

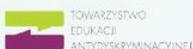


EU AUDIT

ON MIGRATION, SUSTAINABILITY & DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION



PARTNERS



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EU AUDIT ON MIGRATION, SUSTAINABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

Activity 1.1.1: Audit on migration, sustainability and development education

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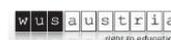


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1. Introduction

1.1 Rationale

As the world becomes increasingly interconnected and the scope of international migration is rapidly growing, cross-border movement becomes a significant force for and an integral part of development in both origin and destination countries. Migrant diasporas abroad foster development in home communities by sending remittances; returning migrants contribute to progress through human capital, technology and valuable skills. In host countries, migrants fill critical labour gaps, pay taxes and social security contributions as well as enrich the communities by cultural and information capital (OECD, 2014). Yet poorly managed migration poses a number of risks for the sustainable progress of societies. The absence of effective migrant integration mechanisms and limited regular migration channels might lead to harm on individual level, decreased opportunities for migrants to contribute to development in both migrant sending and receiving countries as well as obstruct social cohesion in destination states (ODI, 2017).

Despite its opportunities, migration in both public and political discourse is often perceived as a threat to national security and a ‘development failure’ that needs to be overcome. These views are worrying as anti-immigration attitudes hinder integration of migrants and might create social tensions within destination communities; prejudices also shape political discourse that might then focus on security-focused rather than development-driven approach towards migration. Since international movement is expected to intensify in the future, it is important to challenge prevailing notions of migration in order to minimise migration-induced unsustainability.

1.2 Methodology, aims and objectives

The EU Audit on Migration, Security and Development Education aims to examine migration and development policies of the EU and evaluate prevailing public attitudes towards the phenomena. As an integral part of the project InterCap, the report aims to provide contextual framework to facilitate implementation of migration-development agenda within development education in 14 Member States. The objectives of the audit are: a) to identify conceptual links between international movements and sustainable development b) to assess coherence between migration and sustainable development frameworks of the EU, c) to evaluate current trends in public perceptions towards the processes and identify prevailing misconceptions, d) to examine the current state of development education as a key instrument in shaping public discourse at the EU level.



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Complementary to desk research, four expert interviews were conducted. Participants were selected through purposive sampling: experts who specialise in relevant areas (migration, sustainable development, development education and links between them) were sought after by looking for authors of relevant literature or employee profiles of relevant organisations. Specialists from three areas, those being sustainable development politics of the EU, global education in Europe, and migration-development links were interviewed. All participants were of different nationalities and represented different institutions, from academia to the NGO sector and international organisations. The interviews were semi-structured, lasted between 45 minutes and 1 hour and were voice recorded. Informed consent was obtained by all participants and confidentiality was addressed by keeping the interview material available only for internal use by the researchers and by anonymisation of experts in the report. This method was employed in order to provide more depth to the analysis, as critical and sometimes internal glance of the experts has enriched the report by technical, explanatory and process knowledge. As the structure of interviews followed the structure of the audit and insights are largely complementary to the desk research, views and suggestions shared by experts are integrated in the report.

1.3 Available data and resources

While links between migration and development (later referred as M&D) is a relatively young research area and evidence is still being produced, a body of literature on the subject is available and hence was used in the report. Yet, not all nuances of the nexus might be addressed due to limited research that would focus on the localised EU context. In addition to academic literature, a number of EU and other international organisations' publications, policy documents, survey findings, policy evaluations produced by NGOs and press releases were also addressed.

2. Links between migration and sustainable development

2.1 International migration as a cause and a consequence of (sustainable) development



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In the context of increasingly interdependent world and decreasing economic costs of travelling, cross-border migration continues to grow. The number of international migrants worldwide was estimated to increase from 173 million in 2000 to 258 million in 2017; the rate is faster than the growth of the world's population (UN, 2017). As human mobility becomes a major demographic phenomenon, it inevitably becomes a driving force for and an integral part of development. Often accelerated by the latter in sending societies, migration fosters social and economic transformations in both origin and destination countries.

Research shows that economic progress in developing world and out-migration are positively associated. Nevertheless, dominant public opinion and common policy practices in Global North are often driven by a largely ungrounded belief that development *decreases* the scope of movement from developing countries. As a result, development aid often becomes a measure to cope with undesirable immigration. As it is widely believed that migrants from developing countries are fleeing poverty, it is thought that alleviation of poor living conditions (elimination of a push factor) will reduce migration. However, research suggests that cross-border movement is rather a *selective process*. Considerable financial and human resources are required to access channels of migration (visas, permits, even smugglers) and to meet travel costs (De Haas, 2007). It is therefore not the poorest who migrate, but the ones who have capabilities and aspirations to migrate (De Haas, 2007; Stoisser, 2017). Economic growth thus usually leads to an increase in number of people who can afford it. Economic development also determines that more individuals have a means to access information about destination countries through education, technologies and social capital and therefore *develop* those aspirations. Only in the long run, after the development gap between sending and receiving countries is reduced, emigration tends to decrease, while immigration starts to intensify (De Haas, 2005).

Positive aspects of migration and its potential to development were noticed only recently, when research on remittances in the early 2000s revealed the unexpected economic role of migrant diasporas (De Haas, 2010). A priori, migration was considered as a distinct and separate area of global issues and rather an undesirable occurrence; a "symptom of development failure" (ECDPM and ICMPD, 2013). As research and public attention was mainly focused on South-North mobility and its negative consequences, migration was perceived as a potential threat and burden by developed countries, and 'brain drain' by developing world. Hence, the root causes and the prevention of migration were the focus point in both research and migration-related policies. However, with the introduction of promising research findings, migration started to be seen as a major contributor to the economies of both sending and host communities. Not surprisingly, once potential economic gains of international mobility were addressed, humanitarian issues related to cross-border mobility and wellbeing of migrants also received more consideration. Migration is now increasingly perceived as a self-help mechanism, a strategy rationally chosen by migrants to improve their life, as well as a process that can benefit both host and sending communities (Lonnback, 2015).



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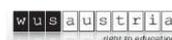
Since migration was starting to be seen in a more positive light, a number of ways in which it can foster development in both origin and destination countries were discovered. Nevertheless, remittances remain to be the principal channel of such reciprocity. Received from migrant diasporas abroad, remittances constitute an important source of income for families and communities in migrant sending countries. They contribute to improvement of living standards of individual families, and then, through economic growth prompted by remittance expenditure, all members of home communities might benefit indirectly. Through remittances, investments in education, health and housing and sustainable infrastructures increase. Respectively, higher savings and investment ensure better security and protection from natural disasters of migrants' families at home, as they can rely on informal insurance strategies in cases of emergence (ODI, 2017). In 2017 alone, developing countries received approximately US \$443 billion in remittances sent by migrants. In the same year, remittances worth around \$594 were sent worldwide (World Bank, 2017). In 2015, remittance inflows to developing countries were about three times the amount of official development aid (World Bank, 2016). Through this mechanism, migration then becomes a crucial poverty alleviation and sustainable development tool. If managed well, it is arguably more effective than deliberate development aid initiatives; however it cannot be considered as a replacement of the latter, as migration does not directly affect population that often needs the assistance most.

At the same time, migration brings a number of benefits and opportunities for countries of destination. Immigrants fill critical labour gaps, create job places, pay taxes and social security contributions. Host communities are enriched by cultural and information capital; foreign diasporas are known to make major contributions in the development of science and technology in host societies (UN, 2017). Research has shown that, on average, immigrants contribute more in taxes and other forms of contributions than they receive in benefits (OECD, 2014). Most importantly, immigration is arguably the most effective measure to cope with economic strains of ageing populations, an issue especially acute in Europe and some Global North countries such as Canada or Australia. As migrants tend to be younger than the average age of populations in receiving countries, immigration helps to reduce the demographic burden of decreased portions of tax payers and increased expenditure on pensions and old-age care (Coleman, 2008). Furthermore, diaspora groups play important role in developing links between origin and destination countries. They facilitate trade, skills and technology transfers and in that way create opportunities for both receiving and sending nations (Lonnback, 2015).

International migration flows are expected to further intensify in the future. It will continue to be prompted by increasing connectivity of the world as well as decreasing travel costs, but migration should also be seen as an inevitable consequence of climate change. The First Assessment Report issued by Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) warned that human migration could be the greatest effect of global warming on society (OSCE, 2005). Sea-level rise and growing number in cases of extreme weather conditions are likely to result in resettlement of affected communities.



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As a result, migration of refugees will inevitably intensify. If not governed properly, increased (and likely unstable) movement will determine vulnerability of migrants and instability within host communities (Adamo, 2009).

2.2 Challenges of international migration to sustainable development

While migration might have multiple positive outcomes for development, the relationship is more complicated and therefore should be addressed with caution. In circumstances of poorly managed migration policies, transnational movement might have negative effects not only for migrating communities, but it can also impede sustainable growth in both origin and host countries. As de Haas (2010:257) noticed, emphasis on migration as a self-regulatory tool for development ‘from below’ risks situations when due to unfavourable circumstances migration actually leads to underdevelopment. In order to avoid undesirable outcomes, it is crucial to take into consideration the importance of external factors of international migration and challenges that human mobility might cause to development.

Poor management of immigration often leads to a number of vulnerabilities faced by migrant communities in host countries. As immigrants, especially irregular ones, are more likely to work in informal sector, they often lack access to social protection services, health system, education and water. While approximately 75% of migrants worldwide are legally entitled to some form of social protection, in practice the enforcement of these arrangements is often weak, especially in the EU, where the basic public services must be available to regular newcomers, they face difficulties in navigating complicated administrative systems due to limited communication and assistance from the state. Commonly, immigrants struggle to find accommodation due to lack of knowledge on where to search for it as well as widespread xenophobia and discrimination among landlords (Eurodiaconia, 2014). Hence, newcomers often find themselves in precarious positions that further increase the risk of exploitation and trafficking, especially if migrants are women or girls (ODI, 2017). In order to ensure their protection and maximise the potential of migration, it is therefore important to address these vulnerabilities. Firstly, there should be more routes for regular international movement, as irregular migration highly intensifies the risks mentioned above. Secondly, there is a need to improve integration services tackle discriminative attitudes at local level. The failure to address the issues is likely to create tensions in recipient countries, and might lead to increased social as well as economic inequalities. Respectively, as a body of literature suggests, inequalities correlate with increased levels of crime, decreased social cohesion and trust between community members (Hsieh and Pugh, 1993; Putnam et al. 1993; Kawachi et al., 1997; Khambule and Siswana, 2017).



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The second threat of poorly managed migration relates to origin countries. Since migration is selective, the benefits of international mobility are usually experienced by already relatively privileged community members, whereas its impact on the poorest remains limited. Even if affected non-directly through the economy-wide implications of remittances, the latter do not alleviate poverty systematically (de Haas, 2010). Migration as a self-help development mechanism is not necessarily available to the ones that would benefit from it most due to high costs of cross-border movement. Hence, this situation might increase inequalities in developing regions. It becomes especially worrying considering predicted intensification of climate-related hazards or conflicts. The poorest members might not be financially capable to leave climate-devastated or dangerous areas, which would lead to serious threats for health and is therefore important to develop channels of migration accessible by less privileged members of origin societies by decreasing the costs of regional and international migration. To minimise negative consequences of intensified forced migration, authorities must be well-prepared to accept and effectively integrate refugees and asylum seekers. In emergency cases, the governments should facilitate safe resettlement of individuals in precarious positions (Adamo, 2009).

Finally, researchers agree that intensified migration often increases tensions within host societies, and potentially could induce the risk of conflict. As the so called “refugee crisis” in Europe revealed, unexpected flows of immigration might induce feelings of being overwhelmed and threatened by newcomers among members of host societies (). In Europe, these public concerns were then manipulated by a number of politicians and media bodies, which further enhanced the notions of migration as a threat to national security, even if the claim is hardly grounded in evidence. While the topic needs to be further explored, rapid immigration, followed by distorted coverage in media, might lead to social and political tensions in host communities (Burrows and Kinney, 2016). In addition to better migration management and integration mechanisms, it is therefore important to ensure that members of recipient countries would have developed a more global sense of citizenship and would perceive migration as it is, i.e. as a global issue with both risks and benefits, rather than a threat for national security to avoid potentially ungrounded public fear and widespread misconceptions.

2.3 Sustainable development as a tool of international migration management: international migration and the Agenda 2030

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), also known as the Agenda 2030, explicitly refers to migration in 5 Targets. It is the first strategy document that formally recognises migration as a potential contributor to sustainable growth in international framework for development (ODI, 2017). These objectives mainly focus on the need for



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well-managed and well-monitored migration, protection of migrant rights and reduction of the international transaction costs to maximise the potential of remittances.

Target 8.8 calls to “protect labour rights and promote safe and secure working environments for all workers, including migrant workers” with particular emphasis on female migrants. By Targets 8.7 and 16.2, focus is being drawn on the need to end exploitation, forced labour and trafficking of children. Target 10.c aims to reduce transaction costs of remittances to less than 3% by 2030. In SDG 17, the need to improve availability of reliable data on population distribution is stressed, with migratory status included among other variables. Finally, arguably the most important objective that covers human mobility and would help to minimise migration-intensified vulnerabilities is Target 10.7. It calls the international community to “facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies”. Moreover, rights of migrants are implicitly protected by the chief principle of the Agenda 2030, which is to “leave no one behind” (UN, 2015).

Hence, the Agenda 2030 might become an important stimulus and a tool for better management of migration, especially taking into account its politically acknowledged authority (ODI, 2017). The other important moment is that the strategy challenges remaining notions of migration as a development problem, and instead “frames migration and development relationships between countries as reciprocal and mutual” (ODI, 2017:8). Beforehand, management of migration and development were largely scattered across different institutions and coordination between these areas was limited (Lonnback, 2014). Hence, the document offers an opportunity for a more holistic and, arguably, a more effective approach in migration management. Its holistic agenda also provides an opportunity for better international cooperation regarding migration issues, as “the blurring of traditional divisions [between] countries of origin, transit and destination opens doors to new coalitions” (Angenendt and Koch, 2017).

Yet, while migration and remittances are referred to in several Targets, the Agenda does not cover links between international mobility and other areas of development, such as health, education, sustainable cities, climate action and others (ODI, 2017). The agenda also remains relatively obscure in terms of concrete instructions and monitoring of implementation through meaningful indicators locally. Therefore, further improvements need to be made in the future in order to grant practical relevance of migration-development nexus founded in the document (Angenendt and Koch, 2017).

This somewhat relates to expert opinions expressed in the interviews. A distinctive feature of the SDGs is its rather generic approach. They do not easily translate into concrete policies at national level. As most of development effects of migration tend to happen organically, the SDGs are rather about removing barriers than initiating new activities. They address structural, broader conditions within the societies rather than focus on punctual action to support governments. And this is where most of the policies fail. Unless unfavourable preconditions for migration such as xenophobia and



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discrimination are addressed, the punctual elements, programmes and activities will not be effective. Yet, such preconditions are difficult to tackle.

As an expert concluded, the 2030 Agenda has an impact for policy making at national level as it outlines global priorities and somewhat lays the foundation for national M&D policies through goals and objectives. However, its effect will vary between countries. Some governments are more engaged and are likely to put more effort in implementation of the Goals, while the impact is likely to be minimal in states with strong anti-immigration agenda. The SDGs will not necessarily have an immediate impact; it depends on how well they will be translated into actions.

3. Institutional and legislative framework: the EU perspective on international migration, sustainable development and the 2030 Agenda

3.1 Implementation of the 2030 Agenda: commitments, progress and future prospects

In this section, a series of statements released by the European Commission in response to the SDGs are examined. While these documents outline strategies regarding implementation of the agenda at both EU and Member State levels, in practice the process is not as straightforward. It requires revision of priorities and practices within both internal and external policy frameworks. Different policy areas are not necessarily in consensus to each other, and a number of actors with often conflicting interests make the negotiations hard to succeed.

In response to the 2030 Agenda, the European Commission delivered three Communications. The Communication on the next steps for sustainable European future outlines 10 political priorities for internal politics. The second Communication on a new European Consensus on Development proposes a reviewed framework for development cooperation. The need to promote regular channels, tackle irregular migration and introduce a new comprehensive migration policy are covered by the first document, whereas the framework for development cooperation highlights poverty eradication as the main priority and addresses well-managed migration as an integral part of sustainable development in both origin and host communities. Finally, the third Communication calls for a renewed partnership with African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. While development in these regions is the focus point, the partnerships are identified as a measure for better international migration management (European Commission, 2016; 2016; 2018).



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An important aspect of the post-2015 agenda of the EU is increased emphasis on Policy Coherence for Development (PCD). As cross-cutting and holistic approach of the SDGs requires consistency between different policy areas, the concept became an important tool for implementation of the Goals. The increased need for more integrity resulted in development of a revised version of the classical PCD, known as Policy Coherence for Sustainable Development (PCSD). The latter is expected to become a key instrument for harmonisation between internal strategies and global goals, between social, economic and environmental dimensions of policies as well as between different international agendas. While the original PCD emphasised horizontal coherence of policies, the PCSD puts more emphasis on vertical measures. However, even if international human mobility is high on the agenda of PCSD, major incoherence between development and migration policies remain and are yet to be addressed (ECDPM, 2016).

While the EU has made first steps to implement the 2030 Agenda, there is a lot yet to be done. Its translation into specific and accountable actions as well as distribution of responsibilities are still in the stage of development. As identified by the European Commission itself, migration remains one of the areas that is still not adequately addressed within development framework. In the proposal for its revision, security and migration are expected to be top priorities for policy development in the upcoming years (European Commission, 2016). However, the most important challenge is not grounded in the lack of coherent policies, but rather in conflicting interests of the EU institutions and individual Member States.

3.2 Legislative framework: migration policies in the context of the SDGs

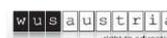
The linkage between migration and development was first addressed by the EU more than a decade ago. Since then the commitment to maximise positive impact of migration on development has been addressed by a number of policy documents such as Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM) and European Agenda. The EU is also an active participant in international dialogue regarding the issue such as Global Compact on Refugees (GCR) and the Global Compact on Migration (GCM). Nevertheless, the current migration framework of the EU often contradicts its global development goals. Historically restrictive nature of immigration policies undermine development capacity of international mobility, and a number of actors interested in maintaining immigration flows at low levels is a major challenge for policy coherence in the area. These issues became even more prominent in the context of the SDGs which calls for development-driven migration agenda. In this section, legislative framework for migration will be briefly outlined with emphasis being drawn on the challenges it creates for maximisation of development benefits.



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Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM)

In 2005, the EU has introduced Global Approach to Migration (GAM), which for the first time explicitly linked migration on one hand, and development cooperation on the other hand. It became “the overarching framework for of the EU external migration and asylum policy”, defining the standards of cooperation dialogues with non-EU countries (European Commission, 2018). Its aim was to present a strategy that would reduce irregular migration and human trafficking and also address push factors of migration through development cooperation. The framework was based on the principle that the more a third country cooperate in the area of migration management, the more advanced visa facilitation will be for its nationals, also known as a “more for more” approach. Hence, promotion of legal mobility was set as conditional on governments’ willingness to cooperate for border control as well as readmission processes (Martin, 2013).

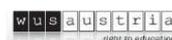
Originally, the focus of GAM was oriented towards two major migrant-sending regions, Sub-Saharan Africa and the Southern Mediterranean, but later the geo-political scope was expanded. The framework was revised and the European Commission proposed to change Global Approach to Migration to the Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM), in this way broadening the previous focus on migration to also include short-term mobility. Also, more attention was given to asylum. For example, international protection mechanisms as well as regional protection programmes were introduced; the document also covered coordination of direct resettlement from third countries to Europe (Martin, 2013). Just as the GAM did in the past, the GAMM mainly operates through Mobility Partnerships (MPs) and the Common Agendas for Migration and Mobility (CAMM), that are both non-binding cooperation agreements between third countries and the EU. So far, only 9 MPs and 2 CAMMs were signed (European Commission, 2018).

While the GAMM attempts to link migration and development and its commitment to address push factors of migration is in consensus to the SDGs and development agenda, certain aspects of the policy remain controversial. The EU’s interests are promoted in expense of migrants’ rights, even if the framework is claimed to be based on “migrant-centred approach”. The focus on irregular migration and readmission undermines the aspects of integration and often conflicts with EU commitments for migrant protection, while selection of high-skilled immigrants risks brain drain in origin countries (Martin, 2013).

European Agenda on Migration



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The European Agenda on Migration was introduced by the Commission in response to the so called ‘refugee crisis’. In addition to a list of immediate actions required, the document also covered structural reforms regarding European migration policy (Willermain, 2016). The action plan is organised into four pillars: reducing the incentives for irregular migration, border management, common asylum policy among member states and development of legal migration pathways (European Commission, 2018). Issues such as unemployment, poverty and insecurity are recognised as key push factors for irregular migration, and development cooperation is defined as a key instrument to reduce the scope of the phenomenon alongside the fight against human traffickers and smugglers. It aimed to improve border control through reinforcement of the Frontex and coast guards as well as through support for capacity-building in third countries. By harmonising standards for reception and conditions for asylum seekers, the member states were expected to be better prepared to accept refugees and hence alleviate the strains of refugee inflows in European countries located at the external borders. Finally, modernisation of the EU blue card system and EU visa policy were identified as measures to facilitate legal mobility. Migration-development nexus is addressed by stressing the need to maximise the development benefits of migration, especially through cheaper remittance transfers (European Parliament, 2016).

However, the objectives set by the agenda so far had limited success. Little progress was made in fighting human trafficking and improving rescue operations, not to mention effectiveness of the relocation scheme outlined in the document. Few regular migration channels to the EU have been opened since then (European Parliament, 2016). The strategy does not address social protection, decent work and inclusive development in migrant-sending countries, and South-South migration does not receive any attention. While commitment to development is stressed in the document, the objectives and measures identified only confirm that restrictive, security-focused approach to international migration still prevails (Concord, 2015).

Global Compact for Migration (GCM)

Initiated by the United Nations, The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants signed in September 2016 was a key milestone in international migration policy agenda. As the first high-level meeting of representatives from 193 UN Member States on the topic, it marked the beginning of a new approach that recognises the need for international cooperation and a holistic view towards human mobility (IOM, 2018). The document set in motion the Global Compact on Refugees and the Global Compact on Migration. The first one aims to strengthen international response to large refugee flows in the future by developing the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework as well as a programme of action that should be implemented by UN Member States (UNHCR, 2017). The Global Compact on Migration (GCM) is built within the framework of target 10.7 of the Agenda 2030. It calls for facilitation of safe, orderly and regular migration, by addressing all aspects of international migration, including human rights and



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development and by outlining concrete commitments for international community as well as measures of implementation (GCM, 2018).

Currently, the GCM is under development and will be introduced for adoption by the UN General Assembly in the second half of 2018. Civil Society Organisations, academic institutions and the private sector are consulted during the preparatory process. Its zero draft was introduced on 5th February 2018, and the first revised draft was presented on 26th March (UN, 2018). According to the document, no country can address migration issues alone, and features 22 objectives for international action to improve the current state of human mobility with each of them being followed by “actionable commitments”. It allocates the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) as a leading institution in implementation and supervision of the Compact, and draws attention to the need for regional and cross-regional reviews regarding its implementation (GCM, 2018; IISD, 2018).

While it is still early to draw conclusions on what impact the GCM will have on migration agenda worldwide and in the EU in particular, the initiative sends an important political message that migration is a normal and inevitable part of development as well as an area that requires better governance at both state and international levels. It provides useful guidelines that, if political will is present, can be implemented nationally. As a supporting actor in the project, the EU is committed to integrate the principles of the Compact. The initiative hence increases external pressures for the EU to make its migration policies more coherent with development objectives. However, the call for more regular migration channels opposes national interests of a number of Member States that are anxious to keep current mechanisms of border control (CEPS, 2018). Therefore, it further induces internal tensions between two conflicting approaches towards migration: development-coherent agenda, increasingly promoted by research community and international projects, and control-focused, mainly driven by national tensions and self-interest of political parties within member states.

Somewhat similar evaluation of the impact of the GCM was suggested by one of the experts. According to him, the project brings attention to issues, provides an outline that could be used by countries that are motivated to implement the principles and creates a platform for generating ideas and partnerships. However, the document is non-binding and hence is not likely to result in immediate change. Few countries with strongly restrictive migration policies will change their strategy in migration management.

3.3 Main challenges within legislative and institutional framework of M&D policies



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In the context of existential dilemma regarding the future of the European project marked by Brexit, the rise of right-wing parties in Member States as well as lack of solidarity during ‘refugee crisis’, a conflict of interests within the EU became a widely acknowledged and discussed issue. One of the key challenges within current EU policies is “capability expectations gap”, “where high-mindedness far exceeds available resources, especially of political will” (Bodenstein et al., 2017:443). This is especially acute in the area of migration and development (M&D) policy nexus. The level of political sensitivity of the topic often translates into lack of leadership and willingness to advocate pro-development changes within migration agenda, both at national and EU levels (IOM, 2015). In many countries, migration is still perceived as a challenge rather than an opportunity. Short-term domestic interests of political parties to maintain public support outbalance long-term objective of international sustainability (Hong and Knoll, 2016).

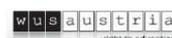
The lack of political will was also listed as a key issue for effective implementation of M&D policies in expert interviews. As the SDGs is a cross-cutting policy project, their implementation at local or national level requires a strong political leadership. Meanwhile, results of M&D policy initiatives often do not bring noticeable outcomes in a short time, whereas political pressures of coming elections require more immediate policy implications. Hence, sustainable development often becomes of secondary importance; there is a conflict between short-term interests of political parties and long-term interests in sustainability. Due to relatively flexible nature of the 2030 Agenda and lack of political interest, a number of countries integrate the Goals superficially or selectively. It becomes a “tick a box” exercise; the objectives can be covered in policies and yet do not necessarily reflect real commitment to sustainable development or are translated into actions. Only those elements of the Goals that align with the interests of a country are then selected, while others remain largely abandoned.

The project of PCD and its limited success reveal that there are a number of goal conflicts between development cooperation and other policy fields such as security, migration, trade and agriculture (Bodenstein et al., 2017). In the context of the SDGs and the GCM, the incoherence between migration and development agendas becomes increasingly problematic. Yet, due to a number of actors with conflicting interests, it remains a challenge difficult to resolve. As experts noted, there is no agreement on M&D policies among Member States as a few countries have strong anti-immigration approaches and refuse to facilitate regular migration. As a result, the European Commission 1) struggle to achieve policy coherence in the area 2) cannot speak in a unified voice at international stage.

As an outcome of goal conflicts, ambiguous and inconsistent M&D frameworks at national level became a common practice. The policies often stress the development impact on origin countries and yet are largely constructed around self-interest of host countries that implicitly and sometimes explicitly oppose the commitment for global development (IOM, 2015). For example, increasingly restrictive immigration policies and the focus on readmission of irregular migrants in origin countries are not in



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consensus to the development agenda. While the emphasis on border control is necessary to tackle trafficking and improve security, returning migrants might be exposed to human rights violations, the aspect that receives little attention in policy documents (Hong and Knoll, 2016). In many member states, only certain dimensions of M&D agenda that serve self-interest of the country are addressed, such as high-skilled immigration or remittances (IOM, 2015). Lower-skilled migrants proved to be a more conflictual area, even if such policies tend to have a major negative effect on development of origin communities. It opposes the objective of poverty eradication, as lower-skilled poorer migrants and their families at home have the most to gain from migration. These restrictive and selective policies might further foster irregular migration and force individuals to choose dangerous routes (Hong and Knoll, 2016).

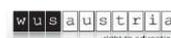
Another important issue that impedes maximisation of development impact is the lack of effective migrant integration mechanism within destination countries. Poor integration quality and hostile public perceptions are known to undermine migrants' welfare; they also decrease their employment opportunities. According to a report published by IOM (2015), a few European countries where local authorities were involved in M&D policy discussions such as Belgium, France, Italy and Germany defined integration of migrants as an opportunity to improve development impact of migration. It is an important step considering that poor integration leads to fewer skills and remittances. Migrants gain lesser social and information capital and hence their capacity to contribute to development in origin countries decrease. It is therefore necessary to put more emphasis on integration within M&D agendas by addressing recognition of migrants' qualifications and degrees, career and skills enhancement programmes, better language courses and other integration facilities to ensure their wellbeing and maximise their status within the host society. (Hong and Knoll, 2016). It is crucial to address prejudice against migrants at societal level through global education and beyond, as the latter translates to other forms of discrimination and seriously impede integration of migrant communities.

As expert interviews have revealed, in order to maximise development impact of migration, it is however not enough to improve integration or regular migrants. As migrants, especially irregular migrants, are overrepresented in the informal labour market, the issue of grey economy must also be addressed by national and local authorities. In order to minimise negative effects of migration and maximise its potential, it is important that more legal pathways for low-skilled migrants are opened up. The current framework by which high-skilled migrants are provided with somewhat effective state support and protection whereas lower-skilled migrants are often irregular and hence face major vulnerabilities oppose the development agenda and, through differentiated development potential, arguably increase inequalities in origin countries.

A worrying tendency in M&D policies is instrumentalisation of development cooperation. The Commission and Member States increasingly use development aid as a migration control mechanism. The amount of aid received by a third country depends on its willingness to cooperate in the fight against irregular migration



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(CONCORD, 2015). Firstly, the attitude is problematic because it is based on a faulty assumption that development in origin countries will impede migration, whereas the evidence shows that the relationship between development and international movement is rather positive (De Haas, 2010). However, the most important issue is that the instrumentalisation of development cooperation has negative impact on the population, as not necessarily the ones who need it most receive the aid. By making cooperation on readmission processes a condition for development aid, the EU makes the latter a tool for reinforcement of restrictive and security-driven immigration agenda, which “totally turns the EU PCD obligation around” (CONCORD, 2015:7). As a result of pressures created by the ‘refugee crisis’ and relative failure of previous policies, the EU development agenda is departing from the long-standing principle of poverty eradication. Instead, it shifts towards the overall external affairs goal, which is promotion of the European interest (The European Parliament, 2016).

To sum up, migration and development policies are far from coherent. While addressed by a number of documents, M&D nexus remains a largely problematic and ambiguous area, as short-term domestic interests of Member States to restrict immigration seriously impede maximisation of development impact. Only aspects that serve self-interest of the countries are consistently addressed in policy documents, and politically sensitive topics such as immigration of low-skilled workers or even poor integration services receives little attention or fail to be effectively tackled. Most importantly, not only migration frameworks are being selective and often contradictory to development commitments, but development cooperation also becomes increasingly instrumentalised to serve restrictive immigration policies. The tendency conflicts with the 2030 Agenda and the long-standing mission for global poverty eradication.



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4. International migration, sustainable development and development education

4.1 Awareness about international migration and sustainable development: public and media discourses on the spot

Public discourse

Public opinion is an important factor in political discourses regarding migration and development. It often guides interests of political parties at national level that respectively have an effect on EU policy making. In order to challenge negative notions of migration and security-focused approach, it is important to understand public views on the subjects.

The most recent Eurobarometer survey on migration conducted in October 2017 revealed that there are major gaps between public understanding of immigration and real numbers. Almost half of the respondents believe that there are at least as many illegally staying immigrants as there are legally residing newcomers, even though regular migrants significantly outnumber illegally staying non-EU nationals. Europeans largely overestimate the scope of immigrant population residing in their countries, and nearly four in ten respondents think that immigration is an issue rather than an opportunity. The gap between public perceptions and reality correlated negatively with levels of education obtained (Eurobarometer, 2018).

Nevertheless, some findings of the survey are highly promising. Over half of Europeans reported feeling comfortable around immigrants, and four in ten of them have personal ties with third country nationals. Most respondents also think that effective integration is a necessary investment for the welfare of their country in the long-run and perceive integration as a two-way process. An overwhelming majority see learning the language of a host country as crucial for successful integration (95%). Yet, when asked about major obstacles for the latter, the most cited reason was limited efforts made by immigrants to integrate. Similar proportions of Europeans reported that the media presents immigrants objectively and too negatively. Respondents were also divided when asked whether their governments are doing enough to support integration (Eurobarometer, 2018).

Regarding development cooperation in third countries, the public is considerably supportive. 89% of Europeans believe that it is important to help people in developing world. Most respondents think that poverty eradication should be one of the main priorities of the EU and development aid should either remain the same or be increased. More Europeans than ever believe that they can contribute to tackling poverty on



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individual level, and almost half of them reported taking personal steps to help developing countries (Eurobarometer, 2017).

While awareness of the SDGs increased since 2015, it remains relatively low. 41% of Europeans reported they had heard about the Goals, among which almost a third admitted they are not sure what they are. Only 12% of respondents felt able to say what they are about (Eurobarometer, 2017).

The findings suggest that while Europeans do not hold strong prejudices against immigrants on individual level and tend to support development cooperation in third countries, they are not well informed about the realities of these subjects. Their understandings of the scope of immigration are distorted; migration is still largely perceived as a problem rather than opportunity. It implies that Europeans are not well aware of the positive role migration plays in development, a misconception that needs to be addressed in order to make the most of the M&D agendas. For more details about public discourse at national level in 14 EU Member States, please see national reports.

Experts suggested that another misconception about migrants is that they are too often seen as victims. However, most of them have a job and send money back home as well as contribute to societies in other ways. These facts are often overlooked. According to experts, many Europeans also do not understand the concept of sustainable development; they tend to focus on environmental sustainability. As suggested, the latter misconception might have emerged because ministries responsible for the environment are often the leading bodies in sustainable development at national level.

Another major issue regarding public perceptions about sustainable development is the conditionality of public engagement. As experts noted, the latter is largely limited to individuals of certain socio-economic status. The so called middle class shares relatively optimistic beliefs; they tend to believe that individual and collective action could and should be taken, whereas disadvantaged communities often are not as engaged and rather pessimistic. In addition to addressing inequalities as such it is important to promote the concept and knowledge about opportunities and individual actions that can be taken among all community members. It is recommended to try to ensure that awareness raising campaigns are not limited to a selective audience.

One of the possible solutions to promote a more holistic approach towards migration and development is by raising awareness about the SDGs. They counter prevailing issue-associated notions of migration and promotes comprehensive views towards both migration and sustainable development. However, as experts noted, knowledge of data and figures might not necessarily be most effective. The emphasis on factual knowledge might not bring desirable outcomes. Arguments in favour of migration do not necessarily work when there is an emotional element in the discussions, especially taking into account the current anti-expertise climate in Western societies. Hence, knowledge about human experiences in migration should not be overlooked, especially



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considering that media tends to depict migration as a rather distant political issue with limited mention of migrants' perspectives and stories. Political and business leaders and other authority figures are encouraged to talk about the positive aspects of migration, as they often have a significant impact on public opinion.

Media discourse

The media is known to play a key role in shaping public attitudes, especially towards phenomena such as migration which full complexity is well beyond personal experiences of Europeans to grasp. In 2015, there was a rapid increase in media coverage on migration and asylum that largely contributed to changes in public attitudes towards the processes. To understand dynamics of the latter, most recent research on media monitoring is analysed and linked to dominant public perceptions outlined above.

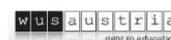
A study on cross-European perspective on the 'refugee crisis' over the year of 2015 provide relevant insights about depictions of migration, immigrants and asylum that prevail the media discourse. The research conducted by the Council of Europe was done in 8 European countries: Czech Republic; France; Germany; Greece; Hungary; Ireland; Serbia and UK. While images of migrants were diverse, asylum seekers were often portrayed as outsiders, either vulnerable or dangerous. The sympathetic and empathetic response prominent in the beginning of 2015 was gradually replaced by rather hostile images towards refugees and migrants. Interestingly, little attention was given to the context of migrant plights. In other words, there were few consistent attempts to link new arrivals and events in the origin countries that prompted them (Council of Europe, 2017).

While there were clear regional differences in tones of media coverage, in general refugees and migrants were spoken about rather than given opportunities to speak for themselves. Most often they were portrayed as silent victims, especially when migrants were women (Council of Europe, 2017).

Similar conclusions were drawn by a project known as Refugees Reporting. Within its framework, a media monitoring study was conducted in 2017 and covered 7 countries: Greece, Italy, Spain, Serbia, UK, Sweden and Norway. The findings revealed that only 21% of news items related to asylum or migration reference a person who is a refugee or a migrant. Hence, the media coverage is mostly impersonal; events are rather discussed at the political level while the impact on affected individuals receives relatively little attention. Furthermore, the research also concluded that women remain largely underrepresented, alongside migrants of certain nationalities such as Nigerians and Afghans. Instead of giving migrants a voice and representing them as capable contributors to the community life, newcomers tend to be spoken about and identified by their displacement only. Occupation or other forms of identification that would not deprive of their humanity and dignity and would reveal them as capable actors remain mostly unaddressed (WACC Europe and CCME, 2017).



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In some countries, the language used to describe migration or asylum processes is primarily associated with large quantities and elemental, uncontrollable forces such as flooding. Migration and especially asylum is then understood as a form of invasion; immigration is associated “with powerlessness against the magnitude of newly arriving people and the costs or expenses of refugee services” (Greussing and Boomgaarden, 2017: 1751). Economisation of the ‘refugee crisis’ is also a tendency in the media coverage in some Member States (Greussing and Boomgaarden, 2017).

It can be thus concluded that refugees and migrants are presented as either victims or dangerous invaders, and yet both approaches are highly depersonalising and portraying them as outsiders. They are rarely given an opportunity to speak for themselves, especially if newcomers are women, and are rarely identified as diverse individuals with professional skills as well as different personal stories. As experts noted, the media representation of migrants is negatively skewed. Articles about migrants as rapers or criminals occur more often than stories about positive contributions they make, because positive aspects often have “no news value”. It is therefore important to offer counteractive, more humane-oriented images of migration and asylum. As research suggests, adding a human element to representation of migrants improves public engagement with the issue (ODI, 2017). For more details about media discourse at national level in 14 EU Member States, please see national reports.

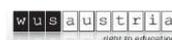
4.2 The State of Development Education

Development education is an important tool to raise public awareness about global issues and provides holistic view towards sustainable development by linking a number of processes, including migration. The EU plays an active role in supporting implementation of development education, the concept often used interchangeably with global education and global citizenship education, for more than two decades. By the Maastricht Congress of 2002, 40 European countries were called for development and improvement of national frameworks and the 2002 Maastricht Declaration provided guidelines for improvement of global education in Europe (North-South Centre, 2018).

Since then, two consecutive Global Education Congresses took place. The second congress that was organised in 2012 in Lisbon defined priorities until 2015, and resulted in a more flexible and contextualised framework for global education. The last Congress took place in 2015, and resulted in further recommendations for national strategies in consensus to the post-2015 agenda. Global education was then linked to the concept of global citizenship education as launched by UNESCO in 2013 (North-South Centre, 2018).



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While development education figures in EU policies for more than two decades now, the latter becomes even more important after the introduction of the 2030 Agenda. The Goal 4 of the SDGs calls for effective development education implemented by 2030. According to the target 4.7, learners should “acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship, and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture’s contribution to sustainable development” (UN, 2015:17).

Increasing political radicalisation is another reason why development education is especially relevant today and yet it also becomes a major challenge for effective implementation of global citizenship. The rising right-wing parties as well as anti-immigration and ethno-nationalist attitudes “on the back of rising unemployment and political disenfranchisement” question effectiveness of current global education framework (GENE, 2017:24).

Evaluation of cross-European state of development education is relatively difficult due to hardly measurable nature of the latter. Firstly, presence of national strategies and development education curriculum does not ensure its quality, as teachers’ competence plays a major role for its effectiveness and yet is difficult to conceptualise. Secondly, there is no consensus on learning outcomes of global education. A unified framework or assessment criteria is impossible, as education for sustainable development is largely context-sensitive (UNESCO, 2017).

Furthermore, as expert interviews suggested, it is important to leave a room for teachers to promote global education as they see it most suitable. An approach by which teachers are addressed as implementers of strict and non-flexible development education agenda poses a number of risks. Teachers should be perceived as professionals who are most familiar with the context and the audience. Hence, restricting their freedom to choose education measures and focus areas might be counter-productive. Teachers should not be “trained”, but rather addressed as individuals who are also mothers and fathers, political citizens and local community members. In the classroom, it is not only a teacher-pupil relationship, but also a child-adult and young-old relationships. It is therefore important not to see them as merely instructors, but trust them as professionals who are likely to know the best. It is important to introduce teachers to concepts such as sustainable development, climate change, gender equality and others in the initial teacher education, but “we should not panic”. Education is a long-term process; according to an African proverb, “the grass will not grow faster if you pull it”. In global education, there is a lot of emphasis on the global and on the knowledge, meanwhile there is little attention being paid to its pedagogical element.

Available research on the state of development education in Europe suggests that while significant progress in the area was made over the past two decades, implementation



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is yet far from effective. A comparative study on global citizenship education in primary schools of 10 European countries concluded that the agenda is not fully integrated into the national primary school curriculum in none of the participating Member States (Austria, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, France, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Spain, Portugal, UK). Yet, a trend towards more global approach within schools was present in most of the countries. NGOs were found to play a crucial role in development of national strategies and non-formal frameworks for development education. Their flexibility and ability to adapt to changes allowed easier dissemination of the concept and practices, to both school staff and government institutions. It is therefore important for NGOs to aim for cooperation with a range of institutions, as isolation and self-reference considerably limits their potential (Tarozzi and Inguaggiato, 2016).

In addition to encouragement in development of national strategies, the EU plays a major role in supporting non-formal education for sustainable development. Over the past years, the EU has provided around 143 million for the EU Development education and awareness raising programme (DEAR). Various projects initiated mainly by CSOs were implemented across Europe, with the aim to “inform EU citizens about development issues, mobilise greater public support for action against poverty, give citizens tools to engage critically with global development issues, to foster new ideas and change attitudes” (Busini, 2018). The European Commission respectively organised capacity development and networking activities for DEAR partners. Another important initiative for implementation of development education is Global Education Network Europe (GENE). It connects Ministries and other agencies that share responsibilities for global education in European countries. The network encourages peer learning approach by providing a platform to share good practices and effective strategies for development education (Busini, 2018).

While it hardly to draw specific conclusions about implementation of development education in European countries, the research reveals that national strategies need to be further developed; development education needs to be better addressed in school curriculum and capacity building among policy makers as well as teachers must receive substantial attention in the future. It is important to ensure that global education is sufficiently addressed in teacher education and yet teachers must be trusted with considerable flexibility to implement global education to maximise its potential.

5. Recommendations

5.1 EU level recommendations



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The most important challenge faced at EU level is a conflict of interests between a number of actors, including individual Member States and even different EU institutions. As long as the asymmetry of interests is acute, the call for PCD is not likely to bring successful results. Respectively, M&D policies often become frameworks for instrumentalisation of development cooperation for migration management purposes, which contradict long-standing EU commitment for poverty eradication, the Agenda 2030 and the very principle of PCD. It is therefore crucial to stop conditionality of aid in both bilateral and multilateral agreements with third countries. Human rights and commitment for development should be the underlying objective of the negotiations. Both EU institutions and Member States should prioritise long-term aims as outlined by the SDGs over short-term interests driven by domestic affairs.

It is important to enhance development benefits of migration through more coherent migration policies. The EU and its Member States should provide more possibilities for regular migration of both high-skilled and low-skilled migrants, improve integration mechanisms and address protection of rights of the ones being readmitted by third countries. The scope of areas addressed should nevertheless go beyond migration management. It is necessary to tackle informal labour market, in which migrant workers are overrepresented and which creates the environment for trafficking, exploitation and other violations of human rights.

In terms of public awareness and development education, the EU should continue providing financial and structural support for improvement of global education and awareness raising campaigns in Member States as well as create new funding schemes.

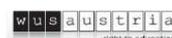
While funding of CSO activities is crucial, it is also important to call for responsible institutions to implement coherent policy framework and to address the level of teacher competences at national level. As public misconceptions about migration and distorted media coverage of the process affect national politics and respectively debates at the EU level, awareness-raising should be one of the main priorities in terms of both funding and building capacities of responsible actors, such as educational institutions and CSOs.

5.2 National level and local level recommendations

Authorities at national level should first ensure that M&D agenda is covered by national policies and provide a contextualised, holistic and non-selective approach coherent with the SDGs and other relevant international frameworks. These policies should then be implemented in practice. It is important that M&D policies would not become only a façade for migration control mechanisms; commitments to human rights and development should be prioritised over short-term interests of political parties.



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It is not enough to address better migration management in development strategies. As currently immigration policies are largely restrictive and often contradict development objectives, it is necessary to adopt research-dictated, holistic view towards international movement in national migration frameworks. Integration mechanisms must be improved at both national and local levels, and more opportunities for regular migration, including low-skill migration, should be created.

A key challenge for effective implementation of M&D agenda at national level is public misconceptions regarding migration. It is important that residents in Member States would develop a more global sense of citizenship and would perceive migration as a global issue with both risks and benefits, rather than a threat for national security to avoid potentially ungrounded public fear that respectively constrain political will and impede effective policy discussions. It is hence necessary for Member States to develop and implement coherent national frameworks for development education that would address formal and non-formal education, life-long learning and capacity building of relevant actors such as teachers. Citizenship education should be included in the curriculum and receive substantial attention. As CSOs proved to be most experienced and flexible in raising public awareness, their expertise should be especially regarded in policy discussions. Yet, it is important that national authorities would engage in countering public misconceptions, as activities of CSOs cannot fix the absence of effective national programmes for development education.

Finally, for these objectives to be achieved it is important to ensure that there is a platform for inter-governmental and intra-governmental, inter-institutional and inter-sectoral cooperation. While government bodies are encouraged to aim for consultation from higher education institutions, CSO and private sector representatives, actors from these institutions should respectively make an effort to build networks and exchange knowledge of good practices, expertise and other relevant information resources.

5.3 Recommendations for educational institutions

Higher education institutions play a crucial role in teacher education. Hence, by making sure that migration and development education are well-integrated within pedagogy-related courses, higher education institutions could improve the state of development education at local and national levels. All dimensions of sustainable development (such as the risks of unsustainability, global issues, local-global nexus and migration) need to be addressed with the focus being drawn on a more global sense of citizenship and responsibility.



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Higher education institutions are also encouraged to actively participate in policy discussions, collaborate with government institutions as well as CSOs on implementation of more effective M&D frameworks, development education strategies and projects as well as awareness raising campaigns. As a network of experts, the academia has a potential to fight public misconceptions and guide well-informed decisions of policy makers. They are encouraged to organise events, workshops, conferences and inform societies in other ways about problems faced by refugees, asylum seekers and regular immigrants. They are invited to provide reports on empirical data that would help to contest existing perceptions of migration as a threat to security. Higher education institutions should be open, actively aim for collaboration and avoid self-reference.



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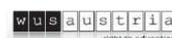
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