

Session 1: The challenges of human globalization – by Catherine de Wenden

I am a professor at Sciences Po in Paris, and for a long time I have been specializing in migration issues. First, I will focus on the world, then on Europe and finally on France if you want. I have decided to begin with some maps from an atlas I made. The first one was published in 2012 so the figures are not so old. But figures are constantly changing because the movement is changing a lot. So I will take the topic introduced by Yves, speaking about contradictory globalizations. Migration is one of the contradictory globalizations we have today, which was also mentioned by the first introducers, especially Fernando Vasquez, because we are in a lot of contradictions. With migration, we have entered a world extension of liberal economy in almost all countries, except for very few ones. But at the same time, there has been a rise in border security and migration controls. The second contradiction is the very complex relation between migration and development. The UN report of 2009 said that mobility was a very important factor of human development, but at the same time two thirds of the population of the planet are not allowed to move. They are subjected to visas, sometimes very difficult to get. So the third contradiction is between the image of mobility in the North – where mobility is considered as a very positive aspect of humanity, of human development – and at the same time, a lot of populations in the South are not allowed such mobility. We will see in which conditions they are practising this mobility. The fourth contradiction, which was also mentioned, is between the image developed in the US, Canada, Europe, and some other places, on human rights, democracy, and the poor implementation of asylum rights, of fighting against illegals and trafficking, and also the inequalities of treatment between men and women in migration. The fact is that some people – thirteen millions across the globe – have no citizenship at all: they are called “stateless.” So there are a lot of contradictions as a result of the gap between the reality of migration and the representation of this migration in the mind. Most of the public opinion has an image of migration corresponding to migration in the 60s or 70s, which does not fit at all in the reality of the flows we have now. So we will come back to the reality of flows, and I shall first stress some global aspects of migration. Take a look at the first map, and you will see that the world has entered into migration in last twenty years. Thirty years ago, there were only few countries of departure and few countries of arrival, and now all regions in the world are involved in migration. We have 232 million immigrants, international immigrants, in the world, according to the United Nations statistics of 2013. And now, for the first time, we have reached relative balance between migration going to the North and migration going to the South. So if we add migrations coming from the South to the North, and migration coming from the North to the North, we have around 120 million migrants. And if we also consider, not exactly knowing the figures for the South, South-South migration plus North-South migration, then we get around 110 million people. So we are at a balance now, which is very new because in the faraway past, most migrants were Europeans going abroad for population, trade, colonization and so on. Later, a lot of Southern migrants came to Europe, the United States, Canada, Australia and so on. Now there are more and more migrants coming from South to South. This is very new also from an institutional point of view, as we will see later on. I also wanted to suggest another topic that is also new. Now, in spite of this globalized migration phenomenon, all over the world there are not so many migrants: 3.1% international migrants. Most of the population in the world, in spite of conflicts, in spite of gaps, economic gaps, in spite of many problems, don’t move because they don’t have the networks or the money allowing them to move. But there are more and more categories of newcomers that were not involved in migration in the past. There is a second phenomenon, which is the regionalization of migration. You

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can see, you can guess from this map that there are regions of migration. If you take the United States for example, more than 50% of migrants are coming from Mexico and Central America. There are fewer Europeans than in the past coming to the US – this is a regional phenomenon. If you go to the Southern America, almost all the new migrants are now coming – except for Portugal or Spain with the crisis – from other Latin American countries, from the Andean region: Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador... All these regions are providing migration to Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil and so on. If you have a look at Europe, you see that Mediterranean is a very complex question because most of the flows in Europe are coming from the South rim of Mediterranean. So there is a region, a region which does not fit with the European Union system, which closes its borders at the Mediterranean Sea, but the migration phenomenon, the migration system because there is complementarity in demography, economy and so on, is managed with the South rim of Mediterranean. If we have a look at Russia, there is also a migration system, a regional migration system, because Russia, which is in a situation of demographic decrease, is strongly depending for its labour force on the former USSR, the community of independent states – CIS. Most of migrants are coming from central Asia, but also from South Caucasus, where there is a migration system. In Africa, there are two main migration poles: first Maghreb for Sub-Saharan countries after the equator, and South Africa for those that are at the South of equator, especially English-speaking people. In Asia, there are several poles of immigration, such as Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, and Australia. There are also big regions of departure that are also becoming regions of immigration like India, China, the Philippines, Indonesia and some other places. So we are towards a kind of addition of regional migration systems in the world. This system is structural. Migration is not a hazard. There are deep structures to explain migration. The first lies in the inequalities of human development. Here I crossed the criteria that were proposed by Amartya Sen, an Indian economist who suggested a quantitative approach of development: life expectation at birth, the level of education, and the standard of living. Taking these three criteria, we get a map showing that Sub-Saharan Africa is the poorest region in the world, which also explains the high mobility of the continent. I spoke in the beginning about international migration, there is a United Nations definition of the international migrant who is somebody born in a country, living in another country, which is different from the definition of the foreigner – the legal definition of the non-national. Therefore, figures for immigrants are always higher than figures for foreigners. The second phenomenon is also very important, especially for Africa but also for other regions in the world, is the internal migration. Now we have 740 million internal migrants, especially in the South. Some migrants move in their own country because they lack the resources allowing them to go farther. These internal migrants – one billion people on the move now at world level out of seven billion people – are mostly local refugees, environmentally displaced people, people going from the countryside to urban cities, and so on. For the African continent, it will go from 70% rural population to 70% urban population at the end of this century. So it is a very important challenge. And where there are economic gaps in terms of human development, we see that there are a lot of migrations, between the US and Mexico, between the South rim and the North rim of Mediterranean, or between Europe and the countries the did not enter in Europe. There is mobility whenever there are gaps in human development. Men and women are sometimes more rational than migration policies. The other phenomenon, which will be developed by Elena Ambrosetti tomorrow, is the demographic gap. Many countries and regions are dependent on these trends. The European Union, Western and Eastern Europe, but also Japan, Korea, have reached a level of decrease of their population. This decrease has created a lot of dependencies towards migration, especially for the skilled and unskilled jobs, and also some other new jobs induced by this trend. For example, in European countries, in the 50s, the median age,

sharing in the two parts of the population, was around 28 years old, and now it is around 40 years old. The number of people over 40 is the same as the number of people under the age of 40. On the South rim of Mediterranean, it is around 25, 28 years old, and in Sub-Saharan Africa, they are around 19 years old. So we can see the difference in demographic trends, which also partly explains the rise in migration flows because now there are faced with a context in the South where they are more and more urban population, more and more educated, very young, without jobs. So they are thinking about their futures and thinking about migration as an opportunity. Another structural phenomenon that could switch this map with the other is the gaps between rich and poor. And where there are gaps, there are a lot of migration flows and closed borders: between Mexico and the US, at the Mediterranean level between Europe and the 28 and the other countries, between rich countries in Asia and so on. The result in a context where borders are closed for the majority of population is the economy of illegal transportation. Because the border has become a very important resource in places of mobility, this economy of the border is highly developed between Latin America and the United States, in the Mediterranean, with the arrival of Asian populations such as between Turkey and Greece, and so on. This gives rise to a lot of very problematic situations. Recent research has estimated that there have been 2,300 official deaths in the Mediterranean between 2000 and 2013 – a lot. The same number was revealed between the 90s and the beginning of this century. These dead people are people without any status, illegals. We consider that there are around 11 million illegals in the US, around 5 million illegals in European countries and also populations without status or future, e.g. refused asylum seekers. There are no solutions for them. People without any nationality, 13 million “stateless” in the world, and many grey situations where it is difficult to debate about their status. So grey situations for populations, grey situations for the countries too because border controls, the categories of migrants, and the categories of countries are not all clear. For example, at the South rim of Mediterranean, there were a lot of emigration countries – Maghreb countries, Turkey and so on. Now most of these countries at the border of Europe have become, due to the border control system, immigration countries, transit countries. Now, Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Turkey, have become both emigration and immigration countries, and also transit countries. The same is true in other places, Mexico, for example, which is both an emigration and an immigration land. This situation can also be found in many other parts of the world but it is new. It is also new for the categories of immigrants. In the past, in the 50s and 60s, there was a difference between the refugee, activists in the East fighting against communism for example, who was welcome openly in Western Europe, and who was different from workers in the firms in the period of growth. Now the category of asylum seekers, who are also entering to find jobs, is very blurred between the asylum seeker and the worker for example, because it is difficult to enter as workers, some are also trying with asylum and some are not – it is not an error from them because they are coming from countries which are not democratic, which have fears for the various risks in their countries and so on – the categories of migrants are increasingly blurred. During their life, migrants, if they are qualified, can take all the grades of the hierarchy from illegal to highly qualified, which was unthinkable in the 50s and 60s because there were those very qualified as refugees which were different from the workers which were most of them illiterate. So it is transforming the physiognomy, the landscape of migration. However, in this big mess, there is an attempt to have global governance of migration at the level of the United Nations. The basis of discussions at the UN Stockholm Conference (23-25 April 2014) is the convention of the United Nations of 1990, which has been signed by 47 countries. It is not much and all the signatories of the convention are Southern countries. No Northern country has accepted to sign the convention because it promises some rights to illegals. Another structural factor of migration is the political conflicts in the world, making millions of refugees. The number

one country in terms of the production of refugees is Afghanistan. Six million people left Afghanistan between the end of the 70s and now. Some went back, some of them went on the road and are still on the road. Other countries like Iran, Iraq, Syria, and a lot of Sub-Saharan countries such as Sri Lanka, Haiti and some other places have made millions of refugees. Moreover, the countries welcoming refugees are not only the rich, Western countries because neighbours of the poorest refugees were also in the position of welcoming them. For example, Pakistan has welcomed a lot of Afghan refugees, as well as Turkey or Syria in the past, Jordan and Lebanon for the Near-East populations, and also neighbour countries in Africa of regions of conflict. So we are around 40 million refugees and people in situation of refugees while not having a status in the world. About 15 million have the refugee status of the Geneva Convention of the United Nations on refugees, and now the policy is very strict in almost all Western countries, the EU, the US, Canada, Australia and so on. Another structural phenomenon of migration is the entrance of mobility as a way of life: international tourism (page 8). There is also United Nations definition of the international tourist, people who leave their country for leisure for another country at least once a year. So there are a lot of pluri-international tourists but we count the people just one time and we have one billion international tourists in the world now, which is a lot. This situation is not migration because they are supposed to leave less than three months, also causes new forms of migration, especially the Northern population going to the South, seniors settling in the sun, and so on. Sometimes they are also settling with an economic activity in Southern countries for various reasons. But it is also a factor of migration from North to South. France is in the same position as Germany as first country for the asylum seekers procedure. Germany is in terms of stocks, population settled of refugees, the first country in Europe. Migration in the last years in Europe has not changed a lot. There is a slight rise but migration is stable due to the attraction of other places and also to some new possibilities. Europe has closed its borders to salaried economic migration for thirty years. Europe is the first region for migration in the world but with the characteristic of not accepting being a continent of migration. So Europe has a lot of difficulty accepting this structural phenomenon and has closed its borders to labour force migration for thirty years, in 1973 or before depending on the European countries, until the beginning of the new century. A report of the United Nations of 2000 on demography and another green book on Europe in 2005 caused the slight opening of the borders to new categories of migrants such as highly skilled people, new possibilities for students, and so on. But the main trend is very restrictive, very dissuasive. Again, remember that this is a European characteristic. This demographic trend is also a factor of migration because new jobs are required. Not only care jobs but also the extension of seniors in the sun, and also some jobs which cannot be performed at 70 or 80 in agriculture, construction and in some other sectors. There is also a need for medical doctors in several European countries due to the demand of old people settled in rural areas, like France, Spain and other places, which is also partly linked to this demographic profile asking for new migration. Dead people at borders are not just a European characteristic but every month in Europe there is a new catastrophe about dead people arriving at the European borders. There have been a lot of Lampedusa crises, a lot of crises in Ceuta, Melilla, the Spanish enclaves in Morocco, the Canary Islands, Malta, the Greek Islands and so on. European policy is not changing a lot, but at the same time there are people dying at the European borders. At the same time, most illegals are not entering illegally. There are a lot of controls, which also explains these dead people at the borders, but also we need to have in mind that most illegals have entered legally as asylum seekers, tourists, students, members of family reunification, and have become illegal during their prolonging migration. If we close the Mediterranean Sea, there are new point of arrival such as the border between Greece and Turkey in the Western part of Turkey (Tracia), and there is a debate about this

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border because Greece said it would build a wall there because Turkey has also become a very important transit and immigration country, not so much for Turkish people but for Afghans, also people coming from Iran, Iraq and other places. Therefore, as it is difficult to cross the Mediterranean, they try to pass through Asia. There is now also a debate about the border between Bulgaria and Turkey as Bulgaria may become more appealing due to the possibility to work and to settle there, and so to be mixed with the status of Bulgarians in Europe for the newcomers. These are the places with more and more checks and controls – not only with visas, but also with transit visas, which complicates mobility for the populations involved in this situation. There are now some contradictions in many European immigration policy because the debate is how can we close the borders for the majority of people while opening them for some others. The debate since the beginning of the years 2000 has been to attract skilled people. Why? Because there is a demand for qualified workers, because the labour market is stratified and migrants are not in competition, new arrivals, new flows are not in competition with nationals seeking jobs. In most cases, it is not the same job they are asking for, and Europe wants to remain in the competition for highly skilled workers with the United States, Canada, and other places in the world. Therefore, now European policies are trying to attract these highly skilled people with various tools and the median level of newcomers arriving into Europe from other parts of the world is higher than the medium level of the population of the European countries in which they are entering. This is new and does not correspond at all to the representation of the public opinion but it is a phenomenon that is very interesting now. There are a lot of educated people even among the illegals. Having a look at the active population of foreigners, we can see that in the end also we have South-North but also North-North migration in these figures. I shall take some European examples of countries. Germany, which is the first immigration country in Europe for the stocks of foreigners, has a major Turkish population, which is linked to the past, to the contracts of labour force between Germany and Turkey. But there are also a lot of other nationalities. Closeness with Poland first attracted the Polish population after the fall of the Berlin Wall, though after the possibility of accessing legal jobs in UK and Ireland they settled in these two countries. But first they came to Germany. There are also Greeks and other populations from the Balkans, which entered just after the Turkish and some other nationalities. There is a kind of migration couple between Germany and Turkey as there is in France with Maghreb countries. An example, with France, of North to South migration (page 18): there is a very high increase in British migrations, to other European countries as well, such as Portugal or Spain. People who decide to settle in these more sunny regions, sometimes for retirement or other times to begin a new job followed by the low cost companies. They prefer the West while most migrant workers are settled in the East and North of France, or Paris. 40% of foreigners in France are settled in the region Ile de France (around Paris), Lyon, Grenoble, Marseille and their surrounding areas, while the British are on the West. Regarding access to citizenship, all European countries have different procedures but, in France, most of the new French are coming from the Indian subcontinent, Maghreb and Africa. When you look at the United Kingdom and Ireland, you can see that a lot of Polish workers came in the last ten years, as well as the importance of the Commonwealth population in the UK, the Irish in the UK and the English in Ireland and many other English speaking countries in the South. But there are also Europeans. The French are the sixth or seventh nationality in the UK, followed by the Germans. Southern European countries were emigration countries until the 70s, became immigration countries in the 80s but with various migration landscapes as you can see. In Portugal, with the importance of Portuguese speaking countries, the former colonies and also Brazil and in Spain, the Moroccans who are also neighbours, the Romanians who work in agriculture and services, and also a lot of Spanish speaking countries.

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Greece touches Eastern Europe. Before 2004, it had no common borders with other European countries. This also partly explains the importance of these other neighbours: Albania, 60% of the foreign population, followed by Bulgaria, Georgia, Romania and so on. In Italy, there is a kind of landscape of all the diversity of the migration flows towards Europe and especially to Italy in the globalized situation of these last thirty years. The Rom population is also a very hot debate now in Europe. It is a European population that arrived in the Middle Ages and their ratio in the total population of the Balkans and in Eastern European countries is much higher than in other European countries and they have entered into mobility from West to East in the last twenty years with few solutions in their native countries due to a lot of discrimination. In Romania and Bulgaria, the discussions with the European Commission have been very hot in recent months and years. I shall not stress on that. I worked on this topic for a long time and it is a very interesting example of how Eastern European countries have managed this mobility migration. They have benefited from the opening of the borders and gradual access to the freedom of movement, work and settlement and it has given examples of settlement into mobility. A lot of populations from the East did not decide to settle definitely in Western Europe but have decided to create a new way of life made of transnational networking and settlement into mobility between their regions of departure and Western European countries. Russia is the fourth migration region in the world. The first is Europe, the second is the United States, the third is the Gulf countries and the fourth is Russia. There are around 12 million foreigners in Russia. From the South to the North, but also to Russia from former Soviet countries because Russia is demanding labour force especially from central Asia and South Caucasus. Besides, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, this population had the choice between making networks with Turkey or making networks with Russia. Russia has created a kind of migration space with freedom of movement for short-term periods in order to provide labour force. So they opened their borders and these populations are used to working with Russia, which used to be their country. They speak Russian, they know the institutions, laws and so on, so the links with Turkey have been developed less than relations with Russia. They are between two regional migration systems: Turkey and its neighbours, and Russia. Most flows are to Moscow, St Petersburg and so on, more than to Turkey in spite of the community of culture or the fact that their language is close to Turkish. Still, there are examples of people coming to Turkey from example from these places. The other issue is China. In the Eastern part of Russia, there is a kind of geopolitical conflict between population against resources and territories. These territories are quite empty and China is very interested in all the resources in wood, land and the resources of the earth in this region. So there are also transit populations coming there. This situation with China in Russia is lived as a real challenge because not only of culture but also of population. Another place that pauses issues is the Maghreb region. Maghreb is a region of migration not only towards Europe but a part of the migration system with Sub-Saharan countries because they are attracting workers mostly in Libya. Libya has a small population with a lot of resources in oil and gas, like Algeria. Other countries like Morocco or Tunisia have become transit countries, so a lot of people from these desert regions are coming to Maghreb, under pressure from the European Union to close their borders and to accept the agreements of repatriations of the illegals, for those having crossed their territories. The diversity of the situation of Maghreb countries is very high. For example, Libya is mostly an immigration land while Algeria is both an immigration and an emigration land. Morocco is mostly an emigration land and transit land. Egypt is mostly an emigration land although there are also some newcomers. So the situation of these various countries varies with their resources. Africa is on the move. There is a very long tradition of mobility in the continent and now most of the students of Africa are the most mobile in the world. Refugees are also creating a lot of spheres of mobility. It is a region where there

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are a lot of risks, economic risks, political risks with civil crises, environmental risks, health risks and so on, which are also increasing mobility. It is a very important region of conflicts in the world, creating the most important part of refugees and displaced people in the world. Conflicts are very important in the mobility of the population in these various regions (page 29): Near East, Middle East, Pakistan and Afghanistan, the Horn of Africa, and the neighbourhood of Saudi Arabia and the Emirates, which are attracting a lot of population from this region from the South rim of Mediterranean, from Pakistan and also from the Philippines. These Arab countries are totally depending on the regional and far regional labour force. Another topic in the region I shall not dwell on: Christian minorities are also in most situation threatened by conflicts and become refugees in US, Canada and European countries too (page 30). Turkey is a very important immigration pole in the region because now the Turkish are the most numerous non-European immigrant population in Europe. There are 4.4 million Turkish in Europe. It is considered as the first quasi diaspora in Europe, followed by the Moroccans. Turkey is very active for its diaspora networking policy toward the Turkish in Europe, but it has also become in the last 10-15 years a very important transit country and immigration country due to its neighbourhood with the Near East and with South community of independent states of former USSR. Therefore, Turkey is a kind of hub for part of migrations in the world. The city of Istanbul has been multiplied by three because of the rising population of newcomers in the last twenty years, for example – another place of migration where the situation is very different from Europe because these countries do not accept themselves as migration countries. Another paradox for Europe and for this region in the world, whereas the US, Canada and Australia are defining themselves as immigration lands like Latin American countries. It is not at all the case for these countries, which give very few rights to migrants. Let us look at the right of family reunification. The right of asylum is very restricted; so are workers' rights. But they are very attractive due to possibility of earning money in a rather short time while they have a strong dependency towards migration. It is the third region in the world for migration. This other situation is also creating a lot of refugees. There are six million Palestinians under the status of refugee in the world, which is another status under the United Nations convention on refugees but it is creating a lot of mobility also because Israel is also becoming an older country depending on migration and trying to attract short-term workers from Romania or other European countries to do seasonal jobs for example. India and Pakistan are two enormous poles of population. Indians are around 30 million in the world. It is the second diaspora after the Chinese. But this diaspora is also creating new migration into India, for example creating jobs for Indians with Indians settled abroad. There is also proximity with Bangladesh. Bangladesh is the first country for the risk of environmentally displaced people because, with climate change, the Himalaya is melting into the Ganges and it is arriving in the capital of Bangladesh, Dacca, and there have been a lot of catastrophes which are going on and the environmental risk is considered as the first in this region. It is the reason why India has made a wall at the level of one of the border in order to avoid arrivals of Bangladeshis. This is also the region where there are the most “stateless” people – Bangladesh and Burma. To the East, we can see that the Chinese are numerous in this region. Some of them were settled not only for the last twenty years but also for centuries abroad in the region. It is a regional migration even if there are fifty million Chinese in the world. So the hypothesis of regionalization of migration is verified for all migration regions and systems in the world. I looked at the United Nations' figures to prepare for this conference and I saw that for all migration regions in the world now there are more people coming from the region than people coming from elsewhere. This movement of regionalization is increasing because there are new categories of migrants, which are increasing this trend. For example, the entrance of women into migration, the entrance of displaced people for conflicts or for

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environmental reasons, short-term workers, or even unaccompanied minors. These new categories are increasing the phenomenon of regionalization of migration and we see that with the Chinese or also for example the Filipinos. It is a very interesting example because it is a kind of rental migration. The country is depending on migrants, mostly women, who work in the region but also in the Gulf countries and in Europe, in the US, as care workers, and send a lot of money to their country. This creates a kind of migration vicious circle. The children are better educated. They get ready to go abroad because they consider there is no hope in their country. So the money is not used for the development of the country, but mostly for human development of the family. There is no trust into the regime and so like the region of the Senegal River, the dependency towards migration is very high. There is a kind of migration system is very developed here because there are countries attracting and countries making migration. For example, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan, Japan are attracting newcomers and they are also countries of departure. Some countries are both, like Thailand or Malaysia, depending on their economy.

I wanted to finish with the United States. Just to stress the importance of population from Latin America in the United States (page 39). As you can see, the importance of Mexicans is very high in the country. Like I said, the border between Mexico and the US is emblematic, even if now Mexico is also welcoming in spite of itself a lot of Central Americans trying to go north. Now, the presence of Mexicans is also a political challenge in the US. They vote as they have gained access to citizenship. But there are other voters in their country. So Mexico is developing like Morocco or Turkey a very active diaspora policy towards Mexican-Americans abroad. They are mostly settling in the West of the country. In the past, most migrants were settling in the East so there is some balance today, though it is changing. There is history because South-western American states were former Spanish and Mexican and now they are also English speaking states and it is a hot debate about identity in the United States. In these states, the Spanish speaking population is strongly present and also economically active: Texas, California, Florida are very active regions in the Southwest of the country. Latin America is a kind of migration regional system now and some countries are mostly immigration countries, and the Andean regions are mostly emigration countries. Chile is both an immigration and emigration land. Now just a few elements about Australia, which was dreaming about white migration and is now strongly concerned with the rise of its far neighbours, Filipinos, as well as people from Indonesia and other Asian countries, as it is becoming half British and half Asian in its population and has, in spite of its selective migration policy, a very strong asylum policy rejecting boat people on the islands in these last decade. I shall conclude with some very important challenges. The first is the urbanization of the planet (page 42). In the middle of this century, we will have more urban than rural population and this urbanization is increasing migration, internal and then international migration. The big cities, especially in Asia, without any originality, are places for migration. Migrants find information and networks helping them go further and these urban hubs are very important for the organization of migration tracks. Besides, most of these very big cities are close to the sea. Most of them were all the harbours of the colonization period. This is very important for climate change because as the population is increasing in these places, there is a risk as they are very close to the sea, and a risk of invasion of the waters in most places, especially in poorer cities. Another challenge is living together, which is a very important issue. The cosmopolitanization of the world, which is a positive and a negative challenge in most places, and one of the most important issues for our topic. I wanted to stress the remittances, especially important from Europe to Africa, from US to Latin America, which are an important challenge because there are bringing money to their countries but mostly to their families. In most places, there is a gap between the

development of the country and the human development of the population receiving the money in the last thirty years. That's 400 billion dollars sent by the migrants to their country of origin in 2012, and more than three times the public help to development. So the most important actors to development in the world are migrants but as there is no trust in most cases towards their countries, they are investing more in families, in helping the way of life, than into collective development. In the future, with more migration, there will be more human development but we can also reverse the argument because now there is a short and medium-term situation where development is creating migration. This challenge will keep on increasing as there will be more and more urban, schooled young people in the world, with an increased desire to enter into mobility as a way of life. The poorest people don't move because they lack money, network, language skills, qualifications and also horizons; they sometimes accept the fatality of their situations. I want to finish with environmentally displaced people (map page 45): around forty million people displaced for environmental reasons. Some of them are linked with the climate change but others have always existed, like tsunamis and volcanic eruptions and some other catastrophes but we see that most of the crises are in the South of the planet. Because they are poor, most of these people will be internally displaced people. So in the South-South migration, some of them are these categories from one country to another, but most of them are internal migrants in their own country. Some people really in great danger. For example, the Tuvalu islands, in the Pacific, or the Maldives are very strongly challenged by the rising water levels, other regions are challenged with mud crises like Bangladesh, and cyclones in other places, as we saw in Thailand some years ago. Every year, there is a catastrophe making thousands or millions of victims.

The impression we can have from that is that there is a big mess, there is an enormous disorder in this trend and now the management of these flows is a kind of Far West. The wealthiest countries in the world are making the law as for migration flows: the US, Canada, the EU, Japan and so on, are defining the conditions of mobility. As many people cannot move legally, there are a lot of people without any status. There is this idea that was launched some years ago by Kofi Annan, the former state secretary to the United Nations, to introduce the global governance of migration. It is not totally successful, but not totally a failure either I would say. Because the mechanism is working – mixing NGOs, international organizations, countries of arrival, of immigration, countries of emigration, the South and the North, human rights associations, associations of migrants, organizations of development, trade unions, firms – all those invested in migration questions that have highly conflicting views on the issue. Every year, they try to discuss migration issues in order to have a kind of Bretton Woods agreement on migration. This idea of multilateralism is not so well accepted by the United States or European countries who don't want to see their sovereignty diminished by these mechanisms, but there is some idea that the norms could be defined by this phenomenon, by this global migration entity in order to impose some rules and avoid the contradictions and lack of consistency between the decisions and the management of migration flows. At the same time, regional institutions have already provided some answers. I talk about regions but there are also some institutions managing regional migration. The best known is Europe, which works very well for Europeans, not so well for undocumented non-Europeans. But also the Nordic labour market for example, ECOWAS for Western Africa, ASEAN for Asia, the UNESUR for Southern America, and so on. There are twenty-five local systems like that, granting more mobility, opening more borders in order to provide labour force and to encourage trade and tourism. Turkey for example has opened its borders with forty-five countries without visas in order to facilitate mobility in the region. So there is a trend now to give regional answers to the difficulty of

organizing a global answer to migration. Migration creates a lot of political controversies. There has never been any international world conference on migrations. There have been international conferences on population, on women, on discrimination, on climate, on many aspects but not on migration. We never speak about migration at high-level conferences such as G8 or G20 but the world is meeting the world, and there are many other topics to solve such as, how can we speak about citizenship at world level for people who are moving? Today, movers have fewer rights than people who are settled and there are also a lot of unresolved questions about living together. So it is necessary to introduce more rationality in this situation but there is an enormous lack of knowledge. It is difficult for the researchers to convince the public opinion not only about the importance of the topic, but also about the need to be more rational and to fight against the lack of coherencies, and the contradictions which are lying in the reflection about migration.