

JUSTICE FOR PEOPLE ON THE MOVE

By executive order, the USA has adopted an immigration policy that looks remarkably similar to a Muslim ban, and there are new threats to deport long-settled residents, such as the so-called Dreamers. Our defunct refugee system has not dealt adequately with increased refugee flows, forcing desperate people to undertake increasingly risky measures in efforts to reach safe havens. Meanwhile increased migration flows over recent years appear to have contributed to a rise in right-wing populism, apparently driving phenomena such as Brexit and Trumpism. In this original and insightful book, Gillian Brock offers answers and tools that assist us in evaluating current migration policy and in helping to determine which policies may be permissible and which are normatively indefensible. She offers a comprehensive framework for responding to the many challenges that have recently emerged, and for delivering justice for people on the move along with those affected by migration.

GILLIAN BROCK is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. Her books include *Global Justice: A Cosmopolitan Account* (2009), *Debating Brain Drain* (with Michael Blake, 2015), and *Cosmopolitanism versus Non-Cosmopolitanism* (2013).

JUSTICE FOR PEOPLE ON
THE MOVE

Migration in Challenging Times

GILLIAN BROCK

University of Auckland



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Preface

Migration has dominated contemporary political discourse for some years. But around 2016, the situation escalated dramatically. Suddenly migration “crises” were erupting at the borders of European states. The large-scale exodus from Syria prompted a vast population of desperate people to undertake increasingly dangerous journeys. Migrants were literally washing up on European beaches. Keeping foreigners out became something of a global obsession among affluent states. Presidential candidate Donald Trump promised to build a wall and get Mexico to pay for it. He also promised to ban Muslims from entering the United States and to deport undocumented residents in the USA as never before. The successful campaign for Britain to leave the European Union invoked much fear concerning rising numbers of immigrants. Canada and New Zealand passed legislation aiming to restrict foreign ownership of property. Australia stepped up naval patrols, ensuring any potential unauthorized boat arrivals were turned back long before they reached the country’s shores and holding so-called boat people in offshore detention centers in which mental illness and self-harm became common.

According to recent global Pew Research Centre studies, about 45 percent of people around the world believe migration levels to their country should be reduced.¹ Immigrants are a popular scapegoat for all manner of perceived ills, including job losses, increased terrorism threats, rising housing costs, and deteriorating provision of social services. Anti-migrant candidates riding this pro-restrictionist tide are being successfully elected to political office in surprisingly high numbers; alarmingly, even in places such as Brazil and Germany that had recently prided themselves on promoting inclusive, welcoming environments for migrants.

¹ Phillip Connor and Jens Manuel Krogstad, “Many worldwide oppose more migration – both into and out of their countries,” *Pew Research Center*, December 10, 2018, available at: www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/12/10/many-worldwide-oppose-more-migration-both-into-and-out-of-their-countries/

I found these trends deeply disturbing. I recall the day on which I decided that, as a philosopher who cares deeply about matters of justice, I ought to write a book about what migration justice requires and, equally importantly, prohibits. It was late January 2017. President Trump had just issued his notorious executive order prohibiting Syrian refugees from entering the USA, and placing a travel ban on people from seven nations that have large Muslim majorities.

I have no illusion that this book will magically reverse popular anti-migrant sentiment. The readers I aim at reaching are anyhow different in two ways. I hope to engage those who are interested in questions of migration justice and in answers that can also help assess current policy. So, the book is for those who wish to engage in reflection about questions that underlie immigration debates, such as: May each state decide its immigration policy as it sees fit? Are there any robust normative constraints on the policies states may permissibly adopt? What responsibilities do we have in relation to migrants? In answering those kinds of questions, I aim to offer answers and tools that assist in evaluating current migration policy that can help us determine which policies may be permissible and which are normatively indefensible. (Spoiler alert: The Muslim ban enacted in January 2017 cannot be justified.) I do not imagine that all readers want to reflect on these concerns. However, there certainly are readers who are interested in asking such questions and in seeking robust answers. This book is for them.

I have discussed central arguments in this book with a great many esteemed colleagues. I have also presented very early drafts of chapters at various conferences, including the American Philosophical Association's Pacific Division Meetings (in 2017), the American Philosophical Association's Central Division Meetings (in 2018), and a workshop on immigration and feasibility at Australian National University (in 2018). For very helpful comments on this work, I am especially grateful to Arash Abizadeh, Christian Barry, Charles Beitz, Alexander Betts, Michael Blake, Joseph Carens, Paul Collier, Stephen Davies, Luara Ferracioli, Bob Goodin, Nicole Hassoun, Javier Hidalgo, Peter Higgins, Cindy Holder, Will Kymlicka, Holly Lawford-Smith, Matthew Lindauer, Matthew Lister, Colin Macleod, David Miller, Darrel Moellendorf, Margaret Moore, Colleen Murphy, Jennifer Nagel, Kieran Oberman, David Owen, Alexander Sager, Sarah Song, Nicholas Southwood, Christine Straehle, Ashwini Vasanthakumar, Didier Zuniga, and two anonymous referees for Cambridge University Press. I am also especially grateful to Hilary Gaskin, my editor at Cambridge University Press, for being so supportive of the project

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