with poverty, history of weak or poor governance, and frequent conflicts and natural disasters. This leads to migration challenges for the region as a whole, and 2015 could either see relative stability with associated opportunities for bilateral and multilateral political agreements on migration of Haitians, or more problems and greater migration challenges for all.

***Migration Policy Practice:** Judging from current and anticipated trends, how are the levels and structure of migration flows in the Caribbean likely to evolve in the course of 2015, for example in terms of types of migration, source countries, and number and profiles of migrants?*

Joanne van Selm: There is no reason to anticipate that the existing levels and structure of migration in the Caribbean will change significantly in the course of 2015. Some slight changes could be felt due, for example, to increasing economic stability, the strong dollar and greater attention to the ease of doing business on several islands. However, in the global scheme these are, barring a major unforeseeable event, likely to be of little impact.

The most significant migration-related change this year might well be in the level of **remittances** to the region. The majority of remittances come from the United States, so with the American economy looking set to revive. Given that there is currently a remittance level of about USD 2 billion on a USD 14 billion economy in Jamaica, for example, even quite a small percentage increase could have quite an impact for families, communities and the country as a whole.

The World Bank predicts an increase in remittances to the Caribbean of some 3 per cent in 2015, following a 5 per cent increase in 2014 over 2013. In 2015, remittances to the Caribbean are predicted to total some USD 67 billion. Surveys have suggested that about half the Caribbean diaspora send remittances, and the diaspora is estimated to include one person with Caribbean roots abroad for every individual living in the Caribbean today.

Actual migration flows and their structure are, however, not anticipated to show much change. One of the most publicly obvious migration flows in the Caribbean is likely to remain **returns**, particularly from the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States. These returns include both people going “home” voluntarily – perhaps consequent to the climate, for example in retirement, or after a period of study or work elsewhere – and people who are deported, consequent to irregular movements as described above as well as visa overstays and criminality, linked to the broadly positive human rights situation in the region.

The Caribbean region (including Central American countries) has to take back the largest number of deportees from the United States annually, with Mexico, Honduras and El Salvador leading these statistics. The Dominican Republic and Jamaica top the list in recent years among the Caribbean islands taking back just over 2,000 and 1,000 citizens respectively, deported from the United States. The United Kingdom has deported about 500 Jamaicans per year in recent years, either for criminal offences or due to their immigration status, and Canada several dozen, by way of comparison. There are also deportations between Caribbean islands – for example, some 3,000 Jamaicans were deported by other islands over the four-year period (2008–2012), again either for overstaying legal residence or for criminal activities. These statistics are likely to remain at similar levels.

Some islands remain administrative elements of European countries – for example, Aruba, Curacao, Sint Maarten and other smaller islands are part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, while Guadeloupe and Martinique are French Departments, while other islands are collectives or dependents. People originating from those islands who are found to be involved in criminal activities in the European State in question cannot be removed under current laws, although some politicians would like those laws to change.

Wealthier Caribbean nationals, often with family connections to particular European countries such as the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands, or to Canada and the United States, often turn to those countries for a university **education**, and indeed in many cases for secondary or high school (boarding school). Although the numbers are not significant either for the receiving countries or really for the islands themselves, they do constitute a quite important form of **brain drain**, particularly as people frequently continue in employment in those countries after their studies. The combination of climate, family ties and economic opportunities stimulate some entrepreneurial returns, which are encouraged as they can create further employment opportunities for less advantaged locals. Others in the diaspora offer financial support to start-up enterprises in the Caribbean while remaining overseas. All the islands have some form of return facilitation programme, including tax concessions. Among the premises for such programmes are the idea that returnees bring networks and connections with them. However, for returning retirees, of course, these are less usable by the workforce at large. There is no obvious reason to anticipate much change in return programmes during the coming year, nor to anticipate that those seeking skills will do anything other than continue to leave the islands and pursue their talents in developed economies where possible.

In terms of **economic migration** within the Caribbean region, Belize and Trinidad and Tobago are seeing increasing immigration from the region due to their relative economic success and level of development. Much of this economic migration is facilitated by the freedom of movement under the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) treaty, which allows for movement of high-skilled nationals of the 14 Member States. The revised Treaty of Chaguaramas restricted this free movement somewhat in comparison to the initial agreement, and was put to the test in a

2013 case brought by a Jamaican national removed from Barbados. Shanique Myrie took her case to the Caribbean Court of Justice, and won in a landmark judgement both for free movement rights and for use of the Caribbean Court, which is in its infancy and not yet much used by the CARICOM States.

Finally, in terms of structure and flows, it is to be anticipated that the Caribbean islands might see a small increase in **investor citizenship**, if not actual immigration and residence. Several of the islands have established investment programmes whereby a certain level of financial contribution makes available a second or alternative citizenship and passport to wealthy individuals who see advantages in altering their citizenship situation. Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, and Saint Kitts and Nevis offer citizenship through investment programmes, facilitated by Henley & Partners. These countries offer advantages such as no capital-gains tax and no worldwide taxation, but rather tax only income generated on the islands themselves.

***Migration Policy Practice:** What are likely to be the key policy debates around migration policy in the Caribbean in 2015, for example in terms of draft legislation and/or new policy and programme interventions, political milestones (e.g. national or local elections) and public opinion trends?*

Joanne van Selm: A major policy debate for 2015 will be one that carries over from 2014, about **migration and health**. Thirteen Caribbean nations are among the 30 or so countries worldwide that have imposed some kind of travel ban on citizens of, or people who have been to, the West African countries affected by Ebola. The bans vary in terms of the length of time for which people must have been outside Guinea, Liberia, Sierra Leone and, in some cases, Nigeria and/or the Democratic Republic of Congo, as well as the length of quarantines that will be imposed on travellers, including returning nationals of the islands and countries in question.

This approach has illustrated several issues. One is the close ties between the Caribbean and West Africa. In particular, many entertainers from countries such as Jamaica travel regularly to West Africa to perform. Another is the relatively poor standard of health care in the region, where governments acknowledged their inability to effectively isolate and handle such a deadly virus. They did this, in several cases, at precisely the moment that they were failing to meet the needs of

populations severely impacted by the usually non-fatal but nonetheless debilitating mosquito-borne chikungunya virus.

The case of a cruise ship denied landing in both Mexico and Belize because a passenger on board was understood to have handled blood samples from the Ebola case of Thomas Duncan in Texas also drew attention to the somewhat vague status of cruise arrivals. Generally, spending only a day in any given Caribbean country, and sleeping on ship, thousands of simultaneous tourist arrivals in ports around the Caribbean give rise to many immigration control questions where the import of contagious diseases, and other unintended consequences, is concerned. In most cases, if a person will be leaving again on the same ship within 24 hours, they do not require a visa (even if citizens of their country usually do for general admittance), and immigration procedures are quite different from arrival at an airport, for example. However, passengers do sometimes go missing, and whether it is a disease or some kind of smuggling situation, for example, the ease of entry for cruise passengers (generally desirable from a tourism-income perspective) becomes an immigration headache.

A second issue for the Caribbean region is again one that is rolled over from previous years: the **role of Chinese investment in the region and its relation to immigration**. Contracts have been established, or are in the process of negotiation, on many Caribbean islands for Chinese investment in infrastructure of various kinds. One example of this is the new mega resort Baha Mar, in the Bahamas, financed and constructed by the Chinese, with major international hotels, such as Hyatt and Rosewood, and the largest casino in the Caribbean operated by an American consortium. The project has employed 4,000 Chinese construction workers – who have been isolated within the work zone, not integrating locally at all – and provided no jobs in the construction phase for locals, while the unemployment rate is at about 15 per cent. Another example is the road building (including a major north–south toll road), and potential future logistics hub, Goat Island, in Jamaica. Again, Chinese workers are employed on the North–South Highway 2000, although there are also Jamaican workers involved, and a greater level of integration on the island.

Some of the Chinese investment in the region is aimed at securing raw materials (such as bauxite), and much of it involves developing infrastructure.

The impacts of **climate change** and the role of migration (emigration) in handling those impacts will continue to be a subject of discussion. Most of the Caribbean has not seen any major hurricanes for two seasons (2013 and 2014). Only hurricane Gonzalo had strength and made landfall in the Lesser Antilles and in the north-eastern Caribbean, particularly Puerto Rico, in 2014. What the weather will bring in 2015 is not predictable, but any major tropical storm would both involve damage to property and some level of displacement, in the short term, as well as potential loss of life. Another consequence of any major weather incident will be renewed focus on climate change, both in terms of what islands can do themselves to reduce emissions and invest in renewable energy, and

in terms of extreme scenarios that require movement within, between and away from islands where serious flooding and reduced coast lines could become a reality within decades.

Finally, with 2014 having been the thirtieth anniversary of the Cartagena Declaration on Refugees, States in the region have been encouraged to consider and develop their approaches to **mixed migration**, as well as to establish clearer **refugee** status determination procedures (most have no asylum law or regulations as such, since these have had limited use in numerical terms at least), consider durable solutions including a role in refugee resettlement, and engage proactively to resolve Statelessness. Caribbean States will be encouraged by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to enhance their role in refugee protection in 2015 and beyond. ■

“The Caribbean region will face several migration policy challenges in 2015. Some of these will be regionally specific, others will stem from exogenous factors, and particularly the consequences of policy changes and media messages from the United States.”



Outlook on migration in Europe in 2015

Elizabeth Collett¹

Migration Policy Practice: *Based on policy and legal developments in Europe in 2014, what are the three most important migration policy challenges for 2015, including labour migration, forced migration and asylum, and migration and development?*

Elizabeth Collett: As the economic recession continues to drag throughout Europe, governments are facing an ever-tightening knot of migration policy challenges. In theory, these are distinct phenomena; in practice, the complex realities underpinning current migration trends mean that a diverse and coordinated response will be needed to ensure lasting change. This process will also require significant political leadership, in short supply during a year when governments will be dealing with competing economic and social priorities, a resurgence of populist politics, and lowered public confidence in policymakers' ability to respond to the impacts of multiple and overlapping geopolitical crises.

Maritime Migration

The phenomenon of Mediterranean migration is neither new nor static. Since the early 1990s, there has been a persistent flow of both irregular migrants and asylum-seekers from across Africa and beyond. The routes and composition of these flows have changed over time, and the total number has fluctuated year-on-year, but the essential characteristics remain troublingly consistent, and fatal.² Over the past 18 months, escalating numbers – over 160,000 were rescued in 2014 alone – have created a new urgency for policymakers to respond in 2015.

The most preferred route in 2014, from Libya to Italy, has already become more dangerous for those transiting through the troubled North African region. Mounting instability in Libya means that those looking for passage to Europe are increasingly vulnerable. In addition, those who board boats on the Libyan

coast are less likely to be rescued following the replacement of the Italian Government's search and rescue operation (Mare Nostrum) by the more limited EU-coordinated Operation Triton.

In light of this, smuggling networks have proved resilient and flexible – over the past few months, a number of large cargo ships have been found stranded in the Mediterranean.³ This is no longer a case of the shortest possible journey; these large ships set off from Turkey, bypassed both Greece and Cyprus, seen as undesirable destinations, and took the longer, more perilous journey to Italy. This new level of investment reflects stable and increasing demand, and a more desperate clientele; the options for those displaced from the Syrian Arab Republic are narrowing as the cold winter sets in, as Lebanon closes its gates and as the journey through North Africa to Libya has become too risky. With the global population of refugees at record highs, those seeking protection will join other migrants in increasing numbers through 2015, and seek ever more creative (and dangerous) means of entry to Europe. The discovery of boats crossing the Black Sea to Romania in late 2014 suggests that this phenomenon will not be limited to the Mediterranean.

It has become evident to policymakers that border management policies are an inadequate response, capable of reacting only once migrants are already in deep distress. Instead, interior officials will need to work closely with foreign policy, maritime, security and humanitarian colleagues to develop a multi-pronged response from prevention to rescue, and a concerted effort to extinguish pervasive smuggling networks. In October 2014, Interior Ministers agreed on a series of priorities to address maritime migration; the extensive list of disparate actions highlighted the complexity of the challenge.⁴ In November, the

1 Elizabeth Collett is Director of the Migration Policy Institute Europe.

2 International Organization for Migration, *Fatal Journeys: Tracking Lives Lost through Migration* (Geneva, 2014).

3 Frontex, "Operation Triton: Winter developments", 12 December 2014. Available from <http://frontex.europa.eu/feature-stories/operation-triton-winter-developments-qxDamY>.

4 European Council, Council Conclusions on Taking Action to Better Manage Migratory Flows, JHA Council Conclusions, 10 October 2014, Brussels. Available from http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/jha/145053.pdf.

same ministers met in Rome with both their national foreign policy counterparts and the key policymakers from third countries, and articulated a similar set of goals.⁵ Having done this, 2015 will be the year when some of these goals are translated into action, and policymakers begin to cooperate more deeply across government portfolios, as well as across the Mediterranean. The solutions may be decades away, but the work must begin now.

Asylum and Humanitarian Aid

From the perspective of global protection, maritime migration has become an unpalatable symptom of broader challenges concerning proliferating humanitarian crises worldwide. While it remains true that the vast majority of the world's refugees are protected in their region of origin, the European Union has seen an increase in asylum claims over the past couple of years, though still a long way from the levels seen during the 1990s. The EU-28 received 50 per cent more asylum claims (57,800) during the third quarter of 2014 than the same period a year earlier. However, the responsibilities have fallen unevenly across the continent, and these localized pressures on national asylum systems are likely to continue in 2015.

There are several dimensions to this challenge. Though the EU has set common standards for reception and processing and has created a system of responsibility determination (referred to as the Dublin system), each EU Member State manages its own asylum system independently. A number of countries are experiencing significant increases in applications – notably in Germany, Sweden and Italy – and are struggling to ensure that all those who arrive are effectively accommodated and their applications processed. At the same time, there is the concern that a number of EU Member States have yet to properly implement the standards established at the EU level, leaving asylum-seekers in inadequate conditions and, in some cases, precipitating onward movement to more experienced Member States. The majority of EU Member States still deal with a very small proportion of the total number of new asylum-seekers each year. According to Eurostat data, a total of 434,160 asylum claims were lodged in 2013; eight EU countries, including the Czech Republic and Portugal, received fewer than 1,000 applications each, and a further

seven, including Spain, received fewer than 5,000.⁶ In a number of countries, there are concerns about capacity to respond should the number of claims rise unexpectedly in 2015. The Bulgarian Government struggled when the number of arrivals rose from an annual average of around 1,000 applications to over 7,000 in 2013. Thus, ensuring system capacity and finding ways to share responsibility more equitably across the EU will remain at the core of the debate.

In 2015, national policymakers will have to square the circle of providing effective protection to an increasing number of asylum-seekers in a context of limited public resources and uncertain public support. This is also a challenge for local governments tasked with providing housing and support. At the EU level, asylum policy will remain a significant debate closely linked to broader humanitarian and foreign policy responses in critical regions of origin, as well as the management of the EU's external borders (including maritime). Given the prevalence of protracted displacement around the world, increasing focus will be given to the potential of legal channels of entry for refugees, such as resettlement and humanitarian visa regimes. The EU will propose a pilot resettlement project in early 2015, which will incorporate a "distribution key" to calculate refugee quotas for each EU Member State. This, in turn, may herald a new phase in asylum collaboration within Europe.

Mobility, Cohesion and Security

The growing number of EU citizens who have departed to fight with insurgents in the Middle East has catalysed a series of linked policy challenges related to the mobility and cohesiveness of Europe's populations that will dominate 2015.

The attacks in Paris in early January brought home the potential dangers of returning foreign fighters, and the policy response is likely to be multifaceted. At the community level, there are initiatives to prevent young people from departing, as well as efforts to rehabilitate those who return. At the national level, a number of governments have discussed and implemented policies to confiscate travel documents from those who intend to travel to train or fight with

5 See http://italia2014.eu/media/3775/fr_declaration_prog_rome_final_27_11_2014.pdf.

6 Eurostat, "Asylum applications and first instance decisions on asylum applications in 2013" (*Data in Focus*, March 2014). Available from http://www.emnbelgium.be/sites/default/files/publications/eurostat_2013_data_in_focus.pdf.

extremist groups in the Middle East, and withdraw citizenship from those who choose to return. Finally, at the EU level, a number of discussions are emerging as to how to effectively prevent further violent attacks in the absence of internal border controls, and few checks on citizens arriving at the external borders of the EU.

While it is deeply unlikely that internal borders will be re-established, the growing number of radicalized individuals within Europe has once again brought the issues of mobility and security into close proximity. In addition to this, the overarching debate has re-ignited discussions on cultural and religious accommodation within Europe, which are in turn closely linked to the successes (and failures) of integration policy. The enduring effects of stagnating labour markets are manifold, and young second-generation immigrants still find themselves marginalized in both the education and employment spheres. Policymakers are increasingly aware that discontented immigrant youth are more susceptible to radicalization, and perhaps ultimately violence, but to draw too strong a link can in itself be counterproductive. The core policy challenge for European governments will be to effectively address the security threat while preventing negative spillover effects for Europe's diverse communities. Finally, while many of the legislative changes regarding rescission of European citizenship have been effected quietly, it is likely that the impacts will have a strong ripple effect, not least in the national and European courts.

Migration Policy Practice: *Judging from current and anticipated trends, how are the levels and structure of migration flows in Europe likely to evolve in the course of 2015, for example in terms of types of migration, source countries, and number and profiles of migrants?*

Elizabeth Collett:

Asylum

In the absence of any resolution to the major conflicts causing displacement around the world, asylum claims are likely to remain strong within the EU, and possibly increase, with significant numbers expected from the Syrian Arab Republic and Iraq. A key variable in the size of this flow is the ability of strained countries, such as Lebanon and Jordan, to continue to host large populations of Syrian refugees: broader instability in the region is likely to have a knock-on

effect for asylum applications further West. A second variable remains the deteriorating situation in Libya, though the experience from the Arab Spring suggests that the majority of any people displaced will move to neighbouring countries rather than across the Mediterranean.⁷ Italy will continue to be a hot spot for Southern arrivals, due in part to its readiness to conduct search and rescue, but also opportunities to travel on through to the rest of the EU.

Outside Europe, Turkey will remain one of the biggest hosts of Syrian refugees, while the Russian Federation has seen significant asylum applications from those displaced from Ukraine. While a large number of Ukrainians have been displaced internally, the conflict has not resulted in huge numbers of Ukrainians seeking asylum within the EU (though Polish work permit allocations to Ukrainians have increased). This is unlikely to change in 2015.

Free Movement

Despite the vocal debate in the United Kingdom, Germany is proving as attractive to mobile EU citizens, in a trend that is likely to continue. More established patterns of mobility from Central and Eastern Europe are now complemented by new dynamics of emigration from crisis-hit countries across the EU, notably Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain. Despite expected improvements in employment levels in 2015, unemployment is still driving young people to seek opportunities elsewhere, in what some are heralding as a new era of EU mobility. However, old challenges – such as language barriers and recognition of existing skills – are proving enduring, which in turn inhibit free movers from maximizing their potential.

Legal Migration from Third Countries

Dynamics of labour migration differ broadly across the EU, and depend to a great extent on the economic strength of each Member State. Stronger economies such as Germany, Poland and the United Kingdom will see larger numbers of third-country national workers than those countries still struggling. Family migration will remain dominant, including family members of those given refugee status within the EU (creating a multiplier effect in those countries currently hosting larger populations of refugees).

⁷ See <http://heindehaas.blogspot.be/2012/03/arab-spring-and-migration.html>.

Migration Policy Practice: *What are likely to be the key policy debates around migration policy in Europe in 2015, for example in terms of draft legislation and/or new policy and programme interventions, political milestones (e.g. national or local elections) and public opinion trends?*

Elizabeth Collett: Political upheaval is likely to dominate the immigration policy landscape, with questions of public confidence in the ability of incumbent governments to manage immigration and asylum systems emerging (even) more strongly. However, the parameters and characteristics of such a debate will differ significantly across the continent. The flashpoint for many of these debates will be the series of national elections across Europe in 2015, in large States such as Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom, through to politically significant elections in Denmark and Greece. All of this will take place as governments attempt to grapple with the major and volatile challenges that have been outlined above.

In the United Kingdom, the public debate over its EU membership has become conflated with public concerns about immigration. The result is a heavy emphasis on the impacts of free movement on communities and public services within the United Kingdom. In the months leading up to the May election, it is likely that this national debate will have a ripple effect across Europe; key questions will include whether to place numerical limits on the free movement regime and managing access to public benefits more effectively. There is some limited support for the United Kingdom position in Germany, Switzerland and some other Northern European Member States, but the issue remains deeply contentious; it is unlikely that any broad-based reform will take shape, though some narrow concessions are possible.

Anti-EU sentiment is a strengthening theme among populist parties, from the far-right nationalist groups of France's Front National through to the Netherlands' Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV, Party for Freedom), and is closely linked to negative attitudes towards immigration. Anti-establishment parties Syriza and Podemos, in Greece and Spain respectively, are both poised to make significant electoral gains; while these parties are sceptical towards the economic aspects of the EU, they remain broadly positive towards immigration. Protest movements, such as Pegida in Germany, and many of the populist parties of Central and Eastern Europe have a strong ethnic tone, whether

directed towards Muslim or Roma populations. Some parties in government have also adopted anti-immigration positions, notably in Hungary. These changing political dynamics across much of Europe are likely to distract mainstream parties in government from strategic and long-term thinking in 2015, at a time when strong political leadership and effective communication will be more necessary than ever.

With the advent of a new Commission within the EU in late 2014, a new immigration agenda is set to emerge in 2015. The Strategic Guidelines of June 2014, heralded as a new vision for EU immigration policy, offered very little in terms of direction and content.⁸ However, the new Commission President, Jean-Claude Juncker, has expressed a desire to revamp labour migration policies within the EU as part of his five-point plan on immigration, and investigate options to reform the EU's Blue Card system for high-skilled migrants.⁹ There is currently little political support at national level for major overhaul of legal migration, and deep opposition to promoting intra-EU mobility for third-country nationals at a time when free movement for EU citizens is in question.

In 2015, a European Agenda on Migration will be published, setting out a stronger vision for action. However, as the past five years have demonstrated, even the most concrete legislative and operational plans can quickly go astray in the face of unexpected geopolitical shifts in the European neighbourhood. The stark challenges posed by ever more desperate humanitarian flows, facilitated by smuggling networks, and the emerging hazard of European foreign fighters, are likely to dominate the 2015 agenda. Much of the next year will be taken up with ensuring that there is a sufficient national and EU response to humanitarian crises, management of Europe's external borders and cooperation to counter smuggling networks. The choices facing EU governments with respect to maritime migration are politically unpalatable – there are no ideal solutions, merely a set of “least worst” options. But ignoring the phenomenon is no longer an option, even for those countries, such as the United Kingdom, that are geographically detached from the

8 E. Collett, “The strategic guidelines on migration: Uncontentious consensus but missed opportunity” (Migration Policy Institute, June 2014). Available from <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/european-union-strategic-guidelines-migration-uncontentious-consensus-missed-opportunity>.

9 See <http://juncker.epp.eu/my-priorities>.

issue, and the silent majority that currently offer very little in terms of asylum protection.

The current refugee crisis requires an urgent response, one that is already overdue, but the EU is accustomed to working at a glacial pace and national governments are more comfortable with incremental change than major swings in asylum policy. Having realized the importance of a faster, more coherent, whole-of-government approach, the new High Representative for External Affairs, Federica Mogherini, is emerging as a leader with respect to the new policy agenda on immigration. Migration issues will be more strongly

integrated into foreign policy dialogues led by the External Action Service, and there will be a renewed effort to integrate development, humanitarian and foreign policy agendas to improve migration management. Though this work will begin in 2015, it will still take many years to realize any real impacts.

The policy challenges that dominate 2015 will continue to preoccupy policymakers through 2016 and beyond, and the scarring effects of European recession within the past five years will continue to weigh upon immigrant populations for the foreseeable future. ■

“Migration issues will be more strongly integrated into foreign policy dialogues led by the External Action Service, and there will be a renewed effort to integrate development, humanitarian and foreign policy agendas to improve migration management.”



Outlook on migration in Latin America in 2015

William Mejía¹

Migration Policy Practice: Based on policy and legal developments in Latin America in 2014, what are the three most important migration policy challenges for 2015, including labour migration, forced migration and asylum, and migration and development?

William Mejía: The spirit of partnership and integration in Latin America and its neighbouring countries today brought to light in 2014 the issue of population movements across the region. This has been triggered by a range of factors, including the increasing intraregional migration and the importance of some countries and territories as transit areas, including extracontinental flows, with the main destinations located in the periphery of the region (Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico) or outside the region (United States and Canada); the existence of large groups of displaced persons and refugees as a result of internal and external conflicts; and the increase in Statelessness across the world.

Based on the principal intergovernmental agreements and declarations made in 2014, there are three major challenges for policy and actions on migration in 2015:

1. Enforcement of the rights of migrants and other populations that move within the region

This matter was debated in January 2014 at the Second Summit of the Comunidad de Estados Latinoamericanos y Caribeños (CELAC, Community of Latin American and Caribbean States²), where Member States made a commitment to engage in the development of new policies and to strengthen existing ones, in order to recognize migrants as subjects of law and facilitate the regularization of immigration (CELAC, 2014a).

This was further confirmed at the XIV South American Conference on Migration (SACM³), which also considered the social inclusion of migrants as one of the bases of the process of regional integration. To achieve this, States “should promote access, equal footing with nationals, all rights, among others, to work, to social security, health, justice, housing, education, social and political participation and culture in host societies” (CSM, 2014).

Two migrant groups drew particular attention of the countries of the region in terms of the urgency of securing their rights: unaccompanied children and adolescent migrants, particularly those migrating to the United States; and displaced persons, refugees and Stateless persons.

CELAC agreed to work on a regional protocol for attention to unaccompanied children and adolescent migrants (CELAC, 2014b). A similar claim was made by Mercado Común del Sur (MERCOSUR, Common Market of the South) (2014a and 2014b), the Organization of American States (2014) and the Regional Conference on Migration (RCM⁴). The RCM called it “a challenge that requires a regional response in prevention, protection, return and reintegration” (CRM, 2014a) and adopted a Special Statement (CRM, 2014b) to prioritize actions in this area.

With regard to displaced persons, refugees and Stateless persons, Latin America and the Caribbean, gathered to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the Cartagena Declaration on Refugees, and agreed on important commitments (Cartagena +30, 2014a) and an action plan, whose resulting programmes indicate their objectives: asylum quality; solidarity and secure borders; voluntary repatriation; local integration; solidarity resettlement; labour mobility; observatory for human rights for the displacement;

1 William Mejía is Director of the Research Group on Human Mobility at Universidad Tecnológica de Pereira (UTP, Technological University of Pereira), Colombia.

2 CELAC is an intergovernmental mechanism for dialogue and political cooperation, working on the basis of consensus and meets permanently at 33 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean.

3 The SACM consists of Argentina, the Plurinational State of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and Uruguay.

4 The RCM, also called the Puebla Process, consists of Belize, Canada, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama and the United States.

prevention; decent and safe crossing; and eradication of Statelessness (Cartagena +30, 2014b). The commitment with both documents was emphasized by the Presidents of the Member States and Associated States of MERCOSUR (MERCOSUR, 2014b).

Such commitments involve, among other actions and as agreed in several of the documents cited, a campaign for regional accession or ratification by States, which has not been done yet, as well as the progressive improvement in the interpretation, at least, of the following instruments: the United Nations Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, 1990; the Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989; the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951 and its 1967 Protocol; the Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons, 1954; the Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness, 1961; and the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and the Protocols (2000) to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, and against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air (Palermo Protocols).

2. Linking migration policies with other social and economic policies

Governments in the region should move forward in 2015 to link migration policies with other social and economic policies, and integrate them into their development plans. This also results from the commitments made under the Declaration of the High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development⁵ (CELAC, 2014a), which promoted the inclusion of migration in the post-2015 development agenda⁶ (CSM, 2014), particularly in cases such as refugees, displaced and Stateless persons (Cartagena +30, 2014a and 2014b), or unaccompanied children and adolescent migrants (CRM, 2014b).

Considering the importance of labour in migration issues, there is a special challenge to advance in the association of policies on both issues, particularly in the Central American region, where there is a memorandum of understanding with the International Labour Organization (ILO). This memorandum seeks, among other things, to increase the incidence of

labour departments, representative organizations of employers, and workers in discussion forums and in the development of labour migration policies; bind the public employment service in the provision of care for migrant workers, especially women and youth, and train staff in the area of labour mobility; open spaces for discussion on social security for migrant workers and their portability; and design effective social protection mechanisms for temporary workers (OIT – SICA, 2014).

3. Progress in intraregional and South–South cooperation in general

The third major challenge in migration policy in Latin America in 2015 will be to go beyond the subregional ambits of cooperation, particularly the oldest integration agreements (SICA,⁷ CAN⁸ and MERCOSUR), and to concretize in wider institutional settings, such as Comunidad Sudamericana de Naciones (UNASUR, South American Community of Nations) and CELAC and outside the region, South–South cooperation on topics that were highlighted in several documents in 2014.

For example, the commemorative meeting of the thirtieth anniversary of the Cartagena Declaration on Refugees appealed for deeper levels of articulation, complementarity, cooperation and convergence between regional and subregional integration mechanisms, including issues related to migration, refugees, displaced and Stateless persons and proposed to “move towards a progressive harmonization of public policies, standards and procedures by exchanging best practices for the protection of refugees, displaced and Stateless persons”, taking into account, inter alia, a comprehensive approach, differentiated by age, gender and diversity (Cartagena +30, 2014a and 2014b).

The SACM considered the importance of maintaining a comprehensive approach to addressing the challenges of international migration, as from the concept of governance, and stressed that efforts should articulate the joint work of States, with contributions by international organizations and

5 See www.un.org/es/comun/docs/?symbol=A/68/L.5.

6 See http://beyond2015.org/sites/default/files/Post_2015_Guidelines_SP.pdf.

7 The Central American Integration System includes Belize, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama.

8 The Andean Community consists of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru.

other stakeholders involved in the issue, and should emphasize the importance of consular cooperation and horizontal cooperation as tools that contribute to the comprehensive treatment of migration by deepening South–South cooperation (CSM, 2014).

Migration Policy Practice: *Judging from current and anticipated trends, how are the levels and structure of migration flows in Latin America likely to evolve in the course of 2015, for example in terms of types of migration, source countries, and number and profiles of migrants?*

William Mejía: Circumstances such as the expansion of the MERCOSUR Residence Agreement and the accession of new countries in the region to agreements on educational integration and recognition of certificates and study diplomas, and others, suggest that in 2015 the Andean migration flows of both low-skilled workers and workers with technical and professional training in various areas, including health, will be consolidated towards the south of the continent.

By contrast, two of the largest extraregional Latin American flows – the Mexicans to the United States and Ecuadorians to Europe, especially to Italy and Spain – may continue to decline, due to, among other things, the relative improvement in the economies of their countries, compared with the slow recovery in the north.

Generous policies of countries like Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay on refugees and displaced persons can maintain flows towards the south of the region, from Haiti (specifically to Brazil) and other countries, including the Syrian Arab Republic. Conversely, refugee flows from Colombia, particularly to neighbouring countries and especially to Ecuador, may experience lower volumes and even a reverse trend towards return, due to progress in peace talks in the country.

The implementation of immigration reforms in the United States might mark the end of hope for the regularization of many Latin Americans and could increase the persecution of non-beneficiaries of such measures. This could in turn generate an increase in return, particularly to Central America and northern South America.

However, there are other flows that might experience an increase, albeit limited: young migrants with high professional qualifications and their families from different parts of the region to Canada, as a result

of the new immigration system called Express Entry, which prioritizes the immigration of those with a job offer in the country; Colombian and Peruvian migrants to Europe, especially France, Italy and Spain, for family reunification and eventually work, depending on the recovery of employment there, and on the planned lifting of the requirement for a Schengen visa for the two nationalities mentioned; and Cubans trying to reach the United States, motivated by the fear that the new bilateral relations will lead to the elimination of the immigration policy known as “dry foot–wet foot”, which establishes that Cubans who reach the US soil can stay, while those intercepted at sea, even a few metres from the shore, are returned to Cuba.

Smaller streams of migration that might not experience any significant changes in 2015 would include: those heading to Panama from Colombia; flows from Nicaragua to Costa Rica; and the return of Colombians from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, coupled with the migration of Venezuelan skilled workers and entrepreneurs to Colombia and the United States, due to the gloomy Venezuelan economic situation.

Migration Policy Practice: *What are likely to be the key policy debates around migration policy in Latin America in 2015, for example in terms of draft legislation and/or new policy and programme interventions, political milestones (e.g. national or local elections) and public opinion trends?*

William Mejía: One of the key debates in 2015 might revolve around the new immigration laws in Brazil and Chile, which are two of the Latin American countries that have most reaffirmed their status as key migrant destinations, particularly at an intraregional level. In both cases, the new immigration laws have sought to replace existing laws established under dictatorship, which were largely focused on issues of internal security. The new laws have been conceived under the paradigm of human rights (Brazil, 2014), following the example of Argentina.

Another debate in Brazil will relate to the Statelessness Law, which provides for procedures to determine Statelessness on the same criteria as for refugees. This could encourage neighbouring countries to follow suit, as had happened with the Refugee Law of 1997, of which Brazil was a pioneer in the region. On the other hand, the discussions about the regularization process in the Dominican Republic, which compromises the citizenship of people with irregular immigrant parents, especially Haitians, will most likely continue in 2015.

Other important, albeit less impactful, debates could include: the discussion in Puerto Rico about the Governor's proposal to grant voting rights to immigrants regardless of their legal status (Noticias 24/7, 2015); the discussions in Panama to establish guidelines for a "coherent" national labour migration policy, for which the Government appointed a high-level commission and which aims to promote dialogue among different sectors and to review existing regulations; and the discussions in Costa Rica and Nicaragua on the regularization of migrant workers.

Several countries are also due to discuss their accession to or ratification of the international treaties mentioned above, with a view to creating a common ground for dialogue about the rights of people on the move in the region.

Finally, the immigration reform in the United States and any regulatory changes that may occur in Europe, as a result of the recent fundamentalist attacks in France, might feed existing debates or generate new ones, due to their importance for Latin America. ■

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Outlook on migration in North America in 2015

Demetrios G. Papademetriou¹

Migration Policy Practice: Based on policy and legal developments in North America in 2014, what are the three most important migration policy challenges for 2015, including labour migration, forced migration and asylum, and migration and development?

Demetrios G. Papademetriou:

United States

The most fundamental migration policy challenge for the United States in 2015 remains the same one that has eluded solution for nearly 10 years – agreeing on a legislative package of reforms that updates and refocuses the US immigration system on immigration’s contributions to economic growth and competitiveness. And as in the past, doing so requires agreeing first on how to resolve the status of the nearly 12 million persons who reside in the country illegally.

The two political parties are not far apart on most components of immigration reform. Both parties put domestic security and public safety at the top of their policy agendas. As a consequence, they both support strong border enforcement and the enforcement of laws that protect the public from “criminal aliens” and those who wish the United States ill. President Barack Obama may be closer to the Republicans on key parts of this issue than his party may be, making a compromise agreement on these elements even more likely. And while there may be disagreements on how much to tilt the US immigration system towards higher skills and greater responsiveness to labour market needs, the gulf between the two parties also appears manageable. How much to retreat from the US system’s long-standing emphasis on family reunification (about two thirds of all US permanent visas go to family members, the inverse of how Canada and Australia select their immigrants) will likely lead to a disagreement, but this is also be bridgeable.

Yet, if reform is to be agreed to in 2015, two other items will need to be aligned properly. First, whatever legislative “package” might move forward, it is not likely to be a single, massive, all-inclusive bill. Instead, the approach will likely have to be a “piecemeal” one, with a series of individual bills that allow those matters widely understood to be most urgent being enacted first. Yet, for that to be possible, each party must first trust the other, an extremely difficult thing in today’s Washington. Second, a compromise must be reached on the fate of most unauthorized immigrants. This is a nonnegotiable precondition to anything moving forward as far as the Democrats are concerned, but a political anathema to the hardline conservative Republican base.

More to the point, this issue has become even more complicated following the President’s unilateral action in November 2014, to shield from deportation nearly half of that population. Here is what happened. After many years of false promises, miscalculations, acrimony and recriminations involving the President, the Congress, and the ever better funded, organized and more powerful constituency interests (almost all of whom fall in the very “progressive” end of the political spectrum), the Democrat-led US Senate passed a massive immigration bill with a strong bipartisan majority in mid-2013. This created expectations in most quarters that the House of Representatives, which has been controlled by Republicans since 2010, would follow suit. This expectation was anchored in large part on political self-preservation grounds. The post-2012 election narrative, shared by analysts and political elites from both parties, argued that the election results had made clear that the Republicans needed to attract more Latino voters – the country’s largest and fastest-growing minority – in order to become more competitive in presidential elections. (Large majorities of America’s ethnic and racial groups had voted for President Obama.) The House leadership appeared to have understood that point well, but was nonetheless unable to persuade its own caucus to act on immigration because of the unyielding opposition by its most conservative members who reject any reform that grants legal, and more specifically, permanent residence to significant portions of the unauthorized population. The resulting

¹ Demetrios G. Papademetriou is President of the Migration Policy Institute Europe and President Emeritus of the Migration Policy Institute (MPI).

impasse became an increasingly political problem for the President who had been under intense pressure by the progressive community to protect substantial proportions of that population from deportation unilaterally.

The legal basis for such action stems from the President's authority to exercise prosecutorial discretion on whether to invest the Government's limited resources to remove individuals whose principal violation was being in the United States illegally. The President had already exercised such discretion in mid-2012, when he offered deportation relief to those young persons who had been brought to the United States illegally as children, or who had entered legally but had stayed longer than their visa allowed, and met the programme's requirements. (So far, more than 600,000 persons – out of a potential pool of about 2 million – have benefitted under this programme.) That grant had generated little opposition, in large part, due to the sympathetic nature of the beneficiaries. Unsurprisingly, the more obvious the immigration impasse in the House of Representatives became, the more intense the pressure grew for the President to reprise his 2012 "executive action" for a broader slice of the illegally resident population. He did so in November 2014, by granting parents with a US citizen or permanent resident child who had been in the United States for at least five years a renewable three-year residence and work permit – a grant that might potentially protect an additional 4 million persons from deportation. This time, however, his action generated a vehement reaction by broad segments of the Republicans in Congress, who had been emboldened by massive victories in the November 2014 midterm (congressional) elections that gave them control of the US Senate and an ever more lopsided majority in the House of Representatives.

This is the political context in which the immigration reform battle will be fought in 2015. On the one hand, the Republican congressional leadership must mollify those that view the President's actions as a power grab and probably even unconstitutional, and demand that they be reversed. On the other hand, Republicans must demonstrate to the public that they can govern responsibly and on behalf of the entire country, in the hope that they can maintain their control of Congress after the 2016 elections. To govern, however, requires working with the President to enact legislation because a presidential veto requires a two-third majority in each of the two chambers to override, a

threshold that can be achieved only with the support of substantial numbers of Democrats on each issue.

These realities can either be a recipe for another impasse on immigration policy for 2015 or the perfect set-up for the Republicans to identify a number of issues on which they will be willing to isolate the extremists inside their delegations and find the compromises that will lead to the passing of important legislation with bipartisan majorities while managing as best they can the inevitable open rebellion within their ranks.

It is clearly too early to make prognostications but for both the country and the future of the Republican Party, the longer-term benefits of action clearly outweigh any short-term political gains from inaction.

United States, Mexico and the Northern Triangle Countries of Central America

A second migration policy challenge potentially facing the United States in 2015 but strongly implicating much of the region is the set of issues associated with border controls along the United States–Mexico and Mexico–Guatemala borders. The dramatic surge in illegal flows of unaccompanied migrant children and mothers travelling with one or more young children in the spring and early summer of last year created an enormous humanitarian crisis. It also posed a direct challenge to the border control model in which the United States has invested approximately USD 120 billion between 2004 and 2014. That model, like virtually all other approaches to border control, is designed to deter illegal entries and intercept as many as possible of those attempting to enter illegally. It was never designed to deal with large numbers of persons whose intent was not to evade controls and arrest but to present themselves to border authorities and ask for asylum. While such cases are not uncommon, the systematic nature of the flow and its scale – roughly 137,000 cases, almost equally split between unaccompanied migrant children and mothers travelling with a child (up from about 25,000 in 2013 and nearly 14,000 in 2012 of just unaccompanied migrant children) had an immediate and sharp effect on the politics of immigration. The Government struggled to find safe and humane ways to deal with the surge – as required under a 2008 law designed to protect the rights of minors in trafficking situations – while ramping up its adjudication system to provide proper but expedited review of asylum claims lodged by the newcomers; humanitarians deployed in force

to argue for proper treatment and legal protections for detainees, and immigration skeptics and their supporters in the US Congress, began to attack the Administration for having invited the crisis in the first case due to their “lax treatment” of this population during the previous two years. Meanwhile, the flow kept growing as children, with and without their mothers, kept coming, expecting the US asylum adjudication system to offer them a pathway to staying in the United States “indefinitely”, either by reuniting them with their illegal resident families or with other caring families until a hearing date for their asylum case several years later.

Taken together with solid evidence that, indeed, children who had previously tried this route had been able to join relatives or otherwise stay in the United States, and the intentional misrepresentation by smuggling syndicates of the President’s offer of relief from deportation for certain young unauthorized immigrants (discussed earlier), the flows built up to numbers that simply overwhelmed the capacity of the Government to house them temporarily, let alone deal with their asylum claims. The phenomenon shattered the increasingly dominant narrative that the border was fundamentally “secure” and led to the resumption of dumping ever more resources into border controls. Evidence that the low numbers of border apprehensions earlier in the decade had been gradually but measurably increasing, and that “other than Mexicans” (overwhelmingly citizens of the Northern Triangle countries of Central America – namely, El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras) now accounted for the majority of such apprehensions, strengthened the sense that all was not well at the border after all.

It is unclear how much the US Government’s success in dramatically reducing new flows while preparing to manage better the next surge with more adequate facilities and much quicker adjudications will be tested in 2015. What is clear is that the other governments in the region stepped up to rarely seen levels and forms of cooperation in migration management. Mexico engaged the crisis in an unprecedented manner, giving full meaning to the notion of “shared responsibility”, a phrase used all too often by both countries in the past but usually without a substantive meaning. Specifically, Mexico deployed much larger enforcement resources at and near its border with Guatemala and thereby intercepted, disrupted the traditional routes of, and deported unprecedented numbers of immigrants from the region heading

for the United States during the late spring to early fall months of 2014. At the same time, and at the strong urging of President Obama, the three Central American Presidents engaged in a set of coordinated actions designed to disrupt smuggling networks, increase citizen security, and improve efforts to receive back, protect, and reintegrate those being returned by the US and Mexican enforcement actions, while at the same time publicly emphasizing the perils and likely failure of efforts to reach, remain and gain status in the United States. While many of these highly coordinated activities were directly or indirectly underwritten by the United States, it is notable that the US President’s budget proposal for the next US fiscal year (which starts on 1 October 2015) includes USD 1 billion for assistance to Central America – they were of a form and reach seen before only on security matters of direct interest to the United States.

It will be interesting to observe both whether such cooperation from the Central American countries will continue in 2015 and how successful it will be. As for Mexico’s continuing cooperation, there is every reason to expect that it will continue, as protecting its borders has been a major objective under President Pena Nieto. Moreover, Mexico’s abiding interest in helping its nationals residing illegally in the United States obtain legal status of some form (more than half of the US unauthorized population is Mexican), and the US President’s unilateral efforts to protect nearly half of that population from deportation, make Mexican investments in securing its southern border even more understandable.

Canada

While the United States, Mexico and Central America are expected to continue to deal with the policy issues identified earlier, Canada is expected to continue to roll out key elements of its re-engineered immigration programme. Two such elements are worth watching closely – its Express Entry programme and its highly innovative experiment with a new investor programme. Express Entry came into force in January 2015. It is intended to help Canada choose immigrants with the highest probability of successfully integrating into Canada’s economy and society by creating an online pool of applicants who meet minimum selection criteria under all three of Canada’s major economic migration programmes – the skilled worker programme, the skilled trades programmes and the Canadian Experience Class. Applicants that meet the programmes’ minimum

requirements are then ranked according to language, education and work experience attributes – the three strongest predictors of successful integration – and those ranked highest are asked to apply for permanent residence. Express Entry is also intended to lead to much faster decisions (within six months) and significantly reduce application backlogs, thereby allowing Canada's immigration system to be more responsive to employment conditions and be more employer-friendly at both national and provincial levels.

A second Canadian programme also to commence in 2015 and worth observing closely is a pilot project intended to test the proposition that investor visas could be about more than just persons willing to invest funds passively and without strict residency stipulations in return for a new passport that would in effect offer the investor an "insurance" policy against changing political circumstances at home while also making international travel easier. Given the popularity of investor visas (more than 30 countries now have such programmes), Canada's newest experiment is likely to be watched closely by many other States and investors alike. Specifically, the focus and requirements for investors seeking access to Canada were substantially changed, with 50 visas made available for individuals who are willing to commit Can\$2 million for 15 years in an activity that will support innovation and entrepreneurship, have provable assets of Can\$10 million, will commit to reside in Canada, and meet a number of predictors of societal and economic success, such as language skills and previous experience in establishing and/or managing innovative enterprises.

Migration Policy Practice: *Judging from current and anticipated trends, how are the levels and structure of migration flows in North America likely to evolve in the course of 2015, for example in terms of types of migration, source countries, and number and profiles of migrants?*

Demetrios G. Papademetriou: The levels and structure of migration flows in North America are not likely to change much in 2015. The United States and Canada have highly structured immigration systems that have predictability at their core. Canada will continue to aim to admit close to 300,000 permanent immigrants who will come from roughly the same countries as they have in recent years. Any fluctuations will be at the margins, although Canada's opening to resettling some 10,000 Syrian refugees over the next three years

is, by definition, notable. Similarly, the US immigration system is equally predictable in both number and composition. And while there is some variability in the non-immigrant (temporary) visa system, it is not likely to be notable in any particular way.

Regarding Central America, most migration will be outmigration, and its size and composition will continue to be shaped by opportunities at the receiving country level. These outmigration "opportunities" are likely to continue to be overwhelmingly in the unregulated/illegal immigration realms. There is nothing that one can anticipate at this time that will change the legal routes in 2015 in a measurable way.

Mexico, however, is a different case. Mexico is gradually becoming a significant immigrant destination country and many of the issues discussed in this interview will likely contribute significantly to its movement in that direction. For instance, some of those third-country nationals who migrate to Mexico with the intent to enter the United States illegally, but are intercepted by Mexican authorities or denied entry by the United States, will end up staying in Mexico, often as a result of pressure by non-governmental organizations on the Government to build a robust humanitarian protection system. (The elements of such a system are already embedded in Mexican law.) Moreover, Mexico already has a highly developed migration law, in effect since the end of 2013, which aspires to make the country a destination for foreign students and skilled and talented people. At the same time, increasing numbers of Mexicans now appear to shun difficult, poorly paid and seasonal jobs, with the result that substantial numbers of Guatemalan and other Central American migrants work in Mexico's agricultural industry and in poorly compensated jobs in the services and the construction sectors. Finally, the large and ever growing Mexican middle class is developing an ever stronger appetite for personal services, which will put pressure on the supply of Mexicans willing to do such jobs at the wages and working conditions on offer. Many of these immigration drivers will continue to gather steam in 2015 and will move Mexico closer to becoming an important regional (and increasingly more global) migration player.

Migration Policy Practice: *What are likely to be the key policy debates around migration policy in North America in 2015, for example in terms of draft legislation and/or new policy and programme interventions, political milestones (e.g. national or local elections) and public opinion trends?*

Demetrios G. Papademetriou: In the United States, the policy debates will be completely political in nature. This is the only conclusion that one can draw from the response to the editors' first question. Here are some of the parameters that will shape these debates. It is extremely unlikely that the US President will take more executive actions in 2015. Considering that the primary pool of potential beneficiaries of last November's actions will not begin applying until May of this year, and given the Government's limited capacity to process so many applicants, any thoughts of broadening executive action would have to be abandoned. Moreover, some in Congress are aiming to try to cut funding of the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services despite the fact that the agency operates almost entirely on fees collected by those seeking an immigration benefit or service. The only counter-scenario is that the President wins all legal and legislative challenges to his actions, a rather unlikely outcome. And even then, the most that could happen is the announcement, rather than the implementation, of a broader programme.

The more important questions, therefore, are whether President Obama's November 2014 executive action will survive legal and legislative scrutiny, whether it will do so relatively intact, and how the Republican party will handle the following three related issues. First, how it will calculate the relative political costs and benefits of taking broad legislative action on immigration reform that includes providing legal, but not necessarily permanent, residence for a relatively broad segment of the illegally residing population, which would effectively negate the President's actions. Second, whether the Republican leadership in both chambers of the US Congress will be able to sideline or otherwise tame the immigration extremists in each caucus without doing irreparable damage to the party. And third, what the tenor of debates on this issue will be in the already unfolding campaign for representing the Republican Party in the 2016 presidential election. The answers to all of these questions are unknown at this time, making any prediction unwise.

While this set of political issues will define the US immigration policy landscape in 2015, there are a number of perhaps less critical issues that are likely to gain strength during the year. Two of them may be of particular interest to migration observers. The first touches on the changing tone of US states and localities on immigration. Many of these jurisdictions, deeply frustrated with Washington's impasse on immigration reform, have been moving in directions that can be

described as an emerging "power inversion" between subnational political entities and Washington. This is playing out in initiatives that range from the proliferation of non-cooperation with Washington on many enforcement matters centred on immigrants, to offering unauthorized residents drivers' licenses and in-state tuitions for higher education, and issuing them municipal identification cards that allow them to access many services and benefits with greater ease. More to the point, these actions are going entirely in the opposite direction than actions taken by many jurisdictions in the latter part of the last decade. At that time, states and localities were often trying to place tough legal and regulatory obstacles on the ability of illegally resident persons to work and even live there, with Arizona typically leading the way with numerous draconian measures.

This is a rather different time. Many of Arizona's and other states' measures have been reversed by the courts, and the court of public opinion appears to have shifted strongly towards finding practical solutions to the presence of unauthorized immigrants, rather than just penalizing them. Moreover, the strengthening US economic recovery is working in favour of seeking ways to keep such workers in the United States, while several states and localities are trying to find legal ways to attract both more established and new immigrants to relocate there out of concern about demographic decline and hopes that newcomers might revitalize their economies. Finally, the secular trend in public opinion on this issue is towards supporting some form of legalization, although it is still sensitive to systemic shocks, such as last year's surge in asylum applications (discussed earlier) and any rapid growth in illegal border crossings.

Lastly, a significant political event in North America is Canada's national election, which must take place by October 2015. However, the consensus in favour of large-scale immigration that is managed well by a competent class of public servants, and the strong but steady growth in the political power of "new Canadians", guarantees that there will be no surprises with regard to immigration there. ■

Publications



International Migration, Vol. 53(1) 2015

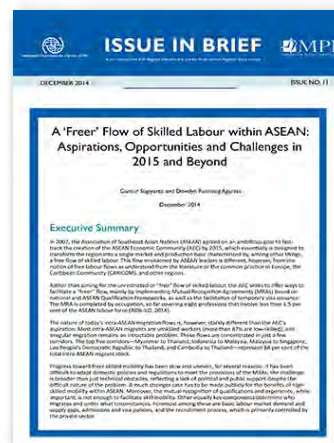
ONLINE ONLY

2015/201 pages

English

Electronic version only available from Wiley-Science

International Migration is a refereed bimonthly review of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) on current migration issues as analysed by demographers, economists, and sociologists all over the world. The journal is edited at Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of International Migration (ISIM) and published and distributed by Wiley. The editors at ISIM are responsible for the direction and content of the journal.



IOM-MPI Issue in Brief No. 11 – A 'Freer' Flow of Skilled Labour within ASEAN: Aspirations, Opportunities and Challenges in 2015 and Beyond

2015/12 pages

English

Available for [PDF download](#)

In 2007, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) agreed on an ambitious goal to fast-track the creation of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) by 2015, which would transform the ASEAN region into a single market and production base. This transformation would be based on five core components, including a free flow of skilled labour.

In A 'Freer' Flow of Skilled Labour within ASEAN: Aspirations, Opportunities and Challenges in 2015 and Beyond', authors Guntur Sugiyarto and Dovelyn Rannveig Agunias argue that in practice, the AEC has not made much progress towards full labor mobility even among high skilled migrants. Instead, they argue that the steps taken so far have only facilitated the movement of high skilled labour, rather than allowing a free flow of skilled mobility.

This issue in brief is the eleventh in the series of policy papers by the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) and the International Organization for Migration's Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific that offer succinct insights on migration issues affecting the Asia-Pacific region today. To read earlier briefs in the series, visit: [IOM Online Bookstore](#) or [Migration Policy Institute](#).



Migration, Environment and Climate Change: Policy Brief Series Issue 1 | Vol. 1 | December 2014

2014/6 pages

English

Available for [PDF download](#)

The Migration, Environment and Climate Change: Policy Brief Series aims to contribute to the global knowledge base on the relationship between migration and environmental change, including climate change, and the formulation of related policy options. The series is produced as part of the Migration, Environment and Climate Change: Evidence for Policy (MECLEP) project funded by the European Union, implemented by IOM through a consortium with six research partners.

The first issue by Jane M. Chun, PhD, examines relocation programmes undertaken due to heavy seasonal floods in the Mekong Delta of Viet Nam. Based on the author's own empirical research in two rural communes in upstream areas of the Mekong Delta, the article discusses the key household assets that determine the household vulnerability, livelihood outcomes and mobility decision-making in conditions of environmental stress. The study measures differential vulnerability among households, and how livelihoods are pursued and responses undertaken in conditions of environmental stress. According to Chun, "by identifying key assets and appropriate points of entry for intervention, it is possible to more sustainably decrease vulnerability in an informed manner, rather than produce vulnerability shifts. This is relevant for relocation programmes, specifically in determining whether they are appropriate, and for whom and how they should be implemented."



Handbook to develop projects on remittances: Good practices to maximize the impact of remittances on development

2014/84 pages

English, Español

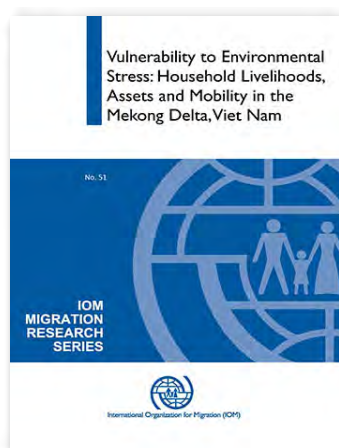
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The purpose of this handbook was to present a document designed to serve as a guide for people working to promote and strengthen the positive impact of the link between remittances, migration and development. The handbook also promotes the creation of partnerships between members of the diaspora, government stakeholders acting in the area of remittances and development, the private sector, and development organizations in civil society, including NGOs, academic institutions and foundations.

In particular, the handbook was created to achieve four objectives:

1. Provide a conceptual framework which explains the relationship between sending money, or remittances, and economic development;
2. Present a summary of good practices in development projects leveraging remittances, accompanied by a brief explanation of their success;
3. Share a partnership model for carrying out development projects;
4. Design a model for the preparation of development programmes which leverage the economic dynamics of remittances, migrant investments and migrant philanthropy.

The study is part of the project "Strengthening the dialogue and cooperation between the European Union (EU) and Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) to establish management models on migration and development policies", implemented by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in close coordination with its partner the International and Ibero American Foundation for Administration and Public Policy (FIIAPP) and financed by the European union.



MRS N° 51 - Vulnerability to Environmental Stress: Household Livelihoods, Assets and Mobility in the Mekong Delta, Viet Nam

2014/72 pages/English

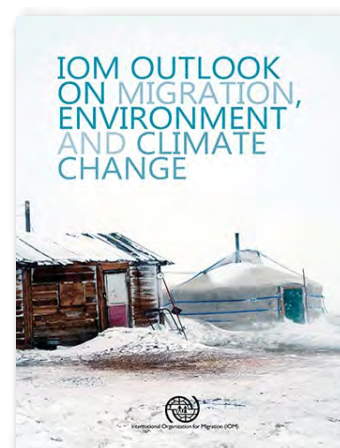
ISBN 978-92-9068-702-3/ISSN 1607-338X

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Climate change negotiations have put migration, displacement and planned relocation as a direct or indirect result of climate change in the spotlight. The Cancun Agreement in 2010 called for enhanced understanding of human mobility and climate change, and, more recently, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change 2014 assessment report acknowledged migration as an effective adaptation strategy in response to both extreme weather events and longer-term climate change. Despite increased awareness, more empirical evidence and case studies are called for better understanding and to inform policymaking on human mobility and climate change.

This study explores vulnerability and household response measures in the contexts of environmental stress in the Mekong Delta of Viet Nam. Displacement estimates are often based on broad assumptions derived from macro-scale geographical data, viewing individuals' vulnerability to hazards through the lens of their physical proximity to hazard-prone areas. Given that household assets shape responses to opportunities and threats, this report examines key household assets which determine the household vulnerability, livelihood outcomes and those critical for mobility decision-making in the face of environmental change.

The report also provides analysis of government relocation programmes targeting households susceptible to hazards and draws attention to the most asset-poor, who are often trapped and the least able to both adapt to stressors in-situ, or migrate elsewhere.



IOM Outlook on Migration, Environment and Climate Change

2014/144 pages

English

Available for [PDF download](#)

IOM Outlook on Migration, Environment and Climate Change aims to bring together in one easy-to-access reference document the knowledge accrued by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and to present IOM's role, understanding and approach to environmental migration.

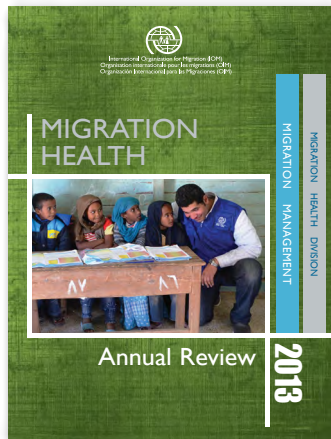
This reference publication builds on IOM's expertise on the topic at the policy, research, international migration law, advocacy and operational levels.

IOM Outlook on Migration, Environment and Climate Change:

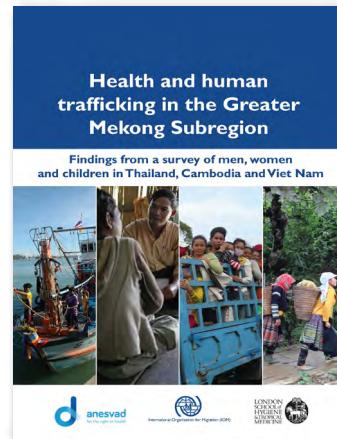
- Takes stock of IOM's action and institutional approach on the topic;
- Gives visibility to the work of the Organization on the topic and serves as a knowledge-sharing tool for this work; and
- Provides insights into the state of the knowledge, legal debates, and links between environmental migration and other policy areas such as adaptation, development, humanitarian response, human rights, disaster risk reduction and security.

The publication targets a broad external audience, including but not limited to policymakers, practitioners, researchers, international agencies, private sector, donors, students and think tanks.

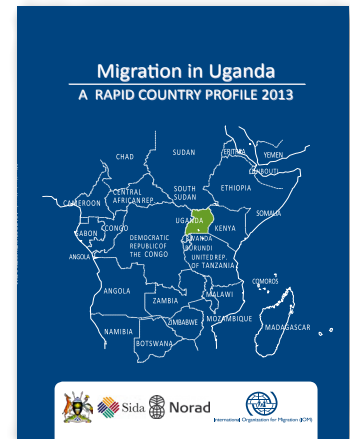
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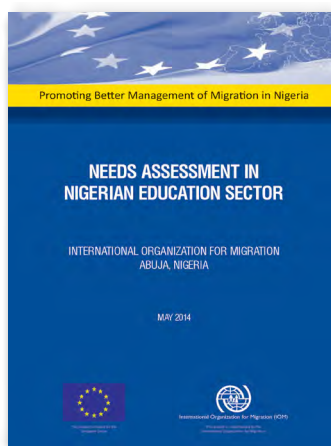
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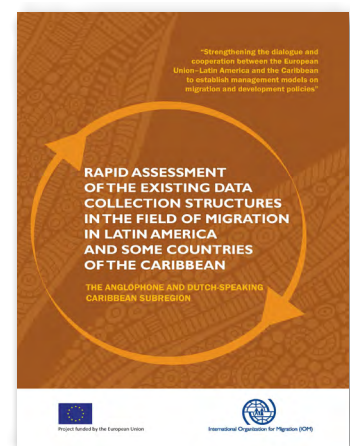
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In African waters
The trafficking of Cambodian
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Structures in the Field of
Migration in Latin America
and some Countries of the
Caribbean**

MPP Readers' Survey

Migration Policy Practice (MPP) was launched three years ago and the editors would now like to invite readers to spare a couple of minutes to participate in a short readers' satisfaction survey.

The purpose of this survey, which can be taken anonymously, is to help us identify our readers' profiles, the institutions they represent and their primary interests in our journal. The survey's responses will contribute, in particular, to adjusting and improving, as appropriate, *MPP's* content and style, and thus the reader's experience.

Should you wish to participate in this survey, please [click here](#).

Thank you.

