

Reframing Contemporary Immigration Policy Debates

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Abstract

This paper examines the changing nature of politics of immigration in the 21st century and the way in which the fast-changing ideology, populism wave, and international crisis have altered this discourse both nationally and as an international issue. The study reconsiders the traditional models of the immigration policy and contrasts them with the modern political landscape that focuses on security, identity, and economic protectionism. It explores the influences of the political parties, media and the civil society in the development of immigration as a polarizing reading where both a restrictive and inclusive policy reactions have emerged. The work adds to the increased comprehension of the instrumentalization of immigration in terms of the greater echelon of allocations to sovereignty, nationalism and democratic ideals.

Keywords: *Immigration policy, populism, nationalism, political discourse, identity politics, securitization, democratic governance, migration, sovereignty, inclusion-exclusion politics.*

1.Introduction

The discussion about immigration has taken a radical turn across the world over the last few years. Brexit, the Trump presidency, and Syrian refugee crisis are some examples of the political aspects that have accelerated change in national discourses and policymaking in liberal democracies. Catherine Dauvergne, in her article, *Revisiting The New Politics of Immigration*, analyses the political and ideological accentuation of the policy of immigration with the purpose to emphasise especially the deconstruction of the myth of the settler society and the appearance of a new pattern, corresponding with a more securitized and politicized approach. Instead of considering immigration as a mode of nation-building that is built on notions of multicultural inclusion and humanitarianism, the contemporary political environment is redefining migration as a source of sovereign issues, national identity, and economic security. Dauvergne states that this re-direction is not a short-term digression but an enduring shift in the migration management policy paradigm of the global North involving increased legal formalism, urgency and political instrumentalization(1).

The settler society model, which previously became the core of the immigrant conceptualisation in countries like Canada, Australia and United States, is becoming conceptually and practically useless. Initially based on the idea that immigration may prop up the growth in population and national wealth based on integration and multiculturalism, this model is now obsolete in terms of current geopolitical tendencies. Nowadays, immigrants do not play a role of nation-builders solely which they used to occupy in the past, they are regarded as security risks, expenditures of the economy, or culture outsiders. What is especially sharp, Dauvergne highlights, is such a transition in the settler states, where historically immigration was regarded not only as a necessity to demographic growth but also to national identity. She takes these societies to task, arguing that they are still living in a colonial mindset that refuses to accept the sovereignty of the Indigenous people and fail to account the historical consequences of settling land and displacing the settlers. Ironically, the same mythologies which once glorified the role of the immigrants are now used to stigmatize the modern migrants as not being good enough to be compared to an idyllic past(2).

The paradox entrenched in the new immigration politics is that even as the immigration political issue is gaining greater prominence, the values of settlement and society always held to be central in immigration politics are being demolished. They are focused on popularizing the short-term migration, flexibility in the labor market, border stiffness rather than long-lasting integration and the creation of communities. Such undermining of the idea of permanence brings more precariousness to the migrants, particularly those that do not fit in the high-skilled economy brackets. Immigration nowadays is not so much about fostering multicultural societies but rather about controlling flows, borders and fuelling what are assumed to be wanted economic players, as is depicted by Dauvergne. This change in rhetoric does not just have policy implications but indeed the rhetoric and political rationale in migratory arguments as well. The framing of security, fear, legality, and utility have usurped the

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reckoning that used to be of refuge, belonging, and mutual obligation. Dauvergne wrote by wonderment in the moments when political upheavals have swept the world such as the rise of Donald Trump in the United States and the Brexit vote in the United Kingdom. Both are watershed events in the re-calibration of immigration politics, to Dauvergne. Trump was the first president with openly anti-immigration politics expressed in promises of building a wall at the border, implementing travel bans, and reducing the number of immigrants who were to be resettled as refugees massively engaged a substantial group of voters tapping into ideas of nationalist identity along the racialized anxieties. Subtly coded as it already is, Brexit was also fuelled by migrant panic especially those of Eastern European E.U. members. In both, immigration, in turn, was a subject upon which more general manifestations of discontent, nationalism and populism were centered. The similarity of these examples does not lie only in the fact that they were successful in elections but by the extent to which they managed to normalize the skepticism towards immigration and normalize the far-right policy plans.

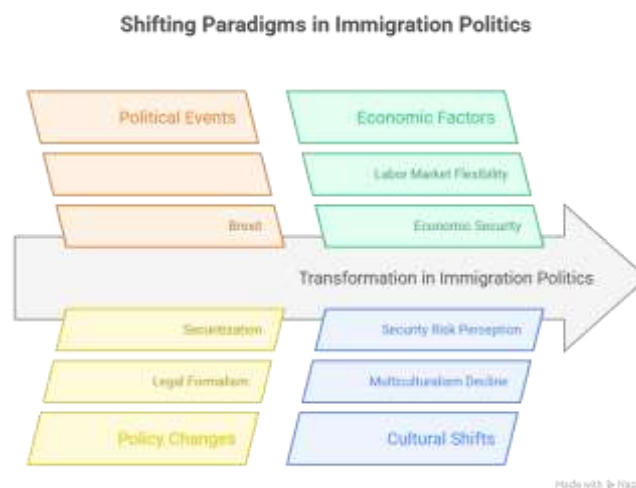


FIGURE 1 Shifting Paradigms in Immigration Politics

The more complicated case is, in contrast, the Trudeau government in Canada. As pro-immigration rhetoric was a feature of Trudeau campaign in 2015 though, the promises to settle 25,000 Syrian refugees in the country and advance the ideas of humanitarianism, the subsequent policy decisions during the previous four years turned out to be more conservative(3). Most of the curtailing forces put in place by the former Conservative government survived and new policy measures were restricted or most of them symbolic. Dauvergne presents this case to demonstrate how even the centrist or progressive governments are limited by the novel politics logic. The Canadian case is not therefore counter but supportive to the greater story; that is immigration politics have truly shifted the partisan orientations where change has not been fundamentally intrinsic but superficial.

Another aspect of this transformation is the reduction of the discourse of policy to the so-called economicshuman rights dyad, as it has been referred to by Dauvergne. Governments have a tendency to justify all immigration policy based on economic (e.g., labor market demand) premises, or humanitarian (e.g., the acceptance of refugees) ones. Although these frameworks provide valuable inputs, ethically and practically, they restrict possibilities of debate too. This dichotomy is according to Dauvergne ineffective in explaining migration as it may and does invariably result to policy paralysis. Additionally, the two explanations have not been able to apply the brakes to the existing path in the direction of the exclusiveness of migration and securitization of migration regimes.

The most cautiously hopeful element in the analysis provided by Dauvergne has to do with the 2018 adopting of two United Nations Global Compacts on migration and on refugees. These non-binding agreements, based on the independence of states, reflect an unusual achievement at the international level on migration regulation. They accept the necessity of cooperation, data sharing, and shared responsibility which provide a possible blueprint to reconsider the migration policy outside the national interests. Dauvergne is however, cautious of the fact that these compacts are still more rooted in the current paradigms, and they do not help much in bringing a close definition between economic migration and forceful displacement(4). At best they are half-measures toward reinventing the global mobility to be more egalitarian and humane.

2.Understanding Trump and Brexit Through the New Politics of Immigration

Immigration has become one of the major agents of political upheaval in the global arena and it has altered the political fortunes in elections and re-evaluated the standards of politics. This can be seen nowhere as clearly as with political upsets that have shocked the world in the late 2010s namely, the ascension of Donald Trump to the presidency of the United States and the vote of the United Kingdom to depart the European Union. Granted, both of the developments were initially unlikely in the eyes of many (particularly to the intellectual and policy world), they are in fact characteristics of exactly the tensions and patterns that such a study as *The New Politics of Immigration* Catherine Dauvergne had described. Such incidents are not the exception that proves the rule but rather the representational moment of a broader trend of a more securitized, politicized and polarized immigration discourse. Referring to her initial thesis again, what Dauvergne musters up is the forces of Trump and Brexit heads a remapping of the emotional terrain of national identity and control of borders affirming that the new politics of immigration is fundamentally rooted and enthusiastically global(5).

2.1 Trump is Supposed to Take Over: The Immigration Rhetoric that was Weaponized

The hot rhetoric of immigration was the basis of the political story that Donald Trump has been standing on. Immediately at the start of his campaign in 2016, immigration had been turned into a national crisis in the American psyche. The notorious pledges of Trump to erect a wall on the border with Mexico, to impose travel bans on Muslim countries, and to deport illegal immigrants became solidified as the icons of protectionism and nationalism with his followers. Even the further moves of his administration, involving radical decreases of refugee admissions, withdrawals of DACA protections and incarceration and split-up of families along the southern border demonstrate a pattern of wider scope so-called legalized exclusion. Not only were these policy decisions but also political theatrics to strengthen the rhetoric of us versus them.

According to Dauvergne, the immigration agenda by Trump proves that there is increased legalization of exclusion which implies that immigration policy is more codified, rule-based, and formalized, without the discretion and the humanitarian leniency. New forms of exclusion came into use: executive orders, court fights, administrative measures, and pointed to the end of previous periods when the immigration policy established exceptions, or humanitarian waivers.

2.2 Brexit and Politics of Border Control in Britain

A similar, although more obliquely coded, opportunity existed in the United Kingdom, with the Brexit referendum. Although the sense of national sovereignty and economic independence has been the official reason behind the referendum, the issues of immigration especially in the European Union were part of the key factors that determine the level of debate amongst citizens. The slogans of the Leave campaign like Take Back Control turned into euphemisms of the anti immigration feelings enhanced by the fear to lose jobs, cultural homogenization, and strain on the social service (6).

Dauvergne states that Brexit can demonstrate that immigration can also be used as a mobilizing factor in electoral politics even at times when it is not outright promoted as the major concern. The UK political scene after Brexit referendum was that of efforts by some sections to maintain the economic relationship of EU membership and at the same time reduce the free movement of people. This is the dilemma between open markets and closed borders that is at the core of contemporary liberal democracies as they address the issue of immigration. Not insignificantly, Brexit brought to light a divided electorate too, older, rural voters more inclined to restrictionism and younger, urban ones more supportive of cosmopolitan openness and so foregrounding the cultural divide now marked by immigration.

2.3 Shared Patterns Populism and the Myth of Elite Insulation Surprise

Brexit and Trump seem very different phenomena, and they belong to different national contexts, but Dauvergne finds some common tendencies in them. Both were thought of as political surprises, upsets to elites who had not expected how well an anti-immigration message could mobilize voters. The policy and intellectual elite had not been able to visualize how large a portion of the electorate immigration had become a key issue. Such miscalculation shows the bigger problem of how the premise that immigration politics can be controlled along the old partisan lines and technocratic state was no longer realistic.

Dauvergne argues that the Trump and Brexit vote indicates an increasing anti-elitism-populism (a movement that decenters and harnesses national identity, cultural homogeneity, and control of borders as solutions to globally experienced elitism). Both of them had immigration as the figurative substitute of a wider complaint involving economic insecurity, cultural displacement, and political marginalization. The fact that these movements were

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successful indicates that immigration is no longer considered a marginal policy but has become an effective source of symbolism of national self-determination.

2.4 Policy and Discourse: The Economics Human Rights Binary beyond

The challenge to the prescriptive of framing the phenomenon of immigration via the binary opposition of the two aspects such as economic usefulness and human rights may be referenced to one of the most crucial interventions created by Dauvergne: dethroning the descriptology of immigration. To a large extent, the immigration debate on Trump and the Brexit themselves circumvented these modalities. The economic logic did not support the policies of Trump in fact, they went against it most of the time and it was not humanitarian rhetoric. They were, rather, moved by nationalistic and identity-based issues. In a similar way, human rights or even economic interdependence were not a major consideration in the Brexit debate with its talk of slogans of sovereignty and control(7).

These political changes uncover the ineffectiveness of traditional advocacy initiatives (i.e., by bypassing the mainstream arguments that have long dominated the sort of economic benefit vs. humanitarian obligation rhetoric) because when it comes to immigration, the two sides of the usual debate (i.e., the pros and the cons) have long lived in separate universes. According to Dauvergne, this binary model helps to explain why policies have ceased to innovate; they do not take into consideration other aspects of politics such as emotions and symbolism of immigration. The Trump and Brexit movements have shown how identity politics and appeals to security and nostalgia can much more easily dominate over the rationalism or the right based arguments when political problems are involved.

2.5 Lessons of the Political Myopia; Elites and the Shortsightedness of Foresight

One of the most self-reflective sections of the reflection of Dauvergne is her statement of self-surprise at the results of Brexit vote and the election of Trump. Although she has formulated an analytical lens through which depth of symbolic edges of immigration politics and the radical reconfiguration of politics was predictable, she has nevertheless conceded to having underestimated the strength of such sentiments to transform politics radically. There is a wider lesson here about the importance in the language of intellectuals and policymakers in being far more conscious of the flux of moods and tones of popular opinion and the expressive dynamism of the imagery of immigration in modern politics.

The problematic which must have impressed every reader is not that this theoretical model is defective and needs improvement, as on the contrary Dauvergne welcomes it as a robust one, but that the implications of it are not believed. Trump and the triumph of Brexit were not aberrations, but logical results of the trends, which Dauvergne had already outlined: the heightening politicization, securitization, and morphological polarization about immigration.

3.Rethinking Liberalism in the New Politics of Immigration

Canada has traditionally been positioned as a role model of a humanitarian immigration policy as it is among the top countries with a free migration system and liberal ideology. This tradition seemed to be reaffirmed in the 2015 election of the Liberal government led by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, in opposition to the restrictive policies of the immigration introduced by his Conservative predecessors. To ensure that the pledge was not a facade, Trudeau campaigned agreeing to the resettlement of 25,000 Syrians refugees in Canada, which emulated a new promise towards protection of refugees and being a responsible nation. Nevertheless, according to Catherine Dauvergne (Revisiting the New Politics of Immigration), the content of Canadian immigration policies under Trudeau fail to meet the liberal optimism expressed in it to begin with. Rather, the Canadian path shows that even moderate and rights-respecting governments are not exempted to the waves of the same political motion that takes overtly anti-immigrant governments. According to Dauvergne, the fact is that the new politics of immigration has not left Canada itself and perhaps its progressivism is more of rhetoric than anything.

3.1 Symbolism and Substance: The Syrian Resettlement Promises

In a 2015 federal election, the drowning death of the young Syrian toddler Alan Kurdi has become an iconic picture of the worldwide refugee outbreak, sparking the spirit in reaction to it, making immigration a national campaign theme in Canada. Trudeau responded with a commitment to resettle 25,000 Syrian refugees in a timely manner, which, as at early 2016, has been fulfilled, to the larger extent. Such a move was then celebrated as a new humanitarian accomplishment. Nevertheless, a more skeptical view is welcomed by Dauvergne. The government achieved its quantifiable aim, but the process and extent of resettlement decelerated in the post-war years. This early burst of enthusiasm did not result in permanent change or increased engagements. The refugee influx, in

practice, was more of a reset button in terms of symbolism, a populist show of support to support the country image on the international stage, rather than a paradigm policy change in this respect (8).

This selective vigour points at a wider quality regarding the politics of immigration nowadays, that temporary acts of humanitarianism may obscure conformity with earlier regimes of restriction. Although the refugee resettlement drive of Trudeau was eye-catching, it did not imply a long-term desire towards expanding refugees and recalibrating laws. It was therefore not long before the euphoria of the victory of the Liberals, particularly that of the migrant advocacy groups, died down.

3.2 Policy Continuities the Conservative Legacy Still There

Among the most telling activities of this existing immigration regime in Canada is the fact that it is consistent with those implemented by the Conservative government that was led by Stephen Harper (2006 to 2015). Among the efforts made by that government to transform the Canadian immigration law were the tightening of asylum; raising criminal inadmissibility grounds; the development of the Express Entry skilled migration program; limiting family reunification; and Safe Third Country Agreement with the United States.

The Trudeau government may have had some reversals that got headlines, such as the decision to kill the citizenship-stripping law and reinstate health coverage to refugee claimants, but most of the fundamentally structural changes had not been made. Express Entry system, which challenged the idea of fair, queue-based immigration process, was still there. Equally, new requirements on triggers of deportation developed under Faster Removal of Foreign Criminals Act were not abolished. That is to say, the Trudeau government was willing to accommodate the new baseline created by the previous administrations and work within them.

According to the evaluation given by Dauvergne, the thought instilled that change in partisanism equals policy change is put to question. The new politics of immigration is strong that even actions are not taken on the main structural problems by the Liberal government. Not even self-proclaimed feminists/pro-human-rights governments can bring themselves or find the ability to bring down the edifice of exclusion left by its arch-political enemy.

3.3 The Might of Formalism and Incrementalism in Law

Another conspicuous feature of the Trudeau style is his determination to show legal formality and bureaucratic adjustments rather than radical reform. The government chose to stick with the gears of technical manipulation like revision of thresholds to admit exclusions relating to health-related issues instead of doubting the general values that led to the concept of immigration governance. The impact of these new developments is also hard to measure particularly considering that there are still a lot of immigrants who made it through humanitarian waivers used in the past government. With this bureaucratic tinkering, there can be a facade of improvement without getting re-engineering the very workings of the system(9).

The most egregious instance of symbolic change is that of the government keeping the Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act, changing only the objectionable short title, but not any of the substantive provisions of the act. The rhetoric violence of the act that puts cultural practices in racialized and Islamophobic contexts enabled it to be another easy target to be repelled. How reluctant even progressive governments are to undermine reactionary narratives when they become codified in law is indicated by how well preserved it has been.

3.4 Unfulfilled Human Rights Declarations

In contrast to its adoption of a rights-based language in other sectors gender equality, Indigenous reconciliation, and foreign policy, the Trudeau government defies the linguistic project of rights elsewhere by revealing its record on immigration. A change-making immigration agenda has not been translated into human rights rhetoric. The United States has not made efforts to redefine itself as a safe country under the asylum accord even after the huge cases of human rights violation have been recorded under the Trump administration. Neither has it been put on to redress the situation with regard to jus sanguinis citizenship rights, which was another major Conservative-era loss to Canadians born abroad.

This inconsistency reveals tension in the platform of government. Selectivity in the application of human rights is manifested when they are given priority when it complies with the mainstream aspirations or diplomacy but when it touches on processing sensitive political areas and interests such as immigration, it becomes secondary. Dauvergne emphasizes that immigration law is a closed sphere of action, against which the discourse of rights and distant influences of the progressive trends are ineffective, and it does not appear under the action of the governing trends of other spheres of government.

3.5 The New Normal: Liberalism Becomes Restrictionist

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The historic permanence of the Harper-era changes and the reluctance of the Trudeau government to reverse such measures exemplifies how an orthodoxy of restrictive logic can become dominant in the immigration regime. Canadian immigration system is still tied down by the securitized, economic, and legalistic priorities even in the face of changes in the ideologies of the leaders. This is the most damning evidence of what Dauvergne calls the new politics in many ways: not only did the policies they were under provision fail to kill the exclusionary policies, they have become so normalized that liberal governments enforce them uncontroversially.

What Canada was once proud of, its inclusive and community-based model of immigration, has become figuratively representative of how entrenched exclusion can run throughout even one of the international tributaries of multiculturalism and rights-based rule. Immigration politics have changed to such an extent that we might not be able to ever go back to the place of settlement and social cohesion(10). According to the analysis by Dauvergne, Canada did not so much have a steady or even extraordinary immigration liberalism as is popularly thought and only some liberalism has been experienced as a result of centrist rule being eroded.

4.Rethinking the UN Migration and Refugee Compacts

The two United Nations initiatives, the Global Compact on Refugees (GCR) and the Global Compact on Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (GCM) were adopted in the international community in December 2018 in response to supply and demand pressures and trends set by the world market. The non-binding agreements were received as a landmark innovation in the governance of international migration and luxuriated in, as an indication of collaboration in multilateral cooperation against the backdrop of intensifying cross-border mobility and human security. However, a cautious interpretation is given, by Catherine Dauvergne, in re-evaluation of The New Politics of Immigration. Despite the symbolic significance of these compacts, she poses the question whether they indeed reflect real normative achievements or just a continuation of state-centered agendas dressed up as collective action. In this part, the given section explores the composition, basis and built-in contradictions of the compacts, and how they are incorporated into the dynamics of the modern politics of immigration.

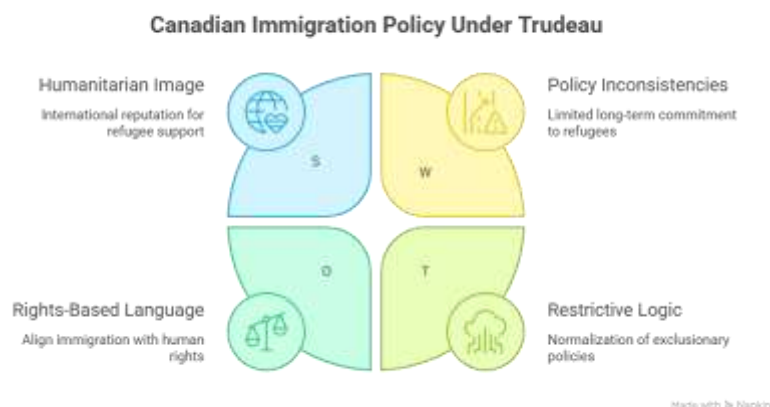


FIGURE 2 Canadian Immigration Policy Under Trudeau

4.1 The Context: Crisis-to-Cooperation

The motivation of both compacts arises directly as a result of what occurred in 2015 where Europe underwent the largest wave of asylum seekers which were led mainly by Syrians, Afghani, and other war-ravaged areas. This is a recent wave of migration that has caused a humanitarian and a political fallout prompting a fierce debate on the failures of collective burden-sharing and the capabilities of existing legal instruments. The opening of the borders of Germany to more than a million refugees by the Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel, was a real exception regarding the existing tendencies in Europe, and it was a moment of change in international migrations politics. It was this break that led UN General Assembly in 2016 to approve New York Declaration on refugees and migrants, which led to the two compacts. Although the two documents are presented as separate and different initiatives one concerned with migrants and the other with refugees, they are both the product of the same geopolitical exigence. To Dauvergne, it is not an issue of whether these compacts are necessary or not, but whether they are addressing the structural issues that define the new politics of immigration in any meaningful way.

4.2 The Divided Architecture of Governance of Migration

Bifurcation of the compacts is perhaps the most telling characteristic of the compacts. The UN instead of seeing migration and asylum being a part of the same continuum of movement in the whole world decided to develop two completely distinct frameworks. The Global Compact on Refugees endorses the primary nature of the 1951 Refugee Convention and focuses on principles of burden-sharing, voluntary return and self-reliance. The Global Compact on Migration, in its turn, specifically claims not to include refugees and reiterate the principle of the state sovereignty.

According to Dauvergne, this duality is politically convenient, as well as intellectually problematic. It solidifies the random legal difference between migrants and refugees, when sometimes the reality of the life experience can be rather difficult to classify in such a clean way. With such an institutional partition, the compacts will end up codifying the very sort of fragmentation that is so detrimental to effective international governance in the first place. Moreover, the fact the GCM repeatedly sought to reaffirm the sovereign right to formulate the migration policy stands as a striking example of the will of unwilling states to relinquish any significant control in the given sphere.

4.3 The Power of State Sovereignty and the Secure Distance of Rights

Notwithstanding the vast quantities of rhetoric about the compacts with its focus on cooperation, inclusion, and dignity, both texts are pessimistic tools in the end. They are saturated in the language of state control and not migrant empowerment. To take a specific example, the right of states to draw a distinction between regular and irregular migration, and to set requirements on entry and residence in a given country, is explicitly stated in the GCM. This placement discloses an underpinning contradiction: the compacts want to establish international solutions, but they do it under a structure that approves a national concern rather than international duty.

According to Dauvergne, this preoccupation with sovereignty is not only a political need, but also reflects the influence of stance of securitized and economically instrumental perspective of migration down to even global humanitarian action. Instead of promoting a change on this paradigm, the compacts are designed to deal with it. They fail to suggest new obligatory obligations and legal securements. Rather, they provide voluntary provisions that can only turn out to be more of rhetoric tools than game changers.

4.4 The Missing Rights Agenda: A Shift in Normative Discourse

Perhaps, the most shocking aspect of the compacts especially the Global Compact on Migration is the fact that they have ditched a human rights based approach. The protection of rights that is hoped to be introduced by this instrument is different to those introduced by earlier international instruments like the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families because the GCM is not aiming to widen the scope of rights protection, or set new obligations. Rather, it deals with utilitarian collaboration, information exchange, and technical assistance.

This de-centering of rights is not only a sign of things on the ground politically, but also a really interesting change of the discourse of global governance of migration. According to Dauvergne, this is a crucial stage of development of the immigration discourse. The decision to avoid rights expansion is seen as a considered backtrack a concession as to how much unused are the rights which have been won, and to what an impolitical degree become discourse involving rights. But it is also in danger of going to far. The compacts by claiming only slightly more strongly that migrants have a weak moral or legal case may in fact help come to terms with what already exists in the world and change little.

4.5 Sparks of Imagination: Information, Networks and Deviants

Nevertheless, in spite of their weaknesses, the compacts actually have some things that indicate prospects of positive change. The two documents also recommend committing more resources to data infrastructure surrounding migration an initiative that has the potential to base policy making on data and knowledge instead of fears. In addition, the compacts recognize the extensive contribution of the non-state actors, such as civil society, NGOs, and academic institutions, in service provision and migration discussion.

Dauvergne points at the possibility of constructing a global academic network dealing with migration and displacement as a unique and pleasant phenomenon in the GCR. This program acknowledges the usefulness of research and knowledge creation in making policies. In a similar manner, through the encouragement of local and decentralized solutions, the compacts could provide space to oppose centralised state-led system of governing migration.

The compacts, as Dauvergne concludes, do not represent a transformational instrument, but a mere reflection of the contemporary political situation, as could be defined as a product of the moment. The exceptional support they

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have shown at the UN that is in spite of their not being binding, illustrates their readiness to seem cooperative without forfeiting actual power. The international agreement rests on the safeness of the voluntary compliance and political appeal. But this is significant as well. That 150+ countries were willing to sign off on a mutual view of cooperation on migration, not to mention the fact that 150+ states were also agreeing to common definitions of migration status, is, in itself, unusual in these days when nationalist and anti-immigrant mood appears to be on the rise around the world. The compacts may not succeed to the extent of their utopian dreams but they will provide a foundation on which subsequent reforms could be initiated.

5. Conclusion

In Chapter 5 of her *The New Politics of Immigration*, Catherine Dauvergne revisits the thesis of the original book published six years earlier in 2016 and it is in her reflections that she delivers a reflection awakening: what she thought then happened to be false since the structural dynamics she observed in 2016 still remain relevant but even more pronounced in national and global politics. Not only have the past few years not overturned the emergence of a new political order of migration the one defined by securitization, urgency, the breaking down of settlement discourses, the commodification of human movement but they have, indeed, reinforced them. Although there have been cases in which optimism seemed to flare a bit, the larger picture shows that in relation to immigration, politics have become hardened, uninspired, and unresponsive to the core change.

The settler society mythology which was once deployed to rationalize inclusive policies in such countries as Canada, Australia and the United States has shown to be extraordinarily durable, but ultimately empty. Although it remains in the rhetoric on public arena, it ceased to be a basis of the policymaking. Contemporary immigration regimes have lost their beauties with the adoption of a one time economic viability and a strategy of strengthening the borders. National identities are more and more characterized not by the openness of the past but by the fact that the necessity to protect against the alien is perceived. In such climate, we do not want to be seen as future citizens but tolerated as a temporary worker or subject of non inclusion as immigrants. To Dauvergne, such loss is much more than symbolic it marks a paradigm shift in the self-conception of societies and their sense of obligation to newcomers.

The political case studies which were considered Trump election campaign, Brexit, the tight reformation of Trudeau, and the UN Compacts show that now not only populists but also the centrist governments work in the framework of the new politics. Policies that are worded to hint at inclusion or other types of humanitarianism do not show much in the way of structural change even where a change happens. Really, a lot that has been inclined as change, when looked into, turns out to be simply rhetoric modification or rhetorical moderation. This is especially true with the Canadian example as a progressive administration took over, practically almost all the exclusion infrastructure built by its conservative forerunners by simply changing the optics and tone of it.

Another critical aspect of this political transformation is the restriction of the policy discussion to the so-called economics-human rights dyad (Dauvergne 2006; see also Dauvergne, this volume). Through the argument of economic reasonableness, governments also exhibit restrictive policies and proponents of freedom on the other hand respond through universal rights. However, the two frameworks have exhausted their scope. Economic reasoning tends not to recognize cultural and emotional framing of migration politics, and human rights discourse, however morally forceful, is too often in fruitless. This polarization of framing has helped to lead to what Dauvergne calls policy paralysis - the recurring problem of neither side being able to increase its own momentum to move the debate. The outcome is seeing a stagnation of vision even in the presence of an increasing human needs and global mobility.

The emergence of global compact on migration and refugees seemed to temporarily show some relief as a counter-narrative. The fact of their adoption was indicative of the fact that multilateralism was not dead yet and the country could institutionalize cooperation on migration without use of force. However, one can only wonder about the non-binding character of such agreements, the respect they show towards the national sovereignty, and the way not to step on the toes of controversial rights enlargements that all speak of the boundaries of what one can do politically in the present day. In this set of compacts, more than a path out of the present is suggested. Therefore they cannot be interpreted as anything but diagnostic as opposed to a revolutionary practice pointing toward a shared world opinion in favor of the safe path of affirmation as opposed to true reimagining.

In her reflection, Dauvergne too comes to confront the disturbing facts of how the power of these shifts might not have been as much appreciated as it should have by scholars and its advocates including herself. The element of

surprise that characterizes such outcomes as the Trump triumph or the Brexit referendum success is not actually about such electoral outcomes but rather discloses a blind spot of the elites and the thoughtful community. The terrain of the politics of immigration shifted, but people could not come to terms with how profound or what speed that shift was. It is on this recognition that there is a demand of re-inviting the humility of intellectuals and more critically interrogating how these assumptions of the prevalent theories on migration and integration are held.

In spite of the poor prognosis, Dauvergne is not hopeless. She sees minor but meaningful ways into which the key openings lie: the potential mobilization of improved migration statistics to policy making, the increase activities of non-state actors, and how the economic-rights dichotomy may be undermined by more participatory or local types of governance. They are, however, at most germinal skirmishes; the indications of a wave in any definite sense of the term. In order to construct a more human, creative, and productive manner in handling the issue of immigration, more dramatic breaks are required ones that disrupt not only the role of the state as the sole power and competent body but also commodification of human bodies and decentering of mythologies long after expiring and no longer fulfilling their utility.

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Conflicts of interest

The authors have no conflicts of interest to declare

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