Intergovernmental Organizations, Migration and the Sustainable Development Goals

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ABSTRACT

Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) operating in the field of migration have been the focus of a substantial body of literature. However, generally speaking, studies have focused on individual organizations (primarily UNHCR and IOM), with a few notable exceptions. Given the fragmented nature of migration, and the number IGOs with some form of interest or engagement in migration issues, there is merit in going beyond a focus on individual organizations to understand how the characteristics of organizations affect their behaviour. By focusing on an event (the inclusion of migration in the SDGs), as opposed to individual organizations, the paper is part of a larger research study seeking to identify how different organizational structures affect the behaviour of organizations. Building on the work of Hall (2013, 2015) who differentiates between normative and functional organizations, this paper focuses on an additional area of difference between organizations (sole or partial focus on migration) to explore how different IGOs are discursively engaged – or not – with negotiations relating to the inclusion of migration in the SDGs. In the 166 documents analyzed, five distinct yet interrelated narratives are identified as providing rationale for the inclusion of migration in the post-2015 development agenda: 1) under the right conditions, migration is an enabler of development; 2) development is a reason for migration from both a 'development failure' and a 'development enabled migration' perspective; 3) displacement is a development challenge; 4) migration is a development challenge; and 5) migrants are a vulnerable population group. Preliminary findings indicate that IGOs adopt different narrative strategies depending on their particular organizational characteristics. Future research will focus on deepening and refining the analysis through the inclusion of additional organizations primarily from outside of the UN system (MPI, OECD, ICMDP) as well as analyzing collectively prepared documents (such as GMG position papers), both to be complemented by interviews with key stakeholders involved in efforts to see migration included in the post-2015 development agenda

Introduction

In 1949, at the 32nd Session of the International Labour Conference (ILC), after the vote for the 1949 Migration for Employment Convention (C97), Mr de Souza-Bandeira, a Government Advisor from Brazil made the following statement:

> "The release of population pressure in some countries by adequate financing of the transfer and reception of manpower may not appear to some as a matter of importance. Time will tell. It may turn out to be a matter of great importance in relation to a lasting peace in the world" (ILO, 1949, p348)

In the seven decades to follow, migration would climb the international policy agenda and an increasing number of international actors would emerge as 'key players' in the field of migration (Gamlen, 2010). However, as recently as the 1980s, discussions about migration were largely absent from international policy discussions. In the lead up to the adoption of the millennium development goals (MDGs) in 2000 there were discussions about whether migration should be included, however it was not considered feasible to get states to agree on targets on migration (Skeldon, 2012). However, migration has been featured in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which were adopted in September 2015 (United Nations, 2015). This paper focuses on the discursive strategies of IGOs in the run up to the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in September 2015. It does so by constructing a corpus of texts created by these organizations in the years preceding the adoption with a particular focus on the discursive links and shared narratives connecting migration and the post-2015 development agenda.

Background

While the linking of migration and development is nothing new (Ravenstein, 1885; Skeldon 1997), the 'migration and development' discourse itself has been subject to much academic reflection and critique in the past decade (cf. Bakewell, 2008; 2008; Delgado-Wise & Covarrubias, 2009, Brønden, 2012; Glick-Schiller, 2012; de Haas, 2010; de Haas, 2012; Vammen & Brønden, 2012; Delgado Wise, Covarrubias & Puentes, 2013; Gamlen, 2014; Skeldon, 2008; Pécoud, 2015).

The migration and development debate is often described as 'cyclical' (Gamlen, 2014) and like a 'pendulum' (de Haas, 2012). Prior to 1973, de Haas (2010) identified optimism in academic discourse which led to the view that migration could result in 'take-off development' in developing countries through capital and knowledge transfers. However, shortly after the 1973 oil crisis, a more pessimistic narrative emerged with discussions on brain drain and dependency. The view that migration could lead to take-off development disappeared. From the 1990s to the early 2000s, slightly more positive accounts were evident. Post 2000, de Haas (2010) describes a 'boom in publications' and, 'a resurgence of migration and development optimism' (p230). However, at the end of the last decade, it was suggested that the current optimism of migration and development

as a policy field may be a 'passing phase' (Skeldon, 2008), and 'rising pessimism' (Gamlen, 2014) may be a signal that the pendulum is swinging back again. In fact, in 2010, Alan Gamlen suggested that the 2009 Human Development Report (UNDP, 2009) may become the "high-water mark of the new migration and development optimism" in light of the financial crisis (p421). Contrary to the expectations of many observers, however, it seems the optimism has received a breath of life through the inclusion of migration in the Sustainable Development Goals.

Current theories of why the debate has swung backwards and forwards relate to a number of factors. For example, economic booms tend to lead to arguments in favour of migration, while recessions have the opposite effect (Gamlen, 2010; Ghosh, 2010). A visible increase in refugee numbers in 'developed' countries may result in negative public discourse, which in turn may lead to a public desire for tighter immigration controls. Shifts in the debate may also relate to shifts in the conceptualisation of 'development'. Particularly from the 1970s onwards, when the perceived ineffectiveness of foreign aid led to the emergence of the idea of 'integrated development', world leaders increasingly looked for more comprehensive answers to development challenges (Carbone, 2013). In many ways, the holistic approach to the Sustainable Development Goals as something to be achieved together regardless of a countries development level, is a product of this shift in thinking. In this context, the idea of migration as a driver of development through the transfer of knowledge and capital (remittances) is logical.

What is clear is the 'migration and development' discourse has shifted over time and has been influenced by a range of factors. However, current explanations tend to focus on structural factors such as economic fluctuations.   A relatively underexplored area is the role of different actors, notably international organizations, in shaping the migration and development discourse. This is the question that is explored in this paper through an examination of the 'shared narratives' evident in the writings of IGOs in the run up to the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Literature Review

A question that has preoccupied students of international organizations for decades is: are international organizations independent, or are they non-autonomous instruments of states? Particularly in early studies of international organizations, limited attention was paid to the role of international organizations as independent actors based on the assumption that organizations were created by states to perform a specific function and any deviation from their intended purpose would be challenged by their creators (c.f. Huntington, 1973; Merlingen, 2003). However, Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, in their 2004 book entitled 'Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics', set out to challenge the "preoccupation with creation at the expense of behaviour" (p11) arguing that IGOs can exercise both *regulative* and *constitutive* power. Regulative power relates to the power of IGOS to monitor and report on the activities of states, and represent, in the words of Merlingen (2003) the 'international conduct of the conduct of countries" (2003, p367). Constitutive power relates to the way that IGOs create, define and map

social reality. In other words, IGOs, through the creation of narratives, frame specific problems (Broome & Seabrooke, 2012). Barnett and Finnemore (2004) describe this as the "tendency of international organizations to create a world that subsequently licences yet more interventions by international organizations" (Barnett & Finnemore, 2004, p28).

Nay (2011) argues that the behaviour of international organizations is a function of internal and external factors which can be broadly categorised as material, legal-political and cultural (see Table 1).

Table 1 Factors Influencing the Behaviour of IGOs

	Material	**Legal-Political**	**Cultural**
Internal	Financial Capacity [a] Staff [b] Expert Knowledge [b]	Mandate [e] Recruitment Practices [b] Organizational Characteristics [be]	Capacity to make organizational links [a] Individuals [h] Cultural Contestation[1][j]
External	Funding Source [a] Other IGOs (Competition and Cooperation)[g] Economic Conditions [c] Technology [c]	Politics (State Interests) [c] Ideology [c] The mandates of other IGOs [f] Legal Regulations [a]	Discourse[2][i] Epistemic community[3] [d] Feedback (Insulation)[j]
	Factors directly or indirectly influencing Migration Patterns (e.g. demographic factors, economy, conflict, climate change)		

Sources: [a]Nay, 2011; [b]Evans and Finnemore, 2001; [c]Claude, 1964; [d]Haas, 1989; [e]Hall 2013; [f]Hall, 2015; [g]Korneev, 2014; [h]Schmidt, 2008; [i]Schmidt, 2010; [j]Barnett and Finnemore, 2004)

To a great extent, it can be assumed that many of the same external factors would place pressure on IGOs operating in the field of migration. However, as demonstrated by Hall (2016), the way in which organizations respond to changes in the external environment may vary depending upon

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[1] 'Cultural Contestation' is used by Barnett and Finnemore (2004) to refer to cases of 'bureaucratic politics' where different parts of an organisation develop distinct cultures and compete internally for resources and authority in a specific area. For organisations where migration is not the sole focus (e.g. OECD, UNDP), this could lead to different pockets of experience on migration.

[2] Schmidt (2010) calls on researchers in this area to focus on showing, by empirical means, "how, when, where and why ideas and discourse matter for institutional change, and when they do not" (Schmidt, 2010, p21)

[3] "The term (epistemic community) has been used in the literature on sociology of knowledge and has been adapted for use in international relations to refer to a specific community of experts sharing a belief in a common set of cause-and-effect relationships as well as common values to which policies governing these relationships will be applied" (Haas, 1989, p384).

institutional specific characteristics, thus supporting Nay's (2011) assertion that the behaviour of IGOs is a function of external pressure and internal dynamics.

In her work, Nina Hall (2013) elaborates a typology of international organizations running along a continuum from *normative organizations* to *functional organizations.* On one end of the spectrum, normative organizations 'have a legal authority to ensure norm compliance' (p92) while functional organizations 'are not mandated to promote, or ensure compliance with, international norms' and instead exist 'to perform specific, discrete tasks and are often project-based organizations as a result' (p92-93). Hall theorises that normative and functional organizations will exhibit different behavioural logics. Functional organizations will be more likely to make cost-benefit assessments and opt for the option which brings the largest material gain ('logic of consequence') while normative organizations act in accordance to the 'logic of appropriateness' meaning whether or not the specific action is in line with the norm they are tasked to uphold. Accordingly, one would expect a normative IGO to be more likely to exercise regulative power owing to the authority bestowed upon them by their mandate; while a functional IGO would be more likely to make use of constitutive power to demonstrate and communicate their authority to act based on prior expertise.
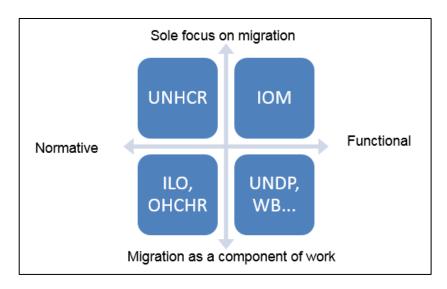
Hypotheses

Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) operating in the field of migration have been the focus of a substantial body of literature[4.] However, generally speaking, these studies have focused on individual organizations (primarily UNHCR and IOM), with a few notable exceptions (Elie, 2010; Hall, 2015; Hall; 2016; Koch, 2014; Korneev, 2013; Lavanex, 2016; Poutignat and Streiff-Fénart, 2010; Wunderlich, 2012). Given the fragmented nature of migration, and the number IGOs with some form of interest or engagement in migration issues[5], there is merit in going beyond a focus on individual organizations to understand how the characteristics of organizations affect their behaviour. By focusing on an event (the inclusion of migration in the SDGs), as opposed to individual organizations, the paper seeks to identify how different organizational structures affect the behaviour of organizations by focusing on two key areas of difference: whether or not migration issues are the sole focus of the organizations; and whether or not the organization is a functional or normative organization (Figure 1)

Figure 1 IGOs by Characteristic

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[4] (c.f. Amaya Castrol, 2012; Andrew & Eden, 2006; Andrijasevic & Walters, 2010; Ashutosh & Mountz, 2011; Barnett & Finnemore, 2004; Betts & Durieux, 2007; Brachet, 2016; Caillault, 2012; Elie, 2010; Felblum, 1999; Frowd, 2014; Geiger, 2010; Georgi, 2010; Georgi & Schatral, 2012; Hall, 2013; Hall, 2015; Hartigan, 1992; Hess, 2010; Hoffmann, 2016; Koch, 2014; Korneev, 2013; Korneev, 2014; Lavenex, 2016; Loescher; 2001; Nieuwenhuys & Pécoud, 2007; Pécoud, 2010; Potaux, 2011; Poutignat & Streiff-Fénart, 2011; Roper & Barria, 2010; Scalettaris, 2010; Schatral, 2011; Scheel & Ratfisch, 2014; Valarezo, 2015; Vollmer, 2016; and Wunderlich, 2012)

[5] Membership in the Global Migration Group (GMG) is used as a proxy for engagement in migration issues. Currently 18 organizations are members the GMG. Other key IGOs of relevance could include ICMPD, OSCE and OECD.

Pécoud (2015) argues that the narratives of IGOs are not necessarily prescriptive but rather "appear as ritual texts that explain why these problems occur, and outline a kind of mythical horizon in which they would disappear, and in which the world would look like what we ideally want it to be" (Pécoud, 2015, p54). Based on the argument that IGOs construct narratives in a way that justifies their own existence (Barnett and Finnemore, 2004), one might expect an IGO dealing solely with migration issues (IOM, UNHCR) to be more likely to be holistic in their narratives on migration to maximize the chances of convincing the architects of the SDGs of the relevance of including migration while organizations dealing with migration as a peripheral issue may be more likely to frame migration either as part of a problem or to describe how migration can be part of the solution ('mythical horizon') justifying the relevance for including migration based primarily on its specific expertise or mandate. However, in line with Hall (2016), one might expect to identify different discursive strategies dependent on whether the IGO is a functional or normative organization. Following Hall's logic, one would expect to see normative organizations (ILO, UNHCR) call for the inclusion of migration in the post-2015 development agenda in ways that align with their mandates while functional organizations such as IOM may be more likely to be more strategic in their use of narratives to convince others about the relevance of including migration in the post-2015 development agenda in a broad sense.

Methodology

International Organizations write prolifically. Google site searches for PDF documents on the sites of 17 Global Migration Group members[6] identified just shy of three million documents of which

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[6] Seventeen members of the Global Migration Group (GMG) were included in the analysis (FAO, ILO, IOM, OHCHR, UN Women, UNCTAD, UN-DESA, UNDP, UNESCO, UNFPA, UNHCR, UNICEF, UNITAR, UNODC, UNU, WB, and WHO). The regional commissions have been excluded. While this is interesting from the perspective of exploring similarities and differences in the ways migration is discussed at the regional level, it was excluded from the current analysis due to language limitations. Future work may include the Regional Commissions while also examining the discursive strategies of organizations who are not members of the GMG such as the Migration Policy Institute (MPI),

approximately 200,000 referenced migration and just over 10,000 made reference to both migration and to the 'post-2015' development agenda. There are limitations to this approach. Next to the fact that PDF documents are only one medium through which IGOs engage in discussions, the results that one receives may also be contingent on both location and past search history. In order to limit the potential bias that this could have introduced to the study, searches were run after clearing the computer's cache. Additionally, articles may be posted multiple times (duplicates) on different parts of a website. This is partially addressed by a Google algorithm that automatically detects and removes possible duplicate texts from the results it displays (although the user can override this function if desired). After allowing these exclusions, approximately 2500 documents remained.

Based on the assumption that the first search results on google will show the most relevant results (meaning those where the desired keywords appear most frequently and/or are well described in the search engine optimization (SEO) description), the top 20 articles for each organization were downloaded for further analysis resulting in an initial set of 340 documents.

Documents were excluded from the in-depth review if they did not meet one of three requirements: (1) the document was produced prior to the adoption of the SDGs; (2) the document was produced by the organization; (3) the document discursively connects 'migration' and the 'post-2015' development agenda. This led to the exclusion of 168 documents. Documents containing no narrative text or those relating to alternative post-2015 processes were also excluded. In total 174 documents were excluded (see Table 2). Documents that were produced by an interagency group (n=20) where the specific contributors are not identified (e.g. GMG, UNTT) were coded as 'not by agency' and excluded from this current analysis although will be included in future work.

Table 2 Exclusion from In-Depth Review

EXCLUSION	
Include	166
Exclude	174
Total	340
Exclusion Reason	
Published after October 2015	57
Not by agency	48
Does not discursively link migration and post-2015 development agenda	59
No narrative text (e.g. event schedule)	2
Refers to a different post-2015 process (e.g. TB Strategy)	2
Duplicate	6
Total Excluded	**174**

The resulting set of documents (n=166) were all published between 2012 and 2015 and consisted of 5850 pages of text. A list of these documents can be located in Annex 1. These documents were further subdivided into three categories: 1) documents which made a passing reference to

the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD); as well as recent members of the GMG (UNIDO and UNEP).

migration and the post-2015 development agenda; 2) documents that solely focused on the post-2015 development agenda (e.g. education and the post-2015 development agenda); and 3) documents that focused solely on migration and the post-2015 development agenda. Just over half (53.6%) of the documents belonged to the first category. One third (33.1%) were documents focused on the post-2015 development agenda, but without a specific migration focus. The remaining articles (13.3%) focused on migration and the post 2015 development agenda. The 22 documents that solely focused on migration and the post-2015 development agenda were produced by six organizations: IOM (11 documents); ILO (6 documents); UNU (2 documents); and one document each for UNDESA, UNITAR and WHO (Figure 2).
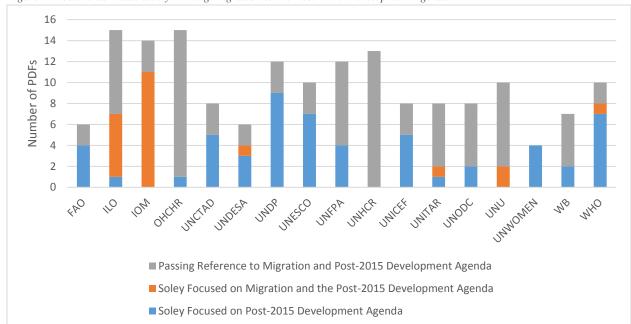
Figure 1 Documents Discursively Linking Migration to the Post-2015 Development Agenda

N=166

These documents were subsequently coded in Nvivo. For documents making a passing reference to migration and the post-2015 development agenda, relevant passages were identified by doing keyword searches for migr* and post-2015/post 2015. In some cases passages clearly making a discursive connection between migration and the post-2015 development agenda without using one, or both, of these keywords were still coded for further analysis. Examples here include passages referring to Agenda 2030, or to alternative migration related terminology such as remittances, population dynamics, diaspora and so forth. Documents that were coded as 'solely focusing on the Post-2015 development agenda' were searched for migration related keywords on the assumption that any reference to migration in the context of these reports was, by nature of the document, discursively connected to the post-2015 development agenda. Documents that focused on both migration and the post-2015 development agenda were searched for sections, paragraphs or sentences that made clear discursive connections. These excerpts were subsequently coded according to the specific argument (narrative) being made resulting in the identification of five

shared narratives connecting migration with the post-2015 development agenda which can be identified. These narratives are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Findings

Based on an analysis of 15 core texts, published over the course of the past 25 years starting from the Programme of Action of the United Nations Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in 1994 and running until the World Migration report in 2013, Antoine Pécoud (2015) identifies four core arguments in International Migration Narratives (IMN). These arguments are as follows:

> "(1) migration is a normal phenomenon in a globalising world, as well as a central process in the functioning of the global economy; (2) states currently fail to properly address the challenges raised by migration; (3) given that migration is a global reality that concerns all countries, state cooperation is a condition for the success of immigration policy; (4) this is all the more the case because migration plays a key role in achieving global objectives, such as development and the respect for human rights." (Pécoud, 2015, p62).

In many respects the efforts to discursively justify the inclusion of migration in the SDGs is a manifestation of this "federating discourse" (Pécoud, 2015, p62). In the 166 documents included in this review, five distinct yet interrelated narratives are presented as rationale for the inclusion of migration in the post-2015 development agenda:

1) under the right conditions, migration is an enabler of development;
2) development is a reason for migration from both a 'development failure' and 'development enabled migration' perspective;
3) migration is a development challenge;
4) migrants are a vulnerable population group; and
5) displacement is a development challenge.

At face value, some of these narratives may appear contradictory. For example, if migration is conceived of as a challenge, particularly as one resulting from underdevelopment, one might reasonably expect the cessation of migration to be the solution (reflecting the sedentary bias in development interventions identified by Oliver Bakewell in 2008). However this is at odds with one of the motivations for much of the writing on migration and the post-2015 development agenda which is to convince its architects of the necessity of including migration. In the context of broader international migration narratives (ICNs), Pécoud (2015) argues that this is the reason for the introduction of the idea of 'migrating out of choice' mantra, which, he argues, is a key contribution of the Global Commission on Migration (GCIM) report and is well reflected in the narratives

surrounding the post-2015 development agenda, particularly through the conditional framing of migration as a development enabler. These, and other preliminary observations are discussed below.

Migration as an Enabler of Development

The most prominent narrative is that of migration as an enabler of development. Using the lexicon of 'enablers' is not entirely surprising given that the concept of 'development enablers' was given a prominent place in the debate by the UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 Development Agenda (UNTT, 2012). This makes narratives depicting migration as a "development enabler" one strategic way of securing a place for migration in the post-2015 development agenda. Several documents make explicit reference to consensus on the categorization of migration as a 'development enabler' as springboard to arguments for why migration should be included in the post-2015 development agenda:

> "More recently, the report of the United Nations System Task Team on the Post-2015 United Nations Development Agenda (United Nations, 2012) *recognized migration as a key dimension of global population dynamics and an enabler for inclusive social and economic development*" (IOM1).

> "UNFPA is working with its partners to ensure that migration is given full consideration in the post-2015 agenda, either as a potential goal, as indicative targets, as indicators to measure achievement of other Millennium Development Goals, *or as an enabling factor*" (UNFPA2).

> "*With the increasing acceptance of migration as a 'development enabler'* to be taken up as a process when the timeframe of the current Millennium Development Goals expire in 2015, this paper reveals how development partners and renewable natural resource management organizations can embrace migration and plan their interventions/investments efforts taking youth migration into account" (FAO14).

> "As the consultations aimed at shaping the Post-2015 development agenda gather steam, *migration and remittances are being featured as important instruments supporting the achievement of goals*, as areas where new targets and principles might be articulated, and as potential sources of innovative financing" (World Bank 4)

As in this last example from FAO, the extent to which migration can be an enabler of development is generally conditioned on a specific intervention for example the inclusion of a specific actor in discussions or through international cooperation:

> "Migration is increasingly being recognized as a significant factor for the achievement of all three pillars of sustainable development – economic, social and environmental. *However, more needs to be done to strengthen the role of*

migration as an enabler of sustainable development for individuals, communities and societies, while addressing its negative impacts" (IOM6).

"*In order to function as a human development enabler for migrants and their families, migration requires cooperation at all levels* including bilateral and regional solutions and a variety of stakeholders. Just as with other global interdependencies, migration is best addressed through partnerships" (UNFPA3, IOM7[7]);

"*Local government serves as a "missing link" in the migration/development equation, spurring positive outcomes* in both origin and destination communities" (UNITAR4)

"The positive impact of migration is neither predetermined nor guaranteed. On the contrary, comprehensive and well-managed migration policies are crucial, and ideally these should be developed and implemented through close cooperation between the countries of origin and destination, to ensure orderly mobility with full respect for the human rights of all migrants. *Only development initiatives such as these will be able to unleash the development potential of migration* and allow migrant diaspora resources to be fully utilized, beginning with the benefits accruing to the migrants themselves" (IOM2).

This framing of migration as an enabler conditioned on specific interventions could be read as a way of also highlighting the role of the specific IGO. For example, IOM is known for its expertise in the area of migration management and, without well-managed migration policies, migration can actually hinder development outcomes. Similarly, UNITAR, often in collaboration with the Joint Migration and Development Initiative (JMDI), a collaborative initiative of UNDP and IOM, often focus on the role of local actors in migration and development discussions and thus conditioning migration as a development enabler on the involvement of local actors allows these actors to showcase their expertise and knowledge in this particular area.

Migration as a Development Challenge

Another common narrative relates to the challenges that population movement pose to development processes. In many cases this narrative is presented as the counter narrative to migration enabling development where 'uncontrolled' migration, both internal and international, undermines development objectives. In the context of urban growth migration is argued to undermine rural development through the departure of human capital and to threaten urban development through placing pressure on public services. In the context of international migration, migration (human trafficking and smuggling) are often positioned next to other transnational organized crimes as challenges to establishing enabling environments for development.

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[7] Identical text is used in both documents.

"Climate change and other environmental threats, rapid population growth and migration are putting disproportionate pressure on livelihoods in rural areas where poverty is already entrenched and people have the least resilience" (FAO4, FAO17)

Population size and mobility, including rapid urbanization and migration fuelled by poverty, unemployment and displacement, have already outpaced the requirements of investments in education, health and provision of basic amenities for the population, thus undermining economic prosperity, job creation, poverty alleviation and food security" (WHO14)

"He (the DG of ILO) indicated that environmental factors such as climate change were already a strong driver for migration within, and across, borders: 150–200 million people could be displaced by 2050 owing to rising sea levels, heavier floods and more intense droughts, which could reverse many of the achievements in poverty reduction" (ILO4).

"Yet it also has many socio-economic costs: social dislocations; the breakdown of the family; brain drain, and others. Migration is a very real development challenge and we must deal with it candidly and effectively, including in UNCTAD, if we are to address the issue adequately in its full complexity" (UNCTAD18).

"On the other hand, crime-related violence, transnational organized crime, including trafficking in persons and smuggling of migrants, as well as drug trafficking not only caused losses in terms of human resources and future productivity, but also negatively affected the enabling environment for the realization of development goals, the rule of law, business and finance and human security" (UNODC1).

The framing of migration as a challenge to development is much more commonly identified in the texts of organizations for whom migration is a peripheral activity. As such, migration is framed as an issue that has impacts on the 'daily business' of the organization and subsequently as an issue relevant for the post-2015 development agenda.

Development as a Reason for Migration

The migration and development discourse has often been criticized for only focusing on the relationships between migration and development to the neglect of the impacts that development can have on migration. While less often identified in documents relating migration to the post-2015 development agenda, a number of agencies do consider the reverse relationship between development and migration, sometimes even explicitly:

"Thus, we should from time to time flip the 'migration-as-a-development-enabler' narrative on its head and ask not only what migration and migrants can do for development but also what development can do for migrants and migration" (IOM7)

In the context of this narrative, development can be conceived of simultaneously being a facilitator of migration while also being a response to underdevelopment. This is reminiscent of the argument of the GCIM to make migration a choice. It also furthers the argument that migration can be a positive force for development under certain conditions. The conditions in this context are that the decision to migrate is one of choice and not compulsion. As the final excerpt from IOM below neatly captures, migration and development are considered in this narrative to be mutually reinforcing and as such that migration is endogenous to development, it is simply part of the story of development.

> "*Migration within and between countries has always been an integral part of the human response to changing economic, social, and environmental conditions.* This pattern is likely to continue, not only due to increased economic opportunities facilitated by improved information and transport systems and globalization of production and labor markets, but also exacerbated by population displacement and relocation due to environmental degradation and civil conflict" (UNFPA12).

> "Virtually every development initiative has some impact on population mobility in one way or another" (UNU2).

> "It is crucial to recognize that the first policy response to this situation must be to promote decent work opportunities in countries where they are currently inadequate. The UN post-2015 development agenda is an opportunity to give renewed impetus to the shared responsibility to promote decent jobs and social protection everywhere. There is no corresponding responsibility on any one country to compensate demographic shortfalls in any other. *This is what gives meaning to the idea that migration should be an option available to individuals and not an obligation imposed upon them*" (ILO13)

> "Faster development will enable some of those now too poor to migrate to move to better opportunities, so that international migration and the potential for faster development may increase together" (IOM15)

The impact of development – or lack thereof – was a far less prominent narrative in documents discursively connecting migration and the post-2015 development agenda. Where underdevelopment was identified as a cause for migration, this was rarely done in a way that did not also identify that development could also enable migration in a more positive way.

Migration as a Characteristic of Vulnerability

The identification of migrant status as a characteristic of vulnerability also appeared frequently in connection with post-2015 development agenda discussions. Casting migrants as a vulnerable population provides justification for including migration in the post-2015 development as a transversal theme touching on many goals and targets:

> "The proposed overarching goal echoes the key points of discussions on all education goals within the post-2015 development framework…it requires a strong statement on the needs of vulnerable groups – including those living in remote and rural contexts and urban slums; ethnic, indigenous and other minorities; persons with disabilities; refugees, migrants and internally displaced persons…" (UNICEF12)

> "Certain groups of women who face multiple forms of discrimination, such as migrant and refugee women, and women with disabilities, are particularly exposed to the risk of violence" (UNWOMEN7)

The vulnerability of migrants was often framed in connection to migrants as 'development enablers' providing that they experience the right conditions. This related primarily to conditions in countries of destinations relating in particular to access to services but was also used to refer to the vulnerabilities of migrants to unethical recruitment practices or human traffickers, in the absence of legal opportunities to migrate.

> "Healthy migrants contribute to positive development outcomes" (IOM17)

However IOM, in particular, emphasizes the risk of adopting this as a sole approach to migration:

> "Focusing on vulnerable groups, such as migrants, and measuring their progress with regard to certain goals would be a step in the right direction in reducing inequalities. Yet, while perhaps improving the situation of migrants in certain areas, such a link would neglect many aspects of the interrelation between migration and development which could be positively harnessed for development" (IOM1)

The categorization of migrants as a vulnerable population was a narrative most often presented by agencies focusing their attention on specific population groups, notably women (UN Women) and children (UNICEF), and with a human rights focus (OHCHR).

Displacement as a Development Challenge

Although less prominent as a narrative, population displacement has increasingly being viewed as a development challenge, both from the perspective of those displaced, for example through the interruption of schooling for displaced children, but also for the localities into which displaced persons arrive. The framing of displacement as a

development challenge in the years preceding the adoption of the SDGs focused primarily on the promotion of partnerships between humanitarian actors and development actors to limit the potentially disruptive impacts that displacement could have on development.

> "UNHCR has also highlighted the need for a change in approach to humanitarian funding. Despite an unprecedented increase in global humanitarian funding, this increase has not kept pace with accelerating needs. There is an increasing imperative to make better use of development programmes and funding in conjunction with humanitarian responses, as well as to ensure the involvement of development actors at all stages of displacement" (UNHCR11)

> "Durable solutions for displaced populations require close ties between relief and development actors, involving both strategic coordination and formal partnership" (UNHCR13)

> "A call is made for a stronger emphasis on the relationship between displacement and development within the post 2015 development agenda" (UNITAR1)

> "As was noted in a joint statement from OCHA, UNHCR, and IOM in July, protracted displacement is a driver of inequality and may hinder the sustainable development of both individuals and host communities, in addition to triggering conflict relapses. With forced displacement at its highest level since World War II, this is not a concern to be overlooked" (IOM20)

> "Consultations in a number of African countries show that conflicts and unrest lead to massive migrations of displaced persons to neighbouring countries, putting additional stress on public services, resources and economic opportunities of already struggling neighbours" (UNCTAD5)

The framing of displacement as a development issue comes in the context of reported deficits its humanitarian funding. The depiction of displacement as a development challenge is, unsurprisingly, particularly prominent in the documents of UNHCR, however reference to displacement as a challenge to development does also appear in the texts of other agencies, perhaps in response to the increasingly attention given to displacement in light of the Syrian crisis.

Concluding Remarks and Future Research

The five narratives presented in this paper convincingly present migration as an all-encompassing part of development that is both a cause and consequence of development and that, depending on the actions of the international community, can either hinder or promote development. Migration driven by positive development will lead to even more development and conversely, migration driven by underdevelopment, including forced displacement and climate change, will further undermine development. In painting this picture, it seems almost unfathomable that migration would not be included in the post-2015 development agenda.

What has not yet been systematically examined is whether the characteristics of organizations affect their discursive strategies. Earlier in the paper it was hypothesized that organizations with a sole focus on migration issues (IOM, UNHCR) would be more likely to be holistic in their narratives on migration. However it was also hypothesized that organizations with a normative function (UNHCR) would be more likely that functional organizations (IOM) focus their narratives on their particular mandate. Looking only at the narratives evident in the writings of UNHCR and IOM, there is some initial support for this preposition. However, much more attention needs to be given the specific discursive techniques used by different actors.

This paper presents the first findings of an ongoing research project exploring the role of IGOs in shaping migration policy. Textual analysis should always be supplemented by other methodological approaches to avoid decontextualizing written materials from the social reality they simultaneously seek to describe and shape (Fairclough, 2003). Future work will seek to better integrate the findings of this paper into a larger study on the role of international organizations in securing a place for migration in the SDGs by:

- Deeper textual analysis of the current corpus to explore the use of discursive techniques to frame migration in specific ways (e.g. metaphors, nominalization)
- Inclusion of collectively written documents (e.g. the 20 documents identified in search that were authored by the GMG) in the analysis.
- Interviews with representatives of IGOs to identifying any key omissions to the current document set, to contextualize its findings and to investigate the co-production of narratives from the perspective of those involved in their preparation.
- Exploration of the connections between the current corpus and existing academic research on migration and development (bibliometric analysis).
- Inclusion of actors beyond the GMG (e.g. ICMPD, OECD, MPI) and the UN Regional Commissions

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Annex 1: List of Included Documents

Organization	Document Reference	No. of Pages	Year of Publication	Title
FAO	3	12	2014	Targets and Indicators for the Post-2015 Development Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goal
FAO	4	2	2014	FAO and the Post-2015 Development Agenda Issue Papers: Poverty Eradication
FAO	9	134	2015	The Director-General's Medium Term Plan 2014-17 (reviewed) and Programme of Work and Budget 2016-17
FAO	14	106	2013	Nature and Faune Issue 28 Vol 1.
FAO	17	28	2015	FAO and the post-2015 development agenda issue papers: Food Security and the Right to Food
FAO	19	6	2015	FAO's e-bulletin on the post-2015 development agenda.
ILO	2	1	?	The ILO And The Post-2015 Development Agenda
ILO	3	14	?	Mainstreaming of Migration in Development Policy and Integrating Migration in the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda: Background Paper
ILO	4	30	2013	Labour migration and development: ILO moving forward
ILO	5	4	?	Migration and Decent Work and the Post-2015 Development Agenda: Statement by Thetis Mangahas, Deputy Regional Director, ILO Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific (draft)
ILO	7	1	2014	Event Abstract: Fair Migration and the Post-2015 UN Sustainable Development Agenda (AS GMG Chair)
ILO	8	1	2014	Event Brochures: Fair Migration and the Post-2015…see ILO5
ILO	9	14	?	Integrating Labour Migration into the 2013 UN High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development, and the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda / International Labour Organization Position Paper
ILO	10	35	2015	The Contribution of Labour Mobility to Economic Growth With OECD and World Bank
ILO	11	11	2014	Promoting Effective Governance of Labour Migration from South Asia The ILO South Asia Labour Migration Governance Project 2013–2016
ILO	13	30	2014	Report for ILC 2014 Fair Migration: Setting an ILO Agenda
ILO	16	13	2015	Promoting Decent Work For Migrant Workers - Paper for 13th Coordination Meeting on Migration
ILO	17	12	?	PPP Michelle Leighton
ILO	18	5	?	Outcome 7 2014-2015 results
ILO	19	6	2015	KNOMAD Workshop Summary: Migration Costs
ILO	20	1	2014	OHCHR // Michelle Leighton keynote to MWC Committee
IOM	1	144	2013	Migration and the United Nations Post-2015 Development Agenda
IOM	2	8	?	IOM position on the post-2015 United Nations development agenda
IOM	6	392	2014	Migration Initiatives 2015 Regional Strategies
IOM	7	16	2013	Making the Case for Including Migration into the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda Background paper (With UNDP)
IOM	8	22	2013	MPP Vol. III, Number 1, February 2013–March 2013
IOM	10	36	2012	PPP. P.MARTIN related to IOM15
IOM	12	1	2013	Book Flier: Migration and the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda
IOM	13	12	2014	Integrating Migration into the Post-2015 United Nations Development Agenda

IOM	14	15	2012	Migration and Human Mobility Thematic Think Piece (with UNDESA)
IOM	15	29	2013	WP for 2013 WMR: Labour Migration and Development Indicators in the Post-2015 Global Development Framework
IOM	16	18	2013	MPP Vol. II, Number 6, December 2012–January 2013
IOM	17	4	?	Health in the Post-2015 Development Agenda: The importance of migrants' health for sustainable and equitable development
IOM	19	4	2014	The Role of Migration in the Post-2015 Un Development Agenda Summary
IOM	20	4	2014	Migration in the post-2015 process: Analyzing key trends
OHCHR	2	48	2013	Migration and human rights: Improving Human Rights-Based Governance Of International Migration
OHCHR	3	80	2015	KNOMAD Working Paper: Human Rights Indicators for Migrants and their Families
OHCHR	4	10	2013	Migration Protecting human rights in the context of migration (OHCHR Report 2013)
OHCHR	5	12	2013	KNOMAD: Human Rights Indicators for Migrants and their Families Overview
OHCHR	6	196	2015	With ILO: Migration, human rights and governance
OHCHR	7	8	2012	Migration Protecting human rights in the context of migration (OHCHR Report 2012)
OHCHR	11	128	2013	OHCHR Management Plan 2014-2017
OHCHR	13	11	2015	Twenty-Third Session of the Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families2015
OHCHR	14	12	2014	Twenty-First Session of the Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families
OHCHR	15	9	2014	High-level Panel discussion on human rights mainstreaming The protection and promotion of the human rights of migrants
OHCHR	16	21	2014	Report of the Special Rapporteur on the human rights of migrants, François Crépeau
OHCHR	17	7	2015	Twenty-Second Session of the Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families
OHCHR	18	6	2014	UN Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (CMW) Day of General Discussion - Speaker: Michelle Leighton (ILO)
OHCHR	19	13	2012	Towards freedom from fear and want: Human rights in the post2015 agenda Thematic Think Piece
OHCHR	20	26	2015	Report of the Special Rapporteur on the human rights of migrants, Mr. François Crépeau
UNCTAD	2	14	2014	The role of international trade in the post-2015 development agenda Note by the UNCTAD secretariat
UNCTAD	3	4	2015	Access To Financial Services As A Driver For The Post-2015 Development Agenda
UNCTAD	4	14	2014	Tackling inequality through trade and development in the post-2015 development agenda Note by the UNCTAD secretariat
UNCTAD	5	44	2013	Growth and Employment in the Post-2015 Agenda Messages from a Global consultation (UNDESA, UNIDO, UNWOMEN, UNTCAD, FAO - UNDG)
UNCTAD	9	6	2013	Management response to the external evaluation of UNCTAD subprogramme 3: International trade1
UNCTAD	15	42	2014	Activity Report 2013
UNCTAD	17	23	2012	Addressing Inequalities The Heart Of The Post-2015 Development Agenda And The Future We Want For All Global Thematic Consultation Trade Policy And Gender Inequalities: A Country-Based Analysis

UNCTAD	18	3	2013	Agenda Item 10: UNCTAD's contribution to the implementation of and follow-up to the outcomes of major United Nations conferences and summits in the economic and social fields
UNDESA	1	18	2013	Towards The 2013 High-Level Dialogue On International Migration And Development: Assessing The Effects Of International Migration On Sustainable Development And Identifying Relevant Priorities In View Of The Preparation Of The Post-2015 Development Framework (With UNFPA And IOM - Written By Khalid Koser)
UNDESA	3	30	2012	The international development strategy beyond 2015: taking demographic dynamics into account
UNDESA	13	12	2015	Social Inclusion, Poverty Eradication & Post-2015 Development Agenda
UNDESA	14	26	2012	Should global goal setting continue, and how, in the post-2015 era?
UNDESA	15	56	2012	Tenth Coordination Meeting on International Migration
UNDESA	17	10	2012	PPP Bela Hovy: Preparations for the 2013 High-level Dialogue
UNDP	1	27	2013	Post 2015 Discussions in Turkey
UNDP	3	106	2014	Human Development Report Kosovo
UNDP	5	38	2013	Human Development Report Office Research Paper: Equity, Inequality and Human Development in a Post-2015 Framework
UNDP	7	30	2013	Human Development Report Office Occasional Paper Series: Issues for a Global Human Development Agenda
UNDP	8	52	2014	Building the Post-2015 Development Agenda : 2014 annual report
UNDP	9	15	2015	Annual Progress Report Global Project on "Mainstreaming Migration into National Development Strategies" – Phase II
UNDP	10	18	2015	Discussion Paper China, The Millennium Development Goals, And The Post-2015 Development Agenda / Country Specific: China
UNDP	11	45	2013	Post 2015 The Future we Want National Consultations In Kazakhstan // Country specific: Kazakhstan
UNDP	12	239	2014	Human Development Report 2014
UNDP	13	44	2014	Where next for aid? The Post-2015 Opportunity Discussion Paper with ODI
UNDP	14	14	2014	Discussion Paper: Governance for Sustainable Development Integrating Governance in the Post-2015 Development Framework
UNDP	16	65	?	ALL of UN: Building more inclusive, sustainable and prosperous societies in Europe and Central Asia: A common United Nations vision for the post-2015 development agenda
UNESCO	2	121	2015	POST-2015 Dialogues On Culture And Development
UNESCO	3	41	2015	UNESCO's Participation In The Preparations For A Post-2015 Development Agenda
UNESCO	4	28	2015	Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2015
UNESCO	5	13	?	Position Paper on Education Post-2015
UNESCO	6	63	2014	UNESCO Education Strategy 2014–2021
UNESCO	9	40	2015	Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2015
UNESCO	10	11	2013	UNESCO'S Participation In The Preparations For A Post-2015 Development Agenda
UNESCO	11	8	2013	Envisioning Education In The Post-2015
UNESCO	12	24	2014	Sustainable Development Begins With Education How Education Can Contribute To The Proposed Post-2015 Goals
UNESCO	14	9	2014	UNESCO'S Participation In The Preparations For A Post-2015 Development Agenda

UNFPA	1	414	2013	KEY DOC! With IOM and UN in general: International Migration and Development: Contributions and Recommendations of the International System
UNFPA	2	18	2013	Monitoring of population programmes, focusing on new trends in migration: demographic aspects / Commission on Population and Development Forty-sixth session
UNFPA	3	56	2013	With UNDESA UNHABITAT and IOM: Population Dynamics in the Post-2015 Development Agenda: Report of the Global Thematic Consultation on Population Dynamics
UNFPA	5	101	2013	Expert Group Meeting On Population Dynamics In The Post Post-2015 Development Agenda
UNFPA	8	23	2015	United Nations Population Fund Report of the Executive Director Progress made in implementation of the UNFPA strategic plan 2014-2017
UNFPA	9	24	2013	United Nations Population Fund The UNFPA Strategic Plan, 2014-2017
UNFPA	10	49	2013	WITH UNESCWA and UNECA "Development Challenges and Population Dynamics in a Changing Arab World", Regional Conference on Population and Development in the Arab States (ICPD Beyond 2014)
UNFPA	12	32	2012	Population Matters for Sustainable Development
UNFPA	14	7	?	The Future UNFPA Wants for All: Keys For The Post-2015 Development Agenda
UNFPA	15	60	2014	Realizing the Potential 2013: UNFPA Annual Report
UNFPA	16	19	2013	United Nations Population Fund: The UNFPA Strategic Plan, 2014-2017 Annex 2 Outcome theories of change
UNFPA	19	37	2013	UNFPA Global Interventions Action Plan, 2014-2017 Technical Division
UNHCR	2	20	2014	Trends Report
UNHCR	4	11	2014	High Commissioner's Dialogue 2014 Background Paper
UNHCR	5	6	2014	Global Appeal 2014-2015
UNHCR	6	17	2015	63rd Standing Committee Meeting: Note on international protection
UNHCR	8	8	2015	Global Appeal 2015 Update
UNHCR	9	29	2015	Expert Roundtable on Moving Onwards (Geneva 1-2 Oct 2015) Backgound Paper. Post-2015 only mentioned in a footnote.
UNHCR	11	8	2015	Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2014-2015
UNHCR	12	7	2014	High Commissioner's Dialogue on Protection at Sea (10-11 December 2014) Reports of the Breakout sessions
UNHCR	13	7	2014	61st Standing Committee Meeting:
UNHCR	14	19	2015	2015 Annual Consultation with CSOs (Side Event)
UNHCR	15	7	2015	62nd Standing Committee Meeting:
UNHCR	16	36	2014	2014-2024 Plan to End Statelessness; possible indicators
UNHCR	17	10	2014	65th Session of the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme: Volker Türk
UNICEF	1	4	2013	UNICEF POPULATION DYNAMICS: International Migration and Generation2 025
UNICEF	3	2	2014	A POST-2015 World Fit for Children Issue Brief: Early Childhood Development – The Foundation for Sustainable Development
UNICEF	4	5	2013	UNICEF Key Asks On The Post-2015 Development Agenda
UNICEF	7	13	2013	UNICEF Key Messages On The Post-2015 Development Agenda
UNICEF	9	14	2014	A Post-2015 World Fit For Children - An Agenda For #Everychild 2015
UNICEF	12	46	2013	Report of the Global Thematic Consultation on Education in the Post-2015 Development Agenda (with UNESCO)
UNICEF	14	41	2014	Thematic Report 2013: Policy Advocacy And Partnerships For Children's Rights

UNICEF	16	62	2014	Thematic Report 2013: Child Protection From Violence, Exploitation And Abuse
UNITAR	1	8	2014	GMG Technical Meeting Realising post-2015 Aspirations for Migrants and Migration: Presentation by Collen Thouez: How Cities are already leveraging a more mobile world
UNITAR	3	9	2015	Event: Local Leadership On Mobility, Migration And Development (with JDMI and WB)
UNITAR	4	3	2014	FotF Meeting: Statement of Assistant Secretary-General Sally Fegan-Wyles
UNITAR	7	2	2013	Side Event at HLD with KNOMAD, UNDP and UNITAR on On Local Government: Taking the Migration and Development Agenda Forward
UNITAR	8	11	2014	Paper from 3rd UNITAR-Yale Conference on Environmental Governance and Democracy: Human Rights, Environmental Sustainability, Post-2015 Development, and the Future Climate Regime / Hybrid Legal approaches towards Climate Change: Concepts, Mechanisms and Implementation / Cosmin (UNU)
UNITAR	9	8	2014	Agenda from 3rd UNITAR-Yale Conference on Environmental Governance and Democracy: Human Rights, Environmental Sustainability, Post-2015 Development, and the Future Climate Regime
UNITAR	14	17	2013	Report to the Secretary General
UNITAR	17	2	2012	Seminar on Migration and Sustainable Development
UNODC	1	18	2012	Inputs by Member States for the post-2015 development agenda
UNODC	3	151	2013	Accounting for Security and Justice in the Post-2015 Development Agenda
UNODC	4	19	2015	Workshop 2: Trafficking in persons and smuggling of migrants: successes and challenges in criminalization, in mutual legal assistance and in effective protection of witnesses and trafficking victims**
UNODC	12	6	2015	Thirteenth United Nations Congress on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Doha (Qatar) 12-19 April 2015 / Statement by Turkey
UNODC	14	19	2015	Thirteenth United Nations Congress on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Plenary meeting on Cybercrime and Terrorism: Statements by Member States and other high-level participants
UNODC	16	133	2014	UNODC Annual Report 2014
UNODC	17	13	2015	Draft Doha Declaration on integrating crime prevention and criminal justice into the wider United Nations agenda to address social and economic challenges and to promote the rule of law at the national and international levels, and public participation
UNODC	18	86	2014	Independent project evaluation of the Smuggling of Migrants: Establishment and Operation of a Coordination and Analysis Unit (CAU) for East Asia & the Pacific
UNU	1	6	2013	Migration in the Post-2015 Development Agenda
UNU	2	17	2013	Bringing migration into the post-2015 agenda: Notes, reflections and policy directions: Ronald Skeldon
UNU	3	1	2014	MOSAICS 11
UNU	6	1	2015	MOSAICS 23
UNU	9	1	2015	MOSAICS 22
UNU	10	1	2014	MOSAICS 10
UNU	12	97	2015	Independent Evaluation of Swiss Migration Partnerships: Final Report
UNU	17	58	2013	Changing climates, moving people: Framing migration, displacement and planned relocation
UNU	18	18	2015	PACIFIC Research Project Promoting human security and minimizing conflict associated with forced migration in the Pacific region
UNU	20	28	2015	GMC Annual Report 2014
UNWOMEN	4	172	2013	Advancing Gender Equality: Promising Practices

UNWOMEN	7	48	2013	A Transformative Stand-Alone Goal On Achieving Gender Equality, Women's Rights And Women's Empowerment: Imperatives And Key Components
UNWOMEN	8	10	2013	Overview of Promising Practices
UNWOMEN	20	136	2013	Women of India Speak: Shaping the Post-2015 Development Discoirse and Agenda
WB	1	27	2015	Migration and Development Brief 24
WB	2	31	2014	Migration and Development Brief 22
WB	3	29	2013	Migration and Development Brief 21
WB	4	11	2013	Migration and Development Brief 20
WB	7	54	2013	Financing for Development Post-2015
WB	12	12	2015	The Role Of Identification In The Post-2015 Development Agenda
WB	15	30	2015	PPP: The Global Effort in the Remittances Arena
WHO	2	2	?	With IOM: TB Prevention and Care for Migrants
WHO	3	2	2013	Health rights in the post-2015 development agenda: including non-nationals
WHO	5	17	2012	Health in the post-2015 UN development agenda Thematic Think Piece UNAIDS, UNICEF, UNFPA, WHO
WHO	6	19	2013	Vision and proposed framework for a Post-2015 TB Elimination Strategy and Targets
WHO	8	71	2013	Health in the Post-2015 Development Agenda: An analysis of the UN-led thematic consultations, High-Level Panel report and sustainable development debate in the context of health
WHO	13	70	2013	Human Resources For Health: foundation for Universal Health Coverage and the post-2015 development agenda
WHO	14	18	?	Health in the post-2015 development agenda: need for a social determinants of health approach Joint statement of the UN Platform on Social Determinants of Health (ILO, UNDP, UNFPA, UNICEF, WHO and UNAIDS.)
WHO	15	13	?	Re-energizing the HRH Agenda for a Post-2015 World – Responding to the needs of fragile states
WHO	16	21	2015	Towards a monitoring framework with targets and indicators for the health goals of the post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals
WHO	18	1	2014	Reference to a MPP article on health, migration and Post-2015