



A large crowd of refugees, including men, women, and children, is seen in a street with damaged buildings in the background. The scene is overlaid with a semi-transparent white filter.

Forced Migration: Understanding the Global Refugee Crisis

Joe Landry, PhD

September 26, 2019



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Overview

- 1. Context and scope of the crisis**
- 2. International action and UNHCR**
- 3. Canada's Role**
- 4. Discussion**



Framing Questions

- **What are the core elements of the global refugee regime?**
- **What are the main challenges confronting the regime today?**
- **How can we address these core challenges?**
- **What role is there for Canada?**



Number of migrants now growing faster than world population, new UN figures show



IOM/Muse Mohammed | A migrant family looks out the window and take pictures as they undertake their journey for resettling.

17 September 2019 | [Migrants and Refugees](#)



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Evidence-based approach crucial to



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Migration: A Constant of Civilisation



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A complex phenomenon

- **An economic transfer**
- **A development driver**
- **A demographic objective**
- **A source of acculturation**
- **An object of political discourse**
- **A security issue**
- **A challenge to territorial sovereignty**
- **A clandestine phenomenon**
- **A collective enterprise**
- **An individual trajectory through social spaces**
- **Cannot be reduced to one dimension**

Migration is not an anomaly

- **We are all migrants in some way (going back far enough...)**
 - **Migration is the normal human condition, not an anomaly.**
 - **Migration is at the heart of many civilisations (Exodus, Odyssey, Hegira), linked to the traditional law of hospitality.**
 - **Settlement is recent and unstable: rural exodus, pilgrimages, “snowbirds”, seasonal workers, expats, foreign students, retirees.**
- **3.1 % of world population is on the move NOW: ±272M in 2019 (5th largest country in the world)**
- **Migration from poverty and violence towards prosperity and stability is mankind’s history:**
 - **We can slow it temporarily;**
 - **We can’t stop it in the long term;**
 - **We would do the same in their place**

Humans Spread Across Globe

- **Hominids**

- Arose in Africa 2 million years ago
- Migrated throughout Eurasia

- **Homo-Sapiens**

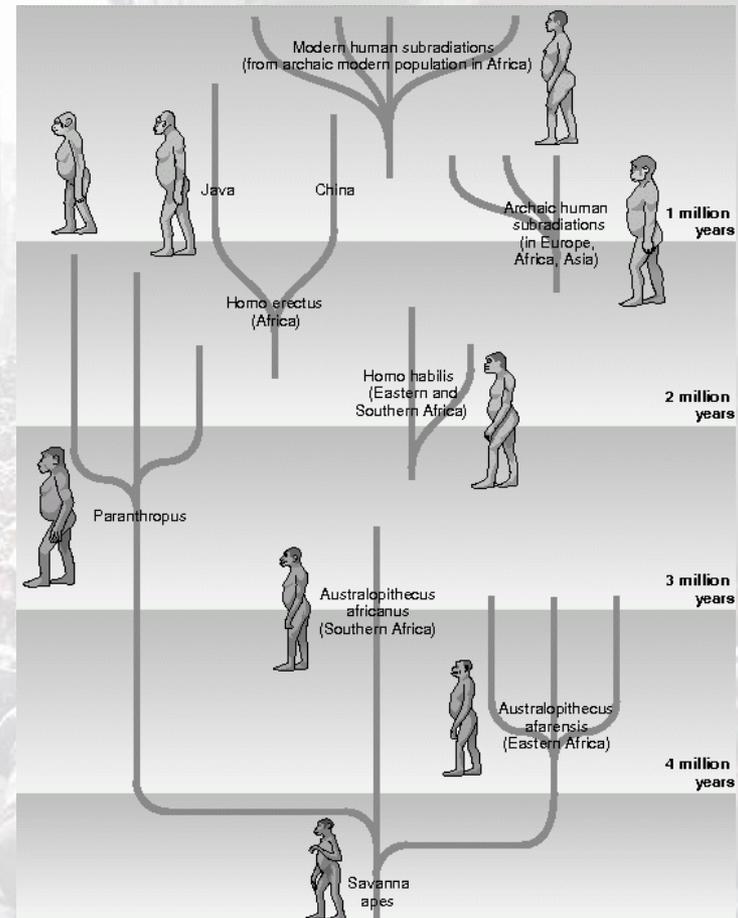
- As a species arose c. 200,000 years ago
- Arose in East Africa, The Horn of Africa

- **Hunter-Gatherer Society**

- Nomads followed game, gathered seeds
- Conduits across Strait of Gibraltar, Sinai
- Southwest Asia reached c. 70,000 BCE
- East Asia reached c. 60,000 BCE
- Australia reached c. 50,000 BCE
- Europe reached c. 40,000 BCE
- North America reached c. 20,000 BCE
- South America reached c. 15,000 to c. 12,000 BCE
- All Pacific Islands not reached until c. 1000 CE

- **Proof**

- We use DNA, genetic drift, chromosomes, archaeology as proof
- We look at languages and linguistics



Context

- © **Refugee situations are becoming more protracted and harder to resolve**
- © **Average duration of a refugee situation now 18 years**
- © **Need to understand refugees as part of broader political dynamics**



Types of Migrants

- **Migrant**
- **Economic Migrant**
- **Refugee (Convention or Mandate)**

“someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to well-founded fear of being *persecuted* for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion (UNHCR)

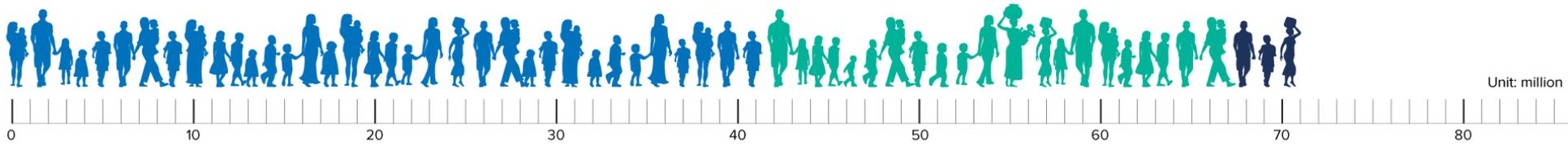
- **Asylum Seeker**
- **Internally Displaced Person (IDP)**
- **Stateless Person**





70.8 million

forcibly displaced people worldwide



Internally Displaced People
41.3 million

Refugees
25.9 million

20.4 million under UNHCR's mandate
5.5 million Palestinian refugees under UNRWA's mandate

Asylum-seekers
3.5 million



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Where the world's displaced people are being hosted



About 80 per cent of refugees live in countries neighbouring their countries of origin

57% of UNHCR refugees came from three countries

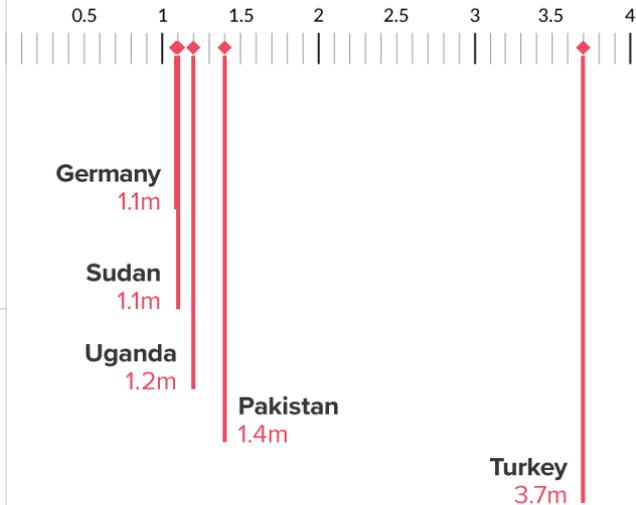


341,800 new asylum seekers

The greatest number of new asylum applications in 2018 was from Venezuelans



Top refugee-hosting countries



UNHCR has data on

3.9 million stateless people



but there are thought to be millions more

92,400 refugees resettled

37,000 people

a day forced to flee their homes because of conflict and persecution

16,803 personnel

UNHCR employs 16,803 people worldwide (as of 31 May 2019)

134 countries

We work in 134 countries (as of 31 May 2019)

We are funded almost entirely by voluntary contributions, with 86 per cent from governments and the European Union and 10 per cent from private donors

Source: UNHCR / 19 June 2019

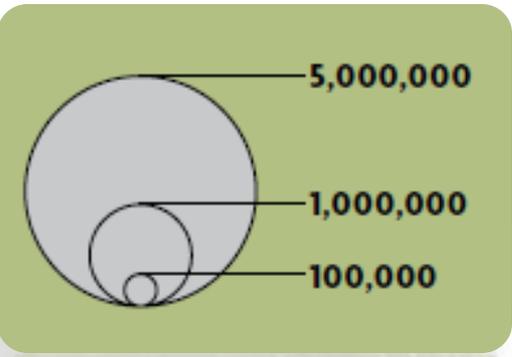
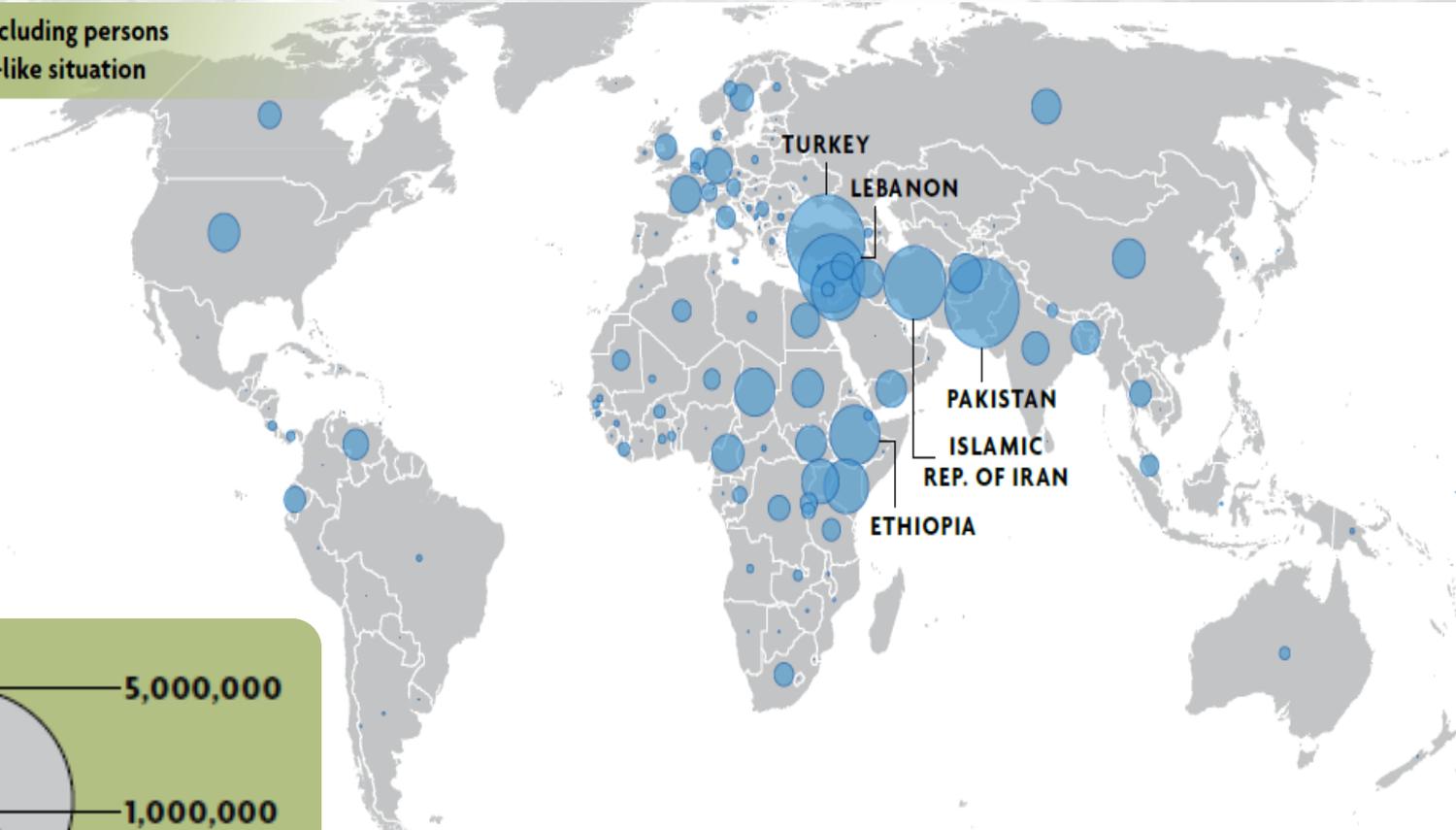


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Refugees, including persons
in a refugee-like situation



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Evolution of the refugee regime

- **In attempting to fulfill its mandate, UNHCR's work has been at the heart of global politics for more than 50 years**
- **Rapidly changing political circumstances and dynamics of displacement**
- **UNHCR has faced the challenge of upholding the regime while adapting to new circumstances**



1951 Refugee Convention (Geneva Convention)

- **First comprehensive international instrument on refugees**
- **It contains the universal definition of refugee and the principle of *non-refoulement***
- **It lists rights and obligations :**
 - **It requires States to co-operate with UNHCR**
 - **Suspension of penalties for illegal entry**
 - **Minimum standard of treatment, e.g. education, PHC**
 - **Facilitation of access to legal counsel**



1967 Protocol to the Refugee Convention

Addressed two limitations to the Convention:

- 1. 1951 dateline, which limited the benefits of the Convention to persons who became refugees prior to 1 January 1951**
- 2. Geographical limitation, to the Continent of Europe**



Evolution of UNHCR's work

- **1960s and 1970s: shift from Europe to the global South**
- **1980s: increased emphasis on humanitarian assistance over protection**
- **1990s: wider role in humanitarian assistance and repatriation**
- **End 1990s/early 2000s: greater responsibility for IDPs**



UNHCR
The UN Refugee Agency



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Growth of UNHCR



- **1950s:**
 - **Approximately 30 staff, based mostly in Europe**
 - **Budget of c. US\$ 300,000**
- **Today:**
 - **Staff of some 6,500 in 116 countries**
 - **Budget of c. US\$ 1.4 billion**



Scope of UNHCR's work



- **Not just refugees, but also IDPs, returnees, stateless, and a number of other 'persons of concern'**
- **Calls for UNHCR to be responsible for persons displaced by natural disasters, climate change and other migration**
- **What does this mean for UNHCR's core mandate of protection and solutions for refugees?**



Who is responsible for the protection of refugees?

- 1. Primarily it is the responsibility of States to provide national protection and to conduct eligibility procedures.**
- 2. When States do not meet this responsibility, the Statute of UNHCR contains mechanisms for ensuring protection of refugees.**



Common European Asylum System (CEAS)

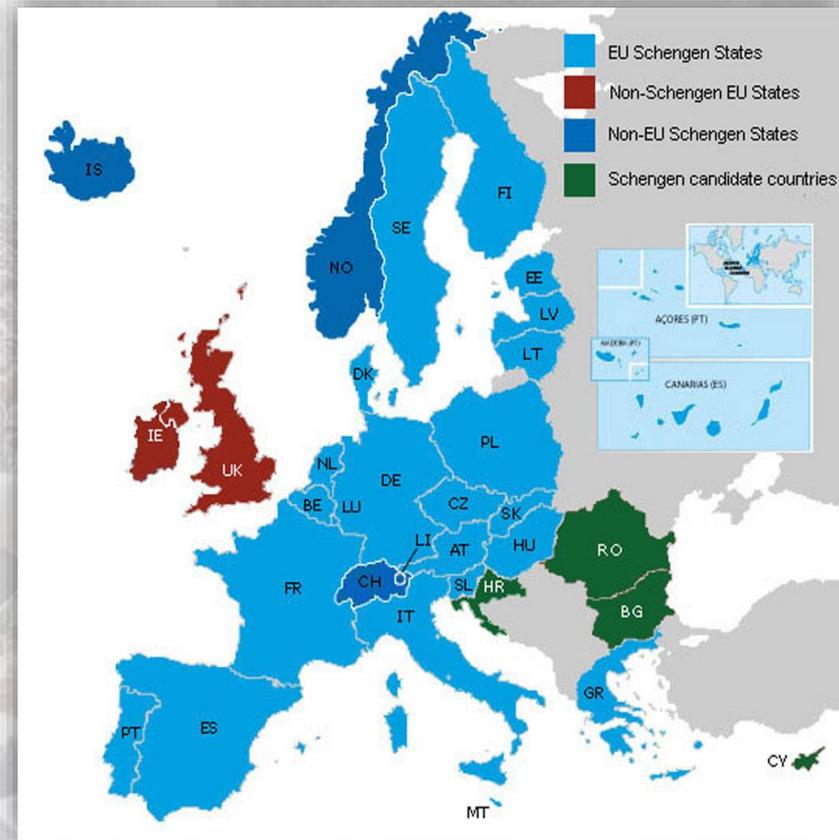
Developed in 1999 to harmonize common minimum standards for asylum and reception.

- Asylum Procedures Directive**
- Reception Conditions Directive**
- Qualification Directive**
- EURODAC**
- European Refugee Fund**



Schengen Area

- Established 1995
- Designed to help facilitate free travel of EU citizens (accompanies Eurozone and free trade of goods, services and capital)
- Privilege not for refugees and migrants



Dublin Regulations (1997)

What is it?

- Ensures that one MS is responsible for an asylum procedure.
- The first country an asylum-seekers enters is responsible for their RSD procedure.
- Prevents “asylum shopping”

In Practice

- Causes delays in applications
- Excessive use of detention
- Separates families
- Limited opportunities to appeal transfers
- Impedes integration
- Denies refugee agency
- Pressure on external borders



SYRIAN DISPLACEMENT

Over 12 million Syrians have been displaced, half of Syria's entire population. Most of them are scattered within Syria, but over 4 million were living abroad by the end of 2015 – nearly all of them in Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq.



Syria

52% of Syrian
refugee population
are children

Turkey
2,181,293

Lebanon
1,075,637

Iraq
244,765

Egypt
127,681

Jordan
633,644

The war in Syria entered into its 5th
year in 2015.

4,289,792 million refugees

7.6 million IDPs



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Increasing numbers of refugees and migrants take their chances aboard unseaworthy boats and dinghies in a desperate bid to reach Europe. The vast majority of those attempting this dangerous crossing are in need of international protection, fleeing war, violence and persecution in their country of origin. Every year these movements continue to exact a devastating toll on human life.

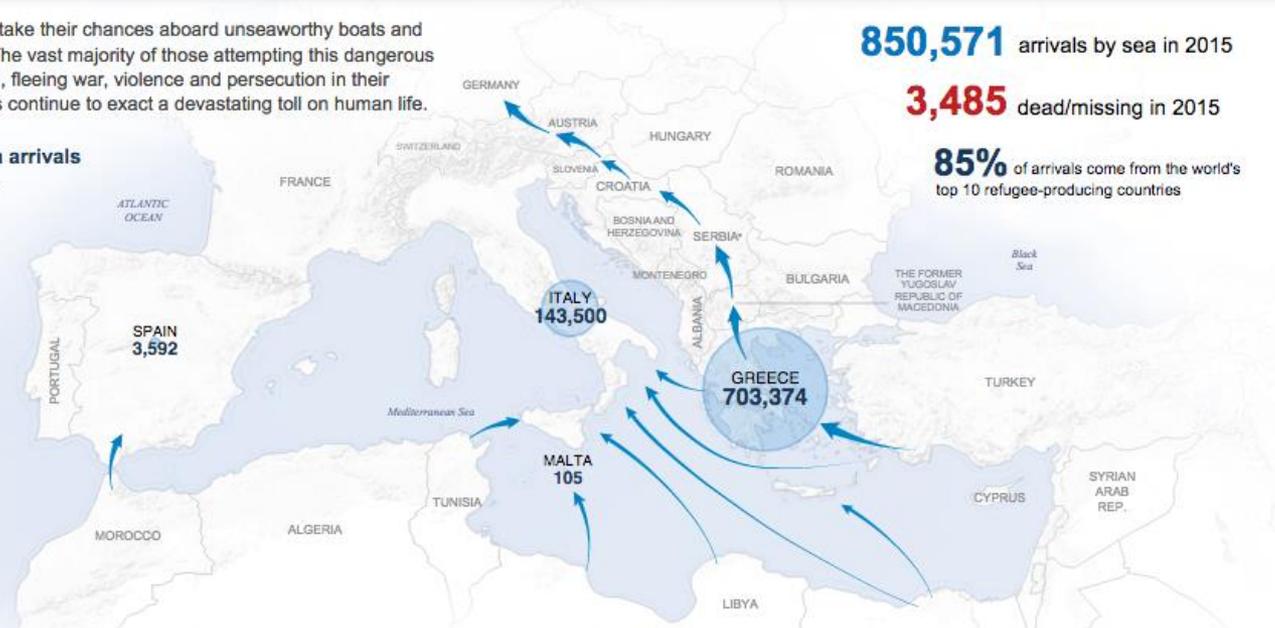
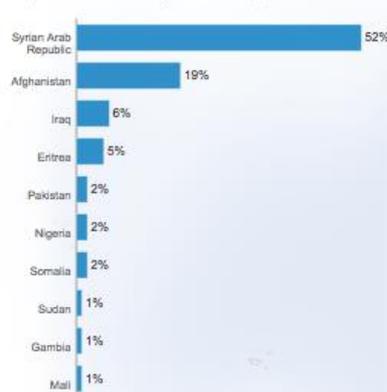
850,571 arrivals by sea in 2015

3,485 dead/missing in 2015

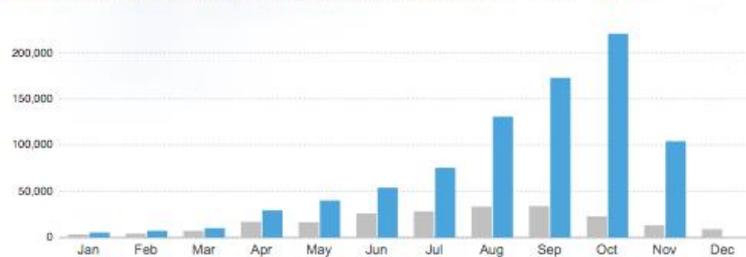
85% of arrivals come from the world's top 10 refugee-producing countries

Top-10 nationalities of Mediterranean sea arrivals

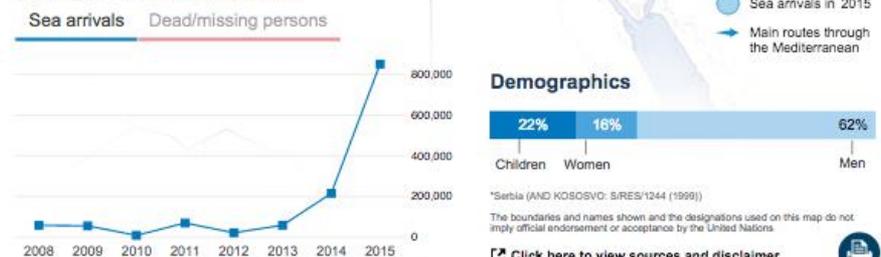
Top-10 nationalities represent **91%** of the sea arrivals



Comparison of monthly Mediterranean sea arrivals



Evolution - Mediterranean Sea



Demographics



*Serbia (AND KOSOVO): S/RES/1244 (1999)

The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations

[Click here to view sources and disclaimer](#)





Despite the drama of migrants trying to cross the Mediterranean to reach Europe, most Africans displaced by conflict stay in Africa.

Germany: Welcoming Refugees

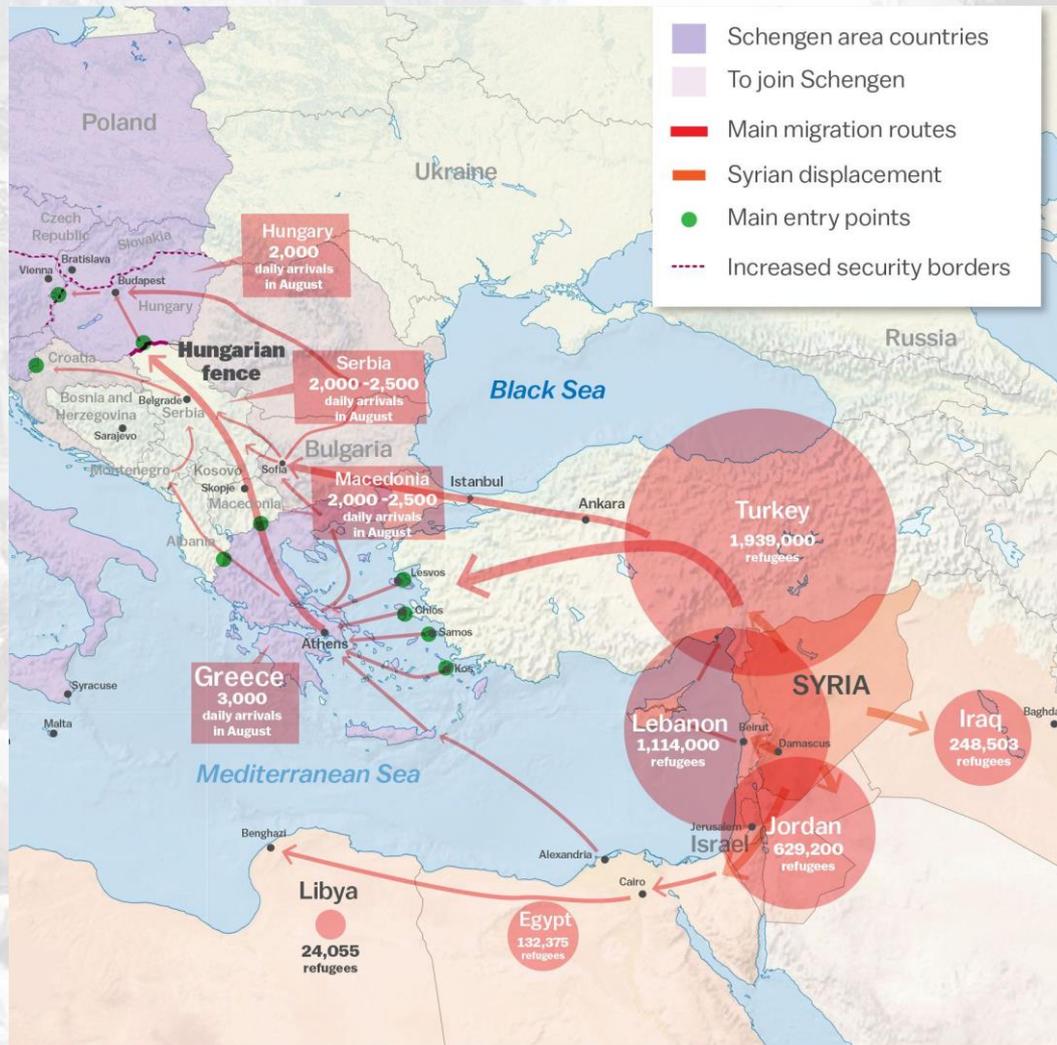
- 800,000 to 1 million refugees
- Suspended Dublin Regulation for Syrian refugees
- History: Germany wants to be seen as progressive and not excluding or oppressing minorities.
- Family Reunification
- Generous reception and welfare benefits
- Jobs



Hungary: Fences and Barriers

- **Hungary signed the Convention and Protocol in March 1989.**
- **De facto closure of border with Serbia since Sep 15 2015**
- **Criminalizing irregular entry from Serbia**
- **Asylum detention**
- **Deportation to Serbia**
- **As thousands of refugees sentenced to expulsion for crossing fence**





Syrian Refugees

4,087,139 people

Syrian Internally Displaced People

7,632,500 people

12.2 million people in need of humanitarian assistance inside Syria

SOURCE: European Commission, Reuters, BBC

Vox



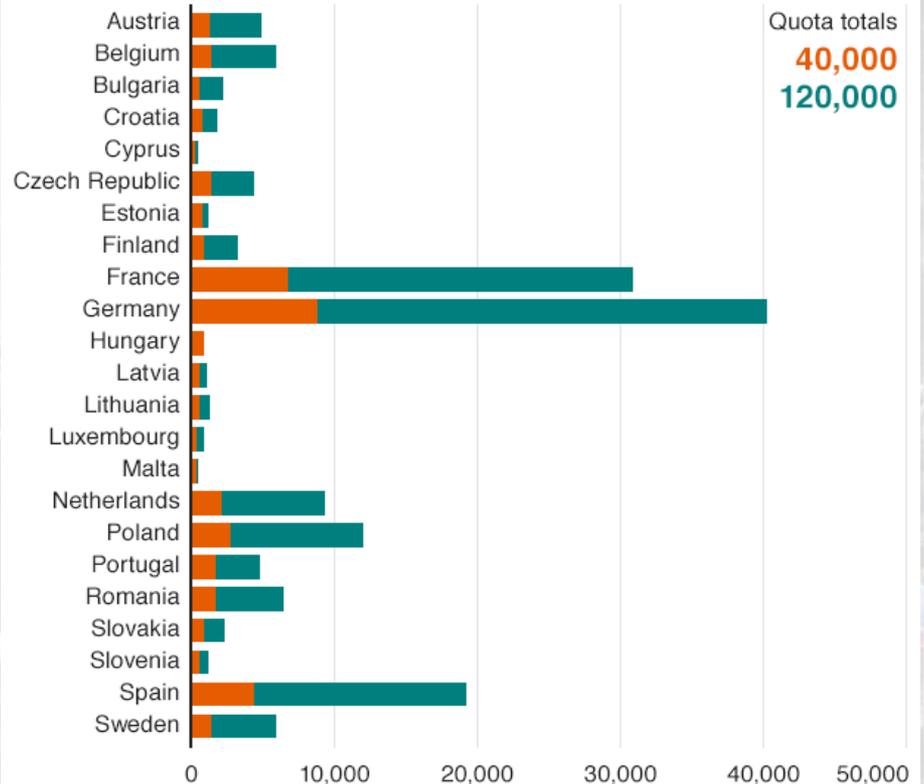
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EU Mandatory Refugee Quota Plan

Number of migrants EU countries are being asked to take

- May 2015: Proposed quotas for relocating migrants from Greece and Italy
- Sept 2015: Proposed additional quotas for relocating migrants from Greece, Italy and Hungary



UK, Ireland and Denmark can choose whether to take part in the quota scheme

Source: European Commission/Reuters

BBC



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EU Heads of State Meeting with Turkey

- Turkey not a signatory to the Protocol
- Temporary Protection
- Joint Action Plan to stem movement of *irregular* migration-preventing travel to Turkey and to the EU
- Incentives:
- An initial 3 billion EUR
- Easing of visa restrictions for Turks
- Renewed talks on Turkish accession to EU
 - Turkey has been in accession talks since October 2005





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Action Plan



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A clear path for UNHCR?



- **UNHCR may be more effective by placing greater emphasis on its ability to play a focused and strategic role**
- **UNHCR's catalytic and facilitative role**
- **Key requirements:**
 - **Development of a more comprehensive, system-wide response within the United Nations**
 - **UNHCR needs to be more politically engaged with the interests and capacities of states**



Migration is a shared responsibility of countries of origin, transit and destination.

- **Political declaration and an action plan designed to:**
 - **address the root causes of irregular migration and forced displacement**
 - **enhance cooperation on legal migration and mobility**
 - **reinforce the protection of migrants and asylum seekers**
 - **prevent and fight irregular migration, migrant smuggling and trafficking in human beings**
 - **work more closely to improve cooperation on return, readmission and reintegration**



Strain on regime's core elements

- **Is the 1951 Convention still relevant?**
- **Some argue that the Convention is Euro-centric, inflexible, outdated and not able to address displacement today**
- **Others argue that while the Convention is not perfect, it continues to provide an important foundation**
- **Key: Core challenges to protection and solutions remain**



Challenges to protection

- **Crisis of asylum in the global North**
 - **Since 1980s: introduction of non-arrival, diversion and deterrent policies to prevent arrival of asylum seekers, especially in Europe and Australia**
- **Crisis of asylum in the global South**
 - **Limits on the *quantity* of asylum, through closing borders, early repatriation and expulsions**
 - **Limits on the *quality* of asylum, by containing refugees in isolated and insecure camps**
- **UNHCR has been marginalized**



Challenges to solutions

- **Rise of ‘protracted refugee situations’**
- **Nearly 70% of today’s 11.4 million refugees have been in exile for more than 5 years**
- **Average duration of a refugee situation now 18 years**
- **This average has doubled in 15 years**



Politics of protracted refugee situations

- **Many of long-standing refugee situations linked to fragile states, such as Afghanistan, Burundi, Liberia & Somalia**
- **Unresolved refugee situations may undermine peacebuilding**
 - **Presence of ‘spoilers’**
 - **Forced and unsustainable return**
- **Refugees may contribute to peacebuilding**
 - **Skills training in exile to support peace at home**



Efforts to find solutions

- ◎ **Effective responses require the engagement of more than UNHCR**
- ◎ **Comprehensive solutions require engagement by broader range of actors:**
 - **Peace and Security: UN Peacebuilding Commission in Burundi, Sierra Leone and elsewhere**
 - **Development: One UN initiative in Bangladesh, Pakistan and Tanzania**
- ◎ **Need to mainstream refugee issues throughout the UN System**



Challenge of funding

- ◎ **UNHCR is dependent on voluntary funds to meet its US\$ 1.4 billion budget**
- ◎ **75% of contributions come from 10 donors**
- ◎ **80% of contributions were earmarked in 2006, either thematically or regionally**
- ◎ **100% earmarking from 3 largest donors**

UNHCR's predicament: it is responsible for the integrity of the refugee regime, but it is dependent on a small group of donor states to carry-out its work



Responding to the challenges

- **Continuing relevance of UNHCR's core mandate: protection and solutions**
- **Changing international context post-9/11 and with forces of globalization**
- **UNHCR must engage in broader areas of migration, security and development**
- **But: Not an argument for UNHCR to infinitely expand its mandate**
- **UNHCR should do more by doing less**



Resettlement Categories

- **Legal and/or physical protection needs**
- **Survivors of violence and/or torture**
- **Medical needs**
- **Women and girls at risk**
- **Family reunification**
- **Children and adolescents at risk**
- **Lack of foreseeable alternative durable solutions**



UNHCR Submissions by Resettlement Category 2005-2014

Category	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Grand Total*
Legal and Physical Protection Needs	59.70%	68.17%	62.24%	50.37%	41.37%	40.51%	45.79%	47.18%	43.23%	33.56%	47.40%
Lack of Foreseeable Alternative Durable Solutions	26.28%	16.68%	17.95%	24.25%	27.93%	28.57%	21.32%	23.58%	22.92%	26.22%	23.91%
Survivors of Violence and/or Torture	4.92%	5.10%	8.76%	13.16%	17.09%	16.73%	18.16%	13.95%	16.09%	22.34%	14.69%
Women and Girls at Risk	5.65%	6.03%	6.81%	7.75%	8.73%	9.06%	10.33%	11.66%	12.49%	12.72%	9.43%
Medical	1.73%	2.08%	1.39%	2.05%	2.60%	2.52%	2.10%	2.10%	2.25%	2.50%	2.17%
Family Reunification	0.94%	0.88%	0.86%	0.99%	0.94%	1.24%	1.11%	0.78%	2.23%	1.43%	1.17%
Children and Adolescents at Risk	0.61%	0.96%	1.55%	0.76%	0.40%	0.53%	0.60%	0.59%	0.74%	1.22%	0.79%
Older Refugees**	0.16%	0.11%	0.45%	0.66%	0.92%	0.85%	0.61%	0.17%	0.05%	0.00%	
Grand Total	100.00%										



Canada and Refugee Resettlement: *Responsibility Sharing*



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Canada and Resettlement

- **Canada is second largest resettlement country in terms of referrals made by UNHCR (USA is the first).**
- **Indochinese refugees**
- **People of Canada awarded Nansen Medal in 1986 for their role in PSR and GSR.**
- **Politicization of Resettlement.**
- **Resettling 25,000 Syrian refugees – election issue (2015)**



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Canada's current role



- **Canada as key partner to UNHCR**
 - **As a donor: contributions of over C\$40 million to UNHCR per year**
 - **As a resettlement country: resettles some 10,000 refugees a year (government and private)**
- **But not a hegemon:**
 - **US contributes over US\$300 million to UNHCR and resettles more than 45,000 refugees**



Canada's leadership role



© Discussions on good donorship

- Addressing the challenge of earmarking

© Policy innovations

- Strategic use of resettlement
- Complementary nature of durable solutions

© Diplomatic leadership

© Innovations at home

- Interdepartmental Working Group on Protracted Refugee Situations
- Metropolis Conversations on specific situations



Canada's future role

- ◎ **Leadership needed within the refugee regime and within the UN System**
- ◎ **Engage the interests and concerns of host states in the global South**
- ◎ **Share expertise with other states**
 - **Refugee resettlement**
 - **Interdepartmental dialogue**
- ◎ **Mainstream refugee issues at the UN**
 - **UN Peacebuilding Commission**
 - **One UN Development initiative**



Discussion Questions

- 1. How does the forced movement of peoples affect global stability and security?**
- 2. How do developed, Western countries manage a crisis of this magnitude?**
- 3. What role can Canada play while still guarding national security and national interest?**



Thank you!

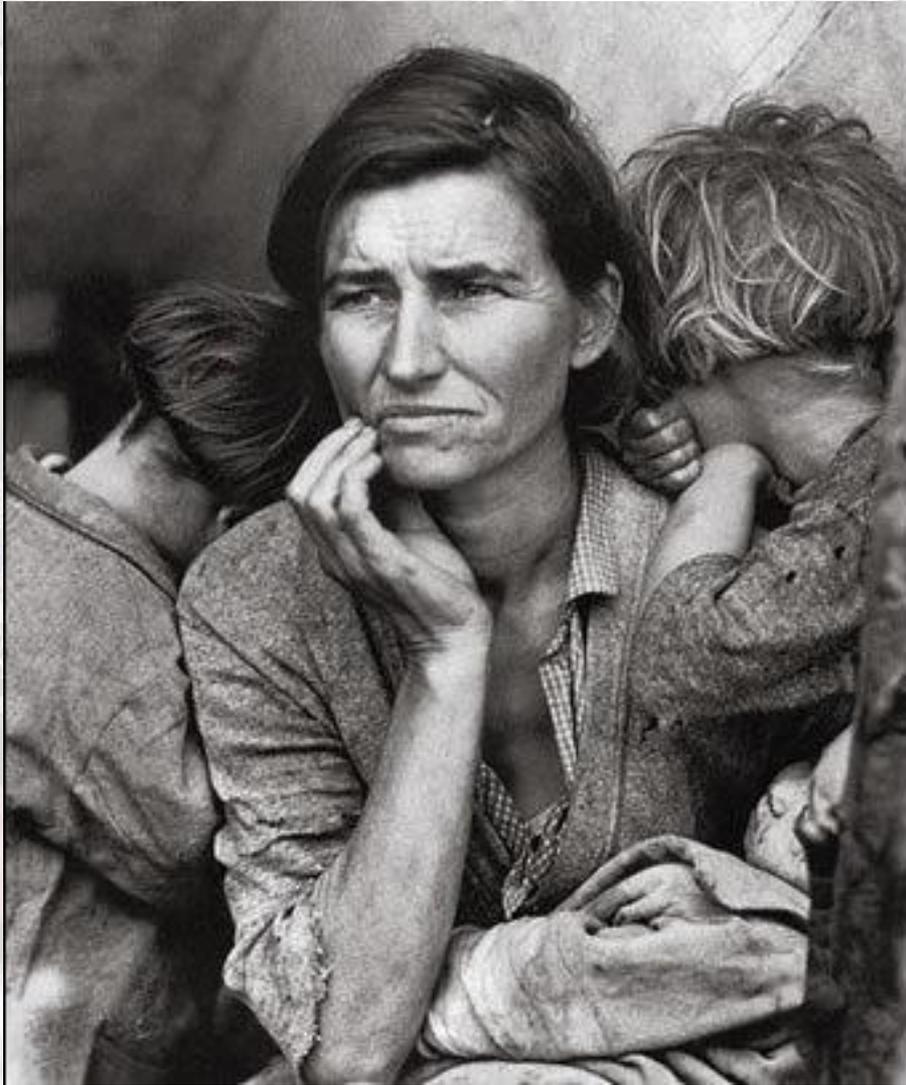
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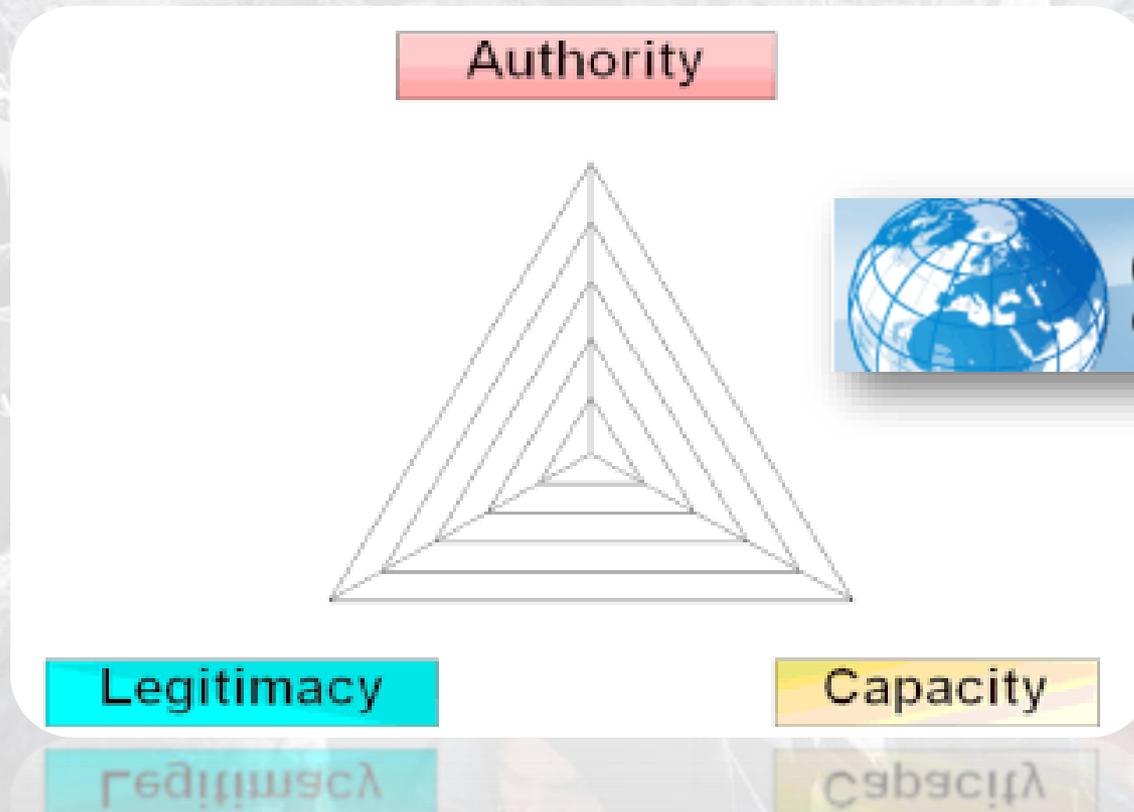
What is “State Fragility”?

- **Different definitions but all have some things in common**
- **Failed States Index (Fund for Peace)**
- **Political Instability Task Force (George Mason University – CIA funded)**
- **Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (World Bank)**

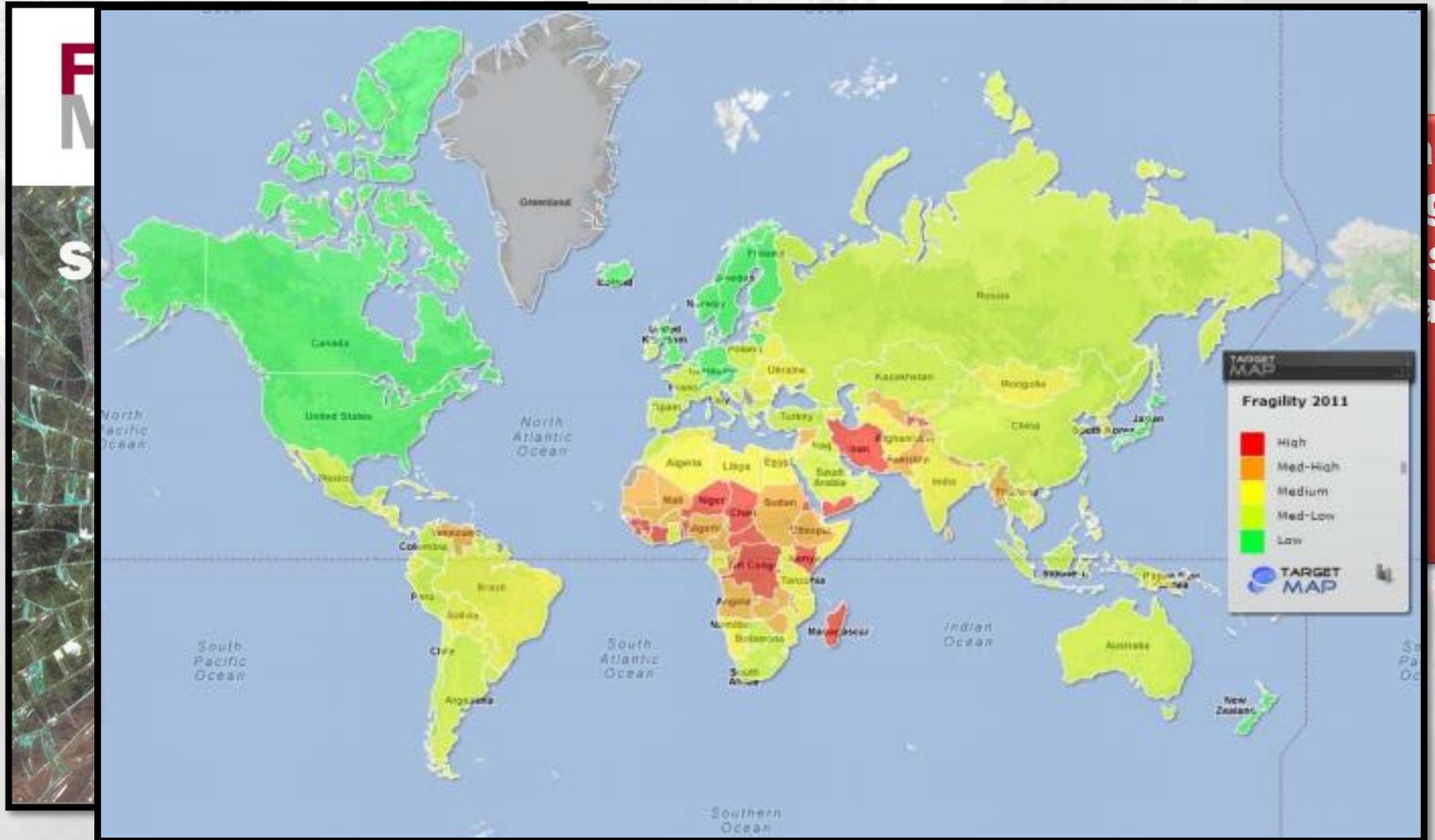


Country Indicators for Foreign Policy (CIFP)

- **Three dimensions of statehood**



Saliency of the Issue



Signal



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Case Studies



Mozambique

- **Mozambique saw at the height of its conflict a minimum of 1 million refugees having fled to Malawi specifically.**
- **Some estimates of up to 5 million having been displaced in total.**
- **More than 20 years of peace, now a ‘success’ story.**



Colombia

- **Colombia has one of the largest displaced populations in the world.**
- **Involuntary displacement is estimated at 2.9 million persons (7% of total population and 29.1% of the rural population).**
- **Displacement is growing faster than ever.**



Discussion

- **Theory: Improved understanding of how fragility and forced migration interact.**
- **Policy: Convince states and the international community it is in their best interest to provide support.**



Twitter Resources

- **@OXMOFm** The Oxford Monitor of Forced Migration (OxMo) is an independent publication dedicated to protecting and advancing the human rights of forced migrants.
- **@MigrMatters** Migration Matter works to create a more open and evidence-based conversation on migration through short, accessible video lectures delivered to your inbox.
- **@PatrickKingsley** Patrick Kingsley is the Guardian's migration correspondent
- **@refugeesdeeply** A project to bring light to the worldwide surge in refugees, from the creators of @SyriaDeeply
- **@alexander_betts** Alexander Betts is Professor at Oxford and Director of the Refugee Studies Centre.
- **@FitzGeraldUCSD** David Fitzgerald is Professor of Sociology and CoDirector Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, University of California, San Diego
- **@RefugeeData** News from the Calais camps, filling the gaps in #refugeedata
- **@ColinYeo1** Colin Yeo Immigration and asylum barrister, blogger and campaigner at Garden Court Chambers and blogs regularly on a broad range of matters from the legal perspective of asylum
- **@mobilitymuse** Katy Long Writer and Researcher on migration and refugee issues, author of The Huddled Masses and visiting scholar at Stanford
- **@MSF_Sea** Live updates from MSF projects assisting migrants and refugees in Europe and in the Mediterranean Sea

