



GLOBAL COMPACT FOR MIGRATION: A new outlook for the Civil Society on strengthening the global governance of migration?

Authors:

MARIA JAGON, University of Utrecht

NIKOLETT TAKACS, Miskolc Doctoral School of Law

VIKTORIYA MIHAYLOVA, Vienna University of Technology

Agency: IOM

Mentors: MARIA-ALEXANDRA BASSERMANN

Counsels:

LUCIA MOKRÁ

JUDITH KOHLENBERGER

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Abstract

This research investigates the role of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in the global governance of migration as stated by the Global Compact for Migration (GCM). A significant gap in research related to this topic paired with the large number of strongly committed CSOs engaged in this field, highlights the salience of the specific research question at hand. We found that the 'civil society' is explicitly mentioned by the GCM in only three objectives that focus on local activities in sending countries and first places of arrival. Using semi-structured interviews with representatives from CSOs, we found a significant lack of awareness among CSOs regarding their role in the GCM and its implementation. Furthermore, there seems to be a deficit of communication and trust between the state and civil society. A framework that adequately addresses the needs of all actors and creates opportunities for transparent communication will help to support an efficient involvement CSOs in the future of migration governance and improve collaboration between all stakeholders involved.

Keywords: civil society, Global Compact for Migration, IOM, migration governance, multi-level governance

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GLOBAL COMPACT FOR MIGRATION: A new outlook for the Civil Society on strengthening the global governance of migration?

Maria Jargon, Nikolett Takacs, Viktoriya Mihaylova

1 Introduction

In 2015, more than one million refugees arrived in Europe amongst others fleeing from conflict zones and persecution or leaving poor living conditions in search for a better life. In the context of these movements, the UNHCR (2016) observed:

“The international community was caught unprepared for such large numbers of people. While significant achievements have been made by many of the countries in terms of humanitarian assistance, the overall response has remained unstructured.” (p.8)

This is also illustrated by the large number of civil society organisations (CSOs) responding to the needs in the field and thereby taking over roles of other stakeholders who were lacking the capacity in the face of increasing human mobility (Panizzon & van Riemsdijk 2018). Looking ahead, it is highly likely that future migration governance, especially field and operational activities will increasingly fall under the responsibility of non-state actors (Thouez 2018). This highlights the need for a reconsideration of existing power hierarchies and an emphasis on the role of non-state actors.

1.1 Why does the involvement of CSOs in the governance of migration matter?

The involvement of CSOs in the governance of migration is crucial for a number of reasons. The increasing number of CSOs engaged with migration demonstrates their importance and this is further supported by a strong and effective commitment at all stages of migration (i.e. in the countries of departure, along the migration routes and in the countries of destination) (Ambrosini & Van der Leun 2015). At the same time, they have an influential position in their role of exercising political pressure (Banulescu-Bogdan 2011). They can be described as a bridge between the state and the migrants being in direct and daily contact with the migrants in their work, thereby being able to genuinely represent and advocate their needs (Schierup 2018).

1.2 The Global Compact for Migration (GCM)

A call for a solution on a global level has brought migration to the forefront of the national and global policy agenda which finally resulted in the [Global Compact for Migration \(GCM\)](#). First, in January 2016, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) adopted the [2030 Agenda for](#)

[Sustainable Development](#) which consists of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and their associated targets. One of the urgent targets of Goal 10 is to “facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies”, recognising the importance of migration towards sustainable development. Referring to this document, on 19 September 2016, the UNGA hosted a High-Level summit that was, for the first time, exclusively dedicated to the global governance of migration.¹ This resulted in the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants that was agreed on by all 193 members states of the United Nations (UN). Within this declaration, all the member states committed to jointly develop the GCM. The compact is the first intergovernmental agreement to cover all dimensions of international migration in a holistic and comprehensive manner. Although it is not legally binding, it represents a cooperative framework for better managing migration at local, regional and global levels. In consistence with target 10.7. of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the objective of the GCM is to cooperate internationally to facilitate orderly, safe and responsible migration. The compact was officially adopted on a high-level conference on the 10th and 11th of December 2018.

1.3 The International Organization for Migration (IOM)

The UN summit in 2016 and the surrounding circumstances created the final incentives needed to bring the IOM officially into the UN system (Thouez 2018). This happened on 19 September 2016 by former UN Secretary-General William L. Swing. It has been argued that this was a crucial step for the UN to be able to deal with the global issue of migration that had only recently been added to their agenda (Siegfried 2016). With regards to the GCM, the IOM has been one of the main parties supporting the preparatory and negotiation processes by providing technical and policy expertise. Moreover, the IOM will be one of the lead coordinators in the implementation of the GCM. More specifically it will, for example, coordinate the UN migration network, which is supposed to assist countries in the implementation of the GCM. It is the task of the UN, the IOM and other agencies involved in the implementation of the GCM to use this opportunity to coordinate and harmonize all the diversity of actors and interests (Gammeltoft-Hansen et al. 2017, Micinski 2018).

1.4 What is this research about?

While different concerns may be raised related to the GCM, this paper focuses on the role of civil society organisations (CSOs) in the governance of migration as stated by the GCM. Up until now, civil society (CS) activity in the area of migration was often based less on formally assigned competence, but more on the resources available to the CS (Conzelmann 2008). Moreover, as no official structures were in place, operations of the CSOs rather happened in a reactive manner in response to the needs of the situation. Now, the GCM represents the opportunity to create an

¹ The goal of the summit was to address the large movements of refugees and migrants and bringing countries together behind a more humane and coordinated approach.

official point of reference for both - CS and state - and to make the role of CS in the governance of migration explicit. In other words, this compact is a first-time opportunity to officially assign competencies (i.e. certain areas of responsibility) to civil society.

As the latest draft of the GCM has been finalised and the GCM is expected to be adopted in December 2018, we pose the following research questions: How can CSOs contribute to strengthening the global governance of migration? What concrete competencies/tasks are explicitly assigned to civil society to strengthening global governance of migration as stated in the GCM? Does the CS possess the relevant capacities to exercise these competencies? To answer these research questions, we analysed the [final draft of the GCM](#) as released in July 2018 and conducted semi-structured interviews with representatives of CSOs.

The compact analysis revealed that the term “civil society” was explicitly mentioned under three objectives referring to activities in sending countries and first places of arrival. These results in combination with the outcome of our interviews show that a greater recognition of the role of the CS is required on the local, national and global level. Moreover, we found out that there was a striking lack of awareness among CSOs about their possible role in the implementation of the GCM. An urgent “translation” of the compact into practical meaning is required for a better understanding and coordination of all stakeholders involved which may prevent a possible capability gap. In the implementation of the GCM and the future of migration governance, we need, above all, trust building and collaboration between state and CSOs.

1.5 What are the contributions of this paper?

Due to the recency of the topic, little research has addressed the implementation phase of the GCM so far. Thus, the study of possible challenges that may arise is of vital importance for all the UN agencies involved in the implementation of the compact. Within the academic literature on the topic of the ‘global governance of migration’, it has been criticized that the CS is often not considered as a relevant actor and research focuses mostly on ‘migrants as objects of the governance of migration’ (Rother 2013). Moreover, especially within the research using the multi-level governance (MLG) of migration, there is almost no research on ‘shifting out of responsibilities to CSOs, especially on migrant issues’ (Caponio & Jones-Gorera 2017). Furthermore, it is to be noted that the initial studies of MLG were mostly focused on the vertical dimension, i.e. the different levels of government. However, the horizontal dimension which encompasses all the stakeholders, including the civil society, has received increasing attention over the years (Marks and Hooghe 2004).

Taking this into consideration, the contributions of this research are twofold. First, we may help to identify suitable strategies and action points on how to best support the implementation of the GCM and to ensure effective cooperation between the state and civil society on the issues of international migration. Second, this paper can help to gain further insights into the multiple layers of the governance of migration and contribute to the theoretical discussion of the shift of migration governance from a national to an international level. An examination of civil society in the multi-

level governance of migration is a necessary and important step to contribute to the theoretical discussion on that topic.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. The next part Section 2 starts by defining the main concepts followed by a description of the theory used and continues with highlighting the importance of CSOs in the field of migration governance. Thereafter, we give some background information on the GCM and its possible implications for CSOs. This is followed by an outline of the concept of the capability gap and its relevance for this paper. Section 3 gives an overview of previous studies on the topic. The fourth part includes a description of the research design and the methods. The fifth section describes our findings, followed by a discussion, a description of the limitations and finally our recommendations.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Definitions

There is no universally accepted definition of what *civil society (CS)* entails and definitions tend to differ across areas. We are going to adopt the definition by the World Bank (2013) for our research, which is widely accepted and used in academic and international development circles:

“The civil society refers to the wide array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations that have a presence in public life and express the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) therefore refer to a wide array of organizations: community groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), labour unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, and foundations.”

Importantly, CSOs are not only active on a local and national level. In a globalizing world, many local problems have global origins, and accordingly, the activity of CSOs is increasingly taking place also on an international level (Krut et al. 1997). As will be outlined later, the empirical part of this paper focuses on NGOs as representatives of CSOs.

According to the IOM (2004) *migration* is a movement of a person or a group of persons within a state or across an international border. It includes any kind of population movement regardless of its causes, length or composition. Migration encompasses refugees, economic migrants, displaced persons, family reunification or any other purpose for the movement of people.

Global governance can be described as the way in which global affairs are managed and typically involves a range of actors including states, as well as regional and international organizations. It is the regulation that exists over and above the level of the nation-state, whether at the international, supranational or transnational level (Betts 2008). *Global migration governance* are the norms, organizational structures and rules that regulate and facilitate the behavior of the states and other actors' responses to population movements across borders (Betts & Kainz 2017). In line with the focus of this research, these definitions entail a range of different actors besides the state and

emphasize the existence of non-legally binding rules thereby encompassing documents such as the GCM.

2.2 Theories

In the study of CSOs in the global governance of migration, there are different theoretical approaches that could be applied. First of all, Organisational Theory (OT) by Kahn (1989) outlines different approaches to organizational analysis and talks about the internal distribution of powers within an organization, its structure and the interrelations of various organisational elements. However, rather than conducting an organizational analysis, we aim to focus on the active role of CSOs in implementing certain competencies. Additionally, OT assumes that organizations are highly independent actors while the interrelatedness of CSOs and other stakeholders in migration governance is an essential assumption that we make. Second, International Organisation Theory (IOT) has a similar focus than the OT. Nevertheless, it considers international organizations as solely intergovernmental organizations (Samuel 2006) thereby excluding CSOs completely. Finally, when studying the activity of CSOs many scholars refer to the theory of human rights by Jack Donnelly (2007). We also discarded this theory as we do not look through the lens of human rights but more broadly investigate CSO engagement on the different levels of migration governance and the challenges that could arise in the implementation of the GCM.

Thus, for the purpose of this research paper, we decided to take the multi-level governance (MLG) theory as the most appropriate approach that can adequately capture all the facets of this research as described below.

2.2.1 *Multi-level migration governance*

The concept of multi-level governance (MLG) was first introduced by Marks (1993) in the context of EU politics. While definitions tend to vary across the field, the most common definition can be found in Marks and Hooghe (2004): ‘The dispersion of authority away from central government – upwards to the supranational level, downwards to subnational jurisdictions, and sideways to public–private networks’. According to Caponio & Jones Correa (2017), the various definitions of MLG in literature all seem to encompass three features inherent in MLG: (1) the involvement of different levels of government, i.e. the multilevel aspect; (2) the involvement of non-governmental actors at different governmental levels and (3) the emergence of complex, heterogeneous, and non-hierarchical networks among autonomous and interdependent actors.

The regulation of international migration was traditionally under the responsibility of the nation-state, but an MLG approach to the field has emerged as responsibilities were shifted not only to other levels, but also other actors on all levels (Scholten and Penninx 2016). On the one hand, the states themselves tried to transfer their competencies with regard to migration policies to a higher level (i.e., to international or supranational institutions), to a lower level (i.e., authorities acting on a local level) or to non-public actors on both levels. On the other hand, the same institutions from all levels, including civil society, attempted to gain influence on the issue by mobilizing themselves independently (Caponio & Jones Correa 2017). We could say that the MLG of migration is the

framework that captures these interactions between different levels of government including a range of state and non-state actors (see Figure 1).

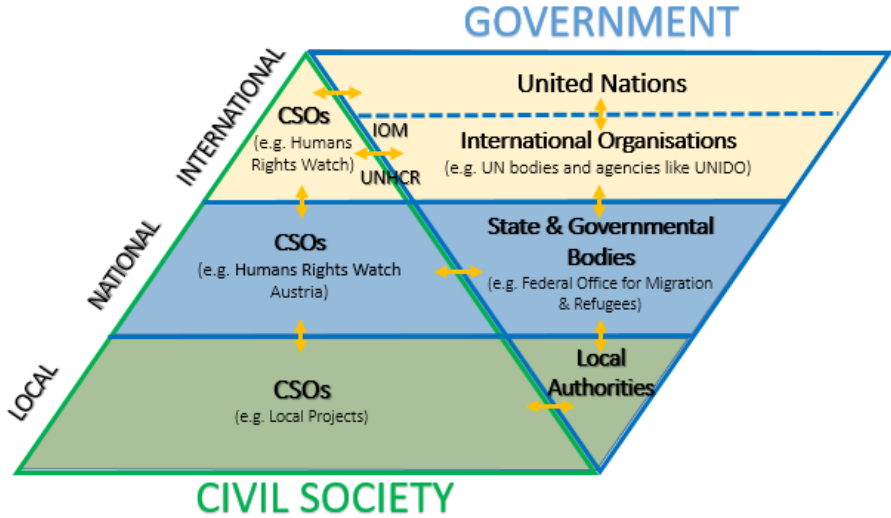


Figure 1: The multi-level structure of migration governance ²

In the MLG approach of migration, CSOs are highly important for a number of reasons. First of all, the number of migration CSOs has steadily increased over the years as they have continuously demonstrated a strong commitment in the field being present at all stages of migration along the migration routes. Moreover, CSOs have an influential role with regards to their social movement activity and continue to exert political pressure. Second, CSOs can respond to concrete situations more quickly as opposed to state actors who are obliged to follow formal procedural steps in their actions. Third, the activity of CSOs is not limited to a single level, but can be found on the local, national as well as the global level. On the local level, CSOs are service providers and work directly at, for instance, refugee camps, providing shelter and food, access to medical examinations and to legal aid, facilitating first arrival, saving lives at sea and promoting long-term integration. At the national and global level, CSOs represent its regional partners, organise the cooperation between lower-level CSOs, act as advocates for policy solutions in global summits on migration governance or as watchdogs for states and intergovernmental actions

The GCM, migration governance and civil society

The GCM is the first ever negotiated global agreement on a common approach to guiding migration in a holistic manner. Importantly, despite the transboundary nature of migration that naturally demands global collaboration, there was no formal multilateral institutional framework up until now. Instead, the global governance of migration has repeatedly and consistently been described as fragmented and incoherent (Betts 2011). Reasons behind the difficulty to establish international cooperation include conflicting interests, asymmetrical power, state sovereignty, negative public opinion, competition, and disagreement on burden sharing to name a few (Micinski and Weiss 2018). Figure 2 sketches a timeline of global migration governance, illustrating how international cooperation on international migration has changed over the years and has

² Note that the graphic does not provide any examples for local authorities on the government side as in the majority of countries there are no separate bodies dealing with migration governance at the local level, but it is integrated across a range of departments.

increasingly been recognized as a global issue. Note that the UN Convention on the Rights of All Migrant Workers is one of the few legally binding documents and ratified by only a relatively small number of states (OHCHR 2014). Now, the GCM has the potential to be a coherent and comprehensive global approach to address the increasing human mobility of today and to begin to eradicate the fragmentation in international migration law.

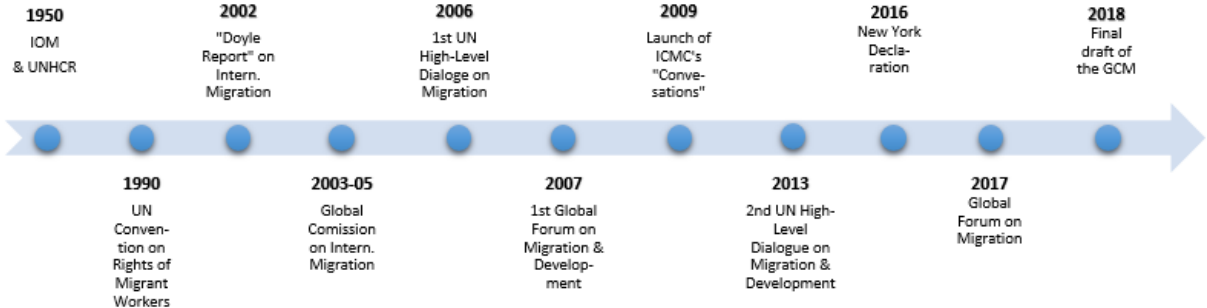


Figure 2: Timeline of Global Migration Governance (based on Betts 2010)

Importantly, the GCM is not a treaty and has no legally binding power, thus does not prescribe how the states have to implement it. The main reason for choosing such a ‘soft-law’ instrument is most likely based on conflicting interest among all the member states who were more likely to agree on a non-binding compact. In order to achieve a legally binding convention, diplomatic negotiations are needed that can take years until a consensus is achieved. Furthermore, the hope is that this form will ease implementation as the GCM merely provides a framework for all the participating states who can freely develop their own legislation in conformity with the aims of the compact. Besides, it is notable that we have seen that other soft law instruments have become hard law throughout the years. Take for example the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which started off as a non-binding UN General Assembly resolution adopted in 1948. The rights included in it are now seen as basic rights every human is entitled to. This way a soft law instrument can be the first step in a law making process and several binding rules can build upon this instrument.

The GCM also offers the opportunity to assign formal and explicit competencies to CSOs in the area of migration. Broadly speaking, the document contains a range of principles, objectives, and understandings among the Member States regarding international migration that stem from existing international law instruments and map out best practices in all areas of migration policy. Moreover, a number of possible actions strategies are advised for states to draw from in developing their framework for implementation. By promoting to involve CSOs in these actions, the GCM is an opportunity to make the competencies of CSOS, which they are already been exercising but not formally agreed upon, explicit. Moreover, by officially calling for CS involvement, the GCM can also provide a legal basis for CSO action to be carried out in the field, eradicating possible interferences of different stakeholders. In other words, other stakeholders cannot question their competence and authority in certain areas as easily. Thus, their position can be precisely defined eliminating discrepancies or misunderstandings that existed with regard to their position before. By mentioning CSOs in the GCM, one calls attention to the necessity of recognizing the importance of CSOs in the field and supporting them.

2.2.2 *The capability gap*

Taking a closer look to the into the MLG approach to migration one can identify what has been called a capability gap (i.e. an implementation gap). This phenomenon was first introduced by Hill (1993) in the context of the European Community (EC) and its role as an international actor. More specifically, he identified a gap between what third parties expected of the EC and what it was actually able to deliver in terms of foreign policy. Most importantly, his article points out that it is not sufficient to simply assign certain competencies to any 'political unit' but that a careful consideration of the existing capacities is necessary in order to prevent a capability gap.

The capability gap, migration governance and civil society

If we apply this to the concept of MLG of migration, one could argue that a similar capability gap could arise. The stakeholders involved in the arena of migration include states, regional institutions, international organizations, private sector actors, CSOs, migrants and diaspora communities. Moreover, depending on the specific actor, their activity takes place on a range of different levels (global, regional, national, and subnational). On top of that, they may not only be involved in migration but be concerned with other tasks as well. Take the example of the UN who is situated at the global level and deals with a wide range of issues besides migration. Thus, due to the complex multi-level nature of migration governance encompassing a variety of actors at different levels and the limited resources they naturally possess a capability gap could arise. Most importantly, this will especially be the case if the tasks at hand and the cooperation of different actors are not clearly regulated.

This research sets out to explore if a similar capability gap could arise for CSOs in the context of the GCM. Depending on the CSO, their type of work or their location, they may have very different resources available and may not have the capacity to fulfil the competencies as assigned to them in the GCM. Such a capability gap, in turn, does not only hinder effective cooperation of the stakeholders involved but would be in the way of fulfilling the aim of the GCM, namely facilitate safe, orderly, and regular migration. In sum, it is of utmost importance to consider the multi-level structure of the governance migration expressed in the complex interplay of the different actors on different levels in combination with possible limited capacities of CSOs to hopefully prevent a so-called capability gap.

3 State of the Art

Most of the publications on the GCM so far include more general comments on the content and form of the GCM (e.g. Gammeltoft-Hansen et al. 2017; Guild & Basaran 2018) or recommendations on the further process (e.g. International Centre for Migration Policy Development 2017). One study by Appleby (2018) mentions that within the Zero Draft released in February 2018 the role of the civil society in achieving the compact's goals remains relatively vague, but no details are provided. Micinski (2018) conducted interviews and examined the operational components of the GCM and the role of the key stakeholders. He emphasizes that CS can be a very important actor for the purpose of achieving the integration of migrants into their

host communities, ensuring fair working conditions and securing the well-being of migrants and their hosts. Moreover, he concludes that CSOs play a key role in supporting migrants and advocacy and that effective cooperation between states and the CSOs in the future of migration governance will be crucial.

In the context of the GCM and MLG of migration, some first research has started to investigate the role of civil society within the consultation phase of the GCM. Scholars have mainly focused on the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD), the international meeting for a dialogue on migration and development between governments and civil society. Rother (2018) emphasizes the limited internalisation of the multi-stakeholder norm, especially outside the GMFD (see also Ålund and Schierup 2018). At the same time, the GFMD has been criticised to not be more than an “invited” space, where the possibilities for participation and interaction with the governments are rather limited (Wise 2018). Caponio and Jones-Gorera (2017) summarize that the role of non-governmental actors within MLG arrangements is still relatively unclear and research on “shifting out” of responsibilities to CSOs, especially on migrant issues is scarce.

In summary, due to the recency of the topic, research on the topic is still limited and the role of civil society in the GCM and migration governance is relatively unclear. However, there is an agreement on the key role and need for an increasing involvement of the civil society in the future of migration governance. With our research we are one of the first study according to our knowledge, to systematically identify which competencies the GCM assigns to civil society. Thereby, we hope to add to the literature by identifying possible changes in the future of migration governance, specifically with regards to civil society. Moreover, by complementing the analysis with semi-structured interviews, we can also identify possible critical areas one should pay attention to in the implementation of the GCM that may have not been considered yet. This, in turn, can help the agencies involved in the implementation of the GCM to identify suitable action strategies.

4 Research Design and Methods

For the present research, we make use of triangulation. Triangulation is defined as ‘mixing of data or more methods so that diverse viewpoints or standpoints cast light upon a topic’ (Olsen 2004). Thus, the purpose of this approach is to collect evidence from at least two sources in order to facilitate credibility (Bowen 2009). It also allows us to reduce potential biases as the available evidence can be verified by different sources. Hence, employing a qualitative methodological focus, this research is going to combine document analysis with semi-structured expert interviews.

4.1 Document analysis

Document analysis refers to systematically reviewing or evaluating documents, which may entail both printed and electronic material. Furthermore, according to Bowen (2009), it is a vital part of the majority of triangulation schemes. For that reason, we adopted this method and started our analysis by looking for the use of the phrase ‘civil society’ in the final draft of the GCM document. To be more specific, we identified the frequency and context of occurrence as explicitly stated. It

is to note that we could have also additionally identified the parts where civil society is more implicitly mentioned, as for example in the term ‘other stakeholders’. However, this was beyond the scope of this paper. From the gained information we identified the competencies that were directly assigned to the CS by the GCM. Furthermore, these preliminary results were used to develop the interview questions for the semi-structured interviews.

4.2 Semi-structured expert interviews

Further, we used semi-structured expert interviews to complement our first document analysis. Thereby, we aimed to fill the remaining information gaps on the future role of CSOs in the governance of migration targeting possible critical areas leaning on the concept of the capability gap. Using semi-structured expert interviews is an appropriate assessment method to do so based on complexity of the topic of migration governance and the limited sources of information that are available with regards to the implementation of the GCM. Moreover, the flexibility of this type of interviews provided us the opportunity to clarify answers or elaborate on questions in case of misunderstanding. Importantly, since the compact will only be implemented by the end of 2018 one can only speculate about future ‘problems’ and little systematic and complete information is available. CS actors have first-hand experience in the field and can point out critical areas or problems which need to be addressed in the future with regards to the capacities of the CS and the implementation of the GCM.

4.3 Contacting of interview participants and research instruments

Based on a first analysis of the compact and the identification of certain areas of CS activity of interest to the current project, a considerable number of CSOs active on all levels of migration governance were contacted. We gained the contacts from a thorough internet research on targeted (interview) participants but also from our personal network. Due to the limited scope of this research and limited accessibility to interview partners, we mainly contacted NGOs knowing that CSOs encompass a broader range of organizations. Interview partners were contacted by personal emails, including basic information on the project on an information sheet (see Appendix A). If the approached person showed interest in participating in the study, we sent them the Interview Questions (see Appendix B) which we designed according to our aims of the research questions and crucial issues identified during the literature review. In one case, the interview was conducted in person and in all of the other cases, the interviews took place via Skype. The participants were asked to read and sign the Consent Form (see Appendix C) before the interview.

4.4 Interview analysis

To analyse the interviews, we started with the transcription of the verbal conversations. This was done by leaving out side-tracks and concentrating on the relevant parts. This was followed by a thematic content analysis of the narratives and included the following steps. We read and re-read the interview materials before sorting them according to the five main themes and their respective

sub-questions (introduction; the global compact for migration; stakeholder cooperation; capacities vs. competencies and concrete suggestions for action plans). We proceeded with searching for patterns in the answers to the specific questions and themes. One example is that we looked for similar or differing opinions with regards to the influence of the GCM on the current work of CSOs.

5 Results

5.1 Content analysis of the Global Compact for Migration (GCM)

The analysis of the GCM was based on the final draft of the compact from the 13th of July. The Compact is divided into a preamble, vision and guiding principles, objectives and commitments, implementation and follow-up and review. The preamble entails the existing international agreements and conventions the GCM is based on and gives a short introduction of the compact process and its goals. The vision includes a description of the underlying common understanding, the unity of purpose and the shared responsibilities. Under objectives and commitments, one can find 23 objectives for safe, orderly and regular migration. Each objective contains a commitment that is followed by a number of action strategies that are considered to be relevant policy instruments and best practices. The implementation section addresses how the compact is planned to be implemented and reflects the multi-level nature of migration governance as it states: “We require concerted efforts at global, regional, national and local levels, including a coherent United Nations system” and “We will implement the Global Compact through enhanced bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation and a revitalized global partnership in a spirit of solidarity.” (p. 32) Finally, the follow-up and review describe how the implementation progress will be monitored and also names important actors and forums to actively get involved and support this process.

We found that civil society was explicitly mentioned under three objectives as stated below.

Objective two calls for minimizing the adverse drivers and structural factors that compel people to leave their country of origin. Under this objective, it is stated that one should collaborate with civil society and other stakeholders in the establishment of monitoring mechanisms to anticipate the development of risk factors that affect migratory movements movement and the development and implementation of early warnings systems, emergency operations in the countries of origin.

Objective three calls for providing adequate and timely information at all stages of migration. Here, the collaboration concerns the development and conducting of information campaigns, awareness raising and orientation training in sending countries to raise awareness of the risks associated with irregular and unsafe migration.

Objective twelve states to strengthen certainty and predictability in migration procedures for appropriate screening, assessment and referral. Again, in collaboration with civil society and other stakeholders, one should develop standardized screening, assessment and referral mechanisms at borders and places of first arrival.

5.2 Semi-structured Interviews

5.2.1 *Interviewees profiles*

In total, we conducted 9 interviews with CSO representatives. All of the organisations were NGOs involved in the area of migration falling under the three objectives mentioned above. More specifically, two of the NGOs mostly worked on the local level in the countries of origin with the aim of empowering migrants and increasing their resilience to conditions and factors that force people to migrate (Objective 2). Five of the NGOs were mainly involved in activities in the countries of destination, supporting the first reception of migrants and refugees, providing a variety of services upon first arrival and further accompanying measures for their integration process (Objective 12). The remaining 2 interviewees were active on the global level by pursuing advocacy work as umbrella organisations for a variety of NGOs working with migrants, ranging from diaspora organizations, trade unions, to human rights and humanitarian organizations. The level of influence of all CSOs was spread across all levels with varying focus. 60% of the CSOs were active for 30 - 60 years, 30% for 10 - 15 years and 10% was only active for a year.

When asked about the knowledge of the compact, one-third of the interviewees said that they had heard about the GCM before and its general aim but otherwise didn't know much about it. Two people read parts of the compact as presented by social media. One of the interview partners had never heard about it but familiarized herself with it after having agreed to the interview. The final third of the interview partners knew a lot about the compact, had read it and also followed the developments closely. All of the interviewees knew that the contents of the GCM were related to the work of their organisations.

5.2.2 *The GCM: possible benefits and restrictions*

Most of the participants doubted possible future benefits of the GCM for their work as a CSO. This was mostly due to their distrust of the implementation by the states. As was mentioned, states often don't consider the work of NGOs, especially the local ones. More specifically, 20% of the participants emphasised that the GCM implementation would have to bring changes on the spot at the local level in order to benefit their work. Moreover, there was a consensus among the interviewees that benefits are only possible if the GCM implementation reflects the willingness of states to cooperate with CSO. More than one-fourth of the participants added that for positive changes to occur, there would also have to be effects in terms of the allocation of funding and not simply policy. One person was slightly more positive and noted that the implementation of the GCM could result in a refreshment of existing state commitments and higher international standards supporting the work of CSOs. Another participant noted that the GCM represented a commitment to rehumanise migration and that it reflected state readiness to finally address issues that NGOs have been advocating for years.

At the same time, the large majority of the participants agreed that the GCM would most likely not result in a restriction of their work due to the non-binding nature of the compact and the partnership principle of government and CSOs which the GCM is based on. However, the aspect

of funding was mentioned again, stating that changes in funding could naturally also result in restriction. In that context, another interviewee also expressed concerns about the aim of the compact and that it may end up hindering migration which, in turn, could have negative consequences for their work.

5.2.3 Cooperation with other stakeholders

All of the participants described existing cooperation with a variety of different stakeholders at all levels (e.g. states, federal ministries, other NGOs or local governments). Whereas cooperation with state authorities was mostly led by formal agreements, cooperation with other NGOs was mostly informal. Especially within the cooperation with governments, more than half of the interview partners had experienced conflicts before due to differing interests and priorities. An example was the state's interest in maintaining border security and the externalisation of migration policy as opposed to the NGOs' focus on providing humanitarian assistance. Moreover, NGOs not knowing about existing international regulations and a lack of awareness on NGO actions from the stateside had resulted in conflicts before. In the same line, the shrinking space for human rights actions and CSOs actors was emphasized. As humanitarian services are mainly provided by NGOs, a restriction of their activity may result in a lack of coverage of basic social needs. On the contrary, one-third of the CSO representatives noted that they had never had any disagreements as the government was not involved in their type of activity at all and ethical standards were followed closely.

When asked about a possible change of the state - CS cooperation by the means of the GCM, all of the participants mentioned a dependency on the government and their willingness to collaborate. In that context, the interviewees emphasised their hope of an increasing responsibility taken by the governments with regards to migration. One interviewee mentioned that CSOs may become a "watchdog" to monitor the correct implementation by the state and continue to provide recommendations and initiate consultations for better implementation. Another person emphasised that the GCM reflects a whole of society approach where despite the fact that it is not recognised by all, CSOs have a crucial role.

5.2.4 Competencies vs. Capacities

The opinions with regards to the question on a possible change of existing competencies through the GCM differed, even though all interviewees mentioned a dependency on the state. One participant noted CSOs could also become responsible for monitoring the implementation. Further, it is possible that if the states would take over more responsibilities that are now in the hands of CSOs, responsibilities of CSOs may also shift. One of the participants noted that it may not be the competencies that change but the existence of a roadmap behind the competencies, which was non-existent before. Most of the participants agreed that especially for the local NGOs are relatively changes are unlikely as their work is most likely unconnected to the changes that the GCM may bring.

Next, we asked the CSO representatives if they thought they had the capacities to contribute to the implementation of the GCM. The majority of the participants claimed to have sufficient personal capacities. With regards to technical capacities, it was noted that internet access in rural areas was urgently needed. Financial capacities were consistently described as limited with the exception of one. Finally, most of the participants stated to have or be able to acquire the knowledge needed. In that context, one of the interviewees suggested establishing a network between NGOs to share information and increase collaboration in work. In summary, the majority of the interviewees admitted that they would need a capacity building in at least one of those capacity areas.

Finally, the answers regarding a possible increase or decrease of existing capacities with the implementation of the GCM were contradictory. 60% of the interviewees agreed that the GCM could demand an increase of their capacities. One interviewee mentioned that this could happen by an increased willingness of states to cooperate and invest into capacity building which may result in assigning new tasks to the NGOs such as drafting regulations or codes of conducts. This could even lead to a need of restructuring the organisation or changing their strategies. On the contrary, the rest of the participants didn't expect any significant changes in their capacities. It was even mentioned that capacities could decrease if the compact implementation process results in funding being invested elsewhere.

5.2.5 Interviewee's additional suggestions and recommendations

In the final part of the interviews, participants were asked for any additions or recommendations for action strategies with regards to the implementation of the GCM. One suggestion was to focus on human rights above all and on the distinction between irregular and regular migration. Targeting people's stereotypes by for example changing their perceptions of a "typical refugee" was also mentioned. There is a need for better networking opportunities among NGOs, financial support and increased education for citizens on the topic of migration. One of the respondents emphasized that one should raise awareness of the possibilities of the GCM for CSOs and create more space for CS on an international level in consultative mechanisms.

In the last part of the interview, two third of the participants used the opportunity to express their concern about the challenges of implementation again. Reasons for this included the wide range of matters the GCM tries to address, possible conflicting values in implementation between state and CS and a top-down implementation rather than collaboration. In that context, it was also mentioned that the GCM needs to be "translated" into understandable actions that do also reach the lowest levels in the hierarchy of migration governance. Finally, 25% of the participants reported that due to the interviews, they now became interested in the GCM and were going to look into it further.

6 Discussion

6.1 Discussion of findings from the GCM analysis

In order to investigate how CSOs can strengthen the global governance of migration, a first step was to analyse the GCM and outline which competencies are explicitly assigned to CSOs. By being the first holistic framework with regards to international migration, the GCM provides a unique opportunity to give CSOs a more explicit role in the governance of migration.

It is notable that in each case the CS is mentioned within the GCM, the collaboration with civil society on a task is simultaneously mentioned in combination with also other stakeholders. As the focus is always on collaboration and is not limited to CS, the question of how much responsibility may actually be assigned to civil society in the respective fields remains open. Ultimately, it will be left to the state to decide if to take the recommendation of involving CS or to choose “another stakeholder” according to their individual interest.

Looking at the specific tasks that are assigned to CSOs, the focus seems to be on the sending countries and first places of arrival as opposed to actions to be taken in the countries of destination. Moreover, the activities seem to refer to the local level only. In general, we could say that civil society is given importance with regards to first-aid activities and providing information. As a consequence, the question arises why these activities and not others. On the one hand, it could be that these are the areas in which civil society is considered the most powerful. On the other hand, it is also possible that these are the areas where civil society is considered to not have enough recognition or where their involvement is still increasingly needed. Looking at the number of CSOs involved in these fields, as it was also apparent during our internet research for interview participants, the first option may be more likely. However, this is for future research to investigate and it remains unclear why other fields of powerful civil society activities, as for example its activities with regards to migrant integration or activities on other levels than the local level, are not explicitly reflected in the GCM.

6.2 Discussion of findings from interviews

In order to further investigate the future role of CS in the governance of migration and a possible capability gap, semi-structured interviews with CSO representatives were conducted.

Notable from all interviews was an apparent lack of trust and collaboration between the CSOs and the state. This was illustrated by the scepticism towards the government expressed by our interviewees with regards to its willingness to implement the GCM and involve the CSOs, especially on a local level. It seems that in many countries CSOs are not perceived as an important partner by the state and have been acting independently of the latter. Thus, rather than a question of a capability gap upon implementation of the compact due to a lack of capacity, it may be more of a question of how much of a relationship of trust and collaboration can be established between state and CSOs on all levels to ensure the best outcome possible.

Further, it became clear that a lack of previous collaboration and trust may be the result of the absence of communication and clarity of common aims and values as well as previous top-down implementation of the state. Despite their scepticism, most of the respondents expressed a willingness for a closer collaboration with the state and capacity building to provide support where needed under the condition that values could be aligned. Especially interesting was that one of the interviewees mentioned a possible shift of some CS responsibilities to the state. This is an interesting statement since, as noted earlier, the needs of the situation with regards to migration had produced a shift of responsibilities from the state to civil society (Panizzon & van Riemsdijk 2018). This outlines the lack of communication between state and CS and calls for a clarification of functions and common values/aims in the future of migration governance. A capability gap may not arise due to a lack of capacity but due to an unclear division of roles and lack of clarity with regards to common aims and values and a top-down implementation by the state that does not give a voice to CS.

Another key finding was that the opinions about possible benefits of the GCM for CSOs differed considerably from very optimistic to very pessimistic. A possible reason for this may be that the compact is written in a very general and comprehensive way. While this leaves room for actors everywhere on the political spectrum, this also has the advantage of ensuring national sovereignty as it leaves enough space for individual interpretations in the implementation of the compact. However, this may also result in very different outcomes for the work of CSOs in different countries which is likely the reason for the pessimistic views of some of our interviewees. Additionally, that most of the benefits for CSOs may depend on funding and the willingness of states to allocate these accordingly.

In sum, our findings underline the complex interplay of different levels of migration governance and the need to consider the range of different actors involved and their existing or non-existing connections across the levels. As can be seen in Figure 1, the government approaches migration governance from a top to bottom approach, while the CS operates vice versa. Interestingly, while the CS is largely sceptic of a top-down implementation of the GCM by the government, a top-down implementation of the GCM by the UN has, in turn, resulted of withdrawal of a number of states from the compact. As the position of CSOs is not precisely defined in the GCM, the future role of CSOs in the global governance of migration remains an important topic for future research and policymakers to address, not only in the implementation of the GCM but on a broader scale. Taking an MLG approach to the topic helps to clarify the position and interconnection of different actors in the field.

7 Limitations

There are several possible limitations to be considered with regards to the present study. First of all, the sample that was interviewed should not be seen as representative of the whole CS. In order to be able to reach our target, we employed convenience sampling and due to limited resources, the sample was considerably small and only included NGOs. The very different backgrounds (e.g. countries of origin, size of the organisation, levels of activity, position at organisation) of the

interview participants also limits comparability and, rather than generalizing the present results, the findings should be taken as an indication of possible areas to research and further questions to ask. Second, due to the limited scope of our paper, we only chose to identify where the civil society was explicitly mentioned within the compact and focussed on these fields of NGO activity. Moreover, we were unfortunately not able to identify any CSO active in providing consultation campaigns to potential migrants in the countries of origin. However, and as also mentioned implicitly in the compact, the CS is active in a variety of areas related to migration and it is likely that opinions of other CSOs may differ considerably. Finally, it is important to note that all of the statements by our interviewees were rather speculative since the interviews were conducted a month before the compact was officially implemented and in the process of countries dropping out. Especially between the middle of November and the end of 2018, discussions around the compact on national levels were loaded. Some of our interview participants were from countries that decided to withdraw from the UN compact.

8 Recommendations

8.1 Recommendations for future research

Several recommendations for future research can be derived from our study and the limitations as mentioned above. First, in the future, it may be worthwhile to include the whole range of CSOs and systematically compare similarities and differences in the needs of different organisations within the CS. Second, we would suggest to further expand our research and look at the sections of the compact where civil society is not explicitly mentioned but implicitly included in the notion of ‘other stakeholders’ or ‘all relevant actors’. This specifically concerns areas where civil society has demonstrated powerful action, for instance activities regarding the integration of migrants into their host communities. Fourth, future research should build upon the concerns, expectations and needs collected from our interviews and should examine the actual implementation process of the GCM and the process of consultations and trainings which were marked as necessary by most of our interviewees. Finally, the role of CS in the GFMD after the implementation of the compact could serve as a basis to examine changes in the future role of CS in the global governance of migration. In that context, researchers should consider the maintenance of the partnership principle among the various stakeholders and focus on whether the input of CSOs is being equally valued and recognised.

8.2 Recommendations for policymakers, UN bodies, state and CSOs

8.2.1 *Recommendations for the implementation of the GCM*

- “Translate” the GCM into an understandable and concrete action plan for all stakeholders on all levels (what does the compact mean in practice)

- Clarify the exact functions of the follow-up and review mechanisms (e.g International Migration Review Forum)
- Raise awareness among the broad range of CSOs, especially those at the local level, about their ability and their opportunities to contribute to the GCM's implementation
- Create a controlling mechanism ensuring a holistic and transparent distribution of funds in the implementation of the GCM
- Enhance the cooperation between CSOs on all levels in order to ensure that the whole range of CSO are adequately represented at the UN Migration Network

8.2.2 *Recommendations for the governance of migration*

- Invest in trust-building between the state and the CSOs on a global, national and local level by creating more space for exchange and fostering transparency
- Involve CSOs on all levels of migration governance by introducing a minimum quote of CS participants in forums and meetings that concern policies and practices on migration
- Implement awareness raising campaigns on all levels about the benefits of migration through social media (e.g. hashtags) or social events in schools and communities
- Raise public awareness of the benefits of migration for industrialised nations and the vital necessity of migration for our societies and economies
- Raise public awareness of common stereotypes and misconceptions about migrants and refugees and address public fears on migration and mechanisms to counter them
- Create an exchange platform for CSOs to meet, exchange best practices and to discuss their cooperation in the field

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Appendix A – Information Sheet

The Global Compact for Migration:

A new outlook for the Civil Society on strengthening the global governance of migration?

Researchers: Maria Jargon, Nikolett Takács & Viktoriya Mihaylova

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet. If any questions arise, please feel free to contact us.

Introduction

As an expert on the topic of civil society activity in one of the relevant areas to this study, we would highly appreciate your participation in this research. The research project described in the following is conducted as part of the Regional Academy on the United Nations (RAUN) under the guidance of International Organization for Migration (IOM) and concerns the future role of civil society in the global governance of migration in the context of the Global Compact for Migration (GCM).

Purpose of the study

The GCM as the first global agreement on a common approach to governing migration bears great potential. The purpose of this study is to identify critical areas and possible challenges that may arise in the implementation phase of the GCM with a focus on the role of the civil society. Thereby we can develop recommendations and action strategies for the agencies involved in the implementation of the GCM.

Benefits of participation

The outcomes of this research will be presented at the annual RAUN conference to be held in January 2019 at the Vienna International Centre and the final paper will also be made available to the public in electronic and/or paper form. The research paper is expected to be of value to the various stakeholders involved in the GCM (practitioners, policy-makers, implementers, researchers and students). By participating you would contribute to a unique project aiming to ensure an effective cooperation between the all the stakeholders involved in the issues of international migration. An e-copy of the final research report will be provided for you in February 2019.

Description of the interview procedure

If you are interested in participating in the research project, the interview questions will be provided to you in advance so that you have to opportunity to prepare yourself and confirm your agreement with the questions. An informed consent will be provided. The interview will be conducted via Skype (or if possible personally) and will last approximately 30 to 40 minutes. For an easier analysis of the interviews, we would like to audiotape our conversation with your permission. During the interview, further questions may arise as points are pursued and you may refuse to answer any questions without having to give reasons. The audiotaped interviews will be transcribed and

summarised. You are welcome to review, edit or change any materials related to your interview before they are used in the final version of the project results. The interviews results may involve the use of your own name and your organisation's name unless you require anonymity. All materials collected during the interviews will be used only for this research.

Appendix B – Consent to Participate

The Global Compact for Migration: A new outlook for the Civil Society on strengthening the global governance of migration?

Consent to Participate in Research

I, the undersigned, confirm that (please tick box as appropriate):

1.	I have understood the information about the project, as provided in the Information Sheet, and have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and my participation.	<input type="checkbox"/>
2.	I understand I may withdraw myself (or any information I have provided) from this project before the data analysis commences - that is, before November 12, 2018, without having to give reasons. The provided data will thus be immediately destroyed.	<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	I, in this way, give my consent for this interview to be audiotaped and the recording of the interview will be wiped two years after the completion of the project unless I indicate otherwise.	<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	I understand that the information I have provided will be used only for this research project and that any further use will require my consent.	<input type="checkbox"/>
5.	Select only one of the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I would like my name used so that anything I have contributed to this project can be recognised. - I would like my name and my organisation's name used. - I request that any names be kept confidential. 	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
6.	I would like to see a copy of the written materials from the interview before they are used in the final analysis for the project.	<input type="checkbox"/>
7.	I would like an e-copy being sent to my e-mail address about the research's final report when it is completed.	<input type="checkbox"/>

8.	I understand that the findings of the project will be made publicly available.	<input type="checkbox"/>
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Participant:

Name of Participant

Signature

Date

Appendix C – Interview Questions

Introduction

1. Could you please briefly tell us about the work of your organisation in the area of migration?
 - a. At which level would you situate your influence?
 - *Local*
 - *National*
 - *International*
2. How long have you been active in this field? (*please state in years*)

The Global Compact for Migration (GCM)

1. How much are you aware of the GCM?
 - *I have never heard about it*
 - *I heard about it via social media*
 - *I follow the compact process, but did not read the compact itself*
 - *I read the compact and follow the developments closely*
2. Does the GCM relate to the work of your organisation?
 - a. Yes → In what way?
 - b. No → Why not?
3. Do you think that the implementation of the GCM may benefit your work as CSO?
 - a. Yes → In what way?
 - b. No → Why not?
4. Do you think that the implementation of the GCM may restrict your work as CSO?
 - a. Yes → In what way?
 - b. No → Why not?

Stakeholder cooperation

1. How did you cooperate with states and other stakeholders up until now in your area of responsibility?
 - a. Under what kind of agreement? (*formal or informal?*)
2. Do you see your cooperation with states and other stakeholders changed by the means of the GCM?
 - b. Yes → In what way?
 - i. Would you evaluate the change as a positive or negative?
 - c. No → Why not?

Capacities vs. Competencies

1. Where do you see the limit of your competencies in your work as taken over by other stakeholders (e.g. the state)?
2. Do you think that the GCM could influence the responsibilities and competencies of your organization?
 - a. Yes → In what way?
 - b. No → Why not?
3. Do you think your organization has the capacity to contribute to the implementation of the GCM?
 - a. Personal capacities (Staff)
 - *We have the capacity*
 - *We don't have the capacity, but we would like to have it*
 - *We don't have the capacity*
 - b. Technical capacities
 - i. See categories above
 - b. Financial capacities
 - i. See categories above
 - c. Knowledge capacities
 - i. See categories above
4. Do you think that the implementation of the GCM could increase or decrease your existing capacities in relation to your area of responsibility?
 - a. Yes → In what way?
 - b. No → Why not?

Final comments

1. Is there anything you would like to add?
 - a. Do you have any recommendations for actions that should be undertaken in order to support civil society action/your company in their/your activity?