YOUTH - MIGRATION - EMPLOYMENT
BURNING ISSUES FOR GOVERNANCE,
DEVELOPMENT AND COHESION*

Chapter 6
The employment dimensions of youth and adolescent migration are ever more urgent challenges for governance and for development. Migration presents many young people with opportunities for personal growth and development, for education, for starting jobs and careers, and for building their own family life. Young migrants are motors of growth and productivity for destination countries. They provide economic sustenance for families and home communities and they are vectors for social progress at home and abroad. Today, issues of youth integration, their productive participation in employment, and their legal and social protection are vital challenges for governance: locally, nationally and globally.

The intersections between youth, migration, employment and development are ever more pressing as international mobility increases and as foreign-origin portions of work-forces grow in many countries. Migration flows today are largely comprised of young people, and they will continue to be in the future. This chapter, as the overall report, focuses on international migration, fully recognizing that cross-border mobility represents only a small part of migratory flows worldwide, a large portion of which remain internal within countries.

Intersecting technological, structural and demographic transitions are rapidly expanding demand for foreign skills and labour worldwide and appear likely to drive significantly increased youth migration in coming years. However, youth migration is also driven by the lack of decent work available for young people in their homelands, and by the income differentials between origin and destination countries.

Employment is key for young people to find their place in the world, to earn their living and support families. However, migrant youth face many constraints affecting both youth employment and migration. Large portions of youthful populations around the world face high unemployment rates, little access to skills and vocational training, social marginalization, and absence of viable life opportunities to sustain remaining where they are.

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These in turn can be correlated with structural factors, notably jobless growth in many developed and developing countries and systemic factors that defer choices between labour intensive or capital intensive investment to private, market determinants without public interest considerations.

Migrant youth – particularly those in lower skilled, unskilled and/or irregular situations – face risks of abuse, exploitation, discrimination, exclusion and unemployment in many countries. Young foreign workers commonly face non-recognition of training credentials resulting in “de-skilling” where they only obtain jobs beneath their qualifications. Young women migrant workers confront high risks of sexual and gender based violence as well as abuse and exploitation at work and elsewhere in their migration experience.

These factors and broader trends of youth unemployment and mobility implicate the post-2015 UN development agenda. The importance of young migrants in sustaining development across the North and South and the large numbers of people concerned urge deliberate attention to youth migration in the new UN development framework, with specific measurable goals and targets including on productive employment and decent work for all.

Addressing youth migration and employment in a world of economic, employment and social crises requires deliberate action and policy by governments, social partners and international institutions. Not acting means facing ever higher costs from abuse and exploitation of youth and adolescents, increasing social disruption, and losses of economic productivity and growth. Getting it right requires comprehensive youth migration data for evidence-based governance, national legislation on legal, labour and social protection applying to youth and adolescents, and specific measures to integrate young migrants in conditions of equality, as well as supporting re-integration for returnees, enhancing access to vocational and technical training, and ensuring protection and equality for women and girl migrants.

WHAT WE KNOW

Youth make up large portions of contemporary migratory flows and an important portion of ‘migrant stocks.’ Current international migration data shows that youth and adolescents between ages of 15 and 24 make up about 12 per cent of global migrant
In estimating international migrant stock, international migrants have generally been equated with the foreign-born. Migrant stocks may include persons who have acquired citizenship in the destination country, persons classified as immigrants, resettled refugees, persons granted asylum, family members admitted for family reunification, and other categories as well as those residing for shorter term purposes.

These figures do not capture additional numbers of short-term or temporary international migrants not counted as residents in destination countries, such as international or exchange students.

Reliable age-specific data on migration flows, distinct from stocks, is less adequate. Data from a number of European countries shows that the largest segment of arriving migrants are between the ages of 23 and 27, comprising – to – per cent of total arrivals. From 19 per cent to 34 per cent are adolescents and youth between ages 15-24. A recent UN Population Division study concluded, “there is a considerable body of additional indirect evidence to suggest that both regionally and globally, the age range 18 to 29 accounts for a very large proportion of the persons changing country of residence in a given year, proportions that can be 50 per cent or even higher for some countries.”

While there is some data on migrant numbers, knowledge about the range of push and pull factors for labour migration, and the complex interplay between these, is far from satisfactory. Current data and consequent discussion on migration, demographics and development often miss the essential role of migration in economic growth and development. The demographic data available largely fails to show the actual and future impact of demographic transitions on labour force composition and age profiles. However, meeting labour market demand for skills and labour is essential to sustaining viable, productive economies in the North and the South. As a consequence, labour migration – essentially international labour and skills mobility – is not being addressed as the engine it is for obtaining and sustaining development.

ILO calculated that 105 million of the 214 million people living outside their countries of birth or citizenship in 2010 were economically active. That is to say: employed, self-employed or otherwise engaged in remunerative activity. (Economically active also includes the unemployed available for work.) That is about half of the total
number and a very high proportion of those of working age. Given an estimate of one accompanying dependent for each active adult, over 90 per cent of migration today is bound up in labour and employment. While employment data disaggregated by age and migration status is non-existent in many cases, anecdotal data shows that young and adolescent migrants are generally engaged in or available for work.

Evidence-based governance requires specific information on the conditions of youth and adolescent migrants, including on their treatment, employment, conditions of work, health, education and social protection. The predominantly available information is essentially ‘movement’ data regarding stocks and flows of migrants, in some cases showing age profiles. But that data provides almost no information to describe and analyse conditions facing youth and adolescent migrants, their educational attainment, their employment situations, their health needs, their social inclusion or exclusion, and their human development considerations.

Few source countries have youth-specific and gender-disaggregated data in their migration statistics. Only a small number of Asian countries collect information on prior employment and age of male and female migrants. Destination countries, especially reliant on temporary migration schemes, rarely report on the age-related profiles of migrant workers in their countries. This makes the analysis of the role of youth in migration processes difficult.

Migration offers potentially tremendous opportunities for youth in transitioning to adult life, in facilitating their productive participation in society, and in attaining personal career and family aspirations. Employment is widely recognized as the key for nearly everyone to find their place and integrate in the adult world, to earn their own living and support families, and to fully participate in society.

However, acknowledging this potential underlines that it is frustrated for many young migrants by the conditions they face. Many constraints to realizing aspirations in the migratory experience result from structural factors, such as jobless growth, and systemic factors that often privilege capital intensive over labour intensive investment, with consequences affecting both youth employment and migration.

Large portions of youthful populations around the world face high unemployment rates, little access to skills and vocational training, social marginalization, and absence of viable life opportunities to sustain remaining where they are.
The chapter on rural youth and migration in this publication discusses the lack of opportunities and support for rural youth to remain ‘at home’ in their places of origin. Many of these factors also apply to youth in urban areas in developing countries, where few opportunities exist for formal employment and decent work.

Currently, exceedingly high youth unemployment in a number of industrialized countries is also prompting significant emigration of young women and men. Large numbers of young people, who are mostly educated and highly skilled, are reported leaving or desiring to leave several countries in Europe, including Greece, Ireland, Italy, Spain and Portugal, that are experiencing youth unemployment rates ranging up to more than forty per cent. Ironically, these and other developed countries are experiencing “brain drain” losses of educated youth similar to those often associated with developing countries.

Meanwhile, the «pull» demand for labour at all skills levels is permanent and growing. This demand is structural, driven by technological changes, evolving labour market and employer needs, and spreading demographic transitions. The highly competitive globalized economy privileges obtaining productive, mobile and flexible workers at lower costs, both skilled and less skilled, in order to sustain development across the industrialized and post-industrial world.

Young workers and professionals are preferred, and attracted across borders because they are generally perceived to be mobile, adaptable and flexible, more so than older cohorts. They usually have lower salary requirements given lower levels of experience and seniority, and they imply lower social costs and benefits than older cohorts. In the context of ageing and declining work forces, young migrants provide needed skills, innovative ideas and initiative, and workforce otherwise disappearing in destination countries.

While labour migration is the focus of this chapter, youth migrate internationally also to re-unite with their family and to study --especially at tertiary level. A significant number of young people are forcibly displaced or flee as refugees or asylum seekers to escape situations of armed conflict and/or widespread violations of human rights. Other chapters in this report provide some data on these situations. Nonetheless, regardless of motivations, most adolescent and young migrants will end up in the
employment world, for example when children or adolescents migrating to join family reach working age, or when refugees are recognized or resettled in a host country.

There is significant and growing knowledge on other factors related to youth migration and employment. Most migrants send an important portion of their earnings home as remittances – when they have remunerative activity. The important of remittances in supporting basic needs 'at home', in poverty alleviation and in development of origin countries is discussed in the chapter on Remittances, Development and Youth of this report.

There is also increasing awareness of the fiscal -- as well as skills and labour -- contributions young migrant workers make to their destination countries. In short, the younger the migrant is upon arrival and starting work, the longer s/he will contribute to the fiscal revenue of the country of destination.

Youth and adolescent migrants who end up in irregular or unauthorized situations remain a serious concern, although there is far less data informing about their conditions, needs, and protection issues particularly regarding their situation in the world of work. The approximate data on migrants in irregular situations indicates that their numbers vary across destination countries and regions. However, this data is not age disaggregated, meaning we know little about the numbers of youth and adolescent migrant workers in irregular situations and even less about their situations.

The ILO is publishing in mid-2014 a comprehensive report “Trends in youth labour migration” that will provide far more detail on where young migrants are from and why they migrate, key determinants of youth labour migration, labour market outcomes of young migrants, costs and benefits of youth labour migration, and policy implications. Once published, the report can be accessed at: http://www.ilo.org/yep

YOUTH MIGRATION DRIVEN BY DEMAND AND PUSH FACTORS

Youth migration driven by demand and push factors

The relationship between pull and push factors for youth migration is complex and inter-twined. Neither pull nor push factors operate in isolation, in reality they interact with one another and they can be at the same time both push and pull drivers. In many destination countries there is a high demand for skilled labour that attracts
young migrants; concurrently numerous countries have substantially improved educational attainment of their populations. However, the skills premium that young people may receive in their home country is not as attractive as that of destination countries, or there are simply not jobs available at home for their skills. Demographic factors—combined with limited job opportunities—similarly, push young people living in countries with large youth cohorts to migrate abroad, while declining labour force numbers in destination countries pull migrants towards these countries.

Immigration policies can also be a significant determinant, particularly on the responsiveness of migration to demand and push factors, and on the extent of regular or irregular migration. There is a substantial body of research that demonstrate how a change of immigration policy (more/less restrictive) affects immigration flows.

**Demand for skills and labour mobility**

The evolution of ever more complex technology, demographics and social-political factors has given rise to increasingly internationalized interdependence and mobility of capital, goods, services, technology, knowledge, and people.

The evolution and diversification of technology along with transformations and relocations of industrial processes and changes in the organization of work itself are constant characteristics of the world of work today. This constant evolution requires accelerating complexity of work activity, of diversity of skills, and of specialization in the competences of work forces in every country.

Technological development continues to mechanize, automate and computerize many jobs. While eliminating some jobs, it nonetheless expands demand for skills in information and computer technology. Where possible, labour intensive processes not replaced by technological innovation are offshored, usually from countries with higher wage and conditions levels to those with lower wages and less workplace protection. Yet small and medium enterprises and family businesses have fewer possibilities to relocate, while most activity in sectors such as construction, health care, hotel and restaurants, cleaning and maintenance generally cannot be relocated. To remain competitive and survive, enterprises in these sectors are obliged to both innovate and depend at least in part on cheap, compliant and flexible labour.
No country today can form or train the entire range and number of ever-evolving skills and competencies needed to perform the ever more complex, inter-related work done on its territory. The result is demand for specialized skills not available locally and that cannot be met locally: skills needs evolve more quickly than training systems while displaced and older workers cannot in many cases be retrained for new technologies and skills sets. Furthermore, while disposition may exist to train, the technological basis, the facilities, and available specializations are not necessarily adequate. In some countries, the institutions, the resources and the technological basis for training are just not there.

For an expanding number of countries, these factors are compounded by demographics, where the size, composition and age profile of the entire ‘native’ workforce is declining in number, increasing in age, constricting in breadth of skills and diminishing relative to increasing numbers of retired people. This phenomenon of population ageing and work force decline also poses huge challenges to provision of social security as the number of retirees increases while the economically active and contributing population declines in proportion as well as number.

Economic contributions and the employment characteristics of migrants are central to labour markets and labour force composition, in more than 100 countries today. Foreign born workers now comprise about 10 per cent, in some cases more (30 per cent in Switzerland), of labour forces in Western European countries and 15-18 per cent in the ‘immigration countries’ of Australia, Canada and the USA. Taking account of the first and second generation offspring of immigrants arrived since the 1960s shows that around 20 per cent of work forces in a number of Western European countries derive from contemporary immigration.

For a majority of countries around the world, migration – international labour and skills mobility-- has become a key factor to sustaining and renovating essential processes of development; development understood broadly referring to building and maintaining means of production and distribution of goods, services and knowledge; construction of infrastructure; and provision of housing, education, healthcare, transportation, communications and other goods and services for the population.

International mobility provides skilled labour and new technological competencies as well as labour force to sustain otherwise non-viable economic sectors or enterprises.
Today, it provides for health care, for domestic work, and it sustains large shares of labour for agriculture, construction, hotel and restaurant, cleaning and maintenance, and tourism sectors in many countries.

In sum, migration serves as an instrument to adjust the skills, age and sectoral composition of national and regional labour markets to meet evolving demand. Migration provides responses to fast-changing needs for skills and personnel resulting from technological advances, changes in market conditions and industrial transformations. In countries of ageing populations, migration replenishes declining work forces and injects younger workers, in turn contributing to dynamism, innovation and domestic mobility in those work forces.

On the other side of the equation, migration often reflects “negative adjustment” to labour markets characterized by high unemployment, dearth of decent jobs and/or lack of opportunities for youth with education and skills. Youth emigration can thus be characterized as a normal response to structural deficiencies in their home markets.

**Skills and training gaps**

However, the acknowledged serious global shortage of skilled workers worsens. Today, employers in Europe and elsewhere around the world complain that they cannot fill one in three jobs on offer with the needed level of skills. A forecasting study by the McKenzie Global Institute reported that the global shortage of high skilled and trained technical skills is projected to reach 85 million by 2020. Some 40 million with tertiary level education will be lacking in developed countries. 45 million more with needed technical and vocational skills will be missing, particularly in developing countries.

At the same time, educational, vocational and technical training systems are simply not accessible to many youth seeking relevant, employable skills and qualifications. Many national educational systems are not training the scientific, vocational and technical skills needed today or anticipated in the near term future. This extraordinary, globalized mismatch between the numbers of people and the skills they are trained for versus what are needed threatens to undermine the viability and competitiveness of enterprises worldwide. It also leaves many youth unable to find employment either at home or abroad.
Demographic trends foretell increased youth migration

Recent evidence based on more accurate forecasting indicates greater international labour and skills mobility in coming decades. Within 15 years, the majority of world’s countries –and populations-- will experience work force decline and significant population ageing. Germany will lose 5 million members of its work force in the next ten years. The Russian Federation government anticipates that the working-age population will decline by eight percent to nine percent –about 8 million people – by 2020 while experts estimate a shortage of 14 million appropriately skilled workers by 2020. By 2050, the Japanese labour force will be 40% less than what it was in 1995, about 52 million from a peak of 87 million. Employer and union federations predict that Switzerland will need 400,000 additional workers by 2030. Qatar authorities project bringing in 1 million more migrant workers before 2020, in addition to the approximately 1.5 million comprising 90% of the current work force. China’s working-age population decreased for the first time in 2012, by 3.45 million. Recent forecasting indicates that China’s work force will decline significantly in coming decades, with business press reports indicating that the “total real labor force is expected to contract by more than 20% by 2050.” The United States’ workforce is also declining; the labor force participation rate is projected to be three percent lower by 2020 than 2012, with “Roughly two-thirds of the decline (is) due to the aging of the labor force.”

As of 2013, 126 of the 224 countries or political territories worldwide are at or below zero population growth fertility rates, fertility rate referring to the number of children born to women over their lifetimes. A significant number of ‘middle income’ as well as developed countries, such as Argentina, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Brazil, Colombia, Indonesia, Iran, both North and South Korea, Lebanon, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Peru, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Turkey, Vietnam, UAE, Ukraine --among others are joining many of the industrialized high-income countries at or well below population replacement fertility rates. Over the next 15 years, these countries all face increasing departures from their work forces that will be ever less compensated for by decreasing numbers of youth entrants.

This results in increased demand --and competition-- on a global scale for what is one of the most crucial economic resources: skills and labour power. As noted above, global shortages of high-skilled professionals are forecast to become more acute in
the next several years. Demands for other skills levels, such as health care workers, and for cheap, flexible, unprotected labour will also increase.

Migration is the single response able to provide a large portion of workers and skills required to maintain sustainable economic activity in many countries – and across regional integration spaces. Other options usually applied to adjust for labour force constraints - raising retirement age, increasing female participation in labour markets, increasing productivity, increased economic growth - are proving inadequate to compensate for the scale and rapidity of labour force ageing and decline in many countries concerned.

As two chapters in this publication discuss, climate change and other kinds of environmental degradation have the potential to uproot large numbers of people. In many cases, these movements will represent for the persons concerned a positive adaptation strategy for families seeking improved livelihoods and habitat. In other cases it will take the form of displacement resulting from acute natural hazards or conflict related to competition over access to natural resources, while in still others people will be relocated from areas that are no longer able to sustain human life.

Often the most willing to take risks, youth are likely to be at the vanguard of those migrating in anticipation of further environmental decline in their communities. While much of this migration is likely to be internal, from rural to urban areas, an unknown – but likely significant – portion of displaced young people will migrate internationally.

**RISKS FACING YOUNG MIGRANT WORKERS**

Despite the opportunities of migration, migrant youth – particularly those in lower skilled, unskilled and/or irregular situations – face risks of abuse, exploitation, discrimination, exclusion and unemployment in many countries, including in the most developed. Main areas, each of which represents violations of recognized human and labour rights of migrant workers, are substandard conditions and abusive treatment at work, rising discrimination and xenophobia, lack of access to health rights and social security, and gender specific discrimination and exploitation of young women migrants. Other areas of concern are poor labour market outcomes for migrants and
related issues of de-skilling and ‘brain waste’ that also undermine migrants’ realization of decent working and living conditions.

As a set of detailed national studies conducted by ILO concluded,

*Labour market outcomes for youth in general trail those of their adult counterparts, and the countries and regions profiled in this study are no exception. Higher unemployment rates and lower labour force participation rates for youth are widespread. Employment status alone, however, fails to capture the full labour market situation of young people, as youth are more likely to be involved in the informal economy, part-time work, and “hiding” in education.*

**Substandard conditions and abusive treatment**

Young foreign workers are commonly subject to substandard conditions and abusive treatment in employment. Even in developed countries with more rigorous standards, data shows higher workplace accident and death rates for migrant workers than for national cohorts. For example, in Western Europe the rates for foreign workers are double those for nationals. Common risk situations that particularly affect young migrant workers include the following:

Firstly, the perceived vulnerability of migrant workers – particularly those in irregular status—is often associated with their employment in substandard conditions and in activity, locations or workplaces where standards and their enforcement are weak or non-existent.

Secondly, because they are foreign, immigrant and sometimes in short term, temporary situations, migrants often have little knowledge of legal labour standards, do not adequately understand the host country language(s), and may have little formal training or education.

Thirdly, migrant workers are often poorly or not at all organized into representative trade union organizations that would provide collective support for their protection and defend them in cases of abuse.

Fourthly, a predominance of informal, irregular and/or undocumented employment agreements leaves many migrant workers with little or no basis for upholding claims to wages or payment. This is often compounded by significant differences in conditions...
and pay rates promised at recruitment and those imposed upon arrival at employment sites in destination countries. Sometimes bogus employment contracts are issued at the stage of recruitment and then substituted for contracts with less favourable conditions at the final employment stage. Related issues include unpaid overtime, excessive working time, lack of breaks and/or rest days, and others.

Fifthly, as labour inspectors report, difficulties are rife to ensure compliance with labour law along sub-contracting chains. In economic sectors in which sub-contracting is common, such as construction or cleaning, small enterprises close down frequently only to open up elsewhere. Several European countries have enacted laws on joint liability but these need to be enforced effectively.

Sixthly, a not uncommon abuse is outright non-payment of earnings. Migrants in irregular status are particularly vulnerable. Reports suggest relatively widespread practices of unscrupulous employers hiring migrants and then discretely denouncing these workers to immigration enforcement authorities—often just before pay-day to prompt arrest and deportation before workers can collect their earnings.

In some cases, non-payment of wages or illegal wage deductions are combined with other coercive measures, such as threats of violence, psychological abuse, restriction of the freedom of movement or retention of identity documents. Migrants, in particular irregular migrants, can thus end up in a situation of forced labour from which they find it difficult to escape.

**Rising discrimination and xenophobia**

A burning concern is the generalized rise in both discriminatory practices and of racist, xenophobic behaviour against migrant workers, with youth and adolescents frequently among the victims. Hostility towards migrants is manifested worldwide. The concern is aggravated by the absence, with few exceptions, of vigorous responses by governments to anticipate, discourage, and prevent discrimination and manifestations of racist and xenophobic hostility against foreigners, and to prosecute perpetrators.

Particularly virulent expressions of violence have been manifested around workplaces in all regions. Reported incidents include shootings of migrant workers who demanded unpaid wages, violent mob attacks on migrant agricultural workers, and
mass round-ups followed by detention of migrant workers in facilities reminiscent of concentration camps.

Discrimination denies equality of treatment and opportunity to many migrant youth and youth of immigrant parents. Situation testing in more than a dozen countries in Europe and North America revealed that equally qualified young immigrant workers or young applicants of immigrant parents had generally to make five times as many tries to obtain a positive result in the job application process as applicants with 'native' appearances; all other factors being the same. While similarly rigorous testing studies have not yet been carried out in other regions, anecdotal evidence suggests that similar experiences of discrimination are likely widespread in most countries of immigration.

**Young Women migrant workers**

Half of all migrants today are women and girls, 49 per cent according to current UN figures. In some countries and regions, women predominate among migrants, with well over 50 per cent. The feminization of migration is not so much about the proportion, as it has been above 45 per cent for decades. The difference today, compared to two or three decades ago is that now most if not nearly all women migrants are economically active. They are independent actors rather than dependent spouses, and they often are migrating on their own. As highlighted in the chapter on gender and migration in this publication, women and girl migrants in particular face high risks of sexual and gender based violence and exploitation, both in the migration process and in destination countries.

In a context of stratification of employment and segmentation of labour markets, women migrants are generally tracked into and recruited for 'women's work' that, not coincidentally, is usually low paid and lacking workplace protection. Such work includes domestic work, healthcare, agriculture, hotel and restaurant, and semi-skilled manufacturing in export processing zones. Common across many of these sectors is that workplaces are inaccessible to union organizers and freedom of association is suppressed, sometimes expressly for migrants, meaning no associations or unions for mutual defense and solidarity, nor any collective bargaining power to press for decent work conditions.
The expansion of international chain care work is a notable feature of gender-defined migrant labour that women are recruited for and tracked into. The term refers to women migrating to provide care services for children as well as elderly people in destination countries while employing relatives or other women to care for their own children. International global care chains entail significant costs on migrant mothers and their children and lacuna in care for the latter, as well as transfer of emotional and physical care labour from those situated lower down the global care chain to those on the upper side. Many migrant care givers are young women, while their children remaining at home are at higher risk of inadequate care and socialization.

Welcome attention has been focused on domestic work in the last four years, culminating in adoption of the ILO Convention 189 on Decent Work for Domestic Workers. Although addressing more broadly a sector of activity that is almost entirely comprised of women workers, this Convention is also an important symbolic step in advancing protection at work for migrant women. In the youth dominated profile of contemporary migration flows, ratification of this convention will extend protection to the many young migrant women engaged in domestic work.

Attention to the risks faced by migrant domestic women workers should be a springboard to highlight the generalized lack of effective protection faced by women migrant workers in agriculture, in textile sweatshops and elsewhere. Testimony abounds of women working in these sectors subject to exploitative working conditions, sexual harassment, unprotected exposure to dangerous pesticides or chemicals and other risks.

**Health and Social Security**

Young migrant workers face specific general health problems as well as occupational safety and health (OSH) issues. Migration poses special risks to migrant youth in view of their higher propensity for risk-taking behaviour, lack of experience, and lack of resources to seek proper medical care. Migration status (whether in regular or irregular status) and gender also have different implications for health and effective access to medical care.

A number of administrative, financing, cultural, information and linguistic barriers are in place, which impede access of young migrants to effective health care. Migrant
workers in irregular status may not avail of available health services due to fear of detection and possible deportation by the authorities. Trafficked young women rarely have access to health services.

Similarly, young migrant workers often have little or no access to social security coverage. In particular, they often face barriers to participation in social security in countries of employment, they often cannot establish or retain coverage in countries of origin, and when they do obtain entitlements, often the coverage and benefits are not portable to other countries including that of citizenship.

Migrants may also be unwitting players in a global redefinition of social protection. In some situations, social protection for migrants is being posed as a question of finding a median between what are characterised as two extremes: full coverage or none at all. A large portion of migrants today remain with little or no social security coverage. However, efforts are underway in several regional economic communities around the world, such as MERCOSUR and ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) to extend and provide for portability of social security for migrants through formal regional legal instruments and administrative regimes.

Issues of healthcare and social protection for young migrant workers are detailed in the respective chapters on these subjects in this publication.

**De-skilling and brain waste**

A major issue discussed elsewhere in this publication is the bind that many adolescents and youth lack access to education or training to obtain marketable skills for employment, whether at home or abroad. Yet despite the worsening global shortage of skilled workers, young migrants with acquired skills and training commonly face non-recognition of training credentials and experience. The frequent result is ‘deskilling’ where they are only able to obtain jobs at far below their level of qualifications. Not infrequently, this means relegation to precarious and poorly paid work. At a time in which appropriately skilled people are lacking, these phenomena represent an appalling ‘brain waste’

Another avenue of brain waste and de-skilling occurs when migrant youth cannot get jobs commensurate to their training or education due to legal or professional restrictions on employment of foreigners. This occurs as a consequence of legislation
restricting certain fields and professions to citizens or to 'national preference' rules, sometimes adopted for certain trades and occupations at the behest of unions or professional associations to “protect” local workers and control market competition.

A further bind affecting migrant youth is the Catch-22 situation that many young people find themselves in when, having obtained the necessary qualification or skills, employers do not hire them on the basis that they lack requisite employment experience. This issue is raised extensively in the youth employment literature, but it appears to be a ‘universal’ experience applying to youth whether at home or abroad as migrants. For migrant and migrant origin youth, this bind is often seriously aggravated by discrimination, discussed below.

**Structural factors**

Exploitative conditions facing young migrant workers are structurally driven. This is particularly the case for women. For many enterprises in many countries, and for entire economic sectors, low cost foreign labour is seen as the ticket to survival. Agriculture and forestry in Europe, North America, and some African and Asian countries depend on cheap foreign labour to remain viable. Health, home care, schooling for children, and care for ageing people depend on migrants. As do hotel, restaurant and tourist sectors in many countries. Global competition, free trade, and race-to-the-bottom phenomena push against costs of labour and provision of social services.

Keeping some migrants cheap, submissive, flexible with low social costs has become crucial to keep jobs at home and economies afloat. It can be said that significant numbers of undocumented workers across the EU, in Gulf countries, in the USA, in Russia, in South Africa, in Thailand and elsewhere is not accidental. Despite rhetoric and measures on controlling migration, migrant workers persistently remain tolerated in irregular situations because they provide that cheap, compliant, flexible labour needed to sustain enterprises and employment.

An excerpt from the executive summary of a recent report on the UK sums up features consistent with data from other EU countries. Similar features are commonly found in other countries worldwide:27

* Migrants, especially those from outside the EU15 who have limited access to social security provisions, face the paradoxical position of being welcomed by businesses
and the state due to their high flexibility and minimal utilisation of the welfare state on the one hand, whilst facing increasing unease and hostility from anti-immigrant groups, the same state that welcomes them, and large numbers of the general public on the other.

The highly unregulated and flexible economy has allowed many migrants to easily find work and businesses to remain competitive whilst simultaneously creating the conditions for widespread exploitation and producing divisions amongst workers, both between (native) born/migrant and between different groupings of labour migrants.

Exploitation is linked to a hierarchy of vulnerability with the rights and entitlements guaranteed or not by a migrant's legal status, the legal provisions between the UK and a migrant's 'home' country, unionisation, racism, contract type and flexibility all affecting this vulnerability hierarchy."

Migration represents a zone of contention between labour and capital today. Issues of whether migrants are subject to differential rights and remuneration regimes represent conflict over the division of wealth --how much of what is generated is returned to capital versus how much goes to working people as remuneration. Migrants are also vectors of contention over conditions of work and investment in safety and health protections versus lowering costs to maintain returns on capital.

Migration also poses questions of whether -- and to what extent-- working people remain organized to collectively defend their interests. Migrant workers are key to whether and how unions maintain their role to freely associate and organize workers to collectively bargain for fair remuneration and decent work conditions.

THE GOVERNANCE FRAMEWORK

The process of capitalist industrialization clearly required normative regulation to provide protection and decent conditions for persons engaged in work. Regulation was also essential to support employment, to ensure social protection, and to invoke social dialogue to resolve contentions between the main economic actors: employers and workers.

International concern for protection of workers outside their own countries was explicitly established in the Treaty of Versailles of 1919. The first international
A conference on migration took place in 1923 in Italy under ILO auspices to press destination countries of the day to reduce abuse of migrant workers.

The first international treaties with provisions on legal and social protection for migrant workers were drawn up in the 1930s. Subsequently, a comprehensive framework of legal norms for governance of migration was established in instruments in several areas of international law, namely Human Rights Conventions; International Labour Standards; the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol on the Status of Refugees; the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations; and two Protocols on trafficking in persons and smuggling of migrants to the Convention against transnational organized crime.

Specific regional instruments on human rights, migrant workers and refugees established by the African Union, the Council of Europe, the European Union and the Organization of American States provide further normative guidance in their respective regions. Legal norms addressing labour circulation, intra-community legal status and social protection of migrants have been or are being established by a growing number of Regional Economic Communities, such as the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the East Africa Community, and MERCOSUR among others.

At the core of the legal regime for migration governance are three complementary, sequential instruments specifically on migrant workers and migration for employment: ILO Convention No. 97 on migration for employment (revised) (1949), ILO Convention No. 143 on migrant workers (supplementary provisions) (1975), and the subsequent 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW) built on the ILO conventions. All three contain norms for governance and administration of labour migration and provisions for international dialogue and cooperation, as well as specific standards recognizing and protecting the rights of migrant workers and their families. Needless to emphasize, they have particular relevance for ensuring decent treatment of migrants youth and adolescents.

87 countries have ratified at least one of these three instruments as of November 2013. Counting not yet ratified signatories of the ICRMW, 98 countries have committed to uphold international standards regarding migrants rights on their territories,
representing some two-thirds of all countries for which migration is a significant economic, social and political governance concern. That includes 10 of the 'EU 15' and 22 of the 47 member States of the Council of Europe, all but four countries in South and Central America, and more than half of the member States of the African Union. While full implementation of these standards is often a long road, adoption of these instruments has instigated improved legal protection and domestic “good governance” measures that concretely improve the situations of migrant youth in most of the countries concerned.

**Free circulation in Regional Economic Communities**

A significant advance in labour mobility and its governance has been the expansion of free circulation regimes in regional economic communities (RECs) among groups of countries in virtually all regions of the world, there are today more than a dozen regional associations of States that have established or are establishing regimes facilitating visa free travel and access to labour markets in member countries for nationals of any other member country.29 These significantly facilitate youth mobility within the respective regional communities, where demand and opportunity are encouraging mobility of young workers to other countries in their region.

However, challenges remain to implementing these regimes in nearly all RECs concerned. Issues include lack of recognition, protection and equality of treatment for community migrants, inadequate or non-existent social security access and portability, and discriminatory labour market treatment, all of which affect young people migrating under these regional arrangements.

**Shifting governance from labour institutions**

The governance structure for migration –and the ideology as well as practice of governance of migration-- is changing in both old and new immigration countries. The lead responsibility for migration governance in immigration or migrant receiving States over previous decades was generally in labour and employment-concerned ministries. This designation reflected the primacy of needs to regulate labour markets and protect workers as well as oversee employment relations and social dialogue in the context of immigration. Those ministries retained the vitally important competences not only in labour market administration, but also in supporting and
mediating as needed dialogue and negotiation between social partners, the employers and the unions representing the collective voice of workers—including migrants. This reflected the reality that then and now, regardless of migrant motivations whether seeking employment, refugee flight, family reunion, or pursuing studies, some 90% of migration results in employment outcomes or directly dependent on those who are economically active. However, in an increasing number of countries, lead responsibility for migration is assigned to Interior or Home Affairs ministries,

Another trend that especially concerns young migrant workers is promotion of explicitly short term, temporary, and/or seasonal migration regimes, often under the generic term of “circular migration.” Advocates of expanded circular migration characterize it as the solution to both employment needs and to protection of 'national cohesion' and 'cultural integrity' of nation states. However, circular, temporary, short term migration regimes tend to offer explicitly restricted application of rights such as freedom of association, while subjecting migrants and their employers to reduced- or non-application of labour standards and prevailing domestic levels of remuneration. A justificatory discourse generally invoked in promoting temporary regimes posits that the level of rights protections applying to migrants is negotiable. Terminology of rights versus numbers is used to show the advantages of trade-offs where wider access by migrant workers to higher wage labour markets would be obtained by accepting reductions in application of labour rights. The argument that lowering wages will instigate creation of more jobs is not infrequently invoked in this discourse. However, evidence does not support a causal correlation between lowering wages and conditions and increasing employment.

These regime changes have specific consequences for young migrant workers. Under a control-based approach, the conditions for expression of freedom of association and organizing for collective bargaining regarding conditions of work, remuneration and social protection may be intimidated and are objectively reduced. A consequence is diminished labour market incentives to ensure decent work conditions or to provide for equality of treatment and opportunity, neither on nationality nor on gender grounds. Explicitly rights-restricted temporary migration regimes constrain or simply prevent both full protection and participation of young migrants where they live, work and contribute to the economic and social welfare of community and society.
THE POLICY AGENDA

Inter-governmentally agreed lines for national policy on labour migration have been progressively elaborated over the last two decades at the International Conference on Population and Development in 1994; the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance in 2001; in the General Discussion on Migrant Workers at the International Labour Conference in 2004 and in the ILO Multilateral Framework on Labour Migration adopted in 2006.30

In line with the normative framework and evolving international policy attention over the last two decades, several key areas require policy attention, with particular reference to young migrant workers.

Effective policy depends on good data. As emphasized in Chapter 1 of this report, obtaining collection and analysis of relevant labour migration and labour market data is essential. This includes defining and utilizing age-disaggregated indicators, measures and methodologies regarding employment distribution and characteristics, working conditions, discrimination, educational attainment, skills, health, living conditions, and social inclusion/exclusion regarding young migrants. The analysis of youth migration data, determinants of migration flows for youth, and working conditions in destination countries is the absolutely essential basis for determining in detail the policy options countries consider and adopt to make migration work for individuals, countries of origin and destination countries.

Employers and the organizations that represent them, along with trade unions that represent workers –increasingly migrants as well as nationals-- are the key actors in employment. Engaging social partners –employers and worker organizations—as well as concerned civil society and migrant youth organizations is a must to establish and implement workable migration policy and administration.

Viable and accountable governance of migration that effectively protects young migrant workers can only be achieved by strengthening the standards-based approach to migration in national law and practice. This means ratification of relevant international human rights conventions and international labour standards, and incorporating these standards in national law on legal, labour and social protection applying to youth and adolescents.
"Good practice" in a number of countries (Nepal, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Switzerland, Zimbabwe, etc.) shows that elaborating an explicit national policy framework on migration, for a whole of government approach is a most effective means of developing coherent and coordinated national governance of migration. Consultation and cooperation with social partners and concerned civil society organizations is essential, as is incorporating a specific youth-migration-development component.

Key issues for the policy agenda include taking deliberate employment measures to create decent jobs for youth, to promote youth integration in labour markets, and to match youth skills to available jobs at home or abroad. As well, enforcing minimum decent work standards in all sectors of activity is required. This means strengthening labour inspection, ensuring its ability to reach workplaces where young migrant workers are concentrated and separating labour inspection from immigration enforcement so that its protection function is not compromised.

Today’s generalized climate of rising hostility to and rejection of migrants, of foreigners, makes imperative. Elaborating and implementing an explicit national plan of action against discrimination and xenophobia. Such a plan should include measures to facilitate inclusion and integration of young migrants in conditions of equality in host societies and labour markets.

A high priority topic on the migration policy agenda, especially now in most Regional Economic Communities, is extending progressively social protection, specifically social security coverage and portability to all migrant workers—with particular attention to incorporating youth in social security schemes. This is discussed in the chapter on social protection.

As the chapter on adolescent and young women migrants elaborates, migration policy needs to ensure gender specific policy and administration taking specific measures to ensure equality of rights, opportunities and protection for women and girls while recognizing specific gender-based risks and ensuring equality in outcomes as well as intent.

The increasingly acute interlinkages between migration and global skills shortages make imperative retooling vocational education and training to meet current and foreseeable future national needs and international demand. This includes enhancing
adolescent and youth access to vocational, technical and scientific training apt for employment at home or abroad. In parallel, migrant youth access to employment urges obtaining national recognition of internationally acquired educational, technical and vocational qualifications and job experience. This entails harmonizing job and training qualifications regionally and internationally to improve youth access to employment as well as employer access to qualified candidates. Some aspects of these policy challenges are discussed in the chapter on Offspring of Immigrants in OECD Education Systems and Labour Markets and the chapter on migration and tertiary education.

Other policy challenges described elsewhere in this report also belong on the migration agenda, such as supporting youth migrant freedom of association and participation, particularly in unions and in employer/business organizations, as discussed in the chapter on youth participation.

National Policy Frameworks

However, the existing legal protection and cooperation framework remains inadequately applied for ensuring the protection of youth and adolescent migrants. Some countries have explicit policies and in some cases, governance institutions addressing youth and youth development, while a growing number of countries have policy frameworks on migration. However, if there are any explicit national policy frameworks on ‘youth and migration’ or more comprehensive youth, migration, and development policies, they remain to be identified internationally. As research for this publication has indicated, there are still few relevant and appropriate measures addressing youth and adolescent migrants in existing migration and development policies. In an extensive research report on youth employment and migration in Asia, Piyasiri Wickramasekara drew the following conclusions:51

Mainstreaming youth employment into national development plans, poverty reduction exercises and Decent Work Country Programmes is desirable to place it in the context of the overall employment situation of the countries concerned. The evaluation of ILO’s youth employment strategies called for improving the coherence between national development frameworks, youth employment and youth development policy-making. For instance, Nepal has integrated youth employment into the national development plans and PRSPs, but in countries like Bangladesh, India and Pakistan, youth policy has been separately developed and not adequately implemented.
There have been arguments for mainstreaming labour migration into development frameworks in the same manner; it should best be seen as part of the overall employment challenge. Several recent handbooks for policy makers and practitioners have hardly anything to say on integrating youth concerns. The bottom line is that labour migration cannot offer the bulk of Asian youth opportunities for decent work which have to be generated in their own countries. Local alternatives to migration need to be explored and promoted.

Labour inspection: key to protecting young migrants at work

A current policy issue that merits attention is labour inspection. Beyond enactment of international labour standards in national law, labour inspection is the key and main guarantor of respect for and enforcement of occupational safety and health protections as well as decent working conditions and employment contracts. However, upholding labour standards for migrant workers, notably young migrants, presents distinct challenges that require particular attention and specific approaches.

Labour inspection is, unfortunately, minimal in many countries and often non-existent in sectors, geographic areas and or specific workplaces where migrant workers may be concentrated. Labour inspectors need clear guidelines and specialized training to assess compliance with labour standards regarding migrants in view of language barriers, migrant unfamiliarity with equipment and procedures, and sometimes subtly discriminatory practices that may only affect migrant workers. When non-compliance with standards is identified, labour inspectors have a key role to play to facilitate access to assistance and justice for those workers and to collaborate with labour law authorities and where relevant, criminal justice authorities to prosecute egregious violations.

Labour inspection agencies in several countries have developed exemplary specialized approaches to reach migrant workers. For example, following employment discrimination situation testing in Belgium, the national labour inspectorate incorporated review of equality of treatment standards in inspection activity, and included discrimination issues in training of labour inspectors. In Mauritius, the Ministry of Labour and Industry set up a “Special Expatriate Squad” to oversee all aspects of employment of foreign workers; specialized labour inspectors with ILO
training along with interpreters and legal officers, maintain direct contact with migrant workers and employers. The team vets all contracts to ensure that workers have decent working and living conditions and it coordinates between relevant ministries.

A rising challenge to effective labour inspection is widespread imposition of measures that compel labour inspectors to undertake immigration enforcement control as part of their workplace inspection agenda, or to involve immigration control agents in combined enforcement activity. This undermines effective enforcement of labour standards as it inevitably intimidates migrant workers – especially those most vulnerable to abuse because of precarious legal status – from exposing or resisting abusive conditions. Such collaboration undermines necessary distinctions between universal enforcement of labour standards and targeted policing functions for non-labour law matters. It is not consistent with the general principles of ILO Convention 81 on labour inspection, nor with rulings of the ILO supervisory Committee of Experts on Application of Conventions and Recommendations. The practice imposes law enforcement responsibilities for which labour inspectors are neither competent nor trained, and it ultimately drives an important portion of immigrant labour further into non-regulated and clandestine employment situations where any protection is all but impossible.

**Concerted action against discrimination and xenophobia**

Non-discrimination and social cohesion can only be achieved by deliberate legal, institutional and practical measures. The inclusion of migrants and combat against any form of discrimination against them requires a comprehensive set of legal, institutional and practical measures, ranging from outlawing discrimination to awareness raising on the economic and social benefit of immigration.

Successful practice in this regard has been demonstrated by several countries such as Ireland, where there have been almost no racist killings of migrants nor burnings of businesses, homes or places of worship of foreigners. There, while discrimination against foreigners may still be manifested, it has expressly been made legally, politically and socially unacceptable.
The atmosphere of inclusion in Ireland is the consequence of a deliberate combination of measures. These include anti-discriminatory political discourse by national leaders, passage of strong legislation – incorporating nationality as a prohibited grounds of discrimination, national opinion-shaping and awareness raising campaigns such as annual Anti-Racism Workplace Weeks undertaken over a decade jointly instigated by government, social partners and civil society, and by awareness-raising and advocacy in workplaces, communities and churches across the country. An exemplary Irish National Plan of Action Against Racism elaborated in dialogue across Irish society reinforced social cohesion. Where it counts most for upholding decent treatment for young migrant workers, non-discrimination and integration of migrants have been prominent elements in Irish national Social Partner agreements since the late 1990s and have been incorporated in labour contracts, in trade union priorities and in training of business leaders and employers.

**KEY MESSAGES**

- Labour migration push-pull factors are intensifying. High unemployment and absence of decent work opportunities -- among other factors -- push youth to migrate.

- The pull of demand for labour and skills mobility is permanent, structural and growing, driven by technological changes, evolving markets and spreading demographic transitions.

- Up to 50 percent of today's migration *flows* comprise youth between ages 18 and 29; most migrating youth and most migrant youth established in destination countries are or seek to be economically active.

- However, many migrant youths and adolescents remain highly subject to abuse, exploitation, absence of labour protection and discrimination in employment. Many face unemployment, denial of access to social security, and social exclusion.

- Key challenges for governance are obtaining full rights protection and decent work, including through effective labour inspection, and social inclusion for all young migrants.
• A challenge for some young migrants is non-respect of free circulation regimes in regional economic communities, resulting in restrictions on their rights and lack of protection against exploitation as well as abuses by authorities.

• The absence of data on employment characteristics, work force participation, working conditions and social protection of young migrant workers is a major impediment to effective policy and protection.

**STEPS FORWARD: ESTABLISH DECENT WORK PROVISIONS AND CONDITIONS APPLICABLE TO ALL YOUNG MIGRANTS**

However the future evolves, labour migration will be ever more important across the entire world. Countries worldwide need to reformulate migration regimes to ensure the future viability of their work forces and to ensure that all participants in the work force – including young migrants -- are entitled to decent work. Coherent legislation and policy are essential. Key recommendations include:

• Ensuring national adoption and application to all migrants of labour standards and decent work conditions in line with International Labour Standards.

• Establishing or strengthening national labour migration policy frameworks based on international standards and good practices, integrating migration with labour and other policy in a whole of government approach.

• Enhancing implementation of legal and policy frameworks for free circulation of persons in regional economic communities.

• Ensuring application of non-discrimination and equality of treatment and opportunity in employment and training for all young migrants.

• Providing for labour inspection in the sectors and workplaces where migrants, including particularly youth and adolescents, are employed

• Obtaining specific data on migrant youth employment, including employment distribution and characteristics, working conditions, and educational attainment.
Mainstreaming youth employment, with attention to migrants, into national development plans, poverty-reduction initiatives and Decent Work Country Programmes.

**IN CONCLUSION**

History tells us that migration has been an essential ingredient of growth and development of many countries, and entire regions, worldwide. And it will be essential to economic survival for a growing number of countries in the years to come. However, unless regulated by appropriate laws and policies, migration will entail high costs in violations of rights of persons, in social disruption, in reduced productivity, and in lost opportunities for development. Migration must be governed under the rule of law, with the involvement of key stakeholders, notably employers and worker unions as well as civil society. It must uphold equality of treatment and the full application of rights and protection for all workers present in the country.
NOTES

4 ibid. Page 2
6 Demographic transitions refers to the generalized changes in population structure of a growing number of countries worldwide where declining fertility rates (the average number of children born to women) combined with increasing life expectancy, result in simultaneously declining and ageing populations. An early consequence of these demographic transitions is the simultaneous decline and construction in workforce numbers and increasing social security dependency rates as the population of retired people increases significantly in relation to the economically active population.

7 Trends in youth labour migration, ILO, Geneva, 2014. This report presents the global trends on youth labour migration and includes the outputs of four years research activity on youth migration and employment in ten pilot countries in all regions led by the ILO and supported by the Achievement Fund of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG-F) thematic window on youth employment and migration.
8 Recent figures for most EU countries and “immigration countries” mentioned are found in the OECD International Migration Outlook: SOPEMI 2011 Statistical Annex.
16 Figures provided to author by an official of Qatar Foundation in an interview in Doha on 30 March, 2012.
20 This figure and following identification of countries are drawn from the on-line CIA World Factbook, Country Comparison: Total Fertility Rate(s) at https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2127rank.html.
in the process minus the share of cases in which the ‘minority’ (immigrant marker) tester was preferred. The difference in a statistically significant number of tests is the net discrimination rate. The results in Europe showed across the board that equally qualified immigrant candidates -- or citizen descendants of immigrants -- had to make 4 to 5 times more tries to land a positive outcome versus ‘national profile’ candidates despite identical credentials, schooling, language ability, experience and residential neighbourhoods.


Iain M. Cook, Hierarchies of Vulnerability: Country report United Kingdom; Labour migration and the systems of social protection, Multikulturni Centrum Praha, Czech Republic, 2011, page 4


Regional associations of states with established free movement protocols or similar regimes include the Andean Pact (4 member countries); CEMAC – Communauté économique et monétaire de l’Afrique centrale, (6 members); SICA – Sistema de Integración de Centroamerica/Central America Integration System (8 members; 4 in the common borders Central America Four Union (CA4)); EAC – East African Community (5 members); ECCAS – Economic Community of Central African States (10 members); ECOWAS – Economic Community of West African States (15 members); EEC – Eurasian Economic Community (6 members); EU – European Union (28 members); MERCOSUR – South American Common Market (5 members & 7 Associated States); and SADC – South African Development Community (15 members). However, several of these regimes are not widely implemented due to lack of adherence by some community member States. ASEAN – Association of South East Asian Nations (10 full members); COMESA – Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (19 members); and IGAD – Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (8 members in the Horn of Africa and East Africa regions) are currently negotiating legal regimes for free or freer circulation of people among member countries.


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