Increasing Migration Pressure and Rising Nationalism: Implications for Multilateralism and SDG Implementation

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Introduction

Migration is a very multifaceted term, as it includes all types of voluntary as well as forced movements of a population. A number of demographic, economic, socio-cultural and psychological issues influences the nature, pattern, and direction of voluntary human migration, while forced migrations are the result of civil war, political and ethnic persecution, famine and environmental disasters.[1] Human migration is not a new phenomenon, it goes back to the earliest periods of human history. People have moved across communities and countries for centuries. Migration brings opportunities and creates new challenges to not only the migrants but also to the home and host societies.

The world is presently going through a third wave of large-scale human migration. In that first wave up to 1914, nearly 10 percent of the population of the world moved from one country to another, mostly from one continent to another. The second wave of human migration started after the Second World War, caused by massive destruction and the redrawing of state boundaries, particularly in Europe. The present and third wave is a combination of both voluntary and forced migration composed of a large section of the world population. In this wave, many more are not only migrating to other countries in search of jobs and better livelihood, but they are also moving in significant numbers to newly developing regions. A large number of people, who are forced out of their living place because of war, armed conflicts or natural disasters, are finding it difficult to move out of their countries due to restrictive migration receiving policies imposed by many countries, so there has been a substantial increase in the number of internally displaced people.

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[1] Ashok Swain, "Environmental migration and conflict dynamics: focus on developing regions", *Third World Quarterly,* 17 (5), 1996, pp. 959-73.

A central element of globalization has been the circulation of migrants. According to International Organization for Migration (IOM 2017),[2] the total number of international migrants increased from 155 million in 2000 (2.8 percent of the world's population) to 258 million persons in 2017 (2.8 percent of the world's population). More people migrate within their countries than out of their countries. The recent global estimate suggests that while 740 million have migrated within their countries,[3] only 244 million have crossed their country border. The world is already in the 'middle of an urban revolution'. The cities in the developing world are swelling every year. Though internal migration is larger in number, the issue of international migration is more complex as the movement of the population takes places across political and cultural boundaries. International migration is growing in scope, complexity, and impact and has already become a policy priority for the multilateralism. The ongoing large-scale international migration has also posed some critical policy challenges to receiving states, from border control to integration. Thus, this report focuses on the trend and the impact of international migration only.

International migration has, unfortunately, become the major reason for the populist surge in most of the migration-receiving countries. The rise of nationalism in these countries has been fueled by an anti-immigration political mobilization based on the perceived or projected negative influences migrants may have on their native 'culture'. Though, the nationalist parties tend to avoid the word 'race' and use the 'native culture' instead these days, in all practical purposes there is no such difference except the semantics. This exclusionary forms of nationalism create major challenges for the protection and integration of migrants in host countries.

True that the world is at present witnessing a huge uncertainty about the nature and number of international migration due to improving interconnectivity and increasing instability due to demographic, climate and political changes. The migration has led to the deterioration of bilateral relations and increasing anti-migration political mobilization, but at the same, there is growing acceptance and willingness among the countries to cooperate among themselves to address the challenges of the international migration issue.[4]

This report after reviewing the existing literature and data on international migration and nationalism, offers an overview of the recent trends in international migration flows, the framing of migration debates and types of migration-related conflicts and cooperation and the impacts on multilateralism. Some cases have been given as examples to strengthen the generalized arguments made in the report.

[2] IOM, *World Migration Report, 2018*, Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 2017.
[3] United Nations Development Program (UNDP), *Human Development Report 2009, Overcoming Barriers: Human Mobility and Development.* UNDP and Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2009.
[4] OECD , *International Migration Outlook 2018*, OECD Publishing, Paris, 2018.

Increasing International Migration

Economic Migrants

Migrants move to take advantage of better economic prospects in terms of employment and income. The neo-classical economic framework, 'the equilibrium model of migration', conceptualizes population movement as the geographical mobility of workers who are responding to imbalances in the spatial distribution of land, labor, capital, and natural resources.[5] The push (supply) pull (demand) theory is the more general conceptual umbrella for this equilibrium model. Besides neo-classical equilibrium theory, which is based on a 'microeconomics' approach, the historical-structural school consists of various macro-economic approaches: 'dependency theory', 'internal colonialism', the 'center-periphery' approach, and the 'global accumulation' framework tries to explain the reasons for the decision of a person to migrate and where to migrate.

Migrants are pushed out of their native countries due to worsening economic conditions and growing income inequality and pulled into destination countries to receive higher wages, better health and education facilities. In most of the migration from low-income countries to high-income countries, both push and pull factors play significant roles. Economic factors like income variability, taxation, insurance, exchange rates, and not-so economic factors like the migrant network in the host society and inclusive politics facilitate economic migration. Restrictive immigration policy, migration cost, and difficult political and environmental conditions can act as impediments to migration.

While migrant-receiving countries usually keep the good statistics of immigrants coming to work, migrant-sending countries are not that organized to maintain the statistics of the emigrants who are moving out. In recent decades, the number of illegal labor migration has taken a big increase, thus collecting good data has become quite complicated. There are 43.7 million immigrants living in the United States of America, out of which 10.7 million are allegedly unauthorized immigrants.[6]

While economic migrants provide a much-needed source of labor in many countries and most of these migrations take place in a planned demand-supply manner, there is a growing level of concern among populations in all countries that migrants take jobs away from native workers. There is, however, more acceptance of the economic migrants by the native society in general than the migrants those who have been forced to leave their country because of war or armed conflict. Public opinion is as expected divided on the migration issue, while 34 percent of the

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[5] C. H. Wood, "Equilibrium and historical-structural perspectives on migration", *International Migration Review, 1 6*(2),1982, pp. 298-319
[6] Jynnah Radford & Abby Budiman, *Facts on U.S. Immigrants, 2016*, Washington DC: Pew Research Center, 14 September 2018.

world's population would like to see immigration decreased, 21 percent want migration to be increased and 22 percent want to keep at its present level. However, in a country like the USA, which has received the largest number of economic migrants, almost two-third (63.33 percent) of its population is more positive to receiving migrants. But in Europe, which has been on the frontline of receiving the forced migration from the MENA region in recent years, more than half of its people want the immigration levels to be decreased.[7] Similarly, a Pew Research Center survey in 2016 shows that while 58 percent of the people in the USA think that many different races, ethnic groups, and the nationalities make a country a better place to live, in Europe only 22.8 percent of the population hold the similar view.[8]

Wars, Civil War & Political Migrants

Whereas the reason regarding "voluntary" migration is dominated by the economic approach, the causes of "forced" migration are primarily attributed to political factors. Leon Gordenker[9] provides four political reasons for the forced movements: The first one is international war; the second, internal disturbances; the third, deliberate changes within the social structure because of political transformation; and the final one involves international political tension. Proponents of the political explanations for a forced migration equate forced migrants as 'refugee' and their interpretation of forced migration seems to have been guided by the legal definition and the universal treatment of 'refugees'.[10]

The number of people forcibly displaced worldwide has reached 68.5 million in 2017.[11] Immediately after the end of the Cold War, the world went through a power shift, making it politically unstable for some years. Armed conflict peaked in the early 1990s as the Cold War came to an end in Europe and new states were formed in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Then the world experienced a decline in the number and severity of international and civil wars till the Arab Spring. Then a number of civil wars in the Middle East North Africa (MENA) region, particularly in Syria, took the trend of organized violence by the state based armed conflicts to its peak till 2014. According to the data available until 2017, there has been a third consecutive year of lowering of violence in the number of conflicts and conflicts-related deaths. However, this trend has not been reflected in non-state conflicts, particularly due to escalating violence in Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central African Republic. In 2017, there

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[7] IOM, *How the World Views Migration*, Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 2015.

[8] Richard Wike, Bruce Stokes & Katie Simmons, *Europeans not convinced growing diversity is a good thing, divided on what determines national identity,* Pew Research Center, 2016.

[9] Leon Gordenker, "The United Nations and Refugees", in L. S. Finkelstein, ed, *Politics in the United Nations System*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988.

[10] In the eyes of international law, a refugee is someone who "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country." www.unhcr.org

[11] UNHCR, *Global Trend: Forced Displacement in 2017*, Geneva, UNHCR, 2018.

were 49 active violent conflicts in the world.[12] Although international wars are now limited, civil wars continue on all but one continent of the planet. Each year thousands lose their lives in battle or become victims of one-sided violence, and many thousands more are forcibly displaced from their homes.

The effects of these armed conflicts continue to be devastating to the collective wellbeing of nations. Due to violent wars, poor countries are further submerged by the disruption to the formal economy, the destruction of physical infrastructure and renewed tensions between social groups. While many states struggle to cope with the on-going effects of wars, others are struggling to consolidate after signing the peace agreements. After the violence comes to an end, conflict-ravaged societies cope with precarious situations of insecurity, as identities and inter-group tensions forged in the cauldron of violence persist in the face of attempts to revive the economy, rebuild infrastructure and fashion a new national ethos.

Internal armed conflicts and their effects do not occur in isolation but are spread across borders. Globalization further facilitates this diffusion process through the increasing movement of people without reference to national borders. War economies are linked through migrant networks to the global economy. The costs of war are shared internationally through their effects on economic relations, the accommodation and repatriation of refugees and asylum seekers, and the demand for international development aid, peacemaking and peacebuilding which require taking risks and investment of substantial monetary, diplomatic and military resources.

Table 1. Year and (UNHCR) Refugees

Year	Refugees
1981	8,455,000
1990	17,396,000
2006	8,394,400
2017	19,900,000

It is a fact that the global refugee population number within the UNHCR's mandate has been showing some years of increase and then a period of decline since the 1980s. As the number of violent conflicts and conflict caused deaths have declined since 2014, it is very likely that the refugee number has already reached its peak in this period and it will start to gradually go down. However, the refugee statistics of 19.9 million under UNHCR's mandate and 5.4 million Palestinians under UNRWA's mandate fail to tell the whole story. In reality, the total population of concern to the UNHCR has increased from 19.5 million persons at the beginning of 2005 to 68.5 million by the end of the year 2017, of which 40 million are

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[12] Therese Pettersson & Kristine Eck, "Organized Violence, 1989-2017", *Journal of Peace Research*, 2018, 55 (4).

internally displaced people.[13]

Natural Disasters & Climate Migrants

The loss of living space and source of livelihood due to environmental stress could result in the migration of affected people. The decision to leave home is not always a simple one. People generally choose to stay in their native land and struggle to survive the impact of environmental disruptions until their hope of survival wears out. However, environmentally forced migration is not a very new phenomenon. Throughout history, people have been forced to flee from their homes, because the land on which they lived could no longer sustain them. Deforestation, desertification, and drought have had a significant impact on the migration of the population in the past. One could even reasonably argue that mankind's entire history has been defined by migration. However, what is more recent – and more alarming – is the potential for mass migration caused by irreversible destruction of the environment and the global climate change. A growing number of people are moving away from their homes because life has become insupportable there. They are moving within and across countries, and from rural areas to cities in large numbers

Environmentally induced population migration has already become one of the foremost crises of our times. Till recently, however, these people were being viewed as a peripheral concern. But, their sheer size, particularly due to the impact of climate change, has now brought them into the fore as one of the most important issues on the global political agenda. Many attempts have already been made to conceptualize this phenomenon. Among the most frequently used terms like, 'environmental refugees', 'climate refugees', 'ecological refugees' and 'resource refugees', to describe this genre of population migration. The use of the concept 'refugee' for the people who have been displaced by non-political factors has become quite problematic. The conceptual limitation to a fully defined and labeled term 'refugee', is resisting the inclusion of environmental or climate-induced migrants to its sub-categories. When the number of environmentally or climate-induced displaced people is more than ten million every year on the average, and also, most often, the level of suffering is as terrible as conflict forced migrants, they simply cannot be ignored by the multilateral institutions.

The predicted dramatic sea level rise caused by this climatic change may take away the living space and source of livelihood of millions of people in the near future. The Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in its Special Report published in October 2018 says that model-based projections of global mean sea level rise (relative to 1986-2005) show an approximate range of 0.26 to 0.77 millimeter by 2100 even for 1.5C of global warming.[14] Sea level rise of this nature

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[13] UNHCR, *Global Trend: Forced Displacement in 2017*, Geneva, UNHCR, 2018.
[14] IPCC, *Global Warming of 1.5C*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change Special Report, 2018.

will certainly threaten densely populated low-lying countries and coastal zones and many small island countries. Among the other impacts, there could be an increase in tropical cyclones. Increased cyclones would also enhance the risk of coastal flooding. Climate change can also potentially alter the usual rainfall pattern which may lead to increased flooding, drought and soil erosion in tropical and arid regions of the world.

Globally 18.8 million people were displaced by natural disasters in 2017 alone across 135 countries. Weather-related disasters caused the majority of these displacements, with floods accounting for 8.6 million, and storms 7.5 million.[15] The impact of climate change influences multiple dimensions of livelihood and, finally, severely affects human security that induces forced migration of vulnerable population. Estimated number of environment/climate-induced migration is still in a debate from the definition to the scale. For the last 2-3 decades, a number of forecasts have been made: 150 million by 2050,[16] 200 million by 2050,[17] and 150-200 million by 2050.[18] A World Bank study had estimated that sea levels rising one meter would affect 56 million people and five meters would affect 245 million people in 84 developing countries.[19] So, as the International Organization of Migration concludes, there are no reliable estimates of climate change forced migration as the future forecasts to vary from 25 million to 1 billion, however, the most commonly given estimate is 200 million. Besides the lack of any agreement over the number of climate migration, there is also no estimate of how many from them will be moving across their country border.[20]

Projection and Estimation of International Migration

In generalized terms, there are three types of international migration take place in the world these days: Economic Migrants, Political Migrants and Environmental/Climate Migrants. Projecting and estimating the number of these migrations globally is not an easy task. Migration forecasting is not only difficult but also very unreliable.[21] Countries do not even have a uniform definition of migration and that makes data collection and data comparison difficult. Several countries in the world, particularly in developing and fragile countries, the available

[15] IDMC, *Global Report on Internal Displacement 2018*, Internal Displacement Monitoring Center, 2018.

[16] N. Myers, N., & J. Kent, , *Environmental Exodus: An Emergent Crisis in the Global Arena*, Washington, DC: The Climate Institute, 1995.

[17] N. Myers, "Environmental refugees: a growing phenomenon of the 21st century", *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, B(357), 2002, pp. 609-13

[18] N. Stern, *The Stern Review of the Economics of Climate Change*, London: Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment, 2007.

[19] S. Dasgupta, B. Laplante, C. Meisner, D. Wheeler, & J. Yan, *The Impact of Sea Level Rise on Developing Countries: A Comparative Analysis*, Washington, DC: World Bank, 2007.

[20] International Organization of Migration, https://www.iom.int/migration-and-climate-change-0 (accessed on 20 April 2019).

[21] IOM's Global Migration Data Analysis Center, Migration Forecasting: Beyond the Limits of Uncertainty, Geneva, IOM, Issue No. 6, November 2016.

data on migration is often incomplete and unreliable.[22] Migration is not a straight forward lifestyle decision as many factors, and some of them are unpredictable ones, drive it.[23] The push and pull factors of migration are not easy to assume because of its extremely complex nature.

In spite of all these challenges, there are some organizations still dare to enter into that highly uncertain terrain and do the projection of migration flow. The United Nations Population Division though had predicted a drop in net migration level between 2010-2020, it had also said that the migration to remain constant levels until 2050.[24] Similarly, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has also predicted in 2009 that the global migration to say constant or even increase over the next twenty years or so much in line with the trend of last 30 years due to growing population in less developed countries and shortage of young-workforce in the developed part of the world.[25] On the other hand, the Vienna Institute of Demography projects the total number of migrants globally to remain constant levels for the next 50 years.[26]

Needless to say that projecting the migration and modeling the distribution of migrants are not easy tasks, the task becomes more difficult to identify age and sex patterns.[27] The real challenge arises how to include 'handling shocks' in the modeling of net migration in general and international migration in particular. In the early 1990s, a large number of forced international migration took place from Rwanda after the genocide, but within the next five to fifteen years most of the migrants returned back to their home country. The similar pattern was observed after the Iraq War and the civil war afterward in the first decade of the 21st Century. Syria, which was used to be the world's second largest refugee receiving country till its civil war started in 2011, has become the largest producer of the refugee population in the world. Whether those who have been displaced and migrated to various parts of the world will return back to the country or not is not an easy task to predict as it depends on various diverse factors.

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[22] Thomas Buettner, "Comparative Analysis of International Migration in Population Projection", KNOMAD Working Paper 10, March 2016.

[23] IOM, GMDAC Data Briefing -Migration Forecasting: Beyond Limits of Uncertainty, Global Migration Data Analysis Center, IOM, 2018.

[24] United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, *World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision, Key Findings and Advance Tables*. Working Paper No. ESA/P/WP.241, 2015.

[25] OECD, *The Bioeconomy to 2030: Designing A Policy Agenda, Main Findings and Conclusions*, Paris, OECD, 2009.

[26] Nikola Sander, Guy J. Abel and Fernado Riosmena, *The Future of International Migration: Developing Expert-based Assumptions for Global Population Projections*, Vienna Institute of Demography Working Papers 7/2013.

[27] Jonathan A. Azose, *Projection and Estimation of International Migration*, A Ph.D. Dissertation at the University of Washington, 2016.

Table 2. Increasing Number of Global Migration[28]

	2000	**2005**	**2010**	**2015**	**2017**
More Developed Regions	103,417,894	116,295,565	130,683,517	140,250,197	145,983,830
Less Developed Regions	69,186,363	74,236,035	89,335,749	107,335,547	111,731,595
World	172,604,257	190,531,600	220,019,266	247,585,744	257,715,425

A look at the international migration statistics since 2000 gives us a pattern of 3.4 percent annual growth of international migrant numbers. When the Sustainable Development Goals were formulated, they are done mostly drawing on the experiences from the world hosting 232 millions of international migrants in 2013. If this international migration trend continues as most of the projections suggest then by 2030, the number of international migrants will reach 291 million, an increase of 59 million more. Unless there is an unimaginable catastrophe, either human-caused or natural, there are not many reasons to believe that the migration trend is going to take an upward or downward trend before 2030.

It is true that there is a decrease in working age labor force in high-income countries, while there is a big increase in the young population in less-income countries. New technologies have also made it easier for people to migrate. However, if we look at the recent international migration statistics, there is a change in the pattern of the destination countries of the migrants. From 2010 to 2017, 37 million people have migrated to other countries, but out of them 22 million have migrated to countries in less developed regions. From 2015 to 2017, there has been an increase in receiving migration by the high-income countries, however, the growing nationalism in most of these countries in recent years has made it difficult for the migrants to migrate. Most of the receiving high-income countries are tightening the rules and regulations for economic migrants. Moreover, the anti-migrant tensions in the receiving high-income societies have also encouraged migrants to decide to migrate to find better opportunities in not-so developed regions. The new migration destinations are not necessarily bad, however as most of these new migrant-receiving countries are less endowed with liberal democratic institutions, and that is likely to expose the migrants to further discrimination and exploitation.

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[28]   UN-DESA
http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/estimates2/estimates17.shtml

The new wave of nationalism which has taken over most parts of Europe and North America, particularly after a large number of people were forced to leave their homes in the Middle East due to Civil War and became refugees. The UNHCR-supported refugee number has been increasing steadily since 2013, as it was then 11.7 million and reached 17.2 million by 2017. However, as the conflicts in the Middle East, particularly the Syrian Civil War, are showing signs of decreasing violence and lesser number of deaths, there is a greater likelihood that the number of refugee population will take a downward turn soon and that might help to stop the nationalist tide in rich countries to some extent.

Migration, Conflicts and Conflict Resolution in Host and Home Countries

Large-scale international migration has several dimensions for inducing conflict between the host and home countries. In certain cases, giving permission to the migrants to enter into its own territory may complicate the relationship between the host or transit state and the home country. The conflict may arise from the exposure of the home state's inability to manage the migration crisis by itself, or the home state may suspect or allege that the receiving or transiting country is encouraging the migration. This conflict pattern between sender and receiver countries has been witnessed recently with the cross-border migration of Congolese and South Sudanese refugees. Uganda hosts the largest number of refugees in Africa and most of them are the products of ethnic conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo.[29] The migration issue has been an area of diplomatic friction between the two countries. While migration from DRC to Uganda has been the issue of bilateral tension, the large migration from South Sudan to DRC to escape violent conflict has also brought the similar challenge to the relationship between these two countries.[30]

The other scenario is that the migrants, after being settled in the host country, may engage themselves in anti-regime activities against their home-country government. The new area of settlement, geographical proximity, and protection from attacks can provide an enabling environment for the migrants to try to take revenge against the home country regime, whom they may perceive as the perpetrator of their plight. This is a very common challenge associated with conflict-induced migration, and Pakistan based Afghani Mujahideen groups war against Soviet-supported regime in Afghanistan is one of the many examples of it. In the 1980s, Afghani migrants based in Pakistan, with the support from the USA fought and forced the Soviet Army to withdraw from Afghanistan.[31] In many cases, the migrants are encouraged or persuaded by the host state in their effort to take

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[29] Tessa Coggio, "Can Uganda's Breakthrough Refugee-Hosting Model be Sustained", Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute, 31 October 2018.
[30] Conciliation Resources, *Underlying Tensions: South Sudanese Refugees and Pathways to Conflict Prevention in the Democratic Republic of Congo*, Policy Brief, November 2017.
[31] Bruce Riedel, "Pakistan's Role in the Afghanistan's War Outcome", *Brookings*, 20 May 2010.

revenge and cause harm because of existing political differences between the host and the home states. Migrants have been often used by the host country to fight their war against the home country. The alleged use of Kashmiri migrants from Indian controlled Kashmir by Pakistan against India is one of the examples of it.[32] These 'low cost' wars fighting with the help of the migrant population not only keep prolonging the conflict but it also leads to the proliferation of arms and violence to the host society. These conditions of course results in creating negative implications for regional security.

In certain conditions, the international migrants may create a serious law and order problem in the host country, or on the other hand, the host country may even perceive the mass migration and settlement in a particular area as a ploy by the sender state as a facilitative exercise for a future unarmed conquest or assertion of sovereignty. Attempts by the host state, in response to pressure from the society and from the law enforcement agencies, to send the migrants back to their own country may deteriorate the relationship between sender and receiver states and could even lead to conflicts. The Italian government's recent decision to deport back the migrants led to a diplomatic dispute with Tunisia.[33] Similarly, Argentina's decision to deport back 'crime committing' immigrants has led to its frictions with several South American countries.[34]

The international migrants may pose a structural threat to a host country by increasing demands on its scarce natural resources. Competition with the local population over the common property resources may lead to conflict with migrants and produce political problems for the regime of the receiving state. The host country may also feel threatened when the migrants try to enter its fragile domestic political process and put pressure on the government as it has been often observed in the case of Palestinian refugees in the Middle East Countries. Palestinian migrants had even waged an unsuccessful war against the regime of the host state Jordan in1970-71.[35]

The failure of the ecosystem to support the rural economy may induce the migrants to eventually migrate to nearby urban areas in the host countries. International aid organizations have been usually housing refugees in rural camps, where they are provided food, shelter, legal processing, education, and medical care. However, refugees typically prefer to resettle in cities as they are likely to have a better chance of rebuilding their lives there. Unfortunately, the international community is not well prepared on how to manage the influx of urban refugees. The rapid

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[32] K. Alan Kronstadt, *India, Pakistan, and the Pulwama Crisis*, Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, 26 February 2019.
[33] Holly Ellyatt, "Pack Your Bags´, Italy's New Leaders Tell 500,000 Illegal Migrants – But, it'll Cost Them", *CNBC News*, 4 June 2018. Accessed - https://www.cnbc.com/2018/06/04/pack-your-bags-italys-new-leaders-tell-500000-illegal-migrants--but-itll-cost-them.html
[34] Simon Romero & Daniel Politi, "Argentina's Trump-like Immigration Order Rattles South America", *The New York Times*, 4 February 2017.
[35] *The Daily Star*, 17 September 2010.

urbanization due to international migration in the host countries, no doubt, creates various social problems, but more importantly, also brings a large number of the disgruntled population into close physical proximity. Living close to each other in an urban environment may help them to organize against the host state regime. Access to modern communication systems and news media can have a significant impact on this fight. The opposition groups and activists may also find it much easier to mobilize these people to join with them against their struggle against the regime. Probable migration-induced conflicts in urban centers of host countries between international migrants and host state authorities could be the result of a transformation of migrants' disenchantment into an organized political struggle. This organized protest challenges 'pro-native' policies by the ethnic majority group, and brings to the attention of the government the problems of the migrant population.

The increasing number of 'urban riots' in various cities of Europe can be seen as part of that protest strategy by migrant population. Economic conditions, discriminatory policies, and housing problems have been the reasons for the migrants to undertake these occasional violent protests.[36] In 2008, a large-scale riot took place in Johannesburg, South Africa between South African natives and Zimbabwean migrants, in which at least 22 people lost their lives.[37] The migrants from various parts of Africa, those who are living mostly in the urban areas of South Africa have been struggling for decent inclusion in society. The nationalist rhetoric by populist politicians continues to keep a large number of migrants on the edge.[38] In 2014, after terrorism-related crackdown on Somali refugees living in Kenya's various urban centers, thousands of them were forcibly sent to refugee camp Dadaab, which became Kenya's third largest city with 330,000 residents. The sheer size of Dadaab and presumed security concerns from the refugees encouraged the Kenyan authorities to decide to close the camp in 2017, but it survived due to the intervention of the Court. In 2019, Kenyan authorities are again contemplating to close the Dadaab refugee camp as they perceive the Somalian refugees have become recruiting ground for terror groups, who are often waging violent attacks inside Kenya.[39] A section of Somalian migrants in Nairobi, Kenya have joined the radical al-Shabab group, which aims at establishing an Islamic state in Somalia but engaged in various high profile terror activities in Kenya.[40]

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[36] Jonathan Laurence & Justin Vaisse, "Understanding Urban Riots in France", *Brookings*, 1 December 2005; *BBC*, "Sweden Probes riot in mainly Immigrant Suburb, 22 February 2017.

[37] Chris McGreal, "Thousands Seek Sanctuary as South Africans Turn on Refugees", *The Guardian*, 19 May 2008.

[38] Tamerra Griffin, "South Africa Has An Anti-Immigration Problem, And It Looks A Lot Like America's", *BuzzFeedNews*, 4 May 2019.

[39] Tom Odula, "UN Document Shows Kenya Seeking to Close Somali Refugee Camp", *AP News*, 29 March 2019.

[40] Halima Gikandi, "The Group Behind Nairobi's Recent Terror Attack Recruits Young People from Many Faith. Officials Can't Stop It.", *PRI*, 25 January 2019.

The 1992 Los Angeles Riots in the United States had also been caused by the resentment of the migrant population.[41] In the developing countries, where the political situation is fragile, the migrant protests in the urban centers can intensify conflict in the country, and pose a threat to political regimes. In Uganda, the Bidi Bidi refugee camp with South Sudanese refugees is now one of the world's largest. The concentration of large South Sudanese population and lack of opportunities have resulted in building tension between natives and migrants.[42] Many African cities are experiencing migration induced unprecedented population growth and the growing urban population is mobilizing against the ruling regimes.[43]

Research attention on migration is often focused on examining the trans-border migrant's role as a promoter of conflict or spoiler of peace negotiations in homeland conflicts. Generally, migrant communities are regarded as obstacles to conflict resolution. Trans-border migrant groups are increasingly being seen as being extremist or long distance nationalist communities, who pursue radical political agendas while taking advantage of the freedom and economic benefits that the host land provides for them. Benedict Anderson coined the phrase 'long distance nationalist' to emphasize the political irresponsibility of migrant groups who dabble in the identity politics of their homeland without paying the price of violent conflict that might result. Such people, he suggests, can encourage the tension and repeat the old platitudes intrinsic to established conflict positions, but put far less effort into the difficult compromises or leadership that is required to lead ethnic groups towards a more peaceful middle ground.[44]

When migrant groups are mentioned within the context of political violence, the focus is frequently placed on their willingness to fund the continuation of warfare and to destabilize negotiations and peace-building efforts. Collier and Hoeffler's contribution focuses in particular on the financial donations of migrant groups as a key variable in the continuation of violent conflict.[45] The importance and influence of remittances from immigrants and support or promotion of conflicts in the homeland have been well documented.

Besides the catalytic contributions to conflicts, there is also the potentially positive impact of migrant communities in the conflicts in their homelands, particularly as critical agents of social, political and cultural change. There is a number of evidence that some migrant groups have made significant contributions to promoting peace in their homelands. An array of "soft power" strategies can be observed, such as the

[41] Albert Bergesen & Max Herman, 1998, "Immigration, Race, Riots: The 1992 Los Angeles Uprising", *Sociology*, 63 (1), pp. 39-54.
[42] Julian Hattem, "Turning the World's Largest Refugee Camp into a 'Big City', *PRI*, 22 September 2017.
[43] "Africa's Growing Cities are Inspiring Protest and Opposition Parties", *The Economist*, 8 November 2018.
[44] B. Anderson, *Long-distance nationalism: world capitalism and the rise of identity politics*. Center for German and European Studies: University of California, Berkeley, 1992.
[45] P. Collier & A. Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War", *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56 (4), 2004, pp. 563-95.

lobbying of governments, particularly of host nations, as well as other national and international policy-makers, where migrant groups seek to encourage political settlements in their homelands.[46]

Migrant groups might not only act as spoilers of peace processes, but they can also play positive roles in the conflict resolution processes in their homelands. They can have positive political impacts on peacemaking through human rights advocacy, raising consciousness among the host country public and decision makers. They may also potentially provide direct political support to pro-peace actors in the homeland, as well as participate in the homeland peacemaking initiatives as advisors. Members of the migrant groups may also act as facilitator and communicator between the homeland officials and host land peacemakers. As many migrants returning home after a post-conflict act as crucial peace-builders, through their work in peace development and democracy in their homelands.[47]

They may also contribute to conflict resolution in their homelands by encouraging negotiations, or acting as mediators rather than resorting to military force as a way to solve conflicts. Migrant groups have assisted the international community in their efforts to establish contacts with leaders of warring factions, as a prelude to negotiating ceasefires or peace processes during conflicts as it has been noticed in the case of Afghanistan and Iraq.[48] A thorough understanding of local issues, historical complexities, and personalities of the group leaders, makes migrant communities well suited to offer international mediators the insight necessary to effectively manage negotiations.

The direction a migrant group takes in either instigating or negotiating conflicts depends on the different opportunity-costs that such action would entail. International migrant communities are more complex and sometimes face dilemmas, whereby some members within the same group may aid and encourage conflicts, while others work for peace, development, and democracy in their home countries. Moreover, the role of peacemaker or conflict creator can be swapped in different circumstances as well. In conflict situations, migrant groups can secure tangible and intangible resources to fuel armed conflicts, and they can provide

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[46] F. Cochrane, "Irish-America, the End of the IRA's Armed Struggle and the Utility of Soft Power", *Journal of Peace Research,* 44 (2), 2007, pp. 215-31; J. Hall & A. Swain, "Catapulting Conflicts or Propelling Peace: Diasporas and Civil War", In A. Swain, R. Amer & J. Öjendal (Eds), *Globalization and Challenges to Building Peace*. London, New York & Delhi: Anthem Press, 2007; B. Baser & A. Swain, " Diasporas as Peacemakers: Promoting and Supporting Third Party Mediation in Homeland Conflicts", *International Journal on World Peace*, 25(3), 2008.
[47] Cindy Horst & Others, *Participation of Diasporas in Peacebuilding and Development: A Handbook for Practitioners and Policymakers*, Oslo: PRIO Report, 2, 2010.
[48] M. Ashraf Haidari, "Securing the Future of Afghanistan: The Diaspora's Debt of Service", *The Diplomat*, 13 February 2018; Brigitte Rohwerder, *Conflict Dynamics and Potential for Peacebuilding in Iraq*, GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report, 19 August 2015.

illegal institutional and network structures that enable the transfer of arms and money to terrorist groups.[49]

Moreover, migrant groups not only get engaged in the conflict or post-conflict phase, but also they might help the home country to manage its economy and at the time of war or civil war. It is not that easy to fully capture the widespread impacts migrant groups have on the conflict-affected economy of their home countries, but their role can primarily be characterized by the four "T's": money transfer, transportation, telecommunication, and nostalgic trade.[50] Migrants' supports to the home countries suffering from conflict situation are based on remittances, direct and indirect political support, investment in economic activities, integration into international networks, education and training, and the exchange of experiences.

A variety of momentary flows, from the migrants themselves or their descendants, are sent as financial transfers, to support their relatives or friends in their country of origin or finance economic investment. Besides, remittance flows are transferred by individuals or as collective philanthropic support to development projects. However, remittances can also be considered to cover in-kind gifts, value transfers, or domestic financial transfers (in case of internal migration) as well as financial flows to developed economies. Interestingly, migrant communities interact in complex global networks with mixed identities and loyalties with their country of origin, while also adapting and identifying to varying degrees with the host country. Remittances are considered the tool of choice by which most migrants assist the development process in their homelands, particularly in low-income and fragile countries.[51] The effectiveness of remittances as a tool in the developing country's development process is critical in part to the fact that they are stable, countercyclical and augment the recipient's income more directly than official aid could. Remittance becomes extremely important if the country is smaller in size and economically weak.

Though migrant communities have always transferred remittances to their homelands for several generations, their contributions have largely been ignored in the past. However, in recent years, evidence showing the role of remittances in stimulating economies of developing countries has catapulted their relevance to the forefront and caught the attention of international organizations and agencies. Fragile countries susceptible to conflict situations and crisis management are especially dependent on remittances as a tool to resolve conflicts, build

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[49] J. Bercovitch, "A neglected relationship: Diasporas and conflict resolution", in H. Smith & P. Stares, Eds, *Diasporas in Conflict: Peace-Makers or Peace-Wreckers?,* Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2007, pp. 17-38.
[50] M. Orozco, "Transnationalism and development: trends and opportunities in Latin America", in M. S. Munzele & D. Ratha, eds., *Remittances: development impact and future prospects*, Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2005, pp. 307-30.
[51] P. Fagen & M. Bump, "The Security-Development Nexus Program Policy Paper" in *Remittances in Conflict and Crisis: How Remittances Sustain Livelihood in War, Crises, and Transitions to Peace*, International Peace Academy and Georgetown University, 2006.

infrastructure, reduce poverty and promote broad-based economic development.[52] Remittances can help to promote economic recovery in a conflict-affected country and thus consolidate the foundations of stability and peace. Private sector investments through remittances can contribute to building the kinds of institutional mechanisms and services needed in poor and fragile countries. On the other hand, remittances can be politicized and thereby contribute to creating tensions. Some remittances like tourism-remittances, though is romantic, since it comes 'home' every summer or winter, need a peaceful environment to thrive.

Regimes of the home country and host country are important actors that can influence the behavior of migrant groups. The attitude towards migrants will also have implications for political decision-making processes, affecting both countries. Migrants' memories of their homeland and integration or assimilation processes in the host country can play a significant role in their attitude towards conflict and peacebuilding. In this context, the type of migrants matter. A conflict-forced migrants carry with them usually difficult memories of oppression and/or violence. They are also less likely to get well-integrated economically and socially in host societies compared to economic migrants. They are less likely to get employment at par with their qualification or competence.

So, the attitude of migrants towards their home country and the regime is likely to vary as per the reasons for which they have decided to leave their homes. However, maintaining a keen interest in issues affecting their country of origin is a way for migrant communities to reinforce their core values and beliefs, as well as preserve their identity amidst the shadow of increasing globalization. Migrant groups usually aim to create opportunities and foster cooperation between their homeland and the host country. Migrants are in most cases in fact increasingly building bridges between their home and host countries and often play a role as a distinct third level between interstate and domestic peacemaking.[53]

Migration Politics: Opposition by Host State and/or Host Society

Like Migration and conflicts, the relationship between migration and politics is also not straight forward. In some countries, migrant-receiving governments oppose migration, and in some other countries, migrant-receiving societies oppose migration. In some cases, the government accepts and even encourages migration while the society opposes. This section of the paper tries in exploring this varied political approach to receiving migration in host countries and its overall impact on the formulation of state policy towards migrants and migrant producing states.

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[52] Richard Adams & John Page, "Do International Migration and Remittances Reduce Poverty in Developing Countries?" *World Development*, vol. 33, October 2005, pp.1645-1669.
[53] Bahar Baser & Ashok Swain, "Diasporas as Peacemakers: Promoting and Supporting Third Party Mediation in Homeland Conflicts", *International Journal on World Peace*, 25 (3), 2008.

Wherever forced migrants settle in their host countries, they join the labor market and further add to the local demand for food, water, power and other basic necessities, which puts a greater burden on receiving society. The assimilation of the migrants into a new society is not easy in any case, but when it takes place in low-income countries, the situation becomes further challenging due to the scarcity of renewable resources. The arrival of migrants is likely to deplete local food supplies and to increase the food prices.[54] The increasing competition for common property resources, water, grazing and fishing areas, forests, is likely to be especially problematic for the host society.[55]

The resulting resource scarcity in the host society can potentially generate a strong feeling of 'nativism' among the original inhabitants of the receiving area. Nativism is a claim by a group of people that by virtue of its indigenous character, rooted in historical claims, it has rights upon the land, jobs, political control and cultural superiority that are greater than those people who are not indigenous.[56] The indigenous people, called 'bhumiputras' in Malaysia, 'sons of the soil' in India, and 'native people' in many other societies, organize themselves as a group to protect their interests on the basis that they as a people exist only within their own country, whereas the others have other homes to which they can return, and this by itself can breed native-migrant conflicts in the society. At the end of the 1990s, Indonesia while going through a serious financial crisis witnessed a wave of violence against Chinese immigrants. In May 2008, South Africa saw a series of anti-immigrant violence, as poor South African natives attacked immigrants from other parts of Africa, killing nearly 50, and forcing thousands to leave.[57]

Anti-immigrant opinion and political mobilization have also increased in many parts of Europe particularly after the migration of a large number of Syrians escaping the civil war.[58] After almost 1.3 million migrants mostly from Syria and also from Iraq and Afghanistan came to Europe since 2014 seeking asylum, majority of people in refugee receiving countries became critical of the refugee-receiving policy of the European Union. It took nearly two years for the European Union to bring migrant crisis partly under its control by signing an agreement with Turkey on 18 March 2016,[59] which was to curb the entry of Syrian and other migrants into Greece via the Mediterranean Sea. The Agreement by allowing Greece to send back migrants to Turkey who doesn't apply for asylum or whose asylum claim have been rejected led to increasing of migration influx to Europe

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[54] R. Chambers, "Rural refugees in Africa: what the eye does not see", *Disasters, 3*(4), 1979, pp. 381-92; G. Kibreab, *Reflection on the African Refugee Problem: A Critical Analysis of Some Basic Assumptions*, Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1983.

[55] Ashok Swain, "Environmental Migration and Conflict Dynamics: Focus on Developing Regions", *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 17, no. 5, December 1996, pp. 959-973.

[56] Myron Weiner, "Peoples and states in a new ethnic order?", *Third World Quarterly, 13*(2), 1992, 317-33

[57] *The Independent*, 25 May 2008.

[58] "Why European Tension is Rising Over Migrants (Again)", *Bloomberg*, 23 June 2018.

[59] EU-Turkey Statement, 18 March 2016. https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/03/18/eu-turkey-statement/

through Italian coast, but it significantly reduced the large-scale refugee movement into Europe across the western Balkan route. European Union was forced to outsource its 'refugee' responsibilities to Turkey to save itself from an explosive situation emerging among its member-states.[60]

Before the Agreement with Turkey brought some control over migration flow, serious open disagreements had come up between countries of the European Union over accepting the migrants. While most of the migrants wanted to get asylum in Germany or Sweden these two countries wanted other EU members to share the burden. Many countries in Europe criticized Greece for not stopping the migrants within its territory and allowing them to pass through. The dispute between Austria and Greece on this issue became so conflictual that Greece withdrew its ambassador to Austria in February 2016. Hungary built razor-wire fences and started persecuting migrants entering its country, as the country became a gateway for migrants heading to Germany. Sweden followed an open door policy until 2015 and received 150,000 asylum applications in 2015 only. However, the ever-increasing number of migrants and growing opposition by anti-migrant political forces pushed the Swedish government to start border checks in January 2016.[61] Similarly, Germany which had also adopted an open door policy had even received 1.1 million asylum seekers in 2015 only. Though the government was committed to fulfilling its international humanitarian duty and many civil society groups had come out in full force to help the migrants, Germany also witnessed many street protests against the so-called 'Islamization' of the country by right-wing populist forces and several migrant hostels were attacked. The growing societal anxiety forced the government to insist on other member countries of the European Union to accept their mandatory quota of migrants.[62]

Majority of people in Poland and Hungary, in particular, have been very critical to receiving refugees and Hungary even passed legislation in the Parliament that made it a crime to assist asylum seekers and refugees.[63] Most of the supporters of anti-immigrant political parties in Germany, Sweden, France, and the Netherlands think their native culture is superior to the culture of the migrants.[64] Populist parties and nationalistic agendas are rising rapidly throughout Europe. Many populist new leaders have become popular and powerful in Europe by promising to protect their nationals against the 'invasion' of foreigners, refugees, and even other Europeans.[65] These Far-right nationalist groups have been collaborating among themselves in an attempt to consolidate their power across the

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[60] Tamara Tubakvic and Philomena Murray, "Has the EU Really Solved its Refugee Crisis", *The Conversation*, 7 July 2017.

[61] "Migrant Crisis: Sweden Border Checks Come into Force", *BBC News*, 4 January 2016.

[62] "How is the Migrant Crisis Dividing EU Countries?", *BBC News*, 4 March 2016.

[63] Phillip Connor, "A Majority of Europeans Favor Taking Refugees, but Most Disapprove of EU's Handling of the Issue", *Pew Research Center*, 19 September 2018.

[64] Bruce Stokes, "Populist Views in Europe: It's Not Just the Economy", *Pew Research Center*, 19 July 2018.

[65] Claudia Postelnicescu, "Europe's New Identity: The Refugee Crisis and the Rise of Nationalism", *European Journal of Psychology*, 12 (2), May 2016, pp. 203-209.

European Union. Populist and openly anti-migrant politicians once being seen as fringe extremists have moved into the political mainstream, though several of them are still in the opposition. The fissure between Eastern and Western Europe has revived and the idea of the European Union has ceased to be a unifying force. Nationalist and anti-European political parties are gaining strength in almost all the European countries. The growing opposition from native population led most of the European countries to refuse to accept the migrants fleeing from the war and violence in the Middle East and North Africa, though, under international human rights law, they are obliged to ensure safe and effective access.

Rising nationalism is not only a concern for individual countries, but for the European Union itself. While each country becomes more patriotic, xenophobic, and isolated, intense Eurosceptic sentiments are taking shape which have the potential to destroy European solidarity. The article 80 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union asks for the European Union states to pursue a common asylum policy following the principle of solidarity and the fair sharing of responsibility.[66] However, that was not the case at the time, when the Bloc faced the major migration crisis. The Dublin Regulation which underlined the minimal common rules on asylum-seekers and migrants failed to be implemented by several EU states in the summer of 2015. The large volume and specific arrival points of migrants have forced the EU to propose to revise its Dublin Regulations, so a corrective mechanism to enforce fairness will come into force automatically when a country will be subjected to handle a disproportionate number of asylum applications.[67] The European countries continue to have a disagreement over how many migrants to accept and how to settle them, the nationalist politicians and political parties have seized on the issue as the major mobilizing agent for their political cause. The fear of immigration has been one of the main reasons for the UK voters to vote in favor of leaving the EU.[68] Besides the disagreement over the fishing quota, the migration crisis also pushed Iceland to withdraw its intention to be a member of the EU in 2015.[69]

It is not that Europe has not received migrants before. Europe has been accepting large number of economic migrants in the post-2nd World War period. A country

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[66] Consolidated versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union:https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A12012E%2FTXT
[67] European Commission Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council: establishing the criteria and mechanisms for determining the Member State responsible for examining an application for international protection lodged in one of the Member States by a third-country national or a stateless person (recast). https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/proposal-implementation-package/docs/20160504/dublin_reform_proposal_en.pdf
[68] Alan Travis, "Fear of Immigration Drove the Leave Victory – Not Immigration Itself", *The Guardian,* 24 June 2016.
[69] Claudia Postelnicescu, "Europe's New Identity: The Refugee Crisis and the Rise of Nationalism", *European Journal of Psychology*, 12 (2), May 2016, pp. 203-209.

like Germany, which is experiencing a growing nationalist opposition to migration has previously experienced a massive number of labor migration in a short period of time. Between 1961 to 1973, West Germany had received nearly 750,000 foreign workers from Turkey alone and at present, 2.5 million people with Turkish background live in Germany.[70] However, migration of the Turkish workforce was of economic in nature and that was planned and organized as per the demand from the German economy. On the other hand, the large-scale migration in recent years from Syria and other Middle East and North African countries are forced migration and it is relatively easy for the nationalist parties and leaders to highlight the 'cultural differences' and politicize the migration issue.

Not only in Europe, in the USA a country which has been a country of migrants, presidential candidate Donald Trump made immigration the centerpiece of his campaign trail in 2016. After he got elected as the President, the security agencies have expanded the priorities for immigration, including increased arrests and removals of unauthorized immigrants. In 2017, the USA reduced refugee admission to the lowest number since the statute on refugee resettlement came to force in 1980.[71] To respond to the global refugee crisis the previous Obama administration had increased the refugee admission ceiling to 85,000 in 2016 and 110,000 in 2017. But, citing security as the concern, Trump administration only accepted 53,715 refugees in 2017 and brought down the ceiling to 45,000 for 2018. A series of executive orders, wrapped in national security language, have taken the USA away from its heritage as an immigrant nation and a safe haven for the world's persecuted population. In October 2018, when a number of people from Central America were on their way to get an entry to the USA, President Trump branded them 'criminal aliens', a 'national emergency', and an attack on nation's sovereignty.[72] Unlike in Western Europe, in the USA, the administration is projecting the migrants as a threat to the nation and using the migrants as a political tool while there is no such visible or organized opposition to the country receiving migrants. Though the judiciary has been able to restrict the administration in executing several of its anti-migrant policies,[73] in December 2018, the USA government strongly criticized and voted against a landmark pact 'the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration' by the UN.[74]

As the experiences from the Europe and USA suggest, it is less of economic worries or resource scarcity, but more of the ethnocentrism plays a very important role for people in the receiving high-income countries opposing migrant population. In the

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[70] Klaudia Prevezanos, "Turkish Guest Workers Transformed German Society", *DW*, 30 October 2011.
[71] Sarah Pierce and Andrew Selee, "Immigration under Trump: A Review of Policy Shifts in the Year Since the Election", *Migration Policy Institute Policy Brief*, Washington, DC: December 2017.
[72] Masha Gessen, "How the Media Normalizes Trump's Anti-Immigrant Rhetoric", *The New Yorker*, 25 October 2018.
[73] Akela Lacy, "Donald Trump's Anti-Immigrant Agenda Faces Another Setback", *The Intercept*, 21 March 2019.
[74] Margaret Besheer, "US Speaks Against Now-Approved Global Migration Compact", *VOA*, 19 December 2018.

case of Europe, while the receiving societies are primarily taking the lead in opposing the acceptance of forced migrants, in the USA, the government does it. As the society led opposition has forced the governments in Europe to adopt restrictive immigration policies towards forced migrants, the similar trend has also forced several Gulf countries to restrict the size of the economic migration in spite of the fact that their economy is in need of migrant workforce. However, while religion has played an important role in building nationalist politic in Europe and the USA, the role of religion is quite minimal in justifying or promoting restrictive migration policies in the Gulf. Instead, the populism in the Gulf is primarily based more on binary between the native population and culture vis-à-vis outsiders.

With the oil boom of the 1970s, most of the Gulf countries brought cheaper and trained labor force from Asia, Africa and also from their neighboring countries in the Middle East. Saudi Arabia received millions of these foreign workers, with most in lower-income jobs. In recent years, the practice has created a serious problem for the country's economy and society. Saudi citizens have witnessed high levels of unemployment as their unemployment peaked in 2018 at 12.9 percent.[75] Besides global economic slowdown, Saudi workers face stiff competition from lower-paid foreign workers. Moreover, the dependence on the cheap foreign workforce has made the country not investing enough to train its own nationals in order to be integrated into the labor market.

As Saudi Arabia struggled with declining oil revenue, high unemployment among its nationals, and the lingering threat of domestic unrest, Saudi authorities have started to restrict the number of recruiting foreign workers, through 'Nitaqat' policy, which aims at 'Saudizing' the workforce. From November 2013, Saudi authorities started deporting 'illegal' foreign workers in a nationwide campaign after years of lax law enforcement. The crackdown by the interior ministry on the foreigners who had been residing illegally and were in violation of labor laws forced one million to leave the Kingdom in 2013 alone.[76] Saudi authorities continue to decrease foreign workforce and by October 2018, it had come down 9.89 million, about a million less than early 2017.[77] This 'Saudization' of workforce policy has created challenges for Saudi authorities to finding trained workforce within the country to fill in the positions vacated by the foreign workers. However, as nearly 30 percent of Saudi Arabia's population are immigrants from other countries, so changes in Saudi labor laws affect not only the workers but their families around the world. Most of the deported foreign workers were from South and South East Asia, and also a sizeable number from the Middle East and North Africa. Saudi Arabia is the first source of remittances for many of these countries, such

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[75] Andrew Torchia, "Saudi Unemployment Stays at Record High as Companies Struggle", *Reuters*, 18 October 2018.
[76] Françoise Bel-Air, Demography, Migration and Labor Market in Saudi Arabia, *Gulf Labor Markets and Migratio*n GLMM - EN - No. 1/2014.
[77] Andrew Torchia, "Saudi Unemployment Stays at Record High as Companies Struggle", *Reuters*, 18 October 2018.

deportations is having considerable economic consequences on their fragile economies.

Like Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates had also become a popular destination for temporary labor migrants, both low- and high-skilled, particularly from Asia and the Middle East. Despite a drop in oil prices and the global financial crisis of 2008, the UAE attracted a large number of foreign workers due to its economic attractiveness, relative political stability, and modern infrastructure. The country now hosts fifth-largest international migrant stock in the world. To meet its labor demand, in 1971 UAE introduced the Kafala Sponsorship System, which allows nationals, expatriates, and companies to hire migrant workers. This guest workers program has created some social challenges for the UAE authorities. There is also a growing resentment within the country over lack of job opportunities for UAE native population.

Foreign workforce usually get a lesser salary than the natives of the UAE and they have been willing to work in poor inhospitable conditions and for long hours. These have been the reasons for foreign workers dominating the private sector by taking more than 98 percent of the jobs.[78] Responding to native opposition to foreign workers, the UAE government has started using restrictive immigration measures and even imposing temporary bans on migrants from certain labor-sending countries. Since 2004, UAE has created a system of preferences for its own nationals in the labor market. This *'Emiratization'* policy includes a set of rules that protect its own nationals, known as Emirati, from the open competition with foreign workers in both the public and private sectors. Due to increasing popular unrest, the UAE government has launched a new 'Absher Initiative' in 2012, which aims at further improving Emiratis' chances in the job market. These restrictive policies against foreign workers of a major host country, of course, create new challenges for remittance receiving countries in the region.[79]

Labor migration flows to Gulf countries have brought a critical public policy challenge in the region. Other Gulf countries like Qatar, Bahrain, and Oman with large numbers of migrant workers are also struggling with similar opposition from the native population to the migrant labor force and have taken several measures to regulate temporary labor migration over the past several years. Some have restricted migration inflows and carried deportation of 'illegal workers', while others have undertaken policies of providing positive discrimination to increase the native-born share of their workforces. In 2013, Kuwait has announced to reduce by a million the number of migrant workers in the country over a ten years period.[80] Policies of the Gulf countries towards pushing more locals into the job market have accelerated

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[78] Mouawiya, Al Awad, *The Cost of Foreign Labor in the United Arab Emirates*, Institute for Social & Economic Research (ISER) Zayed University, Dubai, Working Paper No. 3 July 2010.
[79] Ashok Swain and Anders Jägerskog, *Emerging Security Threats in the Middle East: The Impact of Climate Change and Globalization*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.
[80] *The Economist*, 13 July 2015.

in recent years due to the fear of social and political unrest due to high native-born unemployment, in particular among their own youth population.

This native-migrant animosity is also likely to magnify as mass migration can bring alteration to the power equation among the political elites. To safeguard their political interests, these elites can actively build up a strong group identity within their communities and can incite one group to take action against the other group. In their effort to organize the natives, the elites of the community may use ethnic, religious, linguistic or racial differences between the migrants and the natives as a major instrument of mobilization.[81] Fear of retaliation by the natives may be used by elites in the migrant community to counter their native counterparts. This type of native-migrant conflictual competition is an expression of a feeling of insecurity among the elites of native and migrant communities and an attempt to protect their interests against each other. These migration induced political divisions may also contribute negatively to the process of nation-building in many developing states by arousing greater ethnic rivalries. Developing countries with multi-ethnic compositions are likely to be more vulnerable to large-scale ethnic unrest, particularly if the migrants are identified with one major ethnic group of the country.

While nativism or nationalism, though creates complications for migrant-receiving countries, they still have some ways and means to control or manage the flow of the economic migrants. However, in the case of forced migration, the luxury of choice for migrants and migrant-receiving countries is limited. The forced migration of Rohingya from Myanmar has become a humanitarian crisis for the international community. Since August 2017, more than 700,000 of them have fled into Bangladesh escaping from the violence in Myanmar's Rakhine state. Bangladesh is at present hosting more than a million refugees from Myanmar and has informed the UN of its inability to accept more of them.[82] Some of the Rohingya are even opting to take dangerous boat journey across the Bay of Bengal to Southeast Asian countries. While the international community is struggling how to respond to this large migration from Myanmar, the Indian government is threatening to deport back estimated 40,000 of Rohingya, who are living in India and seeking asylum, out of which even 16,500 have already received identity cards issued by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.[83] The opposition in accepting Rohingya refugees in India is not originating from the receiving society but for the government and the ruling party. While the Indian government has been more than willing to accept Hindu Rohingya refugees (which is no doubt quite smaller in number), it is opposed to taking Muslim Rohingya only.

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[81] Ashok Swain, *Understanding Emerging Security Challenges: Threats and Opportunities,* London: Routledge, 2012.

[82] Hannah Ellis-Petersen, "Rohingya Crisis: Bangladesh Says It Will Not Accept Any More Myanmar Refugees", *The Guardian*, 1 March 2019.

[83] Krishna N. Das, "India's Rohingya Refugees Struggle with Hatred, fear as first group is expelled", *Reuters*, 8 October 2018.

It is surprising that while a densely populated and relatively poorer country like Bangladesh has accepted nearly a million of forced migrants from Myanmar, a country of India's size and strength refuses to host only 40,000 of them. Before August 2017, an estimated one million Rohingya, who practice Sufi influenced Sunni Islam used to live in the Buddhist majority Myanmar. Though they trace their origins in that country to the fifteenth century, successive governments of Myanmar have refused to recognize them as one of the country's ethnic groups and regard them as illegal immigrants from Bangladesh.[84] The Rohingya are not only deprived of citizenship and right to vote, but the Myanmar government has also imposed on the restrictions on whom and how to marry, the number of children they can have and types of jobs they are allowed to. Institutionalized discrimination has led to widespread poverty among this minority population in a poor country like Myanmar. Moreover, this stateless group gets subjected to majoritarian native community's wrath from time to time.[85]

The state-aided majoritarian oppression has also led some Rohingya to take up arms. The present migration crisis has come up after massive retaliation by Myanmar army against civilian Rohingya villages when a militant Rohingya organization, Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) launched few attacks on police and army post in August 2017.[86] While the world is trying to cope up with the large-scale forced migration of Rohingya and Bangladesh has taken most of the migrants forced out of their homes in Myanmar, Indian government instead of adopting the humanitarian approach and helping out Bangladesh to meet the challenges caused by surging new arrivals has even started the process of sending back the Rohingya living in India. The Government of India is arguing that the increasing number of Rohingya in the country will encourage Islamic fundamentalism and their presence will pose a threat to the very fabric of Indian society.[87]

India is not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention, but even under the customary international law, it is obligated to protect these refugees and not to send them back to a place where they face danger. However, India has been selective in taking refugees in recent years as it is only allowing Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka, Hindus from Bangladesh and Pakistan and Tibetan Buddhists from China. It is not the migration in general, which the Indian government is resisting, it is opposing only to accept the Muslim immigrants. India is in the process of passing legislation to give citizenship to non-Muslims immigrants only.[88] As the Indian and American cases suggest, even a government does not always wait for the societal opposition

[84] Jacques Leider, "Rohingya: The History of a Muslim Identity", *Oxford Research Encyclopedias*, May 2018.
[85] Eleanor Albert & Andrew Chatzky, "The Rohingya Crisis", Council on Foreign Relations, 5 December 2018.
[86] Faisal Edroos, "ARSA: Who are the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army?", *Aljazeera*, 13 September 2017.
[87] Ashley Starr Kinseth, "India's Rohingya Shame", *Aljazeera*, 20 January 2019.
[88] Samuel Osborne, "India Invites non-Muslim Refugees to Become Citizens, Sparking Protests Ahead of Crunch Election", *Independent*, 9 January 2019.

to restrict the migration, it can also oppose the migration on its own for political reasons.

In spite of increasing politicization of the economic migrants and conflict-induced migrants, there are international rules and norms have already been developed on how to recognize and manage these migrations. However, that has not been the case with climate induced migrants, which is fast becoming a major issue of global concern. The conceptual limitation to a fully defined and labeled term 'refugee', is resisting the inclusion of environmental or climate-induced migrants to its sub-categories. The legal definition of the term 'refugee' was imposed by the 1951 United Nations Convention on Refugees, together with the 1967 Protocol, which extended the Convention by excluding restrictions on time and geography.[89] As it is defined: The term 'refugee' shall apply to any person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.[90] This legal limitation to the term 'refugee' makes it inadequate for accepting types of forced international migration other than those originating from political persecution.[91]

Thus the concept of 'environmental refugee' or 'climate refugees' is not included in the definition of a refugee as established, which are the most widely used instruments providing the basis for granting asylum to persons in need of protection. The conceptual rigidity of the term 'refugee' has already contributed to complications in accepting displaced population and providing international assistance in the western part of Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and even in Syria. International refugee agencies in the past have not been able to save the lives of many environmentally displaced people in this region due to the absence of their mandate. In this context, the recent ruling of the Supreme Court of New Zealand is quite significant. Though, the Court recognized the genuineness of a Kiribati man's contention of being displaced from his homeland due to sea-level rise, could not grant him the refugee status reasoning that he wouldn't face prosecution if he would return home.[92] So, there is a need for the definitional fiat of 'refugee' to be expanded in order to address the increasing challenge of climate-forced population displacement and possible international migration.

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[89] The 1951 Convention was limited to Europe and to persons whose status was determined by events proceeding 1 January 1951.

[90] L. Gordenker, " The United Nations and Refugees", in L. S. Finkelstein, ed., *Politics in the United Nations system*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988.

[91] Ashok Swain, "Environmental Migration and Conflict Dynamics: Focus on Developing Regions", *Third World Quarterly, 17* (5), 1996, pp. 959-73

[92] "Kiribati Man Faces Deportation after New Zealand Court Rejects His Bid to be First Climate Change Refugee", *ABC News*, 21 July 2015.

However, with the increasing number of population migration from one country to another, more and more people are voicing their opposition to it. As a recent Pew Research Center survey of 27 countries suggests there is a large drop in support for any type of migration.[93] This has encouraged nationalist parties and their leaders to use migration as a major issue for electoral mobilization. Immigration as a political issue seems to play a very significant part in the electoral success of nativist/nationalist parties when they frame it as a threat to country's culture, religion, security, economy, and politics.[94] Immigration politics is not only limited to developed countries, but it has also become a major political issue in many migrant-receiving developing countries. Because of the popular pressure, many countries are increasingly making rules and regulations to discourage migration or to only allow the specific type of migrant they want to receive. Tightening the border control has become the easy and favorite policy response of almost all migrant receive countries. This growing opposition to migration is being often seen by the migrants as racism (on the basis of color or religion) while the host society prefers to term it as nativism (protecting the interest of established inhabitants).[95] However, nativism is just another word for majority-ethnic nationalism. Whether it is nativism or racism that is a different issue, but certainly this 'nationalism' phenomenon has posed a challenge for the countries, and regional and international organizations to find ways to restrict and manage the migration while there is a massive increase in the number of people willingly or forcefully needed to migrate due to globalized economy and violent civil wars.

International Migration and Challenges for Multilateralism

Economic international migration is much larger in number than the forced international migration in the world. While the forced international migration number goes up and down in regular intervals, the economic international migration keeps increasing steadily. Migrants are motivated to leave their home countries in search of better economic and social opportunities abroad. The decline in fertility in most of the high-income countries is promoting the migration as, without international migration, the working age population in many of these rich countries would decline significantly. While migrant hosting countries are availing younger and cheaper workforce, the migrant-sending countries are receiving remittances sent by the migrants. The total amount of remittances from international migrants to their families in low and middle-income countries has become more than foreign direct investment and official development assistance.[96] Remittances reduce poverty, help families in the sending countries in healthcare and education. The

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[93] Philip Connor & Jens Manuel Krogstad, "Many worldwide oppose more migration – both into and out of their countries", *Pew Research Center*, 10 December 2018.

[94] Cas Mudde, *The Relationship Between Immigration and Nativism in Europe and North America*, Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2012.

[95] Ian Jack, "We called it Racism, Now it is Nativism. The anti-Immigrant sentiment is just the same", *The Guardian*, 12 November 2016.

[96] Cecilia Tacoli, *Environment and Urbanization Brief*, vol. 22, No. 1, April 2010.

money sent by international migrants also helps to support community projects, that support people outside the migrants' families.

Migration can contribute in many ways to positive development outcomes and that will help in realizing the goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. In 2015, all the member states of the United Nations have agreed on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which outlines a framework for peace and development for people and the planet. Within a global partnership, member states have pledged to achieve 17 Sustainable development Goals, focusing on ending poverty, reducing inequality, improving health and education, protecting the environment and addressing the threats of the climate change. Besides reducing poverty and providing healthcare and education, migration also improves the autonomy and socio-economic status of migrants, particularly female migrants. Migrants also contribute to the economy of host countries as workers and consumers and provide important support to the service sector.

It is also true that the migration is not always a win-win proposition. As it has been discussed before in this report that migration, even if it is a professional workforce, still in many countries leading to rising nationalism and anti-migrant political mobilization. For the migrant-sending countries, the large migration usually leads to 'brain waste' and 'brain drain'. In most of the cases, highly-skilled migrants are only allowed or availing low-skilled work in the receiving countries. The 'brain drain' also can be devastating for the migrant-sending countries for their social and economic development. Moreover, the risk and vulnerabilities of transiting migrants are usually overlooked in policy making and also in fixing responsibilities. A large number of immigrants in many countries are also not covered under social protection. The 2030 Agenda has several targets like SDGs 4, 5, 8, 10, 16 and 17, which appreciate the economic value of migrants. In particular, SDG 10.7 is migration specific and calls for the enabling of 'safe, regular and responsible migration' and the enactment of 'well-managed migration policies'. The 2030 Agenda identifies refugees, internally displaced persons and migrants among the vulnerable people and asks them to be empowered and their needs to be addressed.[97]

However, SDG 16 in particular, which asks for promoting just, peaceful and inclusive societies, is intricately connected to migration. Many regions of the world continue to experience armed conflicts and that has exposed a large number of people including women and children to violence and sufferings. Violent conflicts cause migration and also migration causes violent conflicts. And, migration also helps people to escape violence and be able to survive, and most migrants not only support through remittances war-ravaged economies, but they also in many cases act as agents in promoting peace and helping peacebuilding. So, if conflict-induced

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[97] IOM, *Follow up and Review of Migration in the Sustainable Development Goals*, No. 26. Geneva: International Dialogue on Migration, IOM, 2017.

migration planned and managed well and acted with alacrity, it will not only reduce the conflict casualties and suffering, it might also help to stop the conflicts turning more violent. Thus, if the migration issue is not handled smartly, it will not be possible to achieve peace and justice in the conflict-affected regions.

While forced migration is directly connected to conflict and peace, as it has been discussed earlier, economic and climate-induced migration might lead to native-migrant conflicts in migrant-receiving societies. These conflicts have the potential to turn to limited violence in the host society and also forced deportation, loss of citizenship and denial of justice. The migrants to be treated as equal and in just manner, it is important for the country to have inclusive institutions. Unfortunately, the world while it is witnessing the increasing nationalism/nativism in many migrant-receiving countries, at the same time, there is a global trend of decline of democracy.[98] In a less democratic world and with the lack of inclusive institutions, the migrants are more likely to be used as a political pawn by the nationalist forces leading to more conflict and injustice. So, while the migration is being used by nationalist political forces to undermine democracy in many countries, migrants need a democratic inclusive society to avail justice and equality.

Strengthening Multilateralism is the Key

A core principle of the 2030 Agenda is inclusivity and that asks for migrants to be considered in all areas of implementing the SDGs and targets.[99] As several SDG targets are related to migration, covering a number of varied topics across sectors, it will not be possible to find a silver bullet to how to address it. For some countries, certain migration related SDG targets are more relevant and important than others. So, countries need to prioritize on the targets considering their relevance to them. At the same time, migration-related SDG targets in particular and the 2030 Agenda, in general, cannot be dealt by countries alone and they need to work and cooperate with other countries under multilateral frames, both formally and informally. SDG and multilateralism are inter-related and inter-dependent. To achieve SDG targets, while there is a need for strengthening of multilateralism, it is coming under increasing pressure from lingering civil wars, climate change, and migration issues. Due to increasing migration-related challenges, more efforts are being put these days to get formal international cooperation on migration.[100] An effective multilateralism might provide a powerful platform to tackle global and local challenges that appear to grow in scale and complexity, particularly in the case of the migration issue.[101]

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[98] Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2019*, Washington DC: Freedom House, 2019.

[99] IOM, *Migration and the 2030 Agenda: A Guide for Practitioners*, Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 2018.

[100] Amelia Brown, "Review: Toward a Multilateral Approach to International Migration", *International Studies Review*, vol. 4, no. 1, Spring 2002, PP. 177-181.

[101] Ulrika Modéer and Tsegaye Lemma, *The Future of Multilateralism*, UNDP, 12 February 2019.

Development challenges are not simple and they are at the same time interlinked. There is a need for the countries and UN agencies to work together in order to achieve SDG targets. Increasing positive coordination is a must to avoid overlap and duplication and also to prevent unwanted competition. As migration issue closely connected to several SDGs simultaneously, it is important to break silos and need for the stakeholders to adopt multi-faceted, integrated, and holistic approaches. The last but not the least, SDG 17 emphasizes on revitalizing the global partnership for sustainable development. Without the coordinated cooperation among the governments, private sector and civil society, the aim of achieving SDG targets can never be successful. In this context, the multilateral institutions have the primary task of not only coordinating among the governments but also with the other actors of global social space.

Recommendations

The globalized economy has encouraged a large number of people to migrate from one country to another. Wars, civil wars, and climate change have further contributed to the growing number of population migration. Large numbers of people are willing to leave their homes to survive and seeking the potential for more to follow. However, the large scale population migration has already posed serious challenges to the peace, security, bilateral and multilateral cooperation of many countries in most parts of the world. A number of countries are restricting the legal entry to their territory; some are constructing barbed wire fences on their borders, and some are using armed forces to resist the inflow of migrants. Forcible deportation has become now a very common practice in both high-income and developing countries.

The rise of populism and nationalism has not only pushed the states to take restrictive measures against accepting migrants, but it has also guided the state to not to adhere to rules and norms of multilateralism. The migration crisis in recent years has brought a number of restrictions to the EU's Schengen system of passport free-travel, one of the greatest achievements of successful European multilateralism. The migration induced nationalism has also resulted in growing polarization in the continents on the issue of resettlement, particularly between Germany and Central and Eastern Europe.[102] As the Survey result shows, Britain primarily voted to leave the EU in 2017 due to widespread anti-immigration sentiment.[103] Populist politics has also taken India in breaching international law for deporting Rohingya Muslims to Myanmar.[104] However, in this globalized world, it is almost impossible for the countries to isolate themselves. As the past experiences and present developments suggest, it is practically impossible to

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[102] Andrew A. Michta, "Unchecked Migration Continues to Splinter Europe", *Carnegie Europe*, Brussels, 27 July 2017.

[103] May Bulman, "Brexit: People Voted to Leave EU Because They Feared Immigration, Major Survey Finds", *Independent*, 28 June 2017.

[104] "India Under Fire as It Deports Rohingya Muslims to Myanmar", *BBC News*, 4 October 2018.

protect an island of peace and luxury amidst a sea of violence and poverty with the show and/or use of force.

There is a need for a positive approach to squarely face this monumental task of large-scale human migration. Attention needs to be focused on preventing the causes of forced population displacement rather than the use of force to stop the people escaping violence, persecution or tidal waves. Cohesive multilateral response needed to prevent conflicts by setting up early warning and effective response system. Though sufficient progress has been achieved in formulating scenarios of violent conflicts and response options, these early warnings have not been very effective to prevent conflicts due to lack of better response. So, there is an urgent need for regular interactions between conflict warners and responders. Multilateral institutions can use preventive diplomacy effectively with the help instruments such as dialog, negotiation and even coordinated smart sanctions.[105]

The major increase in the number of conflict-forced international migrants from 2013 to 2017 has put the principles and values of international cooperation under serious pressure and posing grave challenges to multilateralism. Politics in most of the refugee-receiving countries have become very hostile to migrants with increased discrimination, racism, and xenophobia. In response to this challenge, on 17 December 2018, the UN General Assembly has affirmed the 'Global Compact on Refugees', a blueprint for international organizations and other key stakeholders to support host countries and communities, helping refugees to lead productive lives, and working for safe and dignified return of the refugees.[106] It should be also noted that though 152 member-states voted in favor of the Compact, 5 voted against (USA, Hungary, Israel, Czech Republic and Poland), 12 registered abstention and 24 did not vote. Most of the opposition and criticisms to the compact have come from the high-income countries like the USA, East European countries and Australia. Countries from the South, like Brazil, Chile, and the Dominican Republic have also refused to sign it. In spite of the opposition by several countries in the name of protecting national sovereignty, the Compact is a major landmark in getting a broad global consensus on forced migration-related challenges. By pursuing this Global Compact on Refugees, this multilateral approach can collaboratively work with nation-states for a robust and fairer response model to the crisis arising out of conflict-induced forced migration.

This voluntary non-binding Compact provides a comprehensive approach to address conflict-forced international migration. In order to achieve that, it aims at active cooperation between high-income refugee receiving countries and low-income refugee-sending countries. The Compact also suggests measures to strengthen regular migration processes and how to reduce irregular migration. It reiterates that all migrants are entitled to universal human rights and hopes to

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[105] The World Bank, *Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict*, Washington DC, 2018.

[106] UNHCR, *The Global Compact on Refugees*. https://www.unhcr.org/the-global-compact-on-refugees.html

eradicate all types of discrimination, including racism, xenophobia, and intolerance against migrants. The lack of a cooperative multilateral strategy had created a serious crisis for the EU as countries in Europe primarily pursued unilateral policy of refugee acceptance and resettlement. Cooperation between and among the migrant-sending and migrant-receiving countries is critical for the migration process to be smooth and less conflictual. Like the Global Compact on Refugees at the international level, at the regional level also all the regional organizations need to develop a common policy framework on forced migration in particular and migration in general, which should be clear, transparent, humane and sustainable.

Climate change and its projected disastrous impacts like the increasing intensity of extreme weather events and sea-level rise have the potential to lead to large-scale international migration.[107] The increasing threat of climate-induced international migration need to be taken more seriously by the multilateral agencies. The multilateral efforts only can motivate, coordinate, and implement an effective approach to address the unavoidable climate forced largescale international migration in the near future. Thus there is a need to relook at the conceptual fiat of 'refugee' as soon as possible and engage in a sincere and coordinated effort to make the necessary adjustment to include climate forced migration in it.

The ever-increasing numbers of economic migrants can be sustainably addressed only in terms of setting up a comprehensive agenda to achieve human security in the migrant-sending countries. The human security - the freedom from fear, the freedom from want and the freedom from future environmental threats – is the core idea behind SDG targets. Achieving a comprehensive form of human security is to bring balance between the human number and the available natural resources in an equitable way. This dilemma can be ameliorated only through an effective long-term approach. Multilateral cooperation and assistance have to target migration producing countries or areas within such countries. Multilateral support could be specifically allocated to address the problems that cause people to be displaced.[108]

International migration is the reflection of growing global inequality in terms of wages, professional opportunities, and lifestyles. There is a debate on whether migration reduces inequality or contributes further to the inequality in the sending countries. But, there is no doubt, inequality is a major motivator for the people to move across borders seeking to reduce what they perceive as the gap between their own position and that of people in richer income countries. Moreover, inequality within countries is almost rising almost everywhere in the world.[109] Multilateralism is an essential tool to reduce inequality, both among the countries and within the countries. International law and global economic governance system need to be

[107] IOM Global Migration Data Analysis, *Migration and Climate Change*, https://www.iom.int/migration-and-climate-change-0

[108] Ashok Swain, *Understanding Emerging Security Challenges: Threats and Opportunities,* London: Routledge, 2012.

[109] Antonio Savoia, "Global Inequality is on the Rise – But at Vastly Different Rates Across the World", *The Conversation*, 14 December 2017.

adjusted to arrest the growing inequality in the world in order to limit the international migration flow.

The issue of population displacement and eventual trans-border migration cannot be confronted without energetic and earnest initiatives by migrant producing low-income countries. Multilateral agencies need to encourage and support countries to formulate and sincerely implement policies to check population growth, protect the environment, and adhere to the path of sustainable development in order to attenuate international migration. The achievement of this objective requires a true commitment of the multilateral agencies and member-states in recognizing the link between human security and migration, and much stronger incorporation of the migration variable in state planning.

Multilateral cooperation also needs to prioritize in developing better early warning systems to anticipate and predict future migration flows in order for the countries to be better prepared. Providing early alert of the migration cannot be done unliterally as it requires the sharing of information and intelligence between and among countries and agencies. The early warnings systems need a good understanding of all sorts of migration trigger points from violent conflicts to economic or environmental crises and also proper analysis of diaspora population and social networks. It is not only important to make the timely and accurate prognosis of migration flow but also necessary to inform political leadership in advance so they will be able to do contingency planning and resource allocation. Not only the UN but also regional organizations need to develop these early warning systems.

Over and above, it is also important for multilateral agencies and nation-states to accept the positive contributions of international migration. In many cases, the migrant communities are playing a significant role in the economic development of the host and home countries. A large number of countries draw a significant portion of their economic and social revenues from remittances. These migrant-sending low-income countries are apprehensive over the growing nationalism in the high-income migrant-receiving countries and the resulting migrant deterrent policies in those countries. The declining commitment of the rich-income countries to the multilateralism is also adversely affecting the trust and commitment of poor countries in a multilateral organization. Thus, to promote and protect multilateralism on migration issues, it is important for the international community to recognize and respect the contributions of migrants to peace and development in both their home and host countries.