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# 1 Introduction

The comparative study of migration flows

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Scholars and other commentators working within the field of comparative migration studies have long been evaluating the many national and regional trends of regular and irregular migration. Comparative studies of migration in the East and in the West, however, have been less prominent. Within a comparative East-West framework, this volume takes a multidisciplinary approach to the key issues relating to migration, in particular new migration trends, regional integration and citizenship, regional labour standards, irregular migration and human rights protections for refugees, with a particular focus on Europe, Southeast Asia and Australia.

Why examine new migration flows at this particular moment in time? With increasing integration of trade, peoples and cultures both within and across regions, the acceptance and integration of new migrants and refugees are now pressing issues in Europe, Southeast Asia and Australia, where a number of national and regional frameworks on immigration have been implemented. The movement of refugees and asylum seekers, in particular, has become a heavily politicised issue as Western countries not only tighten their borders to regular forms of migration but also restrict access to citizenship and cultural diversity rights for migrants with legal and illegal status. Restrictions on access to citizenship and the tightening of national borders have made it harder for people in desperate situations to flee and begin a new life in another part of the world. These issues have arisen as a result of events occurring largely in other parts of the world, where there is a great deal of death, destruction, fear and displacement in nations such as Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria. Civil war and political upheaval in nations such as Sri Lanka and Libya, and other forms of repression, internal conflict and natural disasters as experienced by nations such as Burma, have led to remarkable changes in human movement and labour migration patterns.

While in Europe, the European Union (EU) project and the associated increase in the movement of people across borders has brought significant challenges to the region, widespread people movement has also become a significant issue for various governments in the Asia-Pacific region. The government of Malaysia, for instance, is presently hosting up to 80,000

transit migrants (including refugees and asylum seekers), as well as between four and six million migrant workers, many of whom are irregular migrants without legal status. The government of Indonesia, preoccupied by the demands of a chaotic yet relatively successful democratisation process, is struggling to manage the dual problems of irregular people movement and people smuggling. The government of Australia is also experiencing difficulty in addressing public concerns about the relatively small number of asylum seekers arriving by boat from Southeast Asia. Given the fundamentally transnational nature of migration flows, comparing a variety of national and regional responses to regular and irregular people movement is both timely and important. This is especially so given the increasingly vociferous calls in each of the regions examined in this book to envision and enact a truly regional solution or framework for managing people movement and in some countries increasing cultural diversity.

Europe has been chosen as the first point of comparison in this book for several reasons. First, EU cooperation on migrant worker and asylum and refugee policies has experienced substantial tensions between regional and national solutions. A similar pattern is occurring in Southeast Asia and Australia, with tensions between regional forums (such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, or ASEAN, and the Bali Process) and national or bilateral arrangements (such as Indonesia's moratorium on sending migrant workers to Malaysia between 2010 and 2011, Howard, Gillard, Rudd and Abbott governments, which has involved arrangements between the governments of Australia, Nauru and Papua New Guinea). Second, Europe has experienced tension between refugee human rights protection and the restrictive approaches in EU legislation. Third, many countries in Europe are relatively new migration destinations and are therefore experimenting with a variety of integration programmes and citizenship policies. Given Southeast Asia's legal, cultural and political diversity, as well as the emphasis in each of the region's component nations on defending its national sovereignty, analysing Europe's experience in this regard can be useful for understanding the dynamics of migration in Southeast Asia. Like Europe, Australia is also witness to ongoing tension between refugee advocates such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), on the one hand, and the government, which is trending towards more restrictive immigration policies and legislation, on the other.

## Linking the past with the present

Throughout Europe, Southeast Asia and, more recently, Australia, new pathways of migration are extremely diverse, with different outcomes for migrants in terms of their legal, political and cultural rights. In many cases, skilled and temporary migration creates new opportunities for migrants (Oke 2012). However, other categories of migration, such as irregular or asylum-seeking migration, are subject to vulnerabilities associated with the lack of provision of economic, social, cultural and political rights, which vary from country to country and across regions (McNevin 2011). Long-term migrants are also vulnerable in times of economic and financial crisis. Using a comparative multidisciplinary perspective, we show that, despite very different cultures, histories and trajectories, there is considerable overlap in public and political discussions on how to respond to new migration flows in Europe, Southeast Asia and Australia.

New migration flows not only depend on so-called ‘push’ factors, such as economic hardship and political instability, and ‘pull’ factors, such as stability and prosperity, but also on histories and networks that have linked people and communities for generations (Portes 1995). For example, post-war migration between European countries and their former colonies was structured by the centuries-old colonial encounters as well as by the demand in Europe for migrant workers from former colonies. Some European nations, such as the Netherlands, even needed to relocate workers from some colonies (the Dutch East Indies in the case of the Netherlands) to work as indentured labourers in other colonies (Suriname) (Allen 2011; Hoeffte 1998; Termorshuizen 2008). But not all historical links have acted as convincing ‘pull factors’ in the 21st century. For instance, Australia’s well-documented heritage of Afghan cameleers, many of whom helped construct the inland railroad system in the nineteenth century (Ganter 2006), has not made it any easier for today’s generation of Afghan refugees to seek asylum in Australia. Similarly, the large number of Javanese migrants working in nineteenth- and twentieth-century colonial Malaya had little impact on Prime Minister Mahathir’s unsentimental ‘Hire Indonesians Last’ policy of 2002, which aimed to halve the number of Indonesian workers in Malaysia (Ford 2006; Liow 2006). Historical confluences, it appears, cannot always be relied on as a means of unlocking the dilemmas of contemporary decision-making on new migration trends.

Even if salient connections between the past and the present are sometimes ignored, understanding the history of migration flows is nonetheless important. Throughout history, migration flows have occurred before, during

and after major social and political upheavals, or to put it another way, during peacetime and war. For example, in the 1930s nearly a third of the French population were migrants, mostly from southern Europe (Caldwell 2009). Likewise, in mainland and maritime Southeast Asia there has been a long and established history of intra-regional migration, occurring before, during and after major upheavals, such as colonialism. Transnational flows of people, trade and material culture occurred between the islands and communities of the Indonesian archipelago, Peninsular Malaysia and the Philippines for centuries, predating colonialism, globalisation and industrialisation (Andaya 2008; Milner 2009). Elsewhere in the region, Macassans – Indonesian trepang (sea cucumber) fishermen who regularly voyaged to northern Australia at least a century or more before European settlement – enjoyed a great deal of social, cultural and trade-related contact with Aboriginal communities (Clark & May 2013; Macknight 1976; Ganter 2006). The historical resonances of this encounter have extended to the present day, when many cultural and linguistic borrowings from the Macassans are still evident in the arts and languages of Indigenous Australians, particularly in the Yolngu of Arnhem Land. Throughout the world, migrant networks are consolidated by transnational communities over many generations, thus building strong links between what have been termed in contemporary parlance ‘sending’ and ‘receiving’ countries (Faist 2000; Messina 1996; Vertovec 1999).

While there has been a long history of migration in Europe, Southeast Asia and Australia, this edited collection focuses on migration flows since the 1990s. Since the 1990s there has been a remarkable convergence in policymaking in Europe, Southeast Asia and Australia on how best to respond to regular and irregular migration flows across borders and to new dilemmas relating to increasing patterns of cultural diversity. Such policies are characterised by demands from neighbouring countries, public opinion and regional authorities to introduce legislation that will enable governments to control their borders more effectively and be seen to be managing social cohesion. I will now shift the introductory focus specifically to migration studies in Europe in order to see how institutions and organisations have received migrants from diverse backgrounds. I will then draw preliminary comparisons with the Southeast Asian and Australian cases.

## **Comparative approaches to migration studies**

The intensification of the immigration debate in pluralist democratic societies reflects a number of global forces such as globalisation, transnational

networks, increasing economic integration and rising political instability around the world. Interdisciplinary approaches have been used to examine some of the connecting themes that have emerged in comparative migration politics in Europe since the 1990s. A number of different approaches have been taken in attempts to account for the gap between restrictionist interventions and more liberal policy outcomes.

One approach is related to the idea that migration flows are by and large shaped by globalisation and institutions beyond the nation-state. Globalisation theorists (Bauböck 1994; Sassen 1996; Soysal 1994) primarily focus on the effects of globalisation and the impact of supranational institutions such as the EU in the diminishing importance of the state in immigration policymaking. Regional and international human rights mechanisms limit the capacity of nation-states to impose maximum restrictions.

A second approach draws on political economy perspectives (Freeman 1995, 1998, 2006), which recognise an interest among nation-states to limit certain categories of immigration and expand others that are beneficial for the nation's economy. Drawing on a political economy perspective, Freeman suggests that big business interests and demand for cheap labour largely influence domestic policies on immigration. Politicians tend to maximise utility by weighing up the costs and benefits of different categories of immigration in terms of the national interest. Researchers have argued that the threat of labour market competition and perceptions of migrants as a burden on the welfare system are significant factors underpinning the politics of migration (Dustmann & Preston 2007; Facchini & Mayda 2006; Scheve & Slaughter 2001a, 2001b).

A third approach compares integration and citizenship policies across countries. These studies look at the benefits of assimilation, integration and multiculturalism for both new and long-term migrants. Views about national identity and the extent to which migrants should be able to maintain their own cultures and belief systems have been the subject of many theoretical and policy debates in Europe, North America and Australia (Habermas 1994; Joppke 2005; Koopmans & Stratham 1999; Kymlicka 1995, 2003). In response to increasing immigration and concerns about national identity, most European countries have developed integration policies based on differing political traditions, citizenship and nationhood (Brubaker 2001; Favell 2001; Ireland 2004).

A fourth approach examines the role of courts, bureaucracies and refugee advocates in questioning, limiting or even launching legal injunctions against restrictionist policy options that focus on limiting the human rights of migrants. For instance, Guiraudon (2000) examined the process of the

incorporation of the European Court of Human Rights and the European Court of Justice legal norms in policies regarding post-war migrants in Europe. With these interventions, foreign residents were given improved legal status in spite of restrictive goals of migration policy after the first oil shock in the 1970s and the rise of anti-immigrant parties and sentiment.

A fifth approach, often described as a 'society-oriented' approach, highlights the state's role as a neutral 'arena' for societal interests including interest groups and political parties (Bernhardt, Krasa & Polborn 2008). For example, instrumental in immigration policymaking is the role of public opinion, political parties, trade unions, employers' associations and NGOs. This approach tends to highlight the manner in which policymaking on immigration involves a certain amount of bargaining and compromise between these varied interests. A relatively strong economy and strong demand for labour has resulted in governments introducing more liberal immigration policies. Such a trend is largely welcomed by employers' organisations and multinational companies, if slightly less popular among workers' unions, which fear the downward pressure on wages as a result of large numbers of foreign workers. To appease public concerns on liberal economic policies, governments in the developed world, including those of northern Europe and Australia, have introduced liberal immigration programmes and temporary migrant labour schemes, while at the same time introducing tough policies on asylum-seeking migration.

The general public in these parts of the world are overwhelmingly opposed to increased immigration more generally. In order to manage the electoral politics of immigration, which is often highly emotional and not always based on rational decision-making, sharp distinctions are made between regular and irregular migrants. This is most evident in the rise of anti-immigrant political parties and, in recent years, the politicisation of asylum seekers.

France is a useful case in point. Since the 1990s, France has witnessed a rise in support for the anti-immigrant party, the National Front (FN). In the early 1990s, the new right-wing government headed by Edouard Balladur pursued draconian immigration policies that planned to stop all immigration and reduce the number of asylum seekers to a minimum. The rights of foreigners were limited and a series of internal control policies were put in place. The new immigration reforms also limited the number of asylum appeals and prohibited adjustments of status for any undocumented migrants married to French citizens. While these reforms were later modified, immigration policy in France has generally involved tougher external controls of its borders and tighter internal regulation of labour markets



(Hollifield 2004b). The United Kingdom has also faced tough electoral and political pressures to implement liberal policies on economic migration and tough policies on asylum seekers (Layton-Henry 2004). Even though there is a need for more liberal immigration programmes, which have clear benefits for the economy, the political management of migration and asylum is difficult, with growing resentment in the local population against migrant communities (Ouseley 2001).

A sixth approach prominent in Europe, referred to as the 'neoliberal institutionalist' approach, argues that international institutions help build consensus among diverse societal interests. This theory is becoming more relevant as the removal of borders within Europe has facilitated free trade and the movement of people. For example, there is now an extensive body of literature on the 'Europeanisation' of immigration policies within the EU (Faist 2000, 2003; Faist & Ette 2007; Geddes 2000, 2003; Geddes & Guiraudon 2004). Political scientists tend to refer to 'Europeanisation' when something in the national political system is affected by something at the European level (Vink 2003). However, there is much debate on the extent to which supranational institutions such as the EU can exercise influence over national policymaking, especially on immigration.

## **Research on new types of migration**

A new and emerging area of research looks at the rapid increase in temporary regular and irregular migration across Europe and throughout Asia (Duvall 2006; Duvall & Jordan 2003; Sadiq 2005; Ford 2006). Migrants in many parts of Europe and Southeast Asia can easily move from temporary migration status to one defined by irregularity. Terms that are frequently used by governments across the world to refer to irregular migration flows include 'illegal', 'undocumented', or 'unauthorised' migration. However, patterns of migration show a far more complex picture of migrants often caught between regular and irregular categories of migration, such as when they are waiting for court decisions on their refugee status and when they suddenly become unemployed.

In order to make sense of the different terms, Triandafyllidou (2010: 1-4) identifies several different ways of referring to irregularity. First, 'illegal migrants' are viewed as 'illegal' by governments because their actual act of migration does not comply with legal provisions of entry and residence. Second, 'undocumented migrants' are usually considered 'undocumented' because they do not have the right residence papers or necessary work

permits. Third, 'unauthorised migrants' are considered by governments as 'unauthorised' because they have generally entered a country unlawfully, violating national migration rules and regulations. A final irregular migrant group includes those who are awaiting the outcome of a regularisation programme that offers legal status to irregular migrants, common in parts of southern Europe and Southeast Asia.

Included in the irregular migration classification are also asylum seekers who usually enter a country without documentation and then file for asylum (Triandafyllidou 2010). Asylum seekers are often desperately seeking safety for themselves and their families and are therefore often willing to risk dangerous migration channels across rough seas or mountainous borders. In countries that are party to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, even though most of these undocumented asylum seekers are found to be genuine refugees, they often receive a disproportionate amount of media and public attention compared to other types of irregular migrants, because they are usually perceived as bypassing legal refugee resettlement processes. The public focus on this group persists despite the fact that the global refugee population stands at around 12 million people, and the resettlement places available globally stands at around one per cent of that total (UNHCR 2011c).

Temporary regular and irregular migration flows have increased rapidly since the 1990s not only because of changing economic conditions and increasing restrictions on access to citizenship but because of long-established informal social networks that tend to facilitate irregular migration. The most obvious examples include the long history of irregular migration between Indonesia and Malaysia (Arifianto 2009; Eilenberg 2012; Liow 2006) and between Burma and Thailand, where state capacity to control long and porous borders is limited. Weak bureaucracies and widespread corruption in developing countries also provide an environment in which irregular migration is likely to flourish, leading to widespread exploitation of migrant rights and working conditions.

While Australia and countries in northern Europe have tried to export their management policies through the tightening of state borders and restricting access to national citizenship, new research from Southeast Asia and southern Europe shows that patterns of irregular migration are exceedingly complex and, in general, public perceptions do not tend to recognise this complexity. In less developed countries there has traditionally been a much higher level of irregular migration than in northern Europe and Australia, where options for legal migration are available, albeit on a strictly limited basis. In countries with long and porous land borders and coastlines, there are significant costs involved in policing irregular

migration and undeclared employment, which means that those countries simply cannot prevent irregular forms of migration (Samers 2010). Some countries in southern Europe have preferred to regularise migrants by offering various types of amnesties. Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece have conducted numerous regularisation programmes (see, for instance, Garcés-Mascareñas 2012). Similarly, in Southeast Asia, Malaysia has conducted numerous regularisation programmes in order to track the extent of irregular migration from Indonesia, Bangladesh, Burma and the Philippines (Arifianto 2009; Garcés-Mascareñas 2012).

Research since the 1990s shows that countries will generally monitor, control and restrict immigration from another country rather than encourage irregular immigration (Sadiq 2005). However, in some Southeast Asian countries, irregular migrants from particular cultural and religious backgrounds are welcomed by different sectors of the local community because of their perceived electoral benefits. For example, in East Malaysia, irregular migrants play an important electoral role. While they may not be citizens, over time irregular 'undocumented' migrants are easily able to gather enough documentation needed to vote. According to Sadiq, the political participation of irregular migrants in elections has the capacity to alter political outcomes in favour of the government. It is, therefore, in the government's interest to allow irregular migrants to acquire proof of citizenship and become eligible to vote (see Sadiq 2005; 2009).

The overlapping discourses between northern Europe and Australia (i.e. restricting access to citizenship) and southern Europe and Southeast Asia (i.e. regularisation programmes) show clearly that there has been considerable convergence in policymaking on immigration as countries in Europe, Southeast Asia and Australia respond to the enormous challenges of people movement across diverse regions. To date, most migration studies have either focused on single regions because of the enormous differences in political systems, histories and cultures, not to mention the differences in the ways that regional organisations such as the EU and ASEAN operate. Laws, policies and programmes on immigration across regions are borrowed, adapted and modified to meet the local challenges of human movement across borders involving large-scale temporary and irregular migration.

## **Outline of this book**

The essays in this volume address the implications of regular and irregular migration flows on both national and regional transformations. They bring

to light some of the complexities of changes that have taken place in the global environment. The essays are drawn from different disciplines and placed in a comparative framework in an attempt to unravel historical, political, cultural and legal aspects of the complexities of regular and irregular migration. The volume gives relatively equal focus to three regions – Europe, Southeast Asia and Australia. The aim of this regional focus is to shed comparative light on ways in which migration flows are understood and controlled within national and regional frameworks.

The first three chapters discuss social and political dynamics underpinning new migration flows in Europe. Kaczmarczyk, Lesińska and Okólski track old and new migration flows in Europe and introduce the idea of the ‘European Migration Cycle’ as a way of demonstrating the relative stability of international movements of people over time. Pietsch examines some of the political interactions between the EU and member states in developing a harmonised immigration policy. Pietsch demonstrates that nation-states are remarkably steadfast in matters relating to immigration policy, especially in relation to national sovereignty and their responses to temporary labour migrants and asylum seekers.

Countries in Europe and other Western democracies also face challenges in integrating new migrants from diverse cultural and religious backgrounds. Jupp’s chapter addresses the rise in support for anti-immigration parties and a decline in support for a ‘practical’ model of multiculturalism in Western liberal democracies. Some of this can be explained by hostility, fear and anxiety about the increasing presence of Muslim minorities. Fears in Western Europe about being swamped by Muslim migrants from politically unstable parts of Africa, the Middle East and Asia continue to undermine support for multiculturalism in the EU and other Western democracies. Jupp reveals the risks associated with letting go of some of the major achievements of multiculturalism. Among the risks are sporadic rioting, the alienation of ethnic youth and an increase in organised crime.

In the second group of essays, the focus shifts to the Southeast Asian region. Kaur focuses on irregular migration to Malaysia, where immigration has increased significantly in the past three decades. She provides an important link in the migration flows between the Middle East and Australia. In a pattern similar to that in southern Europe, Malaysia’s evolving immigration policies and practices are dominated by enforcement considerations that have shaped regional migration flows. Labour brokers and recruiters do most of the recruiting, transporting and placing of undocumented migrant workers, and many workers continue to find themselves in irregular situations and vulnerable to repatriation or

detention. Currently, Malaysian immigration enforcement processes focus on increased screening, nationality verification processes, regularisation programmes and the expansion of immigrant detention policies. These developments have meant that fundamental international labour and human rights standards are not being met, which has done little to alleviate the general culture of powerlessness among migrant workers. In addition to this, Malaysia, like its neighbour Thailand, has trouble stemming the flows of refugees and irregular migrants crossing its borders. Neither country has legislation that provides for the granting of asylum or refugee status in accordance with the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 protocol, and neither has established a system for providing protection to refugees.

The chapters by Clark and Missbach examine migration flows from Indonesia to Malaysia and vice versa. Clark examines the broad relationship between democratisation, regionalism and human rights in Southeast Asia, with a specific focus on the rights of migrant workers. The treatment of migrant workers in Malaysia, the key receiving country in the region, has become a thorn in the side of several of ASEAN's key member countries, most notably Indonesia. In the democratic consolidation era, Indonesia's domestic politics have to some extent been projected onto the regional sphere. In practice, this has led to calls for region-wide political reform and a greater concern for human rights issues, including the issue of migrant workers. This has resulted in regional tensions, especially with regard to the treatment of temporary and irregular Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia, which, as noted above, has not upheld migrant rights and protections. Missbach's chapter suggests that, whether it is a democracy or not, Indonesia does not treat asylum seekers and refugees much better than Malaysia treats its foreign workers. Missbach examines the specific conditions and circumstances that asylum seekers and refugees face when transiting through Indonesia. Despite its enthusiastic embrace of democracy, Indonesia tends to treat its asylum seekers and refugees in a rather ad hoc manner that varies from one part of the country to another. Corruption is a key element in the equation, as is funding and political pressures from Australia, a country that would prefer to manage asylum seekers and refugees in Indonesia rather than on Australian shores, where it is much more expensive.

The final three chapters shift the focus to Australia, the final destination point of the vast majority of refugees fleeing conflict and persecution via Southeast Asia. Many of these people have made a series of long and arduous journeys from the Middle East and South and Central Asia, transit-

ing through Malaysia and Indonesia en route to Australia. Australia, like Europe, has made numerous policy changes and amendments to legislation in order to implement a much tougher and more restrictive stance on irregular migrants. Briskman and Mason demonstrate how Australia's strident emphasis on border security puts national interests at the forefront of asylum-seeker policies. The increased provision of money for border protection agencies and remote immigration detention facilities illustrates the primary importance that Australia places on protecting its borders from those seeking safe haven, particularly after the events of 9/11 and the Bali bombings of 2002. Briskman and Mason examine the 'push' factors influencing Afghan and Iraqi asylum seekers who have fled conflict and civil war in the Middle East for Malaysia and Indonesia. From there, many attempt to travel by boat to Australia with the assistance of Indonesia-based Middle Eastern 'people smugglers', who use poverty-stricken Indonesian fishing crew and boats that are barely seaworthy.

How Australia manages its borders and imposes its own policies on Southeast Asia is not unlike the present system employed in northern and southern Europe. Bilateral and multilateral agreements involving the swap of what Geddes (2000) refers to as 'wanted' and 'unwanted' migrants are becoming increasingly common. For example, there is a growing trend across Europe linking country-specific legal migrant quotas to cooperation and readmission agreements with migrants' states of origin. In the words of Joppke (2004: 382), the system of choice operates along the following lines: 'we take your legal labour migrants if you in turn help us get rid of your illegal or criminal migrants – or better still, prevent them from leaving your country'. For Italy, the critical country is Albania, which receives significant financial payments for its cooperation on illicit boat traffic across the Adriatic Sea. Parallel negotiations have taken place between Spain and Morocco (Joppke 2004). Mathew examines a similar situation in Australia where the Australian government under former Prime Minister Gillard attempted to negotiate the exchange of 800 asylum seekers arriving in Australia for 4,000 persons recognised as refugees in Malaysia. Drawing on case-law examples, Mathew shows the power of domestic and supranational courts such as the European Court of Human Rights in constraining the powers of nation-states to impose not only restrictive policies but also policies that fail to adhere to international standards. Written in a context where 'stopping the boats' carrying asylum seekers from Indonesia has become a well-worn mantra of the Australian media and politicians alike, the final chapter of this volume, by Clark and Adhuri, explores the development potential of Indonesian labour migration in the Australian fishing industry. They

suggest that the history of Indonesian migration flows across the waters of northern Australia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries holds little sway with the Australian government as it cracks down on Indonesian illegal fishers and boats of asylum seekers, usually crewed by Indonesians.

This volume begins by engaging with some of the older academic debates on integration and multiculturalism, but in a different social context with new challenges, such as the increased hostility towards Muslim migrants in the West after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. In response to fears of terrorism and a globally competitive market, governments in the three different regions explored in this volume have tightened their restrictions on asylum-seeking migration as a broad national security measure and increased temporary migration in response to the ebbs and flows of the market. Across East and West, we see similar national and regional responses to new migration flows, all of which involve a failure to implement practical integration policies designed to facilitate migration processes and long-term settlement, provide access to national citizenship, and the lowering of human rights standards for temporary regular and irregular migrants, particularly for those desperately seeking asylum.

This book emphasises the difficulties that arise when developed countries impose solutions on neighbouring poor countries. For example, when Australia's Gillard government approached the East Timor government in 2010 with a regional framework that would involve the processing of asylum seekers in East Timor, the Timorese were dismayed. The Indonesian government also weighed in on the issue, expressing strong concern to East Timor about Ms Gillard's proposal. The fear was that it could attract many more asylum seekers to Indonesia in order to access the new processing centre. Similarly, leading Indonesian politicians and diplomats expressed a great deal of concern in mid-2013 over a policy proposal from a major political party in Australia that would have involved Australian naval authorities detaining Indonesian-flagged boats of asylum seekers on the high seas and then 'turning back the boats' into Indonesian waters. Besides the potential for large losses of life associated with such a dangerous operation, the threat to Indonesian territorial sovereignty was of serious concern to the Indonesian authorities. The controversial 'turn back the boats' policy, like the failed East Timor and Malaysia proposals before it, was quietly dropped soon after the opposition party in question formed a new coalition government under the leadership of Prime Minister Tony Abbott. These are just a few examples that illustrate that both East and West have a long way to go before effective transnational cooperation can occur, let alone the establishment of a truly regional solution. What is needed is a broad cultural and political

shift in response to the needs of the millions of people on the move through regular and irregular migration channels.

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