HELVETAS

Position Paper

ACROSS BORDERS

WHY WE MUST SHAPE MIGRATION

Worldwide migration is a fact. To enhance its positive effects on development in countries of origin and destination, we must regulate and shape it. Development cooperation contributes to this endeavour.

Causes of flight, such as persecution, violent conflicts, and human rights abuse, can only be addressed by political means. Development cooperation is not a suitable means for that.

Helvetas calls on Switzerland's government and policymakers to work internationally for humane regulation of global migration while also helping to combat the causes of flight.

In Brief

Migration is a reality. People migrate to work under contracts, to strive for a decent life, or to avoid the consequences of climate change – to the nearest city, to neighbouring countries, or over longer distances. Remittances, knowledge transfer, and investments by the diaspora can stimulate development and contribute to stability in developing countries. In this way, migration can mitigate some of its own negative impacts, such as loss of skilled workers. But this requires that it takes place under decent and fair conditions and that human rights are protected. Achieving this is the aim of the new UN "Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration". At the same time, the UN has launched a "Global Compact on Refugees". It is intended to protect those who have fled wars, persecution, and human rights violations on their journeys and at their destinations, as well as to regulate their acceptance and guarantee their rights.

The refugee and migration tragedy of recent years has triggered a political and social debate about acceptance versus rejection. Industrialised countries are erecting walls to prevent unwelcome migration; Europe is shifting its borders to North Africa. Swiss politicians speak of a "migration crisis" and want to use development cooperation to prevent forced displacement and migration. But the mission and goal of development cooperation is to alleviate poverty and exclusion in the long term. By doing so, it can reduce individual drivers of migration. It can also help to improve conditions for labour migration in the South. But it cannot prevent migration or forced displacement.

Helvetas expects the Federal Council to expand assistance in countries of origin and to grant protection to an adequate number of war refugees in order to alleviate the worst hardship. Further, Switzerland should increase its efforts to combat causes of flight by means of peace, security, and human rights policy. Migration, on the other hand, must be regulated and shaped. Open borders for all are no solution. Rather, Helvetas calls on policymakers and public authorities to pursue a coherent foreign, foreign economic, environmental, and climate policy in order to effectively tackle drivers of migration. With its commitment, Switzerland can and should improve prospects for a life in dignity and security in countries of origin and strengthen the positive impact of migration on development in accordance with the UN Global Compact for Migration.
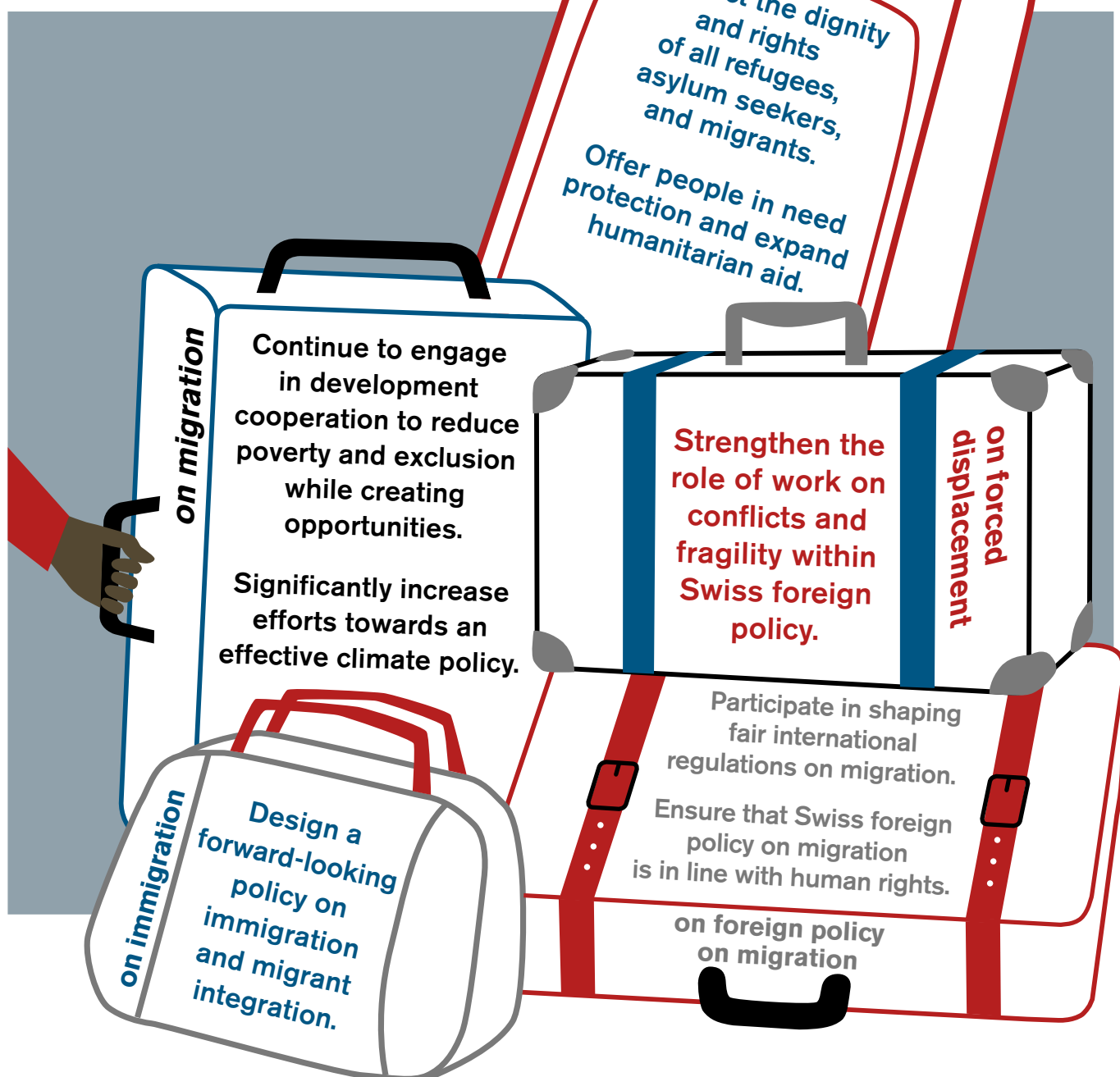
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WHAT HELVETAS DEMANDS

Helvetas advocates refugee and migration policies that are committed to Switzerland's humanitarian tradition and contribute to stability in developing countries. This is also in Switzerland's interest.

For this reason, Helvetas demands of policymakers and public authorities:

on human security

Respect the dignity and rights of all refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants.

Offer people in need protection and expand humanitarian aid.

on migration

Continue to engage in development cooperation to reduce poverty and exclusion while creating opportunities.

Significantly increase efforts towards an effective climate policy.

on forced displacement

Strengthen the role of work on conflicts and fragility within Swiss foreign policy.

Participate in shaping fair international regulations on migration.

Ensure that Swiss foreign policy on migration is in line with human rights.

on foreign policy on migration

on immigration

Design a forward-looking policy on immigration and migrant integration.

FORCED DISPLACEMENT AND MIGRATION: AN OVERVIEW

	Forced displacement			Migration		
	Refugees	**War refugees**	**Internally displaced persons (IDPs)**	**Environmental and climate migrants**	**Poverty and labour migrants**	**Internal migrants**
Brief description	• Flee persecution, human rights abuse, discrimination, torture • Cross national border • Right to asylum	• Flee war, violence, expulsion, ethnic cleansing; no individual persecution • Cross national border • No right to asylum	• Flee from home region to escape violent conflicts, persecution, and human rights abuse • Do not cross national border	• Forced to leave home region to escape environmental destruction or climate change impacts • Remain within national borders or move to neighbouring countries	• Temporary labour migration (circular migration) • Migration due to existential threats as well as social, cultural, economic, and environmental factors (poverty, exclusion, prospects for a better life, etc.); usually to neighbouring countries	• Migration within home country; includes rural–urban migration, labour migration, marriage migration
Numbers of people affected	• 19.9 million (UNHCR mandate) • 5.4 million Palestinian refugees (UNRWA mandate) • 3.1 million asylum seekers	• 40.0 million (UNHCR mandate)		• Approx. 230 million • Climate migration: 25 million (current estimate); prediction for 2050: up to 200 million		• 760 million people (conservative estimate for 2005); about half of them live in urban areas
International legal obligations (selection)	• Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) • International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) • International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) • ILO core conventions (29, 87, 98, 100, 105, 111, 138, 182) and conventions relevant to migration (97*, 118*, 143*, 181*, 189)			• UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (1990*) • Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (2000) • Palermo Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air (2000) *not signed or ratified by Switzerland*		
	• Geneva Refugee Convention **Non-binding:** • UN Global Compact on Refugees (UNHCR)	• International humanitarian law • Principle of non-refoulement (based on Convention against Torture and Refugee Convention) **Non-binding:** • UN Global Compact on Refugees (UNHCR)	• International humanitarian law **Non-binding:** • UN Global Compact on Refugees (UNHCR)	**Non-binding:** • Protection Agenda of the Nansen Initiative (now: Platform on Disaster Displacement) • Paris agreement under the UNFCCC • Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction	**Non-binding:** • 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development • ILO Decent Work Agenda • ILO Fair Migration Agenda • UN Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration.	**Non-binding:** • 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development • ILO Decent Work Agenda • ILO Fair Migration Agenda • Habitat III New Urban Agenda
Instruments (selection)	• Foreign policy • Policy of "good offices" • International cooperation: peace policy, human rights policy (not including development cooperation) • Humanitarian aid			• Climate policy • Development cooperation: Adaptation in affected areas in developing countries	• Foreign economic policy • Trade policy • Financial policy • Environmental and climate policy • Development cooperation: Reduction of poverty and exclusion; creation of opportunities, including employment • Foreign policy on migration, with fair migration partnerships	• Development cooperation: Reduction of poverty and exclusion; creation of opportunities in developing countries, including employment opportunities • Sustainable urban development

MIGRATION, FORCED DISPLACEMENT, AND DEVELOPMENT

The domestic political debate centres on measures to fend off
"migration flows" and on using development cooperation for that purpose.
By contrast, the focus in international forums for dialogue on migration is
on shaping migration and on the positive effects migration has on development.

Jesidic refugees from Northern Iraq on their way to the Syrian border.

Migration and forced displacement are a global reality. They have existed ever since a pioneering spirit and hope for a better life, as well as poverty, exploitation, wars, persecution, repression, natural and environmental disasters, shortage of land, and demographic pressure have led people to leave their homeland – in other words, since time immemorial. People migrate within their own country, to neighbouring countries, or to more distant destinations.

Once based on wide-ranging global freedom of movement, migration was later increasingly restricted. Since the 1980s, EU countries and Switzerland have limited regular immigration to people from European countries. In addition, they welcome highly qualified professionals and super-rich individuals from all continents. "Ordinary" migrants from Africa, Asia, and Latin America are considered a threat to prosperity and security and are largely excluded from legal immigration.

A human right to enter another country exists only for refugees – people who, according to the 1951 Refugee Convention, are subject to individual persecution. War refugees do not fall into this category but are usually protected by the non-refoulement principle in international law, which prohibits the repatriation of people who would face a considerable risk to life and limb in their home country. Many displaced people and job seekers cross borders "irregularly", that is, without legal recognition.

Many of them then (unsuccessfully) seek asylum in order to be able to stay. To avoid repatriation, they move on or go underground and stay in the country without legal recognition.

There is broad agreement in Switzerland that the humanitarian situation of refugees and forcibly displaced people urgently needs to be improved, both in their places of origin and along their escape routes. Migration, by contrast, is discussed controversially. It is often referred to as a crisis, with "waves of migration" threatening Switzerland. This is in contradiction with the low numbers of asylum seekers (2017: approx. 18,000) and immigrants from poor non-European countries (approx. 16,000, not considering emigration). In addition, the positive aspects of migration are largely ignored.

While the national political agenda is dominated by an anti-immigration discourse, actors engaged in global forums for dialogue are thinking about ways of shaping existing migration so that it can contribute to positive economic and social dynamics both in countries of emigration and in countries of immigration.

This position paper describes the extent and the different causes of forced displacement and migration and discusses the potential that migration has for development. It points to political instruments for addressing causes of flight and argues that development cooperation is not suited for that purpose, although it can reduce certain drivers of migration. The paper further highlights tensions between international approaches to shaping migration and the Europe-wide anti-immigration policy. In conclusion, Helvetas outlines its own commitment and formulates its expectations of policymakers and public authorities in the interests of a refugee, migration, and development policy that conforms to human rights. This is not a question of open borders, but one of shaping migration "across borders" to strengthen its positive impact on development processes.

GLOBAL MIGRATION AND FORCED DISPLACEMENT:

TAKING STOCK

Today, a quarter of a billion people live outside their country of origin.
The reasons are diverse: Around 90 per cent have migrated under regular circumstances, based on employment contracts, or under irregular circumstances, in the hope of finding better livelihood opportunities.
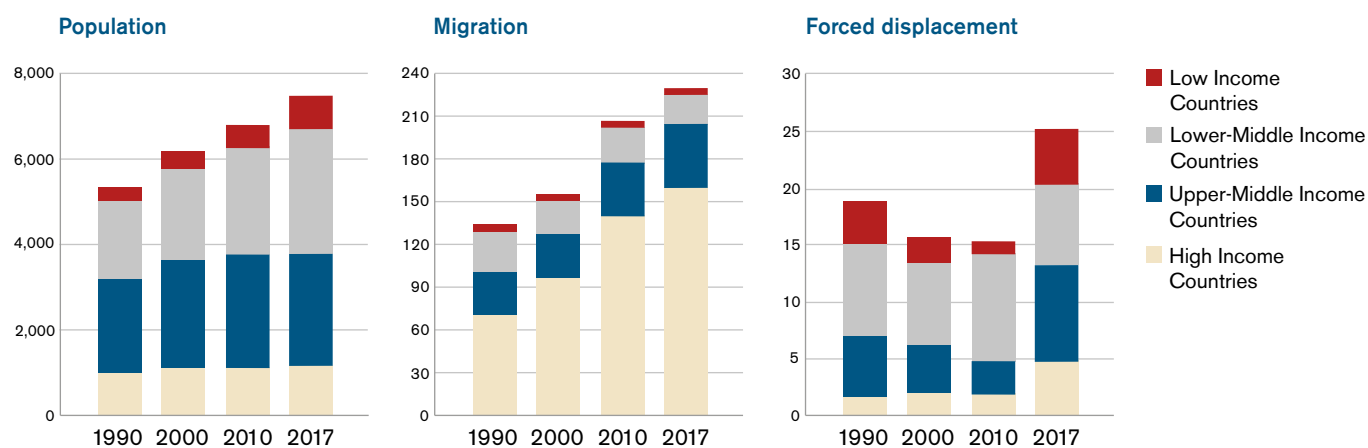The remaining almost 30 million people have fled war, persecution, or disaster.

The worldwide migration routes throw together people fleeing persecution, war refugees, (young) job seekers, unaccompanied minors, environmental and climate migrants, and victims of human trafficking. They are on the move within or between countries or from rural areas to cities, in search of safety, work, or opportunities for a better future. Lacking legal options for immigration, they follow the same, usually dangerous routes. They often depend on the same networks of human smugglers and traffickers. Such "mixed migration flows" are characterised by irregularity, the diversity of triggering factors, and the wide range of needs and profiles of the people migrating.

In the political debate about immigration, it is crucial to distinguish between migration and forced displacement. **Migration** refers to the movement of people who have transferred their domicile to another country for a definite or indefinite period and do not have that country's nationality. Their reasons for leaving their home country are: regular or irregular labour migration to overcome poverty and lack of opportunities; migration to escape natural disasters and climate change impacts; shortage of land; and demographic pressure. By contrast, **forced displacement** is the consequence of individual or collective persecution, conflict, violence, or human rights abuse (see overview on p. 4).

The UN statistics of countries' "migrant stock" – their foreign population – do not distinguish migrants by status nor by their reasons for migrating, and therefore include refugees. Combined with UNHCR data on forced displacement, they clearly show that for decades, migrants have mostly lived in high-income countries, whereas people fleeing conflict and persecution largely seek refuge in middle-income countries. Accordingly, middle-income countries bear the main economic burden associated with hosting refugees. Currently we are seeing a slight increase in the number of refugees in high-income countries (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1: Total population, migration, and forced displacement by country category, 1990–2017 (number of people, in millions)

Data source: UN 2017, UNHCR 2018; graphic by Helvetas

Migration

In the last 30 years, the proportion of migrants in the world population has remained constant at 3.0 to 3.4 per cent. Currently, this amounts to around 260 million people. Three quarters of them come from developing countries. About half of these live in countries of the South and half in countries of the North. Most migrate in search of a safe life and a secure livelihood, and are not deterred by precarious working conditions or other risks.

A quarter of global migration takes place within Asia. The Gulf States alone host 25 million migrant workers, of which 75 per cent come from South and Southeast Asia.

Of the nearly 80 million migrants living in Europe, a good half have migrated within Europe, 20 million come from Asia, and nearly 9 million come from Africa. Most of the latter live in the former colonial powers: the UK, France, Spain, and Italy (Fig. 2).

The worldwide annual rate of change of the migrant stock rose from 1.4 per cent for the period of 1995–2000 to 2.9 per cent for 2005–2010 and then declined to 2.0 per cent for 2015–2017. This corresponds to an annual increase of about 5 million people.

Fig. 2: Migration (including forced displacement) in 2017 by continent (in millions)

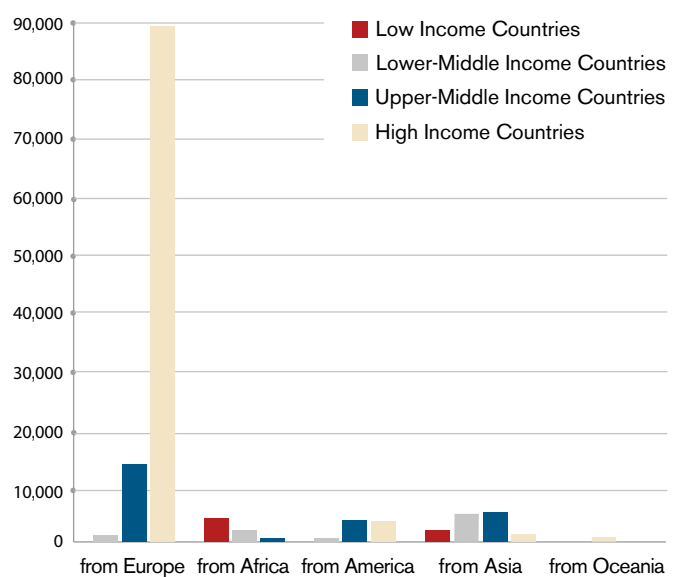| Migrants		From	Within continent		Outside continent		Transcontinental migrants living in					
Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	AS	EU	AF	NA	LAC	OC
105.7	41.0 %	Asia (AS)	63.3	24.6 %	42.2	16.4 %		20.4	1.2	17.2	0.4	3.2
61.2	23.7 %	Europe (EU)	41.1	15.9 %	20.1	7.8 %	7.1		1.0	7.6	1.3	3.1
36.3	14.1 %	Africa (AF)	19.4	7.5 %	16.9	6.6 %	4.4	9.3		2.6	0.1	0.5
4.4	1.7 %	North America (NA)	1.2	0.5 %	3.2	1.2 %	0.5	1.0	0.1		1.4	0.2
37.7	14.6 %	Latin America / Caribbean (LAC)	6.1	2.4 %	31.6	12.2 %	0.4	4.6	0.1	26.3		0.2
1.9	0.7 %	Oceania (OC)	1.1	0.4 %	0.8	0.3 %	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.0	
10.6	4.1 %	Unknown					3.7	1.1	3.0	2.4	0.3	0.1
257.8	100.0 %	Total	132.2	51.3 %	125.6	48.6 %	16.2	36.8	5.4	56.4	3.5	7.3

Data source: UN 2017; graphic by Helvetas

The majority of immigrants to Switzerland come from Europe (2017: 77%) or, more to the point, from high-income countries (70%) (Fig. 3). Only 4,700 of 137,000 immigrants in 2017 came from the 30 poorest African countries; almost 3,000 of these came from Eritrea.

There are no reliable data on the proportion of irregular migration. It is often assumed that 15 to 20 per cent of migrants worldwide live without legal recognition. Irregular migrants are estimated to account for one third or half of all immigrants to industrialised countries.

Internal migration is excluded from migration statistics, as labour migration, rural–urban migration, and marriage migration within countries are virtually impossible to record. For 2005, the UN very conservatively estimated the number of internal migrants worldwide at about 760 million, half of them living in urban areas.

Fig. 3: Immigration to Switzerland in 2017

Data source: SEM 2018; graphic by Helvetas

Female Migration

Women and girls account for half of international migration worldwide. Many women – including well-educated professionals – do care and domestic work in countries of the North, thereby ensuring these countries' prosperity and social reproduction. Despite the importance of their work, they remain largely invisible to the public and unrecognised by policymakers. At the same time, they support livelihoods in the South by remitting money to their families at home. Many of them work in precarious conditions; and often they lack legal protections, fall victim to human trafficking, or are forced into prostitution. Impoverished women are often trapped in debt bondage to money lenders or recruitment agencies. Eighty per cent of the world's 70 million domestic workers are women and girls, and almost 10 million of them work outside their country of origin, mainly in wealthy countries. For most of them, this means humiliation and submission; for many, it also means modern slavery, abuse, and sexual exploitation.

Drivers of Migration

Migration is always a reaction to political, economic, social, religious, demographic, and ecological change. Its root cause lies in today's globalised world and neoliberal economic order, which are further exacerbating economic and social inequality while drastically increasing ecological damage. Inequality and social disparities are becoming increasingly visible thanks to modern communication technology like the Internet and mobile telephony. In addition, autocratic regimes who plunder their country and oppress their people are often tolerated or even courted because they serve the interests of powerful states. Three main driving forces (push factors) of migration are worth mentioning:
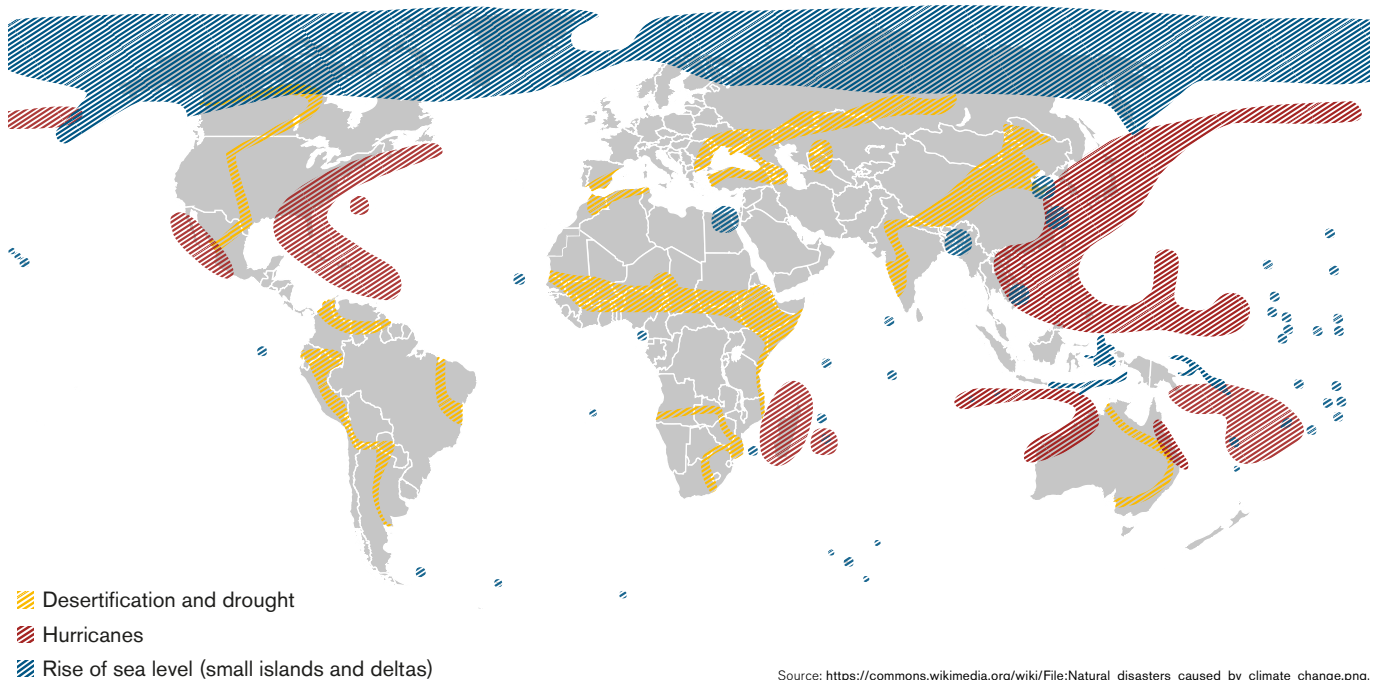
> **Migration as a consequence of global and regional inequality**
This includes drivers such as: **(1)** Poverty, which forces people into regional and South–South labour migration. **(2)** Lack of prospects, dropping prices for local products, dwindling soil fertility, and the spread of industrialised agriculture (keyword: land grabbing), which cause people to move to the nearest city – or farther away, if poor infrastructure and lack of training and employment opportunities prevent people from making a living there. **(3)** Today's international division of labour, which fosters migration of skilled workers, low-wage work at production facilities of international corporations, and seasonal agricultural work. **(4)** The defamilisation of care and nursing, which generates a high demand for domestic workers and geriatric nurses in the North. **(5)** Many people's economic and social expectations that cannot be met by their

Impacts of climate change: Drought in Ethiopia.

Fig. 4: Areas exposed to natural disasters caused by climate change

countries of origin, especially the less developed countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Eastern Europe. **(6)** Finally, dissatisfaction with the lack of employment opportunities and shortcomings in democracy, the rule of law, and infrastructure, which lead members of the growing "middle class" – those who have overcome poverty – to emigrate to more attractive places.

> ### Migration as a consequence of environmental degradation and climate change

Climate change and environmental degradation increasingly act as push factors: **(1)** Sudden events like storms or floods force those affected to move to other parts of the country or to neighbouring countries, with the option of returning later on. **(2)** In the case of slow, gradual changes, such as droughts or the salinisation of water and soil, communities try to adapt at home. Migration is their last resort. **(3)** Sea-level rise leads to irreversible migration to neighbouring regions, mostly in the South (Fig. 4). According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, some 25 million people are newly displaced each year by environmental and climate disasters, especially in the arid areas of Africa, India, and South America, the flood plains of Southeast Asia, and the island states in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The needs and rights of environmental and

climate refugees are set out in the Protection Agenda of the Nansen Initiative (since 2016: Platform on Disaster Displacement). It calls for measures to strengthen people's resilience at home, as well as opportunities for regular migration, resettlement from seismically active zones, and protection of internally displaced persons.

> ### Migration as a consequence of demographic developments

If development efforts fail, population growth in Sub-Saharan Africa risks becoming a major driver of migration. According to forecasts, the region's population will double by 2050, from currently 1 billion to over 2 billion. The reason for this is its young population structure, combined with rising life expectancy, falling infant mortality, and (regionally varying) high fertility rates. Forty per cent of Africa's population is under 15 years of age; the average age is 19. Without investments in sustainable development, young people will increasingly link their future to migration. Efforts to counteract this should focus in particular on political stability, an inclusive economic policy (which promotes education, vocational training, and employment), functioning public infrastructure and services, and protection of natural resources.

Forced Displacement and Expulsion

People flee persecution and human rights abuse, armed violence, deliberate expulsion, and ethnic cleansing. Accordingly, the UNHCR, the agency responsible for international refugee protection, speaks of forced displacement. At the end of 2017, according to the UNHCR, there were 68.5 million forcibly displaced persons worldwide – more than the total population of France, and more than ever since the Second World War. This figure comprised 25.4 million refugees (including 5.4 million Palestinian refugees registered with UNRWA), 3.1 million asylum seekers, and 40.0 million internally displaced persons. A large share of them live in the Middle East and East Africa.

Refugees and Asylum Seekers

Almost half of all refugees and asylum seekers come from the Middle East and North Africa, about one third from Sub-Saharan Africa, and one fifth from Asia. The main countries of origin are Syria (6.3 million), Afghanistan (2.6m), South Sudan (2.4m), Somalia (1.0m), and Myanmar (1.1m). About three quarters of refugees and asylum seekers come from low-income countries, and one quarter from middle-income countries (Fig. 5).
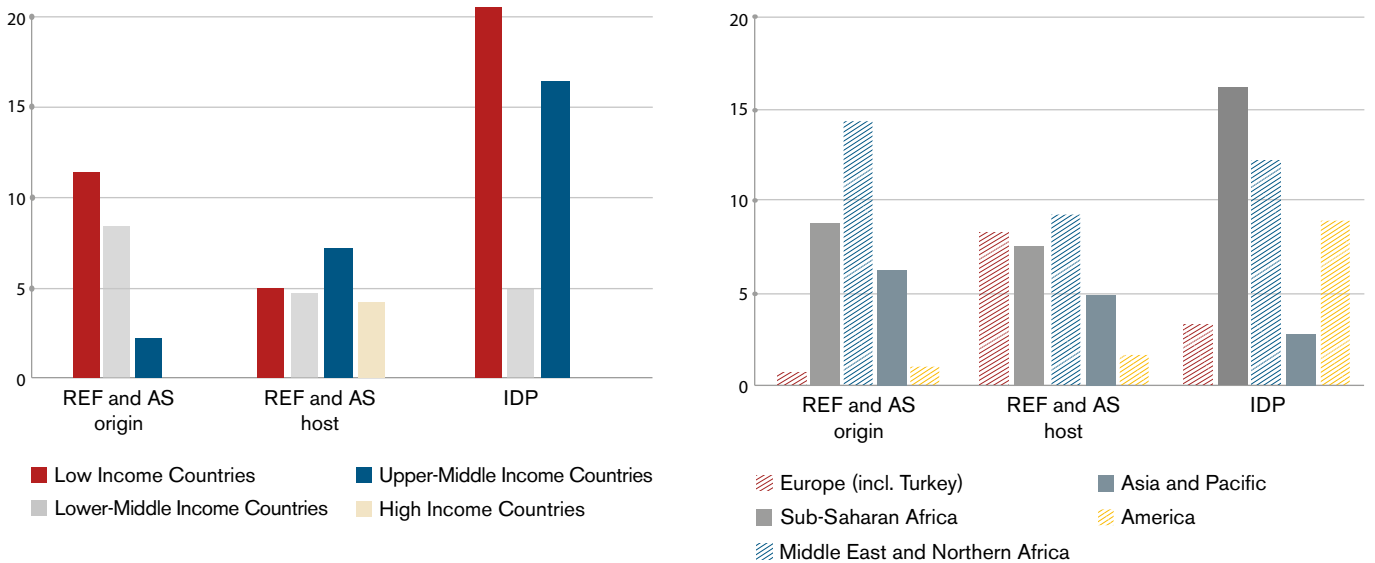
Most refugees find shelter in their region of origin. One of the reasons for this is that most lack the resources it takes to flee to more distant regions. Almost half of all refugees live in Asia or in the Middle East and North Africa, and a quarter lives in Sub-Saharan Africa. The main host countries are Pakistan (1.4 million), Bangladesh (0.9m), Iran (1.0m),

Lebanon (1.0m), and Jordan (0.7m); as well as Uganda (1.4m), Ethiopia (0.9m), and Sudan (0.9m). In Europe, there were 6.1 million refugees and 1.3 million asylum seekers at the end of 2017, most of them in Turkey (3.8m) and Germany (1.4m). Switzerland had 93,000 refugees and 24,000 asylum seekers. Three fifths of all refugees live in middle-income countries; one fifth each lives in low- and in high-income countries (Fig. 5).

In 2017, countries in the South bore the main burden of providing refuge: Lebanon took in as many as 161 refugees per 1,000 inhabitants, followed by Jordan (71), Turkey (43), as well as Chad and Uganda (about 30 each). Most wealthy countries have values (far) below 10, with the exception of Sweden (24) and Austria, Germany, Norway, and Switzerland (11–13 each). The differences in the economic burden are even more pronounced: South Sudan hosted one refugee per USD 10,000 of its GDP in 2017, Uganda one per USD 20,000, Chad one per USD 24,000, and Jordan, Niger, and Lebanon one per USD 50,000. Switzerland has one refugee per USD 7.3 million of its GDP – fewer per GDP than Germany (3.8 million) or Sweden (2.2m) but more than the UK (21.5m) or Spain (74.8m).
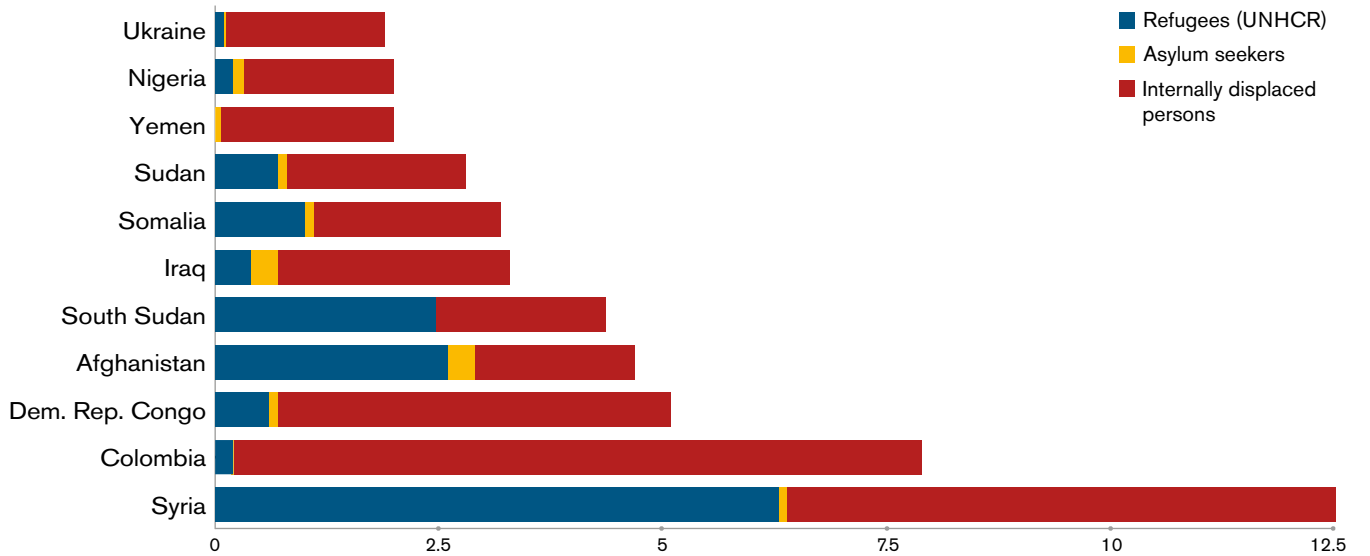
These figures show that industrialised countries like Switzerland carry a very small burden by comparison with many less wealthy countries. This should give them all the more reason to generously support the UNHCR, which protects and improves the lives of people of concern in countries hosting large numbers of refugees.

Fig. 5: Origin and acceptance of refugees (REF), asylum seekers (AS), and internally displaced persons (IDP) in 2017 (numbers of people, in millions) by country category (left) and region (right)

Low Income Countries
Lower-Middle Income Countries
Upper-Middle Income Countries
High Income Countries

Europe (incl. Turkey)
Sub-Saharan Africa
Middle East and Northern Africa
Asia and Pacific
America

Data source: UN 2017, UNHCR 2018; graphic by Helvetas

Fig. 6: Number of forcibly displaced people: main countries of origin in 2017 (in millions)

Legend:
- ■ Refugees (UNHCR)
- ■ Asylum seekers
- ■ Internally displaced persons

Countries (top to bottom): Ukraine, Nigeria, Yemen, Sudan, Somalia, Iraq, South Sudan, Afghanistan, Dem. Rep. Congo, Colombia, Syria

X-axis: 0, 2.5, 5, 7.5, 10, 12.5

Internally Displaced Persons

Most of the 40 million internally displaced persons live in precarious conditions in camps or in simple private accommodation. Two thirds of them live in the Middle East and North Africa and in Sub-Saharan Africa – mainly in Syria (6.2 million), Iraq (2.6), Yemen (2.0), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (4.4), Sudan (2.0), South Sudan (1.9), and Nigeria (1.7). Afghanistan and Ukraine each have 1.8 million registered internally displaced persons. Colombia, after decades of guerrilla warfare, has 7.7 million internally displaced persons (Fig. 5).

The war in Syria has caused a total of 12.6 million people to flee (Fig. 6). Almost half of them are children. Most forcibly displaced Syrians are traumatised, destitute, and in urgent need of help.

Children of internally displaced families in Syria: School lessons in a cave in the Idlib region.

© REUTERS / Khalil Ashawi

Forcibly Displaced Women

About half of all refugees and internally displaced persons are women. They flee persecution, oppression, and armed violence, as well as gender-specific discriminatory norms or gender-specific violence, such as genital mutilation and widow burning. Systematic rape is often part of military war strategies and frequently leaves victims ostracised by their own community.

Women usually flee with their children and elderly family members, without the protection of male family members, because these were killed, captured, or drafted as rebels or soldiers. Women refugees are exposed to high risks both along escape routes and in host countries. Many refugee camps fail to offer the protection necessary to shield them from gender-specific and sexual violence, as the authorities in charge lack awareness of these threats. In addition, women face various forms of discrimination in host countries, such as professional downgrading or dependency of their residence status on their marital status.

Causes of Flight

A refugee is a person who is persecuted "for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" (1951 Refugee Convention, Art. 1). This forms the basis of the right to asylum. Persecution by non-state actors is also recognised under asylum law, unless effective protection is provided by the state of origin or by a quasi-state. Causes of flight include the following, of which only the first two lead to a right to asylum:

> **Persecution.** People are deliberately persecuted and expelled by autocratic regimes and despots. Members of certain groups are excluded and may be exposed to life-threatening violence. Discrimination, persecution, and terror may also come from non-state or quasi-state actors.

> **Violation of civil and human rights.** People suffer from repression or arbitrary imprisonment. The freedoms of expression and association are systematically suppressed. Members of the opposition, media representatives, and people of minority ethnicities, religions, or sexual orientation are discriminated against.

> **Wars.** In zones of war and crises within and between states, people are in danger of physical harm and death, even if they are frequently not persecuted as defined in the 1951 Refugee Convention. They fall victim to hostilities, find their lives and livelihoods shattered, and are forced to flee. Violence is often specifically directed at civilians: Rape – internationally condemned as a war crime – as well as executions, kidnapping, and forced recruitment of young men and children are frequently used as means of warfare.

> **Destruction of livelihoods and infrastructure.** Violent conflicts cause death, injuries, poverty, and hunger. Livelihoods are destroyed, jobs are lost, food becomes scarce, and prices rise. Roads, bridges, power and water supply, schools, and hospitals are damaged or destroyed, and health care is no longer guaranteed. Often, the only way out is to flee.

Pull Factors

In addition to these push factors of migration and flight, there are pull factors: People are attracted to a target region by economic prospects and employment opportunities, political stability and social tolerance, functioning state services, and legal security. At the same time, many industrialised and emerging countries depend on an inflow of both low- and high-skilled workers and promote it, especially for care and childcare work. Pull factors influence the way in which people migrate and flee. Today's information and communication technologies (TV, Internet, mobile telephony, social media, etc.) convey promising images of rich countries and enable close contact with relatives and friends. Worldwide flight connections allow people to move across great distances. Global trade brings goods to every corner of the planet and creates an impression of accessibility. All this has a strong influence on the decisions of people migrating or fleeing regarding their destinations.

As long as push factors exist, people will continue to flee or to migrate – be it to the next city, to a neighbouring country, or to the wealthy "North". Countries of destination cannot prevent this by containing pull factors. Nevertheless, current European migration policy is characterised by an actual competition among governments to deter unwelcome immigration by downgrading statuses, increasing labour restrictions, and limiting access to the social security system.

In order for migration to contribute to inclusive growth and sustainable development in poor countries, it must take place in an enabling environment that respects human rights and human dignity. This is why worldwide migration must be regulated and shaped.
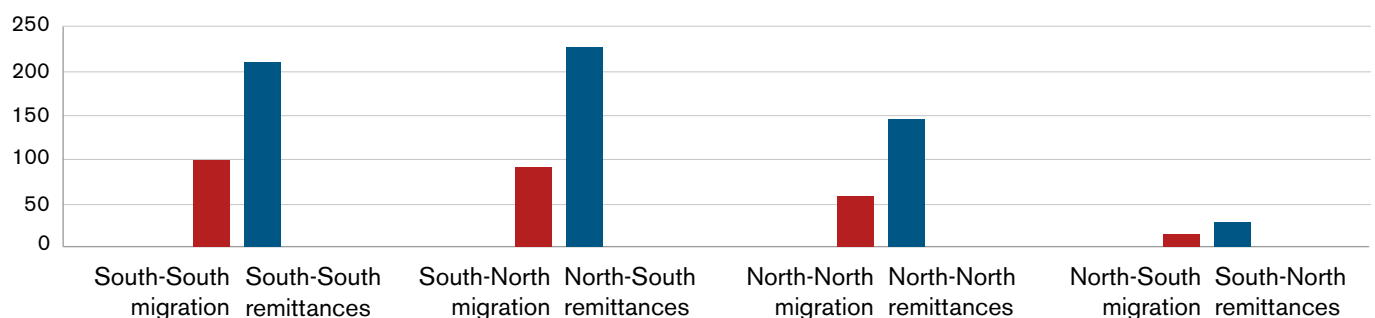
Migration has long been thought to hamper development in poor countries, based on the fact that many educated young people leave their home country, creating a shortage of skilled workers ("brain drain"). This is still the case, especially in the least developed countries. At the same time, however, it is undisputed today that migration can stimulate growth and development both in countries of origin and in countries of destination. For many poor countries, migration is of considerable economic relevance:

> **Emigration.** If labour migrants have access to decent work and are able to improve their professional qualification, their social standing, and their standard of living, they frequently contribute to (local) development in their home country after their return. However, as evidenced by reports on unscrupulous placement agencies and appeals by the International Labour Organisation, decent working conditions cannot be taken for granted, neither during recruitment, nor on the way, nor at the new workplace. At the same time, emigration can be viewed as an opportunity to reduce underemployment in countries of origin. If development

cooperation supports targeted vocational training offers, women and men who have stayed at home can qualify for the labour market and fill emerging gaps.

> **Remittances.** According to the World Bank, worldwide remittances amounted to USD 613 billion in 2017 (Fig. 7). They came primarily from labour migrants, but partly also from refugees. Three quarters of remittances, around USD 466 billion, went to poorer countries. This is over three times as much as the 35 OECD countries taken together spend annually on official development assistance (USD 146 billion). In Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Nepal, and Haiti, remittances accounted for around one third of the gross domestic product in 2017. In view of this economic significance, many poor countries promote labour migration to prevent balance-of-payments problems. Remittances mainly serve to secure the livelihoods of family members at home, but they also contribute to (local) development. They enable households to invest in education and small businesses, and they help to strengthen rural women's independence. To date, however, high transaction costs (7 per cent

Fig. 7: Migration (number of people, in millions) and remittances (in billion USD) within and between "South" and "North" in 2017

Data source: UN 2017, KNOMAD 2017; graphic by Helvetas

on average) encourage the use of informal channels for remittances. This limits the development of domestic financial markets and their use by private households. For this reason, the UN 2030 Agenda aims to drastically reduce the transaction costs of migrant remittances (SDG 10.c).

> **Remigration and knowledge transfer.** Remigration is a development resource that remains little used. Home countries must offer suitable conditions in order for emigrants to be willing to return, put their acquired skills to use, and invest their capital in gainful employment and business start-ups. Such conditions include the rule of law, reduction of financial barriers, a functioning state infrastructure (education, health, administration), and promotion of public and social security. Middle-income countries like the Philippines, Tunisia, and South Africa are quite successfully encouraging their diasporas to transfer knowledge back through economic and scientific networks ("brain gain"). However, this does not usually happen in the least developed countries, which are particularly affected by the emigration of skilled workers.
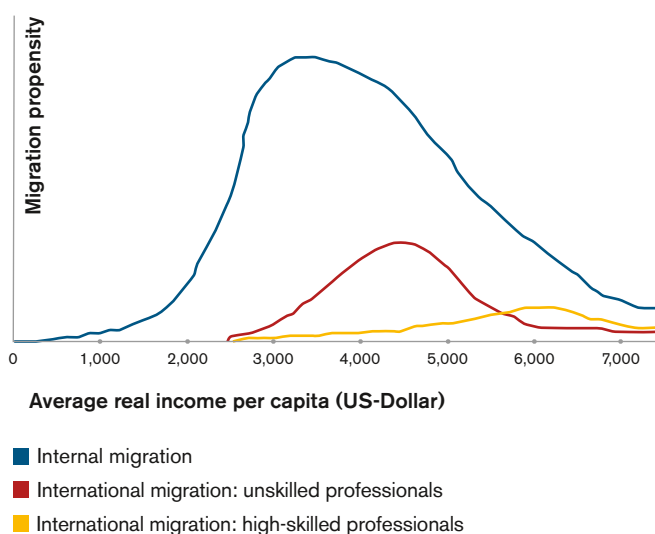
> **Immigration.** Host countries benefit from migrants as well: from their labour and their professional knowledge, from tax and social security contributions, from social and cultural impulses, from innovation, and from their international networks. However, this requires a well-designed and effective integration policy. The potential of immigration for contributing to development is often undermined by employment restrictions, discrimination regarding residence status, and barriers to accessing services and training. Experience shows that with the necessary political will, host countries and countries of origin can significantly improve integration processes and thus optimise positive effects of migration on development in both places.

The "Migration Hump"

Migration scientists widely agree that socio-economic development first promotes migration rather than reducing it. According to the "migration hump" hypothesis, when a poor developing country reaches the status of a "lower-middle-income country" (annual per capita GDP of approx. USD 1,000) thanks to economic growth and investment in education, this leads to an increase first in internal rural–urban migration, then in international labour migration of unskilled workers, and finally in emigration of skilled workers. If the country then develops into an "upper-middle-income country" (annual per capita GDP of approx. USD 4,000), migration begins to gradually decline, because the advantages of emigration are increasingly counterbalanced by higher incomes at home. From around USD 7,000 of annual per capita GDP, labour migration will largely cease to occur (Fig. 8).

However, migration processes are more complex than the "migration hump" hypothesis would have us believe. Other factors also play an important role in the increase and decrease of migration, including demographic change (population growth), structural change in the agricultural sector, the political situation, growing inequality, exclusion, and imitation effects (due to existing diasporas). It would be inadmissible to assume that greater growth and higher incomes in regions like Sub-Saharan Africa would inevitably lead to more and more people migrating (under irregular circumstances) to Europe. Successful sustainable development and good governance – both focus areas of development cooperation – can effectively curb migration.

Fig. 8: The "migration hump"

Average real income per capita (US-Dollar)

■ Internal migration
■ International migration: unskilled professionals
■ International migration: high-skilled professionals

Source: Foraus 2012

FOREIGN POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The only way of effectively addressing causes of flight is through a solidarity-based and coherent foreign policy. Switzerland has various instruments for this purpose, ranging from foreign economic policy to peace and human rights policy. Development cooperation, where it is long-term and comprehensive, can mitigate certain drivers of migration and help secure livelihoods for people in their home countries. But it cannot prevent migration as a whole.

If we consider the different backgrounds of migration and forced displacement, it becomes clear that the political discussion about an alleged "migration crisis" in Switzerland and about the use of development cooperation to prevent it is inadequate in view of the challenges we are facing. Migration statistics for the last 15 years show that most immigrants to Switzerland came from Europe (e.g. 77% of a total 137,000 immigrants in 2017). Immigration from the 47 poorest countries is marginal: As few as 7,000 people immigrated from these countries in 2017, two thirds of them from Eritrea and Syria.

Asylum statistics for the last decades clearly show that the vast majority of asylum seekers arrived from countries characterised by war, violence, persecution, repression, human rights abuse, and state fragility. This has not changed in recent years. Even if many asylum seekers were not persecuted individually as defined in the 1951 Refugee Convention, it would be fundamentally wrong to speak of "abuse of the asylum system":

> In 2017, Switzerland received 18,000 asylum applications. The great majority of asylum seekers (84% of all applications) came from 20 countries of which seven were characterised by severe violent conflicts and twelve more by crises involving lesser degrees of violence.
> Since 2006, applications from the ten most relevant countries of origin have continually accounted for 40 to 75 per cent of applications. These ten countries – Eritrea, Syria, Afghanistan, Turkey, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Guinea, Nigeria, Georgia, and Iraq – are all characterised by war, violence, human rights abuse, political unrest, or fragility.
> Our own evaluation of the 720,000 asylum applications submitted in Switzerland from 1987 to 2017 showed that more than half of all asylum seekers came from conflict or war zones, and one quarter came from autocratic or highly fragile states.

Addressing Causes of Flight

Efforts to address causes of flight must be based on a coherent foreign policy which is suited to implement the constitutional mandate stating that the Swiss Confederation "shall in particular assist in the alleviation of need and poverty in the world and promote respect for human rights and democracy, the peaceful co-existence of peoples, as well as the conservation of natural resources" (Art. 54.2). Furthermore, in addressing causes of flight, the Federal Council should make greater use of suitable political instruments:

> Efforts should centre on shaping **foreign economic policy** in such a way that it promotes development. This includes, among other things, free trade agreements that conform to human rights; investment protection agreements that set social and environmental standards; food and feed import regulations that strengthen food security in developing countries; as well as prevention of illicit financial flows from developing countries and introduction of a fair tax regime.

Causes of flight: Repression and violence against demonstrators.

© REUTERS / Amit Gupta

Rohingya refugee camp Kutupalong-Balukhali in Bangladesh.

Ländliche Berufsbildung: Abschlussklasse in Benin.

> A common **international peace policy** improves the situation in countries experiencing war and violence. Switzerland can use its experience and expertise in providing "good offices" and mediation to initiate and advance negotiations between parties to conflict. Switzerland's efforts in peace policy are already helping to defuse situations of violence in selected places.

> Since 2011, the New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States, an international agenda for action, has been available to guide the difficult task of **transforming fragile systems**. Switzerland can strengthen the New Deal and its five "peacebuilding and statebuilding goals" and, in particular, advocate civil-society participation in its implementation.

> Switzerland can promote **good governance** by making use of its diplomatic and economic relations with rulers of autocratic states. It can leverage these relations to fight corruption and foster compliance with human rights obligations, enforcement of the rule of law, and fulfilment of these states' obligation to protect their own population.

> **Comprehensive humanitarian aid** is needed to alleviate the plight of displaced people in their places of origin and during their flight. Providers of humanitarian aid must protect vulnerable people from violence, give them temporary shelter, and later engage in reconstruction to enable development. This in turn can reduce certain push factors of migration. Switzerland should expand its humanitarian aid as an expression of its solidarity and its humanitarian tradition.

Creating Livelihood Opportunities

To improve people's prospects in their places of origin and reduce certain migration drivers, Switzerland needs to step up its efforts in the following fields:

> **Development cooperation.** Being part of international cooperation, development cooperation has the basic mandate to reduce poverty and exclusion and thereby improve people's prospects in their home country. This is done by means of long-term programmes that focus on things like promoting local value creation, generating employment opportunities, fostering private sector development, strengthening education and vocational training, promoting health and well-being, and improving water supply, as well as strengthening human rights, promoting democracy and peace, and supporting adaptation to climate change. With these activities, development cooperation helps to create socio-economic conditions that can reduce certain drivers of migration and open up local livelihood opportunities for beneficiaries.

> **Climate policy.** Only an ambitious implementation of the Paris Climate Agreement can help to mitigate climate change impacts and thus reduce climate migration. This is also in Switzerland's own interest. Switzerland can and must therefore take the lead in reducing its greenhouse gas emissions as well as in mobilising new and additional financial resources to support adaptation measures in poor countries.

FOREIGN POLICY ON MIGRATION

The Federal Council's foreign policy on migration is a balancing act between international discussions on the relevance of migration for development and domestic political pressure to prevent unwelcome immigration. At the same time, Switzerland is confronted with the inhumane migration policy of the EU.

The Parliament's mandate for the government to "strategically link international cooperation and migration policy by addressing causes of conflict and migration" forces the Federal Council to take into account both the need to shape migration in a way that promotes development and the domestic political demand to prevent migration. Accordingly, Swiss foreign policy on migration tends to be contradictory at times.

Two Global Compacts

Switzerland participates actively in international **dialogues on migration** within the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) and other forums. The aim is to find solutions that are based on a common and shared responsibility of all states and, in view of the relevance that migration has for development, enable the greatest possible mobility of migrants. Migration must be shaped in such a way that it ensures fair and humane conditions for all. These efforts resulted in the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (GCM), which will be adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 2018. The GCM takes up SDG 10.7 of the 2030 Agenda ("Facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies") in its vision of a world in which extensive freedom of movement within (regional) economic areas enables people to contribute to sustainable development. The GCM also aims to guarantee security, set decent conditions for transit, work, and integration, and regulate issues of status and return. Switzerland was actively involved in the GCM from the outset.

Point 4 of the GCM states: "Refugees and migrants are entitled to the same universal human rights and fundamental freedoms [...]. However, migrants and refugees are distinct groups governed by separate legal frameworks.

Migrants from Somalia in a prison in Libya.

© REUTERS / Esam Al-Fetori

Only refugees are entitled to the specific international protection as defined by international refugee law. This Global Compact [...] presents a cooperative framework addressing migration in all its dimensions."

At the same time, in autumn 2016, the UN mandated the UNHCR to work on a "Global Compact on Refugees" (GCR) in order to develop solutions for the growing phenomenon of **forced displacement**, which in many places occurs under inhumane circumstances and involves deliberate exploitation. The GCR aims to strengthen refugees' self-reliance, reduce pressure on host countries, expand access to third countries, and support conditions in countries of origin for a return in safety and dignity. The aim is to achieve predictable and fair sharing of burdens and responsibilities among states and other actors. The division into two global compacts has been criticised in view of the de facto mixed nature of migration and flight movements, but it is justified by the different causes of these movements and the different obligations under international law.

Both global compacts fail to adequately address the **needs of environmental and climate refugees.** They do recognise the need for developing strategies of adaptation to natural disasters, negative consequences of climate change, and environmental damage in order to minimise the drivers of migration. However, both compacts refer to the fundamental responsibility of the countries of origin in this respect.

Anti-Immigration Policies

These UN initiatives are confronted with the anti-immigration policies of many industrialised countries, who prefer to eliminate escape routes rather than causes of flight. European programmes such as the **Khartoum Process** (since 2014), in which Switzerland also participates, aim to prevent irregular migration from Africa to Europe by strengthening local border management. This is done in cooperation with African heads of state, including despots responsible for forced displacement and migration. The result is inhumane conditions in reception camps in Libya, including forced labour, rape, torture, and human trafficking – all documented in shocking reports. This anti-immigration policy is also reflected in the EU's **European Agenda on Migration** of May 2015.

Since 2017, the numbers of asylum seekers in Europe have dropped significantly as a result of inhumane anti-immigration policies as well as changes in conflict zones and along migration routes. Regardless of this development, the EU is continuing to step up its anti-immigration measures, expanding police and military forces, the coast guard, and the Frontex border guard agency in order to turn Europe into a fortress and shift its external borders to North Africa. There are plans for setting up extraterritorial "regional disembarkation platforms" in countries like Libya, Tunisia, Chad, and Niger, or closed camps within Europe if necessary, to process the asylum claims of people intercepted on the Mediterranean or by coast guards. Those granted asylum would be allowed to enter the EU, whereas all others would probably have to remain somewhere in Africa. But this policy will not stop migration; it will only shift it. It will not help to defeat human trafficking gangs, but it will increase the suffering of those affected. The deadly Mediterranean, the strictest of controls, the high cost of being smuggled, and inhumane treatment will not deter people from migrating as long as they have no prospect of a dignified life in their home country.

Switzerland itself relies on **migration partnerships, re-admission agreements, return assistance, and "protection in the region"** to help protect people in their home country, prevent unwelcome immigration, and organise

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Children inside the Moria refugee camp on Lesbos.

successful repatriation of migrants. The aim of concluding migration partnerships is "to develop common solutions […] and to capitalise on the potential that migration can bring". However, the six partnerships concluded between 2009 and 2018 focus primarily on prevention of irregular migration, readmission and reintegration assistance, border management, strengthening of migration authorities, and prevention of human trafficking, complemented by synergies between migration and development, as well as regular migration. Governments of countries of origin would probably be more likely to agree to readmission if, in return, Switzerland were to grant them limited immigration quotas for work and training purposes. However, to date this idea is highly unlikely to gain a majority among Swiss voters.

At the same time, Switzerland pursues humanitarian goals and strives to protect the rights and respond to the needs of migrants outside its own borders. An expression of our country's humanitarian tradition, these efforts must be welcomed and protected. However, the federal offices in charge differ in their interpretations of the objectives of Swiss foreign policy on migration. A coherent "whole-of-government approach" in support of the humanitarian tradition is not in sight.

CROSSING BORDERS:

HELVETAS ON MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Based on its project experience, Helvetas is well aware how important migration is for development. In its work, accordingly, it promotes fair conditions in labour migration within the Global South. At the same time, Helvetas demands of policymakers and public authorities that they support a humane migration policy and step up efforts to combat causes of flight.

Programmes on Labour Migration in the South

With its commitment to gender and social justice and its long-term working areas, which include vocational training, a sustainable economy, as well as the environment and climate change, Helvetas helps to create opportunities in countries of the South, and this in turn helps to reduce future migration within and from these countries. In its work on migration – a key topic of the "governance and peace" working area – Helvetas focuses on "South–South" labour migration and links it to the working areas mentioned above.

Helvetas programmes in Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Benin strengthen the rights of migrants, minimise the risks and costs of labour migration, and increase its impact on local development. The focus is on the protection of human rights, the development impact of remittances, and development of skills and qualifications before, during, and after migration. These programmes, which receive financial support from the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, contribute to social and economic stability. This is also in Switzerland's interest.

In addition, Helvetas is increasingly engaged in providing humanitarian aid for refugees. Currently we are working in the Rohingya refugee camps in Bangladesh, where we are setting up latrines and communal kitchens run on biogas.

The example of Sri Lanka: Most Sri Lankan labour migrants work in the Gulf States and Southeast Asia. Exploitation is the order of the day, and laws to protect migrant workers are largely non-existent. The family members who stay behind are left in a difficult situation, especially when women migrate. Together with local governmental and civil-society actors, Helvetas supports migrant families during the various stages of migration. People who wish to migrate are informed about what to expect and what risks they might face. If they opt for migration, knowing the opportunities and risks involved, they are prepared for this new situation. They are informed about their rights and about organisations they can turn to in the event of abuse or gender-specific violence. Training courses increase their chances of finding better-paid jobs. Returnees benefit from psychosocial support and legal assistance. Families staying behind are advised on how to productively invest remittances, for example in a small business. This makes it easier for migrants to return home after several years of work abroad.

Besides supporting migrant families directly, Helvetas and its partners also stimulate local- and national-level public debate on migration-related topics.

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Employees of an information centre for female migrants.

Development cooperation creates prospects: Owner of a veterinary store with his son, who studies veterinary practice, in the far west of Nepal.

Helvetas' Position on Migration and Development

Alongside its project work, Helvetas participates in forums for dialogue on migration policy, in the GFMD Civil Society Days, and in discussions on the Global Compact for Migration. It co-leads the "Swiss Civil Society Platform on Migration and Development", in which diaspora, migration, and development organisations jointly work on topics relating to the nexus of migration and development. In these various bodies, Helvetas takes the following position:

While Switzerland advocates a global economy with unrestricted mobility of goods, capital, and services – to which it owes a large part of its prosperity – it rejects "global freedom of movement" for people, as the expected influx of migrants would overburden its capacity for integrating them. Helvetas concurs that open borders are not a solution. However, we criticise Switzerland's restrictive regime on immigration and residence, which largely prevents regular migration from developing countries. Instead, Switzerland should adopt a policy that enables migration to contribute more strongly to growth and development. This could include small temporary immigration quotas for vocational training, for example. At the same time, Switzerland should invest in sustainable development that improves living and working conditions in developing countries. This is in its own interest: People who see no future for themselves in their own country or who migrate out of necessity cannot be prevented from doing so as long as their home country has no opportunities to offer.

Helvetas' Position on Forced Displacement

Switzerland should apply its asylum law in a transparent and generous manner, based on the Refugee Convention. At the same time, it should strengthen the UNHCR politically and materially, as the extent of humanitarian emergencies by now far exceeds this global agency's financial resources. Further, Switzerland should increasingly address causes of flight, both bilaterally and within the international community. To this end, it should use the above-mentioned foreign policy instruments, including foreign economic policy, peace policy, and human rights policy. Development cooperation, by contrast, is not suitable for addressing and reducing causes of flight. It combats poverty and exclusion, creates opportunities for people in their home countries, and, by promoting stability and better governance, it can also help to reduce the risk of social and violent conflicts.

Demands on the Federal Council, Public Authorities, and Parliament

Helvetas calls on policymakers and public authorities to pursue a credible and well-founded development and migration policy. All policy areas must be coherently aligned with the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, with the aim of creating conditions for existing migration that are humane and conducive to development. Switzerland should use a coherent foreign policy and long-term development cooperation to help improve the living and working conditions of people in developing countries, so that they can envision a future for themselves in their home country. At the same time, Switzerland should step up its efforts to address causes of flight. To underline this call for action, Helvetas makes various demands on the Federal Council, public authorities, and Parliament:

Regarding Human Security

1. Respect the dignity and rights of all refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants.

The principle enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that all human beings are equal in dignity and rights must remain inviolable when shaping Swiss asylum and migration policy. This requires that debate on migration, refugee, and asylum policy be free of populism and polemics.

2. Offer people in need protection and expand humanitarian aid.

Switzerland should increase its humanitarian aid in crisis zones and along escape and migration routes by investing additional funds. Accommodation structures and routes of mixed migration must be safe, and people in need must be protected against abuse and exploitation. The Federal Council must give special attention to the protection of women and girls. Funds for post-war reconstruction must be significantly increased, as reconstruction also helps to prevent migration. However, these funds must not be taken from the development cooperation budget.

Insufficient protection against abuse and exploitation: A refugee camp in Benghazi, Libya.

© REUTERS / Esam Al-Fetori

Regarding Forced Displacement

3. Strengthen the role of work on conflicts and fragility within Swiss foreign policy.

The Federal Council should increase its use of Switzerland's "good offices" to support negotiations between parties to conflict. The government's efforts to promote human rights and peacebuilding can contribute to conflict transformation and to overcoming fragility. Export of war material to countries with internal armed conflicts must not be permitted under any circumstances. At the same time, we call on the Federal Council to intensify the fight against corruption and to demand compliance with the principles of good governance, especially vis-à-vis autocratic rulers in fragile states.

© REUTERS / Isaac Urrutia

Internally displaced persons in their shack in Colombia.

Regarding Migration

4. Continue to engage in development cooperation to reduce poverty and exclusion while creating opportunities.

The basic legal mandate of development cooperation to combat poverty and exclusion and to create opportunities for poor and disadvantaged people in their home countries is more relevant than ever. A future focus must be on vocational training and employment creation. This commitment must be strengthened with additional resources. In order for development cooperation to remain effective, it must not be subordinated to national migration and asylum policy objectives.

5. Significantly increase efforts towards an effective climate policy.

Switzerland has a responsibility to implement the Paris climate agreement immediately and ambitiously. This includes efforts to limit global warming as well as increased support of adaptation measures for the benefit of poor and vulnerable communities in developing countries. Effective implementation requires strict carbon legislation as well as new and additional financial resources that are not taken from the development cooperation budget. At the same time, the Federal Council should work to ensure that climate migration receives due consideration in international migration policy.

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Impacts of climate change in Bangladesh: A flooded rainwater collection tank.

Regarding Foreign Policy on Migration

6. Participate in shaping fair international regulations on migration.

The Federal Council should advocate fair implementation of the two new UN global compacts for migration and on refugees. It should also take them as an opportunity to have a domestic political debate on the significance of migration for development, on forced displacement and its causes, on protection, dignity, and rights of migrants (irrespective of status), on combating drivers of migration, and on the role of international cooperation.

7. Ensure that Swiss foreign policy on migration is in line with human rights.

Helvetas calls on Switzerland to place the dignity and rights of migrants at the centre of its foreign policy on migration – with particular attention given to the precarious situation at the "EU external borders" in North Africa. Switzerland should engage in migration partnerships that are fair and conducive to development, take account of migrants' interests, and ensure legal security for migrants.

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Creating prospects in countries of origin: Carpenter training in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia.

Regarding Immigration Policy

8. Design a forward-looking, need-based policy on immigration and migrant integration.

Being aware of the economic importance that immigration has for Switzerland, the Federal Council should design a forward-looking, need-based immigration policy aimed at achieving broad social equality for the entire population in terms of rights and obligations. This requires effective integration measures (including language training, recognition of professional qualifications, and mutual respect of one another's dignity and values). Switzerland should also create the possibility of simplified temporary immigration from outside Europe for work and training purposes, by means of quotas. This would address the brain drain from developing countries by fostering the return transfer of knowledge and skills. To support these measures, the Federal Council should increase public awareness of the importance of immigration for Switzerland's economy and society.

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Creating prospects in Switzerland: A young Syrian refugee at a kindergarten in the Canton of Zurich.

HELVETAS **Swiss Intercooperation**

Helvetas position papers address Swiss policymakers, public authorities, and civil society. They take up topics relevant to development policy and comment on Swiss debates and Switzerland's political action in relation to these topics.