

PART I. MANAGING TEACHER RECRUITMENT AND MIGRATION

2. Migration and development: Key issues for consideration for the Commonwealth

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Abstract

Major development partners such as the World Bank, the International Organization for Migration and the Commonwealth Secretariat are actively engaged in migration and development issues. These issues include remittances, international recruitment, brain drain and brain circulation. Recent data show that there are about 215 million international migrants, equivalent to 3 per cent of the total global population. Remittances worldwide amounted to US\$325 billion in 2010, a 6 per cent increase from the previous year and a 246 per cent increase from the 2000 figure of US\$132 billion. Activities undertaken by development partners include monitoring of trends, projects to reduce the cost of remittances and international recruitment protocols such as the Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol. The ways in which the migration of skilled professionals is addressed have had an effect on the corresponding sector in the developing country concerned. Teacher migration, like migration of other skilled professionals such as doctors and nurses, is a subset of the development debate on migration.

This paper reviews the major issues, and the ways in which they can be addressed by development partners so that developing countries benefit. The major findings, obtained through secondary data and a literature review, include the important positive impacts of remittances, the diaspora and brain circulation on development, and the negative impact of brain drain.

Key words

Migration, Remittances, Brain Drain, Brain Circulation, Diaspora, International Recruitment

2.1 Introduction

International migration – an integral part of globalisation – has always been part of human existence. The recent upsurge in international migration has occurred in conjunction with a general increase in flows of trade, investment, finance, cultural products, information and technology (International Labour Organization, 2007). International migration has transnational implications when migrants pursue livelihoods in ‘receiving’ states and at the same time sustain links and activities in their countries of origin, thus affecting two states (Sriskandarajah, 2008).

Migration plays an important role in many small states, assisting them to diversify employment opportunities and providing funds, through remittances, for schooling, health, and other expenses. For small states in the Pacific region, migration assists with overcoming the limitations imposed by their size and isolation. However, migration and remittances should not be viewed as a substitute for growth, income and employment creation in source countries but as a contributor to the development of the country (Lin, 2009). A general conclusion that can be drawn from existing studies and the experiences of countries of large-scale emigration – such as India, Mexico and the Philippines – is that, on its own, sending workers abroad is highly unlikely to be an effective ‘development strategy’. A recent European Committee on Migration report on migrant workers in the global economy thus concluded that ‘migration can contribute positively to development

where a country is already poised to develop; it cannot, however, create such a condition' (Taran and Ivakhnyuk, 2009: 16).

The migration of teachers, like the migration of other professionals, such as health workers and engineers, must be viewed within the context of the migration and development debate. Studies by Sives, Morgan, Appleton and Bremmer (2006) and Morgan, Sives and Appleton (2006) show a direct correlation between the migration of teachers and shortages of teachers within the educational system, except in subject areas where shortages had already been identified (i.e. mathematics and science). However, the fact that replacements could be found for migrant teachers does not signify there were no negative repercussions. From the survey done by Sives *et al.* (2006) on the Jamaican education system, the key problem raised by school principals was the loss of experience since migrant teachers were 'seasoned' and were generally replaced with newly qualified teachers. The other issues caused by the migration of teachers include teachers teaching outside their subject expertise, larger class sizes and the difficulty experienced by some children who had developed strong emotional bonds with their teachers. The positive benefits of teacher migration were mainly at the individual level, where teachers benefited financially and professionally. For the wider society, remittances and savings had a positive impact.

The findings of this study on the impact of teacher migration on Jamaica can be applied to most developing countries. As such, there is now global consensus that the time has come for countries to devise appropriate policy responses for migration so as to address the potential drawbacks for origin and destination countries and to maximise possible gains. This summary highlights the recent trends in two major migration and development indicators, discusses the key issues in the migration and development debate and reviews the work of international organisations on this issue. The summary concludes with a brief outline of the way forward in mainstreaming migration and development.

2.2 Recent trends

2.2.1 Number of international migrants

According to UN statistics, there are about 215 million international migrants, equivalent to 3 per cent of the total global population. World Bank data (Ratha, Mohapatra and Silwal, 2011) show that remittances to developing countries amounted to US\$325 billion in 2010, a 6 per cent increase from the previous year and a 246 per cent increase from the 2000 figure of US\$132 billion.

2.2.2 Remittances

A closer look at remittances from available data (Ratha *et al.*, 2011) shows that the volume of remittances to the various regions varied according to the location of migrants. Remittance flows to Latin America and the Caribbean and Europe and Central Asia declined in 2009 by 12 per cent and 23 per cent respectively due to the recession in Europe and North America where migrants are located. Remittances flows to these regions recovered slightly in 2010 by 2 per cent and 3.7 per cent respectively. Remittance flows to sub-Saharan Africa are estimated to have remained nearly flat during the global economic crisis and registered a modest 4 per cent gain in 2010 to reach US\$21.5 billion. Remittance flows to South Asia, and to some extent East Asia and the Pacific, held up and grew robustly in 2010 because of the sectoral and geographical diversification of their migrants in places such as the Middle East that were relatively less affected by the global economic crisis. Remittance flows to South Asia are estimated to have grown by 10.3 per cent in 2010, while remittance flows to East Asia and the Pacific are estimated to have grown by 6.4 per cent in 2010. Remittance flows to the Middle East and North Africa region are estimated to have grown by 5.3 per cent to US\$35 billion in 2010.

The top ten Commonwealth recipients of remittances over the period 2000–2008 were India, United Kingdom, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nigeria, Australia, Sri Lanka, Jamaica, Malaysia and Kenya (World Bank, 2011b). In the latest estimates for 2010, India, China,

Mexico and the Philippines retain their position as the top recipients of migrant remittances in US dollar terms. Other large recipients among developing countries include Bangladesh and Nigeria. The top recipients in terms of the share of remittances in gross domestic product (GDP) in 2009 include smaller economies such as Tajikistan, Tonga, Lesotho, Moldova and Samoa.

2.2.3 Net migration

Net migration figures show that the top ten recipients of migrants in the Commonwealth were developed countries (World Bank, 2011c).¹ World Bank data shows that South Asia is the top sending region for migrants. For the year 2010, the top ten countries of emigration were, in order: Mexico, India, Russian Federation, China, Ukraine, Bangladesh, Pakistan, the Philippines, Turkey and Egypt. In the same year, the top ten countries of emigration of tertiary-educated migrants were: Guyana, Grenada, Jamaica, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Haiti, Trinidad and Tobago, St Kitts and Nevis, Samoa, Tonga and St Lucia (World Bank, 2011a). The high proportion of these that are small island states from the Caribbean or the Pacific is notable.

2.3 Key topics and concepts

The debate on migration and development covers a number of issues. How these issues are prioritised by decision-makers influences the implementation of policies and the actions taken in both the recipient and source countries in the area of migration. These priority issues, which should also be the focus of policy studies and discussion by development partners, include the following.

2.3.1 Brain drain/brain circulation

The idea of 'brain drain', associated with the migration of highly skilled individuals, is the most commonly cited negative consequence of migration on development. More recently, however, the term 'brain drain' has fallen out of favour, to be replaced by terms such as 'brain circulation' (Deshingkar, Gent, Jena and Oppen, 2010). The interactions between highly skilled migration and development highlight many key issues including: the potential of remittances from highly skilled migrants; opportunities for increased international trade and investment; and the prospect of migration encouraging greater uptake of education.

2.3.2 Impact of remittances

If 'brain drain' is seen as the key negative aspect of the pairing of migration-development, remittances are frequently lauded as the key positive aspect. Remittances are important for developing countries at both the macro and micro levels. At the macro level, remittances comprise a large proportion of the GDP in many developing countries, especially small states. Remittances have had a positive impact on source countries through increasing household incomes and reducing poverty. In sub-Saharan Africa, in particular, there is a high transaction cost associated with remittances, stemming partly from lack of competition, regulatory barriers, lack of awareness of available remittance channels and their relative cheapness and accessibility to banks (Katjavivi, 2009). There is also the need to use remittances for more productive purposes, notwithstanding the fact that remittance consumption sometimes dismissed as 'unproductive' goes towards financing schooling for children.

2.3.3 The diaspora

More important than remittances are the international connections that highly skilled migrants create between their country of origin and destination countries. Empirical evidence suggests foreign direct investment from the USA to particular countries is positively correlated with educated migrants from that country living in the USA (Deshingkar *et al.*, 2010). Many diaspora networks have been established to promote

continued links between migrants and their communities or countries of origin. The charitable activities of diasporas can assist in relief and local community development.

2.3.4 International recruitment

Since the 1950s, there has been the recruitment of skilled workers from developing countries to work in priority areas in developed countries. As a cost-saving measure and without addressing the root causes of labour shortages in critical areas, developed countries tend to engage in the international recruitment of specific skilled groups (American Federation of Teachers, 2009). For example, there is empirical evidence (Cali and te Velde, 2008) that recruitment agencies from developed countries target teachers and health workers, mainly doctors and nurses, from the Philippines, South Africa and the Caribbean, and information technology (IT) workers from India. Internationally recruited teachers (American Federation of Teachers, 2009) are often being placed in hard-to-staff inner-city or very rural schools in the US and/or teaching the hard-to-fill disciplines of maths, science and special education. Exploitation of internationally recruited workers is well documented. Recruited workers are often exploited by for-profit recruiters and misled by inflated and inaccurate expectations about life in developed countries, receiving no information about income tax rates or the cost of living (American Federation of Teachers, 2009).

2.3.5 Temporary labour migration

Temporary migration programmes have been described as a 'triple-win' situation: first, they allow destination countries to fill labour needs quickly; second, countries of origin gain from remittances without losing their productive population forever; third, migrants benefit from the opening up of legal, state-supported, migration routes (Agunias and Newland, 2007). According to Abella (2006), temporary migration is important for developed countries with ageing workforces and less mobile societies, and whose industries demand new skills. It can also support strategic industries e.g. those facing chronic shortages in the local labour market because they offer workers very limited opportunities for advancement.

2.3.6 Irregular migration, human trafficking and forced migration

In common with irregular and trafficked migrants, the ability of forced migrants to contribute to development may be limited by their migration status. The uncertainty of irregular migrants' positions in destination countries may also have an impact on the way in which they remit money (Deshingkar *et al.*, 2010). Irregular migrants may be unwilling or unable to access formal banking due to fear of exposing their irregular migration status. However, studies have found that despite their irregular status and informal ways of sending money, remittances from such migrants do benefit sending families and countries. For example, Koser's study (2008) of 50 migrants smuggled to Europe, the USA and Canada from Pakistan and Afghanistan suggests it took them two years to repay their debts to their smugglers. However, once these debts were repaid, their remittances had a significant impact for their families/households left behind.

2.3.7 Impact of global challenges on migration

Migration flows have traditionally been linked to the push created by deteriorating employment conditions in source locations and the pull of better wages and employment conditions in destination. However, global challenges such as climate change and environmental disasters, global economic and financial crises, conflict zones and failed states have exacerbated migration. Foresight (2011) reports that although environmental change will affect migration, it will be difficult to distinguish individuals for whom environmental factors are the sole driver, i.e. those termed 'environmental migrants' by the International Organization for Migration (cited in Thomas-Hope, 2011: 8).

2.4 Engagement of international institutions on migration and development

Several international and regional organisations have recognised the importance of migration to development, and have engaged in work to address the key issues that arise. These organisations are profiled below.

The *Commonwealth Secretariat* is involved in migration and development mainly through three departments: the Economic Affairs Division, the Social Transformation Programmes Division, and the Legal and Constitutional Affairs Division. The activities of the Commonwealth Secretariat can be broadly classified under four main categories: 1) good practice guidelines such as the Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol and the Commonwealth Code of Practice on the International Recruitment of Health Workers; 2) engagement in collaborative activities such as the May 2007 pre-Global Forum on Migration; 3) policy studies on remittances and other economic development issues; and 4) advocacy on issues such as human trafficking. Commonwealth Heads of Government, at their 2011 summit in Perth, Australia, recognised the need to maximise benefits of migration, both economic and social, as highlighted by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group in its recommendation for Commonwealth Heads of Government that 'Commonwealth countries should collectively monitor the ramifications of migration and development in the international community' (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2011: 66).

The *Ramphal Commission* was established in 2010 as an independent commission on migration and development to encourage Commonwealth governments and agencies to take up the question of migration within the Commonwealth. Its goal is to make recommendations for governments and agencies on ways of developing mutually beneficial and practical policies to maximise the benefits of international migration. In its first statement, issued in 2010, entitled 'A Call to the Commonwealth', the commission makes the case for Commonwealth action, and encourages it to take the lead in helping the world to begin a process of managing migration so that it can have significant and positive impacts on the development of the countries of origin (Ramphal Commission on Migration and Development, 2010).

The *Global Commission on International Migration* (GCIM) was requested by the then UN Secretary General Kofi Annan to consider how to frame a global response to international migration. Its report *Migration in an interconnected world: New directions for action* included six principles for action of which the sixth was 'Enhancing governance: Coherence, capacity and co-operation'. This recommended that the governance of international migration should be enhanced by improved coherence and strengthened capacity at the national level; greater consultation and co-operation between states at the regional level; and more effective dialogue and co-operation among governments and between international organisations at the global level (GCIM, 2005). The report was taken forward in 2006 to a UN High Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development, the first UN event devoted to this topic at this level. The future of the Global Commission on Migration and Development is uncertain. It will be assessed before the next UN High Level Dialogue in 2013.

The *Global Forum on Migration and Development* (GFMD) was established by UN member states to address migration and development concerns. These concerns include remittances and diaspora resources, human rights and policy, and institutional coherence. The GFMD provides a forum for policy-makers and promotes the exchange of good practices and experiences, as well as structuring the international priorities and agenda on migration and development. Since 2007, the GFMD has been meeting annually to chart the way forward on international priorities. Under a rotating chairmanship, the sixth meeting of the GFMD will take place in Mauritius, the current chair, in November 2012 to discuss the way forward on circulating labour for inclusive development; factoring migration into development planning, managing migration and perceptions of migration for development outcomes, and gender, human rights and migration.²

Table 2.1 Commonwealth trends in migration and remittances

| Country | Workers' remittances (US\$ Mn) ⁷ | | | | Net migration ('000) ⁸ | |
|-----------------------------|---|--------|--------|--------|-----------------------------------|---------|
| | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2000–05 | 2005–10 |
| Antigua and Barbuda | 24 | 26 | 24 | 25 | – | – |
| Australia | 3,826 | 4,713 | 4,579 | 4,840 | 132.3 | 224.9 |
| The Bahamas | – | – | – | – | 1.3 | 1.3 |
| Bangladesh | 6,562 | 8,941 | 10,521 | 10,852 | –298.7 | –581.6 |
| Barbados | 141 | 101 | 113 | 123 | – | – |
| Belize | 75 | 78 | 80 | 80 | – | – |
| Botswana | 105 | 114 | 88 | 100 | 4.3 | 4.3 |
| Brunei | – | – | – | – | 0.7 | 0.7 |
| Cameroon | 167 | 167 | 192 | 195 | – | – |
| Canada | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| Cyprus | 172 | 279 | 153 | 146 | 12.4 | 8.8 |
| Dominica | 26 | 26 | 25 | 26 | – | – |
| Fiji | 160 | 123 | 154 | 183 | –12.4 | –5.8 |
| The Gambia | 56 | 65 | 80 | 116 | –2.7 | –2.7 |
| Ghana | 117 | 126 | 114 | 136 | 2.3 | –10.3 |
| Grenada | 55 | 55 | 53 | 55 | –1.0 | –1.0 |
| Guyana | 283 | 278 | 278 | 308 | –6.6 | –8.0 |
| India | 37,217 | 49,977 | 49,468 | 54,035 | –384.6 | –600.0 |
| Jamaica | 2,144 | 2,181 | 1,912 | 2,011 | –15.2 | –20.0 |
| Kenya | 1,588 | 1,692 | 1,686 | 1,777 | 5.0 | –37.9 |
| Kiribati | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| Lesotho | 625 | 596 | 623 | 746 | –5.4 | –4.0 |
| Malawi | – | – | – | – | –4.0 | –4.0 |
| Malaysia | 1,556 | 1,329 | 1,131 | 1,301 | 79.3 | 16.9 |
| Maldives | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | –0.0 | –0.0 |
| Malta | 50 | 54 | 51 | 48 | 1.7 | 1.0 |
| Mauritius | 215 | 215 | 211 | 226 | – | – |
| Mozambique | 99 | 116 | 111 | 132 | –4.0 | –4.0 |
| Namibia | 16 | 14 | 14 | 15 | –1.6 | –0.3 |
| New Zealand | 654 | 641 | 628 | 843 | 27.3 | 13.0 |
| Nigeria | 9,221 | 9,980 | 9,585 | 10,045 | –34.0 | –60.0 |
| Pakistan | 5,998 | 7,039 | 8,717 | 9,690 | –350.0 | –400.0 |
| Papua New Guinea | 8 | 15 | 12 | 15 | – | – |
| Rwanda | 51 | 68 | 93 | 92 | – | – |
| Samoa | 120 | 135 | 131 | 143 | –3.6 | –3.1 |
| Seychelles | 11 | 8 | 12 | 11 | – | – |
| Sierra Leone | 42 | 28 | 47 | 58 | 100.0 | 12.0 |
| Singapore | – | – | – | – | 46.5 | 144.4 |
| Solomon Islands | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | – | – |
| South Africa | 834 | 823 | 902 | 1,119 | 140.0 | 140.0 |
| Sri Lanka | 2,527 | 2,947 | 3,363 | 4,155 | –20.0 | –50.0 |
| St Kitts & Nevis | 40 | 44 | 43 | 44 | – | – |
| St Lucia | 31 | 31 | 30 | 31 | –0.1 | –0.2 |
| St Vincent & the Grenadines | 33 | 31 | 30 | 31 | –1.0 | –1.0 |
| Swaziland | 100 | 90 | 93 | 109 | –9.2 | –1.2 |
| Tonga | 101 | 94 | 72 | 85 | –1.6 | –1.6 |
| Trinidad and Tobago | 109 | 95 | 109 | 120 | –4.0 | –3.9 |
| Tuvalu | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| Uganda | 452 | 724 | 778 | 915 | –1.0 | –27.0 |
| United Kingdom | 7,883 | 7,862 | 7,252 | 7,532 | 193.7 | 204.0 |
| United Republic of Tanzania | 14 | 19 | 23 | 25 | –69.0 | –60.0 |

Continued

Table 2.1 Commonwealth trends in migration and remittances (continued)

| Country | Workers' remittances (US\$ Mn) ⁷ | | | | Net migration ('000) ⁸ | |
|--------------|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|---------|
| | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2000–05 | 2005–10 |
| Vanuatu | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | – | – |
| Zambia | 59 | 68 | 41 | 44 | –16.3 | –17.0 |
| TOTAL | 83,580 | 102,018 | 103,638 | 112,592 | | |

Sources: World Development Indicators database, <http://databank.worldbank.org/dpps>; UN World Population Prospects database, <http://data.un.org>.

The *Global Migration Group*³ is based within the UN structure itself, alongside the Global Forum process. The group is formed of the heads of agencies who meet on a regular basis under a revolving chair every six months. At the time of writing, the group is headed by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. It aims to promote the coherence of activities around migration and development and also to optimise activities of its member bodies. The work plan for 2010 focused on promoting the mainstreaming of migration into policies for human development and analysing the implications of the global economic and financial crisis for migration and migration policies.

At the UN, preparations are currently underway for the second *High Level Dialogue on Migration and Development*, scheduled for 2013. The UN General Assembly held the first High Level Dialogue in 2006. Since this forum, many countries have implemented innovative policies and programmes to engage diasporas in development and reduce the cost of remittances. The 2013 forum is expected to focus on migrants' contribution to development and improving international co-operation on international migration and development.

In July 2009, the *African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States* (ACP) established a migration facility called ACP Migration⁴ to: collect migration data; build the capacity of civil society groups working on migration and development; provide information for migrants and potential migrants; and push for greater coverage of migration and development issues in national and regional governments and institutions.

Much of the *European Union's* work on migration and development is done through partnership with other regional bodies, for example, under the Cotonou Agreement with ACP countries or with international organisations such as the UN under the auspices of the EC-UN Joint Migration and Development Initiative.⁵ This acts as an information source on migration and development, and funds a variety of projects operated by civil society groups, universities and local authorities, globally.

The *World Bank* monitors global migration and remittance flows and contributes to the global policy agenda on migration and development. The Migration and Remittances Team is the Bank's focal point on remittances. The World Bank has also been working in migration and development through its regional departments. The Europe and Central Asia region has been active in providing a range of live and virtual interactive programmes to support the improvement of the environment of migrant workers within the Commonwealth of Independent States. In South Asia, the World Bank recently launched a regional research initiative to benchmark cross-border labour mobility and remittances and their implication for economic development in South Asia. In Africa, the Africa Migration project is being undertaken jointly with the African Development Bank (AfDB). It seeks to improve the understanding of migration and remittances in sub-Saharan Africa, including their magnitude, causes and impacts on poverty reduction, with a view to generating informed policy recommendations. It also seeks to strengthen the capacity of policy-makers, researchers, financial institutions and donor agencies in Africa to enhance the development impact of migration and remittances in Africa. The World Bank also convenes various seminars and conferences and publishes widely on various topics of migration and development.

The *African Development Bank* is working on the reduction of costs of remittances and their mobilisation. It has also engaged with several partners and in particular with France to explore the ways and means for mobilising remittances and to promote the positive impacts of their use, not only for beneficiaries, but also for the development of recipient countries. In addition, conferences have been convened, publications issued and projects such as the Migration Trust Fund implemented.

The *International Organization for Migration*⁶ (IOM) aims to promote humane and orderly migration by providing services and advice to governments and migrants. It also aims to promote international co-operation on migration issues, to assist in the search for practical solutions to migration problems and to provide humanitarian assistance to migrants in need, whether refugees, displaced persons or other uprooted people. The IOM constitution recognises the link between migration and economic, social and cultural development, and also acknowledges the right of freedom of movement of persons. Areas of work include migration and development, facilitating management, publications regulating migration, forced migration, policy activities, conferences and projects such as Improving Knowledge of Remittance Corridors and Enhancing Development through Inter-Regional Dialogue.

2.5 The way forward

The link between international migration and development means that economic issues resulting from migration, namely remittances and the skills of the diaspora, are resources that can be used to aid poverty reduction and foster development. The two main international fora for the discussion of migration – the GFMD and the UN High Level Dialogue – have served to enhance the migration and development debate. In addition, development partners such as the Commonwealth Secretariat, IOM and the World Bank have made significant contributions to the analysis and advocacy of migration and development issues. Although much has been achieved since the first High Level Dialogue on migration and development held by the UN General Assembly, more needs to be done to ensure that the developmental impact of international migration is mainstreamed into national economic development planning. The Commonwealth Secretariat, mainly through its Teacher Recruitment Protocol, has made significant contributions to national efforts in this regard. However, much more needs to be done to overcome national challenges in addressing migration. The mushrooming of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) working on migration, as well as increased focus by development partners, is a step in the right direction.

In charting the way forward, there needs to be more collaboration among development partners, greater scope for NGOs to function effectively, and capacity building for developing countries on migration and development. Areas for increased focus can include: bringing developing country concerns to multilateral discussions; policy development on migration in order to influence government policy discourses related to migration, poverty and development; improving data collection on migration; and understanding the qualitative issues behind the migration numbers.

Notes

- 1 These figures tend not to include irregular migrants. This means that the total number of migrants in some countries might be significantly under-reported. For example, Bourne (2011) claims there may be up to 700,000 Zimbabwean migrants alone in South Africa.
- 2 www.gfmd.org.
- 3 www.globalmigrationgroup.org/.
- 4 www.acpmigration.org.
- 5 www.migration4development.org.
- 6 www.iom.int.
- 7 Migrant remittances refer to workers' remittances and compensation received (US\$m).
- 8 Net migration refers to number of immigrants minus number of emigrants. It is expressed as thousands.

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