

**COALITION
FOR GLOBAL
PROSPERITY**
Britain as a force for good

Can UK Aid Help Stop Irregular Migration?



Contents

Foreword	4
Introduction	6
Chapter 1: Defining the Challenge and its Impacts	8
The Scale of the Challenge	8
Drivers of Irregular Migration	13
Case Study: Climate Change as a 'Threat Multiplier'	18
Chapter 2: Why Development is a Part of the Solution	19
Conclusion	26

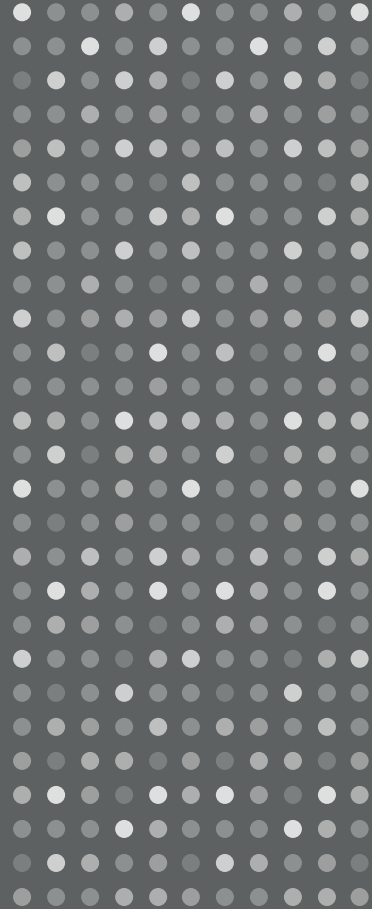
Foreword

By Jane Stevenson MP (Con, Wolverhampton North East)



It has never been clearer than it has during this parliament how closely intertwined our domestic and foreign policies are. Whether during the Covid-19 pandemic or the cost of energy crisis precipitated by Russia's illegal invasion of Ukraine, we have seen how crises that begin abroad have the potential to dominate politics here in Britain. Irregular migration is another such issue.

For all who worry that the current policy framework for dealing with this issue is inadequate, the long term trends driving it should be of considerable concern. As the Government set out in its Integrated Review Refresh, the world is becoming increasingly contested, with states that do not share our values competing to undermine the international, rules-based order. It is also becoming more fragmented, with geopolitical tensions rising and destabilising factors, such as climate change, putting increased pressure on the international system. That is why the Director of the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Bill Burns, has identified irregular migration as one of the 'problems without passports', that is reshaping the current world order.



The challenges of irregular migration have all the hallmarks of a slow burn crisis, with long-term drivers of migration, including conflicts, climate change, political instability and economic disparities, threatening to make the scale of the problem worse. Climate change in particular risks causing further mass migration into Europe and to the shores of the English Channel, exacerbating our existing difficulties in stopping illegal crossings. We have already seen what this grim future could hold in the wake of the civil war in Syria and the European refugee crisis that it triggered, which has been linked in part to more extreme droughts and crop failures.

This report sets out how some of the long-term drivers of irregular migration are at real risk of increasing in the years to come. It also sets out how, through the thoughtful use of our development expertise and funding, we can help tackle some of those problems at source and manage the risks associated with it.

Taking back control of our borders includes responding to the challenges that compel people to move within their country of origin. As we debate the new tools that are needed to tackle cross-channel crossings, we should not neglect to think about how in a broader, cross-governmental way, the United Kingdom can

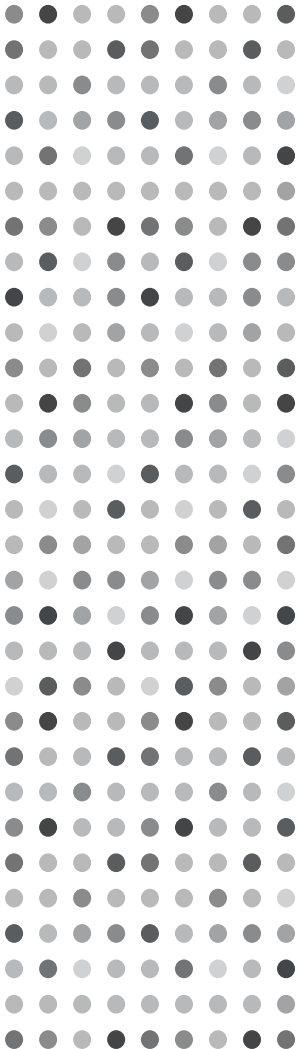
work to mitigate this problem at its source. It is a global challenge and it requires a global solution. The UK's aid and development work is one important tool for tackling what will remain one of the defining challenges of the 21st century.



Jane Stevenson MP
Member of Parliament
for Wolverhampton
North East



Introduction



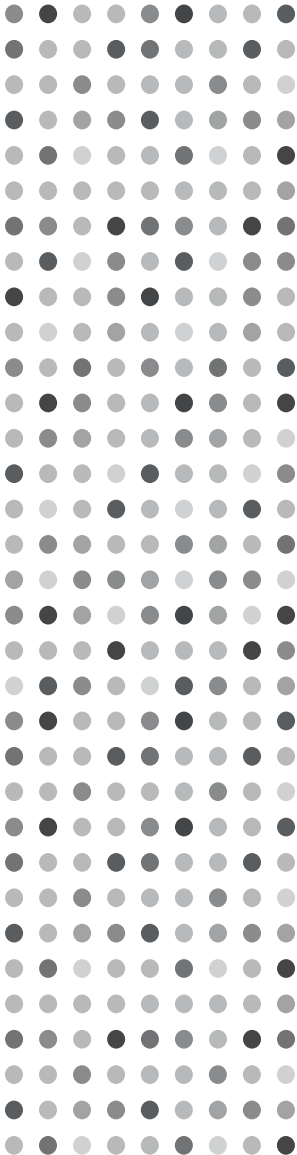
Irregular, or illegal, migration is a major concern for UK politicians and voters across the UK, with the salience of the issue gradually rising since 2020 when the number of small boat arrivals started going up significantly.¹ A core part of Prime Minister Rishi Sunak's five pledges, and a major point of contention in public discourse, it is clear that tackling irregular migration will be a major dividing line in the upcoming general election.

As such, this report considers the role that the UK's development offer can and should play as part of an effective, long-term and sustainable response to our current irregular migration challenges. Recent political discourse has focused on the 'pull' factors of irregular migration. A key example being the Government's Rwanda Scheme, which is focused on creating a deterrence to reduce the number of migrants pursuing irregular routes into the UK. However, effectively mitigating the 'push' factors within migrants' origin countries is equally, if not more, important to put migration flows on a more sustainable footing in the long-term.

It is in this context that Britain's development offer to the poorest countries around the world can make a real difference.



1. YouGov. The Most Important Issue Facing the Country: Immigration and Asylum. YouGov.co.uk. 15 January 2024.



It is well-understood that poverty, political instability, conflict and the effects of climate change are some of the biggest drivers of irregular migration.² As such, investment in societies, creating opportunities for future prosperity and providing younger generations with hope for the future, all have to be core components of our response to irregular migration. A good example of this is the UK's support for the African Continental Free Trade Area (ACFTA), which is expected to lift 30 million people out of poverty on the continent and create new jobs for a generation of young people.³ While not a targeted migration measure, this is a good illustration of how the UK can work with international partners to create different incentive structures by improving economic opportunities. This is central to tackling the challenge of irregular migration, as the best efforts to reduce the 'pull' factor that the UK has as a destination for irregular migrants, will continue to fall short if remaining in their origin countries is not made a more attractive option.

This should of course not mean abandoning the legal and moral obligations that the UK has to legitimate asylum seekers. However, the aid budget should be used to invest in poverty alleviation, create better economic opportunities for a generation of young people in search of work, and the UK's development expertise should continue to support stable and democratic governance across the world. These are steps which will help Britain respond to the challenge of irregular migration in a way that is robust, but also takes seriously the very real causes which drive people to undertake perilous journeys and aims to address these.



2. Khadija Elmadmad. Irregular Migration, Its Motivations and Its Corollaries. European Institute of the Mediterranean. 2017.

3. DIT and FCDO. UK Back's Africa's Ambitious Continental Free Trade Initiative. GOV.UK. 29 March 2022.

Chapter One

Defining the Challenge and its Impacts

The Scale of the Challenge

In 2022, the UK saw a record number of just over 45,000 irregular migrants arrive via small boat crossing across the English Channel.⁴ This led to commitments from all sides of the political spectrum to respond to the problem in light of public outrage over the scale of illegal migration, frustrations about the cost of hotel accommodation and calls to prevent further tragedies in the Channel after numerous accidents. In January 2023, Prime Minister Rishi Sunak made ‘stopping the boats’ a core part of his five pledges to the country.⁵ And while irregular small boat arrivals did come down by more than 15,000 in 2023, the global challenge remains as urgent as ever.

This is clearly reflected in the UN High Commissioner for Refugees’ (UNHCR) number of displaced people globally. As illustrated in the figure below, by the start of 2023, more than 108 million people were displaced, of which more than 35 million were refugees.

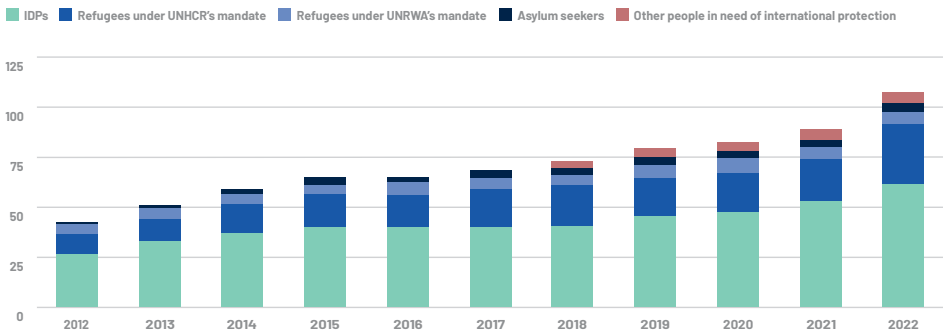


4. How Many People Cross the Channel in Small Boats. BBC News. 15 December 2023.

5. The Rt Hon Rishi Sunak. Prime Minister Outlines His Five Key Priorities for 2023. GOV.UK. 4 January 2023.

This is the highest number of forcibly displaced people since World War II, and the figure is expected to continue rising. Invariably, this is likely to lead to an increase in irregular migration, as increased overall migratory pressure almost always correlates with an increase in irregular arrivals. This was demonstrated in 2015 at the height of the Syrian Civil War, where more than 1 million people arrived in the EU by crossing the Mediterranean, and tragically almost 4000 people lost their lives attempting to make the crossing.⁶

People forced to flee worldwide (2012 - 2022)



Note: IDP - Internally Displaced People
 Source: UNHCR. Data and Statistics: Global Trends (Accessed on 10 January 2024)

The challenge of irregular migration is not just a core priority in the UK, but also an urgent policy challenge for governments in the US and Europe. In the US, a new record was set in 2022, with an estimated 2.2 million illegal border crossings.⁷ The Biden Administration is under

pressure from Republicans in Congress to invest in further border security measures to tackle this issue. Similarly, in 2023, irregular arrivals in the EU reached the highest level since 2016, with over 250,000 people known to have either crossed the Mediterranean or arrived

via other irregular routes.⁸ EU member states have launched a number of initiatives to deal with this, including a new joint task force between Germany, Poland and the Czech Republic to crack down on illegal immigration and disrupt smuggler routes.⁹



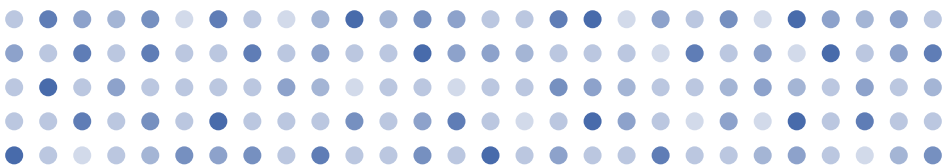
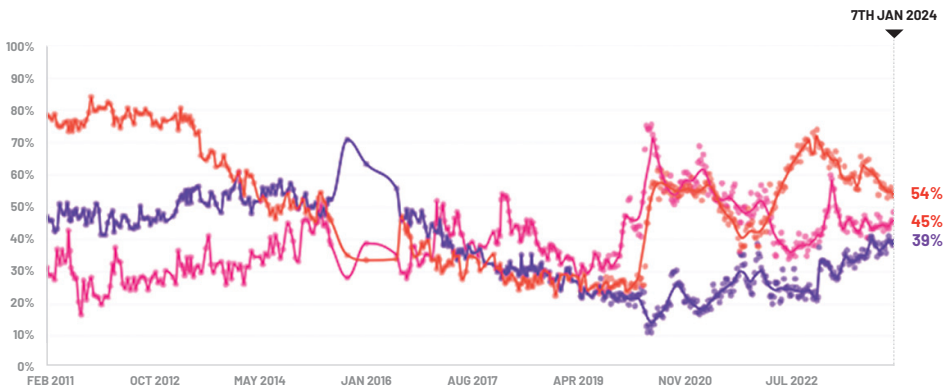
6. Jonathan Clayton, Hereward Holland and Tim Gaynor. Over One Million Sea Arrivals Reach Europe 2015. UNHCR. 20 December 2015.
 7. Ashley Wu. Why Illegal Border Crossings are at Sustained High. New York Times. 29 October 2023.
 8. Infographic: Migration Flows - Eastern, Western and Central Routes. European Council. 15 January 2024.
 9. Laura Hülsemann. Germany, Poland and Czech Republic Start Task Force on Illegal Immigration. Politico. 29 September 2023.

Given the scale of the challenge, it is not surprising that tackling irregular migration is a central priority for the UK Government. Particularly, as it has become increasingly clear in recent years that even comparatively small numbers of people crossing the Channel, can lead to significant political upheaval and public anger. Considering the most recent YouGov polling, a steady upward trend

is evident in the number of people who consider immigration and asylum the most important issues facing the UK today.

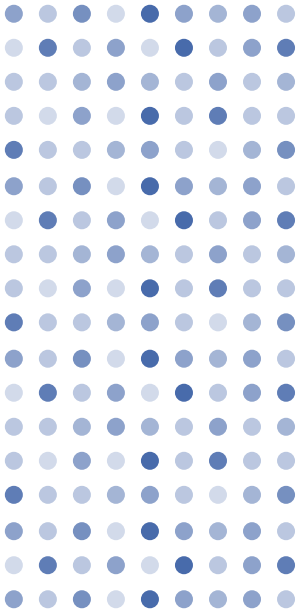
As seen below, nearly 40 percent of respondents consider it the most important issue, behind only the economy and health. It is therefore clear that a secure border, controlled immigration levels and an orderly asylum process, is central to maintaining public trust.

But it is not just public backlash which makes this a difficult policy challenge. Indeed, irregular migration can also place a significant strain on public resources. Home Office figures published in September 2023 showed a daily cost of hotels for asylum seekers, many of whom arrive via irregular small boat crossings, of more than £8 million a day, amounting to £3 billion a year.¹⁰



10. Home Office. Home Office Annual Reports and Accounts 2022-23. GOV.UK. 2023. Page 75.

These high in-country refugee costs, which have also been exacerbated by Russia's illegal invasion of Ukraine, meant that in 2022, the UK spent 29 percent of its Official Development Assistance (ODA) budget on hosting asylum seekers¹¹, thus kneecapping British capacity to make a difference abroad.



Similar problems are also evident overseas. In the US, New York City Mayor Eric Adams recently cautioned that the city could be 'destroyed' by the pressure on public services caused by an influx of more than 150,000 migrants since early 2022. The city is currently on track to spend \$12 billion on dealing with the migrant influx in the coming three financial years.¹²

There is an immense human cost associated with the challenge of irregular migration, with Pope Francis describing the tragic deaths of migrants at sea as 'an open wound for humanity'.¹³ On 14 January 2024, 5 people died trying to cross the English Channel in a small boat, marking the 5 deaths in the Channel this year. This follows 12 known deaths in 2023,¹⁴ and the horrific accident in November 2021, when a small boat carrying migrants capsized, killing at least 31 people.¹⁵



11. Philip Loft, Philip Brien and CJ McKinney. Research Briefing: The UK Aid Budget and Support for Refugees in the UK in 2022/23. House of Commons Library. 30 October 2023.

12. Fabiola Cineas. New York City's not-so-sudden Migrant Surge. Explained. Vox. 26 September 2023.

13. Pope: Migrant Deaths are 'Open Wound' for Humanity. VOA News. 13 August 2023.

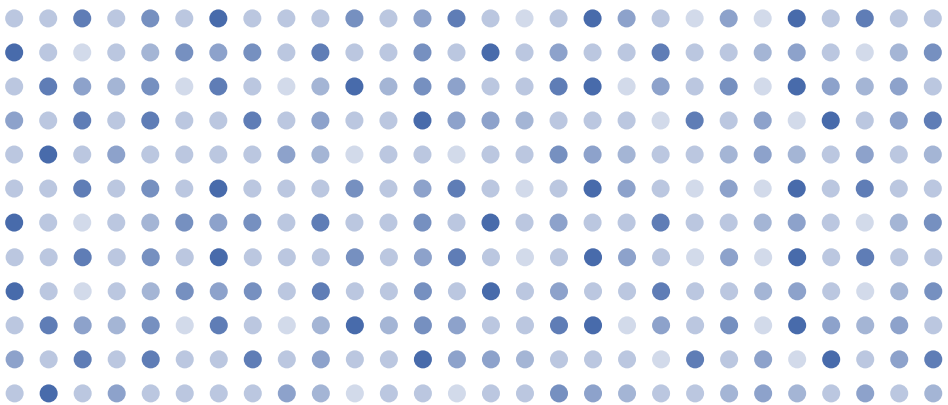
14. International Organization for Migration. Migration Within Europe. Missing Migrants Project. 2023.

15. Alistair Bunkall. Deaths of 31 People in Worst Ever Channel Migrant Disaster to be Investigated by French Government. Sky News. 17 November 2022.

In the Mediterranean, the deadliest irregular migration route in the world, almost 30.000 people are thought to have lost their lives since 2014, according to the International Organisation for Migration.¹⁶ In South and Central America, the number of migrant deaths has also been climbing in recent years, with nearly 1500 people dying or disappearing on the journey to the US-Mexico border in 2022.¹⁷

Considering this, there can be no doubt as to whether irregular migration is a serious policy challenge

which demands a response. The remainder of this report considers the drivers of irregular migration, and ultimately, how development can and should play a role in responding to this politically sensitive and complex challenge. It is clear that lowering irregular migration as much as possible has to be the concluding objective, not just to maintain a secure border and respond to public demand, but most importantly to prevent migrants from undertaking perilous journeys and risking their lives in the process.



16. International Organisation for Migration (IOM). Migration Within the Mediterranean. Missing Migrants Project. 2023.
17. IOM. Migration Within the Americas. Missing Migrants Project. 2023.

Drivers of Irregular Migration

Having sketched out the scale of the challenge, the report now considers what drives irregular migration. Here, the focus is predominantly on the within-country 'push' factors that drive the decision to migrate in the first place. It should be said that part of the challenge is responding to the practice of people smuggling which trades in human misery, and preys on people in search of a better life.

As such, it is encouraging to see commitments to cracking down on these human trafficking organisations from both the Government and the Opposition, and the increased collaboration between the UK and France to disrupt their activities, including the small boats deal announced in March 2023.¹⁸ Early indicators suggest that this increased collaboration has resulted in some significant successes, with immigration raids up 68 percent in 2023 and the National Crime Agency (NCA) conducting the biggest ever international

operation targeting networks believed to be engaged in smuggling people to the UK.¹⁹

Turning to the push factors which cause irregular, or distressed, migration, the World Bank has found that overwhelmingly this is caused by vast economic differences between the origin and destination countries.²⁰ The main trends in global migration flows speak to this, as the vast majority of migration occurs from countries with a lower income to countries with a higher income and a higher level of economic development.²¹



18. Damian Gramaticas and Kate Whannel. Sunak and Macron Summit. BBC News. 10 March 2023.

19. Home Office. UK Government Action in 2023 to Stop the Boats. GOV.UK. 2 January 2024.

20. World Bank. World Development Report 2023: Migration, Refugees and Societies.

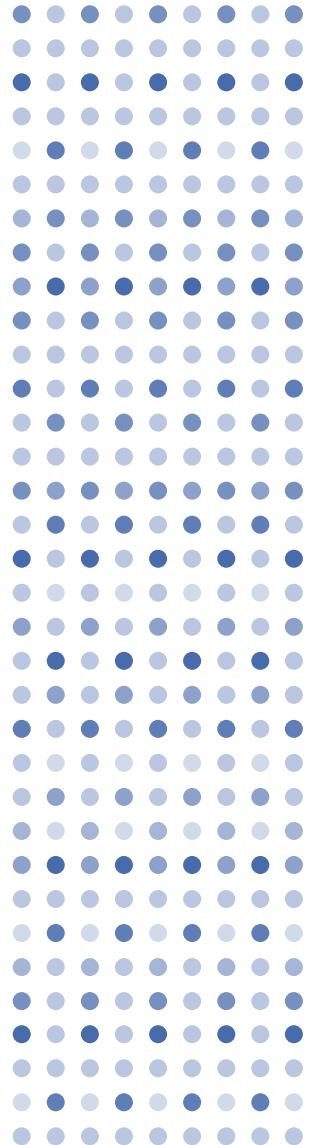
The World Bank Group. 2023. Page 246.

21. World Bank. World Development Report. 2023. Page 53.

This driver was evident in 2022, when the UK saw more than 12,000 irregular migrants arrive from Albania via small boats across the English Channel. The majority of these migrants claimed asylum, and while some of the applications were granted, particularly those submitted by women and children, both the Government and the Home Affairs Select Committee eventually concluded that there is no basis for routinely offering asylum to Albanian nationals.²² According to the Home Office Select Committee's own investigation of the issue, Albania was found to be a safe country, and the primary cause of

irregular migration from Albania to the UK was found to be economic.²³

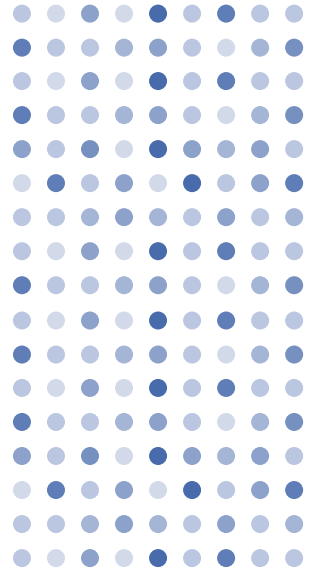
A separate driver of irregular migration is political instability and conflict in migrants' origin countries. Examples from recent years include migration from Syria, both during the Civil War and subsequently, and the wave of migration seen from Afghanistan since the Taliban takeover in the summer of 2021. Here, it should be noted that many of those fleeing conflict ridden countries have a very genuine fear of persecution, and as such have a right to seek asylum, a right which should be protected.



22. Home Affairs Committee. Asylum and Migration: Albania. House of Commons. May 2023.
23. Home Affairs Committee. Asylum and Migration: Albania. Page 7.

An example includes Afghans who worked with or supported British, US and NATO troops during the 20 years of war in Afghanistan. Following the withdrawal of all US and NATO troops and the subsequent fall of Kabul, many who had worked with Western troops in the aftermath of 2001 were specifically targeted by the new Taliban regime, with the UN reporting that Taliban fighters were going door to door to identify people with links to the US or NATO.²⁴ In light of this, a large

number of people with links to Western militaries or civil society organisations sought to leave the country out of fear for their own safety, with many countries creating specific resettlement schemes to enable these people to flee possible persecution in Afghanistan. This of course includes the UK, where more than 10,000 Afghans have arrived via the Afghan Resettlement Scheme and more than 11,000 via the Relocations and Assistance Policy for former HM Government Employees.²⁵

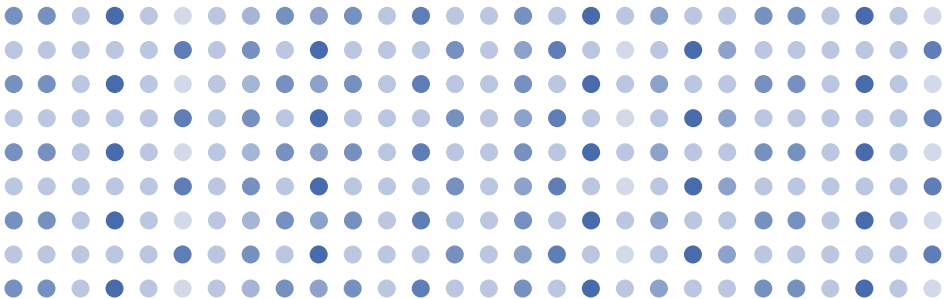


24. BBC. Afghanistan: Taliban Carrying Out Door-to-Door Manhunt, Report Says. BBC News. 20 August 2021.

25. Melanie Gower. UK Immigration Schemes for Afghan Nationals. House of Commons Library. 9 November 2023.



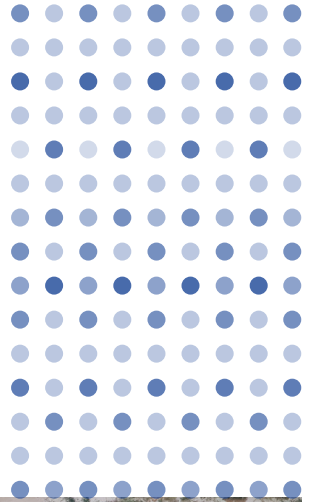
Looking at the world today, the indications are that migration triggered by political instability or conflict could worsen in the coming years. There are already early signs that the wave of political coups and associated conflicts seen in the last 18 months in countries such as Sudan and Niger, have fed into the global flow of irregular migration.²⁶ Moreover, in the Middle East sabre-rattling by actors such as Iran, the Houthi rebels in Yemen, and Hezbollah – the Lebanon-based and Iranian-sponsored militia, threatens to turn the Israel-Hamas war in Gaza into a wider regional conflict, potentially leading to even greater mass displacement of civilians.



26. Wendy Williams. African Migration Trends to Watch in 2024. Africa Institute for Strategic Studies. 2024.

It is also clear that the effects of climate change are increasingly affecting migratory flows. According to a 2021 White House report on climate change and migration, extreme weather events are already one of the leading causes of forced displacement globally.²⁷ Current indicators suggest that the impact of climate change on global migration is likely to grow as extreme

weather events become more frequent, and many of the world's poorest communities will come to be on the frontline. The World Bank's 2021 report, Groundswell, considers the potential future impact of climate change on migration patterns and estimates that climate change could force an additional 216 million people to leave their homes by 2050.²⁸



27. The White House. Report on the Impact of Climate Change on Migration. 2021.
28. World Bank. Groundswell Part II. The World Bank Group. 2021.

Case Study: Climate Change as a 'Threat Multiplier'

The exact number of people expected to become 'climate migrants' remains disputed, however many have observed that climate change is likely to be an exacerbating factor for the other drivers of irregular migration discussed above. The Council on Geostrategy argued in their 2023 report that climate change could become a threat multiplier for both internal and cross-border migration, particularly in regions with poor governance, resource scarcity or already experiencing conflict.²⁹ This 'threat multiplier' effect was first discussed by the Center for Naval Analyses (CNA) Military Advisory Board under the leadership of Sherri Goodman, and it has since come to be a well-established framework for understanding the risks that climate change poses.³⁰

A frequently cited example of this is the outbreak of the Syrian Civil War in 2012, which has been linked to a series of failed harvests and droughts in rural Syria in the years prior to the conflict. The argument is that climate induced droughts and poor

water management in the late 2000s resulted in the displacement of large rural communities into urban centres, drove food insecurity for people across Syria and compounded unemployment challenges.³¹ As such, climate change is said to have helped

create the conditions which ultimately led to the outbreak of the Civil War.³² However, it is of course important to acknowledge that political repression, mismanagement by the Assad Regime and a host of other factors were also major drivers.

29. Jack Richardson and William Young. The Climate and Migration: Implications for Britain. Council on Geostrategy. 2023.

30. Sherri Goodman and Pauline Baudu. Climate Change as a Threat Multiplier: History, Uses and Future of the Concept. Center for Climate and Security. 3 January 2023.

31. Peter Gleick. Water, Drought, Climate Change and Conflict in Syria. Weather, Climate and Society. 2014. Page 338.

32. John Podesta. The Climate Crisis, Migration and Refugees. Brookings. 25 July 2019.

Chapter Two

Why Development is a Part of the Solution



The Role of Development

Considering some of the key drivers of irregular migration, it is clear that aid and development both can and should play a significant role in our response to the irregular migration challenge. And while development cannot single handedly solve this complex challenge, nor should it be the only way by which the UK responds to it, development does help address the very factors of this challenge which border security measures and deterrence policies alone cannot. It does so by creating better economic opportunities for those who want to leave their origin country for economic reasons, and it can help improve political stability to make developing countries more resilient to the kinds of shocks that can cause large migration outflows.

This is not a new argument, but one that has long been understood by people and policymakers working at the heart of development. An example is the 2015 speech delivered by the then Secretary of State for International Development, Justine Greening.

The next aspect to consider is how the UK's aid and development offer can respond to conflict and crises in an effort to both prevent mass migration movements, and to ensure regional support for those who have been forcibly displaced. For example, while significant numbers of Syrian refugees arrived in Europe in 2015 and 2016, the vast majority of displaced civilians were able to seek refuge in neighbouring countries. This was in large part facilitated by the kinds of humanitarian and development support provided by the UK and its partners, including to

places such as Jordan and Lebanon. In total, the UK provided around £3.8 billion in support between 2012 and 2022, with funding going both directly to humanitarian partners within Syria, and to neighbouring countries supporting large numbers of refugees.⁴⁵ As such, only around 4 percent of people displaced by the Syrian Civil War made the perilous journey across the Mediterranean, with most choosing the safer option of seeking refuge closer to home.⁴⁶

This is also a good example of the importance of better

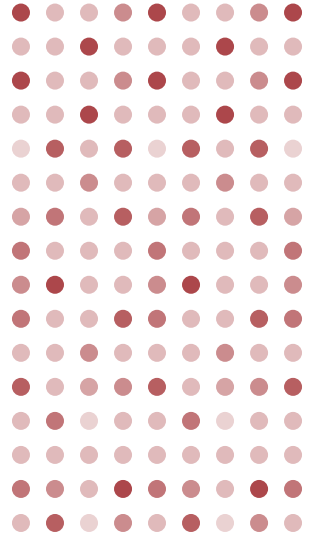
global burden-sharing on the issue of forced displacement and refugees. It is worth stressing that the vast majority, 75 percent, of refugees are hosted in low or middle income countries.⁴⁷ This includes 2.1 million refugees in Pakistan, 1.5 million refugees in Lebanon and around a million refugees in Bangladesh. As such, British development support plays a crucial role in supporting host communities in developing or middle income countries to cope with the scale of the refugee challenge and prevent secondary migration outflows.



45. Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office. Syria Crisis Response Summary. GOV.UK. 2023.

46. The Rt Hon Justine Greening. Speech. 16 October 2015.

47. UNHCR. Refugee Data Finder. UNHCR Global Website. 2023.



The recently published International Development White Paper speaks to the importance of this and stresses the need for equitable sharing of responsibility for supporting displaced people, and highlights initiatives like the UK-championed Jordan Compact as a step in the right direction.⁴⁸

Jordan is a particularly important example to highlight in the context of burden-sharing, as

the country currently hosts the second highest number of refugees per capita,⁴⁹ supported by resources from the UK and other international partners. This has placed a considerable burden on public services in Jordan, and maintaining international support will be crucial to ensure that refugees from Syria and other neighbouring states are not forced to leave the region to find a safe refuge from conflict.

Jordan's large refugee population is also a good illustration of the fact that low and middle income countries currently shoulder the lion's share of the responsibility when it comes to safeguarding refugees.⁵⁰ As such, working closely with partners such as Jordan is essential to effectively respond to the challenge of forced displacement, and to ensure the sustainability of migratory flows.

48. Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office. International Development in a Contested World. GOV.UK. 20 November 2023. Page 108.

49. UNHCR. Country Operations: Jordan. Global Focus: UNHCR Operations Worldwide. 2023.

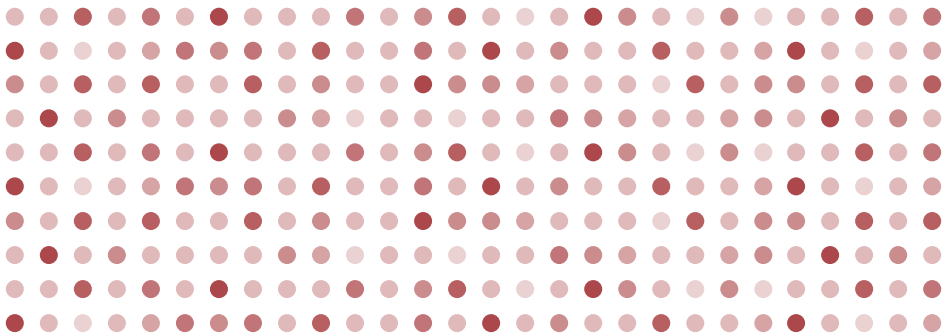
50. Amy Leach and Karen Hargrave. The Data Gap On Public Attitudes Towards Migrants in Low and Middle Income Countries Needs Closing - Here's How. Overseas Development Institute.

Using development programmes to invest in governance support, particularly in fragile states which could be at an increased risk of conflict, is also an integral part of responding to the root causes of irregular migration. In a 2021 National Security Council paper, the Biden Administration laid out how this is informing their thinking about how to respond to the influx of migrants from Central America which the US has seen in recent years. In this paper, the Administration argued that supporting democratic governance, rooting out corruption and advancing the rule of law in places like Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador

will be integral to stemming the flow of migrants crossing the southern US border illegally.⁵¹ The World Bank's Global Development Report also highlights how development targeted at governance support, can help to improve government capacity and public service delivery.⁵² Working in close partnership with developing countries, this can in turn help to make remaining in their origin country a more attractive option for people who may otherwise feel driven to migrate.

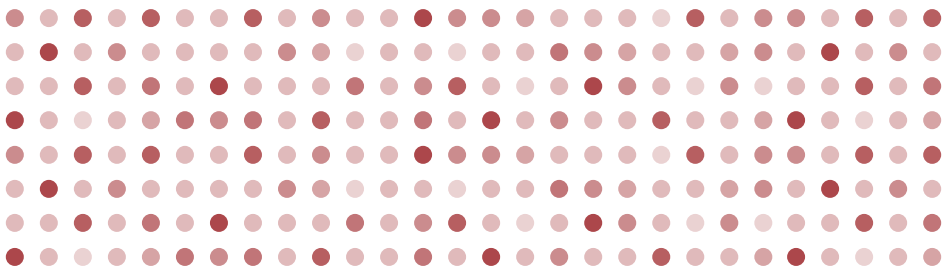
Looking to the future of how irregular migration patterns may change in the years to come, it will also be imperative to consider the impact that climate change

is likely to have. This should include reflecting on how the UK development offer can help to build climate resilience and support adaptation measures where needed. The potential for climate change to cause extensive displacement is phenomenal, as is well documented by publications like the Groundswell Report.⁵³ And while the exact scale of directly linked climate migration is of course hard to accurately predict, climate change will almost certainly have an exacerbating effect on almost all of the other well established drivers of irregular migration.⁵⁴



51. National Security Council. U.S. Strategy for Addressing the Root Cause of Migration in Central America. The White House. 2021.
52. World Bank. World Development Report. 2023. Page 259.
53. World Bank. Groundswell Part II. 2021.
54. Jack Richardson and William Young. The Climate and Migration. 2023.

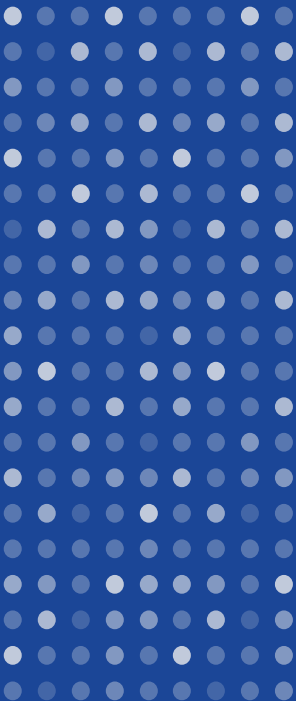
As such, it is imperative that the development support which the UK provides is focused on supporting low income countries with climate resilience and adaptation measures to mitigate against the worst effects of climate change and the potential for mass migration events. In recent years, it has been encouraging to see the Government reckoning with this challenge and the UK's international climate finance commitment is a significant step in the right direction. It is also welcome to see the focus within the International Development White Paper on both supporting developing countries to recover from climate shocks, and on the need for investment in adaptation measures to respond to the long-term effects of climate change.⁵⁵



55. FCDO. International Development in a Contested World. 2023. Page 66.

Conclusion

Most people in the United Kingdom want an immigration system that reflects our interests and values. People across the UK have welcomed Ukrainian refugees into their homes and communities. Those fleeing political persecution in Hong Kong, and Afghanistan have been accepted warmly. Both of these responses illustrate the generous instincts of this country and our commitment to being a burden-sharing nation that does our bit for those in desperate need.



Opinion polling also indicates that large numbers are also anxious about the uptick in irregular migration and what small boat crossings mean for UK sovereignty, border security and pressure on already strained public services. This is understandable when we see scenes of disorder and chaos on beaches in the South East, and hear of the extortionate cost of hotel accommodation. This has caused many to conclude that the system is rigged in favour of those who seek to take advantage of British compassion and public resources, at the expense of many in the UK who are struggling to make ends meet.

The response to this issue in Westminster, has been to focus on expanding our toolkit to deter these channel crossings. This focus is right given the clear signal from voters that this matters to them enormously. But while deterrence is a crucial part of the solution to irregular migration, it cannot be the only part. The UK must be more strategic, and tackle problems at their source. There are other aspects of the problem that deserve our attention, and other policy tools for addressing it.

At the Coalition for Global Prosperity, we believe the UK is most effective internationally when our development policy works in tandem with its broader foreign policy, in support of the national interest. The implications of that could not be clearer in the context of irregular migration.

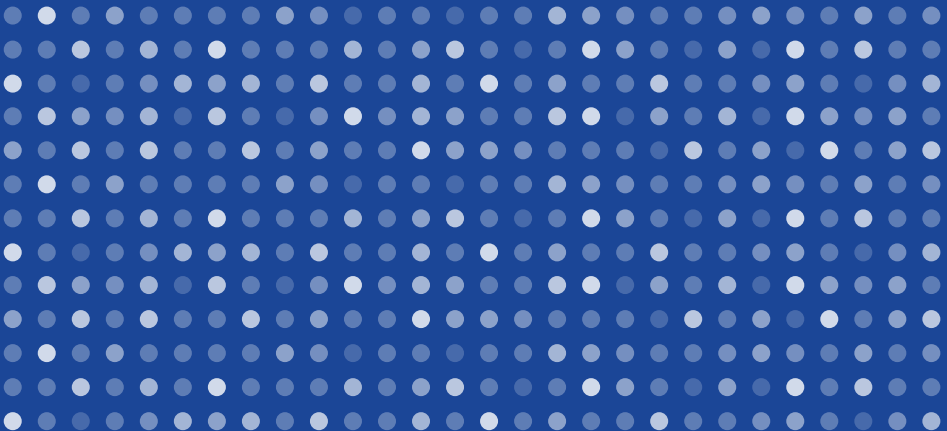
Irregular migration has all the hallmarks of what Sir David Omand, the former Director of GCHQ, terms a 'slow-burn problem'. These are deep-rooted and devilishly hard to respond to, yet they are far less attention grabbing than the short-term crises they cause. However, if the UK is serious about tackling

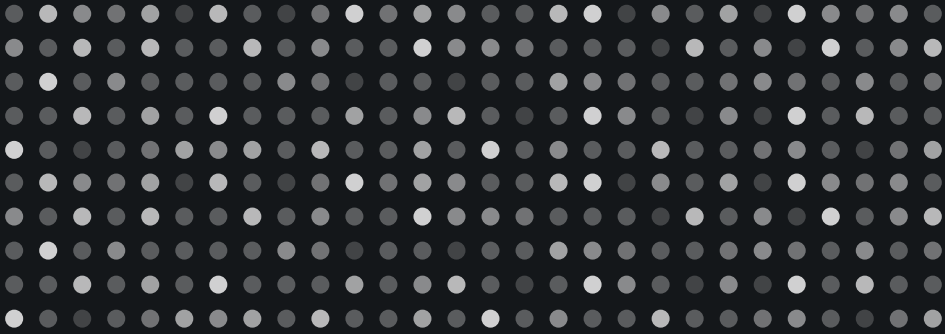
the challenge of irregular migration, it will require focusing on the slow-burn, deep-rooted problems that drive it. Development helps to respond to and mitigate against these push factors, including climate change, conflict and a lack of economic opportunity, all of which can lead people to want to leave their homes and pursue irregular means for doing so.

As this report makes clear, through our development work the UK can help address some of those push factors in a way that helps tackle this issue at source. In doing so, we reduce pressure on the asylum system here in the UK, and ensure that

there is a system that serves the interests of both those who come here seeking protection, and ordinary Britons up and down the country.

Not only is this good for the UK, it is also in the interests of many of our partners too, having witnessed firsthand in Jordan the importance to the Jordanians of the UK's support in hosting the significant refugee population that lives there. Through initiatives such as the Jordan Compact, we can build tailored partnerships that reflect the needs of our allies, whilst also helping to manage this problem long before it reaches British shores.





**COALITION
FOR GLOBAL
PROSPERITY**
Britain as a force for good

