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TOWARDS A SOCIAL-ORIENTED MULTI-LEVEL FRAMEWORK FOR INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION GOVERNANCE.

Interrelating recent regional and global initiatives in the light of the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization's recommendations

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to provide a brief overview of what's been happening since the release of the World Commission's report that could indicate a trend towards the development of a global framework for the cross-border movement of people. Developments related to the three levels of action recommended by the Commission regarding the dialogue on a global framework for cross-border movement of people are examined. Special emphasis is put on the role of the ILO in the elaboration of a global framework for migration, fully respectful of the Commission's rights-based and democratic approach. One of the main themes underlying this paper, in line with the Commission's recommendations, is that there could be a relation of mutual reinforcement between a more social-focused regional integration and a more coherent and rights-based global framework for migration.

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1. EVOLVING REGIONAL MIGRATION TRENDS, PERCEPTIONS AND COOPERATION

Today, there are 175 millions migrants worldwide, more than the double of the 75 millions in 1965 and the projections for 2050 foresee that their number could reach 230 millions (United Nations, 2002). Latest estimates by the ILO show that 86 millions of persons are considered to be economic migrants, 32 millions of them living in developing regions.

But beyond this quantitative growth, other more qualitative changes and challenges are at stake when considering migration today, as it is now well acknowledged that cross-border movements of people may have a deep impact in many different political fields simultaneously, encompassing economic, social, developmental, demographic, or health issues.

General Overview

Indeed, the patterns of cross-border movements have changed deeply with the globalisation process and the evolution it entails in terms of mobility and communication. As a result, some new political preoccupations now emerge as priorities on the global agenda, such as trafficking and smuggling in human beings, the increase of irregular migration as opportunities to follow regular migration routes have been curtailed, or even the development of internal displacements. Moreover, the human rights of migrants and members of their families remain very often ignored or consciously scorned.

At the same time, under specific conditions, cross-border movements of people are also more and more considered, if well managed – orderly and cooperatively –, as important processes to trigger or enhance economic and social development, both in countries of origin and destination, as shown by the recent interest in the role of remittances or notions such as "brain-circulation".

However, even if more and more countries around the world are concerned by cross-border movements of people, migration patterns and issues may differ and evolve sensibly between regions (United Nations, 2003; United Nations, 2004a). For instance, the total number of migrants and their share in the total population of the different regions change significantly (United Nations, 2006). Moreover, the percentage of migrants in the population diverges importantly according to the different regions.

Migrant Stock (number and percentage) by Regions, 2006.

	Total population (thousands)	Migrant Stock	
		Number (thousands)	% of population
Africa	905 936	17 069	1,9
Asia	3 905 415	53 291	1,4
Europe	728 389	64 116	8,8
Latin America and Caribbean	561 346	6 631	1,2
North America	330 608	44 493	13,5
Oceania	33 056	5 034	15,2
Source: United Nations, *International Migration 2006*, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, October 2006.			

Similarly, regions are not equal as regards the number of forced migrants, whether their movements occur internally or internationally. The large majority of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) is to be found in Africa, where 20 countries count 12,1 millions of IDPs. Asia and Europe are also concerned, with respectively 11 and 10 millions of IDPs, when 5 other millions of IDPs live in Middle East (Norwegian Refugee Council and Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2006: 10). At the same time, the majority of refugees, 7,7 millions, live in Asian countries, approximately 3 million in Africa and 2 million in Europe (United Nations, 2006).

Furthermore, as regards remittances, disparities also appear between regions (United Nations, 2006). But also, importantly, remittances are not equally distributed inside regions, between the countries of a same region. For instance, in Africa, if Morocco received USD 4 218 millions in 2004, this amount represented only 8% of the country's GDP. Conversely, the same year, Lesotho received only USD 355 million, which represented 26% of the national GDP. These disparities are also to be found in the Middle East, where the Islamic Republic of Iran perceived USD 21 727 millions – 3% of GDP –, and Jordan received USD 2 287 millions, as 21% of its GDP. Great disparities also exist between European countries: only USD 703 millions of remittances representing 27% of the Republic of Moldova's GDP, while USD 2 709 millions amounted for only 1% of Poland's GDP. Moreover, inside the regions, the countries that received the larger amount of remittances are not always the less developed ones – France received USD 12 650 millions of remittances in 2004, the largest amount of all countries in the region (United Nations, 2006).

The migration's contribution to development can thus vary greatly, depending on many factors, such as the forms or place of this migration or even the kind of policies implemented as regards these movements of people. Moreover, several studies tend to show that migration can only contribute marginally to the development of the poorest countries, because people

from these countries do not have the opportunities or means to emigrate: as shown by schemes like the "migration hump". Migration can *contribute* to development under certain conditions, but whether it can *initiate* development or not still remains arguable.

Changes in migration patterns and trends result also in shifts in perceptions and opinions. More countries being concerned by migration flows, more countries now devise and implement migration policies (United Nations, 2002; United Nations, 2004a). Not only immigration countries develop such policies, but an increasing number of countries of transit and origin adopt emigration and/or immigration policies, as the divide between categories of countries – origin, destination or transit – becomes increasingly blurred.

Nonetheless, even in this field, regional specificities exist, related to the nature of migration in the different regions, as regards integration or return policies, or, more generally, immigration or emigration policies (United Nations, 2006, 2004a-b, 2002). Much more emphasis is now placed on the positive effects of cross-border movements of people as regards developmental issues for developing countries, or economic growth and demographic deficit compensation for industrialised ageing countries, and, consequently, on the means to reap these benefits by managing migration orderly and efficiently. This is, for instance, noticeable in the decrease in the number of governments that do not intervene to manage migration.

Enhancing cooperation: the WCSDG's recommendations

Given the increase in migration and the multiplication of migration routes, as well as the diversification of categories of migrants, co-operation between States, whether they are countries of destination, transit or origin – or, more often today a combination thereof – has become as crucial as essential to manage cross-border movements of people. These movements may have contradictory, positive and negative, effects, and this is why a broader comprehensive approach to migration and mobility issues is now required, not only at the national or bilateral levels, but also at the regional and global levels. The underlying idea is that only such a coordinated approach could steer and maximize the benefits of international migration towards sustainable development goals, while minimizing their negative consequences. As stated by the Secretary-General of the United Nations at the end of the High Level Dialogue on Migration on Development, only such an integrated, comprehensive and cooperative approach could help to achieve "triple wins", that is not only wins for the origin and destination countries but also wins for the migrants themselves.

Two years earlier, the WCSDG had already acknowledged these changes in migration patterns and policies by recommending, in its final report, the development of a multilateral framework for "orderly and managed" cross-border movements of people, a framework which could contribute to "enhance global productivity" and "eliminate exploitative practices" by "complementing measures to achieve a more balanced strategy for global growth and full employment".

According to the World Commission, a global framework based on more democratic rules and the respect for the human rights of migrants could help maximize the benefits of migration and minimize the negative sides by "provid(ing) uniform and transparent rules for cross-border movements of people" and "balance the interests of both migrants themselves and of countries of origin and destination". However, at present, as the World Commission observes, "while goods, firms and money are largely free to criss-cross borders, people are not" (WCSDG, 2004: §134), which appears to be prejudicial to development, primarily in developing countries of origin.

This lack is doubtless largely due to the very nature of international migration. As a cross-border, trans-national phenomenon by nature, indeed accelerated and altered by the revolution of information and communication technologies, and truly part of and feeding the general process of globalization, international migration, often viewed as a challenge to state sovereignty, became a high priority on the international agenda since the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Iron and Bamboo curtains. For all that, until now, the management of the movements of people has remained essentially in the realm of State sovereignty, and migration policies have been mainly determined unilaterally, at national level, or bilaterally.

It is only recently, during the last decade, that States really became aware of the necessity to develop intergovernmental cooperation for a more effective management of international migration, but also began to set up more comprehensive migration policies taking into account the complex and multi-dimensional aspects of migration and their linkages with other political areas such as, among others, security, development, health or environment. This new awareness derives mainly from the increase and the diversification of international migration; all States being henceforth concerned by migration, and unilateral policies having shown their limits. In that sense, in its final report, pleading for the development of multilateral cooperation and global governance, the World Commission lays stress on the fact that "the issues and problems associated with the movement of people across national borders cannot

be addressed by single countries acting in isolation or on a unilateral basis", and the growing recognition of the necessity to act multilaterally proves that the development of a global framework can be a realistic project at the moment, even if it has not been one in the past.

This belated awareness also partially explains why the ambits of international organisations are not strictly defined, hence giving way to the overlaps over competences and mandates, fragmentation of initiatives, and duplications in efforts and programs, characterizing the current international system for international migration, a myriad of international organizations exercises competence in this field: including the High Commissioner of the United Nations for Refugees (UNHCR), the High Commissioner of the United Nations for Human Rights (UNHCHR), the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), or even the World Health Organisation (WHO), the United Nations Education, Science and the Communication Organisation (UNESCO), or the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Most of these intergovernmental agencies and programmes develop only sector-based activities concerning international migration, and some areas still remain only partially or inadequately covered.

These shortcomings, fragmentation and lack of unity are some of the main reasons to develop a new, effective and coherent, global framework for cross-border movements of people (WCSDG, 2004: §338-339). But even if there is actually a growing consensus on the opportunity to develop such a framework for migration, there seems to be no consensus – but still, also, sharp and strong opposition – on the shape this global framework should take. This is why the World Commission proposes its own vision of what this framework should be to make sure cross-border movements of people, well managed, contribute to the enhancement of the social dimension of globalization and to complement development policies (WCSDG, 2004: §435).

2. OVERVIEW OF POLICAL CHALLENGES IN THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS

Not only does the World Commission define the aims of this multi-level framework for the governance of migration, but it also recommends ways to achieve these aims. The actions proposed are threefold: first, the World Commission calls for enhanced complementarity and coherence between different levels of governance, developing regional integration being a necessary but insufficient step if not complemented by a global framework; second, it

advocates a broad-based decision-making framework, that is a framework opening governance processes to new actors having interests and/or expertise in the field of migration; and third, it suggests solutions to revitalize international institutions, towards an approach to multilateralism based on the enlargement and the respect of the human rights of migrants workers and the members of their families, the revitalization of international institutions being also an important tool to promote deeper regional integration. In this framework, the global level is as important as the regional level: the underlying assumption is that there should be a co-existence at least, and a complementarity at best, between these two levels in a "multi-layered continuum" of governance (Foqué, Steenbergen, 2005).

Indeed, the Commissioners "believe that institutions are required at the global level which can bring together different regions around global integration, and that this should be part of the future agenda for global governance. Regional integration can be a base for global governance; and good institutions for global governance can in turn be a powerful support for regional integration." This approach is clearly stated in the World Commission's recommendation as regards "Labour in the Global Economy" (WCSDG, 2004: §425-426; §433-446). In the following sub-section, this paper will thus address the main steps that have been taken so far as regards the three major fields of action identified by the World Commission.

A. Complementary and mutually reinforcing levels of governance

According to the World Commission, if it is obviously necessary to reinforce the capacities and the democratic institutions at the national level. Regional integration should also be seen as a stepping stone towards the development of the social dimension of globalization. In that sense, the linkages between regional integration and global governance shouldn't be seen as a one-way process. If global governance can build on regional institutions, on the contrary, regional institutions can lean on coherent and effective global institutions. These two levels of multilateral cooperation and governance could be mutually reinforcing: a coherent and efficient global framework can help to deepen regional integration processes. In that sense, the World Commission advocate a "globalizing regions" approach that aims at promoting "development and equity within regions in a multilateral framework" (WCSDG, 2004: §332-334).

Since the last two decades, dialogues on the governance of migration have been gradually set up at the regional level. This reinforcement of regional cooperation could be an element consistent with the World Commission's recommendation. However, if regional cooperation is indeed expanding, it is nonetheless necessary to remain cautious on its nature and purposes, but also on its real contribution to the promotion of a more social approach of migration management, in line with the social dimension of globalization advocated by the World Commission. This cautiousness is all the more necessary if regional integration is to be a "stepping stone" and meant to partially determine the nature of the framework for cross-border movements of people at the global level.

The worldwide development of RCPs

Mostly since the 1990s, Regional Consultative Processes for Migration (RCPs) have multiplied in various regions of the world: for instance, for Africa, the MIDSA (*Migration Dialogue for Southern Africa – 2000*) and the MIDWA (*Migration Dialogue for West Africa – 2001*); for central and east Asia, the *Bali Conference (2002)*, the *Manila Process (1996)* or the *Issik-Kul Dialogue (2000);* for North America, Latin America and the Caribbean islands, the *South American Conference on Migration (Lima Process – 1999)*, the *Regional Conference on Migration (Puebla Process – 1996)* or the *Seminar for the Caribbean Region*; and, for Europe, the IGC (*Intergovernmental Consultations on Asylum, Refugee and Migration Policies in Europe, North America and Australia – 1985*) and the *Budapest Process (1991-93)* (Klein Solomon, 2005; Thouez, Channac, 2005).

Even if all these processes have some peculiar characteristics depending on different regional contexts and on the conditions determining their creation, they all share some essential common characteristics which allow grouping them under the generic name of regional consultative processes for migration.

According to A. Klekowski von Koppenfels, three main characteristics distinguish the RCPs from classic regional or international institutions: "(1) informality — they are a process, not an institution, meaning that working toward an eventual goal is an important aspect of the process; (2) openness — as agreement on all issues is not required, all options can be explored openly, thus increasing the number of possible solutions to issues; (3) efficiency — as there is a minimum administration, direct communication is more easily possible between high level officials and experts in regional consultative processes." (Klekowski von

Koppenfelds, 2001; Thouez, Channac, 2005; Thouez, Channac, 2006). Consequently, what elements could indicate that these RCPs work towards promoting a more social approach of migration management or not?

Consistency of RCPs' evolution with the WCSDG's recommendations

The functioning of RCPs entails the inclusion of new governmental actors in multilateral institutions, because they enhance a kind of decompartmentalization of policy making processes at the local and national levels and promote intra-governmental cooperation. Doing so, they certainly help to enhance a better coordination and broader decision-making and implementation processes at the national level. This should be all the more important that the main activities of these RCPs consist in information exchange and capacity-building programmes, mostly by the exchange of experiences but also of expertise, between participating countries and/or countries outside the region interested in promoting these regional dialogues with countries of origin. The lack of resources and adequate expertise and structures have been underscored by the WCSDG, as well as by the Global Commission for International Migration (GCIM), as some of the main obstacles to the development of efficient, comprehensive and coherent migration policies in most developing countries. These capacity-building programmes, along with the objectives of enhancing convergence in perception and some kind of like-mindedness and trust amongst participants, could contribute effectively to the development of multilateral cooperation at the regional level, but also, in that sense, could also prepare and clear the ground for more constructive discussions on a global framework for cross-border movements of people and instil more coherence and complementarity in the linkages between the different layers of the multi-level governance continuum.

The awareness of the necessity of developing multilateral cooperation is relatively recent, and even if, *a priori*, States may win from orderly migration, all States, even inside the same region, do not always share the same interests when it comes to use migration for national development and according to vested national interests. International migration remain a highly politicized issue, and the definition of migration policies is regrettably often influenced by myths and false perceptions; this making it all the more difficult to develop multilateral processes of cooperation. The RCPs' main aim is to build networks of information exchange between participating governments, and so to promote, on the one hand, relations of trust and

confidence amongst actors who are said to share common ideas and cultures, and then a common understanding of migration issues, and, on the other hand, some convergence, harmonization, in migration practices and policies between various levels of decision-making, from the global to the national level — and/or the other way round.

To develop these relations and enhance multilateral cooperation, RCPs lean partly on existing regional agreements or institutions. In most cases, there have already been experiments of regional multilateral cooperation, which probably facilitates the establishment of the new RCP. In Africa, while associating some southern EU states, the *Conference on Western Mediterranean Cooperation (5+5)* also gathers all the UMA's member states (*Union of Arabic Maghreb*). Also, the MIDSA (*Migration Dialogue for Southern Africa*) exactly follows the borders of the SADC (*Southern African Development Community*) and of the COMESA (*Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa*); and the ECOWAS (*Economic Community of West African States*) and the UEMOA are closely associated to the development of the MIDWA (*Migration Dialogue for West Africa*). In Latin America, RCMPs are bound to regional economic groupings, such as the MERCOSUR (*South American Common Market*), the NAFTA (*North American Free Trade Area*), the OAS (*Organization of American States*), or even the Caricom (*Caribbean Community*). For Asia and the Pacific, the ASEAN (*Association of South-East Asian Nations*), the SAARC (*South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation*), the PIF (*Pacific Island Forum*) and the APEC (*Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation*) supports the majority of the RCPs[1]. Also, by paying particular attention to information exchanges, to the promotion of a common language, to increasing the frequency of the meetings and gatherings, the processes gradually build up confidence among the actors, together with the idea of *common understanding* or of *like-mindedness*, community of interest and shared principles, all these elements combining to promote multilateral cooperation for migration.

It is moreover worth noting that, alongside this regionalisation process, the very nature of diplomacy and of the actors of multilateralism are evolving: during the RCPs' meetings, the multilateral dialogue isn't restricted to – or mainly directed by – ministries of Foreign Affairs' officials, but multilateralism is also more open to representatives of other ministries, such as Home Affairs or Labour. This trend implies a diversification of the actors participating in

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[1] For a detailed review of regional integration instruments related to or dealing with migration issues, see International Labour Conference, 1999 ; Aleinikoff, Chetail, 2003.
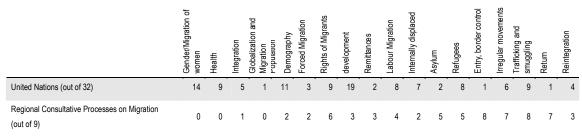
these multilateral forums, not by allowing civil society's actors to increase their participation, but rather by opening towards new governmental actors (Channac, 2004)[2]. As limited as this diversification is, it certainly facilitates the constitution and the consolidation of policy networks, within and between regions.
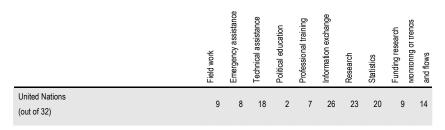
Shortcomings and inconsistencies

However, the contribution of this regionalisation process towards more social and comprehensive approaches to migration issues should perhaps be qualified, as it also leads to a shift in the political priorities and in the perception and treatment of migration issues.

In fact, the order of the priorities and the issues tackled change significantly according to the type of multilateral institution and to the nature of States' representation within these institutions. And the approaches of international migration issues seem to vary greatly between the global international organisations, such as those of the United Nations system, and regional consultative processes. The identity of the actors of multilateralism seem to have some consequences on the definition and the very nature and purpose of intergovernmental cooperation, and, as such, on the scope of activities implemented in the field of migration.

Migration Topics ans Activities Covered by United Nations and Regional Consultative Processes.

	Gender/Migration of women	Health	Integration	Globalization and Migration	Population	Demography	Forced Migration	Rights of Migrants	development	Remittances	Labour Migration	Internally displaced	Asylum	Refugees	Entry, border control	Irregular movements	Trafficking and smuggling	Return	Reintegration
United Nations (out of 32)	14	9	5	1		11	3	9	19	2	8	7	2	8	1	6	9	1	4
Regional Consultative Processes on Migration (out of 9)	0	0	1	0		2	2	6	3	3	4	2	5	5	8	7	8	7	3

Source : Channac, Frédérique, 2005, based on : IOM, Migration Policy and Research Programme, 2002, *Compendium of Intergovernmental Organizations Active in the Field of Migration*, International Dialogue on Migration, n°2, Geneva, p.15-16.

	Field work	Emergency assistance	Technical assistance	Political education	Professional training	Information exchange	Research	Statistics	Funding research	Monitoring of trends and flows
United Nations (out of 32)	9	8	18	2	7	26	23	20	9	14

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[2]   At least for international migration, these analysis seem to confirm those of Anne-Marie Slaughter: "States still exist in this world; indeed, they are crucial actors. But they are "disaggregated." They relate to each other not only through the Foreign Office, but also through regulatory, judicial, and legislative channels." SLAUGHTER, Anne-Marie, *A New World Order*, Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2004, p.5.

Regional Consultative Processes on Migration (out of 9)	0	0	3	2	1	8	3	4	1	5

Source : Channac, Frédérique, 2005, based on : IOM, Migration Policy and Research Programme, 2002, *Compendium of Intergovernmental Organizations Active in the Field of Migration*, International Dialogue on Migration, n°2, Geneva, p.15-16.

More open global multilateral institutions seem generally more inclined to develop activities related to social policies and migration, while quasi-exclusively intergovernmental regional consultative processes would appear to have a tendency to concentrate their activities on a few topics, mostly related to irregular migration or migration flows management. This shortcoming in the development of regionalisation had already been underscored by the Commission on Human Security, as its final report stated that "common to these initiatives is coordinating restrictive policies at the highest possible level, while agreeing to protect migrants at the lowest possible level" (Commission on Human Security, 2003:47).

Furthermore, according to a 2005 study for UNFPA and IMP, "the more developed a region and the more sophisticated its regional cooperative links, the more likely the RCPs will focus on a narrow set of purely migration considerations" (Thouez, Channac, 2005). In less developed regions, where cooperative links are less well established and general development is still high on the agenda, RCPs' objectives often include broader development issues alongside migration considerations. The conclusion of this study is that "in this context, looking at these [development] issues through a "migration lens" is incidental; it permits governments to touch upon a variety of other topics for which migration constitutes one variable within a broader set of considerations where regional cooperation is lacking or ineffective: economic integration; conflict prevention; regional security; etc. These considerations also fall within the parameters of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), namely: health; environmental protection; the rights of women and children; exchange of technical capacities; and good governance at local, national and regional levels".

In sum, what emerges from the table above and the IMP's evaluation exercise pleads in favour of the development of multi-level coordination processes, so that the actions of RCPs at the regional level could be complemented or consolidated by the resources and expertise of United Nations agencies and programmes in the field of migration and asylum, in order to promote and sustain a real comprehensive, social and developmental approach to international migration. Even if RCPs can sometimes be viewed as tools to promote restrictive policies against the protection of migrants and refugees rights, this shouldn't be perceived as inevitable: regionalisation could be an important tool for a social-oriented multilateral

cooperation, if only it were framed and complemented by more coherent and revitalized global institutions.

The way forward: increased inter-regionalism and deeper involvement of IOs.

To some extend, this coordination and those exchanges are already taking place, some international organisations participating, as observers, experts or secretariats, in these RCPs.

For instance, the now defunct International Migration Policy Programme (IMP) was indeed "a sustained inter-agency activity for training, capacity building and government co-operation, [which] relies on the expertise and input from all global and regional institutions dealing with migration, forced displacement, population, development and related matters, including UNITAR, IOM, UNFPA, ILO, UNHCR, OHCHR, OCHA, UNAIDS, UNICEF, ED, AU, IGC, ICMPD, ICRC, RCMRI, ECLAC, CARICOM, ACP, SAMP and other regional organisations and expert groups". Obviously, the IMP's main purpose was to promote the development of structures for dialogue between States and to enhance multilateral cooperation and, finally, a multi-level approach to migration management (IMP: http://impprog.ch). The IMP aimed at developing the capacities of the national governments so that the inter-state dialogue and multilateral cooperation should be more effective and efficient at the regional level but also at the global level. This capacity-building approach can be considered as part of a more comprehensive incremental approach, as the strengthening of national capacities and resources is conceived as a first necessary stage before engaging any kind of dialogue on an international framework for international migration. Following this logic, during this experiment, the development of multilateralism at the regional level was not solely a one-way process, mainly because it was, basically, promoted by the international institutions backing up the IMP, and, in return, the intensification or strengthening of States' capacities at national and regional levels could be seen as reinforcing or re-invigorating multilateralism at the global level, by asserting the central nodal role of UN agencies.

If RCPs are facilitating networking at the regional level, on the other hand, UN institutions could doubtlessly play a crucial role in developing the "open-regionalism" advocated by the World Commission. Migration are not only taking place between countries inside the same region; they also have an important inter-regional and inter-continental dimension. And this is another argument in favour of a global dialogue on migration which could be greatly

facilitated by the UN institutions that already have an experience and develop truly more social-orientated and operational programmes in this field.

This was also one of the RCPs' shortcomings identified by the GCIM in its final report, which stated that "additional efforts are required to ensure that regional consultative processes on migration have worldwide coverage, engage civil society and the private sector, and are not focused solely on migration control" and that "greater interaction between the different processes is essential given the global nature of migration" (GCIM, 2005: 70, 82). This conclusion surely agrees with those of the WCSDG as regards cross-border movements of people.

Some recent initiatives tend to settle such inter-regional cooperation processes. For instance, this is the case of the African Union, following the resolution adopted in Lusaka in 2001, that considered a draft Migration Policy Framework for Africa, a document that proposes guidelines for migration management not only at the sub-regional level, but more broadly for the African region, encompassing sub-regional cooperation processes (African Union, 2006).

Another interesting example of the development of inter-regional initiatives is the Brussels Declaration on Asylum, Migration and Mobility – and the Plan of Action – adopted by the Governments of the Africa Caribbean Pacific Group during the 1st ACP Meeting of Ministers responsible for Asylum, Migration and Mobility, held in Brussels on 13 April 2006. The main objective of this Meeting was to formulate concrete ACP policies on asylum, migration and mobility to address migration issues in a cooperative, coordinated and efficient manner. Furthermore, the 2nd ACP Civil Society Forum, which took place in Brussels from 19 to 21 April 2006, complemented the defined ACP Position on Migration and Mobility, and clearly indicated the importance granted to non-state actors' involvement in the debate on migration for the ACP Group (ACP, 2006a, b and c).

B. A broad-based dialogue founded on the rule of law and democratic institutions

As regards the second set of actions recommended by the WCSDG, it appears that three categories of actors should be involved in this dialogue. Some, like international institutions, are already involved, but their role should be revitalized. Others, like non governmental actors, should be associated and become partners to the States and International Organisations in decision-making and implementation processes at each level of governance.

First, according to the World Commission, in this context, the role of the State should be renewed and built on the rule of law and democratic institutions, and States should also work in partnership with other social actors. Very precise recommendations have been made by the World Commission as regards the dialogue that should be strengthened between countries of origin and destination on key policy issues of common interest. This dialogue "could aim to develop and agree on procedures, recommendations and non-binding codes, complementing the formal obligations under ratified Conventions. This could begin on a bilateral or plurilateral basis, but it should extend to the regional level" (WCSDG, 2004: §442-443).

Second, the report also presents the UN multilateral system as "the greater asset" and as "essential for global action", even if "[there is] a need to revitalize and extend multilateral commitments [conventions and legal obligations], [and there could be a consensus to do so in issues such as] the basic rights and protection of migrant workers and their families, trafficking, discrimination and exploitation. Action on such issues needs to be taken within the multilateral bodies concerned, notably the ILO and the UN bodies concerned with human rights and crime prevention" (WCSDG, 2004: §441).

And third, the Commissioners also point to "expanding public dialogue and public participation": networks of non governmental stakeholders and experts are developing, and these networks could complement the actual system of international institutions already at work. The World Commission thus recommends "to encourage more systematic dialogues within and between these emerging networks of State and non-State actors in specific domains" such as international migration, and to give "greater voice for non-State actors."

So far, migration issues, related as they are to sovereignty issues, have remained mostly in the purview of States, even if there is a growing consensus on the necessity to devise new form of participation in decision-making and implementation processes to allow a greater contribution of civil society and private actors in this domain, not in place of the States, but along and complementary to States' actions, as these stakeholders also have a real experience as regards migration issues. For instance, the Global Commission on International Migration, in the same line as the World Commission's recommendations, asked for broader consultations, including civil society and NGOs (GCIM, 2005: 2).

As mentioned above, the openness to civil society, NGOs and private actors vary greatly according to fora, regions and levels of governance, and the RCPs are not renowned for their openness, even if the degree of informality and confidentiality also vary greatly among them. In fact, in most cases, the absence of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) is considered

by governments and by organizers to be important to preserve the inter-governmental nature of discussions and thus their exclusiveness, and NGOs rarely attend RCPs' meetings.

However, States' prejudice and reservation as regards NGOs' participation is not universally shared, and some premises of openness can be observed. First, some processes such as the *Puebla Process* have gradually organized parallel meetings for NGOs. Similarly, some NGOs have observer status in meetings of the Lima Process *(South-American Conference on Migration)*.

Second, as reflected in the evaluation study undertaken by the IMP and UNFPA, many governments participating in these processes, mostly in developing regions where resources are scarce, requested an increase in the participation of NGOs and other private sector actors, such as chambers of commerce, employers' associations and trade unions, etc; and the conclusions adopted at their meetings recommended the development of such partnerships, at local, national and regional levels, between governments, NGOs and private sector (Thouez, Channac, 2005; UNFPA/UNITAR, 2005a and 2005b). In fact, the limited participation of NGOs and private sectors is not solely a consequence of States' reservation, but it also derives from numerous obstacles due to the scarcity of resources, competition between NGOs, difficulties to cooperate between themselves and to conduct integrated and coordinated programmes, questions of legitimacy, etc (Thouez, 2004).

In that sense, since the WCSDG's report, at the international level, some initiatives have been pursuing their activities to foster a broad-based dialogue on an international framework for cross-border movements of people. This is the case, for instance, of The Hague Process, which was launched in 2000 by the Society for International Development's Netherlands Chapter. This process gathers almost 800 persons – from governments, academics, non governmental and civil society actors, international organisations, etc. In 2003 a Club of The Hague has been established to guide, advice and position The Hague Process. One crucial dimension of this initiative, consistent with the recommendations of the World Commission, certainly is the development of networking between actors from different horizons: The Hague Process' main purpose appears to be the establishment of a think-tank network to promote exchanges of views and sharing of experiences between all the stakeholders in the international migration domain ; that is not only States and intergovernmental organizations, but also private actors, business leaders, non governmental organisations, and associations of migrants and refugees. The postulate founding this approach is that States can not manage

international migration efficiently on their own for the benefit of all interested parties (SID/Netherlands Chapter, 2002).

Nonetheless, large discrepancies still remain between international initiatives when it comes to enlarging consultative processes to civil society, these discrepancies being even further accentuated by regional specificities, and this relative openness to non governmental actors is also to observed between the various existing dialogues on a global framework, like the Berne Initiative or the GCIM as shown in the two tables below.

Institutional participation at Berne Initiative's Regional Consultations and Global Commission on International Migration's Regional Hearings, by regions.

Berne Initiative Regional Consultations	Number of International Intergovernmental Organisations	Number of Regional Organisations	Number of Civil Society Organisations
Africa	3	3	1
Europe & Asia	4	2	1
Asia & Pacific	3	1	0
Americas	8	0	5

GCIM Regional Hearings	Number of International Intergovernmental Organisations	Number of Regional Organisations	Number of Civil Society Organisations
Asia & Pacific	6	1	27
Mediterranean & Middle-East	8	1	14
Europe	7	5	26
Americas	8	5	25

NB: Civil society organisations include NGOs, trade unions, employer associations, private sector, media. Final participant list non available for Sub-Saharan Africa Regional Hearing.

Source: CHANNAC, Frédérique, 2006, based on final lists of participants of Berne Initiative's Regional Consultations and GCIM's Regional Hearings.

The private sector, NGOs, civil society in general and migrant associations in particular, could contribute more effectively in the implementation, and, *ex ante*, in the formulation, of migration policies at the local, national and regional levels. Their integration in consultative processes or further in decision-making and implementation processes, could be enhanced by global institutions that have a long experience – such as the UNHCR with the Convention Plus consultations or the ILO as the only tripartite UN agency – in dialogue and cooperation with civil society and private sector actors. This international backing could be an important means to overcome legitimacy or coordination issues, notably at the national and regional levels during implementation processes. In this regard, international institutions of the UN system seem to be particularly well positioned to play a greater role in enhancing the dialogue between governments and civil society, and to help building bridges between different networks of resources and expertise.

Notwithstanding, how important as it may be, the question of broader-based dialogues and the openness to civil society and private sector isn't the only subject that should retain attention as regards the range and nature of actors' participation.

One of the recommendations of the WCSDG was that the policy approach to social dimension of regional integration should be integrated and based on a political commitment at the highest political level (WCSDG, 2004: §330). However, in the field of migration, commitment isn't only a question of the degree of involvement of Heads of State and Government, at least after the first initiation stage. As observed by the World Commission, and underscored by numerous International Relations scholars, the "billiard-ball" IR

theoretical fiction now lives, and diplomacy and multilateralism aren't anymore only matters of Foreign Affairs Ministers or Head of States, since intergovernmental policies and cooperation are also evolving alongside the multiplication and the booming of policy networks at "lower" or more technical levels.

Our point is that what is lacking in this new "migration diplomacy" or "multilateralism for migration" isn't merely the commitment of the highest level of the States, but rather a continuity in the commitment and participation of the representatives of these States in these international policy networks. This is unfortunately true both at the regional level and at the global level. Most of the time, aside from notable exceptions, no continuity can be observed in the governments' delegations in RCPs and in IGOs, and the rate of turn-over in governmental delegations from one meeting to the following is high (Channac, forthcoming).

Turn-over in Governmental Participation in Two Regional Consultative Processes.

Participation at AU/IMP Conferences for East Africa, the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes Region	Number of representatives having attended		
	1 meeting	2 meetings	Total participants
Total	**118**	**22**	**140**
Total %	*84,30%*	*15,70%*	*100%*

Participation at Issyk-Kul Dialogue Meetings	Number of representatives having attended				
	1 meeting	2 meetings	3 meetings	4 meetings	Total participants
Total	**123**	**18**	**3**	**0**	**144**
Total %	85.5%	12.5%	2%	0%	100%

Source: UNFPA/UNITAR, 2005a and 2005b.

Moreover, when participating in various *fora*, governments aren't represented by the same officials at all the meetings. This must certainly be an obstacle to the development of networking but also to the convergence of view and coordination between institutions. This must also be a hindrance to the development of capacity-building programmes that could really be effective and fruitful.

Finally, the fact that the officials representing governments in RCPs – or even those who work at the local level – are rarely those who attend meetings at the global level could also be seen as an obstacle to greater coordination between levels of governance, and conversely, this doesn't work to enhance greater knowledge of the resources that international institutions can provide at national and local level to devise and implement migration policies more efficiently and coherently, or to strengthen regional integration in this field.

C. Fostering a global framework to reinforce the regionalization processes

Concerning the third set of recommendations, at the global level, the World Commission urges to initiate "a preparatory process towards a more general institutional framework for the movement of people across national borders". In this sense, a global forum is needed "for regular exchange of information and views on this issue among all the countries and interests concerned, [in order, for instance, to] help identify both problems and opportunities, and point to ways to ensure that the movement of people occurs on an orderly basis". Such an initiative should bear fruits if all the parties involved had a voice and if the value of their specific inputs were truly acknowledged and recognised (WCSDG, 2004: §444-445).

The World Commission, as well as other global initiatives such as the GCIM or, before, the CHS, all underline the necessity to develop a global framework for cross-border movements of people. There is a consensus on the inadequacies of the means of current institutions – or even the lack thereof in certain areas – to face the new migration challenges. For instance, the Commission on Human Security stated that "except in the case of refugees, it is left largely to individual states to regulate the movements of people within and across borders. The absence of an international migration arrangement – ordering and regulating the movement of people between countries through the adoption of agreed norms, principles and institutions – is remarkable since it affects the security of people and of states"(Commission on Human Security, 2003: 45). The same observation is made by the Global Commission for International Migration, which concludes that there is a lack of inter-agency cooperation and coordination as "the UN does not have a specialized migration agency, and responsibilities in this area are spread across different institutions such as ILO, OHCHR, UNDESA, UNFPA and UNHCR, the mandates of which have evolved in specific historical, geographical and thematic contexts"(GCIM, 2005:73).

While migration issues are gaining momentum on the global agenda (International labour Conference, 2004a), and when the linkages between these issues and other policy areas are increasingly taken into account, a number of other institutions – such as the World Bank, UNCTAD, UNDP or WTO – are now developing studies, dialogues or programmes related to migration issues. On the one hand, this is symptomatic of a growing awareness of the necessity to develop a more comprehensive approach to cross-border movements of people. On the other hand, this entails a growing complexity as regards inter-agency cooperation and coordination issues.

Moreover, even if the consensus is growing on the necessity to develop a global framework for cross-border movements of people, some reluctances and oppositions still remain – some governments having recently again reaffirmed their preference for bilateral dialogue and regional processes –, but, above all, there is no consensus on the strategy to adopt or on the shape this framework should take[3].

This is why, during the last five years, a number of international initiatives developed, aiming at promoting dialogue on this issue but also at proposing their own conception of what this global framework could – or should – be.

According to the World Commission, the development of a multilateral framework for cross-border movements of people implies that the existing multilateral organizations dealing with the movement of people – notably the ILO, the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the United Nations human rights mechanisms and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) – should be strengthened as should be the coordination among them. The World Commission also suggests that the ILO should take the lead on these matters, and recommends that coherence and coordination between international organizations be strengthened through the creation of Policy Coherence Initiatives and Policy Development Dialogues gathering at least all the Executive Heads of the multilateral system, in order to "upgrade the quality of policy coordination between international organizations on issues in which the implementation of their mandates intersects and their policies interact" and "to correct the imbalance between economic and social policies, eliminate the harm inflicted by policies working at cross-purposes, and harness the synergy from complementary policies." (WCSDG, 2004: §446, 607, 613, 616).

In this instance, following the GCIM's recommendation, an important evolution has been the idea of launching a Global Forum for Migration. Originally, the Global Commission recommended the creation of an Inter-agency Global Migration Facility in 2006. Finally, the Geneva Migration Group has been enlarged into a Global Migration Group, and the first meeting on the Global Forum for Migration should be organised by the Belgian Government

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[3] Nonetheless, it appeared in a large number of governments' interventions at the High Level Dialogue that such a global framework should remain state-owned, informal, flexible and non-binding. If the consensus is growing on the necessity to develop such a framework, there is no common perspective and no large agreement on the idea of developing a right-based global framework. This obstacle had been already clearly stated by the GCIM.

in 2007. These two initiatives clearly pertain to the ideas of Policy Coherence Initiatives and Policy Development Dialogues recommended by the WCSDG. The dialogue on a global framework for international migration is thus taking shape; and even if it seems to be a slow process, its pace surely quickened during the last twelve months.

Thus, in early 2006, the Global Migration Group succeeded with a first initiative of inter-agency coordination, the Geneva Migration Group, which, since April 2003, has regularly gathered the Heads of international institutions interested in migration issues and being based in Geneva. The Global Migration Group increases the number of participating agencies. According to its Terms of Reference (GMG, 2006), the GMG "aims to promote the wider application of all relevant international and regional instruments and norms relating to migration, and the provision of more coherent and stronger leadership to improve the overall effectiveness of the United Nations and the international community's policy and operational response to the opportunities and challenges presented by international migration". Several paragraphs in these Terms of Reference point to the concrete aim to enhance coordination between existing international institutions, toward the establishment of a more coherent and rational system, while other points relate to the dialogue and interactions between international institutions, and address explicitly the issues of governance at the international level. All these aims and purposes finally points to enhancing and promoting a dialogue towards the definition of a global governance for migration, while attempting to articulate and co-ordinate the fragmented, disparate and sometimes conflicting elements of the actual system.

Since the final report of the WCSDG, the ILO has also clearly and positively contributed to the dialogue on the framework for the cross-border movements of people by developing a ILO Multilateral Framework on Labour Migration (ILO, 2005b). Following the Resolution concerning a fair deal for migrant workers in a global economy adopted by the International Labour Conference, at its 92nd session in 2004, the ILO developed and adopted a Plan of Action for migrants workers, based on the idea – fully consistent with the World Commission's recommendations – that "fair deal for all migrant workers requires a rights-based approach, in accordance with existing international labour standards and ILO principles, which recognizes labour market needs and the sovereign right of all nations to determine their own migration policies, including determining entry into their territory and under which conditions migrants may remain" (ILC, 2004b; ILO, 2005a).

The Action Plan includes several elements such as the development of a non-binding multilateral framework for a rights-based approach to labour migration; wider application of international labour standards and other relevant instruments; support for implementation of the ILO Global Employment Agenda at national level; capacity building, awareness raising and technical assistance; improving the information and knowledge base; strengthening social dialogue; and mechanisms for follow-up of the plan of action. Following the objectives of this Plan of Action, the ILO developed "a non-binding multilateral framework for a rights-based approach to labour migration which takes into account labour market needs, proposing guidelines and principles for policies based on best practices and international standards." This ILO Multilateral Framework on Labour Migration was adopted by the Tripartite Meeting of Experts on the ILO Multilateral Framework on Labour Migration on November 2005.

In 2004, the Berne Initiative also adopted its International Agenda for Migration Management, as a result of discussions initiated in 2001. Some similarities can be seen between the ILO approach and the Berne Initiative's objectives, as the two of them clearly intend to assist their member states to improve migration policies by applying principles and good practices, and to develop non-binding guidelines.

However, the Berne Initiative's Agenda extends to migrant workers and refugees when the ILO's framework is limited to migrant workers. The inclusion of refugees and migrant workers in the same framework is far from being a consensual question, as discussions within the Berne Initiative process itself have sometimes shown.

Another crucial difference – which relates to the WCSDG's recommendation as regards the actors associated to decision-making and implementation processes – is to be found in the strictly state-owned consultative process of the Berne Initiative, when the ILO framework is based on a tripartite process, with consultations amongst governments but also employers and workers.

But more important is the fact that the Berne Initiative is a consultative, non-binding and non-prescriptive process that does not promote the development of new international law (Berne Initiative, 2003:2)[4]. On the other hand, the ILO's approach is definitely based on the idea that the multilateral framework should be rights-based, no contradiction existing between State sovereignty and such a right-based approach, in which international labour standards should remain the foundation of any migration policy. This ILO approach is thus fully consistent

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[4] The International Agenda for Migration Management doesn't make references to the ILO Conventions for instance.

with the recommendation's of the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization.

3. CONCLUSION

Our concluding point is that how these latest, quite divergent, global initiatives fit with the WCSDG's recommendations isn't a subject to be entirely dismissed in a report on regional integration and international migration. It also relates – as seen in the second part of this paper – to the question of the mutual linkages between regional integration and a global framework for cross-border movements of people, and therefore, to the orientation and the nature of regional integration for migration. Without a strong, reinvigorated and coherent global framework, the support to regional integration and multilateral cooperation for migration is likely to be weaker and/or less consistent with a more comprehensive, social and rights-based approach to international migration.

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