MIGRATION POLICY PRACTICE

A Bimonthly Journal for and by Policymakers Worldwide

IOM conducts a Camp Coordination and Camp Management (CCCM) training in Estancia, Iloilo (26 March). © IOM 2014 (Photo by Alan Motus).

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Introduction

Solon Ardittis and Frank Laczko[1]

Welcome to the new issue of *Migration Policy Practice*. This issue is being published at a time when policymakers around the world are increasingly concerned about the impact of irregular migration. In Europe, there is a rising death toll, with up to 3,000 migrants missing or dead in the Mediterranean region this year. One year after the Lampedusa tragedy, which claimed the lives of nearly 400 migrants, the number of migrant deaths in the Mediterranean region continues to rise. A new international report entitled "Fatal Journeys: Tracking Lives Lost During Migration", to be released next week by IOM (see the "Publications" section in this issue), shows that this is a global and long-term problem. Drawing on a wide range of data sources from different regions around the world, the report provides a picture of the perilous journeys undertaken by migrants around the world.

The report calls for better data to help prevent deaths. There are few detailed statistics, because collecting data on migrant deaths has not been a priority for most governments around the world. Although vast sums of money are spent collecting migration and border control data, very few governments collect and publish data on migrant deaths. Data on migrant deaths tend to be scattered, with a range of organizations involved in tracking fatalities, often employing different definitions of *border-related death*. Most available information comes from media reports and NGO sources, but these data can be incomplete. Comparing data for different regions of the world, the report shows that over the last 20 years the highest number of recorded migrant deaths was in Europe. Furthermore, while the number of deaths has been rising sharply in Europe over the last year, there has been a decrease in the number of fatalities in some other regions of the world.

Minors represent an important share of migrants crossing the Mediterranean, with an estimated 14,000 children crossing into Italy in 2014. In North America, the growing number of unaccompanied children leaving Central America and travelling north to Mexico and the United States of America has become a major policy concern. The US Government has predicted that as many as 70,000 unaccompanied minors will arrive in the United States this year. Kelly Ryan, the Coordinator of the Intergovernmental Consultations on Migration, Asylum and Refugees (IGC), addresses this complex policy question in the first article of this issue. She calls for a new policy framework based on the principle that unaccompanied children should be treated first and foremost as children.

The second article in this issue also focuses on the United States, but tackles a very different issue – the situation of African immigrants in the United States. Written by C. Omar Kebbeh, an economist for the Bureau of Economic Analysis of the US Department of Commerce, the article compares the labour market outcomes of African immigrants in the United States to those of the native-born and, where relevant, the foreign-born population in general. It shows that African-born immigrants in the United States have a high labour force participation rate because they are generally more highly educated than the native-born population.

1   Solon Ardittis is Managing Director of Eurasylum Ltd. Frank Laczko is Head of the Migration Research Division at IOM Headquarters in Geneva. They are the co-editors of *Migration Policy Practice.*

The third article in this issue focuses on eight cities around the world and their efforts to promote the integration of migrants and refugees. The article, written by authors working for the Hague Process on Refugees and Migration, particularly focuses on the role of the private sector, and the innovative ways in which businesses help to promote integration in cities as diverse as Auckland, Buenos Aires, Chicago, Kuala Lumpur, Lisbon, Nairobi, Rotterdam and Sao Paolo. The article is based on research conducted by the UN University–Maastricht Economic and Social Research Institute on Innovation and Technology (UNU-MERIT).

The final article in this issue again focuses on the subject of irregular migration and, especially, the concept of "mixed migration." T. Craig Murphy, an IOM official based in Kenya, reports in particular on the trend in migrant deaths in the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. He shows that, contrary to the trend in the Mediterranean, the number of lives lost in the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea decreased from 2008 to 2013. Murphy presents a policy framework to address mixed migration flows consisting of three components – prevention, response and post-response measures. He argues that the complexities of contemporary mixed migration flows require a coordinated and strategic approach.

We thank all the contributors to this issue of *Migration Policy Practice* and encourage readers to contact us with suggestions for future articles. We further invite readers to spare a couple of minutes to participate in a survey which we are launching this month in order to help us identify our readers' profiles, the institutions they represent and their primary interests in our journal. Should you wish to participate in this survey, please **click here.** ∎

Unaccompanied and separated minors: A call for a multidisciplinary response to a humanitarian crisis

Kelly Ryan[1]

In the past decade, there has been rising international interest and attention paid to minors on the move who are unaccompanied by their parents or legal guardians.[2] Flows of unaccompanied minors, particularly those seeking asylum, have recurrently affected European States since the early 2000s, with significant peaks in applications made in certain countries such as the Netherlands (6,705 applications in 2000 and 5,951 in 2001), the United Kingdom (5,945 in 2002; 3,300 in 2008; and 2,991 in 2009), and Sweden (3,852 in 2013 and 2,493 in the first six months of 2014).[3]

Total quarterly asylum applications by unaccompanied minors in European IGC participating States, first quarter 2000 to second quarter 2014
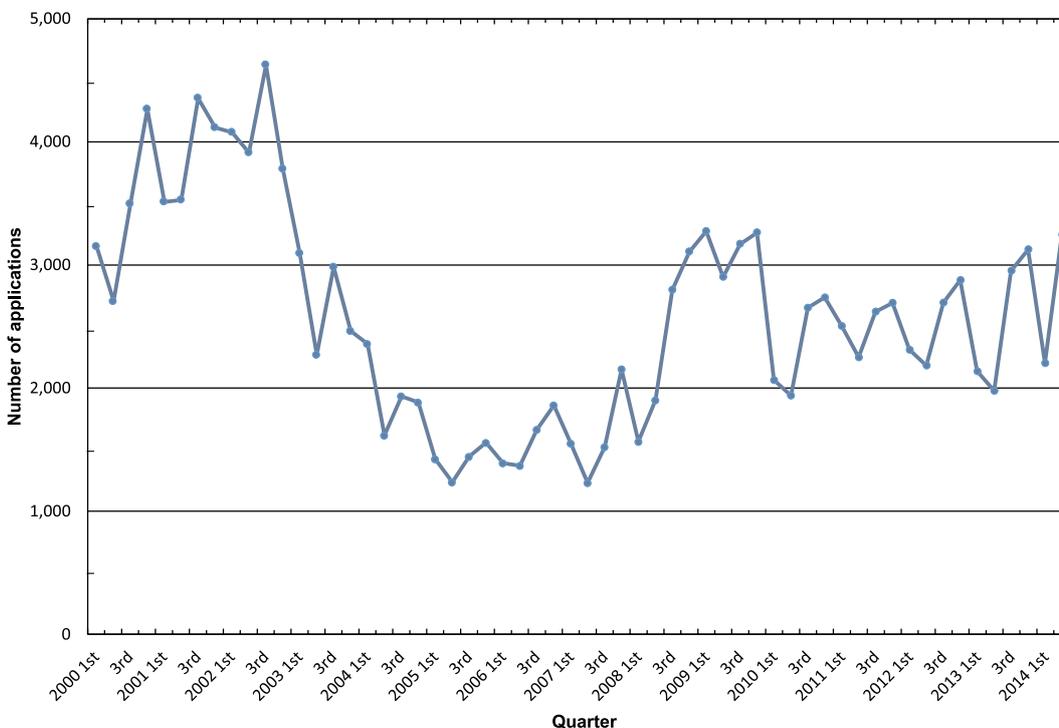
Source: IGC Database on Unaccompanied Minors.

1   Kelly Ryan is the Coordinator of the Intergovernmental Consultations on Migration, Asylum and Refugees (IGC). The IGC is a regional consultative process (RCP) and is an informal, non-decision-making forum for intergovernmental information exchange and policy debate on issues of relevance to the management of international migratory flows. The IGC brings together 16 participating States, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Organization for Migration and the European Commission.

2   The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (Article 1) defines child as follows: "A child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier." IOM defines *unaccompanied children* or *unaccompanied minors* as "children who have been separated from both parents and other relatives and are not being cared for by an adult who, by law or custom, is responsible for doing so."

3   More data can be found in: IGC Secretariat, *Asylum Procedures: Report on Policies and Practices in IGC Participating States* (Geneva, 2012). Available from http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/index.php?main_page=product_info&products_id=972.

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the uptrend is occurring worldwide – that is, the "number of unaccompanied or separated children (UASC) seeking asylum on an individual basis is on the rise. More than 25,300 individual asylum applications were lodged by UASCs in 77 countries in 2013."[4] This, of course, does not give a sense of the real number of unaccompanied children since many do not seek asylum.

This phenomenon is not new, nor is it unique to European countries. This past year, the subject of unaccompanied children and adolescents leaving Central America and travelling north, by foot, car, bus and train, to Mexico and the United States has made headlines. The US Government has predicted that as many as 70,000 unaccompanied minors will arrive in the United States in fiscal year 2014 – a massive increase over the past three years. Children and adults primarily come from El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras. There are a number of reasons for their flight, including violence, persecution, poverty, trafficking and family reunification. Adults and families from these countries also move internally in much larger numbers to escape generalized violence, which is a push factor largely ignored in the broader discussion.[5] More recently, minors represent an important share of migrants crossing the Mediterranean in dramatic conditions, with as many as 14,000 children who have arrived in Italy so far this year, according to UNHCR.[6]

Experts around the globe are calling for immediate action: "Children on the move constitute a humanitarian emergency that calls for immediate remedies."[7] The displacement of unaccompanied minors and its consequences is a global issue which has not yet been fully and systematically addressed, although work has begun. Ensuring children are safe, assisted and protected and that their individual situations are examined by a series of competent officials in an appropriate manner is a challenge throughout the globe.

Unaccompanied minors are particularly at risk because of their age and circumstance.[8] IOM, international agencies and NGOs encounter unaccompanied children in a variety of settings, such as refugee camps, irregular migration flows, return and reintegration programmes and refugee resettlement. It is arguable that unaccompanied minors are present in every UNHCR operation worldwide and likely in all IOM operations involving mixed or forced migration.

The emergence of a child-centered approach

A child-centered approach is the goal and not the present reality, especially because many receiving countries do not have procedures in place to address the needs of such children. In order to be effective, many experts observe that the United States and other governments should take a child-centered approach when developing policies and designing measures. There should be a change in how children are viewed – from, principally, as an immigration, law

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4   UNHCR, *War's Human Cost: UNHCR Global Trends* (UNHCR, Geneva, 2014). Available from www.unhcr.org/5399a14f9.html page 29. Note that these numbers do not include applications made in the United States of America.

5   "What is not yet properly appreciated in the current debate is that these violent criminal dynamics are generating startling levels of internal displacement within these countries. If we take El Salvador as an example, we would see that in 2012 some 3,300 Salvadorian children arrived in the United States and 4,000 Salvadorians claimed to fear returning home. By contrast, survey data for 2012 indicates that around 130,000 people were internally displaced within El Salvador due to criminal violence in just that one year." – Professor David Cantor, Director of the Refugee Law Initiative, School of Advanced Study – University of London in "Gangs: the real 'humanitarian crisis' driving Central American children to the US", *The Conversation*, 22 August 2014. Available from http://theconversation.com/gangs-the-real-humanitarian-crisis-driving-central-american-children-to-the-us-30672.

6   P. Maigua, "Record number of migrants die crossing the Mediterranean Sea", *United Nations Radio*, 26 August 2014. Available from www.unmultimedia.org/radio/english/2014/08/record-number-of-migrants-die-crossing-the-mediterranean-sea-2.

7   Holy See, Statement of Archbishop Silvano M. Tomasi, Permanent Observer of the Holy See to the United Nations and Specialized Agencies in Geneva at the Twenty-fifth Ordinary Session of the Human Rights Council on the Human Rights of Migrants, (13 June 2014), *L'Osservatore Romano*, 27 June 2014. Available from www.vatican.va/roman_curia/secretariat_state/2014/documents/rc-seg-st-20140613_tomasi-migranti_en.html.

8   "Affirming that children, because of their age, social status and physical and mental development are often more vulnerable than adults in situations of forced displacement; recognizing that forced displacement, return to post-conflict situations, integration in new societies, protracted situations of displacement, and statelessness can increase the vulnerability of children generally; taking into account the particular vulnerability of refugee children to being forcibly exposed to the risks of physical and psychological injury, exploitation and death in connection with armed conflict; and acknowledging that wider environmental factors and individual risk factors, particularly when combined, can put children in situations of heightened risk…." See: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), "Conclusion on Children at Risk," 5 October 2007, No. 107 (LVIII) - 2007. Available from www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/471897232.html.

enforcement, trafficking or refugee matter, to being children first. Because of their age, social status, physical development and mental development, they are more vulnerable to situations of displacement; often, unaccompanied minors experience violence, or fear of violence, before, during and post-arrival. They may be exploited, abused or abandoned on one or more occasions. Their vulnerability is heightened because they may have encountered enforcement imperatives (identification, age determination, etc.). Finally, a comprehensive system of protection requires persons in authority – especially, child advocates, persons with legal expertise, social workers, guardians, educators and health-care providers – to make decisions about a child's care, custody and legal status. But how best to approach this complicated challenge and the multiple facets to be considered in the displacement of minors?

Challenges in identifying comprehensive effective solutions

In October 2008, the US Government held the important international Conference on Protection of Unaccompanied and Separated Children, inviting experts from around the globe to discuss how to address these issues.[9] IOM and UNHCR were key contributors to the conference and have been at the cutting edge of this issue for decades, especially in the policy and operational responses to the needs of unaccompanied minors worldwide.[10] The conference illustrated enormous interest from a wide variety of actors in developing appropriate policies and taking action. These actors included many governments from around the world (including those of sending and receiving countries, as well as those who encounter children primarily moving within or transiting through their countries), UN partners, NGOs

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9 "Conference on Protection of Unaccompanied and Separated Children," webpage on the George Mason University website. Available from http://childalone.gmu.edu.

10 See, for example: IOM, *Unaccompanied Children on the Move* (IOM, Geneva, 2011). Other useful tools and interventions include: UNHCR, *Heightened Risk Identification Tool* (UNHCR, Geneva, 2010); the Child Advocate Program (supported by the US Government) at the Young Center for Immigrant Children's Rights at the University of Chicago; Inter-agency Standing Committee, *Guiding Principles on Unaccompanied and Separated Children Outside their Country of Origin*, an inter-agency toolkit available from www.unicef.org/protection/IAG_UASCs.pdf; Interagency Working Group on Unaccompanied and Separated Children, *Alternative Care in Emergencies Toolkit* (Save the Children Fund, London, 2013), available from http://resourcecentre.savethechildren.se/library/interagency-working-group-unaccompanied-and-separated-children-2013-alternative-care.

and academics. Action has taken different forms: a clearer understanding of the nature and dimensions of the problems; a stronger political commitment to confront them; development of protection standards and better return and reintegration measures; and undertakings to implement these standards and measures. In order to have an effective response to the needs of unaccompanied and separated children, the approach requires several steps and policy considerations involving actors from different disciplines.

This endeavor is complicated and daunting. Often, both government officials and advocates fear making a judgment or decision in a child's case because of the enormity of the choices involved. It can be life-changing for the child and his or her family. It can create a dangerous situation on the one hand, and safety, including family reunification and/or international protection, on the other. Existing case studies illustrate many of the complications. Cases do not always lend themselves to unambiguous solutions, and there are many gaps in the system. Protection entails many factors that require continuous evaluation as the child matures and his or her circumstances change. Each case – each child – presents many relevant facts (some as basic as age, some as elusive as the child's state of mind) that are often difficult to discover.

An effective system must ask and answer a number of difficult and complex questions.

(a) Who are these children?

(b) What circumstances produce their separation from family?

(c) Who is responsible for protecting them?

(d) How do we analyse and meet their protection needs consistent with their best interests?

(e) What role does targeted and generalized violence play in the family's decisions regarding movement?

These types of questions have been raised in many forums, but much work remains to achieve real answers.

There are clear gaps in our systems of protection – legal gaps, gaps in communication among different actors, and gaps in the assignment of roles and responsibilities. There are identified unmet needs – for advocates, caregivers, guardians and representation. While there

are existing tools and interventions, the fact remains that unaccompanied children often negotiate the system they have landed in alone or without proper care and attention. Certainly, we are far from global agreement on how to systematically address these various challenges and who is responsible.

At the outset, there is often a question as to what laws apply, and tensions between international standards and domestic legal provisions can complicate the problem. As the participants at the 2008 Child Alone Conference agreed, it seems clear that:

> Domestic legal frameworks have not kept pace with international law as it relates to [the] rights of the child and child protection issues. In addition, there is a disconnect between domestic child welfare law and individual countries' immigration laws and policies. As a consequence, children's best interests are often secondary to procedural norms.

> Recently, best interest determinations (BID) have emerged as a preferred strategy for protecting children's welfare. The BID process is significant because it is child-centric and ensures that children's rights are not subjugated to adults whose interests are often not benign. The BID process ensures that not only are the needs of the child considered but the voice of the child is heard.

> The international community must be vigilant against child labour and sexual exploitation, including trafficking in persons. It is essential to continue to create and reform institutional systems to be more responsive to the manners in which children can be exploited. This includes the promotion of concepts and ideas such as the use of guardians *ad litem*, mandating legal representation for children in all proceedings, insisting on standards in trade agreements, and effectively punishing those who would cause harm to unaccompanied minors.

Governments and the humanitarian community need to ensure that sufficient resources and appropriately trained staff are available to meet identification and documentation needs domestically and in humanitarian emergencies, as well as in mixed migration movements. This can be a significant expenditure if the government is paying for all aspects of the child's care. For example, the US Health and Human Services (HHS) budget skyrocketed from USD 376 million to USD 868 in the past three years to support the increased number of children under its mandate. As the HHS Budget Justification explains:

> By law, HHS/ACF [Administration for Children and Families] takes custody of all unaccompanied alien children (UAC) who file claims to remain in the United States under immigration law. These children reside in state-licensed shelter facilities until ACF can place them with sponsors, usually parents or other relatives. The annual number of arriving UAC has increased from 6,560 in FY 2011 to an estimated 60,000 in FY 2014. Reasons for this increase are complex but a key factor is the rising levels of violence in Central America, the place of origin for most UAC.

> ACF has streamlined its placement process, reducing the average amount of time unaccompanied alien children spend in shelters. Through these and other measures, ACF is able to accommodate a 53,000 annual increase in UAC with a 9,000 seasonal increase in shelter beds. Despite these efforts, total UAC costs have increased significantly due to the rising number of UAC. As directed by Congress, ACF is meeting with other government agencies – this has included the Departments of Homeland Security, State, and Justice – in an effort to better understand the reasons for the increase in the number of UAC arrivals and develop strategies for managing rising UAC costs. Due to the volatile nature of this program and ongoing discussions of a long-term policy solution, the Administration is not able to reliably predict the number of UAC who will arrive in FY2015 at this time.[11]

So what are the most pressing needs within such a framework? Creating a system with multiple decision points certainly comes with risks. A mistake made at any of the decision points can cause serious danger or even death. This is true in any child welfare context, of course. But, often, unaccompanied minors may experience a far different government response from that of children who are native-born or lawfully present who, for example, have been placed in foster care because of abuse, neglect and abandonment – although some countries integrate foreign national unaccompanied children into their foster care programmes.[12] Each child requires the same basic

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11 HHS, *Fiscal Year 2015 Budget in Brief: Strengthening Health Opportunity for All Americans* (HHS, Washington, D.C., 2014). Available from www.hhs.gov/budget/fy2015/fy-2015-budget-in-brief.pdf.

12 See individual country reports in: IGC Secretariat, *Asylum Procedures: Report on Policies and Practices in IGC Participating States* (IOM, Geneva, 2012). Available from http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/index.php?main_page=product_info&products_id=972).

things, but an unaccompanied minor coming from a culture different from that of the host country may face additional challenges, such as the inability to communicate and social barriers that can complicate the task of identifying and meeting those needs.

What would such a system entail?

Identification, age and needs assessment

A coordinated system which permits early identification and a holistic and multidisciplinary age and needs assessment is critical. States, the United Nations, partners and all relevant actors must put in place systems for early and continuous identification to ensure that children are properly identified, documented and protected, and that situations involving children at heightened risk are addressed. Key to this endeavor is developing a full understanding of the capacity of the child and craft responses based on the child's developmental abilities. Such a system must respond to imperatives such as effectiveness, practicability, ethical considerations and reliability. As identified during the IGC Workshop on Age Assessment of Unaccompanied Minors in June 2011, this aspect would benefit from the following improvements:

(a) Improving evaluations of age assessment methods and exchange of information on outcomes, in particular, medical methods and examinations;

(b) Examining improvements of techniques and related aspects, inter alia, analysing the results generated, expressing the level of precision and types of uncertainties, and looking at the potential of new technologies for data capture;

(c) Foster a multidisciplinary cooperation and exchange of experiences between the different actors concerned with age assessment;

(d) Developing better frameworks and reference materials, in particular concerning reference data and materials, the merging of information and the pooling of data (e.g. meta-analysis and validation models), and improving methodologies and tools for case workers (e.g. defining an acceptable level of uncertainty, developing common procedures and guidelines on the interpretation of results and the presentation to caseworkers and courts).

Short- and long-term care

Under a continuous identification/care model, there would be several considerations as to whether the child is with an appropriate caregiver who is not a parent or guardian. Decisions about and arrangements for the child could change as the child's situation unfolds or evolves. Separation from traffickers or other persons seeking to exploit or hurt the child is an obvious point, but often the initial child placement decision is not revisited, and resources may limit the ability of the government or international organization reviewing the initial (or de facto) decision. From the perspective of children's best interests, there may be difficulties with both short- and long-term care, including attachment. Children have a right to be reunified with parents, and the parents have a right and a duty to care for their children. Often, family tracing is passive, requiring the child to demand it. This, of course, ignores the parents' rights under international and domestic laws. Passive tracing also makes the often-unwarranted assumption that the child has the capacity to assert his or her own right. The case of a Cuban boy, Elian Gonzalez, who witnessed his mother's death in the Atlantic Ocean and was rescued from the ocean and brought to the United States (before being reunited with his father, who returned with him to Cuba), illustrates the difficulty of determining parental and child rights, and evaluating issues of capacity and child welfare, as well as questions of asylum.[13]

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13 Gonzalez v. Reno, 212 F.3d 1338 (11 Cir. 2000): While the 11th Circuit upheld the US Government's position with respect to its decision to reject an asylum application file on behalf of the six-year-old Cuban boy by his family in the United States, it pointed out that children's desires should not be ignored: We, however, do not mean to suggest that the course taken by the INS [the U.S agency then responsible for determining unaccompanied minors' legal status] is the only permissible approach. Although the INS is not required to let six-year-old children speak for themselves about asylum, neither is the INS required to ignore the expressed statements of young children. Even young children can be capable of having an accurate impression of the facts about which they might speak. To obtain asylum, we doubt that it is essential for a child to be able to debate the merits of Marxism–Leninism against the merits of Western-style democracy. Some reasonable people could conclude that it should be sufficient for a child to be able to speak about his fears and to recount the facts that support his fears about returning to another country. Not infrequently, the law does permit six-year-old children (and even younger children) to speak and, in fact, does give their words great effect. See, for example, Pocatello v. United States, 394 F.2d 115, 116–17 (9th Cir.968) (affirming district court's admission of a five-year-old's testimony); Miller v. State, 391 So. 2d 1102, 1106 (Ala.Crim.App.1980) (affirming decision of trial court to permit four-year-old to testify); Baker v. State, 674 So. 2d 199, 200 (Fla.Dist.Ct.App.1996) (affirming trial court decision admitting testimony and statements of six-year-old victim).

While the identification and placement process is being pursued, critical questions must be addressed: Who is responsible? Who has jurisdiction? What law applies? There can be and there often is a conflict between governments' immigration laws and a child's best interests. Reunification with family may be in the best interests and may be difficult to accomplish. Many countries, including the United States, have no assisted voluntary return or reintegration programmes available to children returning to their home countries.

An effective framework for protecting unaccompanied minors must operate in light of all these challenges, initial care arrangements would include the possibility that the reunification process must be ongoing, the placements should be documented, and caregivers should ideally be screened and monitored. Clearly, the placement should be in keeping within national laws. Ideally, siblings should be kept together. Experts agree that the child should have a voice in the decision and that family/community-based care is preferred.

While a "mini'' best interest determination is essential for initial care arrangements, health intervention or family tracing, a best interest determination regarding the child's future is also a key component of such a framework. This is difficult in some refugee and mixed migration settings, not just because of the numbers of children requiring such attention, but also because it is critical to have competent authorities with experience in child welfare principles. Because a best interest determination can conflict with the available remedies in international or domestic law, there is no guarantee that it can be followed. It is also true that domestic child welfare and protection laws can be in tension with immigration, asylum and refugee law.

Best interest determinations and length of procedure

Best interest determinations (BIDs) can be difficult and complicated. As Maria Wojten, the Director of the Young Center for Immigrant Children's Rights in Chicago, has pointed out: "BIDs are particularly necessary in situations where the child's wishes are contrary to safety; when a child is separated from his family against the child's or the family's wishes; when a child is at risk of being returned to unsafe conditions in his home country; when an attorney involved in the case is not representing or taking into account

the child's interests; or [in] cases involving permanent separation of the child from family."[14]

Timing is a key aspect to consider in creating a framework to address the needs of unaccompanied minors. The window in a child's development is much shorter than that in an adult's. Time is also perceived much differently. Leaving a child in limbo, without love, security and safety, can be permanently damaging. In the United States, an unaccompanied minor may be involved for several years in an immigration procedure without a decision on a permanent care arrangement. In emergency settings, this is also true. For example, in March 2004, there were 107 unaccompanied minors left behind after UNHCR repatriation operations had been completed for Sierra Leonean refugees in Guinea in December 2003. The International Rescue Committee (IRC) created a Durable Solutions Committee, a group of experts that includes UNHCR, the Guinean Ministry of Social Affairs, UNICEF, the International Committee of the Red Cross and IRC. The committee established criteria for reviewing children's cases in which family reunion was not available in the foreseeable future. The committee made each decision based on the child's wishes, as well as his or her identity, history, current needs, and educational and employment opportunities. The committee made the following recommendations to guide future cases:

(a) Put the BID process in place at the time of an emergency;
(b) Complete the BID process within the framework of tracing and registration;
(c) Ensure that the BID process is influenced by the data collected.

Regarding the establishment of committees in refugee settings, it is important that UNHCR lead the committee, that the correct host government ministry be involved, and that all parties receive capacity training if it is lacking. It is important to clarify each party's role and responsibilities. Other circumstances in which the BID process can be used (i.e. child soldiers, children with siblings, and adults with disabilities) should be explored.

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14 M. Wojten, Director of the Young Center for Immigrant Children's Rights, "Best Interest of the Child," presentation at the IGC inaugural Partners in Protection Lecture, 7 January 2014.

International and regional efforts

Governments, regional consultative processes, civil society and international organizations have already taken steps to work together towards such an approach. A recent example of this type of cooperation is the Regional Conference on Migration's ad hoc Group on Migrant Children, which just held its first meeting. This meeting resulted in an action plan to be implemented by the RCM countries. That said, while various aspects of such a framework are under development or consideration, a fully operationalized framework is not yet realized.

In many cases, the best interest of a child is to be reunited with his or her family in their home country. However, government structures, including those in the United States, make it difficult to speedily reunite a child with his or her family in their home country – the only large-scale exception in the United States to this rule is if the child is a Mexican national. There is no formal system in the United States, for example, to conduct overseas home studies to find out whether the child can be returned to his or her family or should, barring a remedy in the United States, be presented to the national authorities. Further, there are no return and reintegration programmes for such children.

Conclusion

In sum, an unaccompanied children's framework should include, in both the destination country and, as much as possible, in other situations, continuing efforts to make: (a) proper identification; (b) appropriate short-term care arrangements; (c) best interest determination, to be used by competent authorities; (d) speedy access to the legal system; and (e) a determination of legal questions. It would also require careful consideration as to whether the competent authority believes that the child should be protected under its asylum, trafficking or humanitarian programmes, any of which may require permanent family separation. For children who are to be returned to their families, a home study should ideally be conducted if questions of abuse, neglect or abandonment are triggered. While work must accelerate in this area, it seems clear that there is a growing international consensus that unaccompanied and separated children in mixed migration flows need to be considered children FIRST AND FOREMOST and protected from further harm, regardless of the ultimate legal outcomes in their cases. This consensus can form the basis of the required cooperation among the key players and lead to a comprehensive multidisciplinary response. ∎

"In order to have an effective response to the needs of unaccompanied and separated children, the approach requires several steps and policy considerations involving actors from different disciplines."

A profile of African immigrants in the US labour market

C. Omar Kebbeh[1]

Introduction

Immigration to the United States of America has increased markedly in the past four decades. Between 1970 and 2010, the foreign-born population in the country increased by over 300 per cent – from less than 10 million to almost 40 million. One group that has contributed to this growth comprises the foreign-born from Africa. Between 1970 and 2010, the number of Africans in the United States increased by almost 2,000 per cent – from less than 100,000 to over 1.6 million.

The rapid increase in the foreign-born population and the recent efforts by the Obama administration to grant a pathway to citizenship to an estimated 11 million undocumented immigrants in the United States has prompted policymakers, employers, the news media and the general public to refocus interest on the impact of immigration on US economy and society.[2] One particular area of interest for policymakers is how the labour market outcomes of immigrants compare to those of US natives.

While there is abundant literature on the labour market outcomes of immigrants in the United States, there is none that focuses solely on the foreign-born population from Africa. Most papers on the labour market outcomes of the foreign-born population in the United States focus on the overall foreign-born population, and, in some instances, the foreign-born populations from popular sending countries like Mexico, China and India (Dávila and Mora, 2005; Phillips and Massey, 1997; Sum and Khatiwada, 2004). This article examines the labour market outcomes of African immigrants in the United States relative to those of the native-born. Where relevant, we also compare the labour market outcomes of African immigrants to those of the total foreign-born population.

The next section gives a brief perspective of African immigrants in the United States by outlining their numbers, geographic distribution and origins. We then highlight their labour market outcomes by examining their labour force participation rates, occupational and industry distributions, and earnings. We also examine several factors that affect the labour market status of African immigrants, including their levels of education and English proficiency, and the length of time they have lived in the United States. Finally, this paper concludes that while African immigrants are highly educated, their earnings are relatively lower than those of the native-born population.

Data for this paper comes primarily from the 2012 American Community Survey (ACS) Public Use Micro Samples (PUMS). In some cases, historical information from other sources, such as the 2000 decennial and earlier censuses, were used. The ACS is an important source of data on the historical trends, size, growth, labour market outcomes and sociodemographic characteristics of the foreign-born population in the United States because it offers a wide range of information about this group. (NOTE: The terms "immigrant" and "foreign-born" are used interchangeably throughout this paper.) The foreign-born (or immigrants) are persons living in the United States who were not US citizens at birth. They include naturalized US citizens, lawful permanent residents (green card holders), undocumented immigrants and people on long-term temporary visas, such as foreign students and guest workers.

Size, distribution, origins and destinations for African immigrants in the United States

African immigrants are fairly new to the United States, with the majority (56%) entering the country no earlier than 2000. In comparison, only 37 per cent of the total immigrant population are relative newcomers (i.e. arriving in 2000 or later). In 2012 an estimated 1.7 million Africans, accounting for 4 per cent of the total foreign-born population, were living in the United States. African immigrants remain a small group compared to immigrant populations from other regions, despite the steady increase in African immigration to the United States during the past few decades. This steady increase has made African immigrants one of the fastest-growing immigrant groups in the United States.

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2 The terms "foreign-born" and "immigrant" are used interchangeably in this paper.

Figure 1: African immigrants in the United States of America, 1960–2012
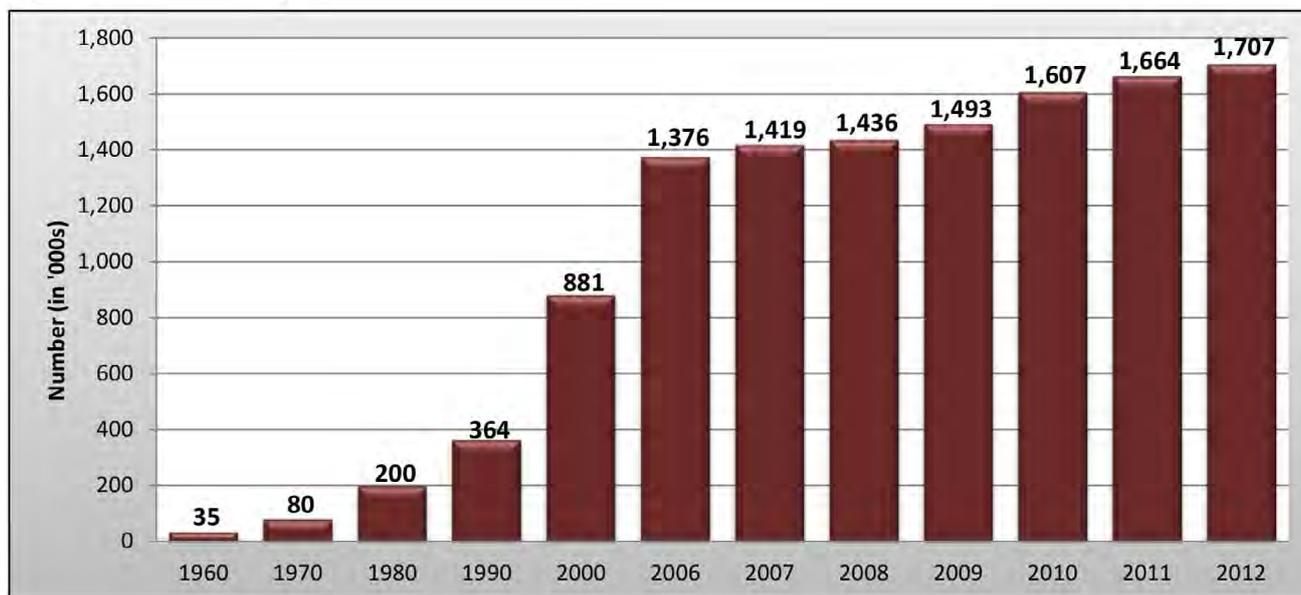
Sources: US Census Bureau decennial censuses; 2006–2012 American Community Surveys (ACS).

Of the continent's regions, West Africa is the major source of African immigrants in the United States. In 2012 West Africans accounted for one third of the total number of African foreign-born. East Africa follows closely at 29 per cent. North Africa accounts for 17 per cent, while Southern and Central (or Middle) Africa account for about 5 per cent each. In terms of growth, Central Africans are the fastest-growing African population in the United States, with an average rate of 200 per cent between 2000 and 2012. The East African population increased at an average of 122 per cent from 2000 to 2012.

Among African countries, Nigeria continues to be the largest source of foreign-born African immigrants in the United States. In 2012 an estimated 243,258 Nigerians, representing 14 per cent of the total African immigrant population, were living in the United States; Nigeria has been the largest source since 2000. Ethiopia was the second largest source in 2012, accounting for 11 per cent of the total African immigrant population, followed by Egypt, with a population of 173,679.

Table 1: Top 10 countries of origin of African Immigrants in the United States of America, 1980–2012*

Country	1980	1990	2000	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Nigeria	25,528	55,350	134,940	197,489	185,787	206,604	209,908	219,309	228,953	243,258
Ethiopia	7,516	34,805	69,531	126,748	134,547	137,012	148,221	173,592	163,407	191,123
Egypt	43,424	66,313	113,396	136,931	136,648	129,970	138,194	137,799	156,149	173,679
Ghana	7,564	20,889	65,572	103,051	104,842	108,802	108,647	124,696	135,822	133,864
Kenya	6,250	14,371	(na)	79,111	80,595	83,489	87,267	88,519	102,235	98,858
South Africa	16,103	34,707	63,558	79,472	78,571	79,585	82,339	77,985	92,571	83,775
Somalia	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	89,474	71,474
Liberia	3,728	11,455	n.a.	64,100	72,125	65,373	72,111	66,089	71,943	70,986
Morocco	9,896	15,541	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	58,283	63,165	62,761	62,338
Sudan	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	40,649	44,445	44,210
Africa Total	**199,723**	**363,819**	**881,300**	**1,375,676**	**1,419,317**	**1,435,996**	**1,492,785**	**1,606,914**	**1,664,414**	**1,706,953**

Sources: Author's tabulations of the US Census Bureau's decennial censuses in 1980, 1990 and 2000; 2006-02012 American Community Surveys.
NOTES: *Rank by 2012; n.a. Not available.

Unlike the overall immigrant population, which is mostly concentrated in three states, the African immigrant population is spread throughout the United States, with New York, California and Texas having the largest concentrations. Close to 30 per cent of all African immigrants live in these three states. Large numbers of African immigrants are also found in Maryland, Virginia, New Jersey and Massachusetts.

Labour market outcomes

The decision to migrate from one's native country to another is influenced by a number of factors. These include the cost of travel; family influence; restrictions on leaving one's country and entering another; and the differences between the origin and destination countries in terms of their economic, political and religious environments. For many, the decision to migrate is influenced by their expected economic opportunities in the new country. The primary way in which immigrants, like natives, can take advantage of such opportunities is by participating in the labour force.

In this section, we examine the labour market outcomes of African immigrants in the United States relative to those of the native-born by comparing their labour force participation rates, occupational and industry distributions, and wages and salaries.

Labour force participation

A number of factors appear to influence the labour force participation rate of immigrants.[3] These include educational attainment, length of stay in the host country, language ability and legal status.

The labour force participation rate of African immigrants in the United States was 75.1 per cent in 2012, compared to 63.2 per cent of the native-born. The labour force participation rate of African immigrants was also higher than that of the overall foreign-born population in the same year. The labour force participation rate was 81.5 per cent for African immigrant men, compared to 67.4 per cent for their native-born counterparts. Among female African immigrants, 68.2 per cent were labour force participants, compared to 59.1 per cent of native-born women. An analysis of the factors behind the high

labour force participation rate of African immigrants is presented below.

Educational attainment. One of the means through which immigrants, like natives, can improve their labour market outcomes is formal education. Through formal education, immigrants gain skills and knowledge that increase their overall job opportunities, potentially resulting in higher earnings. To examine the effect of formal education on earnings, this paper focuses on individuals 25 years and older. The analysis does not include 16- to 24-year-olds because many of these individuals are not likely to have completed their formal education yet.

As Figure 2 shows, African immigrants and US natives aged 25 and older in 2012 were about equally likely – 89 per cent and 90 per cent, respectively – to have completed at least high school. In comparison, 69 per cent of the overall foreign-born population finished at least this same educational level. Similarly, African immigrants and US natives were about equally likely to have not completed or even reached high school, at 12 per cent and 10 per cent, respectively. In stark contrast, 31 per cent of the overall foreign-born population did not complete high school.

Nearly a quarter of African immigrants had completed four years of college. In contrast, 19 per cent of the native-born and 16 per cent of the overall foreign-populations had completed four years of college.

African immigrants were more likely to have completed a master's or a higher degree than their native counterparts and the overall foreign-born population. Master's and higher degree holders accounted for 17 per cent of African immigrants, compared to approximately 12 per cent each for the native-born and the overall immigrant populations.

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3   The labour force participation rate is the labour force as a percentage of the population.

Figure 2: Educational attainment of the civilian, non-institutional population aged 25 and over, 2012
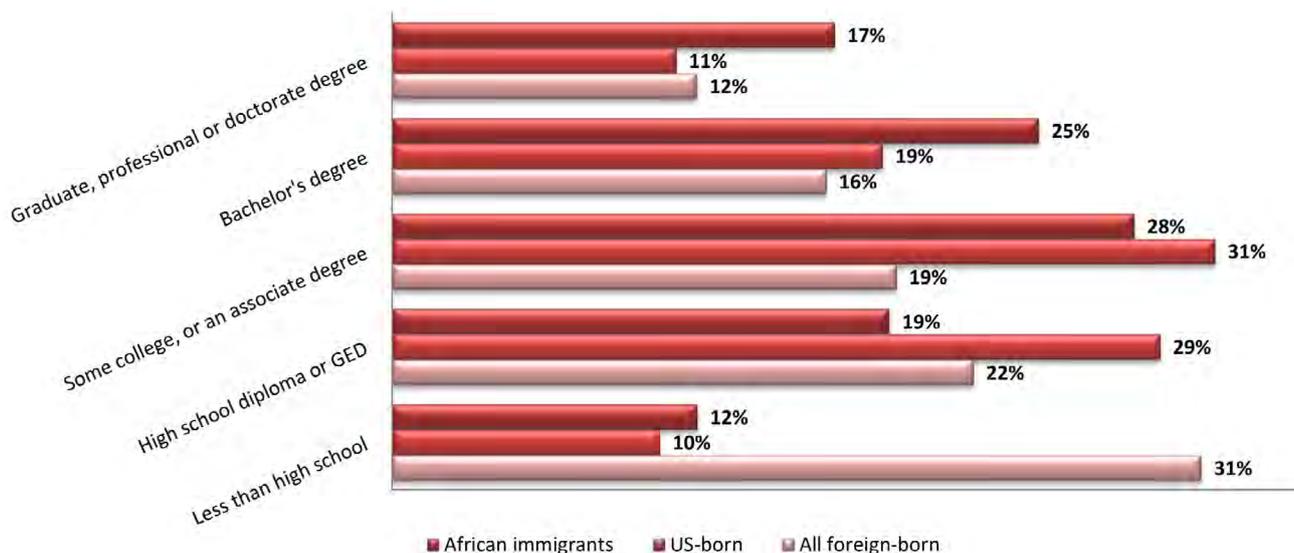
Source: Author's tabulations of the 2012 ACS Public Use Micro Samples.

The labour force participation rate of African immigrants aged 25 and older was higher than that of their native counterparts across all educational levels, with the rate rising with each successive educational level for both groups. For example, while the participation rates of African immigrants and US natives with at most a high school education were only 76 per cent and 57 per cent, respectively, those of African immigrants and US natives with bachelor's degrees were 82 per cent and 76 per cent, respectively.

Length of residence in the United States. As is the case with immigrants from other parts of the world, the participation of African immigrants in the labour force increased with the number of years they had lived in the United States. African immigrants who arrived between 1980 and 1999 had a labour force participation rate of 82 per cent, while those who arrived after 1999 had a lower labour force participation rate of 73 per cent. This suggests that it takes some time for recently arrived immigrants to assimilate into the new country by participating in the labour force.

English language ability. Although educational attainment and length of residence in the United States are important determinants of labour market participation, the ability to communicate in English is also an important factor. Immigrants who cannot speak English are likely to face challenges in the US labour market. The English proficiency of African immigrants is much higher than that of the overall foreign-born population. This could be due the fact that the majority of African immigrants come from countries where the official language is English. Of the total number of African immigrants who spoke a language other than English, 62 per cent spoke English very well, compared with 41 per cent for the overall foreign-born population. Only 3 per cent of African immigrants could not speak English, compared with 11 per cent for the overall foreign-born population. Among working-age African immigrants, 80 per cent who spoke English very well participated in the US labour market. Of those who spoke English well, 74 per cent participated in the labour force, compared to 23 per cent of those who could not. These results are in line with the theory that the ability to communicate in the host country's language affects the labour market outcomes of immigrants.

Figure 3: English language ability of the foreign-born in the United States, 2012
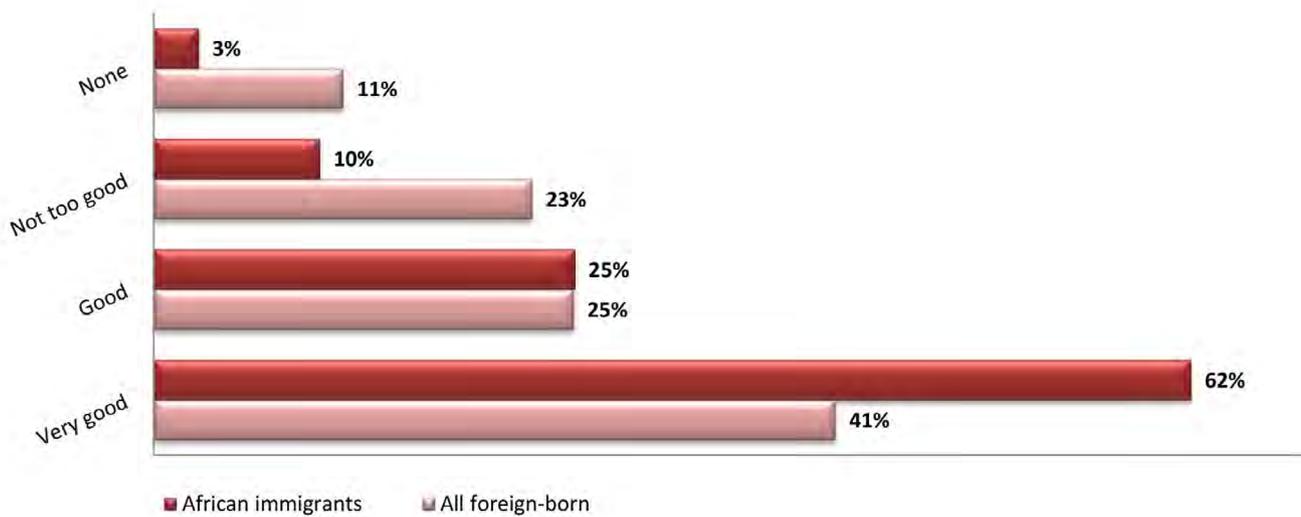
Source: Author's tabulations of the 2012 ACS Public Use Micro Samples.

Occupational and industry distribution

Occupational distribution. African immigrants can be found in all types of occupations in the United States. However, the majority work in service occupations, which include such jobs as food preparation, childcare and janitorial services, among others. Over a quarter of African immigrants, compared with 18 per cent of the native-born, work in service occupations. About 12 per cent of African immigrants and 14 per cent of the native-born population work in management, business and finance, which generally pay more than service occupations.

Industry distribution. African immigrants are highly concentrated in the educational services, health-care and social assistance industries. Over a third of African immigrants worked in this industry in 2012 – a figure much higher than the 23 per cent for the native-born and 19 per cent for the overall foreign-born population. Like US natives, about 12 per cent of African immigrants work in retail trade. A similar share of African immigrants and the native-born are also concentrated in professional, scientific, management, administrative and waste management services.

Earnings

The differences in occupational demographics between the native-born and African immigrants are manifested in their earnings. Overall, African immigrants earn slightly less than the native-born and slightly more than the overall immigrant population. In 2012 the median annual earnings of African immigrants who worked full time (35 or more hours a week) as wage and salary employees were USD 39,923. This was 93 per cent (USD 43,136) and 114 per cent (USD 34,954), respectively, of the median earnings of the native-born and of the overall foreign-born population.

The median annual earnings of African immigrant men were USD 43,946; native-born men, USD 49,913; and the overall foreign-born population, USD 36,067. African immigrant women earn less than their native-born counterparts, USD 34,943 versus USD 37,974, and more than their overall foreign-born counterparts, who earn an average of USD 31,956 per year.

African immigrants' earnings differ from those of their native-born counterparts because of many factors, including African immigrants' occupational and industry distribution, citizenship status and length of residence in the United States, among others. African immigrants who arrived in the United States prior to 1990 earn almost twice as much as those who

arrived in 2000 or later. Moreover, the median annual earnings of African immigrants who arrived prior to 1980 were higher than those of US natives while the median income of those who arrived in 1980 and later is less than those of US natives. Like all immigrants in the United States, the ability to communicate in English affects the earnings of African immigrants. As such, African immigrants who speak English "very well" earn twice as much as those who speak little to no English, USD 44,773 versus USD 21,894. In 2012 the median earnings of African immigrants who are not naturalized US citizens were 46 per cent less than African immigrants who are naturalized US citizens.

White African immigrants earned 10 per cent more than native-born white Americans. However, the earnings of black African immigrants and their native counterparts were similar. Education has clear economic benefits for both immigrants and the native-born. For both immigrants and the native-born, earnings increase with education (see Figure

4). In 2012 African immigrants aged 25 and over with less than a high school education earned USD 24,672 a year, while those with bachelor's degrees earned about two times as much – USD 49,926 a year. Among the native-born, those with bachelor's degrees also earned about twice as much as those with less than a high school education – USD 55,171 versus USD 26,972 per year. Among both African immigrants and the native-born, those with master's degrees or higher earned about three times as much as those with less than a high school education. While native-born Americans with bachelor's degrees earn slightly more than their African immigrant counterparts, the gap in earnings closes at higher levels of education. For instance, African immigrants with high school diplomas (but no college education) earn only 81.5 per cent as much as their native-born counterparts do. On the other hand, African immigrants and native-born Americans with master's degrees or higher have essentially the same earnings.

Figure 4: Earnings of civilian noninstitutional population aged 25 and over, by educational attainment, 2012
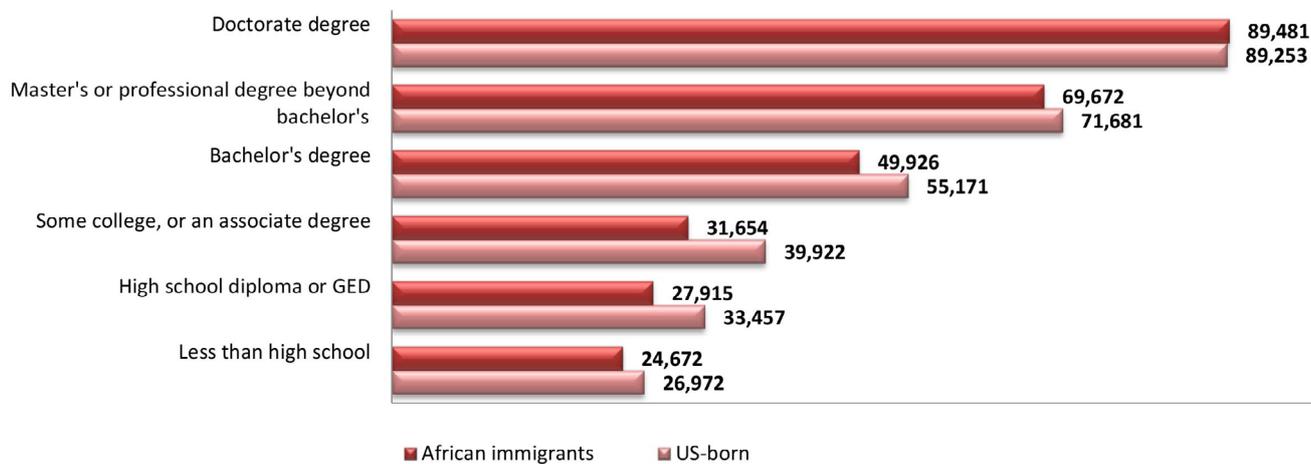
Source: Author's tabulations of the 2012 ACS Public Use Micro Samples.

Conclusion

In this article, some insights into the labour market outcomes of African immigrants in the United States vis-à-vis their native-born counterparts, and in some instances the overall foreign-born population, were addressed.

The results show that the labour force participation rate of African immigrants is much higher than those of the native-born and the overall foreign-born populations. Several factors influence the high labour force participation rate of African immigrants, mainly, the relatively high level of education of African immigrants and their ability to communicate well in the English language, among others.

Another finding is that the earnings of African immigrants are slightly lower than their native-born counterparts. However, in comparison to the overall foreign-born population, African immigrants earned more. ■

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"Among both African immigrants and the native-born, those with master's degrees or higher earned about three times as much as those with less than a high school education."

Migrant and refugee integration in global cities: The role of cities and businesses

Nava Hinrichs[1] and Teressa Juzwiak[2]

This article presents a selection of results from the research project, "Migrant and Refugee Integration in Global Cities", an initiative by The Hague Process on Refugees and Migration, in collaboration with the United Nations University – Maastricht Economic and Social Research Institute on Innovation and Technology (UNU–MERIT) and its School of Governance (see full report here).

The project's aim was to ascertain how businesses and governments in eight global cities are contributing to the integration of migrant and refugee populations, either through outreach, specialized programmes, the provision of services, or targeted funding of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and to what extent these contributions can be deepened or expanded. The eight selected case studies – Auckland (New Zealand), Buenos Aires (Argentina), Chicago (United States), Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia), Lisbon (Portugal), Nairobi (Kenya), Rotterdam (The Netherlands) and São Paulo (Brazil) – represent a diversity of immigration experiences, each with their own distinct immigration histories and policy frameworks.

Migration: Global phenomenon, local matter

Over the past decades, migrants have contributed to the growth of numerous cities worldwide. Fast population growth and the concentration of groups from different cultural, social and religious backgrounds pose challenges for local governments regarding infrastructure, resources and social cohesion (Hamberger, 2009; OECD, 1998). Such intense changes must be integrated in a way that develops and enhances the assets of newcomers for the benefit of society as a whole.

Local-level governments are not the traditional stakeholders considered in migrant integration, as migration policies are still frequently attached to the national level. However, when effective national policies are absent, local authorities are forced to resort to both traditional and innovative methods to address migrant integration (Alexander, 2012).

Through the inclusion of immigrants in community life, cities can develop long-term goals to increase social cohesion and promote sustainable urban development (Brenner, 2009; UNESCOCAT, 2010). More specifically, local authorities can devise strategies to provide adequate housing and jobs, access to educational and welfare systems, as well as ways to address the reactions of local populations (Alexander, 2012; Penninx, 2005). The authorities' status as actors who are close to local reality gives them the capacity to tailor policies to their communities' needs, as opposed to national "standardized" policies. Local governments are also the providers of many services that directly affect integration, and therefore have the ability to coordinate other non-State actors, such as businesses and NGOs, to achieve better social cohesion and better integration of migrants and refugees (Penninx, 2009).

In order to strengthen the capacity of local level stakeholders, collaboration is highly desired. Public –private partnerships represent an important tool through which cities can improve migrant and refugee integration policies. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2006), "partnerships between the private sector and governments are instrumental in identifying challenges and solutions in the economic and labour dimensions of migration."

The role of businesses

Businesses are increasingly viewed as a functioning part of society, with responsibilities towards the community, and are increasingly held accountable for their treatment of migrant workers (IBLF, 2010). It is therefore advocated that businesses play a bigger role in the migration agenda; more specifically, in the integration of migrants and refugees. Few

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companies have focused on the issue thus far, mainly due to its highly politicized and controversial nature; however, companies often face concerns about brand protection and a lack of competence on the topic, as well as difficulty with allocating specific funds to this issue, among so many others of social relevance (Cavicchio, 2008).

As businesses have an important stake in the integration of migrants and refugees, a change in rhetoric is needed. Among the reasons that make migration a topic of direct interest is the fact that diversity can lead to a stronger workforce where individuals can share and learn from each other, which, in turn, will boost competiveness and innovation among employees. Not only are better-integrated migrants more successful due to higher motivation and productivity, they also display greater loyalty towards their employers, which results in less turnover and absenteeism (Koser, 2013). Additionally, migration is believed to enhance global competitiveness and allows companies to address labour shortages and specific skills needs. Migration also represents an expanded consumer base and often creates new market opportunities for businesses to thrive in (Cavicchio, 2008).

Private sector entities may also contribute to integration efforts initiated by city governments through the provision of knowledge of the local labour market, recruitment decisions and by devising educational and vocational training policies tailored to labour market needs (IOM, 2008).

Mapping the initiatives

A total of 263 initiatives for migrant and refugee integration were mapped in the eight cities studied. Overall, the dimension with the most initiatives was social, followed by economic, and cultural/religious. The political and the legal dimensions had fewer initiatives overall, as Figure 1 shows.

Figure 1: Mapping of integration initiatives per dimension
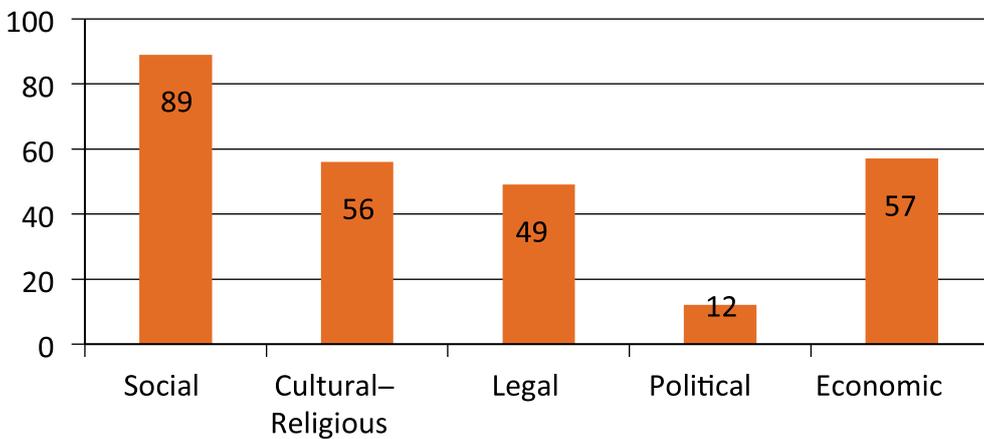
Social dimension. Some of the main issues addressed under this dimension, as mapped in the study, include housing, education and health care. Such issues are often easier to address at the local level.

Cultural and religious dimension. The importance of the cultural and religious dimension may be overrepresented due to the decision to include language as a cultural policy. Other initiatives under the cultural dimension, such as cultural festivities celebrating diversity and intercultural workshops or training, have shown to be extremely common across the board. Specifically, local city governments are largely involved in this dimension of integration.

Legal dimension. In cities like Kuala Lumpur and Nairobi, where migrants and refugees are not properly recognized within the legal and policy frameworks, the legal dimension acquires special importance in migrant integration. In cities where migrants and refugees are afforded equal rights under the law despite lacking access to citizenship, the legal dimension may be viewed as a less pressing issue.

Political dimension. This dimension of integration is poorly explored by all stakeholders, which could be due to the fact that the lack of political privileges granted to migrants is often associated with national policy, which local actors have little or no influence on. Additionally, political rights are often associated with citizenship rights and, therefore, stakeholders might find the separation of both redundant.

Economic dimension. The economic integration of migrants is considered essential, as seen in the number of initiatives with this goal. Businesses and NGOs have shown to be generally more active in the economic dimension than local authorities.

Partnerships for integration

A total of 121 partnerships were found operating in the various cities, with the aim of facilitating the integration of migrants and refugees. Figure 2 presents an overview of the different types of partnerships encountered in the study.

Figure 2: Overview of types of partnerships encountered in the study
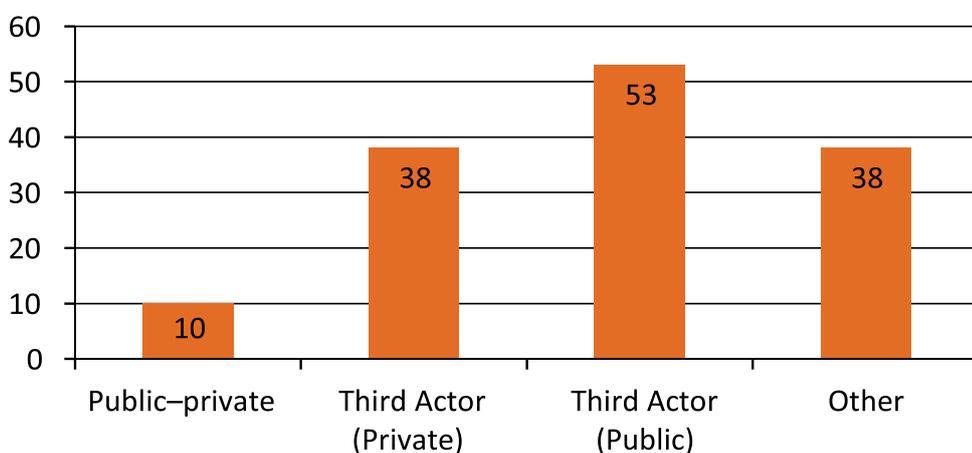
Overall, the largest number of partnerships found occurs between third actors (such as international organizations, religious institutions, civil society organizations and NGOs) and public institutions, followed by third actor–private partnerships. However, despite the potential benefits of public–private partnerships, relatively few examples were identified; only 10 of those partnerships were established between a business and a public stakeholder. It must also be noted that not all public–private partnerships occur at the city level, but also with national government institutions. Nonetheless, businesses often constitute local actors and the impacts of their initiatives are most likely felt at the local rather than the national level.

The group "other" refers to partnerships between similar stakeholders (i.e. between third actors, public–public and private–private). The study found that third actors are much more active in engaging with both business and government sectors. Thus, existing networks of third actors may be a useful resource to tap when identifying opportunities for public–private partnerships.

Challenges and opportunities

Cities find themselves in different stages of development and commitment regarding the management of migration. Despite significant differences, a few contextual elements of an integration policy were identified. First, the need to provide **language** courses in order to break barriers in all aspects of integration (Hamberger, 2009; IOM, 2008) was not widely realized in any of the cities. For instance, cities which have traditionally experienced migration flows originating from neighbouring countries that share the same language and culture or from former colonies, as in Lisbon, tend to not place great importance on language, hindering the integration of other communities.

The second common challenge, which was reported in most of the cities, is **housing** and includes issues relating to both access and segregation. In Buenos Aires, for example, foreigners and nationals alike face structural problems in accessing housing – this being an extra problem for immigrants as they are more vulnerable than local populations. Unplanned urban growth resulting partially from large flows of immigrants has led to situations of social exclusion in which migrants and their families have settled in the peripheries, often forming shantytowns and ghetto communities. In Chicago, for instance, migrant concentration marks the city landscape and may become an issue to be addressed in the future.

Finally, the third most common challenge refers to the **discrimination** present in varying degrees in the societies of all the cities studied. In most of the cities, conflicting perceptions of this issue were found among stakeholders; seldom was it recognized officially by city officials and tackled by the municipality. However, in Rotterdam, a civil society organization funded mainly by the local city government has been active in tackling institutionalized discrimination.

Common challenges in relation to stakeholders and their functioning were also identified. **Access to funding** is a crosscutting problem, hindering the capacity of stakeholders to deliver services and programmes for migrants and refugees. This issue was reported by municipal and civil society stakeholders, but not by businesses. In Auckland, for example, the financial crisis has led to the shrinking of public sector budgets, which has meant that some "soft" services for migrant settlement have shrunk or disappeared.

Another important deficiency identified by the study, but not necessarily perceived by all stakeholders, is the **lack of capacity to carry out efficient monitoring and evaluation processes** of the projects, programmes and services implemented. This challenge was found throughout all types of stakeholders, often accompanying difficulties in assessing the realities of the migration context in the cities. Estimating the real number of migrants was specifically mentioned as a challenge in São Paulo, and the city is now seeking to commission a project to map migration patterns.

Another challenge that hinders the existence of partnerships and the creation of supportive networks is the **lack of communication and knowledge-sharing** among various stakeholders in a given city. The practice of searching for good ideas outside the own city context was seldom reported.

A similar situation was found when questioning third actors and municipal agencies about the inclusion of businesses in the provision or implementation of their services or programmes. There is a great **lack of awareness** in the role played by businesses and how they are often already involved in the field of migrant and refugee integration. When probed about the possibility of establishing partnerships with businesses, most of the respondents showed interest, but there is a lack of knowledge on how it could be done.

Finally, there is controversy in the **terms used to identify different groups of migrants**. During the interviews, some of the respondents stated that lack of knowledge in relation to refugees could lend negative connotations to an association.

Actionable measures

In view of the challenges presented above, the study proposes a number of actionable measures that could be taken to improve collaboration between local authorities and businesses for migrant and refugee integration. The Hague Process on Refugees and Migration is looking into proposing actionable measures rather than recommendations as a way to develop concrete solutions to existing challenges. Local stakeholders should:

(a) **Establish networks** and fora to share experiences and identify potential partners both within and between cities. **Learn from experience** rather than apply predefined notions of what a partnership looks like. Within cities there is often a lack of understanding of what other key actors are doing. By sharing this knowledge and experience, opportunities for partnerships can be identified, promoting the transfer of good practices within and between cities.

(b) **Learn each other's language**: Integration and migration are "loaded" terms which vary according to the frame of reference of each city and stakeholder. The practical reality uncovered here is that the portfolio of services that businesses and cities provide to their residents and employees often functions as integration support without specifically being labelled as such. By broadening our vocabulary we can better communicate with each other and identify new and improved ways of managing issues linked to urban development.

(c) **Acknowledge diversity while recognizing commonality**: There was clear variation in the services available to different migrant groups (e.g. expats and refugees) in the practices identified by the study. Yet most migrants, regardless of their category, share common needs when moving to a new city: They need to regularize their legal status, find housing, access health care, find schools for their children, and so forth. Thus, lessons can also be learned by better understanding the range of services already being provided within a city to identify areas where good practices could be replicated for other migrant groups within the city. ■

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Mixed migration: Assessing the issues and implementing an effective humanitarian response

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Contemporary irregular human migratory movements are marked by growing sophistication, scale and risk. The criminal trafficking and smuggling networks that allow widespread irregular migration, often with government complicity, are highly organized underground businesses. Migrants' demand for the services offered by these networks is extremely high and generates significant revenue in countries with limited economic prospects. The demand for such services is evident through regular media coverage of the loss of life at sea and on land of migrants attempting to reach another country for a variety of reasons. IOM data shows that at least 2,400 migrants perished seeking better lives or reprieve from oppression in 2013 – the worst on record for migrant deaths (Brian, 2013:22). Human mobility has significantly risen with the relative easing of travel, globalization of the flows of information and goods, and reinforcement of the perception that a better, more stable life exists elsewhere. Human migration remains a rational choice by individuals seeking to safeguard their political and economic well-being.

This type of unregulated human movement is known as "mixed migration," defined by IOM as "complex population movements including refugees, asylum-seekers, economic migrants, and other migrants." The United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has a similar interpretation: "Persons with different objectives move alongside each other using the same routes and means of transport or engaging the services of the same smugglers" (UNHCR, 2011:8). Both definitions include important and complementary components for understanding and responding to this type of migration.

The interface between managing mixed migration and refugee protection is crucial. Migrants and refugees are treated differently under international law, as migrants typically choose to move voluntarily, while refugees are forced to move to preserve their lives. This technical dichotomy traditionally fed into humanitarian agency mandates for assistance, resulting in gaps and inefficiencies. The establishment of the mixed migration paradigm is partly a recognition that providing humanitarian assistance to people on the move has become increasingly complex, and that individual legal categorizations (e.g. migrants and refugees) and agency expertise must be merged into a coordinated, holistic response. The concept acknowledges that although migrants choose to move, the circumstances of their journeys rarely preclude them from abuse. Similarly, the mixed migration policy regime does not limit protection to refugees and asylum-seekers, but, rather, enhances it. Mixed migration is a necessary expansion and merging of concepts and humanitarian responses to keep pace with the dynamic nature with which populations move.

Migrant deaths in the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden

Year	Number of deaths
2008	1,056
2009	529
2010	19
2011	131
2012	98
2013	6
2014 (January to June only)	121

Mixed migration in the Horn of Africa

Contrary to the global trend, the number of lives lost in the Gulf of Aden and Red Sea decreased from 2008 to 2013 (RMMS, 2012:35). (In the first half of 2014, however, the number of deaths increased and was reported at 121 (UNHCR, 2014).) The overall decline in deaths is likely the result of training programmes delivered to coast guards and other officials in Yemen, which led to Yemeni authorities to allow migrant boats to reach the country's coasts, instead of forcing migrants – who may not know how to swim – into the water (Brian, 2013). The Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat believes the process of "migrant commoditization" (i.e. migrant kidnapping

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for ransom) has also contributed to this decline in deaths, as the value of ensuring that migrants arrive alive is more profitable (RMMS, 2013). This economic dynamic has led to the use of sturdier boats that are mechanically more reliable and to smugglers allowing migrants, most of whom do not know how to swim, to disembark on the shore instead of into coastal waters. However, the decrease in migrants' loss of life at sea due to their commoditization is linked to increased kidnappings and the abuse of migrants for ransom once they are onshore.

The smuggling of migrants from the Horn of Africa to Yemen is a good case study. In this notorious maritime route across the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, economic migrants, refugees, internally displaced persons, asylum-seekers, rejected asylum-seekers and unaccompanied minors, mostly from Ethiopia and Somalia, are always found congregating around the coastal village of Obock, Djibouti. They wait for human smugglers who would facilitate the next stage of their journey to Yemen by boat through paying for the services of human smugglers. The reasons for the journey are varied; legal categorizations are different; and intentions at the final destination are diverse, but the migration route and means of travel used and the risks faced by these people are the same. This scenario embodies the essence of contemporary mixed migration and is replicated on a daily basis in North Africa, Southern Europe, South-east Asia and the Caribbean. While travel by sea occupies a prominent role, movements, however, are not exclusively maritime. Large numbers of people also cross multiple land borders under similar dynamics, facing a multitude of risks, including suffocation in shipping containers, road accidents and abuse from officials and unscrupulous smugglers.

State policy and mixed migration: A look at Saudi Arabia and Israel

Saudi Arabia

An early 2013 reform of the domestic labour market in Saudi Arabia mandated the regularization of undocumented migrant workers or for them to leave the country. In line with the new policy, King Abdullah granted seven months' amnesty for these workers which expired on 3 November 2013. When the amnesty period was over, an unprecedented crackdown on irregular migrants led to violent round-ups and mass deportations by security forces. By January 2014, an estimated 1 million migrant workers had either left voluntarily or had been deported. Of these, 160,000 were Ethiopians and 23,000 were Somalis (RMMS, 2014: 10). Word travelled quickly among migrant communities, and by the end of 2013, as a direct result of the new state policy on foreign workers in Saudi Arabia, the number of migrants using the Red Sea–Yemen and Gulf of Aden–Yemen routes to reach the kingdom dropped sharply. This is illustrated in the figure below, which shows monthly arrivals in Yemen of migrants transiting to Saudi Arabia between 2012 and 2013.

Monthly arrivals in Yemen from Horn of Africa, 2012–2013
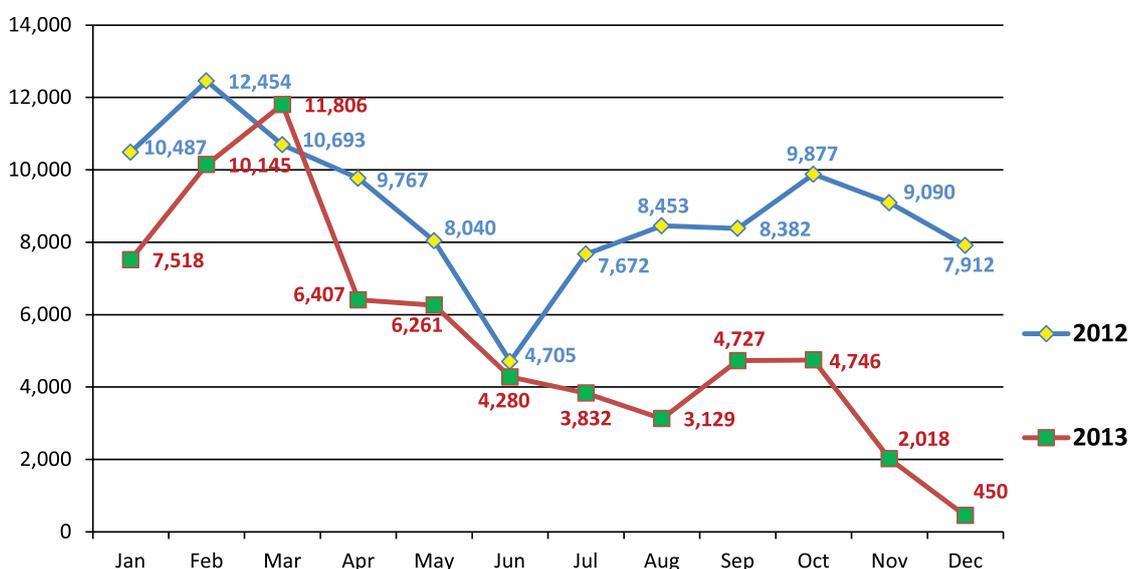
Source: UNHCR / RMMS.

In October 2013 the number of migrants using Yemen as a transit point to Saudi Arabia began to decline in the run-up to the expiry of the amnesty. A mere 2,018 migrants arrived in Yemen in November of the same year, compared to 9,090 in November 2012. An even more dramatic drop was recorded in December 2013, with only 450 migrants arriving, compared to 7,912 in December 2012. The downward trend continued until February 2014, when the number of migrant arrivals in Yemen started to increase again.

Israel

In January 2012 Israel's Knesset passed anti-immigration legislation (termed "Anti-Infiltrator Laws"). The legislation limits the asylum process and allows authorities to indefinitely detain migrants in a facility in the remote Negev Desert, often for years, pending their asylum claims. The Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat reports, "[D]ue to new Israeli immigration measures implemented in 2012, the number of African migrants crossing the border from Sinai to Israel has dropped to almost zero in 2013" (RMMS, 2014:69). At the time of this writing, mid-2014, African migration to Israel is still negligible due to these state policies.

The examples of Saudi Arabia and Israel suggest that state policy can stop migration. However, as data from the first half of 2014 shows, the issue is more nuanced. After a period of decline, migrant arrivals in Yemen started to rebound in February 2014, and there has been a general uptrend from then until the present. While migration to Israel is still restricted, Eritreans, who previously plied this route, are now turning up in unprecedented numbers in North Africa and Italy. From January to August of 2014, migrants arriving in Italy from Tunisia and Libya exceeded 100,000, surpassing numbers at the height of the Arab Spring in 2011. These changing migration dynamics are linked to policies, policing and brutality. Migrants rationally choose a more viable route where the chances of reaching their final destination are perceived to be higher.

Reactionary state policies to control migration are transient at best. Analysing the examples of Saudi Arabia and Israel, it is clear that state policy can quickly and dramatically impact migration patterns, with the impact characterized largely as a "shift" rather than a "cessation."

Regional and interregional dialogue

Regional multilateral state dialogue, with support from humanitarian actors such as IOM and UNHCR, makes up an important component of the management of mixed migration flows from the Horn of Africa. A series of meetings have taken place to address these issues over the last seven years. In May 2008 UNHCR and the Mixed Migration Task Force of Yemen convened the "Regional Conference on Refugee Protection and International Migration in the Gulf of Aden" in Sana'a, Yemen.[2] In September 2010 the United Republic of Tanzania hosted a similar meeting, but focused on the so-called "Southern route" of mixed migration. The meeting was carried out with the support of IOM and UNHCR.[3] A follow-up meeting to the 2008 conference in Sana'a took place in November 2013 and resulted in the Sana'a Declaration.[4]

A separate but related government dialogue, the Regional Committee on Mixed Migration, has been supported by IOM since 2010. The committee is composed of government delegations from the Horn of Africa and Yemen, and meets annually to review progress, challenges, and trends related to mixed migration. The committee also promulgates and endorses a set of recommendations that serves as a roadmap for influencing state policy.

Additionally, a network of task forces on Mixed Migration was set up in 2008. The task forces are organized at the country level and are composed of humanitarian actors from civil society, the United Nations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), as well as government representatives. The task forces are co-chaired by representatives from IOM and UNHCR and serve as coordinating mechanisms in the response to mixed migration. More recently, and

2   UNHCR, summary report from the Regional Conference on Refugee Protection and International Migration, Sana'a, Yemen, 19–20 May 2008. Conference report available from www.unhcr.org/48808b1a2.html.

3   UNHCR, "Refugee protection and international migration: A review of UNHCR's role in Malawi, Mozambique and South Africa," Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 6–7 September 2010. Conference report available from www.unhcr.org/4c7fa9b89.html.

4   UNHCR, Sana'a Declaration at the Regional Conference on Asylum and Migration, Sana'a, Yemen, 11–13 November 2013. Available from www.unhcr.org/531dbb246.html.

as a response to the surge in mixed migration from North Africa to Southern Europe, IOM established the Migration Task Force for North Africa and Horn of Africa MTF–NOAH in November 2013. This body mirrors the shift to an interregional response and represents improvements in coordination between the respective regions, as well as between individual countries of origin (i.e. in the Horn of Africa), transit (in North Africa) and destination (in Europe).

Prevention–response–post-response (PRP) model for mixed migration

The complexities of contemporary mixed migration flows require a coordinated and strategic approach. The prevention–response–post-response (PRP) model is an attempt to consolidate the myriad of initiatives being carried out by governments, the United Nations, international organizations and NGOs. There is value in a consistent response that still takes specific regional dynamics into consideration. The two reports and the Sana'a Declaration earlier mentioned echo the main principles of the PRP model.

PRP model for mixed migration flows

1. Prevention

1.1 Awareness-raising

1.2 Legislation development

1.3 Law enforcement

1.4 Data analysis and information-sharing

1.5 Regional dialogues

1.6 Labour agreements for regular migration

2. Response

2.1 Migration response centres

2.2 Capacity-building

2.3 Civil–military coordination

2.4 Migrant/Refugee profiling

2.5 Referral for assistance

2.6 Protection screening

3. Post-Response

3.1 Psychosocial support

3.2 Asylum/Refugee status determination process

3.3 Assisted voluntary return and reintegration

3.4 Family tracing and notification

Stage 1 – **Prevention** – corresponds to the stage prior to migrants' departure. At this stage, migrants may be termed "potential migrants," as they are still weighing their options, that is, deciding on whether to migrate or not, and if so, which route to take. Steps 1.1 to 1.6 are key to influencing these potential migrants to make safer decisions and combating the smugglers and traffickers that support irregular movements.

Stage 2 – **Response** – is what is required when migrants encounter a problem, which may range from injury, illness, vehicular or boat accidents, detention or abuse. Steps 2.1 to 2.6 are measures to organize and implement effective humanitarian assistance to migrants and refugees in need.

Stage 3 – **Post-Response** corresponds to when irregular migrants have already passed through stage 2, that is, life-saving measures have been carried out, but the migrants remain stranded and in need of longer-term care and a durable solution(s).

The PRP model can facilitate the transition from policy to practice for responding to the needs of both migrants and governments negatively impacted by mixed migration flows. Continued attention of these critical issues by the international community will make strides towards reducing the number of migrants opting to migrate irregularly, while minimizing gaps in protection, and saving lives. ■

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"Persons with different objectives move alongside each other using the same routes and means of transport or engaging the services of the same smugglers"

– UNHCR, 2011:8

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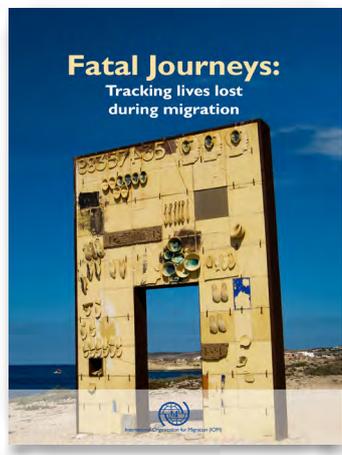
Fatal Journeys: Tracking lives lost during migration
2014/English
Forthcoming

In October 2013, over 400 migrants died in two shipwrecks near the Italian island of Lampedusa. Sadly, these tragedies were not isolated incidents. IOM estimates that during 2013 and 2014 nearly 6,000 migrants lost their lives in border regions around the world. These figures only reveal part of the problem. Many migrant deaths occur in remote regions of the world and are never registered. Official data on the number of migrant deaths is scarce. The vast majority of governments do not publish numbers of migrant deaths, and counting the lives lost is largely left to civil society and the media.

Drawing upon data from a wide range of sources from different regions of the world, this first global report on migrant deaths, takes a close look at the available statistics on this subject. Obtaining reliable data to count and record border related migrant deaths, is an essential starting point for any discussion on how to prevent such tragedies from occurring in the future. Through improved record keeping of migrant deaths around the world, we can draw greater attention to these tragedies.

Each chapter of this report focuses on a number of key questions. How much and what type of data are being collected ? Who is responsible for collecting data on migrant deaths ? How reliable are these data ? How is the data being used ? What measures could be taken to improve data collection ? What lessons can be learned from data practices in one region and applied in another region ?
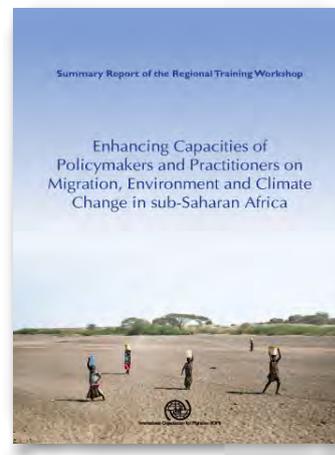
Enhancing Capacities of Policymakers and Practitioners on Migration, Environment and Climate Change in sub-Saharan Africa (Summary Report of the Regional Training Workshop)
2014/22 pages
English
(Available for PDF download)

The training course, "Enhancing Capacities of Policymakers and Practitioners on Migration, Environment and Climate Change in Sub-Saharan Africa", was held in Moshi, United Republic of Tanzania, from 11 to 13 March 2014. This training built upon the success of previous migration and environment training courses delivered by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Colombia in 2013. This event is also part of IOM's global capacity building programme on environmental migration, developed following the recommendations of the global IOM International Dialogue on Migration event held in Geneva in 2011. The Summary Report provides an overview of the policy recommendations formulated by policy makers during the workshop.
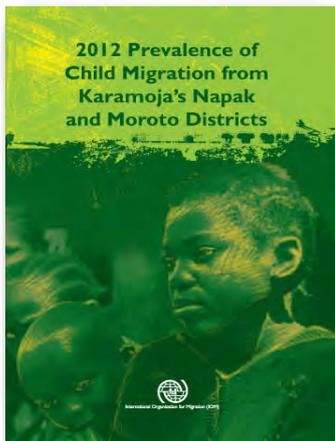
2012 Prevalence of Child Migration from Karamoja's
Napak and Moroto Districts
2014/64 pages/English
(Available for PDF download)

For centuries, Uganda's north-eastern region of Karamoja has been inhabited primarily by pastoralists whose livelihood system is built upon protecting and providing for their livestock. Within this context, basic survival for many Karimojong households has historically meant regularly migrating with their cattle in response to changing climatic and geographic conditions. This study is rooted in the idea that child migration from Uganda's Karamoja region to the country's urban centres is part of a larger adaptive livelihood strategy employed by various Karimojong groups during intense periods of cultural and economic change and duress.

As part of a broader effort to understand the nature and causes of child migration from Napak and Moroto districts, IOM conducted a survey of over 700 households in 2012 designed to: (a) measure the prevalence of outmigration and, specifically, the rural–urban outmigration of children; (b) identify the major push and pull factors contributing to child migration; and (c) provide insight into the perception of and attitudes towards child migration among vulnerable communities. The overall objective of the survey was to contribute to research on child migration from Napak and Moroto, with the specific goal of identifying potential areas of intervention.
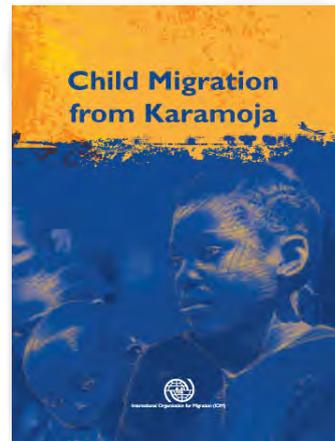
Child Migration from Karamoja
2014/72 pages/English
(Available for PDF download)

Over the last decade, migrant children from Uganda's north-eastern region of Karamoja have become increasingly common in the streets of Kampala and other urban centres in Uganda. These children are highly visible, vulnerable and clearly living in extreme poverty. Public perception of these migrant children is informed by an understanding of the drivers of poverty in the districts of Napak and Moroto in Karamoja, where the majority of these children migrate from. As a consequence, attitudes towards these children range from sympathy to hostility, and the solutions to their problems can be variously seen as political, economic or social. As part of a broader effort to understand the nature and causes of child migration from Napak and Moroto, IOM conducted extensive qualitative research in over 20 vulnerable communities in 2012 to identify the underlying reasons why children migrate, especially to urban centres; address why some children migrate without their parents; understand why most choose to move to urban areas; explore why many travel further than previous generations; and explain why the behaviour is most prominent among the Bokora community.

IOM-MPI Issue in Brief No. 10 – Integrating Migration into the Post-2015 United Nations Development Agenda
2014/12 pages/English
(Available for PDF download)

By September 2015, the Member States of the United Nations will have negotiated a set
of sustainable development goals (SDGs) and subsidiary targets and indicators. These goals will frame a new international development agenda to replace the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which expire at the end of 2015.

In Integrating migration into the Post-2015 United Nations Development Agenda, after examining the role of migration as a driver for development, author Lars Lonnback argues that migration can be integrated into the post-2015 United Nations Development Agenda. To do so, three areas require specific attention- (1) fostering partnerships to promote development, (2) promoting and protecting migrants' rights and well-being and (3) reducing the costs of human mobility.

MPP Readers' Survey

Migration Policy Practice was launched almost three years ago and the editors would now like to invite readers to spare a couple of minutes to participate in a short readers' satisfaction survey.

The purpose of this survey, which can be taken anonymously, is to help us identify our readers' profiles, the institutions they represent and their primary interests in our journal. The survey's responses will contribute, in particular, to adjusting and improving, as appropriate, MPP's content and style, and thus the reader's experience.

Should you wish to participate in this survey, please **click here**.

Thank you.