



## **I N D E X**

### **Papers & Paper Writers for Roundtable 2**

#### **Roundtable 2**

##### **Migrant integration, reintegration and circulation for development**

##### **2.1— Inclusion, protection and acceptance of migrants in society; linking human rights and migrant empowerment for development**

**Aida Gonzales Naranjo Morales**, CEDAL, Peru

**Khalid Koser**, Director, New Issues in Security Course, Geneva Centre for Security Policy

##### **2.2— Reintegration and circular migration—effective for development?**

**Kathleen Newland and Aaron Terrazas**, Migration Policy Institute, Washington, DC.

**Ana Avendaño**, Assistant to the President and Director of Immigration and Community Action, AFL-CIO

**Chad Bolick and Nicolette Van Exel**, Business for Social Responsibility



**Civil Society Days (CSD)**  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD)**  
**Athens, 2-3 November 2009**

**Roundtable 2: Migrant Integration, reintegration and circulation for development**  
**Session 2.1: Inclusion, protection and acceptance of migrants in society; linking human rights and migrant empowerment for development**

**UNDOCUMENTED, ILLEGAL, INVADERS OR SCIENTISTS, WOMEN AND REMITTERS, CITIZENS**  
**OF THE WORLD**

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**Summary**

**Perspectives, policies and measures**

The migratory phenomenon must “be managed” and we must sign, ratify and put into practice the International Convention on human rights of all migrant workers and their families.

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1 - Keep considering the “actor/migrant” and their families as “subjects of development” and as citizens subject to rights and the States have an obligation of protecting and guaranteeing their rights. The migrants are a new political subject and a world social force.

2 - The EU directives for return, like all the legal instruments that allow the detention of migrants in the world; such as the police and military mechanisms that securitize migratory policies like the detention centers, which constitute detrimental mechanisms for inclusion, protection and acceptance of immigrants in society.

3.- The policies for insertion in the labor market are fundamental since migrants are basically working population many sometimes irregular and out of the bilateral agreement framework, and/or directed to countries which do not count with policies of labor migration or are very incipient. This would imply improvements for the protection of migrant workers, because the rights of these workers are fundamental rights.

Among these aspects we must highlight:

Commitment for a fair treatment. Respect for labor legality of reception countries.

Maximize labor migration towards development.

Principles, norms and benefits for immigrants and for the countries. Improvements in the protection level of their workers through a managed migration.

The labor markets approach must be considered a need for migrants in the destination countries. The asymmetries must be overcome and the free transit of working force for it constitutes an evident bias.

In summary actions must be established, regarding labor, in agreement with the ILO: Decent work, Means of international cooperation regarding labor migrations, Global base of knowledge, an Efficient Management of labor migrations, Protection of migrant workers, Prevention of abusive migratory practices and protection against them, The process of migration, Social Integration and Inclusion, Migration and co development. Like the productive use of the remittances.

Regarding the strengthening for development, the accreditation of competencies, language formation, value of cultural capital and empowerment policies which favor development in the long run, we must pay attention to the “brain drain”, seeking to overcome within this category the brain loss.

Our priorities in this congress must be: Brain Exchange and brain circulation

Finally

For an adequate inclusion, protection and acceptance of migrants in society and their empowerment for development, we must avoid the increase of extreme poverty, exploitation and unemployment, discrimination, increasing xenophobia and exclusion from both sides; and urge governments to consider the benefits of migration, resisting the temptation of reducing the number of migrants in the current international context.

We must guarantee an approach based on rights and reaffirm our commitment with development through the execution of the objectives of the millennium (MDO).

The migrants represent 3% of the world's population "the current effects of the current economic crisis are not reflected" (P. Balta and J. Millman) of the global flows of inverse migration (Dilip Ratah). I think the current tendency of migrants is to survive the current recession, affirming, as citizens of the world, which could only be "hindered", by the return directive and coercive repatriation policies, and others.

It is clear that in a context of crisis, the governability of globalization is an imperious need.

### **3 - Recommendations for debate. Round Table 2**

#### **1 - Mutual Benefit and Co Management of Migration**

For this it is necessary to ratify the challenge agreed in Manila/GFMD/Oct 2008/ of **developing the world architecture** (and national) to recognize the rights and protection for migrants like the responsibility of United Nations.

**We must consider the context** developed in the paper that points out that with the increase of economic differences, migration could reduce in the long run and keep circular migration more active in the short run. However, as CEPAL points out "**Naturally social, economic and political conjunctures can influence migration tendencies in time but it is very difficult to revert them**" (CEPAL 1993).

We have pointed out as work hypothesis that migrants will not choose to live the crisis in the South (they will recur to resistance strategies in the developed North), if there are no coercive returning policies; so from a rights perspective, destination and origin countries must be source of right and not only of identity and integration; in spite of a subordinate order of countries of the periphery regarding the center.

This places, as order of the day, a new pattern which includes not only the desire to emigrate but to return and to circulate and this implies the need of **“managing bi nationally or multilaterally the return and circular migration”**. The center of our recommendation states: “the mutual benefit and co management of migration”. Achieve a viable balance so migration benefits both origin and destination countries. This will be coherent with development policies of the millennium objectives (ODM) the resolution of poverty and to raise wellbeing levels and develop inclusive global development.

1.1 In the Peruvian case as country of origin, we count with a national regulation framework via Decrees and Laws and also count with a **National Human Rights Plan, as progress and indicator of this new migration architecture with a human rights approach**. We must **extend this” good practice”** to different countries and overcome the gap between the right and the fact, or between what is said and what is done.

1.2 Peruvian Foreign Affairs Ministry has the general function of “Protecting, preventing and promoting State interests and of nationals in foreign countries”, as indicated in: e) Article 5 of Ministry Organic Law, Decree Law No. 26112. By Supreme Decree No. 019-2007-RE, Foreign Affairs Ministry has modified its organic structure and has created two Sub secretaries an Administration sub secretary and of Peruvian Communities Overseas. “Article 2 creates and supports organization in the line of the Sub secretary of Peruvian Communities Overseas”. In 2007 it assumes functions, which are: promotion and protection of Peruvian citizens in foreign countries. Likewise, with the same purpose as through **“consulate offices overseas”**, will give and guarantee the corresponding consular actions, will provide **necessary legal support and will assure the granting of required human assistance”**. **This new architecture must be considered as a “good practice”** to replicate in other spaces or regions.

### **In summary**

For the different types of migrants: long run, short run and circular migrants, we must reinforce migration policies with a Rights approach and the free circulation of persons, overcoming restrictive and coercive policies. This will demand a new dialogue North – South and South – South, in multilateral spaces, in the perspective of an alternative integration; opening of borders, interculturality and policies for human mobility, which has as center, the “migrant” subject as a universal citizen.

Regarding the integration and development for different types of migrants, we must watch over in the current context, overcome the fact that the crisis is accentuating the asymmetries between countries,

deepening social inequalities, worsening the exodus of migrants from the South, and we must consider that the remittances are avoiding the increase of the extreme poverty rates, this takes us not to introduce restrictive policies but those of free circulation, favorable to inclusive development.

About the gender approach or migrant women empowerment and the called “transnational care chain”, we must place the dilemma between the individualism vs. social responsibility of care, overcome the approach of the nature of the care as a theme of feminine responsibility vs. collective responsibility, which overcomes the logic of the works’ sexual division, assigning according to the gender roles, recreating a development model which will involve in the care, the State, the market and the civil society, the “new family”.

Peru, Lima September 30th 2009



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**Roundtable 2: Migrant Integration, reintegration and circulation for development**  
**Session 2.1: Inclusion, protection and acceptance of migrants in society; linking human rights and migrant empowerment for development**

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**Summary**

1. This paper provides a starting point for discussion during Session 2.1 of Round Table 2 at the Civil Society days of the Global Forum on Migration and Development on 'Inclusion, protection and acceptance of migrants in society: linking human rights and migrant empowerment for development.' In particular the paper seeks to inform discussion of three questions: What does integration mean for different types of migrants? What is the relationship between migrant integration and development for different types of migrants? What is the gender dimension of migrant empowerment and its effects on development? This summary focuses in particular on the role played by civil society in promoting the linkages between migrant integration and development

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2. Institutions – including civil society - have a critical role in the process of integration. Significant civil society actors include churches, trade unions, employers' organizations, political parties, and the media, both in origin and destination countries. In destination countries civil society lobbies for the rights of migrant workers; functions as a direct partner in implementing policies; monitors and evaluates the impact of policies; influences the political climate and political outcomes; and is an important agent in combating exclusion, discrimination, and xenophobia. In countries of origin civil society provides information on rights, obligations, and potential abuses in destination countries; provides training for potential migrants; and promotes bilateral labour agreements to ensure the protection of migrant workers. Government policies that aim at steering processes of integration should actively involve not only migrants themselves, but also civil society in both origin and destination countries.

3. Civil society advocates have argued that all migration should lead to full citizenship if desired, but in reality most governments maintain distinctions between these migrant types in terms of integration policies and possibilities for citizenship.

4. Civil society actors are often involved in identifying those in need of specific integration support and specifying what support is required.

5. Effective implementation of integration policies is critical, and civil society has a key role to play in this regard for example in monitoring and evaluating government policies.

6. There is no consensus – including among civil society actors - about to what extent and how far to integrate migrants admitted on a temporary basis. Trade unions in certain countries and a number of civil society organizations have argued that from a rights-based perspective, liberal democracies should not maintain migrants indefinitely without extending to them broad integration rights, including access to permanent residence and the right to family reunion.

7. There is a role for civil society in lobbying governments to maximize the rights associated with temporary employment permits so as to increase the potential of these migrant workers to contribute to development.

8. Civil society advocates argue that freedom to change jobs in destination country labour markets can be an important protection for lower-skilled migrants, allowing them to escape abusive employers.

9. It has also been argued by civil society advocates that a reasonable period (not less than six months) to seek employment in the event of the termination of previous employment and equality as regards access to core benefits are basic rights that should be granted even to temporary migrants to empower their rights and protect them from exploitation.

10. In most settlement countries irregular migrants are excluded from any integration measures; and rely at the local level on support from NGOs, church institutions, and individuals.

11. Local level action by civil society actors can address the lack of integration of migrants in the formal labour market through: supporting sensitivity to the employment potential of, and to the barriers to employment for, immigrant populations; building up sustainable relationships with local employers to support flexible approaches to employment; developing an holistic approach bringing together a variety of agencies to tackle the multi-faceted problems faced by these groups; and providing outreach services to hard-to-reach groups that are isolated from mainstream services in the fields of information, training and entrepreneurship.

12. Civil society has urged governments to foster links between migrants and their origin country, for example by permitting migrants to return temporarily to their origin countries on a regular basis.

13. Civil society can play an important role in supporting the integration of women in destination countries, in particular in providing information and training both prior to departure and in the destination country to help raise women's awareness of gender-specific risks, and empower them through legal advice, re-skilling, skills upgrading, medical assistance, and social and cultural support.

14. There is a role for civil society in countries of origin to support returning women reintegrate.



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**Roundtable 2: Migrant Integration, reintegration and circulation for development**  
**Session 2.2: Reintegration and Circular Migration- effective for Development?**

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**Summary**

The boundary between temporary and permanent migration is eroding – in reality and in conceptual terms. Aided by cheap transportation and instantaneous communication, more and more people have important aspects of their lives located in two or more countries. Circular migration is one way in which people live in this new economic and social landscape, moving back and forth between (or among) the countries in which their businesses, families, properties and other interests are located. This new reality is challenging established ideas about international migration and the processes of migrant settlement and adaptation.

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The relationship between circular migration and integration (in the country of destination) or re-integration (in the country of origin) is contentious. It is sometimes assumed that integration in the destination country and continued engagement in the country of origin are at odds, but empirical observation demonstrates that well-integrated migrants have the most to give back to their countries of origin, enjoy greater mobility, and can usually respond more easily to opportunities there.<sup>4</sup> But how likely are circular migrants to become well integrated in the destination country? The answer depends more on the opportunities migrants encounter in the receiving country and the preparation that they have had before leaving home than on the fact that they are circulating.

The duration of stay and voluntariness of departure also have an impact on integration. A migrant can hardly be expected to integrate if he or she is required to leave after a few months. In contrast, *migrants who are able to develop and maintain long-term relationships (both personal and professional) in both the origin and destination countries can more easily move back and forth as circumstances change and new opportunities arise.*

Similarly, the challenge of reintegrating circular migrants in the country of origin is less the result of circulation than of the conditions encountered upon return. For returning migrants who continue to be active in the labor force, the most pressing concern is finding productive employment. This, of course, is not a problem specific to reintegration; it is a development problem that affects migrants and non-migrants alike. However, if a migrant's skills (either acquired while working abroad or beforehand) are not in demand in the country of origin – in other words, if there are no suitable job opportunities – reintegration will be difficult. Migrants who develop business contacts abroad may be uniquely positioned to start new enterprises. The requirements for social and cultural re-integration are more difficult to specify. Migrants who have been continually absent for a long period of time may have trouble re-bonding with family and friends and re-adapting to local customs. But *migrants who have been able to circulate regularly may have maintained these links more closely and therefore have an easier process of re-integration.*

No standard definition of circular migration has been formally agreed. A commonsensical understanding is that it is a movement of individuals back and forth between the country of origin and

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<sup>4</sup> Alejandro Portes, Cristina Escobar, and Renelinda Arana, "Bridging the Gap: Transnational Ethnic Organizations in the Political Incorporation of Immigrants in the United States," (working paper 07-06, Center for Migration and Development, Princeton University, December 2007), <http://ideas.repec.org/p/pri/cmgedev/1028.html>; Amelie Constant and Klaus F. Zimmermann, "Circular Migration: Counts and Exits and Years Away from the Host Country," (Discussion Paper Series IZA DP no. 2999, Institute for the Study of Labor, Bonn, August 2007).

another country or countries, involving both return and repetition (return from a single journey *without* repetition is more clearly referred to with the more common term “return migration”). In circular migration, *both emigration and return may be permanent or temporary.*

Circular migration should not be confused with conventional understandings of temporary migration, which does not build in the dynamism of a continuing engagement in both countries. *With circulation, both countries stand to profit if migrants become better educated, more productive members of the community.* Temporariness discourages the meaningful, high-return investments in people that are necessary for development and that contribute to economic growth.

Integration has many dimensions. In this context, it means the process by which a migrant comes to participate in the institutions of the destination country society. Integration into the labor market at destination is the priority for economic migrants, but other issues of *access* to social institutions and services and *participation* in political and civic institutions also determine the integration prospects of immigrants.

The concept of re-integration of the returning migrant is concerned with the same issues of access and participation across the spectrum of economic, civic and social life. The term implies that the emigrant was integrated in his or her community or country before leaving it, which cannot be taken for granted – particularly when migrants come from marginalized communities such as indigenous or ethnic minority groups. Lack of integration in the labor market, for example, is one of the main reasons for emigration, as is social exclusion in some contexts.

In recent years, some countries have established programs to provide support to returning labor migrants – typically vocational training and job placement assistance, and entrepreneurship support. Few rigorous evaluations of vocational and placement programs for returning migrants exist but evidence from developed countries indicates that government-managed worker retraining and skill acquisition programs are costly undertakings with marginal benefits; private sector involvement is essential.<sup>5</sup>

Unless they are part of a broader development strategy targeted toward a specific sector, the available evidence suggests that there is reason to be skeptical about attempts to retrain workers for jobs that do not exist. This line of criticism has led some countries to prioritize entrepreneurship and enterprise

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<sup>5</sup> Amit Dar and Indermit S. Gill, “Evaluating Retraining Programs in OECD Countries: Lessons Learned,” *World Bank Research Observer* 13, no. 1 (1998): 79-101.

development among returning migrants. Past attempts to promote entrepreneurship among circular migrants have suffered from a number of pitfalls.

1. First, entrepreneurship is an inherently risky undertaking and, even in the best of business environments, many entrepreneurs fail.
2. Second, not all circular migrants have the skills necessary to become successful business owners.
3. Third, recent research on small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in developing countries suggests that many SMEs in developing countries enter already over-crowded sectors with very low productivity and razor-thin profit margins; in such circumstances, they create few formal jobs.

Labor migration always has broader social and political implications, and reintegration policy should not overlook these dimensions. While the heads of families may have prepared extensively for return, often their families have not. Reintegration policies for the families of circular migrants are important – both at the most basic levels of public services such as education and health care and in efforts to attract high or middle-skilled expatriates.

*The challenge for policymakers is to design circular migration policies that add value to the migration process, allowing migrants to build sufficient financial, human and social capital – that is, to acquire money, skills, ideas, and contacts – to enable them to undertake productive activities in their countries of origin.*

#### **Promising Practices: Reintegration of Circular Migrants**

Although the policy experience is still recent, there are a number of promising programs that attempt to add value to the process of circular migration leading to migrants' successful reintegration into their countries of origin.

Some programs aim to *make human capital investments in circular migrants more cost effective* for employers and governments by partnering for training and skill development. For instance, the Mexican government has pioneered strategies to assist Mexicans in the United States gain certification in vocational skills (such as dairy work, skilled construction work, and hospitality). The Spanish government provides subsidies for vocational training of foreign contract workers before their arrival in Spain.

Other programs aim to identify *migrants' comparative advantage for entrepreneurship* and assist circular migrants start or become involved in business ventures in their countries of origin. The Philippines' National Reintegration Center for Overseas Filipino Workers has among its many responsibilities helping returning migrants obtain financing for investment ventures.

*In order for large-scale circular migration programs to be sustainable, they can neither rely on public support alone nor simply be based on a corporate social responsibility model.* Employers must be able to justify the extra expenses that are inevitably involved in most short-term circular migration programs. As entrepreneurs, circular migrants' comparative advantage lies in (a) their direct link to businesses and communities outside their country of origin and (b) their potential exposure to cutting edge (or simply novel) technologies and production process.

Many countries of origin that promote circular migration tend to frame it in terms of reducing domestic unemployment by expanding job opportunities abroad for their less skilled workers. (They may also see it as a way of reducing the perceived losses from the permanent emigration of highly skilled citizens.<sup>6</sup>) The attraction of circular migration for many destination countries is its flexibility: more immigrants can be admitted during times of high labor demand, and fewer when demand tapers off. In a downturn, expiring contracts can be allowed to lapse. In a global recession, such as that of 2008-2009, the countries of origin have to absorb returning migrants at a time when their own economies are also contracting. The outbreak of war, severe deterioration in diplomatic relations between a source and destination country, or a political decision to court a xenophobic public by expelling migrants may have effects as devastating as a global recession on the affected countries. Large scale returns under compulsion create the worst possible scenarios for reintegration. Relying on circular migration as a strategy to manage domestic unemployment, however, makes countries of migrant origin vulnerable to decisions taken elsewhere.

Two important lessons for policymakers seeking to design more development-friendly circular migration programs are, first, that *voluntary returnees are more successful than involuntary returnees in their country of origin*, in part because they have spent significant time and energy preparing for return and, second, that *migrants reasons for voluntary return are often closely related to the reasons they*

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<sup>6</sup> Whether or not the emigration of the highly skilled actually constitutes a loss for developing countries continues to be a point of considerable academic debate.

*migrated in the first place.*<sup>7</sup> This suggests that policy makers would benefit from a clear understanding of the incentives that migrants respond to when making decisions to return.

Farsighted policymakers will recognize that circular migration – in its various forms – is an on-the-ground reality that is anchored in migrants' natural preferences. Experience suggests that government attempts to “enforce” circularity will likely result in leakages to informal corridors and may perpetuate cycles of dependence

Well designed circular migration policies enable individuals to develop and maintain long-term, meaningful relationships in both their countries of origin and destination. These relationships occur in both work and social contexts. Employers benefit from productive workers who are reliable and have the opportunity to develop firm-specific human capital – in other words, who know the particular requirements of their jobs and workplaces. For societies as well, social cohesion and productive investment decisions (for instance, in education, business relationships and contributions to community life) are based on long-term expectations of returns. Reducing the uncertainty of these returns by reducing the arbitrary elements of circular migration will enhance their development impacts for migrants and their communities at both ends of the migration relationship. Finally, family considerations are often an important input in any migrants' decision to return. Policy cannot overlook the reintegration challenges specific to the families of circular and return migrants.

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<sup>7</sup> See generally Oladele O. Arowolo, “Return Migration and the Problem of Reintegration,” *International Migration* 38, no. 5 (2000): 59-82.



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**Session 2.2: Reintegration and circular migration-effective for development?**

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**Summary**

This paper examines the current labor migration discourse from the perspective of workers. It provides a critique of the “circular migration” frame, and suggests an alternative approach based on an agenda for shared prosperity.

The current approach to temporary labor migration is framed around a “circular migration” model, which is often described as a “win-win-win” solution for sending countries (who get remittances), receiving countries (who get temporary workers to plug labor shortages) and employers (who get cheap, reliable workers). The fundamental problem with that approach is that it is based on values that are antithetical to social and economic justice. It treats migration as a problem to be solved, migrants as little more than commodities who are justifiably not accepted as full members of their host countries, and workers rights as fungible. The current approach continues to enforce low-wage competition and appears to

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accept that xenophobia and racism are naturally occurring conditions--factors that pose a serious threat to successful integration of migrants.

Policymakers should consider a different frame, one that doesn't treat migration as a problem but as a human condition that has existed throughout time, which should be addressed through a strategy for shared prosperity and not merely "managed."

The shared prosperity strategy proposes that nations compete by improving value added (productivity and quality), not merely by continuing downward pressure on wages. A value added strategy emphasizes the need for creativity and innovation, which result from a diverse population and ambitious people seeking to improve their lives—all of which are enhanced by migration, which requires significant national and international investment in policies and programs that fight racism and xenophobia and promote social, cultural and economic integration. The shared prosperity strategy also assumes that international wage convergence will be better achieved by improving both value added and wages in developing economies and less by reducing wages in developed nations to those of low-wage economies. The shared prosperity strategy likewise implies heavy attention to improving the education and skills of all workers including those in receiving countries and recent immigrants, rather than exclusively relying on importing skilled workers from other countries, thus mitigating the "brain drain." And the shared prosperity strategy emphasizes measures to protect the wages and working conditions of foreign and domestic workers.

The Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP), which is regularly cited by scholars and policymakers as the best example of a "circular migration" program reveals ..... That program brings in approximately 20,000 workers from Mexico and Central American and Caribbean countries to work on Canadian farms. Workers are in Canada from early January to mid-December and individual contracts may last up to eighteen months. Visa restrictions bind workers to a single employer, but workers can be transferred to another employer with the approval of the Canadian government.

Advocates of the "circular migration" model score the Canadian program highly, based on the following indicators: a high rate of return to the program, a low rate of forced return to the home country and high rate of employer participation. Other practices in the program also receive high marks, including the role that Mexican officials play in enforcing workplace standards in Canada. These same factors, if analyzed through workers' experience, tell a different story. The reality is that the structure of the program gives employers near total control over workers, keeping workers silent, often laboring under

abusive conditions and dependent on the program for their economic well-being. Rates of forced return are low not because workers have nothing to complain about, but because the threat of repatriation is an effective mechanism of control. The dual (and conflicting) role that Mexican officials have—ensuring that employers are happy so they will not leave the program, and also ensuring that those very same employers abide by required labor standards are being—works only to the benefit of employers.

Another significant problem with the “circular migration” model is that it allows employers to bypass national labor and employment laws. For example, employers prefer—and advertise for--married men with children, which would be a clear violation of Canadian law if the recruitment were done in Canada. By recruiting outside of Canada, they are able to bypass Canadian law.

The alternative shared prosperity approach does not *per se* demand drastic reduction of migrant flows. It provides a normative framework for labor migration policy, which may or may not result in increased (or reduced) flows. The framework encourages just and humane economic integration, which will eliminate the enormous social and economic inequalities at both national and international levels that create strong pressures to emigrate. In other words, the shared prosperity framework recognizes that migration should be a choice, not a necessity.

In the United States, the AFL-CIO, together with the Economic Policy Institute and former Secretary of labor Ray Marshall have developed a proposal based on the shared prosperity strategy to address migrant flows into the U.S. The proposal is based on an independent commission that would gather labor market data and recommend flows (numbers and characteristics) to the US Congress, based on labor shortages. This approach provides transparency (by basing migrant flows on actual and credible data that would be available to the public), labor market efficiency (by matching migrant flows to labor market shortages), and fairness, all of which would reduce public opposition to employment-based immigration.

As governments and civil society explore what other types of visas fit the shared prosperity model, special attention must be paid to transparency and fairness. Those values are significantly advanced by the participation of trade unions and other civil society organizations dedicated to social and economic justice in the design and implementation of migration mechanisms. These organizations have shown that they play a significant role in holding employers as well as receiving and sending countries accountable for ensuring that workers' rights are respected and thus have played a significant role with regard to social inclusion of migrants.