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With an estimated 214 million international migrants and 740 million internal migrants in a world of more than 6 billion inhabitants, migration now affects the whole planet and has become a major international issue.[1] Nearly all countries are concerned by human mobility, as sending, receiving or transit states. Categories of economic, political or family migrants are no longer strictly defined, as the same people may change legal or social status several times in the course of their life. Over the last thirty years, the world has entered a second major wave of migration, after the first that took place between 1880 and 1920. In recent decades, globalization has facilitated mobility while lessening its costs; it has also diffused the way of life in rich countries via the media, encouraged the transfer of remittances (more than 300 billion dollars per year) and led to denser, transnational economic, cultural and religious networks. A growing share of the population has shrugged off determinism by refusing to remain in countries they consider poor and futureless.[2]

Mobility is nowadays promoted and celebrated, while international migration (due to the territorial boundedness of nation-states) still is feared and is repressed by receiving nations. People who move have overall fewer rights than those who are sedentary. A hierarchy of the right (and access) to cross-border mobility and migration is emerging, according to education, skills, resources, information, transnational networks or areas of origin. Those most favored can circulate, but the lesser endowed must do with the birthplace given to them by chance, or resort to irregular immigration net-

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1 United Nations (UN), Trends in Total Migrant Stock. The 2008 Revision, New York 2009; United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Human Development Report 2009. Overcoming Barriers. Human Mobility and Development, New York 2009, p. 1.

2 Stephen Castles/Mark J. Miller, The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World, New York 2009; Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM), Migration in an Interconnected World. New Directions for Action. Report of the Global Commission on International Migration, New York/Geneva 2005, p. 1; Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, La Globalisation Humaine, Paris 2009.

works. The democratization of border crossing is not yet on the agenda in a world where everything circulates more and more freely, except people.[3]

International migration is particularly intense along the main economic, demographic, political, geographical, cultural and environmental fault lines of the world. The Mediterranean, the border between Mexico and the US, or between Russia and China, the boundaries of the new Europe and a few other points on the globe have become sites of passage, despite their dangers. Former countries of departure have become countries of destination: this is the case for southern Europe and, today, for Mexico, Morocco and Turkey, which also remain countries of departure and transit. Former host nations have become countries of departure, e.g. Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Chile whose citizens of Japanese, Spanish or Italian origin tend to some extent to return to their homeland. In South-East Asia, certain states are countries of either departure or destination according to the fluctuation of economic situations: this is the case for Thailand and Malaysia, while others are either one (India, China, Pakistan, the Philippines and Indonesia) or the other (Japan, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea and Australia).[4] Such movements suggest regional migratory systems formed by complementary economic and demographic positions and transnational proximity (whether historical, linguistic, geographic or cultural), where most migration originates in the same region rather than elsewhere. North and South America, Europe and sub-Equatorial Africa, the Russian world, the Arab world and South-East Asia constitute regional migration systems of this sort.[5] These complex political, economic and social constellations or migratory contexts have direct, sometimes deadly, effects on migrants and their livelihoods. Economic migrants and asylum seekers, on the other hand, have become international players in their own right, trying to realize their migratory projects despite state efforts to limit resp. to block their migration and settlement. Labor shortages in qualified and unqualified sectors in regions characterized by aging and declining populations (Europe, Russia and Japan) and in the context of a general surplus of young people/workers in other (often neighboring) regions (e.g. Maghreb and the Arab world more generally, Africa and

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3   James F. Hollifield, The Emerging Migration State, in: International Migration Review, 38. 2004, no. 3, pp. 885–912, here p. 885; Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, The Frontiers of Mobility, in: Antoine Pécoud/Paul de Guchteneire (eds.), Migration without Borders. Essays on the Free Movement of People, Oxford/New York 2007, pp. 51–64; Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, Introduction. The Migration without Borders Scenario, in: ibid., pp. 1–30.

4   International Organization for Migration (IOM), World Migration Report 2010. The Future of Migration. Building Capacities for Change, Geneva 2010, pp. 111–234; Castles/Miller, The Age of Migration.

5   Wihtol de Wenden, La Globalisation Humaine.

Latin America) have led to work-related immigration starting anew in regions like Europe which thought, thirty years ago, that migration had come to a close. Planetary environmental upheavals (climate warming, drought, soil deterioration, natural catastrophes) and political crises also bring about new population movements.

Migration is one of the main factors of transformation of the world in which we live. It is also a consequence since, in a world moving over ever greater distance, it maintains complex relations with the mutation of societies and economies, which are interdependent in many ways. A lot of world regions which have entered a transitional phase have become regions of migration and are experiencing rapid urban development, education and upheaval. Migration accelerates the development of the population who remains at home and is thus better educated, attain a higher level of wellbeing and refuse fate. However development also accelerates migration, by virtue of the resulting rural exodus, urban growth and information flow. There is no alternative to migration, because departing populations are involved in a process of mobility which is self-maintained by the transfer of funds, in most cases these funds are several times higher than official development assistance (ODA) provided to so-called developing countries – It is in this context that the United Nations (UN) and the international community are trying to elaborate new mechanisms to govern migration. The governance of migration (regardless if on a global, regional or national level) is a complex, multifaceted and difficult endeavor[6] and this chapter, after a short historical overview, addresses specifically the role and contribution of the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD).[7]

A Short History of World Migration Governance

The starting point of the project to build a world regime or governance system for migration can be traced back to the 1990s[8]: A consensus took also shape within the framework of the 1994 Cairo International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), which mentioned migration as a major world issue for the first time: the idea was born of applying the principles of international rules to migration. In 1990, the United Nations (UN) had already prepared the Convention on the Rights of Migrant Workers, intended

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6   Alexander Betts, Introduction. Global Migration Governance, in: idem (ed.), Global Migration Governance, Oxford 2011, pp. 1–33; Martin Geiger/Antoine Pécoud, The Politics of International Migration Management, in: idem (eds.), The Politics of International Migration Management, Basingstoke 2010, pp. 1–20.

7   See the contribution of Sara Kalm in this volume.

8   See the contribution of Bimal Ghosh in this volume.

for worldwide use, to set the basic minimum rights needing recognition.[9] It also referred to the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and its assertion of *the right to emigrate* as a universal principal. In 2003, Kofi Annan took up the idea that global governance principles should be applied to migration, placing them at the heart of a process of multilateral decisions that he had advocated on other occasions. A group of experts, the Geneva Migration Group, brought together several international organizations in Geneva in 2004 with the IOM, the UNHCR and the ILO at the core, in order not to leave host states with a monopoly on migration management. In 2005, the Geneva Migration Group became the Global Migration Group (GMG) with ten core international organizations. Its aim was to put forward governance models involving players other than the host states alone. In the same year, an international expert panel – known as the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM; initiated by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan) – presented its final report and gave recommendations how to govern migration and to reform existing practices and organizations dealing with migratory movements.[10] One year later, the United Nations subsequently organized the so-called High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development: On that occasion, the 140 members of the United Nations who met in New York in 2006 stressed the global character of international migration and the link between migration and development; it was affirmed that international migration constitutes a growing phenomenon, both in scope and complexity, affecting virtually all the countries in the world. World leaders agreed that international migration could be a positive force for development in both countries of origin and countries of destination, provided that it was supported by the right set of policies. The need emerged for greater political coherence between migration and development, a cooperative, multilateral approach for understanding the global impact of migration and development through sharing best practice, exploring innovative approaches and jointly involving governments and other players. The aim was to integrate migration into development policies by using the transfer of funds, encouraging temporary circulatory migration, promoting co-development initiatives, aiding return and re-assimilation in the country of origin and taking into account labor needs, the respect of migrant rights, informal markets, the role played by member states, civil society, the diasporas, the private sector and

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9   Antoine Pécoud/Paul de Guchteneire, Introduction. The UN Convention on Migrant Workers' Rights, in: idem/Ryszard Cholewinski (eds.), Migration and Human Rights. The United Nations Convention on Migrant Workers' Rights, Cambridge 2009, pp. 1–45.

10   Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM), Migration in an Interconnected World. New Directions for Action. Report of the Global Commission on International Migration, New York/Geneva 2005.

unions. The topic of security was also present: the fight against smuggling and trafficking in workers/human beings and black-market goods, the prevention of workers' and migrants' exploitation, the protection of women and children, public security and human safety and the technical requirements of countries of origin regarding migration policies are also mentioned. In this context it is important to point out that until 2006 no important event at the UN headquarters had been organized that was devoted exclusively to the close relations between international migration and development. The High-Level Dialogue however showed that constructive debate and world consultation on such subjects was possible.

During the meetings of this dialogue, the Secretary-General Kofi Annan launched the idea of a new Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD).[11] The GFMD was created as a broad, open and transparent forum for the discussion of questions linked to migration and development in an informal, non-restrictive, voluntary context. It is led and organized by governments of countries of departure and host nations as well as civil society. It exists outside the UN system and does not produce negotiated texts or ideological decisions. The working mechanism of GFMD is explicitly multilateral, the forum brings countries of origin, transit and destination together around the same table, whatever their stage of economic, social or political development, through representation by the political leaders of a broad range of government agencies, including Ministries and Departments of immigration, development, employment, foreign affairs, gender equality, internal affairs, justice, integration and immigration. The GFMD is also based on the knowledge and experience of international organizations, regional organizations, NGOs, unions, the private sector and migrant associations, experts and associations for the defense of human rights. It is not part of the United Nations system, but is open to all UN member states. The link with the United Nations is ensured by the attendance of the Secretary-General at the annual meetings of the GFMD and the support provided by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the Global Migration Group (GMG) to the President in office of the GFMD. The Forum offers a platform for sharing experience, innovation and good practice in order to encourage synergies and reinforce cooperation between migration and development policy at national and international level using a cross-sectoral approach to issues and players. The so-called civil society days of the GFMD, which offer a forum for representatives (NGOs, migrant associations, diaspora organizations, unions and employers, local government areas), are held prior to the intergovernmental Forum with a multi-player governance helping define shared goals. An interface with governments is anticipated.

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11   See the GFMD Website: http://www.gfmd.org.

The current flaws in the management of international migration[12] clearly result from a perspective focussing too exclusively on security along with short-term management and hypocrisy faced with the failure to recognize a labor-market reality.[13] They are related to breaches of human rights, poor usage of mobility as an opportunity for host countries and countries of origin as well as for the migrants themselves, and policies aimed mainly at satisfying public opinion.

The Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) and its Meetings in Brussels, Manila, Athens and Puerto Vallarta

The first GFMD meeting was organized by the Belgian government. It took place in Brussels on 9–11 July, 2007 with the participation of representatives of 156 UN member states.[14] The meeting focussed essentially on the development of human capital and worker mobility, the transfer of funds and skills, the role of diasporas, institutional political coherence and partnerships. Cross-sectoral issues, such as the fundamental causes of migration, human rights and gender issues were also debated. The opportunities offered by the Brussels Forum had several positive outcomes. The issue of migration left the bilateral inter-state domain for a global platform; it was no longer limited solely to issues of security and territory control, while the preparation of the positions of member states led to consultations at national level. Migration governance became a topic to be discussed by states and NGOs and civil-society representatives.[15]

The dialogue continued at the second meeting of the GFMD in Manila[16] (29–30 October, 2008) on the main theme of ›Protecting and Empowering Migrants for Development‹, which emphasized the human dimension of migration in a debate which, often, dealt only with the political state concerns and the economic arguments for migration and development. The two priorities of *protecting* and *empowering* formed the basis of the Forum's discussion and the central themes of an ad hoc working group run by the Philippines and the United Arab Emirates. The importance of data (to be made available for

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12 See most of the other contributions in this volume.

13 Khalid Koser, Introduction. International Migration and Global Governance, in: Global Governance, 16. 2010, no. 3, pp. 301–315.

14 See the GFMD Website: http://www.gfmd.org.

15 Romeo Matsas, The Global Forum on Migration and Development. A New Path for Global Governance? (Paper presented at the ACUNS Annual Meeting, 5–7 June), Bonn 2008.

16 See the GFMD Website: http://www.gfmd.org.

comparison and accessible to political decision-makers) was emphasized for developing policies founded on conclusive evidence as well as enriching public debate. The decision was made in Manila to create a working group led by Morocco and Switzerland on ›Policy Coherence, Data and Research‹ to make progress in these areas. Recommendations were made for carrying out several studies and a compilation of good practice, pilot programs and policy evaluations. The Manila Forum thus marked a new stage in international discussions on migration and development. It was the first truly global meeting on the subject for the Philippines and Asia as a whole.

The following Athens Forum (2–5 November, 2009) dealt again with the complex relation between migration and development. The main theme ›Integrating Migration Policies into Development Strategies for the Benefit of All‹ was defined to increase awareness of the need to link migration more closely to development in view of the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).[17] The first MDG, the fight to end poverty, is of capital importance in relation to migration. Although the issue of migration is not cited formally in the MDGs, it is closely linked to their realization. It is assumed that labor migration can contribute to eliminating poverty, achieving gender equality, improving health and establishing world partnerships. In this context, migration can be considered a key element in human development. It can be integrated into national development strategies although it is not a substitute for global and coherent public policies. The choice to incorporate migration into development planning is based on the shared conviction that policies can contribute to a positive relation between migration and development by organizing migration and its consequences while taking priorities in terms of development into consideration. Migration policies and those related to the fight to end poverty in developed countries need to set goals for immigration planning and legislation in close collaboration with countries of origin.

The Athens Forum relied on certain conclusions drawn in the 2009 United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) ›Human Development Report‹[18], according to which the national and international initiatives in favor of development should improve human development by raising living standards and expanding freedom and the choice to stay or leave. The goal is to make migration not just a survival strategy but a *choice*. According to the Human Development Report, migrants need to be considered as active participants in development and policy relating to migration; consequently development planning and migration policy should be designed in order to

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17 See the UN Website concerning the Millennium Development Goals: http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals; GFMD Website: http://www.gfmd.org.

18 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Human Development Report 2009.

benefit migrants and the countries of origin and destination. However, the win-win-win model on which the hypothesis of a global public good is based is far from being realized. The Athens Forum also enabled discussion of inter-regional initiatives and regional forums, such as the Euro-African Conference on Migration and Development, the South-American Conference on Migration, Development and Human Rights, the Bali Process on People Smuggling, Trafficking in Persons and Related International Crimes, the Regional Conference on Migration (Puebla Process) and the Bangkok Meeting involving all the heads of these regional consultation processes (RCPs[19]). Although not all RCPs are concerned with the issue of development and give priority instead to managing regional migration movement, the participants agreed on the mutual reinforcement of the GFMD and the Interregional Forums and certain RCPs, and on the fact that the Forum's discussions of migration and development can deliver a considerable contribution to regional processes and interregional Forums. Issues linked to diasporas, brain drain and transfers of funds were also discussed in terms of their contribution to development.

The last round of the GFMD took place in Puerto Vallarta (Mexico; 8–11 November, 2010) and was entitled ›Partnerships For Migration and Development: Shared Prosperity – Shared Responsibility‹.[20] The participants of this fourth forum included representatives from 131 countries and 400 delegates and observers. Attention was paid to partnerships for better protected and regulated migration, joint strategies for understanding illegal migration, links between mobility and human development as well as policies and institutional coherence, in order to tackle the relation between migration and development. Shared responsibility in a partnership context is crucial for developing government thinking and enabling policies to function better: multi-player partnerships (governments, civil society, public and private sectors, migrants) are a key tool enabling migration and development to be managed in a global, balanced way. Mexico estimated that the promotion and reinforcement of partnerships between countries of origin, transit and destination could facilitate a global, balanced approach to international migration and development. The experience of non-governmental players in these two fields has also been recognized by governments, as the reinforcement of

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19   RCP-Definition according to IOM: »Non-binding consultative fora, bringing representatives of states and international organizations together at the regional level to discuss migration issues in a cooperative manner. Some regional consultative processes (RCPs) also allow the participation of other stakeholders (e.g. NGO or other civil society representatives)«, see International Organization for Migration (IOM), World Migration 2008, Geneva 2009, p. 497. Examples of RCPs include the Budapest Process for South-Eastern Europe or the Puebla Process in North and Middle America.

20   See the GFMD Website: http://www.gfmd.org.

partnerships with all parties enables the creation of a consensus on shared responsibility while contributing to designing global approaches.

In Puerto Vallarta, several new ideas came to light, e.g. the strong reference made, and importance attached to *partnership* and *shared sovereignty* that previously did not play a role in the forums of the GFMD. Now, a new round table 1 (›Partnerships for More Regular and Protected Migration‹) was established, while the two other round tables respectively dealt with (2) ›Labor Mobility and Human Development‹, and (3) ›Policy and Institutional Coherence to Address the Relation between Migration and Development.‹[21] In round table 1, the General Rapporteur insisted on the need to encourage legal migration with respect for human rights and to make greater use of the benefits of migration on development. *Brain drain* and the transformation from *brain drain* into *brain gain* marked one of the corner stones of the debate. Furthermore, the necessities of avoiding the criminalization of illegal migration were stressed and of considering migrant/migration legalization as a source of positive impacts; states were called to work together on return and reinsertion policies and to develop a common approach to illegal migration in shared bilateral and multilateral strategies between host nations and countries of departure and transit. The call to develop regional migration systems, more immigration networks notably for migrants with few skills, mechanisms for fighting prejudice, promoting human rights and access to citizenship for circular migration and protecting the most vulnerable groups (women, lone minors) was heard repeatedly during the roundtable.

The emphasis placed on development in its broadest sense was central to the meeting in Puerta Vallarta; more general discussion on the labor market and the purely economic effects of migration aimed at fuelling the issues of the human development of migrants and their contribution to the development of host nations and countries of origin. Integrating the so-called *human development perspective* into the forum offers an additional opportunity to discuss broader issues like health, education, training, gender issues and human rights that are closely intertwined with migration. The impact of climate change on migration was mostly taken into consideration in the context of development. To reinforce this, the meeting in Mexico aimed to go beyond the exchange of good practice and experience. One of the central aims for the future lies in translating all these ideas, recommendations and conclusions into public policy.

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21   Ibid.

The Future of the GFMD

The Presidency of the Forum was to be assured until 2012 by Spain and Morocco, who both volunteered to host the GFMD for the next two years, but then declined the offer; a smaller forum took place in Geneva in December 2011, under the leadership of Switzerland, with civil society activities coordinated by the International Catholic Migration Committee (ICMC). In view of the High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development of the UN General Assembly planned for 2013, the projected Geneva Forum forms the venue for a discussion concerning the future of the GFMD and (potential) GFMD meetings in 2012 and 2013. Against the background of the uncertain future of the forums, the whole GMFD process, its impact on policies and its broader framework for reflection should be a matter for appropriate evaluation by the participating countries at the end of this current cycle. Over the last four years, the GFMD forums built a new, concrete approach in the global debate on migration; the link between migration and development can now no longer be ignored. The forum marked the beginning of a new global process, designed to improve the positive effect of migration on development (and inversely) by adopting a more coherent approach with new tools and better practices, through the exchange of practices and innovative methods and, lastly, establishing cooperative links between the different players. As an *incubator of migration governance*, the GFMD did not (and probably won't do this in the future) lead to negotiated results – the success of the GFMD lies in putting forward recommendations and evaluations for action to governments; however, the shortage or indeed non-existence of reports on the results of the four preceding forums gives the impression of going backwards on certain points and leads to a lack of method for moving forward in developing policies linking migration to development. The themes tackled during the Forum are very numerous and the global approach sometimes stands in the way of developing a detailed analysis taking the diversity of migrant itineraries into account. In addition, the rotating Presidency often leads to confusion and deviation. To fulfil its role correctly, the GFMD should move forward in three directions[22]:

– reinforcing research: although basic data is sometimes incomplete, there is a welcome increase of abundant, informative scholarly material, but it remains insufficient, as does the definition of pertinent research areas for decision makers. Improving basic data on migrant characteristics and their reasons for migration forms a priority, along with gender specificity. Basic data collection on conditions and activities of diaspora members as well as

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22 Bertrand Badie et al., Pour un autre Regard sur les Migrations. Construire une Gouvernance Mondiale, Paris 2008.

on remittances is also considered essential. A better understanding of the impacts of migration on development is also needed, as well as of development on migration, the effects policy has on migration flows and, in general, the impacts of migration and development;

– developing better synergy between inter-governmental organizations, as much for making use of their work as for their operational dimension in the recommendations of the GFMD; 16 IGOs form the GMG;

– reinforcing consultation with non-governmental players. Multilateral cooperation now seems absolutely indispensable. The GFMD process, in showing the limits of a purely national approach to issues related to migration, encourages governments to view migration and development issues globally within a multilateral framework.

Despite the reference to partnership and the promotion of bilateralism and multilateralism, the sovereignty of each member state is safeguarded along with the right to decide on its migration policies. The GFMD is a consultative, inter-governmental process open to all UN member states; it is voluntary, non-binding, informal and led by member states. In this respect, it seems difficult to reconcile this assertion of sovereignty with the will to form a sort of ›Bretton Woods Agreement‹ for migration to define an international mobility policy.

Some perceive the process pursued by the Forum as a ›smokescreen‹ dominated by inter-governmental agreements which are merely the unspoken ›back door‹ of migration policies, or an opportunity offered to institutions like the International Organization for Migration (IOM) or the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to increase their funding and broaden their agenda.[23] Nevertheless, several policy breakthroughs were made and found entry into the 2010 Forum agenda: (1) the need for not just a global approach but a bilateral and regional one and greater policy coherence between North and South, as well as the (2) inclusion of illegal immigration, women and migration, (3) evaluative policies based on ›good practice‹, (4) improvement in data collection and the (5) impact of climate change on migration (and migration & development).[24]

Pursuing multilateralism as a mode of global migration governance is a way forward. The wide range of players who are involved and are participating in the Forum meetings characterizes this new multilateralism. In fact global governance of migration today means reconciling important and typically contradictory goals and interests, such as these of countries of origin and destination, businesses/corporations, unions, churches, IGOs and NGOs,

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23 Geiger/Pécoud, The Politics of International Migration Management.

24 International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC), Connecting the Dots. A Fresh Look at Managing International Migration, Geneva 2009.

migrant and human rights associations and the fears of public opinion. Since the beginning of the Forum, only the coupling with development has made it possible to pursue a more commonly shared goal, thanks to a theme pushed to the fore under Mexican presidency: *partnership*.

From Rhetoric to Practice