

Seizing the Moment, Building Solidarity
Social Movements in Action at the 5th World Social
Forum on Migration

Manila, Philippines
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Table of Contents

The World Social Forum on Migration	1
The World Social Forum on Migration: Building a Political Alliance of Social Movements	1
Why a World Social Forum on Migration?.....	1
The WSFM and the global migration discourse	3
History of the WSFM	3
The WSFM comes to Asia!.....	4
Sharpening the critique and forging solidarity	5
The Fifth WSFM — Mobility, Rights, and Global Models: Looking for Alternatives ...	6
Crisis, Critique and Consequences of Global Migration	6
Migrants’ Rights Are Human Rights	6
Re-imagining Migration, Proposing Alternatives, Exploring Models	7
Resistance, Organization, Action	7
The Organizing Team	9
The International Committee (IC).....	9
The Philippine Working Group (PWG).....	10
The Technical Secretariat.....	11
Volunteers	11
Opening Parade	13
Welcome Ceremonies	17
Dr. Maria Rosario Oreta Lopus — President, Miriam College	18
William Gois — Migrant Forum in Asia, International Committee.....	18
Ellene Sana — Center for Migrant Advocacy, Philippine Working Group	19
Charles Santiago — Asian Inter-parliamentary Caucus on Labour Migration.....	20
Keynote Address: Congressman Walden Bello.....	23

Plenary 1: Crisis, Critiques, and Consequences of Global Migration / Restance, Organization, and Action 35

Liepollo Pheko, Trade Collective South Africa & Pan African Network in Defense of Migrants Rights 36

Angela Sembrano, National Alliance of Latin American and Caribbean Communities..... 38

Raul Delgado Wise, International Migration and Development Network..... 40

Rex Varona, Migrant Forum in Asia 42

John K. Bingham, International Catholic Migration Commission 45

Open Forum..... 46

Workshops: Crisis, Critiques, and Consequences of Global Migration / Resistance, Organization, and Action 51

Global Migration Realities 52

Migration Crisis, Exploitation Paradigm 54

Domestic Workers 56

Migration Policies: Deportation & Control..... 58

Migration Policies: Kafala System..... 59

Forced Migration, Trafficking, Refugees 60

Forced Migration 62

Stranded/Emergency and Responses..... 63

Recruitment 64

Climate Crisis, Green Economy, and Migration 66

Violence Against Women & Human Rights 68

Plenary 2: Migrants' Rights are Human Rights / Resistance, Organization, and Action..... 71

Abdelhamid El Jamri, UN Committee on Migrant Workers 72

Edda Pando, ACRI Italy..... 73

Zaynah Hindi, International Palestinian Youth 75

Ellene Sana, Centre for Migrant Advocacy 76

Myrtle Witbooi, South African Domestic Service & Allied Workers Union 78

Open Forum.....	79
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Workshops: Migrants' Rights are Human Rights / Resistance, Organization, and

Action.....	83
Circular Migration: Rights of Temporary Migrants.....	84
Right to Development.....	86
Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights: The Right to Health.....	87
Rights and Access to Health.....	88
Role of Faith-Based Groups.....	89
Right to Decent Work: Rights at Work.....	90
Domestic Workers.....	92
Women Migrants' Rights.....	94
Climate Justice.....	96
Social Movements Response.....	98
Rights of Refugees: Right to Return.....	100

Plenary 3: Reimagining Migration: Proposing Alternatives, Exploring Models / Resistance, Organization, and Action 103

Azfar Khan, International Labour Organization Regional Office, Beirut.....	104
Ambet Yuson, Building Woodworkers International.....	105
Pablo Solón, Focus on the Global South.....	107
Mpilo Shange Butbane, Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa..	108
Henry Saragih, La Via Campesina.....	110
Salah Salah, Palestinian National Council.....	111
Open Forum.....	112

Workshops: Reimagining Migration: Proposing Alternatives, Exploring Models / Resistance, Organization, and Action 117

Migration Governance, Movement Building.....	118
Alternative Migration Models: Africa.....	119
Movement Building: Migrants.....	120
Movement Building: Labour, Cross-Border Campaigns.....	122
Movement Building: Domestic Workers.....	124

Movement Building Across Social Movements: Women Workers	126
Remittances, Reintegration, National Development	128
Fiscal Issues, Economic Development, and Migration	130
GFMD: Migration & Development Frameworks.....	132
WSFM Cultural Program.....	136
Art Exhibit, Booths & Bazaar	138
Social Movements Timeline.....	139
Honouring Struggles & Sacrifices	145
Serenata, Tertulia	147
Public Concert.....	149
Field Visits.....	152
Batangas	153
Bulacan.....	155
Manila	157
Pampanga	159
Closing the Fifth WSFM & Forging Ahead.....	161
Validating the Final Statement	161
Closing Plenary	162
Honouring Struggles & Sacrifices	162
Looking Ahead — Johannesburg, South Africa in 2014!	163
Milestones and Victories.....	165
Final Mobilization	170
Final Declaration of the Fifth World Social Forum on Migration	173

Acronyms

ACHIEVE	Action for Health Initiatives Inc.
ACRI	Associazione Ricreativa e Culturale Italiana
ALER	Asociación Latinoamericana de Educacion Radiofonica
ALTSEAN	Alternative ASEAN Network on Burma
AMC	Asian Migrant Centre
AMMORE	Action Network for Marriage Migrants' Rights and Empowerment
APMM	Asia-Pacific Mission for Migrants
APL	Alliance for Progressive Labour
APRRN	Asia-Pacific Refugee Rights Network
ARESTA	Agency for Refugee Education, Skills Training & Advocacy
ARROW	Asian-Pacific Resource & Research Centre for Women
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ATHIKA	ATIKHA Overseas Workers Organizations
BLA	Bilateral Agreement
BWI	Building and Woodworkers International
CADTM	Committee for the Abolition of Third World Debt
CARAM	Coordination of Action Research on AIDS and Mobility
CBCP-ECMI	Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines: Episcopal Commission for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People
CCFD	Comité Catholique Contre la Faim et Pour le Développement
CEAR	Comisión Española de Ayuda al Refugiado
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEMO	Centre for Mozambican and International Studies
CEREMUBA	Centro Regional de la Red de Mujeres del Bajío
CFMW	Committee for Migrant Workers
CMA	Center for Migrant Advocacy
CORMSMA	Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CWR	Center for Women's Resources
DAWN	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
DCMO	Dutch Consortium of Migrant Organizations
DFA	Department of Foreign Affairs (Philippines)
DRUM	Desis Rising Up and Moving

EU	European Union
FADWU	Federation of Asian Domestic Workers' Unions
FDC	Foundation for Development Cooperation
FEDECMI	Illinois Federation of Michoacan Clubs
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
FSPI	Indonesian Federation of Peasant's Union
GAATW	Global Alliance Against Traffick in Women
GCM	Global Coalition on Migration
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEOFONT	General Federation of Nepalese Trade Unions
GFMD	Global Forum on Migration and Development
GMPA	Global Migration Policy Associates
HLD	High Level Dialogue (UN)
HOME	Humanitarian Organization for Migration Economics
ICE	Immigration and Customs Enforcement (USA)
ICMC	International Catholic Migration Commission
IDP	Internally Displaced Person(s)
IDWN	International Domestic Workers Network
IGO	Inter-governmental Organization
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMATU	Independent Municipal and Allied Trade Union
IMBISA	Inter-Regional Meeting of Bishops of Southern Africa
ITUC	International Trade Union Confederation
ITUC-AP	International Trade Union Confederation - Asia Pacific
J4DW	Justice for Domestic Workers
JSAPMDD	Jubilee South Asia Pacific Movement on Debt & Development
KASAPI	Unity of Filipino Migrant Workers in Greece
LACK	Central American Resource Centre, Los Angeles
LEARN	Labour Education and Research Network
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MFA	Migrant Forum in Asia
MNC	Multinational Corporation
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MRI	Migrants Rights International
MSAI	Migrant Savings for Alternative Investments
MTU	Migrants Trade Union
MWC	Migrant Workers' Convention

NALACC	National Alliance of Latin American and Caribbean Communities
NDWM	National Domestic Workers' Movement
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NIDL	New International Division of Labour
NNIRR	National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights
OFW	Overseas Filipino Worker
PANiDMR	Pan-Africa Network in Defense of Migrant Rights
PASALI	Philippine Seafarers Assistance Program
PEBA	Pinoy Expats Blog Awards
PGA	People's Global Action on Migration, Development, & Human Rights
PHILCOMDEV	Philippine Consortium on Migration and Development
PIAMCO	Pampanga Inter-Agency Council for Migrants Concern
PICUM	Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
PNCC	Pravasi Nepali Coordination Committee
POEA	Philippine Overseas Employment Administration
PSI	Public Services International
RBA	Rights-Based Approach
RESPECT	Rights, Equality, Solidarity, Power, Europe, Cooperation Today
RMMRU	Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit
SUMAPI	Samahan at Ugnayan ng Mangagawang Pantahan sa Pilipinas
TASAT	TransAsia Sisters Association, Taiwan
TFMI	Transatlantic Forum on Migration and Integration
TFWP	Temporary Foreign Worker Program
TMP	Transnational Migrant Platform
TNI	Transnational Institute
TRANSCODE	Transnational Synergy and Cooperation for Development
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNHCR/CFSI	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees / Community and Family Services International
UNHLD	UN High Level Dialogue
UP	University of the Philippines
UP CSWCD	UP College of Social Work and Community Development
WAGI	Women and Gender Institute (Miriam College)
WARBE	Welfare Association for the Rights of Bangladeshi Emigrants
WOREC	Women's Rehabilitation Centre
WSFM	World Social Forum on Migration
WTO	World Trade Organization

Acknowledgements

The success of the 5th World Social Forum on Migration is owed to the hundreds of participating organizations, social movements, and activists who came together in Manila from November 26–30, 2012, and who contributed to the process leading up to and following this week-long gathering.

As the Technical Secretariat for the organization of the 5th WSFM, the team at Migrant Forum in Asia would like to extend special thanks to the following individuals and organizations that supported us in all stages of this process—from conceptualizing the program to the logistical work on the ground:

To the International Committee—thank you all for your commitment, guidance, expertise, and support throughout this process.

- > ARCI
- > ALER
- > Association Internationale Scalabrinienne
- > CEAR
- > Comité de Seguimiento de la Conferencia Euroafricana de ONGs sobre Migraciones
- > Espacio Sin Fronteras
- > Grito dos Excluidos
- > Migrant Forum in Asia
- > Miredes Internacional
- > National Alliance of Latin American and Caribbean Communities
- > Palestinian National Council
- > Plataforma Estatal de Organizaciones de Mujeres por la Abolición de la Prostitución
- > Plataforma Interamericana de Derechos Humanos, Democracia, y Desarrollo
- > Red Con Voz
- > Red Internacional Migración y Desarrollo
- > Réseau Africain sur les Etudes Migratoires (RAEM) coordinated by Ascode Fundación Sur
- > Service des Migrants — AISSMI/CSEM Brazil
- > Serviço Pastoral dos Migrantes

To the Philippine Working Group—thank you for your leadership and sustained hard work in making this gathering a success.

- > Alliance of Progressive Labour (APL)
- > Association of Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines, Migrants' Desk
- > ATIKHA
- > Batis Center for Women
- > Building and Woodworkers International
- > Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines: Episcopal Commission for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People (CBCP-ECMI)

- > Center for Migrant Advocacy
- > Focus on the Global South
- > Freedom from Debt Coalition
- > Institute for Popular Democracy
- > Jubilee South
- > La Via Campesina
- > Kaagapay
- > Kanlungan Center Foundation
- > Labour Education and Research Network (LEARN)
- > MARINO
- > Migrant Forum in Asia
- > PHILCOMDEV
- > Public Services International
- > Red Cross Philippines
- > Scalabrini Migration Centre
- > Unlad Kabayan
- > WomanHealth
- > Women & Gender Institute–Miriam College

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The World Social Forum on Migration

The World Social Forum on Migration: Building a Political Alliance of Social Movements

The convergence of 3,000+ civil society advocates, peoples' movements representatives, and members of migrant communities all over the world in Manila, Philippines from 26–30 November 2012 marked the fifth World Social Forum on Migration (WFSM). The WFSM is one of the thematic processes of the World Social Forum (WSF)—a global process of, and by, social movements, mass organisations, civil society, activists, and advocates. As reflected by its slogan, “**Another World Is Possible**,” it explores an alternative world order, and the building of societies and communities characterized by mutually beneficial relationships among people and with the environment. Like the WSF, the WFSM promotes and consolidates a globalization of solidarity, collective analysis, discourse, and people's action.

Why a World Social Forum on Migration?

For the past decade, the issue of migration has been gaining traction at the international level. Governments of host and sending states have come to recognize the importance of migration to their national economies, yet many countries, especially those of the Global North, also see the phenomenon as a potential challenge to their national security regimes, carefully constructed national identities, and territorial sovereignty. As such, we see efforts to simultaneously attract and close the door to migrants who are differentiated by legal and administrative categorizations that often curtail their human rights.



In times of economic and political upheaval and social unrest, as in the case of global financial crises and uprisings in the Arab World, migrants are often the most adversely affected, yet we hear little of their struggles. In times of economic downturn, when national unemployment rates are high, migrant workers are often looked at as having taken jobs that should be allocated to nationals. This view, however, does not take into account the ways in which the positions that migrant workers fill are often available due to labour shortages that result from the construction of some positions as 'undesirable'. Labour shortages in sectors that tend to be dominated by migrant labour are notably resilient in times of recession, financial instability, and high unemployment, and migrants continue to fill these positions in spite of the perception that they are 'stealing' jobs from nationals. While countries have struggled economically, migrants' remittances have remained remarkably stable.

Many low-skilled migrant workers are subject to difficult conditions in their host countries and are denied a voice on account of their non-citizen status. Unable to organize or influence the politics of their countries of destination, and with limited influence from their countries of origin, their needs are often seconded to those of local workers. In addition, there is a global apartheid against undocumented migrant workers, as states hold undocumented migrants responsible for their legal status and enforce unjust immigration regulations accordingly, failing to take responsibility for the state-imposed conditions that result in irregular migration.

Migrant communities, civil society groups, and social movements are asking important questions with respect to the obligations of states to protect their nationals abroad, particularly when so many countries of origin in the developing world look to migration and its subsequent remittances as an alternative to developing sustainable, decent work opportunities at home. They are also pressuring countries of destination to protect, uphold, and defend the human rights of all people within their territories, regardless of nationality or

The WSFM addresses migration and mobility issues, which include (but are not limited to):

- > *Labour migration*
 - > *Refugees, asylum seekers, IDPs*
 - > *Trafficked and smuggled people*
 - > *Families and communities of migrants*
 - > *Economic, political, social, cultural, and gender dimensions of migration & mobility*
 - > *Economic principles and standards of protection for migrants and their families*
 - > *Links between migration and human rights; development, economy, and finance; food, jobs, environment, governance, citizenship, etc.*
 - > *Strategies, responses, and advocacies*
-

legal status. In all cases, peoples' social movements challenge the global neoliberal economic structure, which renders our communities units of production and denies their rights to self-determination, equality, and non-discrimination.

The WSFM and the global migration discourse

The WSF was created as an independent space to challenge the growing power of the World Trade Organization as the dominant economic decision-making authority, and in which social movements and civil society had no voice.

After the first two years, it was decided that the WSF process did not leave enough space within its centralized gatherings to take up specific thematic of significance for the social movements involved. As such, thematic events (e.g., WSF on Water, WSF on Women's Issues) were designed as part of the wider process, including the WSF on Migration, which was initiated in 2005 and has been held every two years since then.

The WSFM is a space for **democratic debate, reflection, formulation of proposals, exchange of experiences, and articulation of action plans** among social movements, networks, NGOs, and other CSOs that are opposed to neoliberal globalization and the restriction of citizenship rights, civil rights, and political/economic/social/cultural rights of migrants, displaced persons, refugees, and stateless persons.

Unlike other international civil society processes on migration, the WSFM is an independent program—it is not a parallel process attached to multilateral meetings of governments or intergovernmental organizations. As a CSO-led process, the WSFM creates a space in which CSOs can examine and critique the issues and strategize for future action and engagement more broadly.

History of the WSFM

The first WSFM, held in **Porto Alegre, Brazil (2005)** was entitled “Sailing Across Global Disorder.” This first gathering forwarded a critique of the neoliberal model, locating the causes of migration flows within the current economic paradigm. It took place immediately prior to the fifth WSF in Porto Alegre, with 600 participants in attendance, and was principally organized by Servico Pastoral dos Migrantes (SPM).



The second WSFM, in **Rivas Vaciamadrid, Spain (2006)**, was entitled “Universal Citizenship and Human Rights: Another world is possible, necessary, urgent.” It addressed the construction of networks and their links to migration, and put forward a proposal for universal citizenship and the upholding of human rights. The



principal organizers were Comisión Española de Ayuda al Refugiado (CEAR).

The third WSFM, also in **Rivas Vaciamadrid, Spain (2008)** was entitled, “Our Voices, Our Rights, for a World Without Walls,” and addressed the importance of migrants as social subjects, their roles, and proposals to strengthen immigration policies worldwide. The then-Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants, Jorge Bustamante, joined the WSFM proceedings as a resource person.

In **2010, Quito, Ecuador** was chosen as host; with a progressive constitution guaranteeing rights for migrants, refugees, and displaced persons, it provided an excellent context in which to forward the message of migrants’ rights. The Chair of the UN Committee on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families joined the WSFM in Ecuador.

The WSFM comes to Asia!

With the first four gatherings of the WSFM taking place in Latin America and Europe, Asian migrant communities and peoples’ movements felt that it was important to host the fifth WSFM in **Asia—a region that is home to 32.5 million of the world’s estimated 214 million migrants**. Migration has greatly affected the history and development of the region, as well as communities and individuals in all of its sub-regions. Asian social movements have developed a strong critique and analysis of circular migration and the migration and development nexus that can offer much to the global discourse on migration. The International Committee agreed that Asian social movements could make a considerable contribution to the global discourse, and that the WSFM should move to Asia for 2012.

Bringing the WSFM to Asia for the first time presented numerous challenges. In 2010, Migrant Forum in Asia (MFA), together with its member organization in Korea—the Joint Committee with Migrants Korea (JCMK)—made a bid to the WSFM’s International Committee to host the WSFM in Asia. MFA and JCMK participated in the International Committee meetings, and the Asian bid was approved. JCMK began the process of mobilizing support for the program; however, in May 2011 JCMK informed the International Committee that they



would be unable to host the WSFM due to lack of support from the local government—one of the requirements for hosting the forum.

Recognizing the importance of bringing the process to Asia, MFA's members in the Philippines moved to host the program in Manila. An initial meeting with migrant CSOs, trade unions, academic institutions, and faith-based organizations paved the way to a formal bid to the International Committee. The Commission of Filipinos Overseas (CFO)—a national government agency—and the local government of Quezon City provided letters of support.

After considerable deliberation and the weighing of another strong bid from Brazil, the International Committee finally approved the Philippines' bid on 9 December 2011, and Miriam College in Quezon City, Philippines was selected as the venue and Migrant Forum in Asia was deemed the Technical Secretariat. The Philippine Working Group (PWG) was immediately established to begin the preparations necessary to host the WSFM.

Sharpening the critique and forging solidarity

Among the critiques of the WSFM is that its global scope and wide reach makes it a “marketplace of ideas,” and makes it difficult for the plurality of groups to coalesce around a sharp analysis and/or to forge political alliances that would have significant and lasting positive impacts on migrant communities. The International Committee and the PWG engaged this challenge, working to ensure the participation of migrants' and peoples' movements from all across the world, and that the results of the WSFM would target future spaces for advocacy by providing CSOs with the opportunity to plan for and strategize on next steps in engaging various constituencies for migrants' human rights.



Photo Credit: Migrants Rights International

Throughout the WSFM, the importance of cross-sectoral alliances and building connections across social movements was emphasized. That migrants' issues do not occur in isolation of other global processes was a constant refrain among many WSFM delegations.

The following objectives framed the organizing and activities of the WSFM:

- (1) To provide a space for the broadest gathering of migrant groups, mass organizations, social movements, civil society, activists, and advocates from all over the world engaged in migration and mobility issues;

- (2) To provide venues for discussion and deepening of analysis and discourse, sharing of experiences, exchange of information and knowledge, collective exploration of alternative models to migration and to the neoliberal paradigm, and promote activities and strategies on migration and mobility; share and highlight migration trends, analysis, experiences, strategies, agendas and perspectives from Asia in order to enrich the global discourse;
- (3) To continue to build/strengthen solidarity among migrants and social movements, civil society and advocates in addressing the above issues;
- (4) To strengthen peoples' unities and resistance against existing models of migration and the neoliberal paradigm as a whole; continue to develop ideas and initiatives in forging and laying the basis of alternatives to neoliberal globalization;
- (5) To strengthen linkages and solidarity with Philippine migrant, labour, and social movements.
- (6) To strengthen the WSFM process and help prepare for the next WSFM.

The Fifth WSFM — Mobility, Rights, and Global Models: Looking for Alternatives

The International Committee decided that the central theme of the 5th WSFM would be “Mobility, Rights, and Global Models: Looking for Alternatives,” and that the following sub-themes would guide each day’s discussions:

Crisis, Critique and Consequences of Global Migration

This thematic area focuses on examining and critiquing existing trends and issues of global migration, linking migration-specific issues with broader social issues (e.g., development, poverty, climate change, empowerment, social justice, etc.). In addition to drawing lessons from the global crisis and critiquing the patchy and inequitable solutions provided by the international community, specific attention should be dedicated to the role of migration in time of crisis, experiences and survival strategies utilized by migrants, and alternative approaches put in place by local government units.

Migrants’ Rights Are Human Rights

The basic human rights of migrants and their families are well-recognized and established under international law and the normative standards of the UN, ILO, WHO, and other



international and regional bodies. All migrants are entitled to protection of their human rights by the states that they originate from, transit through, and reside and seek employment in. The most comprehensive framework of protection for the rights of migrants and their families remains the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (UN 1990 MWC).



This thematic area focuses on the human rights of migrants and their families, examining the current status of protection for the rights of migrant; the gaps between international standards and national policies, implementation of policies and programs on migrants rights; and the lessons, experiences, gains, and setbacks in the advancement of migrants' rights.

Re-imagining Migration, Proposing Alternatives, Exploring Models

The rapid globalization of economies worldwide has fuelled the demand for labour migration. However, this demand is not complemented by an increase in the protection of the rights of migrant workers. There is a need to examine existing frameworks on migration and call for programs and policies that ensure the protection of the rights and welfare of migrants and their families and that workers benefit from equal treatment and opportunities in respect of wages, working conditions, membership in trade unions, social security, and other national benefits. There must be a comprehensive, rights-based gender-sensitive regulatory framework, anchored in the principles of the UN 1990 MWC, CEDAW, and ILO Conventions 97, 143, and 189. More fundamentally, a radical and basic rethinking of migration and global social and economic models needs to be stepped up. The third thematic area thus focuses on discussing alternatives to existing migration frameworks and global socio-economic and political paradigms, and challenging the dominant neoliberal framework.

Resistance, Organization, Action

The fourth thematic focuses on next steps and recommendations for future action. This is a common theme, running throughout the weeklong program of the WSFM. Topics for discussion under this thematic area include essential elements in resistance, organization and action of, for, by migrants—leading to gains and landmark advances in policies and programs. Organizations are encouraged to share lessons, experiences and strategies for advancing the migrants rights agenda. Ideas for the organizing of migrants and their families, empowerment, collective capacity building, advocacy and campaigns are highlighted. Movement building, solidarity, and alliance building among migrants, migrants' rights advocates, and broader social and peoples' movements are key areas for discussion.

The Organizing Team



Photo Credit: MFA

Members of the IC and the PWG at a joint planning meeting in April 2012, Manila.

The organization of the Fifth World Social Forum on Migration was a combined effort on the part of many networks, organizations, communities, and supporters. The following groups contributed considerable time and effort to the process—from conceptualizing the program’s thematic priorities and political goals, to fundraising and logistical concerns, to cultural programming, and to general support and administration:

The International Committee (IC)

The IC is composed of different regional networks and platforms that work on issues of migration and human rights. Its role is to provide strategic management, and to ensure continuity and consistency in the process. The IC takes policy decisions on the basis of consensus and determines the guidelines and themes around which the forum develops. IC members include:

Africa

- > Comité de Seguimiento de la Conferencia Euroafricana de ONGs sobre Migraciones
- > Réseau Africain sur les Etudes Migratoires (RAEM) coordinated by Ascode Fundación Sur

The Americas

- > Espacio Sin Fronteras
- > Grito dos Excluidos
- > Serviço Pastoral dos Migrantes
- > Red Internacional Migración y Desarrollo
- > National Alliance of Latin American and Caribbean Communities
- > Plataforma Interamericana de Derechos Humanos, Democracia, y Desarrollo
- > MIREDES Internacional

The Philippine Working Group (PWG)

The PWG's central role is to execute the directions of the IC and to work on the preparatory activities of the WSFM. The PWG was also responsible for the day-to-day conduct of the forum, working closely with the technical secretariat. The following organizations are members of the PWG:

- > Alliance of Progressive Labour
- > Association of Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines, Migrants' Desk
- > ATIKHA
- > Batis Center for Women
- > BWI
- > Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines: Episcopal Commission for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People
- > Center for Migrant Advocacy
- > Focus on the Global South
- > Freedom from Debt Coalition
- > Institute for Popular Democracy
- > Jubilee South
- > La Via Campesina
- > Kaagapay
- > Kanlungan Center Foundation
- > Labour Education and Research Network
- > MARINO
- > Migrant Forum in Asia
- > PHILCOMDEV
- > Public Services International
- > Red Cross Philippines
- > Scalabrini Migration Centre
- > Unlad Kabayan
- > WomanHealth
- > Women & Gender Institute– Miriam College

Asia

- > Migrant Forum in Asia
- > Palestinian National Council
- > Association Internationale Scalabrinienne

Europe

- > Service des Migrants — AISSMI/CSEM Brazil
- > ARCI
- > CEAR

Thematic

- > Plataforma Estatal de Organizaciones de Mujeres por la Abolición de la Prostitución
- > ALER
- > Red Con Voz

The Technical Secretariat

The role of the technical secretariat is to execute the decisions of the IC, together with the PWG. The Technical Secretariat shares responsibility with the PGW for the day-to-day conduct of the forum, and develops strategies in the lead-up to the forum. The Technical Secretariat of the fifth WSFM was Migrant Forum in Asia.

Volunteers

A small army of international volunteers assisted the technical secretariat and the PWG throughout the organizing process. They offered logistical support in the lead-up to and during the WSFM, and assisted with tasks such as translation and interpretation, graphics design, preparing parts of the cultural program, and offering moral support and solidarity.



Pre-WSFM work at the offices of the Technical Secretariat.

Photo Credits: Manfred Bergman



Members of the PWG and Technical Secretariat

Photo Credit: Oscar Chacon

WSFM Opening Parade



Photo credit: MRI



Photo credit: Nicole Fernley



Photo credit: Nicole Fernley

Migrants' Rights! Human Rights!

To open the 5th World Social Forum on Migration, delegates from all over the world assembled on the grounds of Sta Maria de la Strada Church at 8am on 26 November.

The delegates marched from the church along Katipunan Ave, a busy stretch of highway in Quezon City, and were welcomed on the grounds of Miriam College by students and faculty of the school, waving flags and expressing their solidarity with migrant workers and the delegates of the WSFM.



Photo credit: MRI

The March!



Photo credit: Nicole Fernley



Photo credit: IDWN



Photo credit: Nicole Fernley



Photo credit: IDWN

WSFM delegates mass up for an early-morning rally and march to Miriam College for the opening plenary.



Photo credit: MFA



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Opening of the 5th World Social Forum on Migration



Photo credit: Nicole Fernley

Masters of Ceremonies

*Aurora Javate de Dios, Miriam College–Women and Gender Institute, Philippine Working Group
José Luis Gutierrez, NALACC, International Committee*

Dr. Maria Rosario Oreta Lapus — President, Miriam College

Dr. Ma. Rosario Oreta Lapus delivered the first opening remarks of the WSFM in the Marian Auditorium of Miriam College. She greeted all of the delegates and extended her congratulations to the organizers. She remarked on the importance of the WSFM in bringing together diverse groups to address the plight of migrants all over the world.



Photo Credit: MFA

She noted that a significant number of migrants are women, and that the number of migrants continues to climb. She focused on the fact that a significant number of women migrants are victimized and face abusive situations, trafficking, and harsh realities, and that Miriam College recognizes this issue as a serious and global concern—the university’s Women and Gender Institute (WAGI) has been at the forefront of action in improving the conditions of migrants and helping them to assert their rights. She highlighted the role of WAGI in promoting leadership among women as a core component of its mission. Miriam College also launched a Master’s program in Migration Studies in 2006, which involves the critical study and analysis of the multidimensional aspects of migration with a focus on gender.

In closing, she stated: “Today, we all recommit to continuing this work. May this forum result in a big leap in our efforts, bringing concrete responses to the issues of migration today.”

William Gois — Migrant Forum in Asia, International Committee

William welcomed everyone to the 5th WSFM. He spoke about how in different spaces different groups have expressed solidarity for migrants’ rights, providing the examples of the recent GFMD and the meeting of the Asian Inter-Parliamentary Caucus on Labour Migration, both of which took place in the days immediately prior to the WSFM. He noted that all of these groups essentially share the message of “Let’s move this forward,” and “Let’s give more substance to our discussions on migration.”



Photo Credit: Solidar

William remarked, “Today, I think this is the largest gathering of the social forum in terms of diversity, and I think this is something we should be proud of.” He challenged the WSFM delegates to think about how we would occupy the space, and to

decide how we would own it. “This is one space that brings together all dimensions of the challenges we face in the area of migration. This is the chance we get to talk to each other. This is the space. This is the time we come together.”

Ellene Sana — Centre for Migrant Advocacy, Philippine Working Group

Ellene welcomed the delegates to the WSFM, noting the diversity of the group and the connectivity and interrelatedness of the issues we face. Because 90 percent of international migrants are workers, migration is an issue for trade unions; because so many migrant women work in precarious situations, migration is an issue for women’s groups; because migration is brought about by economic and development policies, migration is of concern to policy advocacy groups. It is an issue that is cross-sectoral and that has a very wide scope.

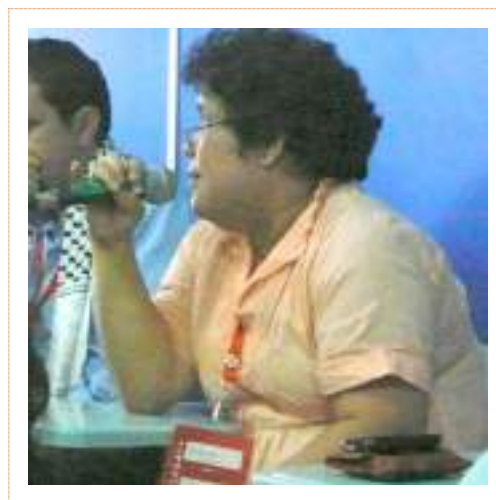


Photo Credit: MRI

Migrants move because of economic and development policy. Jobs are not available in their countries of origin, so they decide to move. It becomes a social issue as well, because families have to separate and there are many personal consequences. Remittances keep countries afloat, but it is at the cost of the lives and families of migrant workers.

Ellene indicated that it “warms the heart” that the WSFM is finally being hosted in Asia. The last four WSFM gatherings have taken place in Latin America and Europe. She indicated that Asian migrants’ rights advocates believe that the experience of Asian migrants is something that advocates in other regions can learn a lot from, just as Asian advocates can learn from the experiences of those in other regions. Diversity brings about debates, and while we must spend a lot of time unpacking the multifaceted and multidimensional issues of migration, we must also seek concrete solutions and policy advocacies so that we don’t repeat the same issues in future WSFM meetings. We must build on the discourses and recommendations of the past and the present.

In closing, Ellene extended warm greetings and solidarity to all in attendance, and emphasized that while there is diversity in our perspectives, we are all united on the issue of upholding dignity and decent jobs for everyone, and the rights of all those who cross borders.

Hon. Charles Santiago — Member of Parliament (Malaysia), Asian Inter-Parliamentary Caucus on Labour Migration

The Asian Inter-Parliamentary Caucus on Labour Migration met in Manila just days prior to the convening of the WSFM. Hon. Charles Santiago, a Member of Parliament from Malaysia and long-time human rights advocate, joined the plenary session along with three of his colleagues from the Asian Inter-Parliamentary Caucus on Labour Migration (Adv. Thampan Thomas – former MP, India; MP MD Israfil Alam, Bangladesh; and Lic. Linda Machuca Moscoso, MP Ecuador), to bring a message of solidarity to the WSFM.



Members of the Asian Inter-Parliamentary Caucus on Labour Migration came together in Manila from 23-26 November to address the urgent issue of social protection for migrant workers. The convergence of the parliamentarians gathering and the WSFM presents an important opportunity to advance the agenda of migrants' rights protection.

In the current discussion on migration and development at the international level there is a deficit in the discourse on social protection and its link with the broader process of development, even within the government-to-government process—the Global Forum on Migration and Development. The value of the WSFM and its plurality of discourse is that it presents an alternative space in which to explore new and innovative ideas to advance this important issue.

There are 214 million migrants all over the world. They are involved in dangerous, demeaning, and dirty jobs, but are fundamental to the creation of wealth in the global marketplace. In this global economic crisis, migrants are also the victims. Today we live in a world of contrast: one driven by inequality and injustice—the 99% against the 1%. Today, the 1% wields enormous political and corporate power and wealth is concentrated in their hands, and together they shape market rules and control trade and governments through trade agreements. The 99% includes migrant workers who are vulnerable, who face discrimination, including gender-based violence, confront exploitation on a daily basis, and many live in poverty. Migrant workers face a crisis of humanity, where they have no rights in the places where they work and stay. Therefore, to advance the power of the 99%, the migrant community must work together with the occupy movements and people's movements.

Social protection and development are fundamental rights of migrant workers, irrespective of legal status. Migrants are development actors who make significant contributions to both sending and receiving countries, and to the global economy. Their remittances amounted to \$338 billion in 2008, yet most of the 214 million international migrants cannot avail of social protection mechanisms, to ensure the rights and development needs of all migrant workers.

We call on states in both migrant sending and receiving countries, including multilateral bodies and the business community to play a greater role in and assume responsibility for protecting and promoting the rights of migrant workers and their families. Across Asia, discussions of regional economic integration have thus far failed to incorporate the rights and welfare of migrant workers and workers in the informal sector.

We urge states to develop social protection frameworks within existing structures and institutions vis-à-vis social protection for migrant workers. This would include review mechanisms as well as clear guidelines for enforcement and monitoring, set up through a transparent and inclusive process, including the participation of social partners, migrants' organizations, trade unions, and relevant stakeholders.

We strongly urge ASEAN to expedite the drafting of the ASEAN Instrument of Protection for Migrant Workers to ensure that it is enacted in 2015. It is imperative that progress towards economic integration in ASEAN be mirrored by an inclusive focus on the rights of migrant workers and those working in the informal sector.

We call upon our governments to include social security mechanisms in MOUs and bilateral agreements, and ensure that these documents meet the highest standards of transparency, enforcement, and supervision, and that they are made available to all relevant stakeholders.

It is necessary to build an alternative development model that is free, fair, equal, and just for all. Crucial to this process is the urgent need to reclaim the state for people, and I suggest that migrant workers be allowed to vote, even from outside their countries, in order to become significant partners of development.

As a Caucus of Parliamentarians, we are motivated to expand our reach over the next two years. By the next WSFM in 2014, we aim to come together as global parliamentary caucus for the first time, to engage in substantial discussions and to maximize our influence on the migrants' rights discourse.

If we stand together, there is no challenge too great, no mission too hard. Standing together we have nothing to lose but the chains of oppression.

Labour Trafficking as the Modern-Day Slave Trade



Photo Credit: Solidar

Keynote Speaker: Congressman Walden Bello

Walden Bello a leading critic of the current model of economic globalization, combining the roles of intellectual and activist. As a human rights and peace campaigner, academic, environmentalist and journalist, he has made a major contribution to the international case against corporate-driven globalization.

Walden Bello was born in Manila in the Philippines in 1945. He became a political activist following the declaration of Martial Law by Ferdinand Marcos on 21 September 1972. Over the next two decades, he became a key figure in the international movement to restore democracy in the Philippines, coordinating the Anti-Martial Law Coalition and establishing the Philippines Human Rights Lobby in Washington, DC. He was arrested repeatedly and finally jailed by the US authorities in 1978 for leading the non-violent takeover of the Philippine consulate in San Francisco. He was released three weeks later after a hunger strike to publicize human rights abuses in his home country.

In 1995, he co-founded of Focus on the Global South, a policy research institute based in Bangkok, Thailand. Focus on the Global South was established in challenge neoliberalism, militarism and corporate-driven globalisation while strengthening just and equitable alternatives. Focus works in solidarity with the Global South - the great majority of humanity that is marginalized and dispossessed by globalisation – believing that progressive social change and Global South solidarity are imperative if the needs and aspirations of oppressed peoples, particularly in Asia, Latin America and Africa, are to be met.

He has also played a leading role as an environmentalist, and is former chairman of the board of Greenpeace Southeast Asia. Bello has campaigned for years for the withdrawal of US military bases in the Philippines, Okinawa and Korea, and has helped set up several regional coalitions dedicated to denuclearization and demilitarization.

He taught at the University of California, Berkeley from 1978–82 and was a Visiting Professor at UCLA in 2002 and UC Irvine and UC Santa Barbara in 2006. He was Chancellor's Fellow at UC Irvine in 2004 and is a Fellow of the Transnational Institute in Amsterdam.

Walden Bello was awarded the Right Livelihood Award (also known as the Alternative Nobel Prize) in 2003 for "... outstanding efforts in educating civil society about the effects of corporate globalisation, and how alternatives to it can be implemented." Bello has been described by the Economist as the man "who popularized a new term: deglobalization."

Walden Bello is currently a member of the Philippines' House of Representatives. He is also the chairperson of the committee on migrant workers affairs in the Philippine Congress.

Labour Trafficking as the Modern-Day Slave Trade

I would like, first of all, to congratulate the Migrant Forum of Asia, the Center of Migrant Advocacy, and all other organizations that have put together this historic World Social Forum on Labour Migration 2012. Thank you for taking on this enormous task, and thank you for inviting me to share my thoughts here today. This gathering takes place at a time of great stresses and strains in the global economy, a condition that poses great dangers and challenges to migrant communities.

The topic of my talk here today is "Labor Trafficking as the Modern-day Slave Trade."

The freer flow of commodities and capital has been one of the features of the contemporary process of globalization. Unlike in the earlier phase of globalization in the 19th century, however, the freer flow of commodities and capital has not been accompanied by a freer movement of labor globally in the current phase of globalization. After all, the centers of the global economy—both the old sites of accumulation like Europe and the United States and the dynamic new sites like the Gulf states—have imposed ever-tighter restrictions on migration from the poorer countries. Yet the demand for cheap labor in the richer parts of the world continues to grow, even as more and more people in developing countries seek to

escape conditions of economic stagnation and poverty that are often the result of the same dynamics of a system of global capitalism that have created prosperity in the developed world.

The number of migrants worldwide has grown from 36 million in 1991 to around 250 million today. The aggregate numbers do not, however, begin to tell the critical role that migrant labor plays in the prosperous economies. For instance, the booming economies in the Persian Gulf and Saudi peninsula are relatively lightly populated in terms of their local Arab population, but they host a substantial number of foreign migrant workers, many of whom come from South Asia and Southeast Asia. Indeed, foreign migrant workers are a disproportionate part of the populations of the Persian Gulf states—ranging from 25 percent in Saudi Arabia to 66 percent in Kuwait, to over 90 percent in the United Arab Emirates and Qatar.

This gap between increasing demand and restricted supply has created an explosive situation, one that has been filled by a global system of trafficking in human beings that can in many respects be compared to the slave trade of the 16th century.

“...the demand for cheap labor in the richer parts of the world continues to grow, even as more and more people in developing countries seek to escape conditions of economic stagnation and poverty that are often the result of the same dynamics of a system of global capitalism that have created prosperity in the developed world.”

The dynamics of the current system of trade in repressed labor is illustrated in the case of the Philippines. This country is one of the great labor exporters of the world. Some 10 percent of its total population and 22 percent its working age population are now migrant workers in other countries. With remittances totaling some \$20 billion a year, the Philippines places fourth as a recipient of remittances, after China, India, and Mexico.

Labor Export and Structural Adjustment

The country’s role as a labor exporter cannot be divorced from the dynamics of neoliberal capitalism. The labor export program began in the mid-seventies as a temporary program under the Marcos dictatorship, with a relatively small number of workers involved—some 50,000. The ballooning of the program to encompass some 9 million workers owes much to the devastation of the economy and jobs by the structural adjustment policies imposed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund beginning in 1980, trade liberalization under the World Trade Organization, and the prioritization of debt repayment by the post-Marcos governments in national economic policy since 1986.

Structural adjustment resulted in deindustrialization and the loss of so many manufacturing jobs; trade liberalization pushed so many peasants out of agriculture, a great number directly to overseas employment; and prioritization of debt repayments robbed government

of resources for capital expenditures that could act as an engine of economic growth since some 20 to 40 per cent of the budget was allocated yearly to servicing the debt. In the role that structural adjustment and trade liberalization played in creating pressures for labor migration, the experience of the Philippines parallels that of Mexico, another key labor-exporting country.

Labor Export as Safety Valve

For the governments of the two countries as well, massive labor export has served another function, which is that of serving as a safety valve for the release of social pressures that would otherwise have been channeled into radical movements for political and social change internally. Those who migrate are often among the most intrepid, nimble, and sharp people in the lower and middle classes, the kind of people who would make excellent cadres and members of progressive movements for change. Along with the crisis of socialization of children owing to the absence of the mother, this is one of the most damaging legacies of the massive labor migration in the Philippines: that it has allowed our elites to ignore overdue structural reforms.

“Labor export is big business, having spawned a host of parasitic institutions that now have a vested interest in maintaining and expanding it.”

Labor Export as Big Business

Labor export is big business, having spawned a host of parasitic institutions that now have a vested interest in maintaining and expanding it. The transnational labor export network includes labor recruiters, government agencies and officials, labor smugglers, and big corporate service providers like the US multinational service provider Aramark. What is actually happening is the expansion of a system of labor trafficking that is just as big and as profitable as sex trafficking and the drug trade. The spread of free wage labor has often been associated with the expansion of capitalism. But what is currently occurring is the expansion and institutionalization of a system of unfree labor under contemporary neoliberal capitalism, a process not unlike the expansion of slave labor and repressed labor in the early phase of global capitalist expansion in the 16th century that was pointed out in the work of sociologists like Immanuel Wallerstein.

Creating and Expansion of Unfree Labor: the Case of the Middle East

This expansive system that creates, maintains, and expands unfree labor is best illustrated in the case of the Middle East. As Atiya Ahmad writes, “With the booming of the Gulf states” petrodollar-driven economies from the early 1970s onwards, a vast and consolidated assemblage of government policies, social and political institutions, and public discourse developed to manage and police the region’s foreign resident population. Anchored by the Kafala or sponsorship and guarantorship system, this assemblage both constructs and disciplines foreign residents into temporary labor migrants. “This elite-promoted construction of migrant identity promotes an internalization of the migrants” role as social subordinates and an emasculation of their status as political agents. They are expected to

remain and so far have largely behaved as non-participants in the politics of their so-called host societies, even these societies are swept by the winds of political change.

In 2009, some 64 per cent of the more than one million Filipino workers that went abroad went to the Middle East. Most of these workers were women and the biggest occupational category was household service workers or maids.



Photo Credit: Migrants Rights International

Here is how the labor trafficking system works in the states of the Arabian peninsula along the Persian Gulf:

- > A recruiter from a Gulf state contacts his man in the Philippines.
- > The Filipino contact goes to the remote provinces to recruit a young woman promising a wage of \$400 a month, which is the minimum amount set by the Philippine government.
- > When she departs, the recruiter gives her another contract at the airport, one that is often written in Arabic, saying she will be paid only half or less that amount.
- > Upon arrival in her destination, she is provided by the Gulf recruiter with a temporary residence permit or iqama, but this is taken from her along with her passport by the recruiter or by her employer.
- > She is turned over to a family where she labors under slave-like conditions, being expected to work 18 to 20 hours a day.
- > It is common that among the services expected of her is to minister to the sexual needs of the master of the house, which creates an unbearable situation not only because refusal often brings a beating but also because this brings her into conflict with the wife.
- > She is isolated from other Filipino domestic workers, making her communication with the outside world dependent on her employer.
- > She cannot leave the employer because her temporary residence certificate and passport are with him. If she runs away, however, and goes to the labor recruiter, she is "sold" to another family, sometimes at an even lower rate than that paid by the original employer.
- > Unable to leave the country since she has no documents, the runaway most often ends up being sold from one family to another by the labor recruiter.

- > If she is lucky, she might find her way to the Philippine Embassy, which operates a shelter for runaways, but it will take months if not years for the Philippine Embassy to be able to obtain the necessary permits that would enable her to return home.

How Regulation is Subverted

In its effort to curb this free market in virtual slavery or to prevent workers from going into countries where their physical security would be in great danger like Afghanistan or Iraq, the Philippine government requires government-issued permits for workers to be able to leave or it has imposed deployment bans to some countries. However, labor recruiters, which are often in cahoots not only with Middle East employers but also with the US Defense Department and US private contractors, have found ways of getting around these regulations.

There have developed clandestine networks to smuggle workers from the Southern Philippines to destinations in the Middle East. A number of women domestic workers I was able to interview in Damascus when I was there a few months ago told of being smuggled out in the Southern Philippine city of Zamboanga by small boat to the Malaysian state of Sabah. From there they were transported in the hold of a bigger boat going to Singapore, where they were then offloaded and brought by land transport to a site near Kuala Lumpur. In Kuala Lumpur they were forced to work for their subsistence for six weeks. It was only after two months that they were finally transported by plane from Kuala Lumpur to Dubai, then to Damascus, where they found themselves in the midst of a civil war! If this sounds much like a route traveled by Indiana Jones, it is, though what they experience is not an adventure but hell.

“The predominance of women among the workers being trafficked to the Middle East has created a situation rife with sexual abuse, and a system whereby labor trafficking and sexual trafficking are increasingly intersecting.”

With such illegal transnational human smuggling networks in operation, it is not surprising that of the nine thousand domestic workers in Syria, the Embassy estimated that 90 per cent were there illegally, that is they had no valid exit papers from the Philippines. Among other things, this has made locating them and contacting them very difficult after Manila issued orders to the Embassy last January to evacuate all Filipino workers in Syria. When I was there in my capacity as chairman of the Committee on Overseas Workers Affairs of the House of Representatives of the Philippines in March of this year, I joined a Philippine Embassy Rapid Response Team searching for Filipino domestics caught up in the civil war in the city of Homs. We were unable to locate anyone or even to verify how many had died as we traveled through that city’s shattered blocks, though we had been told that hundreds of domestics were trapped in the fighting. With a strong interest in presenting a façade of stability to the world, the Syrian government did not cooperate in our search. In fact, it did

not even give us a permit to go to Homs, making our mission there an illegal one for which we could have been arrested and perhaps tried as spies, and believe me, you do not want to be arrested by Assad's minions.

The situation is similar in Afghanistan and Iraq. For much the same reason, we do not have an accurate figure of how many Filipinos have been illegally recruited to be service workers in the US bases by the Pentagon and US military contractors, but 10,000 is probably a conservative number. In the case of Afghanistan, the collusion between illegal labor traffickers, the US government, and US private contractors poses a gargantuan challenge to the weak Philippine state.

Sexual Abuse: the Ever-present Menace

The predominance of women among the workers being trafficked to the Middle East has created a situation rife with sexual abuse, and a system whereby labor trafficking and sexual trafficking are increasingly intersecting. Here is an excerpt from a report of the House Committee on Overseas Workers following the visit of some members to Saudi Arabia that I led in January 2011:

Rape is the ever-present specter that haunts Filipino domestic workers in Saudi Arabia. ...Rape and sexual abuse is more frequent than the raw Embassy statistics reveal, probably coming to 15 to 20 per cent of cases reported for domestics in distress. If one takes these indicators as roughly representative of unreported cases of abuse of domestic workers throughout the kingdom, then one cannot but come to the conclusion that rape and sexual abuse is common.

I would go further and say that there is a strong element of sex trafficking in the trafficking of Filipino women into the Middle East given the expectation, especially in many Gulf households, that providing sex to the master of the household is seen as part of the domestic worker's tasks.

The horror of labor cum sex trafficking is illustrated by the experience of Lorena, one of the rape victims that the mission was able to interview during the January 2011 mission to Saudi Arabia. Let me quote from the report extensively since Embassy officials and human rights activists say the harrowing experience of this woman is not uncommon among Filipino household workers in the Gulf states:

Lorena [not her real name] is in her mid-twenties, lithe, and pretty—qualities that marked her as prime sexual prey in the Saudi jungle. And indeed, her ordeal began when they arrived at her employer's residence from the airport. "He forced a kiss on me," she recalled. Fear seized her and she pushed him away.

He was not deterred. "One week after I arrived," she recounted, "he raped me for the first time. He did it while his wife was away. He did it after he

commanded me to massage him and I refused, saying that was not what I was hired for. Then in July he raped me two more times. I just had to bear it [“Tiniis ko na lang”] because I was so scared to run away. I didn’t know anyone.

While waiting for her employer and his wife in a shopping mall one day, Lorena came across some Filipino nurses, whom she begged for help. Upon hearing her story, they gave her a SIM card and pitched in to buy her a load.

But the domestic torture continued. She would be slapped for speaking Arabic since her employer’s wife said she was hired to speak English. She was given just one piece of bread to eat at mealtime and she had to supplement this with scraps from the family’s plates. She was loaned to the wife’s mother’s household to clean the place, and her reward for this was her being raped by the wife’s brother; kinship apparently confers the right to rape the servants of relatives. Also during that month, October, she was raped—for the fourth time—by her employer.

She not only had to contend with sexual aggression but with sheer cruelty. Once, while cleaning, she fell and cut herself. With blood gushing from the wound, she pleaded with the employer’s wife to bring her to the hospital. She refused, and when Lorena asked her to allow her to call her mother in the Philippines, she again said no, telling her this was too expensive. The employer arrived at that point, but instead of bringing her to the hospital, he said, “You might as well die.” Lorena had to stanch the wound with her own clothes and treat herself with pills she had brought with her from the Philippines.

Wildly desperate by now, Lorena finally managed to get in touch with personnel of the Philippine Overseas Labor Office (POLO) in Al Khobar. Arrangements were made to rescue her on December 30. That morning, the rescue team from POLO and the local police arrived at the residence. Lorena flagged them frantically from a second story window and told them she wanted to jump, but the team advised her not to because she could break her leg. That was a costly decision, since the employer raped her again—for the fifth time—even with the police right outside the residence. When she dragged herself to her employer’s wife and begged her to keep her husband away from her, she beat her instead, calling her a liar. “I was screaming and screaming, and the police could hear me, but they did not do anything.

When the employer realized that he was about to be arrested, he begged Lorena not to tell the police anything because he would lose his job and offered to pay for her ticket home. “I said I would not tell on him and say that he was a good man, just so that he would just let me go [...para lang

makatakas ako]” Lorena said. When she was finally rescued moments later, Lorena recounted her ordeal to the POLO team and police, and the employer was arrested.

This story, unfortunately, had a sad ending, since, after we left Saudi Arabia, the naval officer’s lawyers were able to drag out the case to the point where Lorena was forced to an out-of-court settlement which gave her a small monetary compensation in return for the naval officer’s going scot-free. As both Embassy officials and domestics themselves confirmed, very few are prosecuted for rape and sexual abuse in Saudi Arabia. Tolerated by the Saudi legal system, employers find it easy to have their maids and rape them too.

Ending Modern-day Slavery

Let me sum up the key points of this presentation so far:

- > The creation of the labor-export economy in countries like the Philippines stemmed greatly from the impact of structural adjustment, trade liberalization, and the prioritization of debt repayment, policies that led to industrialization, the erosion of local agriculture, and the gutting of state investment, disabling it as an engine of growth.
- > Labor export became a safety valve draining the country of forces that could have contributed to progressive political movements and allowing the elite to keep on postponing much needed structural reforms.
- > The dynamics of neoliberal capitalism have led to the creation of a global system of labor trafficking, reinforcing insight of Immanuel Wallerstein that the development of capitalist relations of production does not, in many cases, displace but reinforce or promote the spread of unfree labor. This includes not only new centers of capital accumulation like the Middle East but also old centers like the United States.
- > With a great number—indeed, in the case of the Philippines—the majority of migrant workers being women, rape and sexual abuse has become a central element in the system of unfree labor, in particular in labor trafficking in the Gulf states.



Photo Credit: Migrants Rights International

Slavery is said to be a thing of the past. However, the dynamics of global capitalism have reproduced a system of repressive labor globally that is serviced and maintained by legal and illegal labor trafficking. Female domestic workers are at the bottom of the migrant social

hierarchy in places like the Middle East. Their conditions of work, which often include rape and sexual abuse, constitute a condition virtually indistinguishable from slavery. As was the case with traditional slavery in the 18th and 19th centuries, abolition of this system of repressed, unfree labor must be high on the agenda of the 21st century.

A key part of the solution, of course, is to restructure our economies so that we can create the decent jobs at home that would make it unnecessary for great numbers of our people to go abroad in search of work. This task would entail ending the neoliberal policies that have eroded our industrial sector and our agriculture. It would mean completing land reform and other asset redistribution measures that address poverty and promote equity. It would include measures that advance women's health, reduce poverty, and bring about development such as the Reproductive Health Bill in the case of the Philippines. But even as we reform our domestic economy, we must protect our migrant workers and advance their rights and interests as they labor abroad to sustain their families at home and, in the process, keep the domestic economy above water with their billions of dollars worth of remittances.

As advocates of migrant workers, we have a huge task ahead of us. Yet over the years we have made progress:

- > We now have a global network of activist organizations working for migrant rights.
- > We also have increasing numbers of scholars and research institutes dedicated to illuminating the migrant condition.
- > A number of our governments have, under the pressure of both migrant workers and their citizens, institutionalized social services, legal services, and even the beginnings of a social protection system for their overseas workers.
- > In the receiving or host countries, the rights of migrants are now championed by concerned citizens, political parties, and progressive governments. This is especially critical in Europe and the United States today, as the economic crisis in these areas creates the conditions for scapegoating migrants.
- > Among the sending countries, parliamentary groups, among them the Asian Inter-Parliamentary Caucus on Labor Migration, are increasingly talking about coordinating their efforts to defend and advance the rights of their workers abroad. This may eventually lead to a common front among sending countries, so that they may counter the tactics of some receiving countries to pit them against each other in their search for cheap labor.

Having said this, we must nonetheless admit that we have quite a distance to go in furthering the rights and welfare of migrants. I am confident that the World Social Forum on Migration 2012 will be a milestone in this process. As we begin our work, let us be inspired by the World Social Forum slogan: "Another world is possible."

Crisis, Critiques, and Consequences of Global Migration + Resistance, Organization, and Action



Photo credit: Migrants Rights International

Panelists (left to right): Rex Varona, John K. Bingham, Patricia Gainza (moderator), Angela Sambrano, Liepollo Pheko, Raúl Delgado Wise

Plenary Moderator: Patricia Gainza, Espacio Sin Fronteras

Patricia is a returnee migrant. She is the founder of Espacio Sin Fronteras (Space Without Borders), a South American network of organizations that works with immigrants throughout the continent. Her publications include studies on international migration, displacement, agribusiness, public policy, and human rights.

Liepollo Pheko, Trade Collective South Africa & Pan Africa Network in Defense of Migrants Rights



Photo credit: MRI

Liepollo Pheko is Executive Director at a progressive research and advocacy Think Tank—the Trade Collective. The organization explores political economy, international trade, migration, and broad constructions of citizenship. The collective’s work is infused with race, gender, and class analysis. Liepollo is an active member of the Pan Africa Forum for Migration and Development and has attended the various meetings of the Global Forum on Migration and Development.

Liepollo addressed several key themes, including the role of states, the challenges of migration in the African context, and discourses of citizenship and identity.

States, migration, and the global economy

Labour and capital go hand-in-hand, and migration is a consequence of the confluence of the two. The demand for skilled and semi-skilled labour is very high in the Global North, and this demand feeds the underground/informal sector—a precarious and pernicious sector that bolsters most GDPs. Thus, it is important to ask the following questions:

- > What is the impact of globalization for the nation-state?
- > What is the relationship among globalization, migration, and inequality?
- > How should we redesign our policy frameworks to enable the state and people to benefit from their own movements?
- > What state capacities are needed to respond to the challenges of globalization, migration, and different forms of movement of people (documented/undocumented, skilled/semi-skilled/professionalized)?

In discussing citizenship, it brings us to a discourse on entitlements, belonging, rights, and responsibilities. In the context of the modern state, we must consider whether the constructs of what “statehood” now means have been encompassed by what migration has become. The fact that many people live and work in countries outside of those of our forebears may require changes in thinking on the definition of what a nation is, what migration means, and how belonging and citizenship should be defined. Thus, it may be time to explore the notion of not just “transnational,” but “translocational” identities.

Migration is extremely useful to capital. Capital has no interest in where people are born; what matters to capital is that it can extract as much labour for as little as possible. Whether a person can move from one place to another is his/her competitive advantage. However, the discourse of the competitive advantage of migration has not been tapped into, because migration is so strongly linked to the “protectionist” agenda of states—i.e. keeping people

out rather than understanding that there is a far greater common citizenship of workers of solidarity, both documented and undocumented.

Challenges of migration in the African context

There is significant internal migration taking place across Africa, with a few key anchor states drawing migrants from their neighbours. South Africa is one such anchor; in East Africa, Kenya anchors migrants from Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, and Rwanda, and in the 1970s it also drew migrants from Uganda; in West Africa, Nigeria and Ghana are the anchors. There are significant

percentages of Africans who attempt to migrate to Europe and North America, but their numbers are far fewer than those moving within the African continent.

African states are currently struggling with the idea of a “borderless Africa,” and what it should look like conceptually, politically, and economically. Various regional economic commissions grapple with the “borderless” rhetoric, but few states are willing to actually cede their territorial borders to actualize this concept.

“The truth is that most of us, even though we may be deemed to be shadowy, twilight people who don’t belong quite anywhere, we are actually the anchor of the global economy, we are actually the anchor of migration, and we’re actually the anchor of the universe. As far as I’m concerned, we are holding up the sky through our labour.”

Economic globalization has resulted in the unprecedented interconnection of states via immigration, and has increased trade capacity and neoliberal models of competitiveness and employment policy. However, most nations do not factor in the notion that cheap, undocumented labour is a significant contributor to this economic model. Instead, migrant workers are “illegalized” and illegitimized in spite of their significant contributions to the global economy (speculative estimates put their contributions at ~17 billion USD, or 30% of GDPs).

Citizenship, belonging, identity

Liepollo closed her presentation by reflecting on the concept of building a global citizenship. In her own words, this would be a global citizenship that

...transcends the concepts of time and space, which is able to speak to a sense of belonging and a sense of citizenship, which is linked and located to solidarity, which is linked and located to our collective contributions to the global economy, which is linked and located within the ability to then rebuild a critical mass of policy advocacy and to shift the periphery straight to the centre. The truth is that most of us, even though we may be deemed to be shadowy, twilight people who don’t belong quite anywhere, we are actually

the anchor of the global economy, we are actually the anchor of migration, and we're actually the anchor of the universe. As far as I'm concerned, we are holding up the sky through our labour.

Moderator Question

Often when we think of African migration we think of the Africa–Europe corridor. Can you expand on the issues you raised with respect to internal migration within the African continent?

The history of internal migration in Africa goes back a long way, as far as the pre-colonial era. More recently, in the 1970s and '80s, considerable internal migration resulted from structural adjustment programs—a bitter pill for many in the Global South. Structural adjustment led to many things, including disinvestments in education, healthcare, and social infrastructure, the impacts of which will be felt for many generations. Internal migration driven by economic need has resulted in many cases.

There has also been considerable internal migration due to conflict and political struggles. For example, South Africa experienced a very long colonial struggle, which resulted in many being born outside of their country of citizenship. Ugandans fled their country under the regime of Idi Amin, as did Rwandans during the genocide. In North Africa, the Arab Spring has resulted in movement towards Europe as well as to other parts of Africa. In West Africa, conflict in Sierra Leone and Liberia has driven internal migration, as has cross-border conflict in the case of Ethiopia and Eritrea. There are about 2.5 million documented migrant workers from Zimbabwe in South Africa, and another 2 million who are undocumented.

Thus, the movement of people within Africa is both geo-historic and socioeconomic.

Angela Sembrano, National Alliance of Latin American and Caribbean Communities

Angela Sembrano was elected president of the National Alliance of Latin American and Caribbean Communities (NALACC) in 2005, a position she currently holds. From 1995–2007 Angela was Executive Director of the Central American Resource Centre, Los Angeles (LACK).

Angela's speech highlighted the impact of globalization on migrant communities, both in countries of origin and destination. She focused on

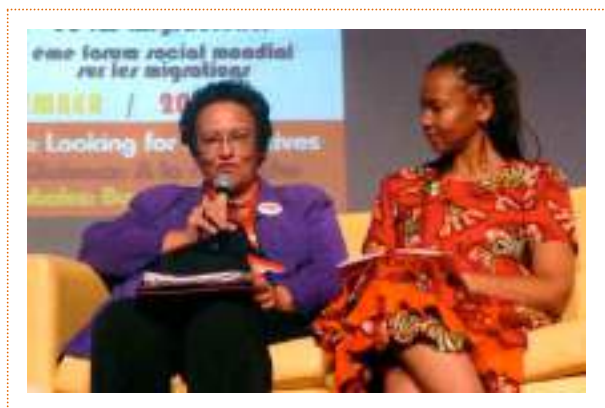


Photo credit: Migrants Rights International

the context of Latin American migrants in the United States, outlining the punitive nature of federal and state-level policies vis-à-vis migrant workers. She concluded by calling on migrant communities everywhere to take the lead in changing the paradigm that positions migrants as criminals.

Globalization and migrant communities

Angela explained that over the past three decades a series of profound changes have taken place in the degree of economic, social, political, and environmental interdependence among nations. This process called globalization has irreversibly linked the future of all people across the planet. In the Americas, these connections reach deep into the economic, social, political, environmental, and cultural fabric of all communities.

The policy response from governments across the region has not reflected the richness of these interconnections. Trade agreements have opened the flow of goods and capital, but have left enormous gaps in the harmonization of other critical areas, including:

- > The flow of human beings across borders;
- > The provision of appropriate protections for human rights;
- > The facilitation of access to medical care and political representation;
- > The protection of labour standards; and
- > The management of shared environmental risks such as climate change and the over-exploitation of natural resources.

From the point of view of organized migrant communities in the United States, the nature of the relationship between the United States and countries of origin present opportunities and challenges. American companies recognize the benefits of the transnational context; however, the punitive and unhealthy policy regime around migration in both the United States and in Mexico (with respect to its neighbouring countries in Latin America) creates barriers to taking advantage of transnational opportunities for sustainable development.

“As long as we have policies that are put forward by governments that see us as threats, we cannot expect a policy that recognizes us as contributors to the economic, social, and political wellbeing of those countries.”

Changing the paradigm

Migrants in the United States are working to change the punitive paradigm that exists around migration policies. As Angela noted, “As long as we have policies that are put forward by governments that see us as threats, we cannot expect a policy that recognizes us as contributors to the economic, social, and political wellbeing of those countries.” In the United States, the federal government has failed to pass federal legislation that address immigration-related concerns, so states are passing their own punitive laws (e.g. Arizona’s draconian anti-immigrant legislation).

Angela called on the WSFM and migrant communities worldwide to work towards an agenda of changing the paradigm, expressing the view that if migrants do not take up this challenge, change will not come. Migrants worldwide need to take action to change the way they are seen and treated.

Moderator Question

If the recent re-election of President Obama in the United States has demonstrated the empowerment of Latinos in America, what could this mean for immigration policy in the United States, particularly vis-à-vis criminalization?

Latinos, for the first time in the history of the United States, can claim that the Latino vote made a difference nationally. Ten percent of the electorate were Latinos in the 2012 election, and seventy-one percent of the Latinos voted for Obama. However, in reality it was votes from Asians, African Americans, white democrats, women, and youth in addition to Latinos—the “New American Majority”—who gave Obama his second presidency.

Undoubtedly Latinos were very important in the vote. The next day, everyone was talking about immigration reform. When the President gave his address, he named immigration as one of his four priorities. However, these promises have been made before. Obama is unlikely to invest the political capital that he needs to invest unless all of the above-mentioned groups put pressure on him.

Raul Delgado Wise, International Migration and Development Network

Dr. Raúl Delgado Wise received his doctorate in social sciences from the University of Pennsylvania. In his 25 years as a researcher he has published eight books, edited five, and written more than 80 essays, including book chapters and refereed articles. He received the “Maestro Jesús Silva Herzog” annual prize for economics research in 1993. He is a member of the Mexican Academy of Science, the National System of Researchers, and several scholarly associations in Canada, the United States, Latin America, and Europe.

Raúl’s presentation outlined four key pillars that frame the contemporary labour and migration question, and called for an alliance of social movements and migrant communities with progressive intellectuals.



Photo credit: Migrants Rights International

Four pillars of the migration and labour question

(1) The relaunching of imperialism in the search for sources of cheap/flexible labour and natural resources from the Global South

In the neoliberal era, the capitalist world system revolves around the monopolization of finance, production, services, and trade. Monopoly capital has become the central player. This trend is associated with nomadism in the restructuring process of transnational companies, and is structured by the creation of global networks of monopoly capital—that is, the strategy of outsourcing and subcontracting to extend production processes to the Global South, where an abundance of cheap labour and natural resources can be found.

“...the migration and labour questions are two sides of the same coin, whose currency translates into the unbearable conditions of systemic oppression against the working class, promoted by neoliberal globalization and its driving forces.”

This is an unsustainable strategy of imperialist domination, the ultimate landmark of which is the outbreak of the multidimensional financial, overproduction, environmental, and social global crisis that is undermining the main sources of wealth creation.

(2) The lowering of labour costs by any and all means, taking advantage of the massive oversupply of labour worldwide

The dismantling of the former Soviet Union, the recent ascent of China and India, and the freeing of labour through structural adjustment programs has resulted in a stark increase in the supply of labour for capital—from 1.5 billion to 3.3 billion. This has led to a disproportionate growth of the reserve army of labour, which now absorbs ~60% of the global workforce. This surplus workforce is related to low wages and the chronic insufficiency of decent employment that characterizes contemporary capitalism.

According to the ILO, 1.5 billion workers are subject to vulnerable conditions; 900 million receive salaries of less than 2 USD; 204 million are unemployed. This has led to growing pressure to migrate internally and internationally under conditions of extreme vulnerability.

(3) The mushrooming of unequal development at the global scale

Growing asymmetries within countries and between regions has also intensified social inequalities. The implementation of neoliberal structural adjustment has played a fundamental role in creating these asymmetries, as they allowed for enormous monopolistic returns by taking advantage of subsistence and below-subsistence wages and a generation of dispossessed labourers from across the Global South. Such exploitation has shaped the New

International Division of Labour (NIDL), which encompasses new modalities of unequal exchange that are much more severe than in the past.

(4) The expulsion of large segments of the population in periphery from their territories

The oversupply of labour and the worsening living conditions in the periphery have turned contemporary migration into a form of forced displacement, which we call “forced migration.” Under neoliberal globalization, people who are forced to move are subject to vulnerability, criminalization, social exclusion, and extreme exploitation.

Anti-systemic social transformation

Raúl concluded by emphasizing that “the migration and labour questions are two sides of the same coin, whose currency translates into the unbearable conditions of systemic oppression against the working class, promoted by neoliberal globalization and its driving forces.” This demands unity among social movements with progressive intellectuals in order to foster “an anti-systemic process of social transformation.”

Moderator Question

What should be the role of intellectuals in the social movement for migrants' rights?

The creation of a platform for a counter-hegemonic social power is an urgent task. It demands the confluence of collected knowledge and intelligence of the working class with social movements. Progressive academics need to reject ivory towers and be willing to work with civil society organizations.

One of the aims we should strive for in the WSFM is to transform migrant movements and social movements to make them more proactive and strategic, and less reactive and defensive. For this task, we must build social transformation agency. We all need to be active participants in the process of social transformation. The project to create a counter-hegemonic social power can't be postponed. A key challenge is fostering and contributing to the unity of social movements.

Workers, migrants, and academics of the world UNITE!

Rex Varona, Migrant Forum in Asia

Rex Varona is an activist and former Executive Director of the Asian Migrant Centre (AMC), a regional organization based in Hong Kong that operates as an information, learning, and knowledge centre on Asian Migration. AMC provides information, monitoring, research, publishing, and knowledge-oriented services. Rex is currently a member of the Executive Committee of Migrant Forum in Asia.

Rex's speech focused on the need to critique the neoliberal paradigm and to foster inter-movement building in order to bring about change. He emphasized that there is a strong need to move beyond the victimization discourse, and called upon all social movements to combine their efforts to strengthen advocacy for the human rights of all workers.



Photo credit: Migrants Rights International

Critiquing and challenging the current paradigm

To critique the current systems of migration and

mobility, personal and systemic levels need to be considered. In Asia, there are between 30 and 50 million migrant labourers, not including internal migrants (in China, alone, there are 150 million internal migrants). In terms of international migration, inter-Asian migration has become more dominant than migration from Asia to other parts of the world, as was the trend in the 1960s and 1970s.

In Asia, activists used to focus on the “victimization angle” of international labour migration. Throughout the 1980s, much of the advocacy was about the “victims of migration.” We have come to see that if we continue to oversimplify the critique at that level, we are misleading ourselves and will not be able to confront the reasons for the large-scale exploitation of migrants.

In looking at the hierarchy of labour, migrants are not necessarily the worst treated, but they are definitely vulnerable. As labour movements struggle to earn protections for workers, most do not cover migrants. If you want to look at weaknesses in the protection system, then one of the sectors must be migrants, as their status demonstrates how labour is being used to undermine other labour.

Abuses are not accidental or personal, but systemic. Migrants are vulnerable because there is a need for capital to pursue policies that will “unitize” migrants—that is, if policies dictate that migrants cannot be with their families and that they cannot access their rights, this positions them solely as instruments of production. For as long as this is the logic, migrants will have to move to meet the demands of capital and will be exploited and vulnerable. Therefore, to confront this system, it is necessary to immerse ourselves in the systemic critique. We need to challenge the neoliberal system to change it.

To mount a credible critique, we must not exaggerate and claim that migration is no more intense than it was in the past. In absolute numbers this might be true, but as a percentage of the global population migrants have held steady at 5 to 6% over the years. Also, it is not generally the poorest, or those from the poorest countries who migrate. Migration trends fall more or less on a U-curve—if the country is below a certain GDP, many people will not have the resources to migrate. As countries develop, more migrate. Once a country reaches a certain level of development (e.g., Korea, Malaysia, Singapore), people tend to stop

migrating. However, many are stuck in the peak migration section of the U (e.g., Philippines, Indonesia, Bangladesh). Capital wants those countries to stay in that position, and such dependency is difficult to break.

Inter-movement building

Rex emphasized that if we are challenging the paradigm and want to reverse this situation, migrants' movements will not be able to work alone. Movements from many different sectors must work together. This is why this year's WSFM worked to bring together the peasants' movement and various social justice movements to work together with the migrants' movement to seek solutions. If the migrants' movement works in isolation, we risk distorting the social justice picture, as in defending our rights we may undermine the rights of others.

“Our biggest asset is the existence of global social movements. Our task is to think and work together so that we move beyond advocacy for policy changes, and towards a strong process of inter-movement building so that we can occupy the relevant spaces and challenge the global paradigm.”

“Our biggest asset is the existence of global social movements. Our task is to think and work together so that we move beyond advocacy for policy changes, and towards a strong process of inter-movement building so that we can occupy the relevant spaces and challenge the global paradigm.”

Moderator Question

Can you share with us more strategies that you think should be pursued by social movements should pursue in response to the challenges of labour migration?

The challenge we all aim to meet is finding unity in our diversity. We really have to confront the issues that migration puts forward in a unified way. If we are to fight for equality of rights, will labour movements and workers in receiving countries fight for these rights, even for migrants in their countries? If we are pushing for the same treatment of peoples, can host country actors fight for families of migrants to join them so that they can become one community? These are the kinds of issues that labour migration makes sharp and distinct.

We need to confront the powers that be, but we also need to contend with the reality that a globalized workforce and globalized resistance will shake up our notions of person, state, and identities.

John K. Bingham, International Catholic Migration Commission



Photo credit: Migrants Rights International

John K. Bingham is Head of Policy of the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC), based in Geneva. A network of 130 members worldwide, ICMC has staff and operations in 40 countries working with refugees, internally displaced persons, and migrants regardless of faith, race, ethnicity, or nationality, for rights-based policies and durable solutions.

Joining the WSFM directly from the GFMD in Mauritius, he reflected on the importance of movement building to build a common voice.

Civil society and GFMD Mauritius

John began his speech by highlighting some important civil society achievements from the civil society engagement in the GFMD in Mauritius, which took place the week prior to the WSFM. These achievements included the participation of the largest delegation of African delegates, both Africa-based actors and African diaspora groups from around the world, to ever participate in the GFMD. He related how exciting it was to sit with civil society delegates from all over the world who work at different levels—international, regional, national, and grassroots—to look at issues such as migration and development, rights-based approaches, and migrant-centred and holistic strategies to advance the advocacy for migrants’ rights.

“... how do we hold ourselves to a common voice? We will have differences on what issues to take up, what language to use, what kind of political stance to take, but we need to stay together as one movement, not divided by small differences, and not divided by the outside.”

A unified civil society message

The message from civil society across regions and sectors is clear: matters of development go beyond economics. Migrants are not just tools of industry and commerce. We need to pursue full human development; this is not the opposite of economic development, but includes economic, social, cultural, and individual development. This perspective is part of the unified voice that civil society must take to governments.

Globalization presents many problems to address. We need to globalize our movement of human rights and development and stay together on these unified messages. The greatest

problem/obstacle/enemy is when we're divided, sometimes against ourselves. The movement—the resistance, organizing, action—is often cheaply divided.

As human beings, we need to watch that we are not divided nationally. The growth in xenophobia in the media and law, and the horrific rise to power of xenophobic political movements is something that we need to watch. We also have to watch for divisions among migrants: those with papers vs. those without; low-skilled vs. high-skilled migrants; racial and ethnic divisions.

John posed a question to close: “As actors, how do we hold ourselves to a common voice? We will have differences on what issues to take up, what language to use, what kind of political stance to take, but we need to stay together as one movement, not divided by small differences, and not divided by the outside.” We need to work together to solidify both our inside and outside strategies to move our advocacy forward.

Moderator Question

What do you see as the potential points of convergence between the GFMD and the WSFM?

In the movement for migrants' rights, so much is coming together—we can recognize this, but we need to keep it together. With respect to where the GFMD and WSFM come together, how do any of these movements come together?

The WSFM, the GFMD, the GCM, the PGA—these and many others represent moments in the movement, which we hope are all moving in the same direction. Whatever the moment, we need to fully occupy all of the spaces, both inside and outside, with a sense of not only the issues, but how we will use our strengths strategically to come together and trust that we are all going in the same direction. Some will have more militant styles, while others will have the patience to sit in meetings, etc. The rights are clear, the suffering is clear, the successes are clear, and the possibilities are clear. Another world is possible, but we have to stay together.

Open Forum

Q There are a lot of organizations working at grassroots and international level. What can we do? Can we concretely seek out some issues and make real international institutions that can really work from the grassroots to the international levels? Can we concretely apply these issues to the grassroots?

A **Rex:** A lot of examples will be discussed in the workshops of movements. We have a lot of examples. For example, the convention for domestic workers. Prior to that, we stopped the WTO in 2005 in Hong Kong. We are gaining ground. It is important to recognize our ground. Localize the struggle, globalize the victory.

Q Forced migration is tying down a lot of workers. While I agree on most of these points, I question whether we can actually unite. We first have to critique these problems. One of the deepest problems is the ongoing neoliberal paradigm, especially regarding the migration and development concept as pursued by the World Bank and the GFMD. Remittances are actually becoming a driving force of modern day slavery. What is more crucial is focusing on the labour export paradigm.

A **Rex:** The comment on the GFMD and remittances is oversimplifying the issue. A lot of the abuses of modern day slavery result from collaboration among recruiters and employers, and the role these actors play in the labour system. The GFMD does not know what it will do. It is non-binding. We are rejecting the neoliberal position of GFMD.

Q We heard from one of the speakers about the concept of “global citizenship.” I would like to reflect a bit more on this concept. We also understand that global capital is attacking the resources of each country. How do we relate global citizenship to borderlessness? How do we help local populations considering the power of global capital?

A **Liepollo:** The notions of globalization and global citizenship are completely different constructs. Globalization has more to do with capitalism and profit-mongering discourse. Global citizenship refers to a more inclusive economy in which people are able to receive recompense and benefits for their work.

There is a double standard in the Global South. We need to protect our interests as people in the Global South and build our own solidarity and discourses. We have to protect ourselves from the agendas and interests of global and transnational companies that do not really benefit us in any way. It is also important to have an ongoing consciousness of class—especially consciousness of the working class and collective struggle.

Q I agree that there should be global unity among us, but I haven’t heard any practical solutions from the speakers. How do we make this a reality?

A **Raúl:** There is not a singular answer about how to build unity. Networking is very important through the building of coalitions. We need to have common action and political research agendas. Workers, academics, and migrants all need to be working together. Some of the important things are communication among us and the collection of strategic data.

Angela: A broad, multi-ethnic/racial coalition led to the re-election of Obama. Part of this majority is migrants, who make up a significant portion. What is interesting about the United States is that these alliances are being forged. Bi-national and transnational communities are advocating for a change of policies.

John: There are a few examples of forging unity. Meetings such as this are a good example. We need to look at specific issues, and also recruit multiple kinds of actors to the movement. The best example is the movement at the national, regional, and international levels for the adoption of ILO C189—this is a great example of unity and strategy success so far.

Q To Raúl: When it comes to deportations, we see minimal policy interventions by the government. What is the role of civil society organizations and trade unions in pushing for these policy interventions so problems can be addressed at the point of entry and exit?

To Rex: What do we need to concentrate on in terms of Asian migrants in the Gulf countries? How do we solve this crisis?

A **Raúl:** One of the key issues we have to address is the problem of unequal development. Unequal exchange among nations leads to stronger pressure for people to migrate. To tackle the root causes of migration, we must dismantle what is causing this uneven development that characterizes neoliberal globalization today. For this, we also have to discuss with our own national countries in order to have a different human development sustainable strategy that allows for more equal development.

Rex: To address the crisis of Asian migrants, we have to recognize the other actors involved. We cannot resolve this by ourselves. We must push governments to create pressure, harass them and make them feel our power.

**Crisis, Critiques, and Consequences of Global Migration +
Resistance, Organization, and Action**

Global Migration Realities

Title

Migration Today: Global Realities, Crises, Impact, and Consequences

Organizers

Global Migration Policy Associates

Facilitator

Patrick Taran

Documenter

Richard Filasol

Number of participants

42

Presenters

Raúl Delgado Wise

Int'l Migration & Development Network
“The Migration & Labour Question: Lessons from the Mexico-US Corridor”

Marla Asis

Scalabrini Migration Centre
“Migration Stakeholders: Who, Why, and How?”

Bandana Pattanaik

Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women

William Gois

Migrant Forum in Asia

Key Recommendations

- (1) Recognize migration as overwhelmingly consisting of labour migration, spurred on by a lack of decent work in countries of origin. Labour migration is driven by the exploitation of cheap docile labour in many countries in a globalized world.
 - (2) Better assess and change the discourse of who pays and who benefits from migration, with emphasis on origin and destination countries.
 - (3) Pursue an inclusive gender analysis of labour migration, with emphasis on gender-appropriate outcomes.
 - (4) See that organizing remains a key response. There needs to be an emphasis on multidimensional factors and support for worker organizing and self-empowerment, and for labour unions where migrants are organized.
 - (5) Civil society organizing is an essential component of bringing about a better world.
-

Key Messages of Presenters

Raúl provided a macro level analysis of global migration and applied his analytical framework to Mexican labour migrants in the United States. He looked at labour migration by examining the real revenues and costs of migration between countries, which often are not in the advantage of origin countries. He asserted that migration is essentially a subsidy from the Global South that maintains economic growth in the Global North.

Bandana provided a human perspective of labour migration by discussing a GAATW study of Indian, Bangladeshi, and Nepalese women. She asserted that the journeys of migration of these women have been empowering experiences. For many women, migration experiences remain extremely difficult to articulate.

Marla provided a brief description of the stakeholders involved in labour migration. She argued that these stakeholders are not monolithic and have different vested interests. She asserted that there have been improvements in alliance-building among migration NGOs.

William indicated that civil society has to guarantee that states do not withdraw from cooperation on labour migration issues. Migrants themselves have to become aware of themselves as actors of change. We still need more time for significant change to happen.

Major Debates

Issue 1: Organizing migrant workers requires a significantly broad reach, because migrant workers are an entire constituency. As labour forces become internationalized, labour unions are challenged. The question of organizing migrant workers is of trying to organize everyone into a union that represents the work force as a whole, as well as campaigning for justice and migrants' rights.

Issue 2: There should be facilities that organize workers. It is difficult for NGOs to achieve solidarity if workers are not present in forums such as these. There is a need to look for strategies that not only facilitate the organization of workers, but also challenge issues of racism and xenophobia.

Issue 3: There should be a gendered approach to migration. The discussion has always been about the global political economy, but women are the most affected. Little in civil society has been said about gender orientation, especially regarding those on the margins, including members of the LGBT community.

Migration Crisis, Exploitation Paradigm

Title

Critiquing Crisis, Forced Migration, and the Neoliberal Globalization Paradigm of Development

Organizers

Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants
MIREDES International
IBON International

Facilitator

Anna Leah Escresa

Documenter

Hansley Juliano

Number of participants

43

Presenters

Sonny Africa

IBON

“From Crisis to Crisis & Crisis Upon Crisis”

Joy Sison-De Guzman

National Alliance for Filipino Concerns

“Impact of Global Crisis on Migrant Workers”

Pepe Medina

IMATU

“The Situation of Mexican Migrant Workers”

Joselito Natividad

APMM

“Relevance, Nexus, & Prospects: Impact Study of the GFMD and its Migration Paradigm”

Key Recommendations

- (1) In response to states' use of migration as a paradigm for development in the current global economy, migrant workers and advocates must continually deepen our understanding of the crisis-ridden monopoly capitalist system and its impacts on us and the rest of our people. We must build unities and common programs of action in conferences, workshops, and forums at the international, regional, and national levels, where the active participation and leadership of grassroots migrants will be ensured.
- (2) A strong movement of migrant workers that is linked to and works with the peoples' movement is the key to achieving the short- and long-term goals of migrant workers. Grassroots migrant workers have shown the power of a strong and wide movement in addressing policies that are detrimental to the rights of migrant workers. As the monopoly capitalist crisis intensifies, we can expect an influx of economic, political, and social policies that will further erode the rights of migrants, rendering us much more vulnerable to abuses. Thus, we must strive to organize the grassroots migrants and families to harness our collective will and action. We must continue to build international solidarity among us, and between us and with other sectors both in host and home countries.

Key Messages of Presenters

Sonny highlighted two important points: (1) the problems faced by migrants are systemic, and (2) short-term reforms are insufficient. The problems are deeply rooted in policies, institutions, and even in values. Given the nature of the problem, we are beyond the point of piecemeal changes and need to push for greater change. The rationale for change is solid: what we need is not in the realm of ideas, but rather a political push. We must strengthen our mass movements and work with our allies.

Joy presented key figures on the migrant situation, highlighting that migrants tend to come from poor countries, migrating to rich countries. They are considered to be a cheap source of labour. Labour exploitation occurs in many ways, including: depression of wages, age theft, long hours, no benefits, trafficking, racism, exclusion from labour laws, lack of union rights. To change this, migrants must unite, organize, and act. They must assert and defend their rights, fight exploitation and oppression, and advance solidarity with other workers.

Pepe recounted the experience of Mexican migrants with the GFMD in 2010.

Joselito indicated that there has not been sufficient analysis of the GFMD. He raised questions about its accountability, and critiqued its focus on remittances and migration as key to development. He expressed frustration that the GFMD has not acknowledged migration as a phenomenon of widespread poverty. He recommended that a shift be encouraged to a rights-based approach, and that the UN be allowed to take over the GFMD to ensure that its processes are beneficial to migrants.

Major Debates

Issue 1: The logic of migration for development is flawed, as the forced migration of people that is increasingly systematized in labour export programs or sending countries, and pushed for by migrant labour receiving countries to meet their need for cheaper labour, is a result of the crisis itself. The paradigm promoted by imperialists and imperialist-backed IGOs does not aim to solve the root causes of forced migration. It aims to corner capital in the form of remittances for the monopoly capitalist system and create an illusion of development, which is unsustainable and fails to respect the rights of migrants.

Issue 2: The RBA has always been on the agenda of civil society. Social protection for migrants must be provided by states, so states must be held accountable to institutionalize this in laws and through the signing of conventions. However, to make these measures effective, IGOs like the ILO need to be given more enforcement power, otherwise governments simply ignore their obligations.

Issue 3: CSOs will never stop pointing out errors—governments must never be let off the hook. They are responsible for the rights and welfare of migrants, and providing services should not be left to CSOs alone.

Domestic Workers

Title

Domestic Workers & Migration Realities:
Challenges and Responses

Organizers

MFA, NDWM
German Commission on Justice & Peace
IDWN
ITUC, ITUC-AP
University of Sydney
Women & Global Migration WG

Facilitator

Sr. Lissy Joseph

Documenter

Rhisan Mae Morales

Number of participants

85

Presenters

Sr. Lissy Joseph

NDWM

“Domestic Work as a Global Phenomenon
for Women Migrants”

Barbara Carraciolo

Solidar

Julius Cainglet

Filipino Free Workers

Key Recommendations

- (1) Proper education, training, and orientation should be provided for domestic workers so they will be fully aware and conscious of their rights; both the receiving and sending countries must make this available. This way, domestic workers will learn to be proactive in asserting their rights in cases of abuse, both physical and mental.
 - (2) A common understanding of the concept of “au pairs” must be established, and a clear separation of au pairs from domestic workers should be made. Au pairs should be understood to be participating in a training program, similar to an internship or exchange program, so that specific government agencies (both in the sending and receiving countries) can address the needs of these individuals under a specific category. Such a set-up will guarantee a good environment for the au pair, in which s/he can learn, as such programs would require proper regulation.
 - (3) With the increasing feminization of labour migration, a support group should be established for men, especially fathers, who are left behind that will teach them family management.
-

Key Messages of Presenters

Lissy's presentation focused on the point that migration should not be looked at as they key to alleviating poverty. Migration is a human rights issue: migrants' rights are human rights.

Barbara emphasized that there should be proper contracts and job descriptions for au pairs.

Julius indicated that to strengthen family relationships, positive networks and organizations must be established in which skills such as financial literacy are promoted. Good rituals of communication must also be established.

Major Debates

Issue 1: National laws are not properly implemented, there is domestic discrimination against women in employment; hence some are forced to migrate.

Issue 2: Corruption is evident in the governments of both sending and receiving countries.

Issue 3: The concept of "domestic worker" as a professional worker is strongly emphasized within the movement, but not adequately understood in the public discourse.

Issue 4: Migrant domestic workers get caught up in inter-state conflicts (e.g. Middle East), and become victims of state decisions. The failure of states to address such failures is a significant challenge.



Photos courtesy of IDWN

Migration Policies: Deportation & Control

Title

Detention and Criminalization of Undocumented Migrant Workers

Organizers

Taamneh Law Firm
NAALAC

Documenter

Chat S. Pinalas

Presenters

Salah Jaber

Taamneh Law Firm
“Administrative Detention for Migrant Workers in Jordan”

Oscar Chacon

NALACC

Number of participants

19

Key Recommendations

- (1) Migrant workers should be included in migrant-related policymaking.
 - (2) Publish/promote the study of migration and its impact on economic and social trends in the world population.
 - (3) National laws must be made to comply with international laws.
 - (4) Networking is important to strengthen the anti-racist movement. This should be accomplished via the sharing of experiences.
 - (5) In Jordan, the government should abolish administrative detention without limits for migrant workers.
-

Key Messages of Presenters

Salah discussed issues related to administrative detention in Jordan.

Oscar discussed issues related to the detention of migrants in the United States, emphasizing that the perception of the American public needs to change in this area.

Migration Policies: Kafala System

Title

Reforming Sponsorship Systems: Towards an Alternative Governance Scheme for Migrant Workers in the Middle East

Organizers

Fletcher School, Tufts University

Facilitators

Kathleen Hamill & Ray Jureidini

Documenter

Patricia Taña

Number of participants

26

Presenters

Kathleen Hamill

Fletcher School University

Ray Jureidini

Institute for Migration Studies, Lebanon
“Rethinking ‘Sponsorship Systems’ for Migrant Workers in the Middle East”

Key Recommendations

- (1) Guarantee the right to free movement and the right to live outside of the workplace.
 - (2) Institute employment-based visas with easy exit procedures and bridge visas.
 - (3) Establish expedited labour tribunals.
-

Key Messages of Presenters

The presenters outlined the ways in which the Kafala system regulates the relationships between workers and employees in most Middle Eastern countries. However, there exists a power imbalance and employment mobility is limited.

Major Debates

Issue 1: The group explored whether or not it would be possible and/or favourable to abolish the Kafala System altogether.

Issue 2: The group explored the challenges associated with establishing a minimum wage and how such a wage could be calculated. The problem of justifying higher wages for migrant workers was discussed.

Issue 3: The group discussed the possibility of the abolition of recruitment agencies and their associated processes.

Forced Migration, Trafficking, Refugees

Title

Forced Migration: Concepts, Challenges, and Solutions

Organizers

Pacific Refugee Rights Network
GONGGAM
Community Family Services International

Facilitator

Anoop Sukumaran

Documenter

Ma. Theresa L. Navalta

Number of participants

36

Presenters

Anoop Sukumaran

APRRN

“Defining Human Trafficking, Forced Migration While Expanding the Paradigm of Work with Refugees”

Danielle Grigsby

APRRN

“The Migration and Refugee Situation in Central Asia”

Ofelia R. Mendoza

Urban Refugee Program, UNHCR/CFSI

“Challenges to Refugee Protection in Southeast Asia: Historical development of refugee protection in the Philippines”

Key Recommendations

- (1) Guarantee the right to free movement and the right to live outside of the workplace.
- (2) Institute employment-based visas with easy exit procedures and bridge visas.
- (3) Establish expedited labour tribunals.

Key Messages of Presenters

Anoop explained that states take action to control/manage their borders, not to stop human trafficking or smuggling. Some states are extending their borders in the context of the fight against human trafficking and smuggling (e.g. Canada and Australia). In discussing trafficking, it's important to use a rights-based language. The issue is not how to protect migrants in another country, but how to address the issues that force them to leave their own.

Danielle explained that the refugee situation

Major Debates

Issue 1: Participatory approaches to the refugee/migration issue. It was acknowledged that an enabling environment for refugees to speak for themselves is important, but that this is difficult because of the legal framework in which they operate.

Issue 2: Extending RBA to refugee-sending countries. The group agreed that while an RBA is important in the migrants' rights and refugee rights movements, it's important to advocate for an RBA in countries of origin,

in Central Asia is a product of the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The breaking up of the union into many smaller states meant that international borders now exist where they did not before. Much of the economy in Central Asia is driven by migration.

Ofelia enumerated the challenges facing those who are concerned with protecting refugees, people in refugee-like situations, and asylum seekers. Her talk also dealt with the historical development of refugee protection in the Philippines (from the 1940 enactment of the Philippine Immigration Act to current provisions for refugee protection in the Philippines) and milestones of refugee protection in the Philippine context.

as it is often rights violations that push people to move in the first place, especially in the case of forced migration. Anoop also elaborated that the main push factor is the weakening of states as a result of neoliberal structural adjustment, such that states can no longer serve their citizens' needs.

Issue 3: Humanitarian responses. First responders across civil society must be trained to protect the rights of those fleeing. It is also important to help refugees establish and formulate positions so that advocates can bring these needs forward. Large international NGOs mostly dominate the humanitarian assistance field, while national NGOs usually work to ensure that the voices of refugees are heard.

Issue 4: Government responses to trafficking. In some regions there is a lack of political will to take action on trafficking. The TIP report rankings have motivated some countries (e.g. the Philippines) to take action.

Issue 5: Self-determination and self-organizing of refugees. Refugees are often concerned with the basics: avoiding arrest, securing employment, etc. It is easier for refugees to have a voice in countries where they are allowed more freedom, but NGOs are constantly working to ensure that refugee voices are heard.

Forced Migration

Title

Forced Migration in the Sahelian Region:
Evolutions with Recent Political Upheavals
and Challenges for Civil Society

Presenters

Assane Ba
CCFD
“Situation of Migration in Sahelian Region
and CCFD’s Response”

Organizers

CCFD
Terre Solidaire
Alternative Espace Citoyens Niger

Facilitator

Nina Marx

Documenter

Ma. Lourdes M. Berin

Number of participants

10

Key Recommendations

- (1) To avoid forced migration, civil society actors should put pressure on governments to create employment/livelihood opportunities for their own people and protect their rights—the right to stay and the right to decent work.
- (2) Civil society actors should create common spaces for local populations and migrants for discussion /reflection, and should inform locals about the rights of migrants in the Sahel and the broader Saharan region. A good way to do this would be to hold the next WSFM in Africa.
- (3) WSFM 2012 should denounce the bilateral agreements on readmission between Sahelian and European countries and should encourage the governments to ratify the International Convention on the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families.

Key Message of Presenter

Assane explained that a lot of migrants from the Sahel are forced to move north due to police and military interventions, blockades, political issues, and general. Some NGOs offer these migrants security in the form of free transportation, housing, and food, but for the most part there are few NGOs working for migrants in the region. CCFD is currently working to develop partnerships with different groups in the region.

Stranded/Emergency and Responses

Title

Expecting the Unexpected: Stranded Migrants in Emergency Situations

Organizers

Solidarity Network with Migrants Japan
MFA
Red Cross International

Facilitator

Yukiko Omagari

Documenter

Mary Ann Charity B. Durano

Number of participants

14

Presenters

Amelia Sasaki

Solidarity Network with Migrants Japan
“Experience of 3/11 Disaster: Protecting community ties and moving forward”

Sunhee Lee

Tohoku University, Japan
“Rebuilding Livelihoods After Disaster: Case studies of immigrant women in Tohoku”

Andy Hall

Mahidol Migration Centre, Thailand
“Thailand’s Flood Crisis and Migrant Workers”

Jasiya Khatoon

WARBE Development Foundation
“Libya Crisis: The Bangladesh Experience”

Zenaida P. Beltejar

Philippine Red Cross
“Stranded Migrants and Emergency Response”

Key Recommendations

- (1) Migrants should make an effort to organize themselves as a support group so that they can effectively prepare and help each other in everyday circumstances, particularly during crisis and emergency situations.
 - (2) Migrant advocates should use the media to push governments and reputable international organizations to address issues faced by migrants during crisis and emergency situations.
 - (3) Host governments should create migrant-centered and rights-based policies in order to address migrants’ needs, especially during crisis and emergency situations.
 - (4) CSOs and migrant communities should aid host governments during crisis and emergency situations by providing up-to-date information on the ground about migrants, to provide translation services, and to provide personnel to staff hotlines.
-

Recruitment

Title

Recruitment Practices and Issues in Asia:
Action, Agenda, and Strategies

Presenters

Babu Ram Gautam
WOREC Nepal

Organizers

MFA Nepal (WOREC, POURAKHI,
PNCC, Youth Action Nepal)
Coalition for Migrants' Rights
Alliance of Progressive Labour

Farouk Ahmed
WARBE Development Foundation

Roger Cordero
Marino

Documenter

Brian Villanueva

Key Recommendations

- (1) Strengthen and improve monitoring and implementation of migration policies
 - > Increase role of gov't missions and agencies in dealing with recruitment issues
 - > Implement ILO C189
 - > Promote shared responsibility between sending and receiving country in implementing pertinent laws
 - > Provide lawyers for legal aid and advice
 - > Ensure there are contracts enforceable in both sending and receiving countries
 - > Set up monitoring systems (both at the level of government-to-government and peoples' organizations).
 - > Ensure that sending governments work towards equal protection of their citizens in host countries
 - (2) Raise awareness, build capacity and strengthen solidarity among peoples' organizations.
 - > Build global collaboration and solidarity to enable resolution of problems in different countries.
 - (3) Promote strong and effective regulation of recruitment agencies.
 - > Stop visa trading practices and collection of illegal fees
 - > Promote a mixed model of protective and transparent recruitment via agencies and governments
 - (4) Produce, circulate, and disseminate pertinent information through the effective use of media
-

Key Messages of Presenters

Babu Ram focused on the lack of proper monitoring and implementation of laws in Nepal.

Farouk indicated that in Bangladesh there are many laws in place, but implementation and enforcement of those laws is problematic.

Roger suggested that laws are often not enforced, and as such the unionization of workers should be a priority.

Major Debates

Issue 1: Protection of migrant workers in the host country. The group discussed potential courses of action, including increasing the role of missions and agencies that deal with recruitment issues, the importance of shared responsibility between sending and receiving countries, and the need for monitoring systems.

Issue 2: The need for global collaboration and solidarity to enable the resolution of problems in the host and sending countries.

Issue 3: Access to information on the part of migrant workers was highlighted as a priority.

Climate Crisis, Green Economy, and Migration

Title

Climate and Migration

Organizers

Focus on the Global South
La Via Campesina
RMMRU
MFA

Facilitators

Mary Lou Malig

Documenter

George Benson

Presenters

Carlos Marentes

La Via Campesina

Pablo Solon

Focus on the Global South

Colin Rajah

MRI

Mohammad Towheedul Islam

RMMRU

Number of participants

22

Key Recommendations

- (1) Reject concepts like the “green economy,” as these allow for exploitation of the people and the environment by national and international actors under a new guise. Work to create a language for international civil society, migrant groups, labour unions, peasants’ movements, etc. that accurately conveys the needs and concerns of these groups and avoids the pitfalls of concepts created by exploitive agents.
 - (2) Encourage solidarity and agenda-setting attitudes in migrant communities. As bridges between countries/communities, particularly between the Global South and North, they can influence systemic change by raising their collective voices.
 - (3) In the longer term, the exploitive nature of the current neoliberal economic order must be addressed and its excesses curtailed—in its place, a new paradigm of local community programmes of production, development, and living can be explored as an alternative.
 - (4) Urge scientists to use their powerful voices in political spaces towards progressive goals.
 - (5) Create truly free systems of movement in the form of a “universal citizenship,” whereby the northern states, which are responsible for climate change, take action to bring about climate justice by letting people into their countries to work and live who have been affected by climate change (either as a direct result of natural disasters or by the much more common socioeconomic consequences).
-

Key Messages of Presenters

Colin explained that climate change statistics are used to justify all kinds of projects, including securitization, criminalization, and xenophobic profiling. The category of “climate migrants” simplifies their struggles. The present narrative of victimization must be changed to avoid the exploitative aims of many actors. Spaces must be built to allow for the articulation of a common understanding of migrants’ struggles.

Mohammed explained that as a delta country, Bangladesh is suffering is expected to see harsh effects with increased sea level rise. The discourse around climate migration has become widely securitized, as states express worries that Bangladeshis will “pour” over their borders and disrupt their societies. Governments and CSOs should concentrate on adaptation and resilience strategies, and mainstream migration and climate change in national planning.

Carlos noted the absence of “migration and migrants” in climate change debates globally. The present economic order has created the climate crisis. Companies hide behind “green” designations. The 1960s “green revolution” led to massive inequality and dispossession of people from their land. The way forward is to focus on building the ability of communities to support themselves.

Pablo’s talk focused on “climate justice”—that northern countries are responsible for migration caused by climate change, and should compensate these people and welcome them into their societies. Specific mechanisms need to be implemented that avoid criminalization, commoditization, and false technology and market-based solutions.

Major Debates

Issue 1: Adaptation vs. Avoidance. The group identified the difficulties of responding to climate change, as major changes to social and economic systems would be needed. Whether or not civil society should even talk about adaptation as opposed to climate justice, or taking measures to avoid climate change altogether, were key questions raised. It was widely agreed that while short-term adaptation strategies are necessary for people in danger zones, the broader systemic inequalities of the neoliberal economic order must be addressed and remedied.

Violence Against Women & Human Rights

Title

Violence Against Migrant Women and the Human Rights Framework

Organizers

Women & Global Migration WG
NNIRR
MFA
MRI
PANiDMR

Facilitator

Carol Barton

Documenter

Naw Palae Phaw Min

Number of participants

46

Presenters

Carol Barton

Women & Global Migration WG
“Violence Against Migrant Women”

Key Recommendations

- (1) Mainstream feminist contributions to all international documents and lawmaking, and hold states accountable for their implementation.
- (2) Deepen alliances between migrant workers’ movements and other sectors.
- (3) Recognize migrant women as agents of change rather than as victims.

Key Messages of Presenters

The presenters explained the importance of making international documents come alive, and ensuring that states guarantee social, economic, and political rights for women. They also emphasized the importance of international law in guarding against abuse.

Major Debates

Issue 1: Accountability of the state and the international community.

Issue 2: State accountability for labour laws that are favourable to migrant women.

Issue 3: The importance of making jobs available for women in sending countries to avoid the need to migrate.

Migrants' Rights are Human Rights + Resistance, Organization, and Action



Photo Credit: Migrants Rights International

Panelists (left to right): Zaynah Hindi, Ellene Sana, Myrtle Witbooi, Oscar Chacon (moderator), Abdelhamid El Jamri, Marcella Segre (interpreter), Ada Volkmer (interpreter), Edda Pando

Plenary Moderator: Oscar Chacon

Oscar A. Chacón is an immigrant from El Salvador who has dedicated his life to the pursuit of social and economic justice across borders, primarily by organizing and empowering migrant communities in the United States. Oscar has served since 2007 as the Executive Director of the National Alliance of Latin American & Caribbean Communities, an umbrella of immigrant-led organizations from around the country dedicated to improving the quality of life of Latino immigrant communities in the United States, as well as of peoples throughout Latin America.

Abdelhamid El Jamri, UN Committee on Migrant Workers



Abdelhamid El Jamri was appointed Chairperson of the Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families in 2008. He has extensive experience on issues related to employment policies, economic development, and the integration of migrants. As an expert on international migration management, Mr. El Jamri has led the ANPAC project in Morocco—a project that regulates the movement of people between Morocco and the countries of the European Union—and contributed to the development of the Migration and Information Management Centre in Mali.

Abdelhamid focused on three main points in his speech: the work of the Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families; the impact of neoliberalism on the human rights of migrants; and examples of resistance and action.

The Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families

As the chairperson for the Committee that oversees the implementation of the Migrant Workers' Convention, Abdelhamid explained the importance of this convention as a tool for the protection of human rights. It is a very dynamic convention that is expected to yield many good results in the future.

The role of his office extends beyond analyzing the reports of states parties to the convention. It involves mobilizing UN agencies and civil society, and using the convention to create a platform for NGOs and trade unions to take up the issues the convention raises internationally.

States often lack the political will at the international level to take migrants' rights into consideration in their policies. The pretext for ignoring migrants' rights is economic crisis and austerity. Thus, many countries ratify conventions but then fail to implement them.

Neoliberalism and the human rights of migrants

Abdelhamid explained that the current situation in many countries is fluid in terms of the protection of migrant workers, and this is largely due to the development of neoliberalism without any rules. This economic system has had the effect of degrading the rights of migrant workers and moving workers into the informal sector. The degradation of rights has resulted in increases in the employment of undocumented workers, migrant women, and unaccompanied children in countries of destination.

States often lack the political will at the international level to take migrants' rights into consideration in their policies. The pretext for ignoring migrants' rights is economic crisis and austerity. Thus, many countries ratify conventions but then fail to implement them. In some cases, laws are changed rendering those who were once in a regular status to become irregular migrants.

Resistance and action

More groups are becoming involved in resistance, including trade unions. Around the world migrants are beginning to take responsibility for themselves in defending their employment and human rights. Many trade unions are starting to include advocacy for the rights of migrants and undocumented workers. Congratulations to civil society on moving this forward.

Edda Pando, ARCI Italy

Edda Pando is a social activist and an intercultural scholar strongly committed to the migrants' and anti-racist movements since she emigrated from Peru to Italy in 1991. She is a leading member of some of the main self-organized migrants' organizations in Italy, co-founder of the associations "Todo Cambia" and Università Migrante," both based in Milan. As a well-known movement organizer, she is also a leading member of the Immigration Department of Arci, one of the organizations promoting the Global Day of Action against racism and for the Rights of Migrants, Refugees, and Displaced Persons, held on 18 December 2012.



Edda discussed the context of human rights approaches and how colonialism has impacted migrant communities in Europe. She talked about her vision for action and resistance, calling on migrants everywhere to take charge of the labels that describe them and to find unity in the diversity of their communities.

Understanding the context of Human Rights approaches

Edda explained that in the European context, specifically in the Italian context, talking about human rights means talking about an ambiguity of human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was adopted in 1948, during a time of colonialism in many parts of the world—many people did not have access to human rights and the UDHR did not really apply to them. While we can take the spirit of that convention, we must also be critical and understand that the situation for migrant workers today is similar.

In Europe, many people talk about human rights and are very proud of it. Europeans look at some groups as being “not civilized” and let them do the dirty work. The European Union finances detention centres for migrants in many countries, including Morocco, Libya, and Algeria. There are “people” and there are “non-people” in the current context of Europe.

Globalization is not all negative. It allows for opportunities like these kinds of forums and gatherings, in which we can discuss and define what human rights means in a substantial way.

“I don’t believe that we need to only resist. I am tired of resisting. I think we need to start imagining. We need to start daring people. This means assuming the responsibility of being protagonists in the first person. We need to start to decolonize our minds.”

Action and resistance

In Edda’s own words: “I don’t believe that we need to only resist. I am tired of resisting. I think we need to start imagining. We need to start daring people. This means assuming the responsibility of being protagonists in the first person. We need to start to decolonize our minds.” She explained that migrants in Europe tend to live with the mindset of victims, and that Europeans tend to act with paternalism and superiority over migrants. Thus, it has been difficult for migrants to find their voices.

She indicated that migrants are tired of being the objects of study by academics, and are rather ready to be the subjects of action. She urged migrants to speak with pride about their migration experiences. Edda also called on migrants to create their own theory. She expressed frustration with labels like “multiculturalism,” “interculturalism,” and “transculturalism.” While cultural diversity exists, it is equally important for migrants to affirm that which unites them, rather than what makes them different. “We need to think not about our differences, but about principles that unite us so that we can create a better world.”

Panel Question

Regarding the issues of culture and integration, in some cases the majority of the population is made up of migrant workers, so destination countries express fear that if they allow migrants to integrate, they will interfere with the local population. Thus, the conditions of the workers remain very difficult. In some cases an apartheid system is in place, whereby migrant workers are denied access to public spaces. Any comments on this issue?

As a movement, we need to further elaborate the models that come out of culturalism. In Europe, the current model treats the national community as the reference point. It’s easier for governments to deal with groups of nationals as groups, and to assign people to represent those groups. However, the truth is that I cannot represent all Peruvians, because we are all very different. We need to develop

models that look at the person and that extend full respect to their humanity and their rights. We need to avoid the racism that exists among different communities of foreigners. We need to break with nationalism and understand that we are people before we are a culture.

Zaynah Hindi, International Palestinian Youth



Zaynah is an activist and scholar based in Beirut, Lebanon. She received her MA in Middle Eastern Studies from the American University of Beirut this year. She has been a member of the Palestinian youth movement since 2009, and has participated in organizing numerous campaigns and initiatives for Palestinian youth and refugee rights in the US and in Lebanon.

Zaynah reflected on her experience as a Palestinian activist whose focus has been forced displacement rather than socioeconomic migration. She explained the roots of Palestinian displacement and called on the WSFM participants to problematize the human rights framework and the ways in which it perpetuates colonialism and hegemony.

Experience of intergenerational displacement

Zaynah explained that her father, the son of a Palestinian refugee, grew up in Lebanon. Her grandfather had been forcibly displaced from Gaza in 1948 with the creation of the state of Israel. After finishing school in Lebanon, her father moved to the United States to continue his studies. He married and had a family in the United States, and 22 years later Zaynah moved to Lebanon to continue her studies while working and fighting in the Palestinian struggle.

Forced migration and the right of return

Zaynah explained that in the Palestinian context, labour migration for socioeconomic mobility is important, but there have been many other reasons for Palestinian migration and displacement as well. There are more than 7 million displaced persons in the world today, and at 64 years of displacement, the Palestinians represent the longest-standing case of displacement in the world. Palestinians are migrant workers, IDPs, stateless refugees, and fall into many other categories as well.

In considering the depth and scope of the Palestinian issue, rather than isolating one component it is important to look at it holistically, and to get to the root cause of the historic, contemporary, and ongoing Palestinian displacement. To see how the different forms of displacement are linked, Zaynah explained that a politicized understanding is necessary. “Zionist colonization, expropriation, and ethnic cleansing are the root causes,

and the situation is perpetuated by the denial of the right to restitution, compensation—or as Palestinians call it, ‘the right of return.’ The right to return to one’s country is the cornerstone of refugee rights.”

Resistance

Given the politicized conception of the origins of displacement, Zaynah indicated that resistance must be designed accordingly. In the case of the Palestinians, the only “durable solution” is to call for an end to Zionist colonization and its effects. This is emerging locally, regionally, and internationally, as Palestinians contest the overarching power systems that create massive violations of human rights.

Zaynah indicated that in our resistance, we must problematize and critique the human rights framework and how it is enacted. She explained that the human rights system brought about new forms of hegemony, and that as activists we should be hesitant about moving forward with these norms. An alternative to pursue justice-centred discourses—these discourses emerged out of indigenous and peoples’ struggles. These approaches derive their legitimacy from the inherent justice of their struggles. We should be mindful of others determining our resistance, and move away from relying on human rights frameworks that can reproduce the repression we see today.

“Zionist colonization, expropriation, and ethnic cleansing are the root causes, and the situation is perpetuated by the denial of the right to restitution, compensation—or as Palestinians call it, ‘the right of return.’” The right to return to one’s country is the cornerstone of refugee rights.”

Ellene Sana, Centre for Migrant Advocacy

Ellene Sana is currently the Executive Director of the Centre for Migrant Advocacy in Manila. Ellene has over 20 years of experience working to advance respect for human rights in the Philippines and internationally. She is a regular resource person in Congressional meetings and public hearings on migration-related policies and issues in the Philippines. She is also the main spokesperson of CMA on migration-related issues.

Ellene’s intervention was framed by the stories of two Filipina domestic workers in the Middle East.

She used these cases to underscore the points that migrant workers need to be empowered to claim the rights they hold, that countries of destination have just as much responsibility to ensure the rights of



migrant workers as countries of origin, and that international instruments are important tools in the fight for migrants' human rights.

Cases of migrant domestic workers

Ellene described the stories of two migrant domestic workers whom she met on a plane flying from Dubai to Manila. The first woman had just finished a two-year contract, during which she was permitted only one hour off per year in order to attend Christmas mass. These two occasions were her only opportunity to leave the home of her employer. She worked in a four-storey building, and was responsible for all of the cleaning. She had been paid \$200/month, \$200 less per month than the mandated \$400. Ellene informed her that she could complain and force her recruiter to restore her lost wages. However, she was a “happy migrant” and was afraid that her recruiter would blacklist her should she make such a request.

“Do migrants really believe it? Are they reclaiming human rights as their own? Action must be taken concertedly, not in little pockets. For change to come, we must also change ourselves.”

The second woman had been working in the Gulf since 1992, and was responsible for all of the cooking in her employer’s home. Ellene asked her if she would get a pension upon retirement. The woman told her she hoped that her employer would give her some extra money upon retirement, but that nothing was guaranteed. This woman had no social protection of any kind, even after working for so long.

Migrants' rights are human rights

Ellene explained that the principle of human rights is that they are not diminished when a person crosses a border. However, this principle is not applied. We often get preoccupied with the laws and policies of sending countries, but the host countries must also be held to account. We cannot accept that these issues are not addressed due to concerns about “security” and “sovereignty.” “Migrant workers have been in these countries for years, and many decades, and no revolution has taken place! They are not threatening to these countries!” As we are asking sending country governments to push more, host countries must also realize that migrant workers are working seriously and are not getting their dues.

International instruments for advocacy

Ellene also pointed out that as advocates we must ask ourselves what we are doing to make things better for migrants. We must fully understand the conventions we are asking states to ratify. Both the UN and ILO conventions can be very good guides. Ellene asked: “Do migrants really believe it? Are they reclaiming human rights as their own? Action must be taken concertedly, not in little pockets. For change to come, we must also change ourselves.”

Panel Question

There has been a lot of focus on putting pressure on the UN and other agencies. How can we exert this extra pressure?

For CSOs and trade unions, the beauty of the UN is that the conventions cover human rights and the ILO provides standards of protection for labour, and the two are very interconnected. For instance, the provisions of CEDAW are also found in the ILO conventions.

How do we address promotion? We must link all of the conventions that relate to the issues of migrant workers and then try to pressure the government. We must take them to task. We must also look at what has been ratified in countries of destination. All of the fundamental human rights instruments and conventions of the ILO, whether ratified or not, are applicable—we can invoke them as advocates. It takes a lot of time to engage at that level, but we must take them to task on human and labour rights.

We must not lose sight of the value of these conventions, as the UN and the ILO have spent 50+ years putting these provisions together. As CSOs and trade unions we don't have all the answers. If we revisit these documents, we are sure to find relevant provisions that can advance our advocacies.

Myrtle Witbooi, South African Domestic Service & Allied Workers Union



Myrtle Witbooi has been the General Secretary of the South African Domestic Service & Allied Workers Union for the past 11 years, and is also the President of the International Domestic Workers Network, which represents 10 countries. Myrtle's personal struggle started in 1966 when she was barred from further education. She had problems with her identity papers, so resorted to becoming a domestic worker. She served one family for 12 years, raising their child with love, working without even one paid holiday.

Myrtle talked about the importance of making sure that any action taken in support of migrant workers is taken by migrant workers. She emphasized that workers need to speak for and represent themselves, articulate their own needs, and claim their freedom.

As migrant workers, we must free ourselves

Myrtle spoke about her experience as a domestic worker in South Africa. She the situation she found herself in 46 years ago, describing herself as a “migrant worker in my own

country,” as she had no access to rights. It was this realization that made her understand that domestic workers needed to free themselves.

She explained that migrant workers find themselves being jailed and persecuted, and the only crimes they have committed is trying to make better lives for themselves and their families. Some take extreme risks to ensure that this can happen.

*“...if you want to be with us, follow us.
Together we can, but nothing about us
without us!”*

Migrant workers need to stand together and state what they will do to free themselves and make migrants’ rights human rights. In her own words:

We are the change. We need to change ourselves. We need to grab that freedom that’s coming our way. We need to stand in front of our governments and occupy our streets. [...] Migrant workers are going to take the world by storm. We’re going to free ourselves and say that if you want to be with us, follow us. Together we can, but *nothing about us without us!*

Open Forum

Q

To Abdelhamid: Regarding the World Cup in Qatar in 2022, there are 1.5 million new migrant worker jobs being created to build stadiums and to prepare the grounds, and for many the contracts have already been signed. How are we going to pressure governments to improve standards? If worse comes to worst, are we going to recommend a withdrawal from the World Cup?

A

Abdelhamid: Different migrants have different ways of moving. Some move independently, and others move with their companies (the companies bring their migrants with them). The ITUC has a campaign for the World Cup in Qatar. Every day they report suicides and depression among the workers. The ITUC has contacted countries of origin to put pressure on the companies that hire them. There are two major campaigns: negotiation with corporations and states concerned, and the threat of a boycott. The ITUC has 12 million members at the international level, and with added voices a lot of pressure can be put on states and companies.

Q To Abdelhamid: Given that the UN is instrumental in the GFMD process, and the GFMD is focused on remittances rather than rights, how does your committee intend to work towards the integration of an RBA within the GFMD?

A **Abdelhamid:** The GFMD was started in 2006 following the HLD at the UN, and upon the request of a committee headed by Kofi Annan two years prior to that. The goal was to put all issues related to migration and development on the international agenda. My opinion is that the international community is not ready to address issues of migration and development within the context of the UN. At the UN, resolutions are binding. At the moment, the GFMD operates outside of the UN; therefore, recommendations are non-binding. It's an important space to engage in an ongoing debate about migration and development issues. Concerning taking an RBA, in general host countries are not ready to talk about rights for undocumented migrants, while sending countries are ready to take this up. This is a major separation between countries of origin and destination.

Q To Myrtle: Are you happy with the labour rights inscribed in C189? What about social protection? How do you work towards ensuring social protection for migrant domestic workers in addition to their labour rights?

A **Myrtle:** Social protection is included in C189, and it's for all domestic workers irrespective of their migration status. We need to push our governments to ratify this convention, and from there we can push for social protection. The convention is there for us, so we need to make it a reality.

Q To Abdelhamid: Morocco is a migrant sending and receiving country. It has ratified the UDHR, the MWC, the Refugee Convention, and other human rights instruments. However, migrant workers in Morocco are suffering from violations of these basic rights. They are victims of repression, they are deported at the borders and arrested. What is your reaction to this situation? What do you do to push the Moroccan authorities to meet their obligations?

A **Abdelhamid:** These issues have been highlighted by the media and human rights organizations. I believe it is a regional problem. The Government of Morocco has submitted a report to the committee and we are going to evaluate it in two sessions in 2013—in April and September. If anyone has information to add, please contact the committee and we can add this to our analysis.

**Migrants' Rights are Human Rights + Resistance, Organization,
and Action**

Circular Migration: Rights of Temporary Migrants

Title

Reclaiming and Reaffirming the Human Rights of Migrant Workers in Temporary and Circular Work Programs

Organizers

PICUM
MRI
GMPA

Facilitator

Nicola Piper

Documenters

Karen and Richard

Number of participants

45

Presenters

Patrick Taran

GMPA

“Migration, Human Rights, and Rule of Law: Constructs and how it works”

Abdelhamid El Jamri

Chair, UN Committee on Migrant Workers

Sanushka Mudaliar

Human Rights Council of Australia

“The Migrant Worker Campaign, Australia”

Karl Flecker

Canadian Labour Congress

“Canada’s Labour Migration Policies: Integration or exploitation”

Eve Geddy

PICUM

Petra Snelders

RESPECT Network Europe

Key Recommendation

- (1) The rule of law and human rights instruments are core foundations of protection for migrants, as it promotes social cohesion and democratic participation. Where conventions are not ratified, ratification and campaigning for ratification are core components of civil society and trade union advocacy. Reporting and documentation is necessary for those countries that have ratified.
-

Key Messages of Presenters

Patrick recommended: (1) enact convention standards; (2) ensure transparent migration policy; (3) pursue institutional dialogue among government, partners, and CSOs; (4) enforce employment standards; (5) pursue gender-sensitive measures; (6) create plans of action against racism/xenophobia; (7) engage in international consultation with states and civil society.

Abdelhamid drew parallels between the situation of circular migration in the 1970s and today. He addressed the need for transferability of rights, particularly with respect to labour rights and social security.

Sanushka spoke about the Australian ratification campaign and its various strategies. She emphasized the need to bridge the value of the rule of law with the goals of the campaign.

Karl debunked the myth that Canada's TFWP is a "model program." It is exploitative and results in a race-to-the-bottom for local and migrant workers and racism among workers. He spoke about the response of Canadian unions.

Eve discussed TFWPs in the EU. She called on civil society for support on a draft text for seasonal and undocumented workers that would include minimum standards for living and working.

Petra explained that the left favours TFWPs as a way to ensure migrants' rights, but they exploit poor workers. Workers can benefit from these programs, but their human rights are often compromised. TFWPs divide workers. Women are often made vulnerable by circular migration.

Major Debates

Issue 1: There is a need for a broad coalition of trade unions at the national level that can generate sufficient force to move governments to ratify conventions on migration, and to make sure that governments meet their commitments. The barrier to ratification is not juridical, but is rather political digression. Ratification is an issue of force and building enough pressure to push governments to act. This not only protects foreign nationals, but also offers a significant statement to other countries about concrete actions on addressing migrant issues.

Issue 2: A barrier to ratification is the "national security doctrine," which is the basis of most migration policies in receiving countries. NGOs often pursue human security over national security. Governments must also be held to account for the protection of the human rights of those in transit, as well as for the rights of labour migrants more generally.

Issue 3: TFWPs are, ultimately, business-driven public policy. We need to take into account that this is the interest followed by national governments. Hence, there are significant challenges in ensuring the transferability of rights for circular migrants.

Right to Development

Title

Migration, Human Rights, and Development

Organizers

NALACC

Presenters

Clelia Salvio

Juvencio Rocha-Peralta

NALACC

Oscar Chacon

NALACC

Key Messages of Presenters

The presenters emphasized the following key points:

- > Importance of getting financial priorities of countries of origin straight
- > Importance of recognizing shared vulnerability to climate change
- > Necessity of challenging militaristic protection and to respect human rights and basic human security
- > Necessity of pursuing fair policy reforms for access to human rights
- > Importance of engaging with CSOs in countries of origin and creating partnerships

Major Debates

Issue 1: The United States is becoming increasingly segregated. To make meaningful change, the government must help communities to facilitate the kind of social interaction that is needed to allow for healthy integration.

Issue 2: The co-development model is being pursued by France. This means that migrants work with the government on development projects to help prevent the need for migration. However, it is problematic because it takes away the people's right to decide where to reside and work, even if motivated by good intentions. We have to be careful about the "right not to migrate" concept, as it can be easily misinterpreted.

Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights: The Right to Health

Title

Migrant Workers' Right to Health: Access Denied

Organizers

CARAM Asia
ARROW
Dawn
ACHIEVE

Facilitator

Carmelita Nuqui

Documenter

Dyz Pumarada

Number of participants

25

Presenters

Brahm Press

Raks Thai Foundation/CARAM Asia
“Migrant Health Rights: An Overview”

Sai Jyothirmai Racherla

ARROW
“Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights of Migrants”

Jackie Pollock

MAP Foundation/CARAM Asia
“Occupational Safety and Health”

Aniara Quesada

Acheni Inc./CARAM Asia
“Intentions and Initiatives to Promote and Protect Migrants' Health Rights”

Key Recommendations

- (1) On enabling environment: Institutionalize involvement of migrant workers in facilitating access to comprehensive, migrant-friendly, and gender-responsive health information and services, including monitoring occupational health and safety standards using a variety of communication channels.
- (2) On policies: MOUs and BLAs should be pursued, but should be based on international standards and the principle of universal health care. Policies that discriminate against migrant workers based on health conditions, including HIV, should be repealed.
- (3) On services: Guarantee universal access to comprehensive migrant-friendly and gender-responsive health services, including sexual and reproductive health, mental health, and occupational health.

Key Messages of Presenters

Presentations were framed by an overview presented by **Brahm** of the level of effectiveness of international agreements on health standards.

Major Debates

Issue 1: The group engaged in a discussion concluding that the UN HLD in 2013 should incorporate issues of migrant health in the discussions.

Rights and Access to Health

Title

Migrants' Right to Health

Presenters

Zoraida Avila & Axela Romero

NALACC

Organizers

Espacio Sin Fronteras,
Academicos, FEDECMI, NALACC,
Dream Act, Albergue del Desierto, AFABI,
CEREMUBA, Irapuato Vive, CONVIHVE,
CECMAC, SIPAM, MFA

PC Alexander

Indian Social Club/MFA

Facilitators

Jacqueline Scanlon
John Walkie
Angelica Maria Otero

Documenter

Liza Diaz

Number of participants

22

Key Recommendations

- (1) Countries should learn from South America's best practices on healthcare.
 - (2) The visibility of the issue of the lack of healthcare for migrants should be increased.
 - (3) Access to emergency for low-wage migrants in the Gulf countries should be assured.
 - (4) Emphasis should be placed on universal healthcare as public policy. Strong objections should be raised to healthcare privatization.
 - (5) HIV should be regarded as a specific health issue among migrants.
-

Key Messages of Presenters

Zoraida and Axela emphasized the importance of addressing HIV with specific health programs and empowering women to make healthy decisions and prevent HIV.

PC Alexander, an Indian doctor working in Oman, spoke on the need to ensure that migrant workers have the right to healthcare and social protection to ensure access.

Role of Faith-Based Groups

Title

Interfaith Dialogue on Migration & Human Rights

Presenters

Carol Barton
United Methodist Women

Organizers

United Methodist Women
MFA
Anglican Refugee & Migrant Network

Facilitators

Carol Barton

Documenter

Meli Maraan
Chat Jocson-Pinalas
Pinky Choudhury

Number of participants

32

Key Recommendations

- (1) Strengthen the inter-faith collaboration/networking of all faith-based groups.
 - (2) Continue, enhance, maximize the services and advocacies of faith-based groups in responding to the issues of migrants, such as education on human rights and family. Advocate to keep families together and outline the roles and responsibilities of recruitment agencies and government.
 - (3) Ensure that services by faith-based groups do not take over for areas in which the government should be responsible.
-

Key Messages of Presenters

The presenters spoke about the importance of inter-faith collaboration, and emphasized the role of faith-based groups in advocating for migrants' rights and in providing essential services. Faith was identified as an important avenue through which the issues of migrant workers can be understood.

Right to Decent Work: Rights at Work

Title

Decent Work for Migrant Workers: Gaps, Challenges, and the Way Forward!

Organizers

Building and Woodworkers International

Facilitator

Apolinar “Dong” Tolentino

Documenter

Bian Villanueva

Number of participants

40

Presenters

Libby Casco

POEA

“ASEAN Migrant Workers’ Rights and Protection”

Shafir BP Mammal

UNI-Malaysia

Barja Kumali Rai

GEFONT Nepal

Ponkumar Ponnusamy

TCWF India

Colin Rajah

GCM

Jasmin Arian

Al Khalee, Bahrain

Key Recommendations

- (1) Engage in policy interventions to increase awareness of laws related to workers’ rights in both host and sending countries, and address contentious labour issues, including the Kafala system in the Gulf countries and labour contracting in other host countries.
 - (2) Promote inclusivity across unions in host countries by opening monitoring and help desk programs to workers from different nationalities. Promote inclusion of migrant workers in the trade unions of host countries.
 - (3) Increase trade union support for global civil society movements in an effort to reform international policy frameworks on migration.
-

Key Messages of Presenters

Libby summarized the development of the ASEAN Instrument of Protection for Migrant Workers.

Shafir presented an overview of UNI-Malaysia's SMS helpdesk and the kinds of rights violations reported to it.

Barja presented an overview of union organization and described the cross-country collaboration that GEFONT engages in.

Colin focused on the development of global CSO-trade union linkages aimed at changing global policies.

Ponkumar discussed the progress of the "Without Us" campaign in India.

Jasmin outlined the challenges of union organizing in Bahrain following the crackdowns on migrants during the Arab Spring.

Major Debates

Issue 1: The group discussed policy interventions that could enforce labour standards and changes that should be made to international labour and migration policy frameworks.

Issue 2: The group discussed inclusivity in labour unions, and the degree to which unions are open or closed to members of different nationalities.

Issue 3: The group discussed the importance of cooperation and collaboration between CSOs and trade unions, and how to foster such linkages.

Domestic Workers

Title

Protecting and Empowering Domestic Workers: Using international standards and building collective actions

Organizers

MFA, NDWM, German Commission on Justice & Peace, IDWN, ITUC, ITUC-AP, University of Sydney, Women & Global Migration WG

Facilitator

Jerome Alcantara

Documenters

Liza Garcia, Evelyn del Rosario

Number of participants

90

Presenters

Julius Cainglet

Federation of Free Workers
“12x12 Campaign of the Philippine Domestic Work Technical Working Group”

Ellene Sana

Centre for Migrant Advocacy
“The Philippines’ Experience in Negotiating Protective Policies and Agreements for Overseas Filipino Domestic Workers”

Key Recommendations

- (1) Foster cooperation and solidarity among different groups. Take action at national and international levels to pressure governments to ratify C189 and/or to make changes in national laws using C189 as the standard.
 - (2) Share and learn from good practices of other groups at forums and conferences.
 - (3) Organize domestic workers so that they know their rights, who their supporters are.
-

Key Messages of Presenters

Julius shared the Philippine experience of the campaign for the convention for domestic workers (C189) and its ratification. The 12x12 campaign sought to secure 12 ratifications of the convention by the end of 2012.

Ellene spoke on the importance of securing BLAs with destination countries that compliment global standards.

Major Debates

Issue 1: The group discussed the importance of organizing domestic workers, educating them, and raising awareness of the needs of domestic workers and their families.

Issue 2: The group discussed the need for effective implementation of laws, and for domestic laws to complement global standards.

Gender, Legal Framework: Trafficking

Title

Gender, Judicial, and Legislative Frameworks on Trafficking

Organizers

Miriam College, RMIT

Facilitators

José Roberto Guevarra
Marg Liddell

Documenter

Patricia Taña

Number of participants

22

Presenters

José Roberto Guevarra

RMIT

“Our Migration Stories”

Marg Liddell

RMIT

“Australian Issues on Trafficking”

Ma. Theresa C. de Vela

Miriam College

Aurora Javate de Dios

Miriam College

“Intersection of Migration and Trafficking”

Key Recommendations

- (1) Adopt rights-based and gender-based principles, including humane treatment of those victimized by trafficking.
 - (2) Strategy: Educate workers of their rights, the wider community about the issue, and men (the demand side).
 - (3) Maintain cohesion so that organizations are not played against each other.
 - (4) Conduct more research on child trafficking to balance the focus on women.
-

Key Messages of Presenters

José solicited migration stories from the group to different motives for migrating.

Marg and Ma. Teresa solicited “ideal world” images from the group and led a discussion on strategies to achieve them.

Aurora said trafficking is a gendered form of violence; we must address demand, and understand the buyer, the bought, and the business.

Major Debates

Issue 1: The group discussed issues that migrants face in host countries, including exploitation and non-payment of salaries.

Issue 2: The concept of trafficking and its implications were thoroughly explored.

Women Migrants' Rights

Title

Citizenship and Other Rights for Women Migrants

Organizers

Action Network for Marriage Migrants' Rights & Empowerment
Women's Legal Bureau
APMM
TASAT
CWR
KAFIN-Japan
Philwomen on ASEAN

Facilitator

Cham Perez

Documenters

Des Berin and Zeny de Jesus

Number of participants

40

Presenters

Atty. Ana Lorena Delgadillo

Foundation Para la Justicia y el Estado Democrático de Derecho
"The Plight of Migrants in Mexico and Central America"

Jane Corpuz-Brock

AMMORE
"For Better or Worse: Marriage Migrants & Citizenship"

Inorisa Elento

Mindanao Migrants Centre for Empowering Actions
"The State of Abandoned Families of OFWs in Davao City"

Rep. Luzviminda Ilagan

GABRIELA Women's Party
"The Legislative Agenda for Migrant Workers"

Jem Panganiban

Women's Legal & Human Rights Bureau
"Multi-treaty Approach to Rights Claiming in ASEAN"

Key Recommendations

- (1) Value contributions of marriage migrants to society, economy, and culture by recognizing, protecting, and promoting rights of women marriage migrants, including the right to citizenship, the right to family, and the right to child custody.
 - (2) Call on governments to repeal all laws and reverse policies that discriminate against women marriage migrants.
 - (3) Organize marriage migrants and raise their capacity to conduct lobby work and advocate for their own rights, including campaigns in the areas of right to family and against femicide, employing methods such as speak-out campaigns and lobbying ASEAN and national governments.
-

Key Messages of Presenters

Ana Lorena spoke about the problems associated with organized crime in migration. Because of strict migration laws, migrants are forced to work with organized crime to cross borders. CSOs need to start working with people in the communities who have been victims of violence in order to empower them.

Jane spoke about the hardships of marriage migrants—the difficulties they face in applying for citizenship, and becoming domestic workers for lack of better options.

Inorisa discussed the problems of abandonment of children and spouses when women migrate, in the context of Davao City, Philippines.

Luzviminda described the party list agenda for migrant workers and the bills filed in the Philippine Congress.

Jem outlined the international laws that can help to provide protection for migrant workers through established rights.

Climate Justice

Title

Climate and Migration

Organizers

Jubilee South
Focus on the Global South
MFA
RMMRU

Facilitator

Sammy Gamboa

Documenter

John Frederick A. Lauron

Number of participants

30

Presenters

Mae Buenaventura

JS-APMDD

Towhee'd Islam

Refugee and Migratory Movements Unit

La Via Campesina

Larry Pascua

Lidy Nacpil

Jubilee South

Janet Redman

Koen Detavernier

11.11.11

Key Recommendations

- (1) Call for deep emission cuts from industrialized countries to address major factors behind the climate crisis and climate-induced migration.
 - (2) Support climate migrants in accessing their rights to adequate financing, livelihoods, adaptation, and resilience building.
 - (3) Re-channel budgets to finance climate finance migration as a mitigation strategy.
-

Key Messages of Presenters

Mae presented the basic concepts of climate change science, as well as the history and political economy of climate change. Her main point was that the urgency of action should not be underestimated.

Towhee'd considered the example of Bangladesh and its vulnerability to climate change to demonstrate that climate justice is necessary.

La Via Campesina's representative indicated that carbon market investments intensify conflicts between communities and governments. He called for collaboration among social

movements to push for a more sustainable strategy to solve climate change.

Larry Pascua explained that local government projects to mitigate climate change are often not very effective.

Lidy Nacpil explained the “climate finance” framework for adaptation and mitigation. She suggested that climate finance should be mobilized to address the vulnerabilities of those affected.

Janet discussed President Obama’s “all of the above” policy, which she identified as a double-standard. The United States is unlikely to sign onto any binding climate agreement.

Koen pointed out that it is possible to have economic development/growth even if CO₂ emissions decrease. Green economy = green livelihood = green living.

Social Movements Response

Title

Strategies and Responses to Crises: A joint workshop of peasants' and migrants' movements

Presenters

Henry Sara
La Via Campesina

Organizers

La Via Campesina
MRI
MFA
RESPECT Network
Transnational Migrant Platform

Carlos
La Via Campesina

Colin Rajah
MRI

Facilitators

Brid Brennan

Documenter

Melanie Valenciano-Cabotaje

Key Recommendations

- (1) Both peasants' and migrants' movements should articulate each other's struggles and calls on international action days: April 17 (International Peasants Day) and December 18 (International Migrants Day). Both movements will also carry the call for food sovereignty and building the international unity of peasants and migrants for the full rights of migrants.
 - (2) Both peasants and migrants movements must deepen links and alliances, cooperation and struggles. Both movements should build strategic alliances and have a more systematic exchange and collaboration.
 - (3) Both movements should draw from each other's experiences and expertise, to develop new proposals and strategies for building organizations and alliances and to develop educational resources for a more comprehensive articulation of human rights.
-



Key Messages of Presenters

Henry explained that the experiences and stories of migrants and peasants are not very different. Most migrants come from rural areas. The potential and capacities of the movement, and the relationship between migrants and peasants, have yet to be deepened and maximized.

Carlos discussed the profound crisis of capitalism. He indicated that the system has been in crisis before, but this time capitalism is facing the limits of itself. This has led to food, energy, and climate crises—all of which are linked to migration. The crisis of migration is a reflection of the global crisis. Working towards unity among migrants and peasants is important and is something to work towards.

Colin explained while we advocate to bring down the current paradigm, we must also look at what the alternative should be. We need new responses, and we need to be creative and strategic about resetting the current framework.

Major Debates

Issue 1: While we challenge current realities, we also have to come up with alternatives. Only then can we move forward.

Issue 2: The current development model is problematic. The economy has always been the determining factor in whether or not people's rights are respected.

Issue 3: Should migrant workers remain invisible? Before we ask them to come out into the open, we have to understand the dynamics. Their 'invisibility' is often borne out of the need to protect themselves, especially if they are undocumented.



Rights of Refugees: Right to Return

Title

The Right to Return: Palestinian Refugee Strategies

Organizers

Al Karama Party
Palestinian National Council

Documenter

George Benson

Number of participants

21

Presenters

Khaled Awad

Palestine Association for the Defense of the Rights of the Internally Displaced in Israel

Zaynah Hindi

Palestinian Youth Movement

Osama Tanous

Baladna Association for Arab Youth

Salah Salah

Palestinian National Council

Key Messages of Presenters

Since the war ended in 1948, IDPs in Israel have suffered rights abuses. There are 300,000 IDPs and 1 million Palestinians living in Israel. In 1998 Palestinian IDPs began to organize and demand the right to return.

Palestinian colonization is the deliberate result of a strategy on the part of Zionist and British colonizers to cleanse the ethnically Palestinian areas to create a Jewish majority.

Despite ethnic cleansing in the 1940s-50s, many Palestinians remained in Israel, disenfranchised, displaced, and destitute. They now account for 20% of the population—a number that again constitutes a threat to the ideals of demographic purity.

Though Palestinian refugees hold the right to return to their homelands as per UN declarations and resolutions, they have been denied this right by Israel.

Some 530 Palestinian villages were cleansed and are being destroyed to erase the memory of Palestinian settlement in these places.

Major Debates

Issue 1: Those who have benefitted from the occupation and displacement work to maintain the status quo. The question of who creates IDPs (foreign donors, local elites, etc.) was discussed.

Issue 2: Occupiers actively work to deny the voices (and very existence) of movements or people that would seek to return to their land. They build legal and physical barriers to return.

Issue 3: Is it the responsibility of the occupied to seek common ground with their occupiers? Palestinians are unequivocal in saying that this is not the case. Others argue that it is, as they want to avoid further conflict. Still others argue that truly transformative change cannot come about until a significant portion of the occupying group sympathizes with the occupied.

Plenary 3

Reimagining Migration: Proposing Alternatives, Exploring Models + Resistance, Organization, and Action



Photo Credit: Migrants Rights International

Panelists (left to right): Salah Salah, Henry Saragih, Mpilo Shange Butbane, Catherine Tactaquin (moderator), Azfar Khan, Ambet Yuson, Pablo Solon

Plenary Moderator: Catherine Tactaquin

Catherine is the Executive Director and a co-founder of the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights. The daughter of an immigrant farm worker from the Philippines, she was involved for many years in grassroots organizing and advocacy in the Filipino community on issues of discrimination and foreign policy. She is a frequent speaker on topics ranging from global migration and human rights, to race and gender perspectives, to immigration reform.

Azfar Khan, International Labour Organization Regional Office, Beirut

Azfar Khan is the Senior Migration Policy Specialist for the Arab States, based at the ILO Regional Office in Beirut, Lebanon. He has undertaken many assignments with the ILO since joining the organization in 1995. He has served as Technical Advisor on Population and Poverty with the ILO's Development Policy Department (1995–1999), Development Economist with the In Focus Programme on Socioeconomic Security (2000–2006), and as Senior Migration Policy Advisor for the International Migration Program (2006–2009).

Azfar situated his discussion in the context of the “world of work,” indicating that globalization has had negative impacts on the working lives of most workers, including migrant workers, throughout the world. He emphasized the need for workers to have voice.



Photo Credit: MRI

The contemporary world of work

Azfar's intervention pointed out the challenges of the current “world of work.” He pointed to the example of a recent UK white paper on globalization, which argued that globalization has created unprecedented opportunities for sustainable development and poverty reduction—an argument that could not be further from reality. He stated: “What we see is evidence to the contrary.

Employment opportunities are dwindling all over the world, few people have adequate or safe jobs, people work without proper contracts and in precarious situations.” He also pointed out that many people work outside of their fields of specialization (e.g. nurses

employed as domestic workers, PhDs driving taxis, etc.). He noted that skills development opportunities are also dwindling, and access to educational opportunities have receded with privatization and liberalization. Workplace environments are worsening with respect to health and safety, and wages are depressed.

“The most profound danger to world peace in the coming years will stem not from the irrational acts of states or individuals but from the legitimate demands of the world's dispossessed.”

Workers are losing their voice

In light of these challenges, the main concern is that workers are losing their voice. Azfar argued that representation is all about having voice, as workers must have a way to defend their interests—voice is needed for negotiation of wages and working conditions, as well as for information gathering and advancing/evaluating policy impact. Voice is needed at all levels of social policy. He closed with a quote from Nobel Peace Prize laureates: “The most

profound danger to world peace in the coming years will stem not from the irrational acts of states or individuals but from the legitimate demands of the world's dispossessed.”

Moderator Question

Given how difficult it is to have migrant workers' voices heard, and to get conventions ratified, implemented, and enforced, can you please elaborate on the role of the ILO in strengthening workers' voices?

Without access to a body to represent and defend the interests of the workers, to bargain for their rights/entitlements, or to provide access to institutions that can enhance/enforce these rights, migrant workers will remain vulnerable. In the past, representation was provided by trade unions, which have been the source of justice for these workers. However, we are currently in an age of changing labour relationships, and the power of the trade unions is weakening. New forms of voice are needed at all levels. Therefore, I am encouraged by the comments made during these sessions about the need for coalitions of organizations—new forms of organizing among reputable organizations will give voice.

Ambet Yuson, Building Woodworkers International

Ambet Yuson, who was appointed as the new Regional Representative at the first Building and Woodworkers International Asia-Pacific Regional Conference in September 2017, joined IFBWW, BWI's predecessor, in 1997 as the Project Coordinator for a Trade Union and Education Project in the Philippines. From 2000–2001 he was the Regional Health and Safety Coordinator. He later moved to IFBWW Headquarters in Geneva to become the IFBWW Education Secretary in 2002, and of BWI in 2005.

Ambet focused his intervention on the need to organize beyond

borders, and to think about ways in which trade unions and the NGO movement can work together. He suggested that the WSFM should strive for concrete action, and proposed joining efforts in the ITUC campaign for workers' rights in Qatar in relation to the 2022 World Cup.



Photo Credit: MRI

Ambet began his talk by emphasizing the importance of having trade union voices at international civil society forums like the WSFM, where the real issues of the people are heard and where solidarity can be built, without the pressure of forging agreements. In his presentation, he highlighted the following points:

What is the alternative model?

For the trade unions, global social movements comprise the alternative model. He indicated that while forums like the UNHLD, GFMD, etc. are happening, real possibilities for change come from the social movements. Migration is a labour issue, and the majority of migrants have labour issues that trade unions need to address. Trade unions must organize beyond borders on the principle of “same work, equal rights, equal benefits.” Anywhere in the world you go, if you are working then you should have the same conditions as local workers.

Changes to the ILO?

The ILO has taken up migration as a priority issue, and the trade unions are working on the possibility of holding a tripartite conference on the issue of migration, which would be an opportunity to bring the NGO

movement into the discussion. Ambet suggested that it is time to rethink how the ILO works so that the NGO movement can be part of the process. He pointed to the deliberations for the Domestic Workers’ Convention as a positive example of this kind of collaboration.

“We need to win... If we want to show that we can do it, that social movements can make a difference, let’s join forces and target one country.”

Targeted Campaigns

Ambet suggested that a concrete action that should emerge from the WSFM. He said, “We need to win... If we want to show that we can do it, that social movements can make a difference, let’s join forces and target one country.” He proposed Qatar, as the ITUC is engaging in a campaign for workers’ rights and migrants’ rights in relation to the 2022 World Cup. He suggested that it would be good to see the WSFM in action.

Moderator Question

Regarding the specific challenge of the Qatar campaign, and the emphasis you have put on solidarity between the labour and migrant movements, how do you suggest that we support the ITUC campaign? Given that this is a trade union-centred campaign, what is the call to action? What is it that you would like to see from the WSFM when we return to our home organizations?

Qatar is trying to buy different international organizations by offering to host major conferences. They are trying to make the international community accept them despite their many violations. Our goal is to mount this campaign to expose what they are doing to migrant workers. What we need is for you to support this international campaign in your home countries by exposing the situation in Qatar. It is only in exposing them that they will begin to talk to us. The Qatari government says that they will make changes to the law—we are demanding more transparency.

Pablo Solón, Focus on the Global South

Pablo Solón is an activist, writer, and policy analyst in the areas of trade, finance, development, climate and the environment. He was most recently the Ambassador of Bolivia to the United Nations (2009–2011) and the Extraordinary Ambassador of Bolivia for Integration and Trade (2006–2008). He is most well-known for championing the rights of nature and the fight for climate justice in the international negotiations when he was Chief Negotiator for Bolivia.

Pablo emphasized the need to look beyond labour migration in our discussions of migrants' issues, and suggested expanding our scope to think about the structural issues of migration and climate change.



Photo Credit: MRI

Climate change and migration

Pablo spoke about the importance of understanding migrations that are taking place for reasons other than economics and labour. Specifically, he focused on climate migration. Citing IOM statistics indicating that 15 million migrants have already moved due to natural disasters related to climate change, he established that this is an important and growing phenomenon that social movements must address.

Capitalism, not natural disasters

Pablo emphasized that climate change and its effects are not natural disasters. Rather, they are caused by the capitalist system. If we want to deal with the issue, we have to understand and critique the structural causes. As with all forms of migration, we need to challenge the structural causes of migration—that people are losing their jobs and have to migrate, or people are losing their land due to floods caused by climate change.

“You cannot keep burning my house, because I will have to leave if you do that. And you are burning my house with your greenhouse gas emissions. If I burn your house, the least I can do is welcome you into my house.”

The right *not* to migrate

The first right that we must fight or is the right *not* to migrate. Migration should be a choice, not a necessity. The industrialized countries are not doing what they need to do to reduce emissions. We will see huge levels of migration as a consequence. We need to have a different approach to the issue of migration. If these countries do not reduce their emissions, how is it that they can put up restrictions against migrants who are forced to move as a result? Pablo stated, “You cannot keep burning my house, because I will have to leave if

you do that. And you are burning my house with your greenhouse gas emissions. If I burn your house, the least I can do is welcome you into my house.”

Universal citizenship

Pablo argued that the capitalist system leads us to this situation, and that a new kind of society is necessary. He put forward the concept of universal citizenship, whereby people would be able to move without restriction. Currently, states are in favour of the free movement of goods and services, but not of persons. This should be the first priority, as we are all products of different processes of migration that have been taking place across time.

Moderator Question

The urgency of climate change issues and their impact is clear, and it's a big question to deal with—the migrants' rights movement does not have a long track-record in engaging it. What would you challenge us to take from this conference in terms of how we can be more proactive in connecting and beginning to take action? What do you suggest?

We have to look at the migration issue as a bigger picture. One aspect is labour rights, which is very important, but we have to look at other causes as well—environmental causes, conflicts and wars, etc. Environmental causes are going to be huge in the coming years. The food crisis is already affecting many countries. If we only focus on labour rights, we will miss the other elements of migration. We must also recognize that it will not be international migration, but from rural areas to the cities. If we don't promote initiatives like food sovereignty, agroecology, etc., then all that remains is to be on the defensive. We have to be on the offensive to fight for the rights of migrants and all humans, but also address why this is happening. Migrants need to see themselves as part of wider social movements.

Mpilo Shange Butbane, Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa

Sicel'mpilo Shange-Buthane is Executive Director of the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMMSA). She has worked in the human rights field for over a decade and has extensive knowledge and experience of working in the migration sector, particularly highlighting the plight of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants in South Africa. She has an interest in the intersection between foreign and domestic policy, and has done research on the interplay between these two policy streams. She is a fellow of the Transatlantic Forum on Migration and Integration (TFMI), coordinated by the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Robert Bosch Stiftung.



Photo Credit: MRI

Mpilo's speech outlined the complexities of migration in the African context, and highlighted the need for a critique of the definition of "migrant," and for advocacy around the right to enter another country in addition to the right to leave one's own country.

Mpilo began her intervention by quoting from a speech entitled "I am an African," by Thabo Mbeki, former Vice President of South Africa. She extended the message of the speech to include "I am a human being with rights equal to the next person."

Migration in the African context

Mpilo talked about the various reasons that people in Africa move, including economic necessity, conflict, and nomadism. She indicated that the governments in Africa are becoming increasingly security conscious, and migration is becoming a security issue, particularly in relation to refugee movements.

Given the complexities of migration in the African context, Mpilo suggested that it is important to define who migrants are, and to consider the source of this definition. She said, "In

"In defining this term [migrant], we are putting limitations on what people can and cannot do. We are excluding them."

defining this term, we are putting limitations on what people can and cannot do. We are excluding them."

An alternative model?

International law stipulates that people have the right to leave their country, but it does not provide for the right to enter another country. Mpilo suggested that perhaps we should look towards a model that establishes a right to enter. However, in order to push for alternatives, it is necessary to ensure that the process of ratification, domestication, and implementation of international conventions in our respective countries are coherent. She also expressed support for the idea of a global movement with collaboration across regions and sectors.

Moderator question

What the challenges are for the work in Africa? What is it that we need to know about the current challenges you face, and what would you ask the global movement in terms of providing greater solidarity and support for your work?

Africa's challenges are no different from the challenges in other countries. We have issues of cross-border migration, compounded by divisions of borders and communities. In some cases, international borders have broken up communities, so that to visit an aunt's house one has to have identity documents. With respect to the protection of refugees, borders are being militarized to prevent people from moving. In South Africa, the borders used to be policed by non-military personnel, but this

has changed as the government takes more security measures; the South African defense force is now in charge. If they catch people crossing without documents, they are detained and deported. We also have many unaccompanied children moving for economic reasons. What we really need is international solidarity—it helped us to dismantle apartheid, so let's do the same to address migration challenges. We need to address underlying issues like conflict and war, and create an environment in which people can move because they want to, not because the conditions are so bad that they have to. We need to support each other's advocacies.

Henry Saragih, La Via Campesina



Photo Credit: MRI

Henry Saragih, born in Petumbukan, North Sumatera, has been the Chairman of the Indonesian Peasants' Union since 2007. He is the General Coordinator of La Via Campesina, the international peasants' movement. Henry has dedicated his time to building the peasants' movement with a national scope. A series of struggles, the most renown being Cikupa, Kendungombo, and Asahan, brought about the establishment of the Federation of Indonesian Peasants Union (FSPI) in 1998—this changed to the organization of Indonesia Peasants Union (SPI) in 2007.

Henry spoke about the efforts of La Via Campesina in challenging the neoliberal economic model. He talked about how the Green Revolution and globalization in general have affected rural people.

Henry began his intervention by introducing La Via Campesina, a movement with 170 member organizations, including migrant workers. He talked about the movement's work in responding to the neoliberal economic model, and reflected on the impact of the Green Revolution on rural people in Asia and internationally.

Organizing successes

Henry spoke about a significant organizing success in 2005, when La Via Campesina joined forces with migrant workers from the Philippines, Indonesia, and Thailand in Hong Kong, as well as delegations from Japan and Korea, in contesting the WTO. He suggested that more joint actions of this kind are necessary and have the potential to be very successful.

Links between the peasants' movement and the migrants' movement

Henry indicated that migrant workers and farmworkers must work together. The Green Revolution resulted in increasing numbers of people migrating out of the rural areas,

becoming migrant workers. In order to address the need to migrate, new models of agriculture must be pursued to give the land back to the people, namely an agroecological model. The movement must be strengthened to change the economic model and to ensure that the rights of people in rural areas are protected.

Salah Salah, Palestinian National Council

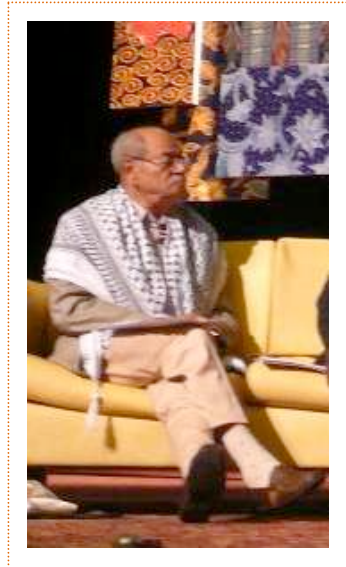


Photo Credit: MRI

Salah Salah has been involved with political activities through the Arab Palestinian Youth, defending the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland, and who struggle against many projects that deny their rights to be resettled in the countries where they live. Salah is also one of the founders and board members of the Palestinian Trade Union Active Cadre in the Arab National Movement. Currently, he is the Chairman of the refugees standing committee in the Palestinian National Council. His work includes a book about the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, and one about the PLO and the peace process.

Connecting his speech to Pablo's intervention, Salah also called for a broadening of the migration discussion to include migrations caused by conflict and war. Among other suggestions on how to improve our advocacy and to strengthen the social movement, he challenged the WSFM to make conflict a central theme of the next WSFM.

Creating unity and forging coalitions

Salah began his talk by emphasizing the need to build the social movement through unity and coalitions, and challenged the WSFM to begin the process immediately and to reach conclusions for concrete action. He indicated that this is the clear direction, but rather than waiting for the next WSFM to continue the conversation, concrete steps should be taken immediately.

Focus on countries of origin

Salah called attention to the focus of discussions on the problems migrant workers face in their countries of destination, but suggested that we should not lose sight of the role of sending countries in pushing people to migrate. In looking carefully at why migrants leave their countries, it is very much connected to problems at home, and governments do not seem to be committed to improving and/or developing their economies. A renewed focus on fighting corruption in the countries where migrants live will help to resolve some of the underlying issues prompting migrants to leave home.

War and conflict

Wars are perhaps the most dangerous causes of migration, refugee movements, and displacement. People are leaving their home countries to find safety. When they leave, they lose their homes, resources, and incomes, and they lack all of the fundamental services (health, education, food, water, etc.). Thus, we should be looking at the issue of wars and how to address the displacement that results. Salah suggested that the WSFM should be used as a platform to raise our collective voice to condemn war and conflict, and that war and conflict should be a central theme of the next WSFM.

Panel questions

Can you elaborate on your proposal that war and conflict should be more central to our work?

In creating a social movement, we need to consider our main challenges. When we look at states like Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the other states in the Gulf, we should take into consideration two main points: (1) We will not be able to pressure these regimes successfully if we are doing it alone—these regimes are corrupt, and we cannot expect them to be fair and just. They will deal with us in a racist way, and this makes it very difficult to solve problems for migrant workers; (2) We must seriously think about challenging the systems in countries of origin. With respect to war, it is a policy/strategy of the United States and other powerful countries. They use war to promote their own interests, and even encourage ethnic conflict in some cases. This is something that we need to be realistic about and address as a social movement.

Open Forum

Q To Henry: Human rights are supposed to be respected in every country; however, the Indonesian government does not respect our rights when we return to our country. As domestic workers, we have to go through a different section of the airport, present identity cards, etc. The identity cards are supposed to protect us, but it actually causes more problems for us. We are Indonesians, but they don't receive us like Indonesians—we are called “heroes” for our remittances, but they do not treat us well. Can you comment on this?

A **Henry:** This is an important issue for all of us. We must take collective action against these policies. Through the WSFM, workers' unions, migrant workers, and other actors can bring solidarity in action. We have tried to address these issues, but we need to improve our strategies and actions.

Q In many domestic worker campaigns, we acknowledge that while many domestic workers are victims, we also know that we do have power. What do you think are some of the roles domestic workers can play in building social movements to make alternatives?

A **Mpilo:** We need international solidarity and cross-border campaigns, but the people who hold the power are the migrants themselves. We need to engage with the migrants where they are so that they can organize themselves. We need to provide support to elevate their struggle until we reach the international campaign level.

Q To Ambet: Regarding the ITUC campaign in Qatar, have you contacted the Qatar Supreme Committee? If so, what was their response? Don't you think it is better to work on building bridges than possibly burning them if you exert too much international pressure?

A **Ambet:** There have been some informal negotiations with the Ministry of Labour, and they indicated that they are looking at changing their laws, but they won't share more than that. Qatar is not transparent in their reforms. The best way to pressure them is at the international level, because it's their image that they are concerned about. Migrants cannot organize themselves on the ground, otherwise they will be sent home. We are also asking MNCs to consider these issues before investing in Qatar, and we are pushing FIFA to take accountability for its decision to hold the World Cup in Qatar in 2022.

Azfar: The ITUC campaign is active in Qatar, but Human Rights Watch has also released reports that are critical of labour practices. To give some credit to the Qataris, because of these pressures the Ministry of Labour has invited the ILO to work on labour practices and to improve existing structures. The inherent problem is the Kafala system, which creates a power imbalance between the employer and employee, giving too much power to the employers who can then dictate the conditions.

Q To Azfar: There is considerable discrimination against migrant workers in destination countries, particularly in the area of wages. How do you propose that we act against this tendency to exclude migrant workers from minimum wage coverage?

A **Azfar:** In some countries there is no minimum wage. In the Gulf, migrant workers form the majority of the workforce. The ILO has been pushing for a wage determination mechanism for all sectors. Many wage arrangements are handled by BLAs, but this can be problematic, because one country's nationals may make more than another country's nationals for the same job. Competition between countries of origin push down wages and result in bad conditions for workers.

Q To Henry: What are you doing to connect Indonesian migrant workers with the peasants' movement?

A **Henry:** This is not just a question for Indonesia, but for other countries as well. We have taken joint action with migrants, but we need to increase these activities and devise better strategies. Without a permanent alliance, we cannot resolve the issues migrants face. We are creating ASEAN social movements forum to discuss how we can move forward on this in Asia. As farmers, many of us are moving to other countries to work. We also prepare the food for people in the destination countries. But in the rural areas, we are hungry. We produce the food, we send the food, yet we are hungry. We must join together in rural areas with migrant workers. We cannot allow our governments to say that migrant workers are heroes, but continue to send them abroad at the same time.

Q To Pablo: You have challenged us to take a broader approach and to move towards an "alternative society." What kind of society do you propose?

A **Pablo:** We need a society in which humans are treated as humans and not slaves for profit. It's a human right to migrate or not migrate. We need to change the relationship of our society with nature. There is an apartheid against migrants without documents, and an apartheid against nature. We treat nature as a thing that we can change, transform, and exploit without any kind of consequence. We need to recognize that nature has rights, and integrity.

Q The foundation of social movements is the grassroots. Our challenge is to organize at the grassroots level. Do you have any advice on how to organize?

A **Ambet:** All of us have experience in organizing, but on the side of unions, we have been very aggressive in organizing migrant workers into unions. We agree that we need to create a social movement, but we often end up with conferences. The expression of social movements is "big conferences", but we have to move further. I suggest that we discuss expression the social movement through targeted action and specific campaigns to show our global strength.

**Reimagining Migration: Proposing Alternatives, Exploring
Models + Resistance, Organization, and Action**

Migration Governance, Movement Building

Title

Organizing for Migration Governance of Rights, Democratic Participation, and Well-Being for All

Presenters

Sophia Wirsching
Bread for the World

Organizers

GMPA

Patrick Taran
GMPA

Facilitator

Alassane Dicko
Malian Association Against Deportations

Documenter

Andrea P. Conopio

Number of participants

15

Key Recommendations

- (1) Alliances, both national and international, must be built for migrant workers. International independent organizing must take place to tackle global level issues.
-

Key Messages of Presenters

Sophia discussed environment and climate change in relation to migration. She explained that weather events affect human migration, but that there is limited support for these issues. Migration is a form of adaptation for people affected by climate events.

Patrick talked about labour shortages and labour conflicts, and how this affects migration. He pointed out that in some conflicts migrant workers are killed.

Alassane outlined the details of the Mali-Spain “Development” Agreement and how this relates to migration.

Major Debates

Issue 1: Protection for migrants’ rights vis-à-vis environmental migration.

Issue 2: Biased selection of migrants to work in Europe.

Issue 3: Expulsion of Malian workers from Europe.

Alternative Migration Models: Africa

Organizers

IMBISA
CCFD – Terre Solidaire
ARESTA

Facilitator

Nina Marx

Documenters

Eriel Louise I. Pintang
Jaira Faith Gavod

Number of participants

24

Presenters

Constancio Nguya

“Migration Dynamics and the Case of Southern Africa”

Charles Mutazabi

“Migration in Southern Africa: The Case of South Africa”

Patricia Gainza

Espacio Sin Fronteras
“Migration Policies in South America from a Human Rights Perspective”

Key Recommendations

- (4) Prepare for the next WSFM with an emphasis on showing the benefits of migration.
- (5) Involve governments in discussions about universal citizenship passports.
- (6) Make the diaspora more visible and involve more migrant worker unions.

Key Messages of Presenters

Constancio discussed the advantages and disadvantages of migrating to South Africa. He raised the idea of developing and implementing bilateral and multilateral agreements.

Charles talked about the black vs. white discrimination in South Africa, indicating that the country must prioritize the migration issue.

Patricia talked about how skilled migrants are prioritized and indicated that migration policies need to be opened up.

Major Debates

Issue 1: There are increasing numbers of migrants, yet they do not have the right to vote, form political parties, or choose their own professions.

Issue 2: Universal citizenship passports could connect different movements from different parts of the world.

Issue 3: Data on border crossings is lacking. There should be a manageable system to document migration.

Movement Building: Migrants

Title

An International Movement of Migrants: It's Possible!

Organizers

ACRI
Movimiento Migrante Mesoamericano
Miredes
International Promotion Committee for the World Charter of Migrants
APMM
Red Nacional de Migrantes y Refugiados en Argentina
Le Conseils des Migrants au Maroc
Comite de Peruanos en el Exterior
Rio+20 Migration Thematic Group
No Vox
International Alliance of Inhabitants
Centre for HR & Citizenship of Migrants
Citizens Observatory
Urban Social Forum

Facilitator

Edda Pando

Documenter

Ma. Theresa L. Navalta

Number of participants

27

Presenters

Edda Pando

Acri
“The December 18 Global Day of Action”

Jackie Pollock

Mekong Migrants' Network
“Migrants' Concerns in the Mekong Area”

Grace Punongbayan

International Migrants' Alliance
“The International Migrants' Alliance”

José Jacques Medina

Movimiento Migrante Mesoamericano
“Violation of Migrants' Rights at the US-Mexico Border”

Bakayoko Mamadou

“Migrants' Concerns in Morocco”

Key Recommendations

- (1) We resolve to highlight the means—how we can work together, not just with each other, but with other organizations that do not necessarily work on migration alone.
 - (2) We resolve to pursue common strategies cooperatively, accommodating each other to the extent that each is able to act. For example, the Global Day of Action does not necessarily have to be December 18 for all involved.
 - (3) We resolve to ask the WSFM to support CSOs in Mexico and Latin America in their campaign for the rights of migrants—70,000 have disappeared, thousands have died. We must use the space outside Mexico to influence what is going on there.
-

Key Messages of Presenters

Edda spoke about the December 18th Global Day of Action, and talked about her organization's involvement in other international campaigns for the human rights of migrants.

Jackie provided an overview of the situation of migrants in the Mekong region and neighbouring countries. She pointed out the history and challenges faced by civil society, and the work of her organization in such areas as stopping arrests and investigating disappearances, deaths, and deportations in Thailand.

Grace introduced the International Migrants' Alliance, a group of 124 grassroots organizations that was established in 2011 as a way for migrants to speak for themselves. She indicated that the alliance has a campaign to expose and oppose the GFMD as a neoliberal tool of capitalist countries, among other campaigns.

Bakayoko provided a situationer on migration in Morocco, outlining the racism and persecution they suffer.

José focused his presentation on the problems faced by migrants at the US-Mexico border. He suggested that these violations must be denounced at the international level, particularly the collusion between local authorities and organized crime.

Major Debates

Issue 1: The group discussed the need for global action, and the importance of including the grassroots in any such actions.

Issue 2: The group talked a lot about the US-Mexico border situation. This led to comments about the national security discourse and its use to justify violations of migrants' rights; human security discourses should be pursued as the alternative.

Issue 3: The group discussed civil society unity, and considered different ways that this can be forged. Some argued that as long as a common understanding that "development" fuels migration, the framework for analysis should be secondary; others argued that a loose alliance is necessary, because migration is not the only issue many organizations face.

Movement Building: Labour, Cross-Border Campaigns

Title

Workers on the Move in an Era of Globalization and Insecurity: Promoting alternatives, transnational organizing, and cross-border campaigns

Organizers

Public Services International
Public Services Labour Independent Confederation
Education International
American Federation of Teachers

Facilitator

Jillian Roque

Documenter

Hansley Juliano

Number of participants

43

Presenters

Udaya Rai

“Organizing and Campaigning for Migrant Workers’ Rights in Korea”

Milka Isinta

“Promoting Ethical Recruitment & Building Quality Public Services”

Julius Cainglet

“Innovative Approaches to Decent Work and Rights-Based Approaches to Labour Migration”

Sohoon Lee

“Using UN and ILO Mechanisms to Strengthen Migrant Workers’ Rights”

Karl Flecker

“Towards Building International Union Solidarity”

Key Recommendations

- (1) Protect migrant workers’ right to freedom of association and collective bargaining. Organize migrant workers for full participation in the trade union movement in sending and host countries.
 - (2) Develop programs for migrant workers, including migrant workers’ centers (sources of labour market and employment information); pre-migration orientation seminars; re-integration; collective bargaining provisions covering migrant workers; community support mechanisms; migration research; and legal services.
 - (3) Engage governments in sending and receiving countries, at national and sub-national levels, in social dialogue to forge cooperation agreements and/or develop programs for migrant workers and their children (i.e. scholarships, language training).
 - (4) Participate in national and local planning for economic development and invest in decent jobs and quality public services.
 - (5) Promote of union-to-union agreements and portability of union membership. Build strong alliances with CSOs in both sending and receiving countries.
-

Key Messages of Presenters

Udaya outlined the struggle for migrants' rights in Korea and union involvement in that struggle. The MTU works on migrants' rights issues and fights crackdowns/deportations. They promote solidarity between migrant and Korean workers. Unionization will bring better access to rights.

Milka spoke of PSI's experience of organizing workers and participating in international forums like the GFMD and the WSFM to work towards solidarity. She expressed frustration that governments treat symptoms rather than roots of problems. She recommended coordinated campaigns with CSOs and NGOs on migrants' rights, and transnational organizing (e.g. portability of union membership) to build solidarity with workers on the move.

Julius discussed global union strategies and specific campaigns. He discussed the importance of mainstreaming the Decent Work Agenda, and actions for the 2013 HLD. He pointed to the importance of organizing migrant workers into trade unions and including migrants in policy debates.

Sohon talked about the campaigns for convention ratification in Australia. She outlined the challenges of forming cross-sectoral alliances. She also talked about the positive role of unions in national-level campaigns.

Karl outlined the current economic and demographic shifts in the global context and the social upheaval it causes. It is important for unions to deepen ties with community-based organizing. Xenophobia is what keeps us apart, and we must confront this directly.

Major Debates

Issue 1: Raising awareness of the need for union solidarity. Some workers are worried about unionizing, because they do not have enough information about the value of unionization. Migrants especially have little information. In Korea, migrant rights are especially difficult to protect, because the government has no intention of respecting migrant rights.

Issue 2: Compliance with ILO standards. The ILO pushes for reports to keep governments in alignment with their convention obligations and offer technical support for implementation.

Issue 3: Migrants lack information prior to migrating. This is a problem everywhere and we cannot expect governments to resolve it. Otherwise, it will just become the responsibility of labour brokers that do not have migrants' interests at heart.

Issue 4: International students working for low wages in Australia. Most are paid in cash and are not paid minimum wage. They don't take advantage of social protection programs. Student visas are easy to obtain. They often fill gaps in the labour and informal sectors. The MWC does not cover international students. We haven't had the opportunity to focus on this issue, but it will surely come up in the future.

Movement Building: Domestic Workers

Title

Organizing Domestic Workers: Assessing existing models and imagining future models

Organizers

MFA
NDWM
German Commission on Justice & Peace
IDWN
ITUC
ITUC-AP
University of Sydney
Women & Global Migration WG

Facilitator

Elizabeth Tang

Documenter

Anna M. Dinglasan

Number of participants

50

Presenters

Lilibeth Masamloc
SUMAPI Philippines

Sringatin
Federation of Asian Women Domestic
Workers Union, Hong Kong

Nalini Nayak
Self-Employed Women's Association, India

Henry Saraghi
La Via Campesina

Key Recommendations

- (1) Build relationships among domestic workers (migrants and local) and other labour groups/trade unions, and identify common concerns, and synergize efforts and advocacies.
 - (2) Take advantage of the international spaces provided where various groups, sectors, and social movements can work together.
 - (3) The younger generation must be educated to allow them to recognize the value of work in rural communities and to use their potentials at home, instead of abroad.
 - (4) It is also important to encourage the leadership of domestic workers in trade unions, most of whom are women, to take up leadership roles that will, in turn, encourage more women to organize and mobilize.
-

Key Messages of Presenters

Lilibeth explained the approaches of SUMAPI in organizing domestic workers in the Philippines. SUMAPI involves domestic workers in all of its activities, and tries to nurture good relationships between domestic workers and their employers. They attempt to build the capacities of domestic workers to know their rights and to understand the instruments that support their rights. SUMAPI serves as a base for domestic workers to access social protection.

Sringatin talked about union organizing of domestic workers in Hong Kong. FADWU engages in advocacy campaigns to help domestic workers understand their rights. FADWU became a federation over the course of two years. Their members come from different countries and speak different languages, which were considerable challenges. Much effort was put into building solidarity.

Nalini talked about the stigma against domestic workers in their country of origin, and the high expectations of their family members. She indicated that it is important to reflect on how to build solidarity between workers, and how to encourage families to get involved in the movement.

Henry discussed La Via Campesina's focus on training, education, and advocacy for farmers whose wives are working abroad as domestic workers. They also work to educate locals about life outside of their home countries, because many assume they will have a better life if they leave. He suggested that before organizing internationally, it's important to strengthen national-level efforts, which will lead to successes at the international level.

Major Debates

Issue 1: Alliance building. There is a need for social dialogue, especially with employers—can they be allies? Relationships between local domestic workers and migrant domestic workers should be strengthened. Work under the framework of ILO C189 to emphasize that the goal is to protect *all* domestic workers equally. There is also need to build local support from trade unions, to dispel the idea that domestic work is somehow different from other forms of work.

Issue 2: Awareness-raising and advocacy. It is necessary to increase awareness of rights and intensify advocacy campaigns for policy reform. Awareness raising about safe migration has to start in the villages, and should also focus on youth.

Issue 3: Inter-movement/social movement building. It is important to engage families left behind in fighting for access to and protection of resources at home. Linking migration with local issues is key, as is communicating local situations to those who are working abroad. Linking with other social movements is also important, though linking social movements and NGOs is difficult, because the two speak different languages.

Issue 4: Future of domestic workers' organizations. Should they remain domestic workers' unions or join up with broader trade unions? Should there be a global domestic worker union? If so, national support would be needed first.

Movement Building Across Social Movements: Women Workers

Title

The Average Migrant is a Worker, a Woman, and from the South: In search of solidarities across social movements

Organizers

Akbayan Citizens Action Party
Centre for Migrant Advocacy
UP Centre for Women's Studies
UPCSWCD
Philcomdev

Facilitator

Dr. Sylvia Estrada Claudio

Documenter

Randolph Joseph H. De Jesus (MC)

Number of participants

49

Presenters

There were no formal presenters in this workshop. Open Space Technology was used, whereby topics were posted on a board and discussed in groups, with experiences shared.

Key Messages of Presenters

Dr. Claudio explained the four principles of Open Space Technology:

- (1) Whoever comes is the right person
- (2) Whatever happens is what should happen
- (3) Conversations start and end when they start and end
- (4) After the conversation, let go.

Participants were guided by these principles in small group discussions.

Major Debates

No results were shared from the group discussions. The following subjects were covered in each of 11 groups.

Issue 1: Universal Citizenship

Issue 2: Feminism as power theory: Can it provide a map for building a common agenda on migrant issues?

Issue 3: What can be the role for males/professionals from the Global North?

Issue 4: Are migrant women victims or actors in the process of migration?

Issue 5: How can marriage migrants' issues be made visible in migration discourse?

Issue 6: Women in politics

Issue 7: Women who are discriminated against because they are women.

Issue 8: Bi-racial children and breaking patterns of discrimination.

Issue 9: Gender aspects of remittances

Issue 10: The role of academics

Issue 11: Feminism has sometimes alienated the women it aims to empower: Is the migrant movement repeating the same mistake? What lessons can we learn from our past?

Remittances, Reintegration, National Development

Title

Migration & Development, and Reintegration Programs for Migrant Workers

Organizers

TRANSCODE
Scalabrini International Migration Institute
Radboud University
DCMO
Atikha
DAWN
HOME
TMP
DIWATA
CFMW
PASALI

Facilitators

Malu Padilla

Documenter

Lothar Smith

Number of participants

60

Presenters

Lothar Smith & Malu Padilla

Radboud University Nijmegen & TRANSCODE

“Reflecting on Core Principles: MSA and the case of TRANSCODE”

Carmelita Nuqui

DAWN

“The Work of DAWN and its Position in TRANSCODE”

Melanie Valencia

Unlad Kabayan

“The Migrant Savings Alternative Investment Experience”

Kayoko Ueno & Bridget Tan

HOME

Key Recommendations

- (1) Earnings and security have a strong influence on migrant reintegration upon return. There is significant difference between the potential of collective and individual transnational investments. We must address the issue of short- versus long-term demands and focus on employable rather than entrepreneurial skills.
- (2) In considering long-term perspectives of migrants, it is crucial to include business training (beyond financial literacy) to teach them what their options are. Complicating factors are the competing prospects of migration versus investing in local income opportunities, and/or other demands. Not everyone is an entrepreneur; therefore, we should focus more on working with local partners and potential investment opportunities for migrant returnees.

Key Messages of Presenters

Lothar & Malu suggested that we must consider process and outcomes. This means: (1) taking a multi-stakeholder approach that recognizes changing interests; (2) taking a transnational approach that shifts attention to reciprocal involvement in the design and implementation of initiatives; (3) taking a sustainable development approach that focuses on transformation in the long-term.

Carmelita's presentation focused on Filipinas working in Japan as entertainers and domestic workers, and DAWN's work with them upon their return. They help women and "illegitimate" children who encountered abuse while abroad to acquire skills, psychological support, and to achieve social mobility and economic empowerment.

Melanie outlined the MSAI experience in the Philippines, whereby a group of OFWs engaged in entrepreneurial reintegration programs with start-up capital provided by donors. Unlad Kabayan supported these workers and helped other migrants to invest. She outlined barriers to the success of the program, including a lack of basic financial infrastructure, lack of accounting expertise, etc. Training focused too much on the long-term. It was not a comprehensive program.

Kayoko & Bridget spoke about the experiences of domestic workers in Singapore. Bridget outlined her attempts to set up micro-credit programs for returnees in the Philippines. She reflected that we cannot rely on the state for such programs. There should be an OFW centre that links up with education agencies and a database of employment opportunities for the whole country. Legal support is also required.

Major Debates

Issue 1: Age is a fundamental consideration vis-à-vis domestic workers, particularly with respect to sustainability of migration in the long- vs. the short-term, and with repercussions for family planning and livelihoods. The unpredictability of their employment/migration status, and their working conditions make it difficult to plan ahead.

Issue 2: What are the consequences of migrants investing in countries of origin if bankruptcy occurs? Both profits and losses are shared in such programs. It is crucial to provide business management training. In cooperatives, owners must be active through regular meetings.

Issue 3: Problems of sustainability of goals. The process must be comprehensive. It is important to balance short- and long-term demands. There should be a stronger focus on employable rather than entrepreneurial skills.

Fiscal Issues, Economic Development, and Migration

Title

Rebuilding the National Economy and Addressing Fiscal Issues in Taxation and Migration as Part of Building Development and Transformative Social Agendas

Organizers

Focus on the Global South
Freedom from Debt Coalition
JSAPMDD

Facilitator

Sammy Gamboa

Documenter

Patricia Taña

Number of participants

22

Presenters

Mae Buenaventura

JS-APMDD
“A Shared History of Fiscal Justice and Development Issues among Migrant-Sending Countries”

Koen Detavernier

11.11.11
“Welfare Crisis in Europe and Implications for Migrants”

Charito Basa

Filipino Women’s Council
“International Migration & Over-indebtedness: The case of Filipino workers in Italy”

Melissa Gibson

TIGRA Philippines
“Remit4Change”

Ricardo Reyes

FDC
“Rebuilding the Home Base of a Globally-Oriented Economy”

Josua Mata

Alliance of Progressive Labour
“Philippine Labour Groups’ Alternative Industrial Policies”

Key Recommendations

- (1) Enhance literacy in entrepreneurship, i.e. financial literacy.
 - (2) Transform structures that serve as barriers; advocate for full employment to stop migration.
 - (3) Cultural revolution: behaviour and culture need to change. Consumerism must be removed to get out of debt.
-

Key Messages of Presenters

Mae explained that developing countries have a shared history of debt dependence and loan conditionalities. She discussed the positive and negative effects of relying on remittances.

Koen talked about barriers to working in Europe, with the rise of unemployment in the EU and harsh conditions for migrants.

Charito explained that OFWs borrow money in order to migrate, and continue to be indebted due to low incomes and support for extended family. Globalization has also made migrants the targets of lending institutions.

Melissa described the Remit4Change project of TIGRA, which aims to leverage the economic power of remitters. It seeks to create a socially responsible remittance framework that is informed by fairness, equity, and accountability.

Ricardo called for an alternative for creating decent jobs and to make migration a choice. A new industrial policy that considers social development, environment and climate justice, and human development is required.

Josua spoke of the need for the inclusion of industrial policy to achieve full employment. However, he asked how we can industrialize when there is still the pressing dilemma of climate change?

GFMD: Migration & Development Frameworks

Title

The Future of the UN High Level Dialogue on Migration & Development and the Global Forum on Migration & Development

Organizers

MRI
MFA

Facilitator

Colin Rajah

Documenter

Karen Liao

Number of participants

30

Presenters

Carol Barton

United Methodist Women, Women & Global Migration Working Group

John Bingham

ICMC, GFMD CSD Coordinating Office

William Gois

MFA

Monami Maulik

DRUM

Ambet Yuson

BWI

Key Recommendations

- (1) We as the WSFM want to endorse this document (“A Civil Society Proposal for a Negotiated Outcome in the Form of a 5-Year Action Plan”) to the Second Committee and its member states, and
- (2) To use it for educational and organizing purposes, to look at how member states can endorse it;
- (3) To use it as an organizing tool, not just for next year but for the next five years, especially for government deliberations.

Key Messages of Presenters

Carol indicated that states do not want to talk about migration in the context of the UN. Member states are happy with the GFMD’s non-binding framework. At the UN, there is currently no entity to work on the migration agenda—there is no place for civil society to make demands. Rather, different agencies that deal with migration jockey to be in the centre, but nothing much is accomplished. The current process of evaluating the MDGs has left out migration, despite its relevance to the other areas discussed. In the context of the GFMD, migration has been narrowed down to circular labour migration, and does not spill over into other areas like trade, economic crisis,



etc. In the UN in setting the post-2015 development goals there are mechanisms to bring in NGO participation. It is important for civil society to engage to bring forward our issues. The UN favours “NGO professionals” rather than social movement voices. We must gain access and make our voices heard.



Monami indicated that grassroots organizations were inspired by the experience of the 2006 HLD, because it was one of the first times that migrant workers, women, and young people were able to raise their voices and directly demand the attention of governments. While they rallied and did media work, others pushed the power on the inside. She talked about how after Obama was elected, migrants’ groups were again ready to talk, debate, and mobilize. The HLD organizing opportunity allows grassroots groups to see how their issues relate to other issues (sustainable development, conflict, etc.)

Ambet spoke from the trade union perspective. He indicated that TUs are outside the process at the GFMD, whereas at the ILO they have a seat at the table. The ILO brings migration to the top of the agenda. The ILO will also be discussing and evaluating the HLD and if/how it can play a role. Not many governments are sure about implementing a tripartite structure for the GFMD, so we need to develop this idea further. Also, the role of NGOs at the ILO is currently very limited. There is a space for us at the ILO that the TUs are trying to expand in order to reinvent the ILO.



William indicated that considering the post-2015 agenda is already problematic. Considering that civil society engagement is limited, one of the major deficits is that there is no clear understanding of what we mean when we say “development.” We should perhaps not just jump on the bandwagon of the new notion of post-2015 MDGs—it’s something to reflect on so that we can be critical about how we will discuss migration in relation to the MDGs. We talk about the right to development and people-centred development, but we need to discuss what these things mean. We need to be clear on what we want to bring into this space.

John explained that the HLD will decide the thematic focus, and whether there will be a negotiated outcome, or just a chairperson’s summary (as in HLD 2006). In 2013 there will be much more meaningful civil society participation than there was in 2006. Groups of different movements are coming together for full engagement. We are asking for preparatory meetings for the HLD, an interactive civil society meeting for the HLD, and full participation in the actual HLD. We are also calling for a steering committee to help civil society groups to organize themselves.



WSFM Cultural Program

A Movement of Peoples — A Peoples' Movement

Throughout the week, WSFM delegates were invited to participate in an enriching and interactive cultural program. Activities not only provided spaces for socializing, cultural exchange, and solidarity, but—importantly—commemoration of the struggles and sacrifices of migrants, activists, and allies in the movement.



Photo credit: IDWN



Photo credit: Nicole Fernlev

Exhibits and Activities

- > Art exhibit and bazaar
- > Global Social Movements Interactive Timeline
- > Tribute Wall
- > “Seranata”—night of Philippine entertainment
- > “Tertulia”—night of cultural exchange
- > Public Concert, Quezon City Hall

Installation & Bazaar

Reflections on Diaspora by Edgar Fernandez

Edgar “Egai” Fernandez has been a prominent social activist and artist in the Philippines since the 1970s. He plays a leading role in social realist art and his installations address culture, social change, critical thinking, unity, philosophy, education, and spirituality. Egai generously lent one of his pieces, “Reflections on Diaspora” to the WSFM, and it was prominently displayed in the foyer of Miriam College.

“[Reflections on Diaspora] is a loving and confessional piece, or a process of the artist's thoughts on exiled compatriots who are alienated abroad, but who remain intimately connected to their loved ones in the Philippines, and, despite their absence, deeply rooted in their country. In that way, they are not extinguished, unlike the candles that the artist offers to them as a form of illumination.

Compassion is a key to seeing OFWs: pride not for money they send home but for the joy and light they illuminate from afar (like dead stars) where they silently suffer and die in order that their families might live.”

(Lippi, Filipina, “Edgar ‘Egai’ Fernandez’ Intense Sense of Possibilities”, Manila Bulletin, January 9, 2012)



The feature of this installation is a “balikbayan box”. The word “balikbayan” comes from the Tagalog words *Balik*, meaning “to return”, and *bayan* meaning “town or nation”. The balikbayan box has come to represent the transnational experience of Filipino migrants – symbolizing (among other things), sending of gifts to loved ones and being dislocated from families.

Photo credit: Nicole Fernlev



Photo credit: IDWN



Photo credit: IDWN



Photo credit: Andrew Kim

Exhibit Booths & Bazaar

Throughout the week, delegations, local organizations, and social enterprises opened exhibit booths on the grounds of Miriam College in order to share their literature and advocacy campaign materials, and to sell their goods.



Photo credit: IDWN



Photo credit: IDWN

Social Movements Timeline

To mark the significant events in the life of the global social movement for migrants' rights, the WSFM organizers compiled a living timeline, which was displayed in the foyer of Miriam College throughout the week. WSFM delegates were invited to contribute to the timeline, by adding important dates, events, and information about their own struggles in their respective countries and regions. This collective activity was meant to build a global picture of the history of migrants' and peoples' movements throughout the world.

Date	Victory
1886	> The First May Day is first celebrated (May 1 st)
1910	> Convention for the Suppression of White Slave Traffic (entry into force, 1912).
1930	> Convention Concerning Forced or Compulsory Labour: ILO C29 (entry into force, 1932)
1948	> Universal Declaration of Human Rights (10 December) > International Human Rights Day , celebrated every December 10 th
1949	> Convention Concerning Migration for Employment: ILO C97 (entry into force, 1952)
1955	> Recommendation Concerning the Protection of Migrant Workers (Underdeveloped Countries & Territories Recommendation), No. 100
1957	> Migrant Workers Convention Concerning the Abolition of Forced Labour, ILO C105 (entry into force, 1958)
1970	> Earth Day is first celebrated.

Date	Victory
1973	> World Environment Day is first celebrated.
1975	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Recommendation Concerning Migrant Workers, 1975, No. 151 > Convention Concerning Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity & Treatment of Migrant Workers, ILO C143 (entry into force 1978) > World Conference on Women is established in Mexico, followed by conferences in 1980 (Copenhagen), 1985 (Nairobi), and 1995 (Beijing).
1977	> International Women’s Day is proclaimed.
1979	> Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (entry into force, 1981)
1983	> India’s Emigration Act is passed.
1986	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > The Right to Development Declaration is adopted. > Immigration Reform and Control Act (USA) gives amnesty to 4 million, but introduces draconian laws against employing irregular workers. > International Day for the Abolition of Slavery is established.
1987	> World AIDS Day is established.
1989	> Asian Domestic Workers Union is registered in Hong Kong. It is now recognized as the first trade union of Asian migrant domestic workers.
1990	> International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families is adopted (Dec. 18).

Date	Victory
1993	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > The Vienna Declaration & Program of Action is adopted. > UN Conference on Environment & Development is held in Rio de Janeiro (June 13–14).
1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Migrant Forum in Asia is founded. > International Migrants Rights Watch Committee is established. > International Conference on Population & Development is held in Cairo.
1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Beijing Declaration & Platform for Action on the Status of Women > World Summit on Social Development is held in Copenhagen. > Joint Committee with Migrants in Korea is established.
1996	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Migrants Rights International calls for International Migrants Day to be recognized on 18 December every year
1997	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Kyoto Protocol is adopted (entry into force, 2005).
1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Global Campaign for the Ratification of the UN Migrant Workers Convention is initiated.
1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Domestic Workers recognized in Tamil Nadu (India) as part of the informal sector. > International Day to End Violence Against Women is established.
2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > International Migrants Day is officially declared. > World Refugee Day is established.

Date	Victory
2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > World Solidarity Campaign initiated by WSM Belgium. > Nepal Information Booth is established. > Review of National Action Plan Against Human Trafficking (Nepal) comes under review. > World Conference on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance is held in Durban, South Africa. > September 11th Terrorist Attacks prompt sweeping anti-immigrant laws worldwide.
2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > World Summit on Sustainable Development Declaration. > WSM Campaign on Migration in Belgium focuses on vulnerable migrants in diplomatic posts.
2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Migrant Empowerment Network in Taiwan is founded. > Global Commission on International Migration established.
2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Industrial Trainee System (Korea) is abolished. > The World Social Forum on Migration is held in Porto Alegre, Brazil, followed by Rivas (2006 & 2008), Quito (2010), and Manila (2012). > Tamil Nadu (India) Domestic Workers Union is registered. > WTO Protests in Hong Kong
2006	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > UN High Level Dialogue on Migration & Development is held in New York. > Peoples' Global Action on Migration, Development, and Human Rights (New York) is established as a parallel process to the UNHLD and GFMD processes, followed by PGAs in 2007 (Brussels), 2008 (Manila), 2009 (Athens), Mexico City (2010), and Geneva (2011). > US Immigration Protests on May Day.

Date	Victory
2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Asian Migrant Domestic Workers Alliance founded. > Global Forum on Migration & Development is held in Brussels, followed by Manila (2008), Athens (2009), Mexico City (2010), Geneva (2011), and Mauritius (2012). > Tamil Nadu (India) Domestic Workers Welfare Board is formed. > Minimum Wage Act passed in Tamil Nadu. > Foreign Employment Act & Regulation is passed in Nepal.
2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Declaration on Social Justice for a Fair Globalization > Kerala (India) unionizes domestic workers > Multicultural Family Support Act (Korea) is legislated. > International Day of Rural Women is established. > World Day for Decent Work established.
2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > World Day of Social Justice observed. > World Solidarity Movement meeting in Kerala, India. > Human Trafficking Prevention & Control Act enacted in Taiwan.
2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Ban on Nepalese Women Workers to the Gulf is enacted for women under the age of 30. > Federation of Asian Domestic Workers Union is founded. > Kerala (India) minimum wage is established. > Qatar awarded World Cup in 2022.
2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Domestic Workers Convention Concerning Decent Work for Domestic Workers (ILO C189) (entry into force, 2013) > ACV (Belgian Trade Union) includes domestic workers in its official delegation. > “March of Return” commemorates the forcible displacement of 800,000 Palestinians.

Date

Victory

2012

- > **Rio+20** (UN Conference on Sustainable Development) is held.
- > **Migrants Global Day of Action Against Racism for the Rights of Migrants, Refugees, and Displaced Peoples** (18 December)
- > **Domestic Worker Union** established in Sri Lanka
- > **Parades in Lebanon** — domestic workers and migrant workers demand their rights.
- > **Kerala Social Security Scheme** established.
- > **Ratifications of Migrant Workers' Convention:** April 11th, Bangladesh; April 12th, Indonesia – Bangladesh
- > **Korean Rallies** against EPS rules
- > **MOU between Malaysia and Bangladesh** established.
- > **“Kasambahay” (Domestic Workers) Bill** passed in the Philippines.
- > **Migrants' Campaign Month** (Nov. 25-Dec. 18) is recognized.
- > **5th World Social Forum on Migration** held in Manila, Philippines

2014

- > **6th World Social Forum on Migration** to take place in Johannesburg, South Africa.

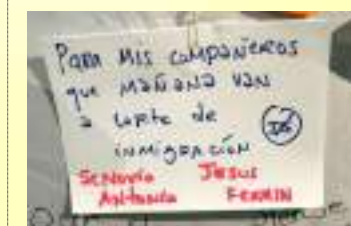


Photo credit: Kate Dearden

Honouring Struggles & Sacrifices

To honour and acknowledge those migrants and human rights advocates who have died in the struggle, and who have dedicated their lives to human rights and peoples' movements all over the world, a Tribute Wall was featured prominently in the foyer of Miriam College. Delegates were invited to write or post names, dedications, notes, pictures, symbols, slogans, and other messages of tribute to those who have sacrificed for the movement. Selected items from the Tribute Wall were shared during the closing ceremonies of the WFSM.

We Remember...



A Movement of Peoples — A Peoples' Movement

my father is dead and
I miss him so much
I hope he is in a good place
and I hope I can see him again

To all the members
of my family who
migrated.

to all the
children waiting
for their parents,
to the hope and
dreams

MY MOM HAS BEEN WORKING
AS A NURSE FOR 100 HRS

For the spirit of
"Alem" who died in
detention
and all other migrants
who wish escaping the
boat really
we are praying

TO THE THOUSANDS
OF MIGRANTS WHO
DIED IN THE SEA!
WE ARE VICTIMS
OF CAPITALISM!

아름다운!
기쁜!
웃음!

My work - I've been working
since my mom is 40 almost
10 years I'm her 0
Leris Bere

To my sister Teresa who has
been working in Jeddah for 21
years and has not been back
for 10 years now. I love you
Sister Teresa

YOUR stories - please keep
writing them
my life
donde esta
JAMES CALRO?

To the organizations
of "activists" who
have been helping
migrants and refugees
in the last decade
trying to
reach AUSTRALIA by boat

Migrant workers
are Human beings!
Migrant Rights
Human Rights!

RIP to the 100+ refugees &
asylum seekers who drowned at
sea in the last decade trying to
reach AUSTRALIA by boat
You ARE NOT FORGOTTEN.
LET the MIGRANT

Photos courtesy of Nicole Fernley

Serenata

A Night of Songs, Socials, and Solidarity

On the evening of November 26th, WSFM delegates were entertained on the grounds of Miriam College with a night of songs and cultural exchange.

“Serenata” featured traditional Filipino music, including love songs (*kundiman*) and contemporary pop songs, alternative music, and people’s movement songs.

Overseas participants were invited to share songs and other performances in solidarity with Philippine social movements.

“Serenata” performers included:

- > Migrant communities from the South of the Philippines
- > Rondala Espejo
- > Local artists



Photos courtesy of Nicole Fernley

Tertulia



Filipino Music & Cultural Exchange

On the second night of the WSFM, delegates participated in a social gathering through an interactive “open mic” format, where local performers and overseas delegates showcased their social movement music, community songs, dances, and group actions.

“Tertulia” performers included:

- > Bayang Barrios
- > Cookie Chua
- > International delegates of the WSFM



Photos courtesy of Nicole Fernley

Public Concert

Concert at Quezon City Hall

On the final day of the WFSM, the Mayor of Quezon City, Herbert Bautista, sponsored a rock concert on the public grounds of Quezon City Hall. Delegates were joined by the youth of Quezon City. Many members of the local rock scene performed until late into the evening.



Photos courtesy of Nicole Fernley

Field Visits

Batangas ♦ Bulacan ♦ Manila ♦ Pampanga



WSFM Delegates in the field!

On the third day of the WFSM, participants had the opportunity to participate in one of four unique field visits to get a better understanding of the situation of migrant workers in the Philippines.

The visits were organized by the WFSM's Philippine Working Group and the Philippine members of Migrant Forum in Asia.

Field Visit Locations

Batangas

Civil Society Organizations, Migrant Families, and Local Government

Bulacan

Historical Tour of the Province of Bulacan

Manila

Government Agencies Working on Migrant Workers' Concerns

Pampanga

Inter-Agency Initiatives for Migrants' Concerns



Batangas



The field visit to the province of Batangas, in the Southwest part of Luzon, provided an opportunity for participants to learn about the cooperation among civil society organizations, migrant families, returnee migrant workers, and the local government. The trip was designed to expose participants to government support services and programs through dialogue with local officials, migrant communities, and civil society organizations. This trip was organized by ATIKHA and PHILCOMDEV.

Participants visited the following organizations:

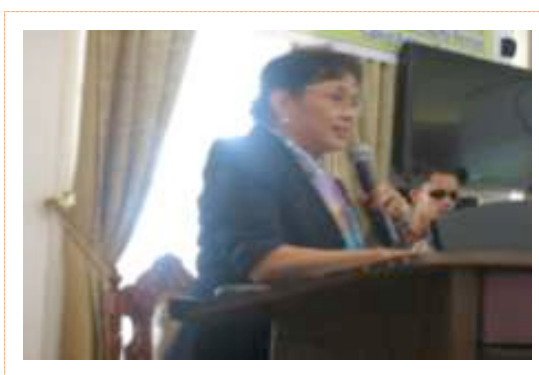
- > **Mabini Overseas Filipino Workers Migration Centre**, the first migration center in the province of Batangas. It was established as a response by government and civil society to the needs of OFWs and their families, including children left behind, to ensure safe migration, address the social cost of migration, and to support OFWs and their families in harnessing the development potential of migration for the benefit of their communities.
- > **Batang Atikha Savers Club**, an organization of youth savers who understand the value of money. To date, there are almost 1,000 members with more than 2 million PHP in accumulated savings.
- > **Ibaan SIDC Egg Layer Farm**, an agri-based cooperative in the Philippines, which has been in operation for more than 43 years, running 20 enterprises. It operates a five-building egg layer farm with 75,000 layers. This project was packaged to encourage OFWs and their families to save and invest. For the period of 15 months, through the PinoyWISE campaign, the farm mobilized around 10 Million Pesos from OFWs and their families.
- > **Lemery OFW Centre**, a migration center that attends to the economic and psychosocial needs of OFWs who work mostly in Europe and the Middle East. It assists with a school-based program for the children of migrant workers and works on potential livelihood activities for families left behind. One of its regular activities is the recognition and warm welcome to visiting OFWs/balikbayans through a flag raising ceremony.
- > **Cuenca OFW Desk**, a migration desk supervised by the Municipal Social Welfare Office that provides direct services and referrals on OFW cases. It has also a municipal federation of OFW organization with regular council meetings and activities.

CSOs, Migrant Families, and Local Government



Fifty-three WSFM delegates joined the trip to Batangas. Arriving in Batangas at 11:30am, the proceedings began with a prayer service led by students of St. Bridget's College, followed by welcome remarks by Board Member Amado Carlos Bolilla IV, acting Batangas Vice Governor.

Hon. Vilma Santos-Recto, Governor of Batangas, provided a situationer on migration in her province, commending the hard work and sacrifices of OFWs and their families. Local Government Units spoke about their Migration & Development initiatives.



Speakers included Joy Montalbo of the Batangas Provincial Capitol, Hon. Nilo Villanueva of Mabini, Armidalyn Minel of Cuenca, Arcadia Duque of Ibaan, Aileen Zunio of Padre Garcia, and Daisy Balucas of Lemery.

The group then moved to Mabini, where they were welcomed by members of Batang Atikha Savers Club at the Tourism Office in Anilao, with a lively cultural performance. The Tourism Office was also prepared with a photo exhibit of migration and development initiatives. Nini Casapo, the Municipal Tourism Officer, greeted the group and spoke about Mabini's tourism sector in relation to migration and development.



Finally, the group was joined by OFW families who shared their personal experiences as family members left behind.

Bulacan



The province of Bulacan is in an area steeped in the history, culture, and revolutionary spirit that emerged during the propaganda movement in 1880. This historical field visit highlighted the revolution of the Filipino people against the colonial rule of Spain in 1896 to the eve of America's aggressive imperialist drive to the Far East in 1989. The spirituality of the history of Bulacan—which connects today's daily and political life with the past—was explored throughout the day. The lives of Filipino heroes and heroines were presented, as were excerpts of the region's literary and musical workers that stoked the fires of nationalism. Efforts of the City Government of Malolos to develop the potential of migration for development were also presented. This trip was organized by Kanlungan Centre Foundation.

Participants took part in the following:

- > **Visit to the former home of José Rizal**, an important Filipino revolutionary
- > **Dialogue with local school teachers and children of migrant workers**
- > **Historical tour of the Bulacan**, with a focus on the Philippine Revolution against Spain.
- > **Dialogue with the local government of the City of Malolos**

The group reported the following gains from this field visit:

- (1) The visit demonstrated to the WSFM delegates the history of the revolutionary struggle, not only of the people of Bulacan, but of all Filipinos.
- (2) The migration program of the province was discussed, opening an opportunity for partnerships with the provincial government in the area of migration and development.
- (3) Kanlungan Centre Foundation was able to mobilize volunteers for the field visit, especially from the tourism and planning offices of the provincial government and among students of Bulacan State University through the Office of the Provincial Administrator and the Provincial Development & Planning Office. This speaks to the potential for additional engagement in the future.



Historical Tour in the Province of Bulacan



A monologue on the life of Eusebio Roque was presented at the church of Nuestra Senora de la Asuncion. The group also visited the ancestral home of the Rodrigos, followed by a dramatic reading of the life of Maria Rodrigo Fernando, an ardent revolutionary who fought against the Spaniards and the Americans.

The group visited the shrine of Marcelo H. Del Pilar, a leader of the propaganda movement, and watched a reading of Del Pilar's writings that challenged the despotic imposition of the friars.

The group then moved on to Malolos, the centre of the revolutionary government and where the first republic was established and constitution approved.



Fifty-three delegates participated in this historical tour, which traced the awakening of the revolutionary spirit of the Bulakenyos. The group first visited the town of Bulacan, the birthplace of many literary and revolutionary heroes. The group toured the Enriquez ancestral home, where José Rizal resided before moving to Malolos— during the tour, a brass band entertained the group with traditional Filipino patriotic songs.



Next were walking tours of the Kamestisuhan district, the Malolos Cathedral, Casa Real, and Barasoain Church. This was followed by a welcome at the provincial capital by Provincial Administrator Jim Valerio.

Finally, the delegates attended the Dayaw Festival, where they were able to look at indigenous products made by peoples from Luzon to Mindanao.

Manila



The field visit to Metro Manila brought participants to national government agencies dealing with migrant workers' concerns. Participants were provided with an overview of the programs and services offered by the government to OFWs and their families. This trip was organized by the Centre for Migrant Advocacy and the Commission on Filipinos Overseas.

Delegates visited the **Philippine Overseas Employment Agency (POEA)**. Resource persons from relevant government agencies spoke about their programs and services.

- > **The Philippine Overseas Employment Agency (POEA)**, which is tasked with promoting and developing the Philippine Overseas Employment Program and protecting the rights of OFWs. The POEA is also in charge of regulating private sector participation in the recruitment and placement of OFWs.

Atty. Hans Cacdac, POEA Administrator, welcomed the delegates with a brief presentation of the evolution of the POEA, its duties, and functions. This was followed by a tour of the POEA premises and its various divisions.

- > **The Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA)** provides advice on foreign policy on the protection of Filipino citizens abroad.

Melchor Lalunio, Office of the Undersecretary for Migrant Workers' Affairs spoke about the DFA's efforts to protect those who go overseas to work, and to extend emergency assistance to migrants who become stranded in their countries of destination, or in transit. He described the various programs and contingency plans in place to deal with issues outside of the Philippines.





- > **The National Reintegration Centre for Overseas Filipinos (NRCO)** promotes the delivery of responsive, productive and sustainable reintegration services to OFW returnees to maximize the gains of overseas employment, mitigate social costs of migration, and cushion impacts of repatriation due to unexpected events.

Executive Director Resty de la Fuente discussed the challenges that led to the creation of the NRCO, including the social cost of migration, changing labour and immigration policies, the economic and political situations in receiving countries, and low levels of savings among OFWs. He outlined programs designed to address these challenges, many of which focus on entrepreneurship.

- > **The Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA)** is the lead government agency tasked with protecting and promoting the OFWs and their dependents.

Ma. Teresa Capa and Ms. Emma Sinclair presented the functions of the OWWA and its history. They outlined OWWA's five major programs/services for migrant workers, namely: education and training benefits, the workers welfare assistance program, the repatriation program, and the reintegration program. They also spoke about the OWWA's special programs, which include the celebration of Migrant Workers' Day (June 7th), Pamaskong Handog (OFW Family Day), and the Model OFW Family of the Year Awards (MOFYA).

- > **The Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO)** is tasked with promoting and upholding the interests of Filipino emigrants and permanent residents abroad, and preserving and strengthening ties with Filipino communities overseas. It primarily registers and provides pre-departure orientation seminars to emigrants.

Director Regina Galias explained the history of the CFO and its programs for OFWs. One of her agency's goals is to ensure that all Filipinos migrating permanently abroad are adequately prepared for the psychosocial challenges of leaving the home country. She also outlined the programs of the CFO vis-à-vis remittances, assistance, and education in relation to promoting development.

Pampanga



The province of Pampanga is the top sender of migrant workers overseas among all of the Philippine provinces. This is largely the result of the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo in 1990, which forced many people to move. Because of the increasing migrant worker population, in 2007 the Province of Pampanga took on an inter-agency initiative to address the issues and concerns of migrant workers—the Pampanga Inter-Agency Council for Migrants’ Concerns (PIAMCO). Several local government and national government agencies are involved. This trip was organized by CBCP ECMI.

The WSFM delegates who participated in this field visit were given the opportunity to interact with the various agencies of PIAMCO, as well as with the families who have been involved with its programs and services. The group also participated in cultural programs, including photo exhibits and traditional performances by the children of OFWs. The visit concluded with a tour of Paskuhan, the local “Christmas Village.”



Inter-Agency Initiatives for Migrants' Concerns

The increasing population of migrant workers in the Province of Pampanga prompted an inter-agency initiative to address issues and concerns of migrant workers, initiated on July 24, 2007. The inter-agency formation was initiated by the CBCP's Episcopal Commission for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People (ECMI), in coordination with its local church affiliate—the Pampanga Archdiocesan Migrants Desk (PAMD).

The inter-agency formation was officially named the Pampanga Inter-Agency Council for Migrants Concern (PIAMCO) and formally operated by virtue of an Executive Order issued by the Provincial Government of Pampanga. At present, the Provincial Government has created a service arm for the migrant sector called the Pampanga Center for OFW Concerns (PACOC). The CBCP-ECMI, PAMD, and PACOC are the agencies convening the PIAMCO.

During the field visit...

The participants interacted with the different agencies under PIAMCO, as well as with migrant families, including their children.

> Morning Session

Benigno Aquino Hall, Provincial Capitol, San Fernando City

Participants were welcomed with local traditions and rituals, as well as protocols with the local government. The program consisted of a presentation of the history of PIAMCO, as well as the programs and services of PAMD and PACOC.

Traditional performances by the Sons and Daughters of OFWs depicted the life and situation of migrants and their families.

> Afternoon Session

University of the Assumption, San Fernando City

Participants saw photos and art exhibits, and heard testimonies from migrant returnees and their families. This was followed by open dialogue and more traditional performances. Finally, the tour of Paskuhan Village closed the field visit.

Closing the Fifth WSFM & Forging Ahead

After an intensive weeklong program of plenaries, workshops, cultural events, strategizing, and alliance building, the final plenary of the fifth WSFM took place in the Marian Auditorium. This plenary was somewhat more relaxed, as many were tired yet positive following the activities of the week.

Validating the Final Statement

Following the sharing of some activist chants and songs led by delegates of the WSFM, Oscar Chacón—a member of the International Committee—lead the reading and validation of the WSFM final statement, as prepared by the drafting committee. Throughout the week, the drafting committee met each night to review the recommendations of the workshops and to consolidate them into a final political statement.



The statement was flashed on the screens and read aloud by Patricia Gainza (ESF) and Rex Varona (MFA). The floor was then open for comments, questions, and concerns, which were subsequently noted and incorporated into the final statement upon consensus from the assembled.

Photo Credit: Migrants Rights International

The final statement reflects the WSFM's critique of the neoliberal economic system and globalization, highlighting issues of gender, war and conflict, oppression, criminalization, environment, and all manner of rights violations. It emphasizes the power of organizing and migrant communities, and calls for the right to free and unconditional movement through the concept of universal citizenship. The statement challenges the prevailing migration and development discourse and its manifestation in temporary foreign worker programs that institutionalize circular migration and non-citizenship. Importantly, the statement calls for empowerment through social transformation and democratic organizing.

The full statement is found at the end of this document.

Honouring Struggles & Sacrifices

Following the validation of the statement, William Gois took the stage to reflect on the week, and to remind the delegates of the struggles of many migrants and human rights defenders around the world. He read out selected messages from the WSFM's tribute wall by way of honouring the struggles and sacrifices of migrants, their families, and those who support them.

William then extended his thanks to the IC, the PWG, the Technical Secretariat, and the many volunteers who made the fifth WSFM possible.



Photo Credit: Nicole Fernley

Looking Ahead — Johannesburg, South Africa in 2014!

The highlight of the closing plenary was the announcement of the International Committee's decision to hold the sixth WSFM in Johannesburg, South Africa in 2014. This will be the first time that the WSFM will be held in Africa, and marks a strong showing of international solidarity for the growing movement for migrants' rights throughout the African continent.

The African delegates received a standing ovation from the WSFM as they accepted the role of host for 2014.



Photo Credit: Migrants Rights International

Achievements of the 5th WSFM

The 5th WSFM in Manila marked some important milestones and victories in the history of the process. As in past WSFM processes, the gathering in Manila provided an independent space for migrant communities, peoples' movements, trade unions, academics, activists, faith-based groups, and other advocates to work together to sharpen their analysis and build alliances for future collective action.

Milestones and Victories

Having been previously dominated by Latin American and European groups and analysis, **the WSFM was held in Asia for the first time**. This is significant, because migration features so prominently at all levels in the countries of Asia. The Asian migrants' rights movement has, for many years, forwarded a strong critique of circular migration and the neoliberal economic system, and has much to offer the global social movement in terms of analysis. In spite of the logistical and financial challenges of bringing so many groups to Asia, this was an important step forward.



The WSFM not only emphasized the importance of **cross-sectoral and cross-movement alliances**, but also facilitated the forging and strengthening of those alliances. Among the side-events of the WSFM was a meeting of the Asian Social Movements Assembly, which called for building solidarity across movements to address the challenges of the global economic and climate crises. The international peasants' movement, the women's movement, and progressive labour movements from all around the world worked with migrants' rights organizations throughout the WSFM, demonstrating an understanding that the migrant struggle is connected to many other struggles of peoples and movements.

The plurality of voices within the WSFM resulted in the highlighting of aspects of the migrant struggle that went beyond labour rights. Calls to expand the thematic focus of the WSFM to include **other forms of displacement**—caused by conflict, environmental degradation, persecution, etc.—were well received and featured prominently in the discussions of the week.

Because the WSFM is an independent process that is not connected to any governmental or intergovernmental meeting, it allowed for wider social participation and provided an important space for the delegations **to develop their strategic thinking on the issues and to strengthen the movement going forward**.

In another first, the International Committee also named **Johannesburg, South Africa** as **the next host of the WSFM**, which will take place in 2014. This will be the first time the World Social Forum on Migration will take place in Africa, and points to the international solidarity and support for the growing migrants' rights movement in Africa.

Final Mobilization



Andres Bonifacio Day

The Philippine labour movement history is linked to the struggle for nationalism and the Philippine nation state. In 1872, when the Philippines was a Spanish colony, the workers were organized under *gremios*, mutual aid societies, which were the precursors of trade unions. The first workers' mass action was led by Gremios de Impressores against low wages in a government-owned printing press in Pampanga. These workers supported the struggle for independence from Spain.

Discontent over Spanish tyranny grew, and as peasants' and workers' struggles against feudal exploitation gained momentum, **Andres Bonifacio** emerged as a leader in the movement for independence. Bonifacio was a warehouse worker for Fressel & Co., a freemason, and a member of the Gran Oriente Español. He was self-educated and well read. He was influenced by the ideals of the French Revolution, and in 1892 he founded the **Katipunan**—a secret society grounded in anti-Spanish ideology that sought independence through armed revolt. The Katipunan was steered by Bonifacio's leadership, and through this leadership Spain was defeated by a nationalist and worker revolution.

Bonifacio is considered the father of the Philippine Revolution, and 30 November is **Andres Bonifacio Day**—workers' organizations commemorate the struggle annually through mobilizations and calls for stronger labour protections for Filipino workers. The WSFM joined the mobilization in solidarity with Filipino workers and workers everywhere.



The Rally!



Photo Credit: IDWN

March from Espana Avenue to Mediola, Manila

The Andres Bonifacio demonstrations were led by NAGKAISA (United), the biggest labour coalition in the Philippines for over two decades. With more than 40 trade unions and labour organizations with various ideological perspectives, NAGKAISA marks a new era in the Philippine labour movement, which has historically been fragmented.



Photo Credit: IDWN



Photo Credit: IDWN



Photo Credit: IDWN



Photo Credit: MRI



Photo Credit: Nicole Fernley



Photo Credit: IDWN



Photo Credit: MFA



Photo Credit: IDWN

MOBILITY, RIGHTS, GLOBAL MODELS: LOOKING FOR ALTERNATIVES MANILA DECLARATION 29 November 2012

We are more than 1,800 international and local delegates coming from over 50 countries worldwide, gathered as an assembly of social movements at the 5th World Social Forum on Migrations (WSFM) held on 26-30 November 2012 in Quezon City, Metro Manila, Philippines.

More than half of the delegates are women; and many come from migrant, worker, peasant and other grassroots groups. We are joined by 6,000 more trade unionists from the NAGKAISA alliance in the Philippines and international federations, migrants and dependents from communities, youth, and students in public actions and cultural events during the 5th WSFM.

The 5th Forum is a milestone in our journey together as social movements. This year, our recommendations for a better world directly incorporate the inputs of participants from each of the four days of workshops. Daily plenaries allowed us to explore complex themes and led us to multi-faceted recommendations.

We achieved another milestone with the interlinking of the migrant and social movements in Asia and throughout the world—refugees, anti-trafficking, workers and trade unions, peasants, women's rights, faith-based, environmental justice, indigenous peoples, domestic workers, progressive academics, trade and development, anti-racism and human rights advocates.

This convergence is necessary because by ourselves and separated, we cannot change the current economic model that exploits migrants. The participation from all regions of the world allowed us to see the global nature of migrant and labour class struggles and provided inputs for collective and strategic actions.

Crisis, critique and consequences of neoliberal globalization: The migration and labour question

- (1) Like never before we are facing a humanitarian crisis that threatens civilization. The current international scene is undergoing a profound multi-dimensional financial, overproduction, environmental and global social crisis.

- (2) This crisis is a consequence of a strategy of imperialist domination led by multinational corporations in search of low cost and flexible labour, as well as natural resources from the Global South.
- (3) The rules of neo-liberal globalization persist. Outsourcing, sub-contracting, importing temporary labour are the new mantra for capital to secure its profits. The costs are increasingly borne by families, workers and our environment. Those with privilege and power are the minority – yet they continue to benefit unfairly.
- (4) A main engine of neoliberal globalization is the global tendency of lowering of labour costs by any and all means, and the exacerbation of uneven development as well as social inequalities.
- (5) In this context, decent jobs are rapidly giving way to a low wage, precarious employment economy. The resulting massive oversupply of labour and widespread uneven development magnifies the pressure for people to emigrate internally and/or internationally under conditions of extreme risk.
- (6) Women make up half of global migration flows. The UN Secretary-General notes that “International migration can be an empowering experience for women: women may leave situations where they have limited options for ones where they exercise greater autonomy over their own lives, thereby benefiting themselves as well as their families and communities.” However, many other women migrants are subjected to particular and gender-based forms of abuses in the migration process.
- (7) Human trafficking continues to be a major global form of abuse and violence against migrants, both men and women, and children. In the context of neo-liberal globalization and modern technology, it also assumes new and pernicious modalities.
- (8) Wars and conflicts are among the most dangerous causes of migration, refuge, and displacement. Voices have been raised to condemn and oppose those who encourage or foment war and conflict through the supply arms and money, and who offer political support to the perpetrators.
- (9) Ninety percent of migrants are workers. The migration and labour questions are two sides of the same coin, whose currency translates into unbearable conditions of systematic oppression against the working class promoted by neoliberal globalization and its current profound and multi-dimensional crisis.
- (10) The root causes behind why people are forced to move continue to be overlooked by governments and international agencies that profit from the current neo-liberal model.

Migrants' rights are human rights

- (11) Compelled by the need to simply live—large segments of our world are being forced to migrate. It is disproportionately women, children, ethnic groups, racial minorities, asylum-seekers, climate-displaced communities, and people of diverse sexual orientations and gender identities, who are in situations of forced migration. They endure multiple risks and vulnerabilities. They are persistently exposed to labour insecurity, precarious citizenship, undocumented status, criminalization, discrimination, marginalization and social exclusion. Too often, in managing migration, governments of receiving countries resort to repressive measures, border militarization, persecution, deportation, and other forms of violence against the migrants, especially against women.
- (12) Safeguarding human rights is still a pending issue for all governments in countries of origin, transit and destination. No nation is exempt from this responsibility.
- (13) Too many countries of origin or transit use a double-standard: governments denounce violations to the rights of their citizens in destination countries, while the rights of migrants in their own land are systematically violated.
- (14) Although migrants have some legal protections, such as the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families and ILO instruments—these tools remain un-ratified by major receiving countries and implementation measures remain a distant reality.
- (15) Migrants are neither powerless nor passive victims in the migration process. Migrants and migrant communities are not just objects of corporate-led policies, but are increasingly stakeholders and becoming primary actors for social transformation. For decades, they have organized, unionized, campaigned and intervened at local, national and international levels. Many local and international victories have been won through their struggles.
- (16) It is therefore imperative to support in every possible way the organizing processes of, and by, migrant communities. The best way to ensure that migrants and communities are prepared to defend themselves and achieve new victories in their struggle for a better world and the respect of all their rights is by ensuring a steady and ever stronger organizing capacity that enables them to impact all policy areas that affect their lives. “Nothing about us should be decided without us” is a social movement slogan that eloquently asserts this. Freedom of association, expression and assembly must be guaranteed for all, including migrants.
- (17) We re-assert the WSFM declaration from Quito that calls on the right to free and unconditional movement and settlement, that may be advanced through the concept of universal citizenship. Re-imagining migration, proposing alternatives.

- (18) The relationship between migration and development is a topic of growing interest among international organizations, academics and civil society organizations. National governments and international organizations such as the World Bank, International Organization for Migration, and the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) are promoting the idea that maximizing remittances and managing migration will lead to development.
- (19) This perspective overlooks historic forces of unequal development in which contemporary migration is embedded. It conveniently disregards human and labour rights as central and intrinsic elements of coherent migration and development policies. It masks fundamental contributions made by migrants to the destination countries, and ignores the costs of migration for the countries of origin and the burden that is borne by sending communities—costs that are far greater than the “positive” impacts of remittances to sending countries
- (20) The GFMD is of particular concern. Despite the strong push by civil society groups at the 2006 UN High Level Dialogue for a global migration governance mechanism firmly rooted on international human rights principles, governments created the GFMD instead as an informal, non-binding forum outside of the UN. The GFMD is not acceptable because it is not rights-based and has no accountability. In limiting the space for civil society and migrant communities to voice their critique, it marginalizes the voices of migrants. The GFMD serves as a “free market” forum for governments and corporates to further exploit migrants in the context of the neo-liberal model.
- (21) In line with the corporate restructuring strategy underlying neo-liberal globalization, mainstream migration policies follow similar patterns: they essentially are corporate driven public policies. Temporary or “guest” worker programmes is a prime example. Another is the cultural exchange program – such as the au pair program – which is used to recruit cheap labour (e. g. domestic workers) and escape the application of employment laws. Dubious terms like “circular migration” are equally suspect. What is clear is that these programmes and terms favour corporate elites primarily in receiving countries
- (22) These policies rationalize a new form of slavery.

Struggle, organization and action

- (23) The pursuit for sustainable human development is a process of social emancipation through collective participation and popular empowerment.
- (24) Social transformation capable of fuelling a counter-hegemonic social power is urgently needed. Our collective knowledge and experience in concert with the working class, and social movements and organizations must be united.

- (25) It is time for direct democracy. This means democratizing access to power, encouraging social organization, and promoting instruments of participation, including protecting the right to freedom of association and collective bargaining for all migrant and informal sector workers, and encouraging full and meaningful participation in the trade union movements in both sending and host countries.
- (26) A symbiotic relationship between people and nature — one that goes beyond radical conservationism, should be encouraged. The rights of nature should be promoted alongside human rights, and the stewardship and responsibility of governments to these must be upheld.
- (27) A strategy for sustainable human development requires social control of foreign investment, equitable and fair trade, scientific and technological development, and the elimination of all forms of unequal exchange and surplus transfer.
- (28) Labour sovereignty is essential in promoting decent jobs and wages, occupational safety and health, universal social security, freedom of association and collective bargaining.
- (29) There must be a radical change in the dominant paradigm in order to grant precedence to human rights across economic, labour, social, political and cultural realms. We will continue to broaden our alliances and solidarity with other social movements in our common struggle for social transformation.
- (30) Towards this end, we call on the upcoming UN High Level Dialogue on Migration and Development to substantively incorporate proposals by civil society and social movements for a rights-based, people-centered migration governance and development agenda. Any post-2015 development agenda and action plan must firmly advance the protection of the human rights of all migrants, and affirm the right to migrate and remain at home with decent work and human security.
- (31) Finally, the right not to emigrate should be in place in the countries of origin. This implies creating the necessary conditions that transform migration into a choice rather than a necessity.

We look to the 2013 World Social Forum in Tunisia to continue this journey together as social movements in the struggle for the realization of alternative global models, committed to the principle that Another World is Possible—a world that we must forge together. #