



# GMPA

*Global Migration Policy Associates*

*An International research, policy development,  
advisory services and advocacy group*

**THE GLOBAL MIGRATION CONTEXT for:**

**'EXPERIENCING THE MUSEUM: PEOPLE WITH MIGRANT BACKGROUNDS'**

**International Conference, Garage Museum of Contemporary Art,**

**Moscow, 5-7 December 2019**

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## **Setting the record straight: what migration is about**

Migration is about people and it is fundamentally about development, human rights and social welfare in today's world. But today, the world is *getting it wrong* on migration.

There are an estimated 272 million foreign-born people residing today in countries for one year or more other than where they were born or held original citizenship.<sup>2</sup> However, this figure is a significant undercount; it does not include millions more people around the world in temporary, short-term or seasonal migration and work situations who reside or remain in countries of employment for less than a year, such as Kyrgyz and Uzbek agricultural workers in Kazakhstan or farm workers from Eastern European countries in Italy, Portugal or Spain. It also does not include mobile workers who work in and travel through other countries for extended periods of time but do not change their residence from their homeland or other long term location.

Refugees and stateless persons comprise about 12 percent of the global migrant population. UNHCR figures count 25.9 million refugees, including 5.5 million Palestinians registered by UNRWA, the UN Relief and Works Agency) plus 3.5 million asylum seekers.<sup>3</sup> UNHCR also estimates some 10 million Stateless People.

These figures above on international migrants, refugees and asylum seekers do not include internally displaced persons IDPs, who by definition have not left their country of origin/residence. Nor do they account for the millions of people who have moved to reside in a different part or region and/or from rural areas to cities within their country of citizenship or residence. Internal migration is an important feature of many countries, including developed countries such as the Russian Federation or the United States.

Migration today is about internationalised labour and skills mobility in a globalized world, sustaining the *world of work* in the Twenty-First Century. Human mobility is key to the viability of labour markets worldwide, to obtaining return on capital in a globalized economy, and key to development.

Migration is especially important for Russia. Some 12 million international 'migrants' reside in the country – a number similar to the decline in the work force since the year 2000. A significant proportion of these migrants are in fact of white Russian ethnic identity, being among the some 9 million persons who migrated to the Russian Federation after the independence of former Soviet Republics in the Caucasus, Central Asia and Eastern Europe since 1989-1990.

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<sup>1</sup> ***Prepared in individual expert capacity; the views herein do not necessarily engage GMPA or other Associates***

<sup>2</sup> UNDESA. "The number of international migrants reaches 272 million, continuing an upward trend in all world regions, says UN" United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. 17 September 2019, New York <https://www.un.org/development/desa/en/news/population/international-migrant-stock-2019.html>  
As noted in DESA international migration estimates, "The estimates are based on official statistics on the foreign-born or the foreign population, classified by sex, age and country of origin. Most of the statistics utilised to estimate the international migrant stock were obtained from population censuses. Additionally, population registers and nationally representative surveys provided information on the number and composition of international migrants."

<sup>3</sup> UNHCR Figures at a glance, July 2019. (online at 5 December 2018). <http://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>

At least as significant is the Russian diaspora – estimated at up to 30 million people around the world originating in Russia or whose parents or ancestors did, and who maintain connections with their Russian heritage and identity. That number is equivalent to one fifth of the 145 million population in Russia today.

Development –and sustaining development– in Africa, the Americas, Asia-Pacific, Eurasia, Europe and the Middle East depends on migration. Migration maintains viability of agriculture, construction, health care, hotel, restaurant and tourism and other sectors; it meets growing demand for skills; it dynamizes workforces and productivity; and mobility promotes entrepreneurship across every region. Migrant remittances and transfer of skills, along with investments, and expanded trade generated by migrants enhance development and well-being in many countries North and South.

## **Migration, economic activity and development**

Most migration today –whether for employment, family reunification, immigration, educational studies or refugee flight—is bound up in employment and economic activity outcomes. 164 million of the 250 million people –including refugees – living outside their countries of birth or origin in 2017 were economically active<sup>4</sup>—employed, self-employed or otherwise engaged in remunerative activity.

Migration represents growing portions of populations and of work forces in many countries across Asia, the Americas, the Caribbean, Europe, Eurasia and the Middle East:

- 10% to 15% of labour forces in Western European countries
- 20% in immigration countries Australia, Canada and the USA,<sup>5</sup>
- 40% to 93% of work forces in member States of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC).
- 10 to 20% across Eurasia; nearly 15% in the Russian Federation.

*Development* has been significantly dependent on *migration* for centuries.

- Forced movement of millions of slave labourers from Africa over the period of the 16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.
- Since the late 18<sup>th</sup> Century, tens of millions of people displaced by wars, famine and industrialization in Europe provided people to develop North and South America and the Caribbean region.
- Between 1815 and 1914, 22.6 million people left the shores of Britain to settle somewhere abroad.<sup>6</sup>
- Large population movements –some forced—redistributed large numbers of people around the Soviet Union during much of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, contributing to agricultural development and industrialisation.

Russia today is particularly dependent on migration for economic sustainability. Its native work force has declined by 12 million working age persons since the year 2000; just between 2016 and 2017 about 1 million workers retiring or otherwise leaving the work force were not replaced by young natives, while some 10 million working-age foreign born –80% of the 'migrant' population—represent around 15% of the current 75 million person work force in this country, in all levels of employment and skills from top to bottom.

## **Labour Mobility for Regional Integration and Development**

Most migration is taking place within regions –not between. Today, 52% to over 60% of migration originating in Africa, Asia, Eurasia, Europe and South America remains within those regions.

Migration became a formal, legally regulated pillar of development across several regions since the 1950s. Mobility across a growing European integration space was a primary component of building the European Economic Community, succeeded by the *European Union*. Already in the 1970s, regional *free movement for development* systems were established in Central, East and West Africa and in the Andean region of South America. Much migration today takes place within the twelve Regional Economic Communities that have formal regimes of free circulation of persons that involve a total of over 100 countries, including the

<sup>4</sup> ILO Global Estimates on International Migrant Workers 2018. International Labour Organization, Geneva, December 2018. [https://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS\\_652106/lang--en/index.htm](https://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_652106/lang--en/index.htm)

<sup>5</sup> Figures for most EU countries and “immigration countries” mentioned can be found in the OECD *International Migration Outlook* and its *Statistical Annex*. <http://www.oecd.org/migration/international-migration-outlook-1999124x.htm>

<sup>6</sup> *How important was Migration to the British Empire?* Webpage: <http://www.britishempire.me.uk/migration.html>

Eurasian Economic Union.

Development will not advance without integrating the material and human resources, capital, technological capacities and larger markets across groups of states that only combined together can obtain: 1) the breadth of resources, 2) scale of production, and 3) size of markets that guarantee viability in a highly competitive globalized world economy.

### **Economic importance of migration**

Total global remittances including to developed countries was \$613 billion in 2017<sup>7</sup>. That is larger than total annual “foreign aid” (overseas development assistance -ODA) and larger than total foreign direct investment (FDI). The value of remittances sent to developed countries, including the Russian Federation, is huge. For example, the 28 member countries of the European Union receive 125 billion dollars equivalent in 2016, considerably more than the total 98 billion remitted to other countries within as well as outside Europe. France received 25 billion dollars, Germany 16 billion and Italy 9 billion.

But remittances generally comprise less than 20% of migrant earnings, 80% goes into and bolsters host country economies. The value of economic activity by migrants to host countries is at least 3 trillion dollars per year, measured by an extrapolation of aggregate direct earnings.

Migrants contribute to the solvency of national social security systems, in some cases without ever obtaining benefits or use of their contributions. Undocumented migrant workers provided US Social Security system 50 billion dollars over a recent 5 year period, that they will never be able to collect or benefit from.

### **Greater mobility anticipated**

Within 15 years, majority of world's countries and populations will be in serious work force decline.

- Germany loses 6 million members of work force, Italy 3 million, by 2030.
- Japanese labour force shrinks by 37% in 2040 from 1990.
- Small Switzerland needs 400,000 additional workers by 2030.
- China's work force declines by as many as 126 million people in the next 30 years.

More than 100 of 224 recognized countries and political territories are now at or well below *zero population growth* fertility rates<sup>8</sup>. In Eurasia, this includes Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. All these countries already face increasing departures from the work force uncompensated by decreasing numbers of youth entrants. All require immigration as one of the measures to compensate for work force decline.

Pressures for labour displacement and emigration from countries North and South remain intense; in some situations intensified. Particularly in Africa and South Asia, the main factor is absence of jobs and decent work in countries with growing youth populations.

Financial crises and austerity measures since 2008 devastated many national economies, employment and social protection systems, including in Europe. Youth unemployment rates have been above 40% in several countries. New waves of emigration, especially of young workers, have departed from Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain.

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<sup>7</sup> World Bank. Annual Remittances Data. April 2018.  
<http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/migrationremittancesdiasporaissues/brief/migration-remittances-data>

<sup>8</sup> 2.1 children per woman is considered the ‘replacement rate’ of zero population growth, below which population will decline.

## **Social and cultural dimensions of mobility**

Categorically, migration contributes to social welfare and well being. Human mobility drives the evolution and modernisation of societies and culture in an inter-dependent world.

For example, Russian culture manifests the influences of many other cultures, influences brought to what is today's Russian Federation by immigrants and refugees over many centuries, and by Russians who returned from abroad or indeed who live abroad today. But it is two ways, better said, multidimensional. Russian emigrants and Russian culture have influenced art, music, science across the West and elsewhere.

It is essential to underline that *inclusion*, *participation* and *integration* are fundamental aspects of addressing immigration and ensuring social cohesion in any society and nation today. Virtually all countries worldwide are becoming more diverse and *multi-cultural* in the composition of their populations –the people present in the country. That expanding diversity is usually much more present and visible in larger cities and urban areas, which is where much of a country's economic activity takes place.

Contemporary understanding of *integration* recognizes that inclusion and participation of migrants, immigrants, refugees –and members of the host community-- is about mutual respect, the ability of all to have equitable access to decent work, services and an at-least minimal level of socio-economic welfare and well-being. It means at the same time the support, space and respect for all to retain their own *identity* in cultural, ethnic, social, linguistic, religious and familial terms, while functioning in public life with respect for and accommodation to the host community/country legal, social and administrative norms. This presumes strict respect for human rights of all by all and mutual respect and “two-way” accommodation between different identities, including between migrant/immigrant identities and host community identifies.

Maintaining *own identity* along with socio-economic participation in the host community and society are not mutually excludable; rather they are interdependent and mutually supportive. That is, if and when encouraged and supported by law recognising rights and equality of treatment along with proactive integration policy and inclusive practice by government –national and local-- as well as civil society and the society as a whole.

## **Museums and Migration**

Initial, recent exhibitions and activities here at the Garage Museum of Contemporary Art, at the Moscow Museum, and at other museums in Russia have begun to show the influences of migration on visual art, music and performing arts in this country. They have also –all too timidly– begun to exhibit visual art and other cultural manifestations of peoples among the contemporary immigrant population in Russia.

Museums have immense potential and key responsibilities to serve as educational, mediating and policy influencing agencies in this society and others. Museums provide the space and place to document and demonstrate the dignity and humanity of all persons concerned, as well as their cultural heritage. They can show –and explain-- the contributions of migrants and migration to the development of human culture, its many socio-cultural, ethnic, religious and linguistic identities, and the vast richness of cultural expression across that diversity. They can serve as places to enhance the understanding of host populations about their own histories of migration. Museums can offer migrants and immigrants access to the host society identity, history and contemporary life as well as providing a meeting and mediating point between both.

Experiences elsewhere show that museums also have opportunities and roles to play in safeguarding cultural heritage and reclaiming peoples' histories, individually and collectively. An important role adopted by a number of museums is providing *space and place* for people expelled and exiled from their native lands to restore and maintain their cultural heritage. This is an especially important responsibility as many indigenous and minority cultures and languages are threatened with disappearance, indeed extinction, around the world.

Safeguarding heritage is recognized as so important as to merit an international Convention, the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003).<sup>9</sup> As described in that instrument, "The "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity."<sup>10</sup>

For Russia in particular, museums have an especially important role to play in *changing the narrative*, towards a respectful, inclusive understanding of migrants and migration, away from the dominant criminalising and dismissive imagery reinforced by official discourse and policy as well as media coverage and imagery. More than academics or a seriously constrained civil society, museums and other cultural institutions have the *place and space* to do the research, bring together artists, art and thinkers (such as at this event), and collect and create the cultural manifestations to establish a fuller historical and contemporary understanding. Cultural institutions have by definition tangible and intangible *art and artefacts*, the visual images, music, dance, photography, plastic arts, and so on to make real and tell the stories of what human mobility and migration is and means for this country and society –and for migrant and refugee communities.

## 20 law and policy challenges for governance of migration

In context of all of the above, this brief identifies what are indisputably the key contemporary challenges around human mobility and international migration. While global generalisations, all apply to a great degree to the situations in the Russian Federation and countries in the Eurasia region.

1. Lack of legal protection, non-recognition of migrants; non-recognition of rights under law.
2. Utilitarian instrumentalization of migrants subordinating human rights.
3. Increasing xenophobic hostility and violence against migrants worldwide
4. Sub-standard, abusive employment relations and conditions of work for migrants.
5. Systematic/structural discrimination and exploitation of migrant women.
6. Lack of health care and OSH for migrants and refugees; denial of their health rights.
7. Absence of access to social security and non-portability for many migrants.
8. Social exclusion, absence of migrants and refugees in associations and unions
9. Migrant and refugee family separation and family decomposition
10. Growing gaps between skills needs and the numbers and types formed worldwide.
11. Barriers and restrictions for migrant and diaspora entrepreneurs and for migrant SMEs
12. Increasingly restrictive policies and attitudes towards migrants and refugees, threatening the future economic viability of developed countries.
13. Instrumentalisation of development aid to extend migration control and repression.
14. Non-implementation of free circulation regimes and/or increasing restrictions and pressures to constrain free circulation where existent –including in Europe, effectively impeding development.
15. Concentration of *migration management* in security and policing institutions, contrasted with absence of policy and administrative responsibility by labour and social protection institutions.
16. Criminalization of migrants, association of migrants with criminality-- including trafficking.
17. Criminalization of solidarity with migrants and repression of migrants rights defenders

<sup>9</sup> Full text of this Convention online at <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>

<sup>10</sup> For additional perspective, see: Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. UNESCO. Paris. 2018. [https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/2003\\_Convention\\_Basic\\_Texts-\\_2018\\_version-EN.pdf](https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/2003_Convention_Basic_Texts-_2018_version-EN.pdf)

18. Obtaining comprehensive, rights-respecting national policy frameworks on migration consistent with and fulfilling human rights conventions and the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda.
19. Implementation of city/urban policy and practice *welcoming migrants and refugees* in line with the New Urban Agenda guidance.
20. Obtaining accurate and reliable data, analysis and knowledge about migration and development

*Brief reflections on several of these follow:*

### **Exploitation versus Protection**

Exploitative conditions are commonly experienced by migrants. They are in general structurally driven. A report on the UK summed up treatment of many migrants, consistent with other developed countries:<sup>11</sup>

“Migrants, especially those from outside the EU15 who have limited access to social security provisions, face the paradoxical position of being welcomed by businesses and the state due to their high flexibility and minimal utilisation of the welfare state on the one hand, whilst facing increasing unease and hostility from anti-immigrant groups, the same state that welcomes them, and large numbers of the general public on the other.

The highly unregulated and flexible economy has allowed many migrants to easily find work and businesses to remain competitive whilst simultaneously creating the conditions for widespread exploitation and producing divisions amongst workers, both between (native) born/migrant and between different groupings of labour migrants.”

Global competition, free trade, and the race to the bottom phenomena push against costs of labour and provision of social services; they challenge the very social function of States. For many enterprises in many countries, for entire economic sectors, low cost foreign labour is the only ticket to survival. Keeping some migrants cheap, docile, flexible and removable without social costs-- becomes imperative to keep jobs at home and economies afloat, no matter what those jobs are and who is doing them. Despite rhetoric about controlling migration, migrant workers fall into or remain in irregular situations and are tolerated because they provide that cheap, flexible labour needed to sustain enterprises, employment and competitiveness. Labour standards are not applied in migrant-dependent sectors and industries, while labour inspection is left with little or no capacity or competence to reach workplaces and areas where migrant workers are prevalent.

Protection of human and labour rights and of decent work is thus an essential pillar of any policy approach to international mobility, notably application of international labour standards where migrants are employed.

*Capital*, managed today mostly by private sector employers and *labour* represented by worker trade unions, are incontestably the core actors of economic activity. They are the operational pillars for advancing –or simply maintaining—development. They are the primary beneficiaries of liberalizing international circulation of capital, goods, services, technology and labour. They most immediately suffer the losses engendered by restrictions on circulation –whether of capital, goods or people.

### **The clear and present danger of xenophobia**

A burning concern is the generalized rise of discriminatory practices and of racist and xenophobic behaviour against migrants. Recent events from China to Morocco to South Africa to almost every European country to Russia and to Australia, Canada and the USA indicate hostility towards migrants is manifested worldwide. Reported incidents in all regions include: shootings of migrant workers at or near workplaces, individual or mob attacks on and killings of migrants. In situations of civil conflict, foreigners have been explicitly targeted with deadly hostility.

The concern is aggravated by the absence with few exceptions of vigorous responses by governments to anticipate, discourage, and prevent manifestations of racist and xenophobic hostility against foreigners and to prosecute perpetrators. Instead, anti-foreigner hostility is aggravated by discourse and action by some governments that engage in public brutality and violent repression against migrants, including police round-ups and mass detention of migrants in what can only be characterised as concentration camps.

<sup>11</sup> Ian M. Cook, *Hierarchies of Vulnerability: Country report United Kingdom; Labour migration and the systems of social protection*, Multikulturni Centrum Praha, Czech Republic, 2011, page 4

Social cohesion can only be maintained by deliberate legal, institutional and practical measures. In the few countries such as Ireland where discrimination and xenophobia have been vigorously discouraged, there have been few racist killings of migrants nor burnings of businesses and homes of foreigners and anti-immigrant politicians and political parties have gained no traction.

## **Gender Specificity**

The feminization of migration is not about the gender proportions of migration. Female participation has been above 45% for decades and is 49% today<sup>12</sup>. The difference from previous times is that today most women migrants are economically active. They often migrate on their own rather than as dependants. This is generally true in all regions, including Eurasia.

In a global context of stratification of employment and segmentation of labour markets, women migrants hold particular appeal for employers as they are sought after for 'women's work' that, not coincidentally, is usually low paid and unprotected: domestic work, healthcare, agriculture, hotel and restaurant, semi-skilled manufacturing in export processing zones. Common across these sectors is that while some workplaces may be highly socialized they are not organized, meaning no unions or associations for mutual defence and solidarity, nor any bargaining power to press for decent work conditions.

Women and girl migrants face high risks of sexual and gender based exploitation as well as violence, both in the migration process and in destination countries. Women migrant workers generalized lack of effective protection in agriculture, in textile sweatshops, in services and elsewhere. Testimony abounds of women working in these sectors subject to abusive working conditions, sexual harassment, unprotected exposure to dangerous pesticides or chemicals, and other risks.

## **Social Protection**

Effective social security systems provide income security, prevent and reduce poverty and inequality, and promote social inclusion and dignity. Social security enhances productivity and employability and supports sustainable economic development, contributing to decent living conditions for all and making extension of social security coverage for migrants vital to workers, the economy and society.

Although migrant workers contribute to the economies of both destination and origin countries, they are often not taken account of in national social security systems. Migrants lose entitlement to social security benefits in their country of origin due to absence. They face restrictive conditions or non-access to social security in the country of employment. Even when they can contribute in host countries, their contributions and benefits often are not *portable* to origin countries.

## **Family and social welfare**

Many migration regimes other than permanent immigration essentially require family separation, by calling for and admitting workers –whatever skills levels-- alone, without family. The absence of breadwinner and family adults and role models often has devastating consequences for the socialization and education of children, left in care of less able grandparents or otherwise overwhelmed relatives. Little or no compensatory social and schooling support is available in most countries experiencing large emigration, correlating with higher rates of school leaving, delinquency and psycho-social pathology among children with one or both parents abroad.

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<sup>12</sup> UNDESA. 2019. "The number of international migrants reaches 272 million, continuing an upward trend in all world regions, says UN" United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. 17 September 2019, New York <https://www.un.org/development/desa/en/news/population/international-migrant-stock-2019.html>

## Skills and training constraints

No country today can form or train the entire range and number of evolving skills needed to perform the ever more complex work performed on its territory. This drives an increasing international mobility of skills, competences, and labour at all skill levels. The global shortage of high skilled and trained technical skills is projected to reach 85 million by 2020. 38- 40 million skilled workers with tertiary education will be lacking, especially in developed countries. Another 45 million will be missing with needed technical, vocational and scientific skills, particularly in developing countries.<sup>13</sup> Today employers around the world complain that they cannot fill one in three jobs on offer with the needed level of skills.

The development cost for is huge –including for Russia: skills are absent where they are needed to spur investment and support productive economic and infrastructure development. Impediments to mobility and absence of recognition of skills and experience compound the lack of training for current and future needs.

## The governance framework

There is a comprehensive international framework for governance of migration, designed to support good governance and administration at national and local levels. The legal framework is provided by 1) the nine main Human Rights Conventions; 2) all up-to-date International Labour Standards; 3) the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol on the Status of Refugees, 4) the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations; and 5) the two Protocols on trafficking in persons and smuggling of migrants to the Convention against transnational organized crime.

Three complementary conventions on international migration provide the core legal regime for migration governance: ILO Convention 97 on Migration for Employment (1949), ILO Convention 143 on migrant workers (Supplementary Provisions) of 1975, and the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW).<sup>14</sup>

Ratification of these is the essential foundation for migration law, policy and practice. 90 countries have ratified at least one of these three instruments: 19 Council of Europe participating States (including Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkey as well as 10 EU member states and Norway); 28 African Union Member States; and nearly all States in Central and South America. Counting additional signatories of the ICRMW, 100 countries are committed to uphold legal standards governing migration.

## The Sustainable Development and New Urban Agendas

The first global policy framework to feature the role of migration and its immense contribution to sustainable development worldwide was the Declaration and Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development at Cairo in 1994<sup>15</sup>. The overarching contemporary frameworks are the **2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development** with its Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2015 and the **New Urban Agenda** adopted at the world conference “Habitat III” in Quito in October 2015.

The UN 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda is the broadest contemporary global consensus policy framework. It covers most topics and issues concerning development and human welfare, relevant at all

<sup>13</sup> McKinsey Global Institute. Jobs, pay, and skills for 3.5 Billion People. McKinsey & Company, 2012 <http://www.mckinsey.com/global-themes/employment-and-growth/the-world-at-work>

<sup>14</sup> Texts, ratification status and related information available respectively at: <http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:1:0> and: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CMW.aspx>

<sup>15</sup> The ICPD was the biggest world conference ever held addressing population, migration and development with 11,000 delegates from 179 countries and some 4,000 participants in the parallel NGO Forum. It articulated a new vision about the relationships between population, development and individual well-being. Two of ten chapters of the Programme of Action were entirely about migration and development, comprising an extensive framework, much of which was reflected in subsequent international policy frameworks. See <https://www.unfpa.org/fr/node/9038>



levels: local, national and international. Explicit reference to migration is laid out in Sustainable Development Target 8.8 on protecting labour rights and promoting safe and secure working environments for all workers including migrant workers and 10.7 on “safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility.” However, more than 45 SDG Targets across 16 of the 17 SDGs apply to migrants, refugees, migration and/or migration-compelling situations<sup>16</sup>.

The *New Urban Agenda* gives explicit attention to people-centered migration and development linkages. It is the global guidance framework for governance in cities and urban settlements worldwide –where most migrants and refugees reside. The NUA commits “to strengthening synergies between international migration and development at the global, regional, national, subnational and local levels.” It calls on all cities to adopt law, policy and practice “promoting, as appropriate, full and productive employment, decent work for all and livelihood opportunities in cities and human settlements, with special attention to the needs and potential of women, youth, persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples,...**refugees, and internally displaced persons and migrants...**”

Lamentably, the recently adopted *Global Compact on Migration* (GCM) diverges from upholding normative standards of human rights protection and the legal accountability of States under international law by establishing a non-binding set of general policy recommendations, many of which represent lower expectations than those in existing human rights Conventions and International Labour Standards. As a *pact* of guidelines explicitly addressed to executive migration *management*, it dismisses the primary participation in governance by the legislative branch of government as well as the review and supervisory role of the judiciary.

### **Restructuring Governance: redefining a new regime for labour?**

The governance structure for migration –as well as ideology and practice of governance of migration – is changing in both old and new immigration countries. Today, security and control institutions of States widely predominate in managing migration and controlling migrants. Consolidation of home affairs/interior ministry lead responsibility for migration coincides with broad redefinition of conditions for labour. The treatment imposed on a growing migrant component influences treatment of the work force broadly. Administration of foreign components of work forces by control institutions has consequences in shifting emphasis of law enforcement regarding work from labour standards to immigration enforcement and imposing policing solutions to labour conflicts at the expense of social dialogue.

Enhanced –in some cases generalized—border and movement control measures within regional economic community spaces in Eurasia as well as Africa and the Americas impede and slow mobility as well as raising costs, contrary to facilitating free and flexible movement of labour, skills and services. Meanwhile, many temporary migration regimes explicitly restrict labour rights, notably freedom of association, while permitting reduced application of labour standards.

### **So what to do?**

There is plenty that can and must be done. The following, concluding page of this brief presents a summary *agenda for action* towards effective governance of migration, protection of rights of all migrants and refugees, and enhanced welfare, well-being and social cohesion in host and home communities. This *agenda* is fully relevant to and urgently needed for Russia as well as elsewhere.

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<sup>16</sup> GMPA. The Sustainable Development Goals and Migrants/Migration Regarding the UN 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda: Relevant SDGs and Targets, Rationales for Inclusion, Implementation Actions, and Realization Measurement Indicators. Global Migration Policy Associates. Prepared by P. Taran and multiple contributors. 2017 revision. Available at: [https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/events/coordination/15/documents/papers/20\\_GMPA.pdf](https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/events/coordination/15/documents/papers/20_GMPA.pdf)

## **An Agenda for Action**

### ***12 points comprising a global agenda for action directly relevant in Russia and CIS / Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) region***

The preceding discussion and the 20 law, policy and practice challenges identified above underlie the need for a comprehensive *agenda for action* for human-centred, rights-based, socially responsible law, national policy and local administration.

This law and policy *agenda* incorporates the conclusions and recommendations from world conferences and many national, regional and global trade union, employer federation and civil society forums, as well as the ILO Multilateral Framework on Labour Migration.<sup>17</sup>

#### **1. Full recognition and legal protection of all migrants**

a) Ratification and implementation of the international migration governance conventions:

**ICRMW, ILO C-97, ILO C-143 and ILO C-189.**

b) **regularization** of migrants in unauthorized/irregular situations.

#### **2. Rights- and people-based discourse: change the narrative**

Articulate a human-centred narrative identifying migrants as people and rights-holders first and foremost; based on rights-based law and policy, analysis of factual data and evidence, and socially-responsible practice by individuals, leaders, institutions –including museums– and government

#### **3. Decriminalization of migrants, refugees, and migration**

a) De-criminalization/non-criminalization of migrants as well as immigration law and infractions to it

b) Non-detention/ending detention of migrants for non-criminal offences

#### **4. Decent work for all migrants: vigorous enforcement of labour standards**

#### **5. Stop xenophobia, racism and discrimination against migrants**

#### **6. Gender-specific migration legislation and policy**

#### **7. Healthcare for all migrants (health is a right for all)**

a) Full access by migrants to health prevention and care services and facilities

b) National public health policy on health for migrants

c) Occupational safety and health (OSH) protection for migrants in all workplaces.

#### **8. Social security for migrants**

Extend social security coverage & portability to migrants in origin & employment countries

#### **9. Social inclusion of migrants and refugees and their participation in unions and associations**

#### **10. Family unity and family support**

Include provisions to support family unity/reunification in all immigration and migration regimes.

#### **11. Training youth for employment; overcoming skills shortages**

a) Renovate and expand technical and vocational education and training for all youth.

b) Promote migrant access to higher education and vocational and technical education and training (VTET).

c) Harmonize qualifications and training standards across regions.

#### **12. Full implementation of free circulation regimes –including in the Eurasian Economic Union**

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<sup>17</sup> ILO, *Multilateral Framework on Labour Migration: Non-binding principles and guidelines for a rights-based approach to labour migration*, International Labour Office, 2006. [http://www.ilo.org/public/libdoc/ilo/2006/106B09\\_343\\_engl.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/public/libdoc/ilo/2006/106B09_343_engl.pdf)