



Sustainable Migration

A Framework for Responding to Migration from Poor to Rich Countries

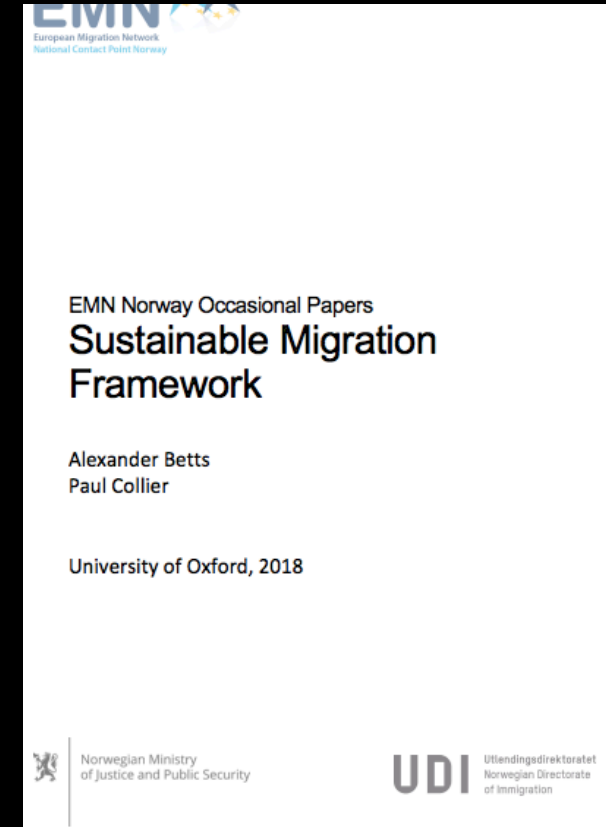
Alexander Betts and Paul Collier
University of Oxford

Aims

- Develop a framework that can fulfil our duties of rescue, be mutually beneficial, and avert political backlash
- Build consensus across European governments and political parties
- Create a common language for an ethical migration politics

Structure

- 1) Democracy and changing norms
- 2) Sustainable migration
- 3) Context matters
- 4) Economic migration
- 5) Refugee migration
- 6) Principles for policy



Democracy and norms



Norms in Flux

- ***High income countries:*** shift from ethical norms being set by elites to being set by citizens
- ***Low and middle income countries:*** shift from ethical norms being set by OECD elites to being set by citizens

Sustainable migration

“Migration that has the democratic support of the receiving society, meets the long-term interests of the receiving state, sending society, and migrants themselves, and fulfils basic ethical obligations”

Ethical principles for sustainable migration

Primary Ethical Values	Specific Conditions	Obligations Towards
Duties of Rescue	Development	Poor and Fragile Societies
	Protecting and Empowering Refugees	Individual Refugees
Sustainability	Democratic Mandate	Citizens and Values
	Enlightened Self-Interest	Our Future Selves

Historical context and ‘tipping points’

- United States 1921-1924: Emergency Quota Act;
- UK 1962-1971: Commonwealth Immigration Act;
- Germany 1973: suspension of *Gastarbeiter* scheme.
- Germany 2016: Merkel and Erdogan



Cultural, values and 'bottom lines'

Welfare-solidarist (e.g. Nordic)

- Low numbers and high rights;
- Public confidence in the welfare state;
- Permanent social integration for most of those that do come;
- Humanitarian obligations.

Liberal (e.g. UK)

- Circular migration to cover cyclical labour shortages;
- Complementary job opportunities for citizens;
- Fair regional distribution;
- The 0.7% of GDP allocation to international development

Economic migration

- The refugee/economic migrant distinction
- A transactional approach to economic migration
- The perspective of sending countries
- The perspective of receiving countries
- The perspective of migrants

Rethinking aspirational migration

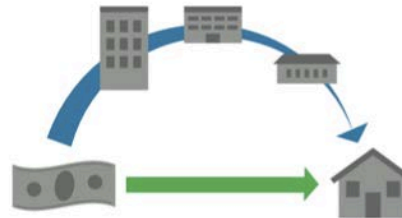
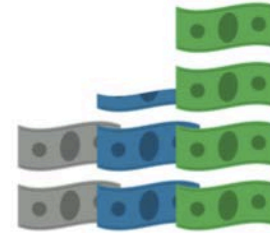
- Beyond 'development to stop migration'
- Why people moving are not representative (e.g. Syrians in Europe)
- Culture, purpose, and the role of narratives
- From 'entitled consumption' to 'empowered production'
- Disaggregating 'migration and development' (e.g. impact of education on aspiration)
- Networks, identity, and narratives

Circular migration

THREE BIG ADVANTAGES of **SHORT-TERM OVERSEAS WORK** as compared to **TRADITIONAL AID:**

LARGE BENEFITS ▶

Households with a worker in the US **doubled** their annual income in a month or two.



◀ DIRECT BENEFITS

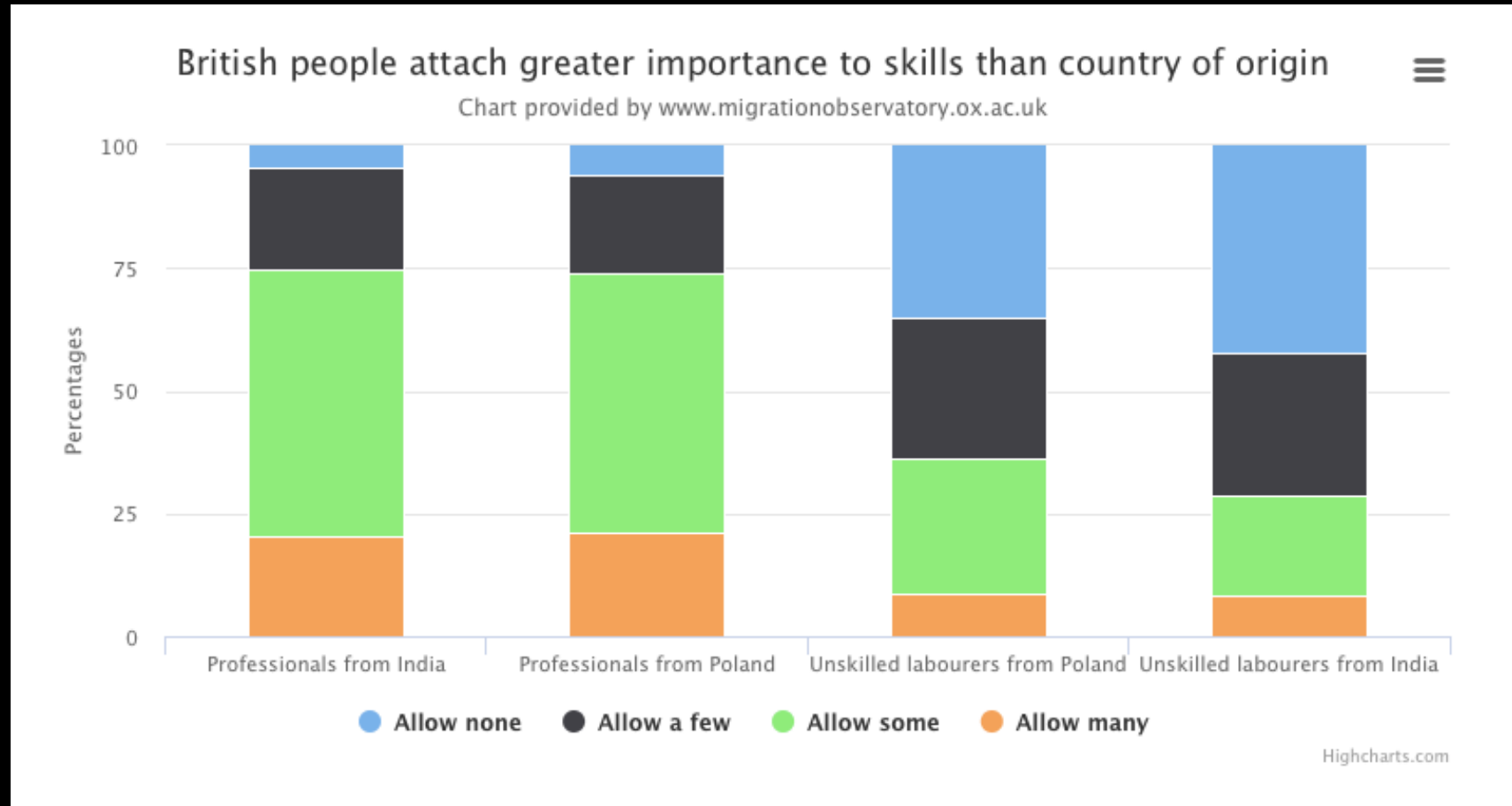
Workers brought more than **85%** of their earnings home, directly benefiting poor families.

SHARED BENEFITS ▶

In one month, each Haitian worker added **\$4,000** to the US economy, as well as **\$3,000** to the Haitian economy.



Brain drain, brain gain, and circulation



Efficiency gains

- Matching
- Information
- Skills recognition
- Portable social security
- Affordable remittances

Two-sided one-one matching

Boys



Girls



Applications: student/hospital, National Resident Matching Program

Humane borders

- Borders (sort of) work
- But they can be reconceived in humane ways
- Ethical global partnerships
- Alternatives to detention
- Dignified return

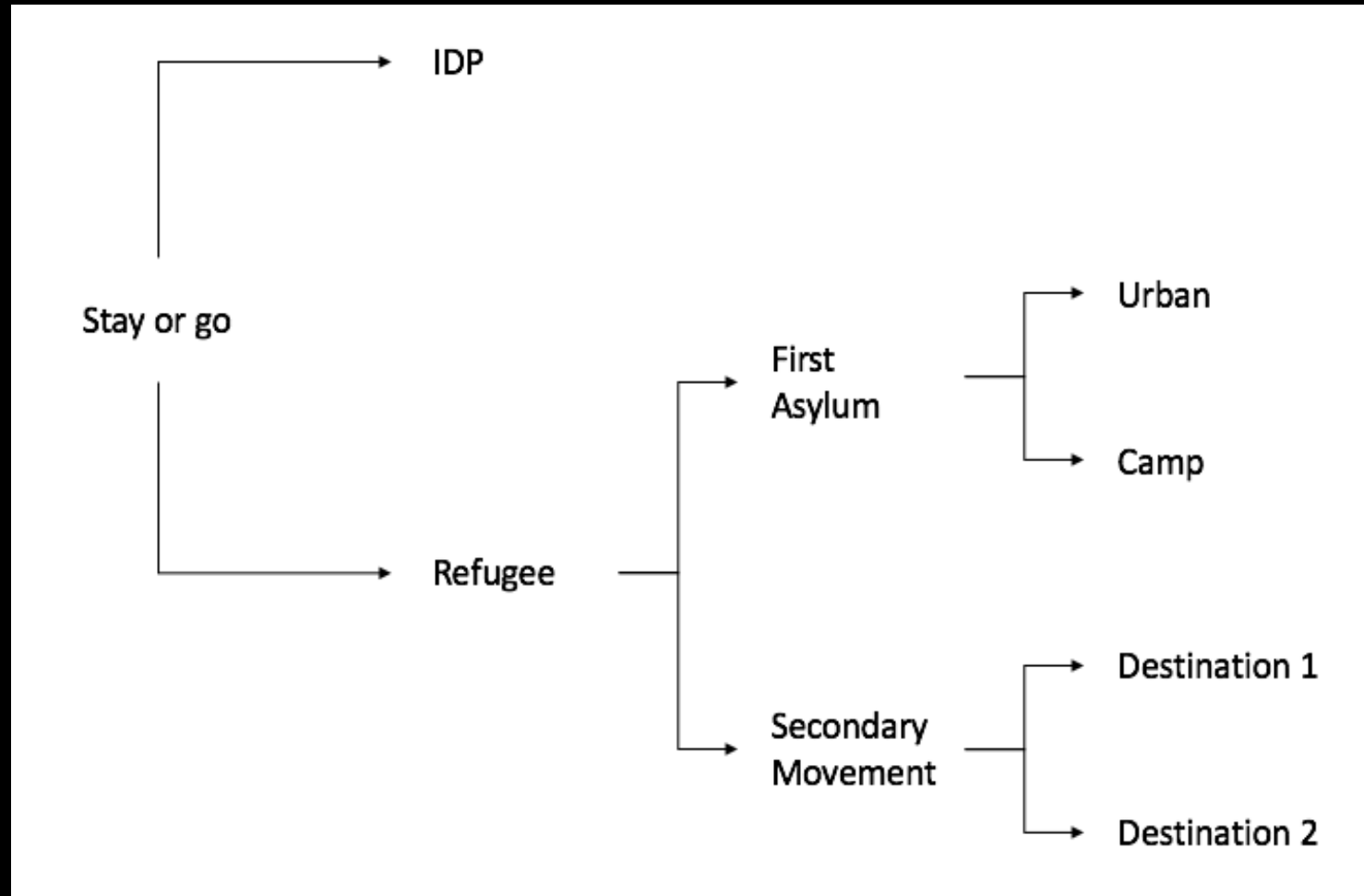


Refugees and geographical concentration

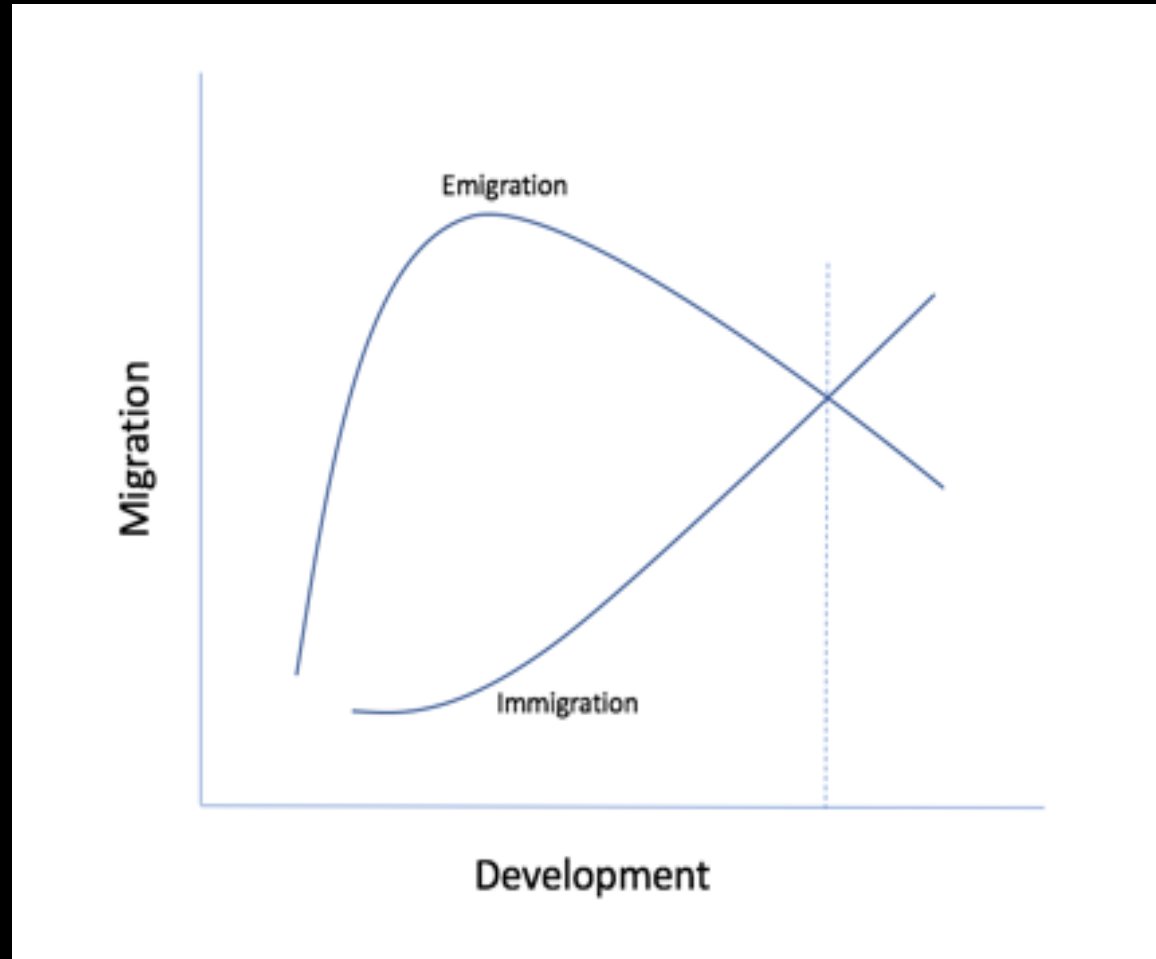
UNHCR regions	Refugees (including persons in a refugee-like situation)		Change		% of total, end-2017
	Start-2017	End-2017	Absolute	%	
- Central Africa and Great Lakes	1,381,900	1,475,700	93,800	6.8	7
- East and Horn of Africa	3,290,400	4,307,800	1,017,400	30.9	22
- Southern Africa	162,100	197,700	35,600	22.0	1
- West Africa	300,600	286,900	-13,700	-4.6	1
Total Africa*	5,135,100	6,268,200	1,133,100	22.1	31
Americas	682,700	644,200	-38,500	-5.6	3
Asia and Pacific	3,477,800	4,209,700	731,900	21.0	21
Europe	5,200,200	6,114,300	914,100	17.6	31
thereof: Turkey	2,869,400	3,480,300	610,900	21.3	17
Middle East and North Africa	2,679,500	2,704,900	25,400	0.9	14
Total	17,175,300	19,941,300	2,766,000	16.1	100

* Excluding North Africa.

Refugee decision-making

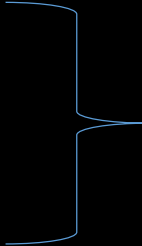


The 'migration hump' and refugees?



An effective refugee system

- 1) Rescue



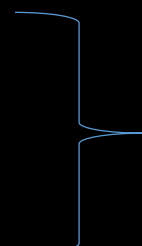
Safe Havens in host states
Basic assistance

- 2) Autonomy



Jobs
Education
Socio-economic freedoms

- 3) Route out of Limbo



Resettlement Reimagined
Update Visa System
Spontaneous Arrival as Last Resort

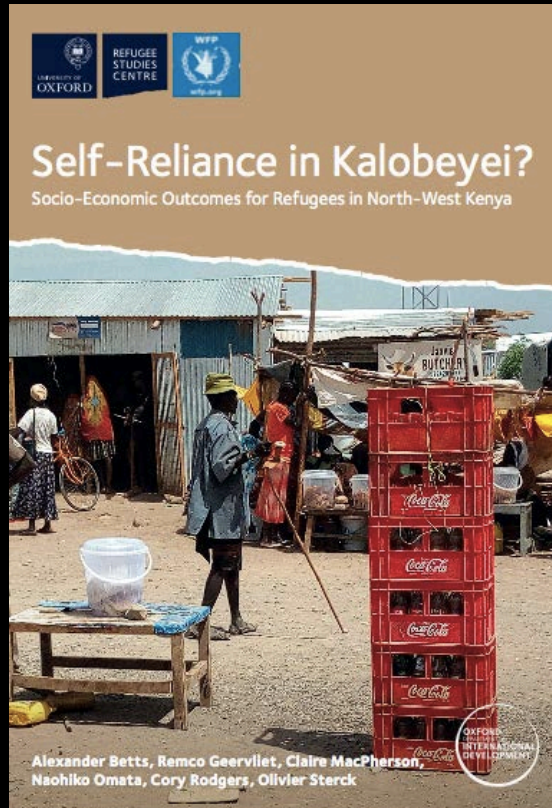
Uganda's Self-Reliance Strategy



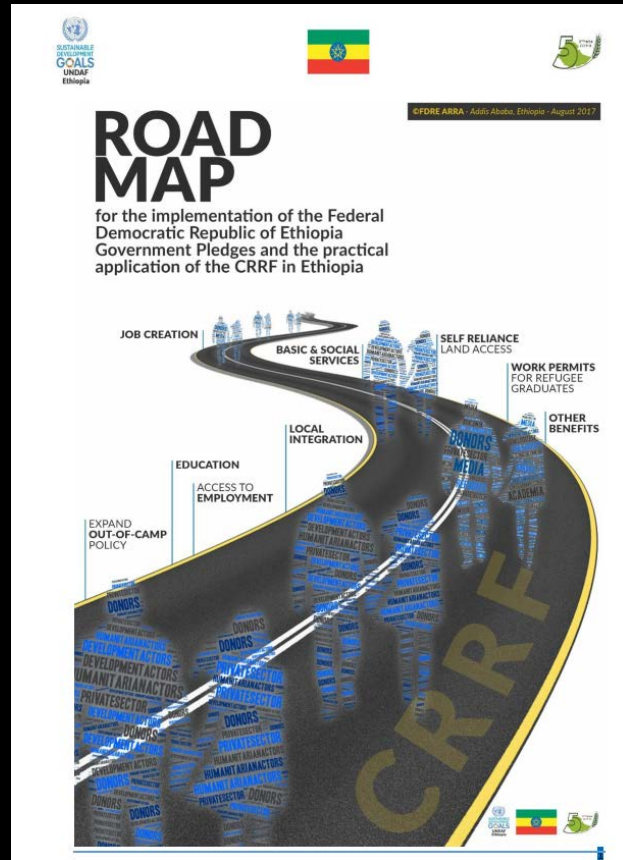
The Jordan Compact



Kenya's Kalobeyei experiment



Ethiopia's Nine Pledges



Creating enabling environments

- 1) Work
- 2) Infrastructure
- 3) Access to Capital
- 4) Connectivity
- 5) Education

...but some contexts are politically more challenging than others...

Principles for sustainable policy

- *Consider what sustainability means in context.*
- *Distinguish the refugee and migration systems.*
- *Recognise the underlying purpose of refuge.*
- *Undertake responsibility-sharing for refugees based on comparative advantage.*
- *Engage with politics.*
- *Improve the evidence-base, especially on 'migration and development'.*
- *Consider labour migration as transactional but respectful.*
- *Design circular migration to be mutually beneficial.*
- *Manage the trade-offs involved in high-skilled migration.*
- *Redistribute the benefits of migration.*

...to read more...

