International organizations and global migration governance

Valorization

From the 2015 'migration crises' in the Mediterranean, Central America, and the Andaman Sea, to the COVID-19 pandemic that has sent the world into an economic crisis, the rationale for international cooperation has become even more apparent in recent years. However, the international architecture established by states to respond more effectively to challenges that traverse state borders, most notably the UN and its agencies, has come under increasing scrutiny for its handling of global crises. The migration crises of 2015 demonstrated the inadequacy of existing intergovernmental responses to migration. Accordingly, states agreed to negotiate two global compacts, one for migrants and one for refugees in order to better respond to migration related issues at the international level. However, the non-binding nature of these agreements is characteristic of a broader trend in multilateralism, towards carefully crafted yet ambiguous agreements.

International organizations are limited in how they can respond to issues of global concern because they are the creations of states that impose limitations on how they can act. Sometimes these limitations are also self-imposed. For example, as was discussed in Chapter 8 of the thesis, UNCHR was deliberately conservative in what they chose to include in the negotiations of the Global Compact on Refugees for fear of states rejecting the Compact if deemed too radical by its key Member State funders. Blaming international organizations for failing to act ignores the role that the uneven distribution of power in the global system has played in creating the international system. However, blaming the uneven distribution of power between states also ignores the role that IOs play in shaping social reality and defining global problems.

Many people have devoted their careers to the furtherance of global migration governance. Sir Peter Sutherland, often referred to as 'the father of globalisation', devoted the last years of his illustrious career to the pursuit of a more significant role for the UN in global migration governance. The fact that the UN now has an agency for migration, the International Organization for Migration (IOM), which was considered impossible just 25 years ago, is testament to a significant change in how states view the role of the UN, and how the UN functions. The fact that the US' withdrawal from the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration did not immediately result

in its failure, as it did when the US rejected ILO's plans in the 1940s, supports the notion that the UN has evolved.

By examining the case of migration, the dissertation offers insights into how intergovernmental organizations operate and contributes to a growing body of literature on the role of international organizations in migration governance. Understanding the history of multilateralism has never been more relevant, but also more difficult to achieve. The dissertation provides a historical understanding of the emergence of global migration governance through a time of tumultuous change.

Accordingly, the materials in the dissertation have been integrated into the educational programme at UNU-MERIT and the Maastricht Graduate School of Governance. In the migration specialization of the MSc Public Policy and Human Development, students are introduced to the global dimension of migration governance in their fourth and final course. The materials in this dissertation have been used to develop a short course which provides students with a historical account of the emergence of global migration governance from 1919 to the present day. The teaching materials developed by the author have also been used by other teachers to implement similar courses in Ghana, Kenya and Kosovo. To promote the use of the dissertation in education, a revised version of chapter 4 is currently under review for publication as an International Migration Institute Network (IMIn) Working Paper to ensure its rapid dissemination through a well-respected channel. Many IMIn Working Papers have gone on to become well-cited articles in high impact journals. In the future, I plan to further develop and refine the monograph for submission to a relevant publisher. The envisioned manuscript is expected to be a useful resource for researchers and students interested in global migration governance, but also to practitioners who may be interested in understanding how and why global migration governance has evolved in the way that it has. I would also like to work on a paper that brings out the specific methodological contribution of the thesis in a non-migration related journal. The potential for advocacy coalition framework theory to be more consistently applied to the study of the global policy process holds potential. The combination of analytical tools used to implement process tracing clearly and transparently also has the potential to be applied to other policy areas. Disseminating the methodological tools will serve to encourage research in this direction.

In addition to these broader plans, I had the opportunity to present various parts of my dissertation in different stages of development to diverse

audiences, which has led to several publications. In March 2017, I presented an early draft of Chapter 6 at the Migrating out of Poverty "From Evidence to Policy" Conference at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). The conference was interesting in the sense that the audience was comprised not only of academics but also practitioners. Building on the feedback that I received at the conference, I further developed my research on the SDGs. A concrete outcome of this research was the contribution of a chapter entitled 'Migration, the MDGs, and SDGs: Context and Complexity" to the Routledge Handbook of Migration and Development edited by Tanja Bastia and Ronald Skeldon (London, 2020, pp.284-297).

Next to the opportunity to meet and discuss my initial ideas with a group of highly respected individuals, many of whom had long careers in the UN, the feedback received at the conference also inspired me to start a side project exploring the relationship between funding patterns and governance. This project attracted a great deal of attention. I published the initial research in an IMIn Working Paper entitled 'Money Matters: The Role of Funding in Migration Governance'. I presented the initial results of this research at a research seminar at the University of Amsterdam entitled "Show me the Money! Money Matters in Migration Policy and Practice". A chapter based on this work, further refined based on the research conducted for Chapter 7 has been contributed to an edited collection by Dr Tesseltje de Lange, Prof. Annette Schrauwen and Prof. Willem Maas which is currently under review with Cambridge University Press.

Based on this work, I was invited to join an Expert Workshop on the International Organization for Migration (IOM) on 2 Feb 2019 at the Refugee Studies Centre at the University of Oxford. The goal of this workshop was to bring together experts with interest in understanding the role of international organizations, especially IOM, in global migration governance. The meeting allowed me to share some of the preliminary findings of Chapter 7 and to engage in critical discussions with researchers from different disciplines which allowed me to disseminate its findings but also to refine and develop my research. A revised version of Chapter 7 has been accepted as a chapter in the forthcoming Edward Elgar Handbook on the Institutions of Global Migration Governance co-edited by Hélène Thiollet and Antoine Pécoud.

In the future, I would like to develop this line of research further. I am currently working on a collaboration with Dr Nicholas R. Micinski, the ISA James N. Rosenau Postdoctoral Fellow at the Center for the Study of Europe, Boston University on "Money, Multilateralism and Migration" to develop

these ideas further. We plan to replicate the methodological approach that I used to examine IOM's earmarked contributions to other international organizations.

Furthermore, throughout the research process, I have engaged in several activities that have allowed me to engage in dialogue with policy-makers and other stakeholders. When I started working on the PhD as part of the GPAC2 dual-career programme in late 2015, I was working as a migration researcher at UNU-MERIT and the Maastricht Graduate School of Governance. While the research work conducted in this capacity was not always directly relevant to my PhD, complementarities existed. My contract research work, as I explain in my methodology, helped me to gain an understanding of the global landscape, and access to respondents that I may not have otherwise been able to reach. However, my PhD research also helped me in the execution of much of my contract work.

I have been able to apply the knowledge gained in the context of writing my thesis in my consultancy work on several occasions. For example, I co-authored a report for the IOM Migration Research Series which looked at the relationship between migration and the Millennium Development Goals and discussed possible ways that migration could be included in the Post-2015 Development Agenda. Furthermore, in 2017, UNU-MERIT and the Maastricht Graduate School of Governance were asked by the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) to assist in the preparation of their Migration and Development Strategy. UNIDO had recently joined the Global Migration Group (GMG). In the discussions, I was able to use research conducted in the context of my dissertation work to brief staff on the landscape of organizations working on migration issues, the history of the GMG and to discuss some of the sensitivities of the field.

Additionally, I participated in three Global Forums on Migration and Development meetings (Civil Society Days and Common Space) in Turkey (2015), Bangladesh (2016), and Germany (2017), as well as several preparatory meetings. Ahead of the GFMD in Dhaka, Bangladesh, I prepared a report for the Migration and Development (MADE) network which looked at progress in achieving civil society's 5-year-8-point Plan of Action. The positive response to this report led to the elaboration of a second edition of the report in which I elaborated a methodology for measuring progress in global governance that aligned with the goals defined by global civil society networks. Additionally, I joined the International Steering Committee for the GFMD Civil Society Days.

In recent months I have been working as a consultant for IOM. I have assisted the Government of the Republic of Armenia in the implementation of their first National Voluntary Review of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration which has provided a further opportunity to use the knowledge gained in the context of my PhD research but also to lay ground work for future research which will look beyond 2018.