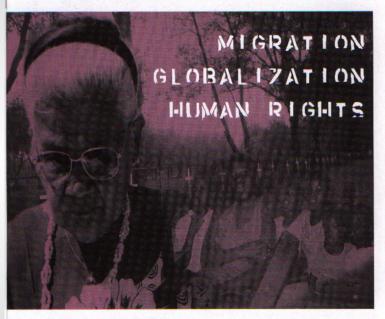
# EXCLUDED & EXPLOITED:

The New Regime of Trade,
Managed Migration
& Repression



CHALLENGES FOR THE MILLENNIUM



Xenophobia in South Africa • Immigration and the WTO
Binational Border Meeting

### **Global Migration**

There are some 225 million people in migration around the world today, according to United Nations agency data.



While global migration is facilitated by technology, communications, air travel...

...dire <u>economic conditions</u> and <u>political and</u>
<u>civil strife</u> continue to propel the dramatic
and increasing movement of people,
particularly within and from the **Global South**.

Since 1990, there has been a **50** % **increase** in the number of migrants worldwide.

# Global Triangle of Destructive Policies Affecting Migration

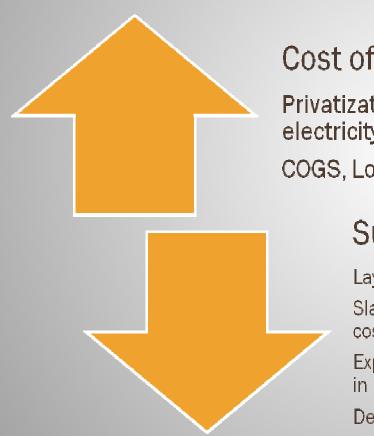
Trade and development agreements favoring the Global North

Government
'managed
migration' policies
based on marketdriven policies &
commodification
of migrant labor

Repressive immigration and border enforcement measures

### Trade & Migration: Root Causes?

#### Free Trade Policies' "Double Whammy" Effect



#### Cost of Living:

Privatization of public services (ex: Guatemala electricity † 125% between 1998-2000)

COGS, Local Prices

#### Sustainable Income:

Layoffs of public workers

Slashing local subsidies causes † in local production costs

Exposure to cheap, subsidized imports (ex: corn, beans in Mexico)

**Debt accumulation** 

# Effect of U.S. Policies on Migration: The Case of NAFTA

#### 1986 IRCA "Commission"

- Bipartisan body legislated by Immigration Reform and Control Act to study economic roots of migration, including study flow of migration across US-Mexico border
- Conclusion → "People displaced by poverty"
- Prescription → NAFTA
- "...the United States should expedite the development of a US-Mexico free trade area and encourage its incorporation with Canada into a North American free trade area..."

### Since 1994...

Agricultural exports from US to Mexico: \$4.6 to \$9.8 billion (\$2.5 billion in corn)

Corn prices in Mexico

↓ 70%

Displacement of 1.7 million family farmers

Loss of food security, affordability of healthcare

U.S. subsidies to corn sector = \$10.5 billion annually (> 10x total Mexican agricultural budget)

US corn = 70% world market share

# Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) / Econ. Partnership Agreements (EPAs)

- European country offers development "aid" to African partner (former colony)
- African partner obligated to import products/services from European partner
- African partner must enforce EU border & migration policies
- African partner must buy and use European partner's equipment, firearms, military training, intelligence services etc.

### E.U. – African EPAs

#### 2004 Berlusconi-Gadafi Agreement:

## **2002 EU Ministerial Meeting Statement:**

"...bilateral trade agreements must address the [sic] illegal immigration problem..."

- Italy gets access to Libya gas pipelines
- Libya uses aid to buy and patrol boats, firearms, building material, military equipment etc. from Italian companies
- Libya patrols its shores/ interior, detains, deport migrants from neighboring countries
- Mass deportations and deaths

# Effects of the Berlusconi-Ghadafi Agreement









#### U.S. – L. America FTAs

- SPP Security & Prosperity Partnership...
  - remove barriers to flows of capital across border
  - access to natural resources
  - -regional security plan to push borders out
- Plan Merida... (\$1.4b to combat narco-trafficking along US-Mexico border)
- Other FTAs... (Colombia, Panama etc.)

### **Repressive Enforcement:**

### Militarization, Criminalization, Exploitation

- National Security Framework
- 1993: Clinton's "Prevention through Deterrence" Strategy
- 1994: Operation Gatekeeper
- Post-9/11: PATRIOT Act, Operation Tarmac, Alien Absconder Initiative,
   NCIC database, special registration
- 2010: Obama \$600m ↑ for border "security"
- Result: Funneling of migrants through dangerous, desolate desert, mountain regions
- > US 1994-2008:
  - 8000+ dead migrant bodies along US-Mexico border
  - 400% ↑ in detentions
  - Doubling of jail-beds for immigrant detainees
- > EU 1990-2010:
  - 10,000+ dead migrant bodies around Lampedusa, Canary Islands
  - 3x Frontex troops
  - Walls around Ceuta, Melilla, Greece-Turkey

### Managed Migration

- Migrants make economic contributions to sending and receiving countries
- Migration must be "managed" according to market conditions and labor needs
- Migrants reduced to labor commodity used & disposed by employers
- Temporary / guestworker program becomes cornerstone policy – "circular migration"
- Global South governments reliance on remittances as a development policy – Labor Exportation Programs (LEPs) ex. 10% Filipinos work abroad
- Promoted by IOM, GFMD, other major inter-governmental negotiations: "...streamline migration policy and maximize development benefits of migration..."

National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights

#### **GFMD**

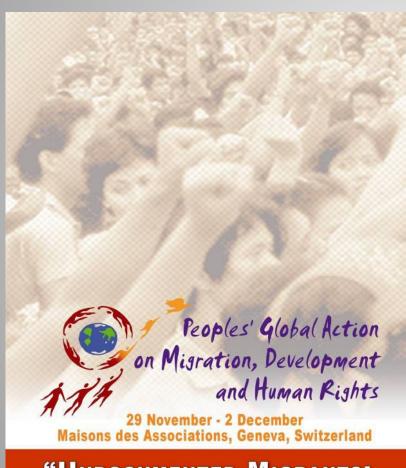
### Global Forum on Migration & Development

- 1994 Cairo Conference on Population → Migration+Development
- 2006 UN High Level Dialogue on Migration <u>AND</u> Development
- SRSG Peter Sutherland (Ireland AG, GATT/WTO DG, Goldman Sachs Chair, BP Chair etc...)
- Annual governmental forum to dialogue migration policy
- 2007 Brussels, 2008 Manila, 2009 Athens, 2010 Puerto Vallarta, 2011 Geneva, 2012 Mauritius, (2013 UNHLD New York), 2014 Sweden, 2015 Turkey
- "How can Migration benefit countries' Development goals?"
- Nov 29 Dec 2, 2011: Emphasis on Labor Migration
- 2012 Mauritius: Emphasis on Circular Migration

# 2011 GFMD (Geneva)



# People's Global Action on Migration, Development <u>AND</u> Human Rights (PGA)





"Undocumented Migrants: A Call for Regularization"

# 2011 PGA (Geneva)



# 2011 PGA (Geneva)



# 2011 PGA (Geneva)



# Global Migration = Global Human Rights Recognizing the human rights of ALL migrants...

- ➤ On December 18, 1990, after years of debate and negotiation, the UN General Assembly approved the *International Convention on the Protection of Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families*.
- ➤ Brought "into force" in 2003 after minimum of 23 countries ratified/approved it.
- To date, 47 countries have ratified.

# Why is the Migrant Workers Convention Important?

- Recognizes that ALL migrants, <u>regardless of</u> <u>citizenship or immigration status</u>, have rights.
- Acknowledges migrants as social beings, often with families.
- Addresses need for housing, education, health care, decent employment.
- Promotes the notion of "standards" by which we measure our national laws.

# The Challenges of Universal Ratification of the MWC



- The vast majority of countries that have approved the MWC are migrant-sending countries; no major migrant-receiving country has approved it.
- Even Mexico, an early champion of the Convention, took years to finally approve it following internal debates as its status as a migrant sending, transit and receiving country (with its own track record of migrant abuse).

- The human rights principles embodied in the MWC are important to promote.
- The MWC is a great educational tool.
- It will only be a set of nice words, even if ratified, without the advocacy of civil society.
- Ratification efforts in each country are part of a <u>global movement</u> for universal ratification of the Migrant Workers Convention.

# The global context of migration helps to inform our local work for immigrant rights and justice...

- Recognition and respect for the human rights of all migrants
- Advocacy for global policies towards sustainable development and job creation...
- Migration should be a choice and not an act of desperation and survival
- Right to stay, right to move, right to develop etc.

### **ILO Convention for Domestic Workers**

- Protect and improve working, living conditions of domestic workers worldwide
- Impacts 50-100 million domestic workers
- Recognizes domestic work as work

Used as advocacy in national/state legislation



### **UN Committee on Migrant Workers**

Independent experts monitoring implementation of MWC

 Sept 20, 2011: Day of General Discussion (DGD) on Migrants in Irregular Status (Undocumented Migrants)

General Comment (principles and guidelines for states)

expected in Spring 2013



# December 18 International Migrants Day

