



GMPA

Global Migration Policy Associates
*An International research, policy development,
advisory services and advocacy group*

Summary Report **GMPA General Assembly of Members**

13 June 2023, 15h-18h CEST

Location : GMPA office in Geneva and online

A compact 3 hour time-frame, emphasis on membership renewal, review statutory approvals of activity and financial reporting and overview discussion of key issues & challenges

Participants

Associates: Victoria Castillo, Tamirace Fakhoury, Cyprien Gangnon, Ibrahima Guisse, Patricia Myriam Isimat-Mirin, Olga Kadysheva, Paolo Ruspini, Yelena Sadovskaya, Petra Snelders, Patrick A. Taran, Piyasiri Wickramasekara.

Affiliates: Danielle Amparado, Jana Costachi, Elena Dingu-Kyrklund, Genevieve Gencianos, Hiral Hirani, Sadhana Manik, Marius Olivier, Rebecca Shepard, Emel Zerrouk.

Staff research associates 2023: Desiree Mortenson, Oshin Belove

Apologies: Jane Hodges, Mehdi Lahlou, Irina Ivakhnyuk, Guillermo Kerber, Constance de la Vega, Bridget Wooding.

1. Brief welcome, adoption of agenda

As President, Patrick Taran opened the Assembly meeting. He explained that as per stipulations for NGOs in the Swiss Federal Code, also reflected in the GMPA constitutional Statutes, GMPA –as all registered NGOs-- is expected to convene annually an Assembly of members to establish and review organizational policy and activity, approve prior year activity reports and financial statements, provide guidance on current year activity, and anticipate future work. GMPA Assemblies furthermore normally include substantive assessment and discussion of current issues and challenges in its fields of competence.

The Swiss Civil Code and Statutes specify that a quorum of Associate members of the organization must be present and participating in order to conduct formal Assembly business, notably to validate decisions and approve activity reports and finance statements.

It was noted that the meeting began with 7 of 10 confirmed Associates present (more than a quorum of half the members plus one) for purposes of deciding on acceptance of candidate members.

2. Introductory session: who we are: renewal of membership and participation

- Review of membership renewal process and outcome.

Up to 2022, GMPA membership included 24 Associates and 14 Affiliates. The Secretariat conducted an extensive consultative process December 2022 through February 2023 writing to all members requesting confirmation of continuing membership; past Associates who wished to step back were invited to remain as Affiliates. 8 Associates reconfirmed Associate status; 5 adjusted status to Affiliates, 7 desisted due to changed professional interests and/or affiliations or retirement, and 3 never responded despite followup reminders, understood as passive resignation; also 2 Affiliates (re)confirmed as Associates.

The **ten confirmed Associates** are: **Tamirace Fakhoury, Ibrahima Guisse, Irina Ivakhnyuk, Olga Kadysheva, Mamadou Niang, Elena Sadovskaya, Petra Snelders, Patrick Taran, Piyasiri Wickramasekara, and Bridget Wooding.** (Also, founding member **Abdelhamid El Jamri** (RIP) remains listed *in memorium*.)

Affiliates:

5 Associates adjusted to Affiliate status: **Marla Asis, Pablo Ceriani, Jana Costachi, Guillermo Kerber, and John Wrench.**

- 9 Affiliates confirmed/reconfirmed: **Denielle Amparado, Violeta Correa, Elena Dingu-Kyrklund, Genevieve Gencianos, Hiral Hirani, Ray Jureidini, Sadhana Manik, Marius Olivier, and Rebecca Lily Shepard.**
- **Joyce Jett** (RIP), a leading Affiliate since early years, is retained on the roster *in memorium*.
- 3 Affiliates desisted from membership due to changed professional affiliations/interests; 2 never responded to queries and reminders.

3. **New members:** 6 Candidates for Associate membership and 2 for Affiliate status were presented –profiles having been circulated to existing members in advance of the meeting. No questions were raised; the candidates were approved for membership:

- Associates (6)
 - Victoria Castillo**, PhD
 - Cyprien Gangnon**
 - Jane Aeberhard-Hodges**, LL.M.
 - Patricia Myriam Isimat-Mirin**
 - Mehdi Lahlou**, PhD
 - Paolo Ruspini**, PhD
- Affiliates (2)
 - Constance de la Vega**, J.D.
 - Emel Zerrouk**, PhD

Agreed new members joined the Assembly meeting at 15h30 CEST.

- Four of the six newly incorporated Associates were then present at the Assembly, retaining a quorum of 11 Associates among the new total of 16.

For the record, membership across Associates and Affiliates is approximately 'gender balanced' and reflects all major world regions: Africa, Asia-Pacific, Latin America and Caribbean, Europe, Eurasia, and MENA -- Middle East & North Africa, and spans young scholars to veteran specialists. Most members are or have been international migrants by convention definition –some for decades. A majority of members have post-graduate PhDs or Masters degrees; all have had years of practical experience with migration concerns in civil society, academia, government, and/or intergovernmental/UN organizations from local to global levels.

4. 'Round Table' of member updates on current post and main activities

Yelena Sadovskaya in Kazakhstan is a longtime CIS Migration Studies expert on the Central Asia-Eurasia regions. She is currently engaged in research on China's economic advance and international initiatives including the Belt and Road Initiative and BRICS engagement and effects on migration in Central Asia.

Piyasiri Wickramasekara – Sri Lanka, formerly senior migration specialist at ILO where he worked for 25 years. He noted current engagement as lead researcher for the GMPA-ILO project developing a governance handbook on labour migration admissions and post-admissions policies for Southern African/SADC countries, also doing training regularly at the ILO International Training Center. His dedication over 12 years as Vice-President and co-founder of GMPA was highlighted by the GMPA President.

Hiral Hirani – native of Kenya of Indian immigrant origin, receives her Masters in International Relations at the Geneva School of Diplomacy this month. She worked as GMPA Research Associate over the year 2021, including on research for the GMPA-prepared *AU Guidelines on BLAs*. She researched a pioneering article on the effects of global warming and displacement on the indigenous-nomadic Maasai population spanning Kenya-Tanzania, published in the RTE Ecuador academic journal special joint issue in 2022 on migration with GMPA; a significant work for indigenous and especially nomadic peoples worldwide.

Genevieve Gencianos – Migration Programme Coordinator of PSI—Public Services International global union federation. She has long worked on migration, in 1998-2001 with Patrick at Migrants Rights International. She oversees PSI work on migration worldwide; many PSI affiliates are health care worker unions; migration of health workers and its health consequences in origin and employment countries are a major concern. Oversees cooperation projects with and advocacy by unions in the MENA region, Africa, Asia and Europe.

Petra Snelders from the Netherlands, is experienced Policy Advisor on human rights, women, and migration issues with a long history of working in the non-profit organization sector. She is involved at

leadership level with RESPECT, a Europe-wide network of migrant domestic self-organizations and supporters. A major interest is on gender concerns in migration.

Tamirace Fakhoury, an Associate since founding times, is Associate Professor at the University in Denmark and is adviser to the Middle East studies chair at Sciences Po Paris university. She can be considered a leading expert on migration and on political concerns in the MENA region.

Denielle Amparado – native of the Philippines, BA candidate at Smith College, USA, was GMPA Research Associate in 2022 preparing migration profiles on Kazakhstan, Turkey, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan, and is currently working with an NGO in Peru. She served as scribe under GMPA auspices at the global Parliamentary Conference on Refugees and Migration organized in Istanbul by IPU and Grand National Assembly of Turkey in June 2022, where Patrick was speaker, panel moderator, and shadow rapporteur.

Olga Kadysheva has collaborated with GMPA since 2013, was Research Fellow and became Associate in 2015 and took on Acting Secretary responsibilities in 2018. She has a PhD in Economics, was Associate Professor at the Financial University of the Russian Federation, and has researched and published extensively on migration in Russia. She has been working on the Cities welcoming migrants and refugees GMPA-UNESCO-ECCAR research project, contributed to GMPA-ILO research projects on BLAs for IGAD region in 2020 and for AU in 2021 and current GMPA-ILO research in SADC region, as well as teaching a course on International migration at Geneva School of Diplomacy.

Ibrahima Guisse – native of Senegal, has a PhD from University of Geneva and is Associate Researcher at the Institute for Sociological Research (IRS). He founded the Rencontre Africaine pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme -RADDHO; he is member of the UN treaty body CERD – Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination where he is focal point for CERD in drafting a joint *General Comment* on racial discrimination and migrants with the Committee on rights of Migrant Workers--CMW, for which Pablo Ceriani is co-drafter; CERD is also drafting a *general comment* on health and racism. He will (re)circulate the 'calls for inputs'.

Patrick Taran – GMPA President has 47 years professional work in fields of refugee resettlement, migration for employment, immigrant integration, anti-discrimination, human rights of migrants and migration and development. He was Senior Migration Specialist at ILO 2000-2011, also convenor of the inter-agency Steering Committee for ratification of the migrants rights conventions, played a key role in entry into force and now 58 ratifications and 11 additional signatories of the ICRMW.

Patricia Myriam Isimat-Mirin – native of Cote D'Ivoire, trained as judge, served 20 years as senior legal officer at ILO, subsequently with the national human rights commission of Ivory Coast. A particular interest is rights and treatment of prisoners including migrants in detention; she is co-founder of several national and two international civil society organizations working on women/gender issues and on treatment of detainees.

Victoria Castillo – native of Colombia, received degrees from Graduate Institute and University of Geneva, worked at ILO, was migration officer at the IFRC-International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies; she recently did research consultancies for ILO on gender and labour migration in Maghreb countries and Latin America. She is currently researching and drafting national migration profiles on 6 Western Balkan countries with GMPA under ITUC auspices. A main interest area is Gender and Migration.

Paolo Ruspini – has worked in international migration for the past 26 years, is currently Associate Professor at the Department of Education Science, Roma Tre University in Rome, Associate Researcher at the Institute of Sociological Research, University of Geneva, and previously was Senior Researcher at the University of Lugano. He is happy to be inducted as GMPA Associate and looks forward to cooperating in research with GMPA.

Emel Zerrouk – native of UK (of 'immigrant background'), emigrated to Canada, now a recognized young scholar with expertise in rights to water, environmental degradation and related displacement, and consequences of major dam construction compelling displacement of people and communities. She has a PhD in environmental studies from Kyoto University and a Master's degree in international relations and diplomacy from Geneva School of Diplomacy and International Relations. She recently worked as Sustainability Consultant for Provincial Health Services Authority of British Columbia in Vancouver.

Cyprien Gangnon – native of Benin, currently working at UNDP in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. He was an intern at ILO in Geneva years ago where met Patrick; did community level work in Geneva with migrants and asylum applicants; and has been UNDP officer on humanitarian work with focus on assistance to refugees and displaced persons in Sahel region –particularly Burkina Faso, Mali, and Niger.

Elena Dingu-Kyrklund – longtime resident in Sweden, native of Bulgaria, a GMPA Affiliate since early years, has been involved in migration research mainly in the Europe context for more than two decades.

She was connecting from Brussels where she attended the 2023 Brussels Urban Summit –at which addressing migration to the city was a big topic.

Sadhana Manik – professor and researcher at University of Durban, South Africa, longtime focus on education and migration/migrants. Her work focuses on multiple questions of access to schooling and education for migrants and refugees, to content and quality of education for migrants/migrant populations, and to policy and legislation to obtain equality of access to and participation in quality education. She has worked on training teachers of migrants/ migrant teachers in the UAE and elsewhere in the Middle East. She has also published on migrant entrepreneurship. A current area of focus is xenophobia and *afrophobia*, their manifestations particularly in South Africa, and the multiple consequences.

Jana Costachi is a founding member of GMPA. She is now State Secretary for Migration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Moldova, currently addressing many challenges on the border with Ukraine and for Moldova as a transit country for Ukrainians. (Some 100,000 Ukrainians have remained in the country.) She earlier worked as Project Coordinator based in Bishkek, Kyrgyz Republic then Astana, Kazakhstan for an ILO tripartite technical cooperation project (overseen by Patrick) supporting protection of migrants and good governance for integration and development in Central Asia.

Marius Olivier – professor, researcher, migration expert adviser to governments and the African Union, working in both Australia and South Africa with more than 3 decades of focus on migration; he was a member of GMPA team with Patrick and Piyasiri that researched and prepared the AU Guidelines on BLAs subsequently adopted in 2022 at the high level AU Specialised Technical Committee on Social Development, Labour and Employment. (Marius's introduction to meeting was impeded by a technical glitch.)

5. Executive report:

In his capacity as President and acting executive, Patrick Taran provided a brief overview of global challenges and issues concerning migration – thus what GMPA is or should be addressing.

He reminded that GMPA intended from the start to be a global place and space for knowledge building, policy development, advisory work with governments, international organizations, civil society and academia as well as migrants and refugees and their organizations working from explicitly rights-based, multi- and interdisciplinary approaches, with an underlying agenda of pursuing social justice for everyone.

He reminded that recent productive and successful GMPA activity and actions to this effect are documented in the several recent annual activity reports on the agenda for approval –including for last year 2022.

He highlighted several of the multiple 'key concerns' noted in the annex to the Assembly agenda, reproduced as annex to this report. Particularly immediate and salient:

- Rising need & demand for international skills & labour being contradicted by restrictive policy: work forces across the industrialized world are ageing and declining, with growing numbers of job needs unfilled and unfillable from domestic work forces. There are not qualified takers in the country for as many as 6 of 9 million job openings currently in the USA according to business/Chamber of Commerce assessments; Germany workforce declines by 6 million 2015-2030; Italy's by 3 million; 300,000 job openings un-fillable in France at present; UBS and Swiss employers say 500,000 or more workers needed –from abroad-- by 2030 as 1 million retire versus only a half million youth entrants 2020-2030.
- However, restrictive policy remains predominant, while free movement systems where they exist are being subtly or overtly thwarted by 'strengthening borders' and restricting implementation. However, several countries are taking new initiatives to attract needed skills and labour: for example Canada is increasing immigrant admissions to 500,000 per year by 2025 as its workforce declines and the active worker to retiree ratio has dropped to as low as 2 to 1 in more than one province.
- High economic costs including inflation across industrialized countries are attributed to labour/skills shortages coupled with and resulting from restrictions on migration/immigration in face of demographic aging, work force decline and evolving technologies.
- Increase in discrimination, xenophobic hostility, abusive conditions for migrants
- Public discourse & policies problematizing migration, targeting/scapegoating migrants, restricting migration...
- Global *regime change* to deregulatory 'guidance' superseding rule of law normative framework & obligations
- Regime change also characterized by consolidation of shift to an executive control and management agenda superseding and subverting the rights-based, labour standards and social dialogue approach.
- The dominant regime --comprising non-binding 'compacts'; a Western-states driven hegemonic 'management' agency; and a well-engineered coordination network-- counts on consensus among most governments and has been in effect adhered to by many CSOs and some trade union organizations.

In most recent developments, the election of the Minister of Labour of Qatar to preside the current International Labour Conference represented a kind of defeat for workers and to the normative regulatory approach to worker protection and decent work, for migrant workers in particular. The Qatar 'model' of development is manifestly based on often abusive super-exploitation of foreign labour –referred to as *contract workers* to avoid implication of coverage by international standards on migrant workers-- kept cheap, docile and expendable by a combination of absence of labour standards, employer and policing exercised through a non-rights permit *pass control* system, reinforced by absence of either domestic inspection nor international supervision given non-ratification of most international labour standards. That model is similar to the development approach of other GCC countries, and not only. The election to preside the ILC despite concerted international worker opposition seems to reflect a general vote of acquiescence if not support by many governments –and likely some employers-- to Qatar's very public, longstanding defiant negation of application of human rights, particularly labour standards, to foreign workers and its direct refusal to abide by its own commitments made to ILO to impede establishment of a mandated formal international commission of inquiry.

Another notable change: recent assertive efforts successfully installed a US administrator as the new IOM DG last month—objectively dethroning the 'European' DG who by all accounts merited a normal 2nd term. The large and rather contentious political-diplomatic effort and the result signalled the importance given by the US to migration as a strategic concern in the longer term as well as immediate, and thus to retaking a 'controlling position in the global agency responsible for *migration management*.

Four trends that we can expect to continue: 1) ratification and domestication of the international conventions on migration governance and protection of migrants will slow even further; 2) further rise of extremist anti-migrant/anti-foreigner public and political discourse in many countries, coupled with continued restrictions and control on migration despite the resulting negative economic and social consequences; 3) exclusion and levels of abuse of migrants will continue to rise –likely made less visible-- with greater impunity; and 4) direct violence against and attacks on foreigners in general and migrant workers in particular will recur and increase.

Key questions arising for GMPA and its members: how do we defend against, impede, prevent the hostility and hostile environment? What do we do to 'reverse course' on laws, policy and practice that are prejudicial and damaging to economies and societies as well as persons? How do we challenge dominant trends of ideological and political *regime change* replacing the global human rights binding normative framework that protects people and promotes social justice with non-binding, non enforceable, non accountable executive policy guidance that even permits criminal behaviour to be obfuscated by 'champions'? How do we better work in concert with unions, civil society actors and others seeking to retain and pursue a 'rights based approach'?

6. Annual GMPA Activity Summary Reports: Presentation of prior year reports for review and formal approval for the *official record*: 2021, 2020, 2019, 2018, and the 2022 report for amendment if any and approval. Reports for approval were circulated in advance of the Assembly; provisional versions of 2018-2021 reports were circulated earlier and were posted on the GMPA website since March 2023.

Assembly approval of annual reports is required; approved reports are requested by the State and Canton of Geneva as per Swiss civil code requirements to maintain NGO registration status. Prior year reports were presented for approval in view of the impossibility to convene GMPA Assemblies 2020-2022.

GMPA Activity Summary Reports Approved: 2022, plus 2021, 2020, 2019, 2018.

7. Finance annual statements: presentation for approvals for reporting to the Republic & Canton of Geneva. Statements 2018 to 2021 plus 2022 were circulated to Associates and Affiliates in advance of the Assembly. The President noted that the statements show that GMPA did a great deal of research, policy development, advisory, training and advocacy with very few financial resources: much of the work accomplished was done with little remuneration; all staff work is 'pro-bono' volunteer work, and considerable remunerated work is engaged through individual consulting contracts where partner rules and requirements preclude institutional contracts for modest amounts and/or without onerous competitive bidding processes. Nonetheless, results and outcomes can be favourably compared to much better endowed migration think tank/research entities.

GMPA Financial Statements respectively for the years 2018-2022 were Approved.

8. General Discussion, on key issues and challenges: *surveying the forest, not just the trees*

Genevieve – highlighted recognition of a generalized move away from the normative governance framework by States, by governments, alluding to widespread derogation of rights, and of *corporate capture* of governance. In particular, governments manifest that they do not want to be tied by and accountable to international labor standards. She urged that GMPA position itself as a resource for the field –and an alternative to 'mainstream' thinking on migration dominated by utilitarian approaches, where researchers and activist stakeholders can obtain and go through the most pertinent and rights-based approach knowledge and analysis. She proposed that it would be important to establish working groups for ongoing attention to and formulating responses to major policy issues. GMPA should organize and offer webinars, develop projects, engage in a retreat, and generate proposals for research, policy development, advisory work, training, etc. It should reinforce its networking function and role. All of us are resources!

Paolo: highlighted the World Cup held by Qatar last year, whose huge infrastructure was built by hundreds of thousands of migrant workers employed in often abysmal and abusive conditions in negation of international labour standards. At the same time, we face huge displacement and relocation of people from middle and eastern Ukraine, widespread border crises as the Belarussian-Polish one in autumn 2021 with stopping, return of and detention of migrants and asylum seeker-refugees, and particular targeting of people of colour – *black and brown* deceived and relocated from war torn regions in the African continent or the Middle East, plus manifest discrimination against some 2000 African students seeking to escape from Ukraine but impeded from even reaching borders and/or from crossing into neighboring countries at the borders.

Sadhana Manik: talked about her research on migration and education, in particular about experience in supporting training for teachers of migrants in GCC countries, treated at best as stop-gap measures rather than serious educational policy. She also commented on the ongoing consequences of permitting anti-migrant discourse and action, including by and from the highest level of government, that resulting in several bouts of extreme widespread street violence against African migrants with looting and burning of migrant-owned businesses, killing of migrants, widespread displacement (UNHCR had to assist with setting up camps for thousands of Africans driving from homes and out of towns), and the exodus of thousands of African migrants/im-migrants from the country. The question of not just xenophobia but specifically Afrophobia posed by 'black on black' violence and exclusion poses a major question for understanding and preventative policy measures.

Patrick: referred to current GMPA work preparing a governance handbook on labour migration admissions and post admissions policies for SADC countries, noting that a key but contentious issues for the content is how to address xenophobia and anti-migrant violence occurring in the region –not only in RSA, but also mass expulsions from Angola and herding refugees settled in communities into closed camps in Botswana. He noted that conflict in Ukraine has a huge inter-ethnic dimension: 30% are native Russian speakers, 17% identified as 'ethnic' Russian in last census but a law on regional language status for Russian and other minority languages (Hungarian, Polish) where minorities exceed 10% of the population was overturned in 2014 and later replaced by a *Ukrainian language only* law --raising comparison with the *English only* movement in the USA targeting Hispanic populations by language suppression. Repression of populations by their language has been a flash point for exclusion, expulsion and exodus for centuries... However, some contemporary national law such as in Belgium includes language as a prohibited grounds of discrimination. This arena of language, exclusion/inclusion, education and migration is an area GMPA would do well to 'work on.'

Yelena: echoed colleagues concerns to strengthen GMPA consultation and action ... and to have a dynamic coordination or working group to give some collective thought and direction to the work.

8. Preliminary Programme and organization for 2023

Patrick outlined the main activity underway and anticipated for this year 2023:

- preparing a governance manual on labour migration admission and post admission policies for Southern African countries; Piyasiri is lead with a team comprising Chandima Arambepola, Olga and Patrick.
- Researching and preparing comprehensive national migration profiles on six Balkan countries: Victoria Castillo is main researcher writer, ably supported by Desiree Mortenson; Patrick provides oversight.
- Updating website with addition of many papers recently provided by members –more expected.
- Producing some 20 migration policy briefs from material already researched and developed in the context of the cities welcoming migrants and refugees handbook preparation. This activity will require engagement by members in developing, editing and 'peer reviewing' the different topical briefs.

- Preparing/updating up to 21 national migration profiles: 6 from current project on Balkans, 8 Central Asia-East Europe drafted last year under ITUC auspices, and 7 Horn of Africa-East Africa countries of to be developed from brief profiles prepared in context of the IGAD guidelines research in 2020.
- Finishing and seeing through to publication the *Cities welcoming migrants* and refugees handbook.

Further areas for activity are mentioned in the annex following **GMPA and member approaches and actions for this and following year**

Patrick noted that for both statutory purposes and organizational functioning, a **coordinating team** should be endorsed. This was discussed with several persons in advance: Olga, Patricia, Patrick, Tamirace, Mehdi and Ibrahima. At the meeting, Genevieve, Paolo and Petra were also nominated/suggested by members present.

However, Tamirace had indicated that due to her Sabbatical this year, she could only be available next spring, Mehdi was not present, Ibrahima left early in the meeting, and Petra and Genevieve indicated other commitments impeded taking on such a role at this time.

Olga, Patricia and Patrick were present and affirmed willingness to be part of the Team, while further consultations were deemed in order to fill in the team composition and determine a *working group* type format and agenda amenable to participation by several other members.

9. **Next meeting(s)** timeline – TBD

Assembly note-takers: Desiree Mortenson and Oshin Belove
Elaborated by Patrick Taran
Edited by Olga Kadysheva
Reviewed by members present

ANNEX:

Some key issues and trends meriting further discussion, analysis, and action-activity:

Global context

- Rising need & demand for international skills & labour across the industrialized world
- High economic costs and constraints resulting to many economies due to workforce shortages
- Development of distinct SCO-Belt & Road-BRICS economic cooperation and migration dynamics
- Utilization of conflict displacement situations to address workforce deficits in Europe & other regions.

Common challenges for protection and policy worldwide

- Opportunistic and utilitarian characterization of migrants and migration;
- Widespread restrictive discourse & policies limiting migration and targeting/scapegoating migrants
- Continued widespread super-exploitation and abusive conditions for many migrants at work
- Increase in discrimination, xenophobic hostility and violence
- Rise of exclusionary nationalist anti-migrant/migration discourse with increased organized political influence/power --exacerbating contradictions evoked above-- East & West, North & South.
- Reinforcement of political discourse, media emphasis and academic focus problematizing migration and migrants; lamenting push factors while ignoring pull/demand
- Coincidence between interest/need to keep labour force cheap and flexible, constraints on migrants by precarious or non-status, restricted movement, prevention of organizing, and political discourse –and action, both targeting migrants and justifying exclusionary treatment.
- Who is driving, who benefits, and where are alliances of cooperation consolidating?
- *Regime change*
- Global *regime change* to deregulatory voluntarist guidance superseding normative framework & obligations, subordinating application of HR –notably labour rights-- to migrants/migrant workers.
- Collapsing distinctions between refugees and migrants; between trafficking and smuggling,
- Imagery of migrants massing at borders, invading, proliferation of replacement threat ‘theories’
- Diminished UN and specialized agency promotion and defense of binding human and labour rights standards for migrants/migrant workers
- Shift to referring to 'States' vs government representation in multilateral institutions and processes, to (individual) mayors vs city governments in intercity initiatives.
- Exclusion of Russia along with propaganda vilifying China and Russia and their peoples, and imposition of restrictions, including in migration arenas, forums.
- Cooptation and instrumentalization of a large part of 'civil society' and the concept itself
- Other aspects...

GMPA and member approaches and actions for this and following year

General lines

- Remind normative essence of *Rights-based approach* and its application in analysis and activity
- Elaboration of analysis and challenges to deregulatory voluntary 'States based' approaches
- Engaging in/with projects that 'make a difference' in developing analysis, policy, discourse – such as recent BLA guidelines projects with IGAD and AU
- Re-engage on promotion of ratification, domestication and reporting on key normative conventions

Specific activities/actions

- Organization of an annual global law-policy-action forum later in 2023 (hybrid)
- Revitalize a coordinating/working team
- Engage in occasional GMPA member discussions (hybrid)
- Production and posting of global migration policy briefs (20+)
- Revision and posting of 21 country migration profiles (2023)
- Raised advocacy in events and forums (eg HRC)