Working Paper
No. 498

Managing Migration in the IOM's World
Migration Report 2008

Beatriz Campillo Carrete and Des Gasper

March 2010

The Institute of Social Studies is Europe's longest-established centre of higher education and research in development studies. On 1 July 2009, it became a University Institute of the Erasmus University Rotterdam (EUR). Post-graduate teaching programmes range from six-week diploma courses to the PhD programme. Research at ISS is fundamental in the sense of laying a scientific basis for the formulation of appropriate development policies. The academic work of ISS is disseminated in the form of books, journal articles, teaching texts, monographs and working papers. The Working Paper series provides a forum for work in progress which seeks to elicit comments and generate discussion. The series includes academic research by staff, PhD participants and visiting fellows, and award-winning research papers by graduate students.

Working Papers are available in electronic format at www.iss.nl

Please address comments and/or queries for information to:

Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

or

E-mail: wpapers@iss.nl

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Abstract

The 2008 *World Migration Report* from the International Organization for Migration is an enormous document that reflects efforts led by business sectors and some sections of governments in rich countries to move away from policy agendas overwhelmingly focused on restriction of international migration, towards a somewhat more open global economic order, and to build acceptance of substantial in-migration to match market demand. This paper illustrates use of methods of discourse analysis to identify the principles of selection, interpretation, prioritisation and argumentation that structure such a report. It gives particular attention to the Report's choices and use of key terms, like 'mobility', 'needs' and 'globalization', and of key metaphors which guide the discussion, notably the metaphor of 'flows'. Dominated by the mental models of neoclassical and neoliberal economics and the policy preoccupations of rich countries, the Report's central claim is the "need" for international cooperation to match labour demand and supply within a global framework, as a concomitant of economic globalisation in other respects; and that this will support economic development worldwide. A human rights stance makes occasional appearances, represented by the term 'human mobility' rather than 'labour mobility' or 'mobility for economic purposes', but remains firmly subordinated. Migrants' opinions and agency receive little attention; economic priorities based on market power dominate.

Keywords

Managing Migration in the IOM's World Migration Report 2008[1]

"Labour migration is now acknowledged as an integral part of the global
economic landscape"

(IOM 2008: 4)

1   Introduction

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) was founded in 1951,
originally as the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration
(ICEM) to deal with resettlement of displaced persons, refugees and migrants
in the aftermath of the Second World War (Olsen 2002; Wennerholm and
Zillen 2003).[2] It acquired its current structure and profile in 1989 and now has
more than 125 member countries and almost 7,000 staff worldwide, led from a
headquarters in Geneva. IOM's website describes it as "the leading
intergovernmental organization in the field of migration", concerned with
cooperation to promote international migration law, migration policy debate
and guidance, migrants' rights, and attention to health and gender dimensions
of migration. What are the assumptions, values and beliefs about migration
seen in IOM's current research and proposals?

IOM's emergence as a key actor in world migration management is
epitomised by its production in recent years of a flagship publication, the *World
Migration Report* (WMR), which first appeared in 2000 and has appeared every
two or three years since then.[3] Its arrival in 2000 coincided with a shift in
emphasis in rich countries from only restriction of immigration to also
controlled promotion. The WMR is one of the many global reports produced
by international organisations, such as the World Bank's annual *World
Development Report*. Apart from a role in seeking to justify the presence of the
organisation concerned and to safeguard its budget, such reports are key
communicative mechanisms in setting the agenda of negotiations in the
international system. They are major reference points for many governments
and non-governmental actors, including in academia and international and
local non-government organisations, for whom they frame the issues and
select, process and interpret the data. This paper analyses the most recent
WMR, the *World Migration Report 2008: Managing Labour Mobility in the Evolving
Global Economy*, a massive volume of around 550 double-columned pages. We
investigate the Introduction and Conclusion, for they provide the summary
and main messages, and are the chapters that receive by far the most public
attention. Such chapters are correspondingly prepared with special care. What
are the principles of selection, organisation and weighting that guide their
argumentation?

---

[1] We are indebted to two referees for detailed suggestions.

[2] In French, Spanish and Portuguese, the acronym is OIM.

[3] See the IOM website: <http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/pid/2>.

We explore the two chapters using a series of tools of policy discourse analysis, within an overall methodology from Teun van Dijk (2001, 2009). First, to situate the texts in socio-political context, the next section will introduce the sponsoring organisation and its operations. This is followed by an outline of the 2008 Report as a whole, including indication of its authors and focus, to provide the textual context for the two highlighted chapters. Section 4 identifies their macro-structures and key overall meanings, with special attention to the conceptualisation of "migration" and "mobility" and their relation to trade and economic development. Section 5 investigates selected local meanings and rhetorical choices in the chapters, including the orientating metaphors, and the key roles played by the much-used terms "flows", "needs" and "globalisation". Section 6 summarises the approach to migration that the Report presents. It contrasts the respect for human rights that is declared in the text and the economic notions that it mainly applies to migration. It underlines at the same time the significant shift in emphasis from control to permanent "management" of large-scale migration flows that the Report expresses.

2   The International Organization for Migration

The IOM's activities include providing a forum for exchange of information and study of international migration, and promotion of cooperation and coordination in migration matters (IOM Constitution, 1987, Article 1.1). Its self-presentation—including the very presence, title and bulk of the *World Migration Reports*—can sometimes give an impression that it holds a status virtually equivalent to the member organisations of the United Nations.[4] In reality, IOM is deliberately not part of the UN system. Its mandate is tied to the will of its member states not to an international convention. Acceptance of new member states is conditional on approval by two-thirds of existing member states (Article 2b). "The Organization shall recognize the fact that control of standards of admission and the number of immigrants to be admitted are matters within the domestic jurisdiction of States, and, in carrying out its functions, shall conform to the laws, regulations and policies of the States concerned" (Article 1.3). No international legal convention is mentioned in the text of the IOM Constitution, nor is there reference to the rules of the UN system. The starting premises are notions of state-sovereignty and "orderly migration".

---

[4] Its website declares: "The International Organization for Migration has a long standing and intense working relationship with the United Nations (UN) at several levels. Today, there are three formal elements on which IOM's overall relationship with the United Nations is based. The first is the observer status in the UN General Assembly, which IOM obtained in 1992 (GA resolution A/RES/47/4). The second is IOM's inclusion by the General Assembly as a 'standing invitee' in the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) mechanism, which also started in 1992. The third element is the Cooperation Agreement between IOM and the UN, which was signed in 1996 and provides a formal basis for a closer collaboration between the two secretariats." http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/partnerships/intergovernmental-organizations/lang/en <15 October 2009.

IOM's internal balance of power and patterns of accountability are inevitably influenced by finance. Its largest funders are the EU and the USA. Besides IOM's administrative budget, to which all members contribute, the separate operational budget (Article 25) is derived from donations, including from non-members, and is devoted to three functions in addition to those already mentioned: assistance to migrants, displaced persons and refugees; assistance to labour recruitment needs of member states; and voluntary return migration petitions, as "requested by States or in cooperation with other interested international organizations" (Article 1.1(d)). Thus, IOM operations in return-migration and recruiting are open to special requests by member states and depend on financial capacities and interests of sponsors.

The IOM faces criticism regarding its transparency, accountability and commitment to human rights. The former ICEM was created in the year of adoption of the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, for protection of basic rights of refugees.[5] Some migrant rights organisations believe ICEM was created to counter the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.[6] IOM's role in international migration may be more complex than this, but for Geiger (2005) the root issue is that it lacks a mandate that would allow a more humanitarian approach and counteract its dependence on nation-state financial sponsors who are driven by fears of flooding by immigrants. IOM plays, for example, a major role in processes, not always transparent, that allow European states to transfer border enforcement to transit and sending states by means of inter-governmental agreements that make access to EU assistance and to possible partner/member status conditional on cooperation in such enforcement.

> Especially the inter-governmental organisation of IOM has developed into a regional (as well a global) key actor in the new 'management' approach…, and has somehow become not only an 'assistant' for its member states but rather as well a 'managing director' in providing expertise and facilitating sometimes rather questionable formal and informal agreements (Geiger 2005: 25).

While IOM's official mission relates to all major issues related to migration, including refugees and displacement, for more than two decades its focus has been migration management. In a world of nation-states where globalisation is now considered unavoidable, states seek to manage their perceived needs for both labour movement and restriction of labour movement. IOM holds that it works in four areas of migration management: facilitating migration; regulating migration; migration and development; and forced migration. Of these, the first three appear in the *2008 World Migration Report*. Forced migration is omitted, despite the indirect contributions of the international economic system to its causation. Currently, predominant perspectives do not see the

---

[5] UNHCR (2001), "UNHCR Marks 50th Anniversary of U.N. Refugee Convention", press release, July 26. http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/news/opendoc.htm?tbl=NEWS&id=3b6027264. Accessed 11 October 2009.

[6] Noborder Network, 2009: "The IOM, Spies and Migrant Hunters', Communiqué of the Campaign to Combat Global Migration Management, October 3, <www.noborder.org/iom/index.php>, accessed 11 October 2009.

international economic system as threatened by forced migrants. One enormous cloud, though, is beginning to be noted on the horizon: climate change's possible unleashing of massive additional migratory flows – a topic ignored in the 2008 Report until the final pages of its Conclusion.

3   Overview of the World Migration Report 2008

The introductory chapter of the *World Migration Report* (pp. 1-20) has three parts. The first gives a perspective on the nature of international migration, especially labour migration, and the factors causing it (pp. 1-5). The second part introduces three "clusters of policy challenges…of central interest to this Report" (p. 5): the vast and vague but reassuringly titled area of "effective strategies for the management of international labour mobility" (p. 5); "the relationship between migration and trade" (p. 5); and "the complex relationship between migration and development", by which it in fact refers to the effects of migration on economic growth in low-income countries (p. 7). It also notes five "very significant and sensitive cross-cutting issues" (p. 9): "the human and labour rights and status of migrant workers", "the interface between migrants and the host community", "the management of security issues" and illegal migrants (all on p. 9), the treatment of women migrants, and the way that global migration means that now "health risks and benefits are to a certain degree shared" (p. 11). These cross-cutting issues are problematic aspects or criteria in terms of which pure market-led migration is recognised to be unsatisfactory, and indicate areas where migration should therefore be managed. The Introduction's third section (pp. 12-18) provides the equivalent of an Executive Summary of the volume, including a summary of the concluding chapter.

The Conclusion chapter (pp. 393-401) functions thus not as the summary of the volume, but as a restatement and extension of main messages. It concentrates on underlining needs for policy coordination to successfully connect labour supplies and demands. Illustrative of the internal battles over emphasis and interpretation that are common in such reports, not all of the Conclusion's messages are chosen for mention in the Introduction's overview, including not least its message on climate change. Those messages from the Conclusion which are selected for the Introduction's summary will be reproduced as Box 1 below, and provide one overview of the Report.

In between these two chapters come 13 thematic chapters, in two parts. The Report's more descriptive Part A is entitled "The Worlds of Contemporary Mobility for Economic Purposes". Later we examine this terminological choice ("mobility" rather than "migration"), and the declared restriction to "economic purposes". Chapter 1 explains how the growth of global-wide labour markets has been induced by other features of economic globalisation. Chapter 2 looks at movements of highly-skilled migrants, implicitly with main attention to movements from low-income to high-income countries, and chapter 3 at the "re-emergence" (p. 13) of large-scale movements of low and semi-skilled migrants, with explicit focus on movements from low-income to high-income countries. Such movements had in fact continued on a large scale in various parts of the world, such as to the

Gulf States and in East Asia (for example to Thailand and Malaysia), so talk of "re-emergence" suggests a Northern perspective in the report. Chapters 4 and 5 follow up chapter 2 on highly-skilled migrants, and reflect new driving concerns in rich countries' "migration management": Chapter 4 is about movements of students and the deliberate policies in rich countries to retain the most talented foreign students; and chapter 5 examines the relation between tourist movements and migration. Chapter 6 looks at migration of family members who follow an earlier migrant. Chapter 7 considers migration within national boundaries, which is oddly declared a "relatively new sector of migration management" (p. 14), presumably meaning new in terms of attention given by IOM and similar bodies, who have now become aware of its significance as sometimes a prelude to international migration. Chapter 8 treats illegal migration.

Both the scope and the language of coverage in Part A's survey thus suggest a high-income country perspective. At the same time, they reflect how that perspective is evolving. The Introduction begins with reference to "much reduced levels of distrust between developed and developing countries" (p. 1) and "the current and welcome inclination to acknowledge the potentially beneficial outcomes of migratory phenomena" (p. 2). This reflects, for the moment and in some quarters, a relative shift towards an outlook that migration is "a process through which nations are built and strengthened…rather [than] divided and weakened" (p. 2).

The policy-centred Part B of the Report is entitled "Managing Labour Mobility in the Evolving Global Economy". "Mobility" and "Economy" remain the declared parameters, with "Managing" and "'Global" as the chosen emphases. Chapter 9 calls for investment and coordination in research to build required knowledge. Chapter 10 looks at (international) migration management by labour exporting countries, and chapter 11 at management by countries of destination. Chapter 12 turns to "the migration and development relationship", under which heading it discusses the impacts of labour exports on low-income countries' economic growth. Chapter 13 considers options for international cooperation.

The Report is a collective document, written by personnel from IOM, other inter-governmental organisations and researchers from influential universities. All the institutions, with one exception, are based in the North.[7] The editors-in-chief were Gervais Appave, then Director of Migration Policy and Research at the IOM, and Ryszard Cholewinski, a professor at the University of Leicester in Britain. Appave had a career in the Australian civil service from the 1970s, mainly in the Department of Immigration, and worked for IOM from 2001. He is listed as responsible for the Introduction.

---

[7] The chapter authors worked in the following institutions based in high income countries: the Overseas Development Institute (ODI, United Kingdom), International Migration Institute (Italy), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), International Labour Organization (ILO); and a series of influential universities, all but one in the North: Georgetown University and the University of California in the USA; the Australian National University; Middlesex University and the Institute of Education, from the United Kingdom. One chapter was written by a researcher from the University of the Philippines.

Cholewinski is a leading researcher on migration, specialised in human rights, employment rights and the international protection of refugees. The Editorial Board of the Report was headed by an American lawyer, Michele Klein Solomon, IOM's incoming Director of Migration Policy, Research and Communications, who previously worked for the US Department of State as a refugee and migration lawyer (1989-2000). Appave, Cholewinski and Solomon are listed as co-responsible for the concluding chapter.

Our focus on the first and last chapters of the Report reflects their special status as overview chapters. Their authors are the senior editors chosen by IOM. The chapters are written as self-standing statements meant for wide audiences. Requests for the other chapters via the IOM website lead to requirements for payment, suggesting that those chapters are intended for specialist organisations and professionals.[8] In contrast, the Introduction and Conclusion are readily accessible and downloadable free of charge.

The profiles of our two chapters' authors, of the researchers in the Report, and of the organisation that sponsors the exercise all indicate a predominance of elite circles in high-income countries. We will ask how far the Report is structured by economic ideas derived and institutionalised in the North, and how far that is balanced by other visions of migration and by concern for human rights.

4 Overall Themes and Structure: The Logic of Legitimacy Accorded to Labour Mobility

"Language users are unable to memorize and manage all meaning details of a discourse, and hence mentally organize these meanings by global meanings or topics" (van Dijk 2001: 102). In van Dijk's terms, "global meanings" are the "semantic macrostructures", the overall leading themes that an author has in mind and that a reader is likely to take away from a complex text: the gist. Often authors approximate at least some of these global meanings through the titles, summaries, conclusion sections and so on.

Here we explore the 2008 Report's global meanings through, first, exploration of its key choices of terminology: a concept of "mobility" rather than "migration"; and a declared focus on "labour mobility" and on economic concerns, and second, through examination of titles, themes and structure in the two overview chapters, to identify macro structures of meaning: the basic argument and general principles that guide the content.

4.1 "Labour mobility" rather than "human mobility", and priority to economic concerns

The predominant language in the Report is seen in its title, which is also the title of Part B: "Managing Labour Mobility in the Evolving Global Economy". It adopts the wider concept of "mobility" rather than "migration"; but

---

[8] However, the chapters can be reached directly via Internet search by title and pdf file type.

concentrates on "labour mobility" rather than the broader alternative of "human mobility", and seeks to limit discussion to "economic" concerns. Let us begin by examining these three choices, as prelude to characterising the overall argumentative structure and thrust.

First, "mobility" is chosen rather than "migration" because, we are told, the latter "has been predominantly linked to a type of movement leading to a permanent change of residence [to] another country" (p. 1). "Mobility" is better at "incorporating a wider set of migratory behaviours" (p. 11), including temporary movement, multi-stage movement and divided residence. Related to that, it sounds natural and less threatening. Nevertheless, the Report in fact still largely speaks of "migration", even in the opening section called "Globalization and Mobility" (p. 2 ff) where it declares that it is adopting a focus on mobility. The popular construct of (international) migration as a threat is tamed by presenting a more comforting alternative: mobility; this seems to allow the authors to then continue largely using the now tamed term.

Second, even though the Conclusion begins with a description of "human mobility", a "labour mobility" perspective predominates in the Report. While it limits itself to a focus on mobility for purposes of labour, the Report's references to "human mobility" have a function. The Introduction notes an ongoing disagreement whether "migration [should] be considered an entirely 'natural' part of human behaviour that has occurred throughout history, or rather as 'unnatural'…" (p. 2). If we see human mobility as natural and indeed as an important part of human societies' evolution and adaptation, then that connotation carries over to its component of labour mobility too.

Third, we saw that Part A's title insists that its focus is "Contemporary Mobility for Economic Purposes" only. Yet the Introduction cites studies (in Box 3, on pp. 10-11) that show how many other purposes are important for migrants. Hew's (2003) research, for example, shows how a major motivation for women in Sarawak to move to cities was to live a "modern" life, including more independence, despite being in unsatisfying and arduous jobs, and not solely or primarily to have more income (IOM 2008: 10). Such findings recur in other research (e.g., Kabeer 2000).[9] Educated young people worldwide, similarly, are far less willing to undertake agricultural and other heavy manual work than were their forebears, and often prefer types of work (or even unemployment), which give significantly lower monetary rewards. Further, as we noted, chapters 4, 5 and 6 of the Report itself are on types of movement that are not primarily for economic purposes – movements of students, tourists, and family members – although the chapters consider the connections of these movements to seeking and taking up work.

The attempt to give priority to economic motives recurs periodically. We see it in the reduction of the discussion of development to just economic growth in poor countries, something narrower than the human development spoken of in the UN system. This narrow concept may match an idea of "development" as one specialist corner in the system of international

---

[9] Also Carling, J., 2005: "Gender Dimensions of International Migration", in: GCIM, Global Migration Perspectives No. 5 (Geneva), at: <http://www.gcim.org/mm/File/ GMP%20No%20 5.pdf>.

organisations. Similarly, the Introduction declares that: "Broad academic, political, cultural and development goals of an essentially humanitarian nature have not completely disappeared [from rich country support for foreign students], but they are now overshadowed by sharper-edged economic objectives" (p. 13). The adjectives and adjectival phrases deserve attention—for example, the brazen use of "completely"—for they are all optional yet chosen. The phrase "essentially humanitarian" marginalises concerns other than economic profit for a rich country's own enterprises.

The choices seen above—in sum to use the concept of labour mobility rather than that of human migration—appear consistent with a Northern migration manager perspective. Such a view seeks to maintain Northern growth and competitiveness, manoeuvre around deeply suspicious groups in Northern societies, and make progress on specified areas of cooperation with a South that it increasingly respects, sometimes fears as a competitor, and sees itself as increasingly entangled and interdependent with. The language is often grudging or cautious, given the origin and the continuing threats for such a discourse. While demand for highly skilled migrants is "strong, and officially recognized", the numerically greater demand for low and semi-skilled migrants is described only as "noticeable, but often officially ignored" (p. 12). The Report also represents an opening to some previously taboo issues. It sometimes uses the reassuring, authoritative word "managing" in such a way as to permit a more pro-human stance:

> The word 'management' has occasionally been criticized as a euphemism for 'restriction' or 'control' and for giving insufficient attention to human rights concerns. As used in *World Migration 2008*, it refers to a planned and thoughtful approach to policy development; and to the careful selection and implementation of appropriate policy responses to the key questions confronting the international community (p. 1).

Behind this veil of vagueness, the message becomes: managed migration, management of large-scale ongoing migration, and not only the 1990s' themes of restriction and control. Substantial flows are to be expected.

4.2   Macrostructures of the text

We next identify the main topics of the two chapters. The Introduction uses the following section headings:

1) The Challenge of Migration Management
2) Globalization and Mobility
3) Labour Migration, a Key Aspect of Human Mobility and the Global Economy
4) Major Policy Issues and Challenges
5) (Textbox Int. 1 The State of Progress in GATS Mode 4 Negotiations
6) Textbox Int. 2 Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD)
7) Textbox Int. 3. Female Labour Migration and Gender Issues
8) Structure of the Report

9) Part A: The Worlds of Contemporary Mobility for Economic Purposes

10) Part B: Managing Labour Mobility in the Evolving Global Economy

The Conclusion does not use section headings. Therefore, Box 1 below gives instead the Introduction's summary (pp. 16-18) of the Conclusion chapter, in order to convey the character of that chapter and of the book as a whole.

BOX 1
The WMR 2008 Introduction's summary of the Conclusion

"…Finally, **Chapter 14 [the Conclusion]** offers a number of observations on the essential features of the contemporary migratory landscape surveyed in this Report, and of the broad policy strategies that could contribute to international efforts to realize the social and economic potential of international labour mobility. These can be summarized in ten brief points:

1. In its many and varied forms, human mobility within and across borders is one of the characteristic and perhaps even defining features of our contemporary world. To a large extent, it is both part and consequence of the complex and interacting social and economic processes involved in the phenomenon of globalization.

2. People seek to move for a large number of personal, family, social, business or work reasons, often in varying combinations,[10] but the opportunities to move are frequently limited, particularly for low and semi-skilled workers.

3. In view of the choices made by the international community to facilitate the movement of capital, goods and services, human mobility or, more specifically, the movement of human resources, at all skill levels, is now being increasingly factored into the equations intended to yield new economic gains. In other words, labour market dynamics are increasingly operating across international borders.

4. The policy implications of this steadily evolving situation are yet to be fully understood, but it is already apparent that avoiding the issue, ignoring this trend or a passive laissez-faire approach are unlikely to lead to the policy stances needed to realize the social and economic potential of mobility.

5. What is required, therefore, are planned and predictable ways of matching demand with supply in a safe, legal, humane and orderly manner. Given the diversity of labour market needs and of available skills, policies and procedures will have to display commensurate flexibility and adaptability to enable modes of labour mobility that may be short-term, circular, long-term or permanent.

6. Countries of origin and destination are increasingly engaged in the formulation of policies to meet their particular labour mobility objectives, namely, to train and prepare migrant workers for employment abroad on the one hand, and to identify labour market needs and seek recruitment of appropriate personnel on the other. Optimal outcomes will be achieved when the two sets of policies are complementary and mutually supportive elements of a coherent whole, directed towards the achievement of mutual development goals. To be successful, more cooperative approaches to human resource development are needed to meet national, regional and global objectives. Policies and appropriate means are needed as well to secure the participation in this shared endeavour of non-state stakeholders, including employers, recruitment agencies, trade unions, migrant and diaspora associations, and relevant inter-governmental organizations.

---

[10] The focus here is on movements that are essentially voluntary, but there are obviously persons who are forced to move and for whom there is an established international protection regime.

7. This pleads for the identification and development of clear linkages between the domains of migration proper and those of development, employment and trade within the broader framework of established global economic interests.

8. To reach that objective, the international community requires a common and accurate understanding of the many important issues at stake, including economic growth, managing social change while maintaining cohesion, upholding social justice and the protection of the human rights of the workers concerned, the pursuit of which amply justify the maintenance and further development of consultations and cooperation at regional and global levels.

9. A closely related need is the enhancement of global, regional and national knowledge of labour market trends, labour force profiles and labour migration trends through the establishment of appropriate databases and analytical work.

10. Of relevance to all of the above is the recognition of capacity-building requirements of all governments, in particular those of developing countries, to assess the levels of need, formulate policy and legislation, improve labour migration and related human resource development programmes through experimentation and innovation, and to monitor and evaluate outcomes.**

A new spirit of partnership in outlook and action is both possible and essential to realizing beneficial outcomes for the international community as a whole, including countries of origin, countries of destination and migrants and their families."

Source: IOM 2008, pp.16-18

Interestingly, in a number of respects the Conclusion chapter goes beyond what the Introduction reports about it. It contains, for example, a large text box on "Climate Change and Labour Mobility" (pp. 398-400); but that issue is not mentioned in the Introduction's summary, nor discussed elsewhere in the Introduction other than in a single phrase on page 3. It could have readily been alluded to in Point 8 of the summary. Similarly, Point 6 omits an important concluding phrase used in the corresponding sentence in the Conclusion: "while also ensuring that benefits continue to accrue to migrant workers and their families" (p. 395). Point 7 above omits the Conclusion's recognition of down sides to the relation between emigration and economic development, including the brain drain from low income countries (pp. 396-398). However, the summary still indicates the main intellectual structure of the Report, so we will refer to its points as themes, around which we can make additional remarks.

Points 1 to 3 of the summary sketch the present global situation with respect to human mobility. They reflect how both chapters characterise and explain contemporary international migration: intense labour mobility has emerged, with growing diversity of migration types, now that labour markets connect across countries. (See in particular the Introduction's section on *Globalization and Mobility*.) This is presented as in large part a result of the choice of trade- and capital-liberalisation policies by the international community, and thus as agreed for all countries.

The pivotal points, 4 to 6, declare the consequent necessity to manage rather than repress mobility, and sketch an orientation for policy response; points 7 to 10 mention a series of required activities. Points 4 and 5 suggest that proactive policy, migration management, is necessary to reap the significant potential gains from human mobility, via matching demand and supply in an acceptable manner, rather than, as explained elsewhere, relying

either on unguided markets that will generate social tensions and political backlash or on crude restrictions that will lead to black markets. Point 6 is central in suggesting a win-win solution to these problems via policy coordination between labour exporting and importing countries, including a variety of temporary labour-importation arrangements. It proposes that developed countries should identify labour market needs and recruitment tasks, and developing countries should prepare nationals to work abroad. "Optimal outcomes will be achieved when the two sets of policies are envisaged as complementary elements of a coherent whole, directed towards the achievement of shared development goals while also ensuring that benefits continue to accrue to migrant workers and their families" (p. 395).

The subsequent points address the policy triangle migration-trade-development. Point 7, as presented more fully in the Conclusion chapter, recognises potential downsides to migration, but presents them as increasing the case for cooperation in both trade and migration. Point 8 adds reference to human rights considerations. However, a human rights perspective is never prominent in the Report. The Introduction sets the discussion parameters more in terms of economic marketability:

> The issues to be addressed extend well beyond the unquestionably important formulation and implementation of minimum standards of protection. In a globalizing labour market, migrant workers seek to move across international borders in part because they have, at the very least, potentially competitive assets in terms of skills, wage expectations, and cultural attributes. The difficult challenge here is to have a policy regime that allows this competitive edge to be put to advantage and enables the realization of these assets, while precluding the 'commodification' of migrant workers. (p. 9)

Finally, Points 9 and 10 state that much research and coordination is required for countries to understand and reap the benefits of migration. They match the central purpose of the Report: to make understood the potential benefits of labour migration for all participants in the international economy and the prerequisites for achieving them.

4.3 The migration-development-trade triangle: Reason to cooperate?

Because of the centrality of Point 6 above, the matching of demand and supply, we lay out more fully the associated argumentative elements provided in the Conclusion (we use a second level index for each element).

> 6a. "Both countries of origin and destination stand to benefit from securing the involvement and cooperation of the widest range of stakeholders…. Bilateral cooperation offers many possibilities. Bilateral agreements are flexible instruments that can be used to match labour supply and demand in a planned, predictable and rights-based manner, while also contributing to the mitigation of irregular migration" (p. 396).

> 6b. There are three difficulties in regard to cooperation: nation states' territorial entrance prerogative may limit willingness to cooperate; in achieving nationally coordinated policy positions among interested domestic agencies; and differences in priorities among countries (Paraphrase from p. 396).

6c. "Despite these hurdles, however, numerous consultative mechanisms on migration policy have emerged over the last decade or so" like the Abu Dhabi Dialogue of 2008. "Such consultative processes, characterized by their informality and open-endedness, deserve to be further developed as forums for confidence building and information exchange" (p.396) and as discussion workplaces.

6d. The outcomes of these informal, non-binding consultative exercises "are strikingly convergent. All of them take as their starting point the increasing political visibility and importance of international migration; all of them acknowledge that mobility is an unavoidable economic and social reality; all of them point to benefits that flow from properly managed flows; all of them draw attention to the risks of not managing those flows; all of them assert that it is possible to arrive at common understandings and principles, and propose remarkably consistent lines of action. They also confirm the need for clearer linkages to be established between the domain of human mobility proper and closely adjoining policy fields, especially those of development and trade" (p. 397).

Points 6a to 6d propose a solution for the migration challenges faced. First, the potential of cooperation to match supply and demand, in the form of bilateral agreements of the type that we saw questioned by Geiger (2005), is set forth in point 6a. The terms "planned" and "predictable" stand here for market concerns, while "rights based manner" opens the economic outlook to a broader perspective. However, the absence of analysis in the Report of how these different concerns will coexist smoothly is significant. Second, the three obstacles to cooperation presented in 6b are countered in 6c and 6d by the positive experience shown by recent migration consultative exercises. 6d's last element bridges to the discussion of the migration-trade-development policy triangle and presents the only not entirely clear win-win prospect. It takes us to point 7, which attempts to solve the conflict between migration benefits and brain drain for sending countries, by exploring the potential if cooperation is achieved. For point 7 too, we use a second level index with letters to present the fuller set of arguments given in the Conclusion.

7a. "For all countries, progress in this continuously evolving and complex area is first and foremost subject to a better understanding of the impact of international labour mobility on domestic labour supply; the impact of migration on productivity in the domestic economy; and the impact of remittance flows on development. It will also depend on the establishment of genuine partnerships between countries of origin and destination to attain mutually satisfactory outcomes" (p. 397).

7b. "The migration and trade nexus is at least as complex as the migration and development equation. At the global level, tariffs and other barriers to cross-border investment and trade in goods have been very substantially reduced" and global exchanges expanded. "Facilitation of the movement of people has been identified as a potential avenue to further economic gains through trade liberalization, but the policy intersections between migration and trade need to be more clearly mapped out and fully explored. One specific issue to be addressed is the fundamental tension between trade-oriented policy objectives driven by market dynamics and premised on planning and predictability, and approaches to

migration management that favour discretion and the adaptation of policy strategies to changing circumstances" (pp. 397-398).

7c. "At the doctrinal level, trade theories have yet to agree whether trade and migration are substitutes (viz. supporting local economic growth and boosting exports would have the effect of easing migration pressure) or complements (viz. both trade and migration can increase, and can be mutually supportive). Trade theories need to be reviewed from the trade-migration vantage point and relevant supporting evidence gathered", including on the fast-growing "trade in services and knowledge-based trading patterns, both of which rely heavily on the mobility of human resources" (p. 398).

7d. "In the context of international trade negotiations, GATS Mode 4 is seen as a promising means to facilitate the temporary movement of service personnel; however, so far its scope of application has been largely limited to the international movement of highly skilled personnel, and considerable creativity and persistence are still needed to allow these negotiations to move forward". Similarly with regional and bilateral initiatives, but some of these already incorporate labour mobility and provide relevant experience for work on global approaches. Finally, policy coherence requires… "first, integration of worker mobility in national, regional and international employment and migration policies and strategies; and, second, the definition of the particular roles and responsibilities of all key stakeholders…" (p. 398).

The macro-structure of the text had already proposed a causal relation between migration and development, which is now backed by a list of economic, social, political and cultural benefits of diasporas (p. 397). In point 7a, various economic relations between migration and development, here meaning national economic development, are proposed. The declaration that these relations hold for all countries makes developed and developing countries appear to be on a "level playing field", and helps to manoeuvre the argument around developing country objections to brain drain. Point 7b acknowledges that we need more evidence on possible intersections between migration and trade, but it first presents further labour mobility as an identified expected source of benefits; and point 7c conveys impatience by speaking of "doctrinal", rather than scientific or theoretical, work on the relations between trade and migration. Given the declared lack of scientific clarity on the relations in the migration-development-trade triangle, point 7d returns to the pragmatic potential of cooperation, on the basis of successful recent negotiation experiences, although these have been queried heavily from other viewpoints which are not discussed in these chapters.

4.4 The naturalness of labour movements and of other migration

In this policy argument structure, the case for migration is governed by the claim of a need to attain labour market equilibrium in the global economy: supply must equal demand. Several topics in the Introduction and Conclusion reflect this, such as: "Labour Migration, a Key Aspect of Human Mobility and the Global Economy" (p. 4); and the Conclusion's Point 6, about the need for coordinated not unilateral policies in order to match labour demand with supply. The focus within human mobility is on labour that moves as an item of purchase in the global economy.

Neoclassical economics finds it natural to view labour as a factor of production, and as another item of trade, just as goods or currencies. A humanist perspective, such as human rights, holds that labour migrants are human beings and not merely another item of trade. The authors call for future research and planning on migration to include human rights issues (Point 8 in Box 1 above). But the manner of the move reveals the tension between an unclear stance on human rights and the use of an orthodox economics framework in which the meaning of human development reduces to "human resource development" from a market perspective: "Nevertheless, there are signs pointing to policy convergence in this area built around the notions of human resource development and migration management" (p. 395). What rights are included is not clear; the Conclusion mentions labour rights, but only twice (pp. 393, 398) and human rights are not reducible to labour rights alone.

Let us return to the aporia on the nature of human migration, presented early in the Introduction as part of explaining the challenges of the Report's task. We saw the following rhetorical figure, brought in as the first of the "many questions" that the Report sees as underlying the problems to reach a consensus on the "fundamental nature of migration" (p. 2): "Should migration be considered an entirely 'natural' part of human behavior that has occurred throughout history, or rather as 'unnatural', in the sense that it involves painful uprooting of individuals from their place of birth and their equally difficult relocation in other countries?" (p. 2) The authors link the "nature of migration" with the "nature of being human". The second possible answer that they give optimistically presents pain as unnatural. We are steered towards the first interpretation, which naturalises migration as part of the mobile nature of humans. Historically, geographic movement has indeed been a major feature of human societies. The concept of migration defined as movement with respect to borders between communities and between states as a point of reference was only constructed from the middle of the 17th century (Farer 1995: 73).

The Conclusion's text box similarly recalls the pastoralist societies of "time immemorial" and their nomadic way of life, as a "response mechanism to climate stress", and as prelude to mentioning the expected massive migration response to climate change (p. 399). The text box, while attributed to a different author, supports the Report's central policy proposal for cooperation by the international community to attain further benefits from the triangle migration-trade-development by fulfilling labour market "needs". That main theme is here backed up by the threat of future massive mobility as a

response to climate change unless there is adequate development in low-income countries.

> A number of analysts, of whom Norman Myers of Oxford University is perhaps the best known, have undertaken to estimate the number of people who will be forced to move over the long term as a direct result of climate change. Myers predicts that, by 2050, 'there could be as many as 200 million people overtaken by disruptions of monsoon systems and other rainfall regimes, by droughts of unprecedented severity and duration, and by sea-level rise and coastal flooding' [Myers, 2005: 1].   (IOM 2008: 398).

The next paragraph of the box underlines the intensity of the threat by comparing this figure with the current (international) migrant population of 200 million. Here the naturalisation of migration includes environmental threats. The climate change cloud is used to argue for increased cooperation, noting that the resulting forced migration has been ignored by the international community (p. 399). However, in the current context of increasing suspicions that imagined national identities are threatened by persistent immigration, and most governments' reluctance to take a more open response to immigration, this line of discussion is not necessarily effective. Conflict prevention literature warns about appealing to threats (Gardner 2002; Stewart 2002). Adaptation requires that actors not be pushed to purely defensive positions, otherwise it may lead to the stronger imposing the bulk of costs upon the weaker, and can even open the door to violent conflict. Conceivably, this helps us understand why forced migration has no chapter in the *2008 World Migration Report*—in contrast to the inclusion of business, tourist, and student mobility—and indeed hardly any attention: environmentally induced migration is only mentioned in the final pages as a brief supplementary warning. Promoting "managed migration" might not be helped, some of its sponsors may intuit, by an emphasis on threats. The Report adopts a business perspective on mobility.

5   Rhetoric and Local Meanings

Next, following van Dijk's sequence for discourse analysis, we deepen our picture of the Report's main messages by exploring the two chapters' rhetorical resources and important local meanings. "Local meanings" are particular interpretations and propositions that arise in a discourse. They are derived and interpreted within the umbrella of meaning provided by the global topics, the semantic macrostructures; but their concrete particularity gives them a greater vividness and potential lasting impact, so that sometimes readers remember them more clearly. We will consider how the most important rhetorical figures in the text, especially the key metaphors, contribute to the content, coherence, and degree of persuasiveness of the arguments presented.

5.1   Genre and style

In congruence with its genre—the international policy document—and its search for authority, the style of the text is of impersonal narrative, written largely in passive voice and third-person: "style indirect inevitable" (McCloskey 1994: 325). For example, rather than stating, "We think that avoidance of these

issues is not a serious option", the narrators write: "it is already apparent that neither avoidance of the issues nor a passive laissez-faire approach are likely to lead to the policy responses needed to realize the social and economic potential of mobility…" (IOM 2008: 395). In this way, they assign the responsibility for their statements to Reality or Everyone or All Those Who See Reality. Similarly, right after the topic of human mobility is presented at the outset of the Conclusion, the second paragraph declares: "Today, a great deal of policy attention tends to fall on highly qualified workers, [whereas] low and semi skilled workers remain a much more challenging and contested category" (p. 393). No agents are specified: whose attention, whose challenges, whose contestation?

In this genre of international report, an authoritative impersonal narrator evaluates the behaviour, preferences and policy choices of binomially categorised protagonists: developed and developing countries. A major implicit reader group are the governments of both country categories. The persuasive strategy of the text is to invite them to broaden the scope of their policy choices and to behave in a way consistent with their membership in a single international market and community. The term "the international community" itself, though, can sometimes mean something else, as we see later: not a comprehensive group, but rather the dominant powers and their allies.

The arguments are given a technical appearance, consistent with the readership at which the text is directed, especially people in intergovernmental organisations, government personnel and other actors participating in international affairs. Thus, the relation between the author and the readers is relatively equal in the sense that technical jargon is often taken for granted. At the same time, there is an implicit claim of high status of the authors, based in the authority of science; for example in a phrase like "the place of migrant labour in the complex equations that are meant to yield the best economic outcomes" (p. 5), a euphemism for a hunt for cheaper labour worldwide. Similarly: "…the movement of human resources at all skills levels is now *factored into the equations intended to yield new economic gains*. In other words, labour market dynamics are increasingly operating across international borders" (p. 394; italics added). This quote reproduces the lack of specification of agents and outcomes ("new economic gains" does not specify gains for whom). It reflects the alienated business style of some management and policy thinking, and an assumed expertise or jargon familiarity in the reader.

5.2   The language of flows

Since the text follows a neoclassical economics framework, many of the tropes (the non-literal uses of language) that are common in such economics discourse occur. Some core metaphors can even be seen to be part of the global meanings that guide the local meanings throughout the chapters, as predicted by van Dijk (2001, 2009) and Lakoff and Johnson (2003).

A master metaphor that pervades the text is that of human and monetary movements as "flows". The Report's authors apply this metaphor in two local meanings: remittances, or "cash flows"; and migrants, or "human flows". Table 1 gives a concordance for the uses of flow in the Conclusion; it examines each

use of the term and identifies the words with which it is partnered in each case.[11] The Conclusion makes as many as eight references to migrant in- and out-flows and one to migrant "stocks". The word "flow" or "flows" appears three times in reference to remittances (p. 397).

TABLE 1
Concordances table for use of flows in WMR 2008 Conclusion chapter[12]

Preceding text		Subsequent text	Denotation	Page
Large intra-regional	flows	of migrant workers,	Migrants	395
strong South-North migratory	flows	from Latin America and the Caribbean to	Migrants	395
while they are all affected by migratory	flows,	they are not all affected	Migrants	396
all of them point to benefits that	flow	from properly managed flows	Economy	397
properly managed	flows;	all of them draw attention to	Migrants	397
the risks of not managing those	flows;	all of them assert that it is possible	Migrants	397
the recipients of	flows	of remittances that	Economy	397
the impact of remittance	flows	on development.	Economy	397
data on migrant stocks,	flows	and trends are indispensable	Migrants	400
newly affected by migratory	flows;	to formulate policy	Migrants	400
data on migrant	stocks,	flows and trends	Migrants	400

The metaphor of "flows", taken from movements of water and now used to describe movements of people or, money or goods, matches well with the naturalisation of the phenomenon concerned. It can convey not just "natural" status and inevitability, but also danger and the need for management.[13] This flow mood becomes further applied to the process of building acceptance of adaptation to such inevitable flows and management needs. The previously cited quote on the recent major "consultative exercises" (p. 397) on international migration illustrates the flows imagery in, one might say, full flow.

---

[11] See Alexander (2009) on concordance as a method in discourse analysis.

[12] This table presents all the fragments of phrases that use the words 'flow', 'flows' and 'stocks' in the Conclusion chapter of the World Migration Report, 2008; specific pages are indicated in the last column.

[13] Charteris-Black (2006) examines the use of metaphors of receiving countries as containers threatened by incoming tides, waves or flows of immigration. Griffin (2007) adds how the metaphors present migrants as an undifferentiated mass, and how the use of abstract nouns such as 'immigration' lead to a de-personalisation of those referred to.

… all of them [the Berne Initiative, IOM's International Dialogue on Migration, the UN General Assembly's High-Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development, and the Global Forum on Migration and Development] point to benefits that flow from properly managed flows; all of them draw attention to the risks of not managing those flows; all of them assert that it is possible to arrive at common understandings and principles, and propose remarkably consistent lines of action. (p. 397, emphases added)

5.3   The language of needs as determined in the market

Given the sensitivities around immigration, a noun like "needs" proves invaluable in building arguments for inflows. It requires no specified agent, except the anonymous We of buyers in the market. Their demands become taken as establishing a need. For example, as we saw:

The focus of Chapter 3 is on the re-emergence of low and semi-skilled migration programmes—a seemingly surprising development considering the economic and socio-political problems that brought large-scale temporary worker programmes in both western Europe and the U.S. to an abrupt halt more than 30 years ago, but one which reflects the recognized need for foreign labour as spelled out above… (p. 13; emphasis added).

The past participle "needed" evolves into an adjective to serve the same roles: "Today, a great deal of policy attention tends to fall on highly qualified workers and their *needed* skills, drive and energy. Developed countries are conscious of the *need* to offer competitive conditions of entry, residence and employment if they are to attract *needed* talent from abroad…" (p. 393, emphases added). The term "needs" appears 16 times in the Introduction and six times in the Conclusion; "needed" appears four and eight times respectively. A full concordance exercise would probably yield further insights.

The general implication of the asserted needs is the master need to match the demand for (cheaper) labour with a supply, as stated in bold on the Introduction's page 11 and repeated in point 5 of its summary (p.17): "…the *need* remains **for a broad and coherent global strategy to better match demand for migrant workers with supply in a safe, humane and orderly way**. *World Migration 2008* has been designed to gauge the nature and magnitude of that need…" (p.11; bold in the original, italics added).

An assumed priority to demands as expressed in the market compels agents to respond and arrange supplies. Developing countries in particular can try to upgrade their workers to higher skill levels by pursuing human resource development policies and can then try to place workers in identified external labour niches. At best, they can hope that negotiations will provide for non-abuse and bring better conditions of work, but subject to the principle of economic gains and the proviso that they are willing to accept the return of their workers:

For countries of origin, this means taking on the challenge of formulating policies and setting priorities able to both satisfy local labour market and economic needs, and nurture talent to compete for work placements abroad. This is best achieved within a comprehensive human resource development (HRD) framework.… Foremost among these are measures to uphold the

integrity of recruitment processes and, more generally, protect migrant workers from exploitation and abuse. Access to authoritative, accurate and up-to-date information is of great importance, but so are welfare and support services for the workers while abroad and, when needed, appropriate arrangements to facilitate their return and reintegration in the home country. (pp. 395-396)

In the last sentence, the workers' return and the associated facilitation arrangements will come "when needed" – needed by the market? by the destination countries? by the workers?

For countries of destination, the picture given is more complex. Their interests appear more inclusive: "Countries of destination, for their part, wish to admit various categories of foreign workers to fill certain domestic labour shortages, while also ensuring the integrity of their sovereign territory and frontiers, and respect for national cultural and social core values" (p. 395). Their "cultural and social core values" deserve respect, and there is an unstated assumption about a possible threat of migrant workers to some essential qualities of destination countries: their identity and territorial integrity. Thus, the Conclusion adopts a priority of the interests of destination countries; after all, they are the destinations that workers from developing countries wish to reach.

5.4   Rising or sinking of boats amidst the flows: Holes in the boats and in the arguments

Possible omissions in the flows-related arguments become evident when we compare with another common trope for globalisation of the labour economy: the metaphor, when applied to countries, of "a rising tide lifts all boats". It presents participation in international labour markets as producing win-win outcomes (Kornprobst 2008).[14] The Report claims that the cooperation of the international community in matching labour demand and supply will provide benefits for all. It lists many benefits of diasporas (p. 397), such as: "extensive social and cultural networks", promotion and conduct of trade, provision of "investment funding and business know-how", "humanitarian assistance in times of crisis" and even a "meaningful contribution to democratic processes in countries of origin" (p. 397).

Danaher suggests a counter argument that considers inequality more profoundly: a rising tide will not raise leaky boats or sinking countries. The Report explores a similar consequence as a "downside of the picture" (p. 397). The negative partner of positive remittances is known by another familiar metaphor, the "brain drain", leakage of talent and high skilled labour out of developing countries. Under present world economic arrangements many African countries now have more of their highly trained personnel resident outside their borders than inside

---

[14] Danaher, K., 2009: "Seven Arguments for Reforming the World Economy", in: Global Exchange, at:
<http://www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/econ101/sevenArguments.html.pdf>, 23 March 2009.

This "downside" aspect is mentioned twice in the Conclusion. The second time is as one of the pulls in the dilemmas posed by the threat of climate change (pp. 399-400).

> There is a dilemma here. Relaxing immigration rules as part of a concerted policy to 'release the population pressure' in areas affected by climate change could accelerate the brain drain of talented individuals from the developing world to the developed – and thereby worsen the 'hollowing out' of affected economies, which is itself a driver of migration. On the other hand, closing borders in both source and destination countries undermines remittance economies and denies developing countries the benefits of access to the international labour market. (p. 400)

The emerging situation can start to be seen not as win-win but as win-lose, in which many developing countries are threatened by climate change and also are subject to a high degree of brain drain. Mention of redistributive justice, and of "some analysts who are beginning to argue" (p. 399) that historical greenhouse gas emissions should be considered when allocating climate change responsibilities, suggests possible counterbalancing measures. Indeed, in the absence of such measures, much in the fields of futures studies and human security research indicates how climate change and its likely impacts in terms of migration and many other respects are capable of generating lose-lose scenarios worldwide (e.g.: Stockholm Environment Institute 2002; UNDP 2008).

5.5   The putatively necessary implications of globalisation

Why should all countries follow the logic of needs identified by markets? One line of argument is to refer to the implications of previous commitments: the economic liberalisation policies already chosen by the international community are responsible for the phenomenon of labour migration (pp. 5, 394). This seeks to ensure that both developed and developing countries accept some costs in terms of migration policies. A second line of persuasion is to propose possible win-win scenarios, to be achieved via judicious choices. A third line of argument is to rule out the viability of any alternatives, by evoking two imperious giants, "the global economy" (pp. 4, 5, 7, 12, 15) and "globalization". The latter term is used 12 times in the Introduction: half of the uses come during the stage-setting in pages 2-4, and as many as four uses come on page 12 when beginning the descriptive survey. "Globalization" also occurs three times in the much shorter Conclusion chapter.

The first substantive reference to "globalization" is modest, a reference to "the processes of economic and social integration that are collectively known as globalization" (p. 2). However, by the time of the Conclusion's summary, the concept has been reified into "the phenomenon of globalization" (p. 17). The umbrella term evolves into something more unified, which sets imperatives: "the forces of globalization are changing the way enterprises do business, giving rise to more integrated labour markets and, consequently, creating demand for increased labour mobility" (p. 12). Richer countries want more relatively cheap labour; the role and/or opportunity for poorer countries is to provide it.

The idea of "human resource development" in the Report suggests that developing countries can prepare labour resources for external markets—without reference always to the amounts involved in such investment—in the hope that they generate returns in the form of remittances: "Central to such a [HRD] framework is a properly resourced education system capable of providing the necessary formal learning opportunities and complemented, where necessary, by practical work experience and training, to be formally assessed and certified by recognized educational and professional authorities" (p. 395). Migrant and remittance flows are treated as if there are no other international economy flows. This type of restricted analysis can be characterised as "synecdochal"; the rhetorical device of synecdoche means taking a part as representing the whole (or vice versa).

The authors adopt neutrality regarding the processes now "collectively referred to as globalization" (p. 394). They mention wage disparities as a cause of migration, but make no effort to explore their causes, which represent the missing part of the synecdoche around migration flows and labour markets. There is no investigation of how rich countries are the ones to benefit most out of the market needs that must be met. Such recognition would widen the framing beyond the remittance benefits and would entail recognising cases of win-lose. We sense thus a pro-developed countries stance in the analysis, especially when this omission is compared with the earlier mentioned listing of benefits deriving from diasporas, which could appear hyperbolic if the "painful uprooting" of individuals mentioned in the Introduction, as an argument for not regarding migration as natural, had real relevance for the authors.

5.6   Flowing towards policy consensus: Manoeuvring (via) the international community

Product of an intergovernmental organisation operating in an extremely sensitive policy area, a report like the *World Migration Report* is not merely a research document. Our assessment of it cannot be limited to identifying the marks of its location within a global power system. We need to ask also how it functions as an attempted instrument of influence for evolution within the system.

First, an organisation such as IOM will not jeopardise its activities by antagonising its major funders, but will plead "for the identification and development of clear linkages between the domains of migration proper and those of development, employment and trade within the broader framework of established global economic interests" (p. 17); and will typically repeatedly call for ongoing major research (p. 17: points 7-10). Even so, such a massive centre of multinational expertise feels it has other important things to say and contribute.

Second, the discourses of policy and management, especially in international organisations, often proceed in terms that leave objectives and criteria conveniently vague. Terms like "optimal outcomes" (pp. 17, 395) should make us ask: optimal for whom, for what purposes and according to what values. Similar questions arise for terms like "management" itself (used 19 times in the Introduction and eight times in the Conclusion), "effective" (eight

times and once respectively), and "appropriate"' (12 and five times respectively); for example in formulae such as "appropriate management strategies" (p. 1) and "appropriate management of contemporary labour mobility" (p. 15). The phrase "to realize the social and economic potential of international labour mobility" (p. 16; also pp. 17, 395) plays a similar role.

Third, implicitly the unit of discussion for evaluation and recommendation is the nation-state. Consider a statement like the following:

> Given the importance of cross-border movements for the purpose of employment, the development of appropriate policies in countries of destination is widely acknowledged as a key component in a comprehensive framework for the management of international labour mobility. However, there is no 'one-size-fits-all' formula. The challenge for each country of destination is to develop a planned and predictable labour migration policy. (p. 15)

In contrast, the unit of discussion for analysis and explanation is the globe. The nationalism is in continual tension with the globalism (cf. Gore 1996). Inter-governmental international organisations like IOM, especially those not centrally committed to a human rights agenda, constantly walk a tightrope of accepting an evaluative nationalism while drawing out the implications of explanatory globalism.

Fourth, when the Report advocates specific policies, countries are referred to in broad categories: "developed" and "developing", or "countries of destination" and "countries of origin". In contrast, for some purposes of general persuasion for reorientation of attitudes, actors and benefits are referred in collective, communitarian terms, sometimes using the trump term "the international community": "the international community stands to gain very significant economic benefits from the lifting of constraints on worker mobility" (p. 3). Sometimes the term invokes instead a smaller group of lead countries (as in "the international community was called upon to act primarily on issues of protection and humanitarian assistance", p.4), but it always contains a bid for authority. It occurs frequently early in the Introduction (five of the ten uses occur during pp. 1-5), and again towards its end (three times more on pp. 17-18). The Conclusion proceeds in terms of evaluative nationalism until almost the end; then three of its four uses of "the international community" appear in the final two pages of main text (pp. 399-400). The term appears thus at beginnings and endings: when seeking to set the stage for a discussion and when trying to wrap up a broad action conclusion.

6   Conclusion

The analysis of the macro-structures of the Report's two overview chapters shows us the central argument that steers the details of text content. The policy claim is of a "need" for cooperation of the international community in the area of labour migration, because of a proposed relation between migration and development worldwide, and an implied relation between migration and trade, which is in turn held to be naturally associated, again, with development. The policy option to match demand and supply and thus to manage labour migration is elaborated and advocated in detail. The objective of the authors,

to make countries see the virtues for all parties of migration-for-development, is supported by a range of warrants, including the assertion that international migration is the logical result of the preceding international liberalisation of economic policies, and in the background, the possibility of future massive migration impacts of climate change unless there is more development in low-income countries now.

This IOM report provides an example of discourses constructed in an international bureaucracy, which present a simplified vision of a globe divided into developed and developing worlds, but which at the same time aim to create an international policy unity. The text is oriented to persuade countries to cooperate in working within the international economic system framed by the mental models of neoclassical or neoliberal economics. This purpose exists in tension with a subordinated human rights stance, represented by the occasional choice of the term "human mobility". The contradiction is present throughout the two chapters, with the neoliberal framing dominant in the Introduction and a human rights and human security framing attaining slightly increased voice in the Conclusion but still subordinate.

Intergovernmental organisations, such as the IOM, purport to pursue impartially the interest of some imagined international (or regional) community. Their reports such as the WMR each bid for global authority in a particular policy arena. However, the selectivity of the arguments in the *World Migration Report 2008* shows the authors' alignment, with respect to the balance of different national interests and especially with respect to migrants, whose agency is left subject to an overwhelming domination of economic priorities that reflect market power. Migrants' opinions lack weight in the text. The positions attributed to their governments are also framed by an assumed primacy of markets. The positions on labour rights or human rights, vaguely treated, fade away before strong convictions on the compelling nature of "market needs", which are treated as exogenous realities to which individuals and social groups must adapt. The role of governments appears secondary, and there is no effort to counter the partiality of the assumptions involved in an international system dominated by elites in rich countries. The authors do not conceive patterns of life not dominated by market rationality. Although issues of inequality are marginally included in the text, the assumptions entailed in a system that legitimates unlimited self-interest as an acceptable dominant value are never questioned, even when promoting cooperation and arguing about international shared interests.

That international agencies, which are overwhelmingly funded and directed by rich countries, do not confront elite interests in rich countries will come as no surprise. That they recommend arrangements, which imply continuation and augmentation of their own funding and importance, is no surprise. However, we saw more than this. The *World Migration Report 2008* represents a statement of a major shift from a more restrictive to a more open form of global economic order, even though it is constructed and expressed in a fashion--frequently veiled about issues of agency, criteria and direction--that reflects its institutional location.

In its final pages, the Report adopts a somewhat more internationalist tone. It provides the emphatic list that we cited of shared conclusions from the

series of recent major international consultative exercises. In addition, it raises, belatedly but in a substantial text box, the enormous future migration implications of climate change due to the carbon-guzzling record of rich countries (pp. 398-400). This is not enough to outweigh the overall orientation of the study, which helps us understand why a group of labour exporting developing countries were so insistent on locating one of those international consultative fora well away from the IOM: the new "Global Forum for Migration and Development".

The *World Migration Report 2008* is an enormous document, and getting to grips in a systematic way with even its two overview chapters is not a small exercise. In doing so we have not been able to introduce comparisons with other documents, which would be a relevant target of further research. It is possible to compare quickly a whole set of documents, each examined in an impressionistic way. We have instead explored the key sections of a single but large document more systematically, using a specific discourse analysis methodology and various conscious methods, notably including identification and analysis of the structures of argumentation, the central terms and their concordances and ambiguities, and the key metaphors which guide the discussion. To undertake the same exercise on earlier WMRs, and on documents produced by other important international organisations working on migration—including organisations representing migrants or otherwise directly defending migrants—would be very interesting. It would allow grounded comparison of perspectives and identification of changes over time, and could help in finding ways forward, to bridge between perspectives and/or create modified ones. That would be a large but worthwhile project. We hope that the present more limited study is useful in illustrating potential fruitfulness of this type of investigation, for those who are seeking to construct intellectual alternatives to the positions IOM represents and to relate more effectively to it and similar organisations.

References

Alexander, R.J., 2009: *Framing Discourse on the Environment: A Critical Discourse Approach* (London: Routledge).

Charteris-Black, Jonathan, 2006: "Britain as Container: Immigration Metaphors in the 2005 Election Campaign", in: *Discourse and Society*, 17,5: 563-581.

Farer, T., 1995: "How the International System Copes with Involuntary Migration: Norms, Institutions and State Practice", in: *Human Rights Quarterly*, 17,1: 72-100.

Gardner, A.M., 2002: "Diagnosing Conflict: What Do We Know?", in: Osler, F.; Malone, D. (Eds.): *From Conflict Reaction to Conflict Prevention: Opportunities for the UN System* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner) 15-40.

Geiger, M., 2005: "Managing Migration for an Enlarging Europe: Intergovernmental Organizations and the Governance of Migration Flows", in: *The Romanian Journal of European Studies*, 4: 19-30.

Gore, C., 1996: "Methodological Nationalism and the Misunderstanding of East Asian Industrialization", in: *European J. of Development Research*, 8,1: 77-122.

Hew, C.S., 2003: *Women Workers, Migration and Family in Sarawak* (London: Routledge).

IOM, 2008: *World Migration Report 2008: Managing Labour Mobility in the Evolving Global Economy*, Volume 4 (Geneva: IOM World Report Series).

Kabeer, N., 2000: *The Power to Choose – Bangladeshi Women and Labour Market Decisions in London and Dhaka* (London: Verso).

Kornprobst, M. (Ed.), 2008: *Metaphors of Globalization: Mirrors, Magicians and Mutinies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).

Lakoff, G.; Johnson, M., 2003: *Metaphors We Live By* (updated ed.). (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press).

McCloskey, D., 1994: "How to Do a Rhetorical Analysis and Why", in: Backhouse, R.E. (Ed.): *New Directions in Economic Methodology* (London: Routledge): 319-342.

Myers, N., 2005 "Environmental Refugees: An emergent security issue", 13th Economic Forum, 23-27 May, Session III – Environment and Migration, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Prague, Doc. EF.NGO/4/05, http://www.osce.org/documents/eea/2005/05/14488_en.pdf.

Stockholm Environment Institute, 2002: *The Great Transition* (Boston/Stockholm: SEI).

Stewart, F., 2002: "Horizontal Inequalities as a Source of Conflict", in: Osler, F.; Malone, D. (Eds.): *From Conflict Reaction to Conflict Prevention: Opportunities for the UN System* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner): 105-136.

UNDP, 2008: *Human Development Report 2007/8*; *Fighting Climate Change* (New York: Oxford University Press / UNDP).

van Dijk, T., 2001: "Multidisciplinary CDA: A Plea for Diversity", in: Wodak, R.; Meyer, M. (Eds.): *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (London: Sage): 95-120.

van Dijk, T., 2009: "Critical Discourse Studies: A Sociocognitive Approach", in: Wodak, R.; Meyer, M. (Eds.): *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, second edition (London: Sage): 62-86.

Wennerholm, C.; Zillen, E., 2003: *IOM Regional Counter- Trafficking Programme in the Western Balkans, Sida Evaluation*, 03/37 (Stockholm, Sweden: Department for Central and Eastern Europe).