

## Postscript: The Global Compact for Migration: what road from Marrakech?

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Chapters in this volume have followed different fora and deliberations on the global governance of migration initiated by the *UN High Level Dialogue on Migration and Development* (UNHLD) in 2006 up till and including the summit of the *Global Forum on Migration and Development* (GFMD) in Berlin 2017. The focus of the book is on the impact of civil society groups and organizations on these processes concerned with the formulation of an overall normative framework for the governance of migration.

This postscript addresses venues taking place after the Berlin GFMD. It revolves around the idea of ‘invited’ versus ‘invented’ spaces (Chapters 2, 6 and 7). *Invited spaces* stand for positions and platforms occupied by civil society organizations (CSOs) or non-governmental organizations (NGOs), embodied in a general neoliberal idea of ‘participatory governance’ in terms of state–market–civil society partnerships. *Invented spaces* are in contrast organizational and ideopolitical positions or counterhegemonic platforms occupied by contestative movements which through their collective action confront the status quo (Chapter 6). In the present text invited spaces refer to civil society groups in their position as participants within intergovernmental and international fora for deliberation on migration management. Invented spaces refer to independent civil society platforms for the development of strategies and action aimed at inclusive social, labour, citizenship and human rights of migrants.

From this perspective we relate in the following to the *Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration* (GCM) agreed upon by governments on an intergovernmental conference 10–11 December 2018 in Marrakech and formally adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 19 December 2018.<sup>1</sup> Our focus is on civil society’s perceptions of the GCM, and potentials for following up intentions of the compact through ‘invited spaces’ for dialogue with governments and international organizations on the road from Marrakech. We continue with a short presentation of professed ‘invented spaces’ for solidarity mobilization of social movements and their strategies for social inclusion: the *People’s Global Action on Migration, Development and Human Rights* (PGA), the *Permanent Peoples Tribunal* (PPT), *La Via Campesina*, *Churches Witnessing With Migrants* (CWWM) and the *World Social Forum on Migration* (WSFM).

### Predicaments of the Global Compact

The Intergovernmental Conference to adopt the GCM was preceded by a particularly dense combination of gatherings involving a plethora of stakeholders and often overlapping spaces, which was termed the ‘migration week’. At its core was the yearly meeting of the GFMD, consisting of the *Government Meeting* (6 and 7 December), the *Civil Society Days* (4 and 6 December) and the *Common Space* (5 December) explicitly designed as an ‘invited space’ for the deliberation between

civil society and governments. As every year since 2006 (Ålund and Schierup Chapter 6) multiple stakeholders came together for the PGA in Marrakech, 8–9 December, in between the GFMD and the concluding GCM intergovernmental conference (10–11 December). Numerous side events were organized in the ‘migration week’, focusing on issues concerned with migration, development and human rights. In the weekend before the GCM conference (and thus parallel to the PGA) 60 side event sessions took place. In addition, on the same dates full conferences were held such as the *Tenth Diaspora Development Dialogue* (DDD10), *The Role of the African Diaspora in the Implementation of the Global Compact on Migration and as Catalyst for Sustainable Development* (8–9 December), a *Migration Youth Forum on the GCM* (8–9 December) and the conference *Euro-African Crossroad of Migration and Development* (8–9 December).<sup>2</sup>

The importance of cities for the implementation of policies of migrant inclusion was highlighted by the launch of the *Mayors Migration Council* on 8 December at the fifth *Mayoral Forum on Human Mobility, Migration and Development*, where representatives from over 70 cities debated and endorsed a mayoral declaration, delivered to the GCM conference (UCLG – Committee on Social Inclusion 2018). The organizers of the Mayoral Forum had decided to ‘dock onto’ the GFMD process since they considered it as a major space for multiple stakeholders to deliberate on migration in a non-binding, informal setting.

Likewise, the GFMD can be seen as a venue for ‘state-socialisation’, where for now more than a decade states have found a space for exchanges on the issue with each other, but also increasingly with civil society actors (Chapter 5 and Rother 2018). It can also be seen as a venue that has been central (besides the more immediate pressure felt by states through the so-called ‘migration crisis’) in paving the way towards the 2016 *New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants*<sup>3</sup> and its call to establish two global compacts: one on refugees and one on (mostly labour) migration (the GCM).

The GCM is a non-binding document, meant to express a common roadmap for governments in the management of a so-called ‘safe, orderly and regular migration’, yet confirming the ‘sovereign right of States to determine their national migration policy’ (United Nations 2018). It rests professedly on the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and other UN human rights declarations and documents, including the *Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals* (Chapter 3). Tellingly, though, the reference to the – binding – 1990 *International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families*<sup>4</sup> (ICRMW) is only made in a footnote.

In effect, the compact has been met by highly different responses.

A major – and seemingly concerted – campaign has been launched by groups from the far-right spectrum such as the *Identitarian Movement* (*Identitäre Bewegung*). While the broader public rarely took notice of the compact process even when the final draft was agreed upon in July 2018, numerous campaigns and conspiracy theories were launched on social media. Among the allegations was a criticism of an allegedly toxic pro-migration bias of the compact, its professed emphasis on respecting and implementing human rights of migrants, its perceived threats to state sovereignty and an alleged ‘censorship’ of critical voices. An early indicator of things to come was the United States’ withdrawal from the work on the compact in November 2017 – right before a first stocktaking meeting took place in Puerto Vallarta. Other states, including Australia, Chile, the Dominican Republic, together with EU member states under neo-conservative rule, including Austria, Hungary, Italy, Bulgaria, Poland, the Czech republic and Slovakia, have followed suit and abstained from supporting the compact in December 2018, asserting that the compact invites new floods of culturally extraneous migrants, causing the death knell of incumbered nations. It is an indicator of the major impact of the far-right campaign that most of these countries (except Hungary) had still supported the GCM when the final draft had been agreed upon just a few months earlier. An especially telling

case was the one of Austrian chancellor Sebastian Kurz, who had welcomed the compact when the process was started and was fully involved in the negotiations when Austria chaired the EU. But in response to the campaign of the 'Identitarian Movement' (which is particularly strong in Austria) and under pressure from his right-wing coalition partner, Kurz made a 180 degree turn and suddenly saw the GCM to be 'diametrically opposed to Austria's interest'. The incoming neo-fascist government of Brazil declared (as of December 2018) that it intended to withdraw from the compact.

Accordingly, the very language of human and migrant rights, appropriated by the GCM, has provoked populist regimes, parties and movements on the extreme right, and it has aroused a storm of propagandistic remonstrations. The appropriation of a human rights discourse<sup>5</sup> by the GCM could, however, at the same time be seen as a victory for a global civil society's thrust for a rights-based governance on migration, pushed along in deliberations with governments and international organizations, from the first UNHLD in 2006 until the adoption of the global compact, today. However, notwithstanding the compact's proclaimed subscription to a human rights agenda, the reception of the GCM among the numerous civil society delegates, gathered in Marrakech from all over the world in December 2018, was far from unanimously positive.

Certainly, a 'joint message', addressed by 90 CSOs and NGOs from across the world to the States at the concluding Intergovernmental conference 10–11 December, endorsed the GCM as 'a historic achievement': a 'comprehensive framework for multilateral cooperation on international migration ... [with] potential to make a positive impact on the lives of millions of ... fellow human beings who move in search of a life of dignity and security for themselves and their families' (ICVA 2018).<sup>6</sup> This unconditional affirmation could be seen to lend the GCM the status of a hegemonic accord, ostensibly legitimized by a consensual 'global civil society'.

Yet, many speakers at the Marrakech Civil Society Days expressed a critically *pragmatic* view of the GCM, seeing the compact as perhaps the best document possible under today's adverse political and social conditions. An often-heard sentiment was that the provisions of the compact represented 'a floor, not a ceiling'. From this perspective the compact's actual meaning and importance is seen to depend on the degree to which global, regional and national CSOs will be able to mobilize and hold the governments responsible for the implementation of its perceived positive aspects. The key question forward is, argued Mamadou Goïta, from the *Pan African Network in Defence of Migrant Rights* (PANiDMR) and co-chair of the GFMD Civil Society Days, 'how to leverage a global multilateral agreement and networks to impact national debates?' (PICUM 2018). In the Introductory Plenary Assembly of the PGA event in Marrakech, 8 December 2018, Goïta addressed the GCM and its impact on Migration Policies condensed in the question 'Migration Crisis or Crisis of the Political and Economic System?' Describing the position of civil society in negotiations during the GCM preparatory process Goïta noted that 'We were observers, not negotiators'. He emphasized that the GCM exposes 'many weaknesses and some strong points'. Africa and Asia are weakened and divided, he noted, and must be 'pragmatic'. The compact is, from this perspective, as maintained on the home page of the *Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants* (PICUM 2018), seen as a key moment and opportunity to 'shift the narrative' on migration: that is, by implication, using relevant follow-up mechanisms of the GCM as invented spaces for further dialogue and negotiation to be taken advantage of by civil society on the road from Marrakech.

PANiDMR and PICUM are both members of the *Global Coalition on Migration*, formed by 20 mainly migrant-led organizations. The Coalition has been spearheading civil society's participation as stakeholders in the intergovernmental processes leading to the GCM<sup>7</sup> (with which it shares the same acronym). Since the New York Declaration in 2016 the Coalition and its member organizations have been engaged in global and regional consultations and advocacy with governments and

international organizations on the GCM. There was indeed an awareness that the GCM does not *necessarily* by itself result in better human rights protection.<sup>8</sup> Related to this, it must also be noted that the so-called ‘zero draft’ of the GCM, issued in early 2018, was clearly informed by the language of and issues on the agenda of migrant rights organizations. Not surprisingly, several of these issues were ‘watered down’ with each draft emerging from the intergovernmental negotiations. Notwithstanding observations that the ‘compact falls short in several important areas and in some aspects steps away from current international standards and regional practice’,<sup>9</sup> most members of the Coalition endorsed the final draft of the GCM as well, since several issues relevant for their agenda were perceived to have survived successive deliberations, albeit sometimes under less obvious framings. The actual meaning of the Compact is thus, from this perspective, seen to depend on the degree to which global, regional and national CSOs will be able to mobilize on all relevant levels, to hold governments responsible for the compact’s actual implementation, and on the ability to continue successful deliberations on the extension of its coverage into additional realms of human, labour and citizenship rights.

A more resolutely critical position is, for example, held by the regional-European *Transnational Migrant Platform-Europe* (TMP-E), likewise member of the Global Coalition on Migration. TMP-E is, among other, contesting the non-binding character of the GCM and the criminalization and detention of migrants and refugees. In the consultations following the New York Declaration the TMP-E took a markedly robust position on human and labour rights. Thus, a statement by the TMP-E, submitted 2 October 2017 to the Regional Consultation in Europe on the GCM,<sup>10</sup> stressed, among other, the exigency of bringing discriminatory, divisive and imperilling politics and practices of ‘temporary migration programs’ to an end. That is the new ‘normal’ of a global politics of ‘apartheisation’, as we describe it in this volume (Chapter 1), yet an issue hardly touched upon in the final text of the GCM. Together with other networks a mobilization questioning the GCM is being planned by TMP-E in Brussels (April 2019), with activities both inside and outside the European Parliament, ahead of the upcoming parliamentary elections.

A noteworthy position memo concerning inherent weaknesses of the GCM was addressed to the concluding intergovernmental GCM meeting on 10–11 December (RSMMS 2018) by the *Mediterranean – Sub-Saharan Migration Trade Union Network* (RSMMS). The RSMMS is a coalition of 24 trade unions from three regions (Southern Europe, the Maghreb and Francophone West Africa). The RSMMS emphasizes in their address to the governments the fundamental character of ‘the right to migrate’, the ‘right to decent work’ and the protection of workers, independent of their legal status. It stresses the fundamental role that should be played by unions in struggling, in the context of the GCM, for decent work for workers of the world. This pertains to the inviolable rights of millions of workers inscribed in binding UN conventions, in particular relating to the most vulnerable, including undocumented migrant workers operating in the informal sector. In line with this the RSMMS challenges the GCM’s feeble protection of migrant workers, and the absence in the GCM of a range of essential *social* rights and services that should be available to all migrants. It criticizes a weak stance of the compact concerning the principle of non-criminalization of irregular migrants and the absence of respect for the principle of non-refoulement. The network expresses further its discontent with the absence in the compact of a section specifically dedicated to the governance of labour rights as recommended by the ILO (International Labour Organization) in its input for the GCM. This includes, it is stressed, ‘social dialogue’, ‘tripartism’ and freedom of association and collective bargaining agreements. In line with this the RSMMS reaffirms the fundamental importance of struggling for the affirmation of binding conventions of the United Nations, not least the ICRMW.

There is indeed a contrast between the strong presence in the 1990 ICRMW and the 1998 ILO *Declaration of Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work* (applying universally to all ILO Member States) of protection of labour rights for all, of rights to freedom of association and collective bargaining, and the duties of states to protect migrant workers' inclusion into or their formation of labour unions as well as other forms of collective organization, and the almost complete absence of these principles in the GCM. It dovetails with a progressing marginalization of the ILO in the GFMD/GCM processes and the matching reinforcement of the role of the IOM, of which different aspects are discussed in Chapters 3, 6 and 8 of this volume. It indicates an inherent weakness of the GCM framework as a potential platform of 'invited spaces' for migrant and civil society impact: a problem of 'participatory governance' that we have discussed at length across the contributions to the book. It brings to light the business-friendly character of the GFMD/GCM process (Chapter 3), blocking the introduction of clauses on migration that would limit flexploitation of migrant workers and thus the space of manoeuvre of multinational corporations and their globally extended networks (Chapter 2).

This potentially retrogressive predicament of the GCM was particularly powerfully brought out in an *Appeal of 18 December for Equal Rights and Social Justice*, circulated by the Euro-Moroccan chair of the 2018 PGA in Marrakech on behalf of more than 30 North African and European migrant and migrant supportive organizations (MDDC 2018).<sup>11</sup> The ICRMW represented, it is argued, a qualitative leap ahead in its capacity of an international judicial instrument but unfortunately mainly signed by states of the South. However, in the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration the rich countries have found a means to marginalize and counteract the 1990 convention.

On a similar stance, former ILO Senior Migration Specialist and *Global Migration Policy Associates* (GMPA) President Patrick Taran (2018) argues that the confirmation of the GCM amounts to no less than a major *regime change*, concerning the overall existing legal, policy, institutional and practical governance system.

In historical normative and political terms the GCM logic, content and impact is 'regime change' away from the binding application and rule of law implementation of the global normative system of universal, inalienable, indivisible Human Rights – including labour rights/international labour standards to all – in particular to all migrants ... As a non-binding declarative instrument explicitly about migration *management*, the GCM presents an agenda for arbitrary executive authority at the exclusion of equally engaging the parliamentary legislative role and the roles of the judiciary ... The overall terms of *safe orderly and regular migration* have no accountable international normative definitions, in contrast to terms of *rights, justice, equality/non-discrimination* and *social protection*, which are normatively defined and recognized widely in international law and jurisprudence as applicable to all migrants. The non-normatively bound terms translate to and indeed reinforce the absence of enforceable rights protection, promotion and fulfilment of obligations at the national level, never mind international accountability.

### **Another compact is possible! Voices for counterhegemonic solidarity**

Critical voices of a contestative civil society, of which a few are referred to above, call for the reinforcement of genuinely autonomous 'invented spaces' for organization, cross-sectoral multilevel strategizing (local, national, transnational, regional and global) and CSO action. It is about building broad solidarities opposed to a hyper-exploitative 'management of migration' in a world of walled states.

One potentially important invented space remains the PGA (*Peoples Global Action for Migration, Development and Human Rights*). In Chapter 6 of this volume we have argued that, in its position as an adjunct to recurrent government-driven fora, the PGA has suffered from civil society fragmentation and co-optation, and it has demonstrated a lack of transformative strength to defy core stratagems of a neoliberal corporate-driven global governance hegemony. Yet, the PGA venue in Berlin 2017 seemed to indicate a change towards a more dynamic approach. The PGA venue in 8–9 December in Marrakech further indicated the PGA's continued, or perhaps recuperated, character of an open 'invented space' with critical potential for engendering contestative political subjectivity and counterhegemonic activism. Debates in thematic workshops delved into essential issues of root causes and structurally conditioned consequences of migration. They evolved around themes such as undocumented migrants in the present moment of crisis and political and economic restructuring, migrant women's human rights, social movements and gendered migrant labour in the global economy, economic roots of xenophobic backlash and strategies for building solidarity between national and migrant workers, the quandary of securitization and walled states, extractionism and land grabbing as drivers of migration, forced migration and the impoverishment of communities in a context of the dismantlement of public services in the global South as well as North.

The road from Berlin 2017 and from Marrakech 2018 signifies the importance of global civil society summits like the PGA as incubators for a wider mobilization of critical counterhegemonic movements. Parallel to participation in the civil society consultations for the Global Compact, the TMP-E, co-chair of the Berlin PGA, organized together with the PPT<sup>12</sup> a series of Hearings on the unprecedented violations with impunity of the human rights of Migrant and Refugee Peoples throughout 2017–2018. These Hearings held in Barcelona, Palermo, Paris and London<sup>13</sup> – the outcomes of which were brought to Marrakesh – laid the ground for an identification of a 'necropolitics'<sup>14</sup> and crimes against humanity by the European Union (EU) and its member states causing continuing mass deaths in the Mediterranean and Aegean seas. According to Jille Belisario of the TMP-E, it is the PPT and *not* the Global Compact which is robustly defending the inalienable human rights of migrants and refugees – a position also strongly advocated by the FMAS (Moroccan Steering Committee for the PGA and the Maghreb Social Forum).<sup>15</sup> This contestation was moreover strongly articulated in the *Peoples Summit*, organized by *La Via Campesina* in Marrakesh (8–9 December) with delegates from all continents as well as a broad participation by movements from Morocco and the Maghreb region. The Peoples Summit proposed an *Agreement on an International Pact of Solidarity and Unity of Action for The Full Rights of All Migrants and Refugees* and outlined a proposal for alternatives as its response to the GCM.<sup>16</sup>

A further space for deliberations of migrant rights networks and their counterhegemonic resistance to global migration discourses and 'management' (see Chapter 9) was the ninth international consultation of CWWM held in Marrakech, 6–8 December. The gathering brought together migrants and representatives from faith-based organizations, service providers and migrant groups from 22 countries. The aim of the CWWM is to ground global deliberations in the lived experiences of migrants and thus link the grassroots to the global level. In Marrakesh, this was achieved by two means: for one, by direct exposure to the work of *Comité d'Entraide Internationale* – CEI (International Aid Committee) of the *Evangelical Protestant Church in Morocco* (Eglise Evangélique au Maroc, EEAM). Here, CWWM participants helped with food distribution and interviewed migrants. Second, as the 'witnessing' in the title implies, the sharing of experiences by migrants and refugees forms a central part of the CWWM. Among those telling their stories were Erwiana Sulistyaningsih, an Indonesian migrant domestic worker who suffered enormous abuse while being employed in Hong Kong. Grass-roots migrant organizations in Hong Kong launched a major

campaign to support her and she – successfully – brought her abusive employer to court. Another witness was Celia Veloso, the mother of Mary Jane Veloso, a Filipino migrant worker who faces a death sentence in Indonesia for (unknowingly, as she insists) being used for drug trafficking.

The CWWM also addressed issues that were otherwise rarely addressed in Marrakesh – among them the *Compact for Refugees* and the situation of the internally displaced: ‘What to do with internally displaced peoples and the Global Compact for Migration that is Silent about them?’ was the title of a presentation by Cecilia Jimenez-Damary, UN Special Rapporteur on the *Human Rights of Internally Displaced Peoples*. Lina Cahuasquí from MIREDES (*Migrants, Refugees and the Displaced*) reported from the *Migrant Caravan*’ at the US–Mexican border: ‘It is not a migrant caravan, it is an exodus. The causes are poverty, generalized corruption, lack of employment, violence and impunity. Here, migration is an act of resistance – it should become activism that brings together social forces’.

The CWWM thus linked to the fourth General Assembly of the *International Migrants Alliance* (IMA) in November 2018 in Mexico City’s Colonia Tabacalera, held under the theme ‘March onwards a world without forced migration: Migrants, refugees and peoples of the world unite and fight capitalist exploitation, plunder and war! Forge the strongest solidarity with the host people in effectively fighting imperialism!’. Here, participants had not only deliberated on the GCM and related issues but also assisted members of the caravan.

The IMA meeting coincided with the World Social Forum on Migration (WSFM), a major, potentially counterhegemonic, ‘invented space’, discussed in the book’s Chapter 2. Under the slogan: migrate, resist, build and transform, over 1000 migrants, human rights defenders, academics and activists from 70 countries gathered 2–5 November 2018 for the eighth global summit of the WSFM in Mexico City, among them several organizations also participating in the ‘migration week’ in Marrakech, including, for example, *La Via Campesina*, TMP-E and MDDC. Thematic actions for discussion at the WSFM included, among other, the realities of new walls, their structural–institutional conditionalities and their relation to current political hegemonies. They included migration and climate change, gender and migration, politics of resistance driven by social movements and collective action and forced migration in the context of the systemic crisis of capitalism.

Compared to civil society participation in the GFMD, the UNHLD and consultations pertaining to the Global Compact, the WSFM constitutes a genuinely autonomous ‘invented space’. It aims to promote, in theory and practice, and with its own calendar and geography, a counterhegemonic block aimed at addressing the root causes of the currently dominant forms of migration. Compared to the limitations of the ‘invited’ spaces in which civil society has been participating – including forums for deliberations on the Global Compact – the WSFM represents a potentially more powerful forum for addressing root causes and consequences of as well as alternatives to currently dominant forms of, often, forced migration and the precarious conditions of labour and livelihoods related to this.

Two intersecting activities were organized at the 2018 WSFM in Mexico City, targeted at ensuing in globally extended campaigns: (a) Uniting for an alternative global compact for and driven by migrants and refugees and (b) Creating a global network of sanctuary spaces and cities. As a result of these intersecting CSO activities it was agreed to promote the formation of a *Global Compact of Sanctuary Cities* (GCSC), to be formally launched in Madrid by mid-April 2019.

This initiative is aimed at transcending a short-term resistance strategy against the current xenophobic wave. Its main purpose is to foster a new model of interconnected intercultural cities and local solidarity spaces that allows an inclusive citizenship regardless of migratory status: a strategy for making places where ‘everybody can belong’, turning thus ‘the “crisis” of undocumented migration

into a pragmatic reality of daily urban life and coexistence' (UNESCO-LUCS 2018). It will build on experience harvested in the context of a number of already existing initiatives concerning 'right to the city' (Lefebvre 1968) in terms of 'sanctuary cities' (Bauder 2017), politics of 'urban citizenship' (Smith et al. 2012), 'solidary cities',<sup>17</sup> 'welcoming' or 'sustainable cities' (Taran et al. 2016) as political and socio-judicial models. It has, from a similar perspective (Bauder et al. 2018), been argued that the idea of supportive cities might indeed challenge the 'sovereign right of States' to determine their national migration policy: as noticed, a keystone of the GCM. Yet, it can hardly be a universal formula. According to an illuminating transatlantic enquiry (de Graauw et al. 2016) it is a road to empowerment which has proved to be most substantial where several key elements occur synergistically: left leaning local governments, immigrants constituting a large part of the city electorate as well as a part of decision-making structures and strong community-based organizations with capacity to represent migrants' interests in local politics. It could, on these premises, be one road from Marrakech towards underpinning rights and livelihoods of migrants through a substantial trans-local and transnational citizenship, despite increasingly inhospitable national social contexts and politics.

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## Notes

1. The final text of the GCM is available at: <https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/migration-compact>.
2. For an overview see: <https://gfmd2010.wordpress.com/2018/11/23/updates-on-marrakesh-formigration-week-events-themes-locations-gfmd/>.
3. <https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/declaration>.
4. Text of the 1990 UN Migrant Workers Convention available at: [www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cmw.aspx](http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cmw.aspx).
5. A discourse of 'human rights' was launched by the UNHLD on Migration and Development and later adopted, or rather appropriated by the GFMD process on migration and development. It was restated on the occasion of the 2013 UNHLD in New York, but again subordinated to the business-friendly GFMD agenda for migration management (Chapter 3). Parallel with this, as argued in the book's Chapter 6, the ILO and the international trade unions were from this point progressively marginalized in the UNHLD and GFMD processes. See further Chapter 3, Schierup, Ålund and Likić-Brborić (2015) and Global Unions (2013).
6. Available at: [www.icvanetwork.org/resources/joint-civil-society-message-global-compact-migration](http://www.icvanetwork.org/resources/joint-civil-society-message-global-compact-migration).
7. Discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.
8. See, for example: <https://gfmd2010.wordpress.com/2017/10/31/a-global-compact-from-below-civil-society-issues-ten-acts-for-a-compact-on-human-mobility-and-migration/>.
9. See the *Joint Civil Society Statement*, available at: <http://gcmigration.org/2018/07/joint-civil-society-statement-at-the-conclusion-of-negotiations-on-the-global-compact-for-safe-orderly-and-regular-migration/>.
10. Available at: <http://transnationalmigrantplatform.net/tmp-e-recommendations-to-global-compact-on-migrants/>.
11. <https://ftdes.net/18-decembre-1990-18-decembre-2018-appel-pour-legalite-des-droits-et-la-justice-sociale/>.
12. [www.tribunalonfracking.org/what-is-the-permanent-peoples-tribunal/](http://www.tribunalonfracking.org/what-is-the-permanent-peoples-tribunal/).

13. <http://transnationalmigrantplatform.net/migrantppt/>.
14. A term introduced by Mbembe (2003).
15. *Stop the War on Migration! Declaration of FMAS and Magreb Social Forum*. Available at: <https://transnationalmigrantplatform.net/1214-2/>.
16. Available at: <https://viacampesina.org/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2018/12/EN-AGREEMENT-MARRAKECH.pdf>.
17. See: <https://solidaritycities.eu/about>.

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