

PROPOSALS TO LINK MIGRATION AND EMPLOYMENT POLICIES



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Strengthening dialogue and cooperation between the EU and LAC to establish management models on migration and development policies.



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CONTENTS

Prologue13

Introduction17

1. What do we aim to achieve with this manual?17

2. What is the approach chosen?18

3. Why do we consider this manual appropriate?20

4. The public policy perspective and the expository outline21

5. Why and for whom have we produced the manual? Our audience ..22

6. Another manual on migration and employment!: The content of the chapters.....23

Chapter 1: Migration and employment in Latin American27

1. Introduction27

2. The demographic factor29

3. Employment and the minimum wage in Latin America31

4. Precarious work35

5. Professional employment and opportunities by gender38

6. Origins and development of migration in Latin America and the Caribbean40

7. Conclusions49

Bibliography52

Chapter 2: Return and reintegration of Latin American migrants in Europe53

1. Introduction53

2. State of the question according to figures: Latin Americans who leave Spain	54
3. Debates: The return as a failure, as compliance with the migratory plan or as an adaptive response	58
4. Proposals identified and stakeholders for implementation	61
4.1. Proposals identified	61
4.2. Stakeholders in the implementation	63
5. Breakdown of the proposals identified	65
5.1. Proposal 1: Establish differentiated programmes instead of a single programme	65
5.2. Proposal 2: Expansion of the programmes' target population	71
5.3. Proposal 3: Comprehensive, specialized and customised support	77
5.4. Proposal 4: Monitoring of the individual support and assessment of the programmes	82
6. Conclusions	86
Bibliography	87

Chapter 3: Procedures and steps to be taken to improve the link between migration and employment

1. Introduction	89
2. Debates, options and situation of the question	91
3. Procedures for linking migration to employment	98
3.1. Step 1: Identifying the key issues of labour migration	99
3.2. Step 2: Prioritizing economic sectors linked to labour migration issues	100
3.3. Step 3: Creating mechanisms for the coordination of migration	

policy in the framework of social dialogue	101
3.4. Step 4: Creation and institutionalization of labour migration management programmes	104
3.5. Step 5: Tracking, monitoring and assessment of the Labour Migration Policy	105
4. Proposals identified	106
5. Breakdown of the proposals identified	107
5.1. Proposal 1: Assigning a key role to the Employment Ministries	107
5.2. Proposal 2: Designing inter-sectoral working groups on migration policies	110
5.3. Proposal 3: Designing information offices	114
5.4. Proposal 4: Develop information mechanisms	115
6. Recommendations on national, regional, bi-national levels	117
6.1. Recommendations on a national level: Institutional strengthening in relation to migration	117
6.2. Recommendations on regional and binational levels	118
6.3. EU-Latin America recommendations	118
Bibliography	120

Chapter 4: Migration and self-employment: lessons learned for employment through self-employment	123
1. Introduction	123
2. Migration and entrepreneurship: What's different?	125
3. Self-employment and return migration	128
4. Proposals identified	131
5. Breakdown of the proposals identified	133

5.1. Improve access to and mobilization of financial capital	133
5.2. Strengthening the human capital of entrepreneurs	137
5.3. Maximization of entrepreneurs' social capital	142
Bibliography	147

Chapter 5: Promoting the circular movement of knowledge: skilled migration and skills recognition

1. Introduction	153
2. Debates, options and situation of the question	155
3. Proposals identified	163
4. Breakdown of the proposals identified	164
4.1. Designing mobility schemes for qualified workers	165
4.2. Foster dialogue and cooperation between countries	168
4.3. Strengthen dialogue and public-private cooperation	173
4.4. Establish comprehensive knowledge mobility schemes	176
5. Recommendations	180
Bibliography	182

Chapter 6: Female migration, employment policies and care-giving ..

1. Introduction	185
2. Debates, options and situation of the question	188
3. Proposals identified	192
4. Breakdown of the proposals identified	193
4.1. Increase the flexibility of migration policies in relation to work and residency permits	193
4.2. Actively support the transition from informal to formal employment	198

4.3. Link social protection policies with immigration and employment policies	202
4.4. Revise the labour regulation applicable to domestic service	207
Bibliography	211
Conclusions	215
1. The capabilities approach and migrations	215
2. Policies to increase the fluidity of migration and obstacles to its viability	216
3. Brief list of proposals and recommendations.....	218
List of acronyms	221

List of figures and tables

Chapter 1: Migration and employment in Latin American

Table 1: Official minimum wages by country, in local currency and the dollar equivalent, 2009-2011	34
Table 2: LAC migration intensity index	45
Figure 1: First ten Latin American nationalities in Spain	48

Chapter 2: Return and reintegration of Latin American migrants in Europe

Table 1: De-registrations recorded in Spain with destinations abroad 2007-2011, by country of birth and year	55
Figure 1: De-registrations due to change of residence from Spain to a foreign country for every 100 people on the census in 2011, by country of nationality and gender	57
Figure 2: De-registrations due to change of residence from Spain to a foreign country for every 100 people on the census in 2011, by age group and origin	58
Summary table 1: Volume and characteristics of Latin American migrants who leave Spain	59
Table 2: Triggers for the return and key factors for reintegration	62

Chapter 4: Migration and self-employment: lessons learned for employment through self-employment

Table 1: Factors influencing the emergence of migrant or returnee entrepreneurship	129
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Table 2: Financial capital: access to resources and mobilization	136
Table 3: Human capital. Access and Mobilization	140
Table 4: Social capital in immigrant companies: networks and mobilization	144
Table 5: Summary of recommendations for the implementation of immigrant entrepreneurship programmes	146

Chapter 5: Promoting the circular movement of knowledge: skilled migration and skills recognition

Figure 1: The balance of the "brain drain" for the countries of origin and destination	157
Figure 2: Remittances by years of schooling	158
Figure 3: Over-qualification rate of Latin America and Caribbean workers by level of education and country of destination (circa 2000)	158
Figure 4: Active Latin American workforce and qualified migrants by country of presence, 2000	161
Figure 5: Percentage of Latin Americans having completed higher education, residents in OECD countries, by country of birth (circa 2000)	162
Figure 6: Qualified migration from America to OECD countries, 2000	162
Figure 7: Summary of recommendations	180

Chapter 6: Female migration, employment policies and care-giving

Table 1: Percentage distribution of the immigrant population by sector of activity in certain European Union countries, 2011	191
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Prologue

Migration processes lead the majority of migrants to see an increase in their skills and abilities, which means an increase of human capital in their countries of residence and in their countries of origin within a strategy of voluntary, scheduled return.

The skills which are developed and/or enhanced by migrants can be capitalized to become an active force, an added value to be taken into account as part of national and regional growth and development strategies.

The “Strengthening dialogue and cooperation between the European Union (EU) and Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) to establish management models on migration and development policies” project aims to support the strengthening of skills through the application of public policies. It is within this context that the «Proposals for linking Migration and Employment Policies» Manual has been designed and prepared.

The aim of the Manual is to carry out an analysis of and provide proposals on the issues which we believe will have the greatest future impact on the link between migration policies and employment policies. These are:

- 1.** Return and reintegration of migrants.
- 2.** Procedures and steps to take to improve the link between migration and employment.
- 3.** Migration and self-employment in Latin America.
- 4.** Qualified migrations and skills recognition systems
- 5.** Female migration and employment.

The Manual is highly practical in nature, aimed at civil servants working in the area of Migration and Employment. Each of the chapters is structured from a sequential standpoint: the presentation of the relevance of the selected topic, a brief analysis of academic and political trends on the subject, and the selection and implementation of proposals to be adopted.

Javier Quintana Navío

Director of FIIAPP

FIIAPP's EU-LAC project team would like to thank the excellent work of the manual's coordinator, Mr. Antonio Izquierdo, and the authors of the chapters. We believe that the time, dedication and effort aimed at introducing new ideas and proposals are reflected in the Manual's chapters.

We hope that this document meets the expectations of the readers, is entertaining and generates an exercise in reflection and motivation to combine and increase the positive impact of migration.

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INTRODUCTION

Author: Antonio Izquierdo Escribano¹

The drafting and development of this manual deal with the link between Latin American migration and employment in EU (European Union) countries. The manual was designed with a threefold purpose: to describe and analyze existing experience in this field, to extract know-how in order to prevent, from the public sphere, committing the same mistakes and finally, but not last, to formulate proposals leading to the accumulation of the gains and the reduction of the losses that are inevitably produced in the migratory process. In fewer words: to adhere to well-established facts, to examine the least expected results and to prevent public policy from stumbling on the same stone.

1. What do we aim to achieve with this manual?

The manual has been prepared for use by the public sector, and aspires to be a useful tool for the development of migrants, their families or related groups, and, more generally, for the cities, regions and countries of origin of these precious human resources. More precisely, its usefulness is to serve the expansion of individual, social and national capabilities.

Furthermore, the development of the manual is not limited to the result, but also includes the path taken to reach it. Consequently, the emphasis is placed on the quality and validity of the information by which decisions are made, on the arbitrated proceedings to link migrants* with employment, on

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* Throughout the project and its various activities and products, such as is this manual, whenever the term returnees or similar is mentioned, it refers solely to voluntary returnees and in no way reflects the situation of involuntary or deported returnees.

the application of the contractual regulations governing labour markets and residence statuses and, of course, on the participation of the players that are really involved in this field. Furthermore, each of the manual's chapters has been created with the vocation to be applicable.

The following criteria, as a minimum, have been observed and followed in the selection and formulation of proposals. First, that they are applicable within the relevant constraints of time and circumstances. Second, that they imply governance, i.e., that they include the main actors involved in the management of migration and employment and, third, that they require and recommend transnational cooperation, coordination and collaboration. In other words, we are committed to an ambitious realism, generosity in participation and transnational application. To summarise in another mode, in order to be sustainable, the recommendations call for democracy in their design and, to be effective, require an international area of agreement.

2. What is the approach chosen?

Our view is that labour migration is the expression of expectations that have been frustrated at the place of origin. These expectations may be due to dissatisfaction with employment quality; that is, with its adaptation to the subject's skills, but also to intolerable working conditions. In other words, due to underemployed and the waste of educational and professional resources, or because the risks outweigh the rewards. In both situations, migration expresses a need for the development of capabilities on an individual level in order to be able to lead a healthy family life and, in a social context, to feel useful and responsible.

Consistent with this interpretation of international migration, our theoretical guiding light is the enrichment of individual and collective capabilities. And these capabilities are defined, in this case, as the freedom enjoyed by migrants to seek their wellbeing, through employment, in a place other than that of their birth. Thus, we think of migration as the journey to meet a set of employment opportunities and the power to choose from among them and to act accordingly. The meaning of "employment that provides wellbeing" is discussed in the conclusions.

Does improving the quality of life of migrants go against the quality of life of locals? And, more specifically, do migrants harm or replace locals in the labour market? The answer, in the light of the data presented in the

manual, is that they do not, at least not in general terms. Improvement in the employment of foreigners does not necessarily imply the reduction of wages and worsening working conditions for locals. And when this does happen in a specific industry or circumstances, the presence of migrants cannot be proved to be cause. But there are two basic conditions for this to be so: the first, that migrant workers have the same rights as local workers and, the second, that their distribution throughout the pyramid of occupations is suited to their internal capabilities skills. From this we can extract a recommendation for public policy: to ensure equal access to and treatment in the labour market.

Capabilities are not innate abilities, but rather freedoms or opportunities created and protected by the interaction between personal power and the political, social and economic environment. The role of government and its agents, officials and elected politicians, is twofold: to create the legal and procedural space in which capabilities are able to operate freely, and to secure this space amid changes in government. Because time of capabilities is that of generations, not that of electoral alternatives.

We call the development of capabilities the expansion of opportunities and their application through international mobility. And this increase in capabilities arises on three levels: that of the individual and, by extension, the family group; the place of origin and the national scope; and, finally, bilateral relations in the interstate community space.

To express the theoretical approach in a single paragraph.

The migrant experience is, in itself, an educational value. It enriches a person's "self", their internal capabilities. It can also have an educational component, the formal learning in job training. Which gives rise to the prospering of a person's "doing" and their combined capabilities. Public policy must be used to provide form, continuity and content to opportunities and regulated learning. Life as a migrant and the training accumulated through employment experience have the twofold economic value to being able to be exported and to be implemented transnationally. In this sense, migrants embody the language of globalization. Thus, on the one hand, their transfer value and, on the other, the added value of learning new employment languages which feed themselves. In this way, the migration experience increases the combined skills (individual and pluri-social) to activate productive resources in different contexts. The sum of that professional experience in the jobs held and formal learning received is what defines

their capacity for global employment. Their adaptability to different jobs and institutional frameworks. In summary, migration is a process of adding up employment capabilities (opportunities and work experiences), which can be disabled and squandered, or enhanced and adapted through public policy.

3. Why do we consider this manual appropriate?

We offer four reasons to support its convenience.

The first is the need for labour migration to be an educational and informative process that does not involve the deterioration of the migrants' internal capabilities. As we have seen, socialization in another employment environment and, where appropriate, formal specialization is what fosters the adaptation between migration and employment, expanding its range of application. Continuous training throughout the working life is not the privilege of the sedentary or a toll to move towards social exclusion which the migrant is required to pay. Thus, the first reason for developing this manual has been to contribute to an increase in migrants' employment capabilities.

Second, by supporting public management, the aim is to reinforce more secure and sustainable employment for migrants. In other words, the aim is to avoid adding the migrant's vulnerability to the volatility of employment. And that is not a single task, but it is specific to public management, namely: employment is a mainstay for integration, not the main risk of exclusion. The design of a career path is a basic requirement to be able to talk seriously about immigration, a concept that is not equivalent to seasonal labour or to mobility or scheduled circularity. A career path does not necessarily imply the migrant worker's stability in the same job, but rather an effort on the part of public managers to maintain migrants permanently employed.

Third, a reduction of brain waste or downgrading, i.e., the waste of migrants' skills, is proposed. Increasing work capacity equates to expanding employment opportunities and enabling their consumption by migrants. The accumulated statistical evidence points to the, obviously excessive, prolongation of the brain waste of migrants as one of the most demotivating results. That is, the expected initial downgrading is usually followed by the authentic blockage of occupational mobility. This employment immobility

represents a waste of the skills acquired, not to say a progressive loss of the same. And this is applicable both to those who work as caregivers for the elderly and to those who attempt to obtain an international doctorate.

And finally, migration promotes the generation of new jobs, as well as entrepreneurial activities and self-employment. The dominant historical view of migration contemplates foreign workers merely as consumers of jobs and, to a lesser extent, as creators of employment opportunities. This has never been the whole story, and it is increasingly becoming less so. Self-employment is extending and entrepreneurship is not a resource that is precisely scarce among migrants.

4. The public policy perspective and the expository outline

The general perspective adopted in this manual is that of realistic, responsible intergovernmental cooperation, in contrast to the imposing, unrealistic view of “immigration on demand” or “zero immigration”. Cooperation is also distinguished from the sceptical position regarding the influence of public action, i.e., the advocating of allowing markets to determine the number of migrant workers. We know that immigration policies, especially when they are democratically agreed, have an impact on the regulation and composition of entry and departure flows. There are no accessible or effective rights without public intervention. However, international migrants’ capabilities must not be developed without the cooperation of the nation states affected by this transnational movement and, where appropriate, of the supranational agencies which work in coordination to extend the real rights and the capacities to exercise them.

After having agreed that the principle of cooperation produces better and more sustained results than imposition, we will analyze three concepts.

1. Cooperation aims to offer more opportunities and to help by means of influence. Naturally, everybody benefits from cooperation, but the redistribution of these benefits remains. Therefore, distributive justice within cooperation also requires: **collaboration and coordination**.

2. Coordination is understood as achieving objectives without hindering the decisions taken at the various management levels. It is a task that requires reciprocity. Labour migration policies adopted by multilevel

national or regional governments require that the regulations and actions do not collide with each other.

3. The content of **collaboration** is that of governance, i.e., to increase vocal opportunities and encourage stakeholder participation. Thus, to collaborate is to debate with and engage the stakeholders.

For the convenience of reading and reference, the same expository scheme is employed in the deployment of each of the chapters. Firstly, the topic to be dealt with is introduced and the main positions in relation to the same are presented. That is, the discussions, the different options and the status of the issue are indicated. The four proposals considered most important are then identified and formulated. In the selection of these recommendations, the criteria of the applicability, implication and involvement of the stakeholders must be taken into account, as must the principle of international cooperation, coordination and collaboration.

Finally, each proposal is broken down into its basic ingredients, i.e., the basic conditions upon which it is supported are defined and identified, as well as the risks and benefits resulting from its implementation. The supporting experience and empirical evidence is detailed below. The analysis is aimed at identifying the basic requirements for the full implementation of the proposal.

5. Why and for whom have we produced the manual? Our audience

We carry out basic research **to unravel and assess the obstacles that arise** in the path of the optimum use of the immigrants' capabilities, both in the countries of destination and in the countries of origin, in the case of the migrants deciding to return. **Unravelling** means identifying, analyzing and breaking down these obstacles.

The second question about the manual is aimed at **formulating proposals for action** (policy) which are derived, although not in a natural and unique fashion, from the analysis of experiences and cases, as well as the evolution of the most reputable statistics. The formulation of recommendations is a process that is not scientific in nature, but rather one based on ethics and politics.

And finally, **for whom?** The recipient of this basic knowledge and the proposed methods to be followed are the public authorities and those responsible for the management of employment and migration. That is, politicians and civil servants from the countries involved in the migratory exchange and who are responsible for acting on the configuration of migration and employment. But also for channelling it in the most likely future scenario, and not for simply resolving the problem in the immediate present.

This more commonly applied interpretation, that of “helping build a sustainable migration and employment scenario”, requires a manual containing tools with which to operate. That is, it must serve for the preparation of an action protocol for institutions.

6. Another manual on migration and employment!: The content of the chapters

With regard to the list of topics, it may be noted that the issues raised by the authors of each chapter are not the most frequent (another manual on migration and employment!) in the literature on the subject. The analysis of “qualified migration”, the development of the “caregiver employment market” within the context of the feminization of migration, and the impetus necessary to “cultivate self-employment”, not to mention the “reintegration of returnees into the employment market” are certainly not unusual subjects, but neither are they the most common. In that sense, the manual strives to analyze the least handled issues relative to a relationship that is so vital to living a dignified life, such as is the pursuit of a livelihood through migration.

It is divided into six chapters that gather together those public recommendations on migration and employment that have more impact on scientific and political debates and a greater impact on social action.

The first chapter, written by Jorge Durand and titled “Migration and Employment in Latin America”, presents an analysis of the impact of international migration to Europe on the labour market in Latin America. Labour shortages in some sectors and the possible worker qualification/disqualification processes are identified and some of the employment policies implemented in Latin America are reviewed.

This is followed by the chapter “Return and Reintegration of Latin American migrants in Europe”, by Amparo Gonzalez, who presents an analysis of the scope of return migration. The author details the volume and characteristics of this phenomenon and offers fundamental explanations of the determining factors behind such movements. The author also examines the interventions of European public policies in this area, as well as the formulas devised to promote the reintegration of these citizens into the social and employment environments of their communities of origin.

The third chapter, written by Carla Tamagno, is dedicated to the “Procedures and steps to take to improve the link between migration and employment”, and it includes some migration policy proposals focussed on employment and which enable the reinforcement of labour migration management and advances in the dialogue between the European Union and Latin America.

The study of the possibilities of the reintegration of returned migrants in their countries of origin is completed by Maria Villares in the chapter titled “Migration and self-employment: lessons learned for employment through self-employment.” This text contains a study of the experience of self-employment among the migrant population in Europe and explains the social, family, and political dimensions that facilitate and inhibit this collective’s entrepreneurship. By means of a compilation of the key public policies implemented in this field, it offers recommendations that are potentially applicable in the countries of origin to promote the return and improve the reintegration of migrants.

The chapter prepared by the consultancy Instrategies (Gemma Pinyol), “Promoting the circular movement of knowledge: skilled migration and the recognition of capabilities”, includes the most relevant and current data on qualified migration, revealing not only the occupations in which its importance is greater, but also providing recommendations to maximize the skills which provide benefits both for the countries of origin and for countries of destination.

In “Female migration, employment policies and care-giving”, Raquel Martinez provides us with an insight into the labour market in Europe for Latin American women. The high level of involvement of female migrants in irregular activities, such as domestic service and care-giving in private households, requires active employment policies. In certain countries, these

policies are beginning to be linked to migration policies and aimed at long-term care.

The manual is complemented by conclusions which bring together the proposals and focus on skills.

CHAPTER 1:

MIGRATION AND EMPLOYMENT IN LATIN AMERICAN

Author: Jorge Durand²

1. Introduction

The relationship between migration and employment in Latin America is a complex issue with several dimensions that need to be clarified. At first glance, logic would suggest that those who have jobs do not usually opt for migration, although this is not always the case. But neither is the contrary, as the unemployed do not always opt for migration, even less so at the current time, in which monetary resources are required in order to be able to change residence.

Employment is one of the factors to be taken into account, but what often defines the decision to migrate is not being unemployed, but the primary component of employment, i.e., wages. Wage differences in the regional and international context is one of the root causes of migration, which is consistent with the theoretical approaches of neoclassical economics and the so-called “rational choice”. However, it is not enough for there to be locations in which better salaries are paid: that will always exist. There must be a significant demand for labour in order to mobilize migrants.

² Jorge Durand is an anthropologist and research professor at the University of Guadalajara and the CIDE in Mexico, and co-director of the Mexican Migration Project and the Latin American Migration Project sponsored by Princeton University and the University of Guadalajara. During the last thirty years he has studied the phenomenon of migration between Mexico and the United States.

Moreover, a higher salary may determine the option to migrate, but not the place, as migrants do not only or mainly go to places where salaries are better. It is possible that a better salary is a factor, but there are a number of personal, family and social reasons and other factors which determine the decision to go to one destination or another.

Tossing a coin can end the hesitations and define the migration option, since for many migrants, especially young people, migration may be considered an adventure. What fortune does not define is to the place to which the migrant heads. In that respect, there is no room for improvisation or adventure. In general, people go where they have contacts, relationships, friendships, cultural and linguistic affinities.

There are no fixed rules or homogeneous patterns in Latin America with respect to migration and employment. The pace of development in each case and the economic circumstances may vary greatly. Brazil and Chile currently enjoy strong, stable and thriving economies, while their neighbour Argentina is again on the brink of crisis. In recent years, Panama, Peru and Colombia have experienced a very high, stable rate of growth, while Mexico's growth is more moderate. Bolivia and Guatemala, hosts to large sections of the Indian population, cannot find a way out of poverty and marginalization. Meanwhile, Honduras and Paraguay remain anchored in the traditional large-scale landowner model, unable to bring about reform in the 21st century.

Different exit strategies have been employed in each country relation to the economic crises of the late twentieth century, all of which have broad implications for the present. While Ecuador and El Salvador chose the dollar as their official currency, Argentina opted for parity with the dollar before returning to the Argentine. Peru uses the sol and the dollar simultaneously, whilst Mexico and other countries have decided on a -generally upwards-floating exchange rate.

Neither is there uniformity regarding the application of the neoliberal model and the opening of borders. Whilst Mexico opened its borders without limit, Argentina and Brazil have introduced conditions on the import of cars, one of the most important pillars of the Mexican economy. There are even protectionist measures in place within Mercosur in the face of the avalanche of Brazilian products (*El País*, July 31, 2012).

Finally, development rates in Latin America vary greatly, with there still being situations of extreme poverty and misery in many countries and regions. Latin America has not been able to adequately resolve the vices of the colonial legacy, especially in relation to black and indigenous populations, who are the most marginalized groups on the continent. According to the UN's Human Development Index (2011), only two countries merit a very high ranking: Chile and Argentina (Barbados in the Caribbean). The second level (high) is headed by Cuba, Mexico and Panama. The lower end of the middle level is occupied by three Central American countries: Honduras, Nicaragua and Guatemala. Lastly, at the lower end of the scale, along with a majority of African countries, we find Haiti.

Despite the heterogeneity and disparity among Latin American countries, it is possible to establish trends and identify indicators that allow us to approach the issue of migration and regional employment. This introductory chapter is divided into three sections, the first of which deals with the demographic factor, the basic substrate of migration and employment. The second focuses on employment, starting with an analysis of the minimum wage, precarious employment, professionals and gender. Once the demographic bases have been established and the employment analysed, we move on to migration and its contemporary counterpart, the return.

2. The demographic factor

The demographic factor always lies behind the phenomenon of migration and employment. But the reading and interpretation of this factor depends on the careful analysis of other indicators. One of the key conditions of underdeveloped countries is that they are labour-rich and capital-poor. Hence the importance of controlling population growth, as its impact is felt for several decades. A country's inability to generate employment is complicated by the supply of labour that it incorporates every year. Hence, an absence of population control gives rise to the generation of favourable conditions for migration. However, the processes are not mechanical or automatic, and must be analyzed independently in each case.

The case of Brazil is paradigmatic: the country has 194 million inhabitants, a controlled birth rate and 2.3 children per woman, a very high level of internal migration and low international migration. However, despite having a huge territory and vast resources, it also has high levels of poverty. Nevertheless,

recent decades have seen a significant upturn in the economy, with improved employment rates and wages increases in real terms. By contrast, Mexico has more than 100 million inhabitants and 10% of its population lives abroad, above all in the United States. And we could say that its conditions are similar: it has a vast territory, a controlled birth rate and high poverty rates. In this case, the proximity to and the historical, territorial and migratory relationships with United States play an important role.

The demographic factor has an impact on migration once the process has started but does not operate as a trigger: this is the case of Brazil. In Mexico, the population explosion of the fifties contributed significantly to keeping the process going.

Furthermore, the population explosion experienced in most Latin American countries had a direct impact on the ability to generate jobs at the rate determined by the demographic factor. For decades, it has been said that Mexico needs to generate one million new jobs a year and that this figure has never been reached: however, emigration has enabled a certain balance to be reached, with about half a million Mexicans of working age leaving the country each year up to 2007, when the number dropped significantly. A mere 150,000 migrations are estimated for 2012.

In Europe, where there is widespread debate on the impact of immigration, the European Commissioner for Home Affairs, Cecilia Malström, believes, contrary to the majority, that “immigration is not a threat, but an opportunity.” And her argument is simply demographic: it is estimated that “by 2030, the European population of working age will decline by 12%” (Le Monde, July 11, 2012). Indeed, the United Nations’ demographers estimate that by 2015 the average age in the EU 41, while the average age of Latin American’s will be 28.5.

In Latin America, many countries struggled with the problem of the population explosion generated between the fifties and the seventies (with Latin America growing at a rate of 2.72 in 1950, and reaching 2.77 in 1960). In 2010, the growth rate dropped to 1.41, but there are still very relevant consequences in countries such as Guatemala (2.68), Haiti (1.74), Honduras (2.18) (UN, 2007). This dynamic is also expressed at the regional level in many countries, where states or departments with high birth rates are mainly populated by indigenous or black citizens.

3. Employment and the minimum wage in Latin America

In general terms, there is reliable information available about formal employment, which is linked to social security, in Latin American countries and high and low cycles can be accurately measured. By contrast, unemployment must be measured indirectly through surveys, since there is no unemployment benefit system in any Latin America country that allows for the reliable control of the number of people who seek and are unable to find employment.

Brain waste, multiple-employment, self-employment and many other mixed or partial forms that exist in the informal and marginal labour market cannot be controlled or recorded accurately or reliably, although they nevertheless account for a large sector of the population. Informal trade, for example, can be expanded to infinity: there are no limits and the possible gains are redistributed between more or fewer participants. Nor can begging be accurately accounted for, as it is often practised by street vendors of some type.

In that sense, it is much more illuminating to analyse the minimum wage in each country and to establish regional and international comparisons. Let us look at some examples.

In 2012, the official minimum wage in Chile was 182,000 Chilean pesos, the equivalent of \$ 384 per month. There are workers in small industries that can earn the minimum wage, but they are few. A housekeeper or caregiver for the elderly working around 10-12 hours a day earns the equivalent of two minimum wages, or about \$ 31.5 dollars (15,000 Chilean pesos) daily. An unskilled miner working 12 hours a day (7 days on-site followed by 7 days resting in a village) earns 450,000 pesos (about \$ 947) per month, which is considered well-paid for a member of the working class.

In Mexico, the minimum daily wage is 62 pesos, the equivalent of about \$ 5 per day, which would make a total of 1,500 pesos a month. The minimum wage serves as the unit of measurement for other calculations, fines or

scholarships, for example, measured in terms of several minimum wages. The minimum wage undergoes an annual adjustment to inflation, resulting in an increase of between 4% or 5% per year, but very few people earn this. A domestic worker earns between 200 and 300 pesos a day, about 15 to 23 dollars a day, 20 a day on average. A farm worker can earn 3 minimum wages, about \$ 15 a day, although most of the time they are paid for piecework. A labourer can earn between 200 and 250 pesos, and a teacher between 300 and 400 pesos.

In practice, the minimum wage ceased to be a real indicator of people's earnings, although, paradoxically in some companies and formal businesses it is the wage paid and is protected by law.

In 2012, the official minimum wage in Peru was 750 soles, the equivalent of \$ 290 per month. A domestic worker earns between 300 and 400 dollars, almost half of what they earn in Chile, which explains in part the large number of Peruvian "nannies" in Chile. In the construction sector, a labourer earns 40 soles a day (\$ 15), while the master mason earns 60 soles (\$ 23), slightly lower wages than those to be earned in real terms in Mexico.

However, the most significant difference occurs in the context of the relationship between Latin America and the Caribbean and the continental reference United States, where the minimum wage in 2012 was between 7.50 and \$ 8.00 per hour depending on regions, which equates to about \$ 1,160 monthly. The difference with Europe and Spain, which is the most common destination for Latin Americans, is smaller but significant, given that the minimum monthly wage would be 641 Euros, about \$ 820 per month.

In each country, the minimum wage is governed by different criteria (regional or by economic sector) and may register significant variations. Despite their peculiarities, they represent a key indicator for the analysis of employment and its relation to migration in regional and international contexts.

With all the corresponding caveats, the average minimum wage in Latin America may be said to be in the region of \$ 300 a month, except in the case

of Cuba. We would thus be able to determine that the minimum wages in Spain and US represent three and four times this amount, respectively.

The relationship between minimum wage and migration is crucial at a time when migration costs money, especially if the migrant enters the country of destination surreptitiously. Migrants heading to the United States have scaled fees, according to their place of origin: Mexicans have to pay at least \$ 5,000, Central Americans, \$ 8,000, and Ecuadorians and Peruvians, \$ 12,000. When translated into minimum wages, these sums are exorbitant. Hence, it is increasingly difficult to migrate. The migrant's settled relatives finance the journey, particularly the payment to the "coyote" or trafficker.

In the case of migration to Europe, everything depends on access to a visa. If the migrant is in possession of a visa, the cost is reduced to the tickets and something more, about 1,500 Euros. This explains in large why the Andean countries (Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia) chose to diversify their destinations to Europe, which required workers and did not require visas in all cases.

There are also significant wage differences on an intraregional level that explain, in part, the traditional migration flows from Guatemala to Mexico, Nicaragua to Costa Rica and Bolivia and Paraguay to Argentina.

The most significant migration flows in Mesoamerica are those from Nicaragua to Costa Rica, where Nicaraguans make up about 85% of the country's foreign population. According to the 2000 census, 29% of Nicaraguan men were employed in agriculture, while 48.4% of women worked as domestic staff (<http://ccp.ucr.ac.cr/bvp/ppt/CharlaMig2005.pdf>).

In the case of the migration of Guatemalans to Mexico, where they have been engaged in farming in the border region for more than a century and are now entering a new phase of regularization, it is estimated that about one million people a year flow into the country, often accompanied by their families.

In the context of South America, the emigration of Colombians to Venezuela in the seventies and eighties, and that of Bolivians and Paraguayans to Argentina (which persists in agricultural work but also has presence in

Table 1: Official minimum wages by country, in local currency and the dollar equivalent, 2009-2011

Country	Minimum wage in national currency, monthly	Equivalence in U.S. dollars
Argentina	1,840 pesos	475
Bolivia	1,000 bolivianos	143
Brazil	540 reales	318
Colombia	535,000 pesos	284
Costa Rica	192,345 colones	325
Cuba	225 pesos	10
Chile	172,000 pesos	372
Ecuador	264 dollars	264
El Salvador	208 dollars	208
Guatemala	1,680 quetzals	206
Honduras	5,500 lempiras	291
Mexico	1,634 pesos	133
Nicaragua	3,000 cordobas	127
Panama	450 dollars	450
Paraguay	1,507,484 guarani	300
Peru	750 soles	290
Uruguay	6,000 pesos	300
Venezuela	1,223 bolivars	300

Source: <http://coyunturaeconomica.com/>.

Note: the minimum wages correspond to different years between 2009 and 2011, according to each case, and the conversion depends on the exchange rate. The figures were adjusted for the cases of Bolivia, Nicaragua and Peru to 2012.

Greater Buenos Aires) has been very important. Finally, the new regional pole of migratory attraction is Chile, which draws Peruvians and Bolivians, and even Argentines and Brazilians, with a diversified presence of Paraguayans, Uruguayans, Argentines, Bolivians and Peruvians.

In regional contexts, the wage differences in different labour markets, exchange rates variations and the differences in population and birth rates all have an impact. Argentina and Chile have experienced low birth rates, in comparative terms, and both countries experienced a significant emigration phase during the decades when military dictatorships ruled and expelled a large number of citizens. In the case of Chile, recent immigration has not yet compensated the emigration that occurred during the Pinochet dictatorship. According to the Chilean Department of Immigration and Migration, in 2011 the migrant population was estimated at 352,00, a figure close to that provided by the World Bank for 2010 (320,400). However, the same source estimated Chilean emigration at 633,600. This implies a negative balance for the country, with twice as many emigrants as immigrants.

4. Precarious work

At the bottom of the social scale of employment in Latin America we find precarious work, and on the lowest rung of this labour market sector are agricultural labourers (men, women and entire families) and female domestic workers.

Agricultural labour, which is paid at daily wages and piecework at harvest time, ceases to be a temporary option for the peasantry and becomes a way of life for those rural residents without access to land. Many of them live for long periods outside their communities. For some, this option is permanent. They live in camps, following the rhythm of the harvest, finding partners and forming families along the way.

Labourers' wages are around the minimum wage in each country, and can only be increased through piecework. Part of the precarious nature of the work is due to the seasonality of the harvests, to down time and to temporary contracts. Another factor is the transfer from one location to another following the harvests, combined with the insecurity regarding housing, health and education services in the camps. Finally, labourers wages

are often at the bottom of the employment ladder, but fluctuate upwards depending on the interplay of supply and demand and the minimum wage rate and the exchange rate at the international level.

The global agriculture trade depends heavily on day labour. New intensive harvest systems in greenhouses require a great deal of labour on specific dates. This is highly physical work requiring young, manually-skilled people.. Such qualities and skills are increasingly scarce in local and regional contexts, making it necessary to attract manpower from other regions or from abroad.

There are many examples of international day labour in Latin America, such as the Paraguayans and Bolivians working in Argentina, Colombians in Venezuela, Nicaraguans in Costa Rica and Guatemalans in Mexico. Mention can also be made of the migration from Haiti to the Dominican Republic, from the Dominican Republic to Puerto Rico and from Puerto Rico to the United States, and the migration of Mexican “*braceros*” (temporary workers) to the United States, which has been taking place more than a century. The dynamic temporary migration to Canada has been taking place for more than 30 years, with workers from Mexico, Jamaica, El Salvador and Guatemala. And the more recent temporary migration of agricultural workers from Colombia and Ecuador to Spain, to cite a few examples. There are cases of agricultural day labour migration across virtually all Latin American borders, driven by certain comparative advantages, despite the precariousness of the work on a continental and a global level.

Moreover, the supply of labour for domestic work in Latin America is directly related to a surplus of population, low educational levels, the existence of niches or areas with black or indigenous population and the international and regional wage differences.

As with day labour, domestic work is related to the distance between the place of origin and the workplace. And there are significant differences at the local, regional, national and international levels. There are several types of domestic work, the worst being the so-called “sleep in”, “internal” or “indoors”, which involves working, eating and sleeping all day in the workplace, with one or one and a half days rest a week. This work is generally carried out by international migrant workers, who have no relatives or a place to stay overnight. This mode, also called “servitude”, as in the case of Peru, is tending to disappear, with domestic workers preferring to work set timetables and enjoying the opportunity to go out, even if they have to spend time and money on transportation. Those who work for hours or days enjoy a better

situation, giving them the opportunity to work in various locations and to obtain a better income, provided they do not work for a company.

Another mode, which is linked to the aging process of the society and the unequal distribution of domestic duties between the sexes, is the care of the elderly and the sick. This usually pays caregivers more and in many cases can lead to a personal interest in obtaining training as a nursing assistant. The so-called demographic transition implies less babysitting and more urgency in caring for the elderly, a task which can become a burden for some families. This is especially so in societies that have been slow to develop social security systems for the sick and elderly, and where this type of service in the private sector tends to be expensive.

Finally, as with international day labour, migrant domestic labour supplies a growing, poorly-paid employment market, but one which pays off due to the international and regional wage differences and the advantages provided by exchange rates. Rich countries demand domestic services and care for the elderly, and their middle and upper classes have the means to finance such services. But this employment niche is not only gender-specific, but also ethnic-specific, which can lead to cases of discrimination and exploitation.

20 years ago, domestic service was covered in Chile by the local supply, and is now covered by Bolivian and Peruvian workers, for example. As a country's employment grows and its wages improve, the number of local domestic workers decreases and migrants begin to arrive. This process has begun in Brazil, where there were 7 million domestic workers in 2010, the majority of whom were black. But in the face of a greater demand for workers in industry and services, young female employees hang up their aprons and join the formal labour force (*L'Express*, No. 3184, July 11, 2012).

In Europe, female Latin American migrants saw domestic work as an expanding employment niche that has continued to provide jobs up to the present day. At least three factors have contributed to this process: the economic boom of the middle class which enabled the costs to be covered, the accelerated aging of society, the prolongation of life expectancy (81 years in Spain in 2010) and the incorporation of women into the workforce, requiring the support of domestic service. This employment niche was covered first by Dominicans, followed by Ecuadorians and Colombians and, to a lesser extent, by Peruvians and Bolivians.

A domestic worker was able to earn about 700-800 Euros a month in Spain caring for the elderly. Such a wage allowed for the sending of part of the earnings as a remittance to the worker's family. The situation has changed, however, and especially in the family context, where revenue has been lost. In some cases of prolonged unemployment, a return to the place of origin becomes an alternative. The argument is very simple: "instead of struggling here, I might as well struggle at home" However, unemployment among women, and especially domestic workers, has had less impact than among men, particularly those who worked in the construction sector. In 2008, the Labour Force Survey (*INE*) registered 2.6 million workers in the construction industry. This figure dropped to 1.4 million in 2011, leaving more than one million unemployed.

The crisis in Europe, and especially in Spain, where the unemployment rate for foreigners is 36.95%, has directly affected migrant workers. In 2011, Spain lost 85,941 non-EU inhabitants (*El País*, June 12, 2012).

Those migrants who were able to prepare their return, building houses in their hometowns and gathering together some savings, are able to return in better conditions than those whose aim was to remain permanently in Spain and who contracted debt in order to buy accommodation. The difference between these two groups can be substantial: some owning their own properties and the others with a lower family income and debt.

5. Professional employment and opportunities by gender

In recent decades, there has been a radical change in Latin America in terms of higher educational options. In Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Chile, mainly, multiple options have been created for postgraduate study (Masters and PhD), which has enabled the generation of professional training resources. By contrast, in Chile higher education was privatised during the Pinochet regime, with costs becoming prohibitive for a population that demands and requires state-subsidized higher education, or at least education with a tiered system of income-related payments, a model that existed before the dictatorship. In Brazil, the problem manifests itself in access to higher education by race, as whites have greater access in both the public and private sectors. This was the reason behind the implementation of a

preferential system similar to that used in the United States, known as affirmative action.

The “University for All” programme (PRO-UNI), created by the Brazilian Ministry of Education, awards full or partial scholarships (50% and 25%) in private higher education institutions (profit-making and non-profit making). The scholarships are aimed at Brazilian students whose household per capita income does not exceed three minimum wages. Other requirements include: having completed full secondary education in public schools or private institutions as interns, suffering from a deficiency or being a state school teacher. A percentage of the scholarships is destined to self-declared indigenous, mulatto or black students.

Mexico offers a wide range of educational and support grants for masters and doctorates to national and foreign students, with the sole condition of the students entering post-graduate programmes endorsed by the CONACYT (National Council of Science and Technology). In Argentina, public universities are virtually free for domestic and foreign students, while in Mexico foreigners pay modest fees for graduate courses and have access to post-graduate scholarships. There is growing a circulation of university students and professionals throughout Latin America, which in turn enables easier entry to the different employment markets than before (with respect to residency permits and formal procedures).

In South America, migration and the movement of people is seen as a key factor in development, leading to measures that greatly facilitate circulation and intra-regional tourism. Additionally, an agreement has been signed to facilitate residence among the Mercosur and the Andean Community countries, providing citizens with the opportunity to work in any of the member states.

There has also been a radical change in access to higher education by gender. In Mexico, for example, between 1980 and 2001 university enrolment in general more than doubled, whilst female enrolment tripled during the same period. Part of the increase is obviously due to the population explosion, but the incorporation of women into university life is an inescapable fact throughout Latin America. Some courses even have more female students than male students, with women obtaining better final results than men (Bustos, 2003). Nevertheless, in general men in Latin America earn 17% more

than women (at similar ages and with similar levels of education), according to a recent study by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) (Ñopo *et al.*, 2009).

6. Origins and development of migration in Latin America and the Caribbean

The first factor to trigger Latin American migration during the mid-twentieth century was the recruitment of labour by the United States. First, in Mexico in 1942, with the launch of the “*Programa Bracero*” aimed at temporary agricultural workers. This programme lasted for some 22 years. Later, following World War II, Puerto Rican workers were recruited for sugar cane harvesting in Florida. Workers were subsequently recruited from Jamaica and Haiti, with the east coast of the United States being supplied with migrant labour from the Caribbean and southwest Mexico for several decades.

Political factors later came to play a role in the migration flows, in particular with flashes of the Cold War in the region originating in Castro’s Cuba and giving rise to at least three waves of migrants from Cuba, who continue to enjoy a special status and are quickly accepted as refugees.

In 1965, the United States invaded the Dominican Republic as a preventive measure against the influence of Cuba, especially among the young students who had suffered and fought against the Trujillo dictatorship and who had joined the leftist parties. In addition to rifles and Marines, the United States entered the island with a generous visa programme for Dominicans wishing to move to America, thus destabilizing the revolutionary armies and starting the flow of migrants.

In the seventies, the main countries providing cheap labour to the United States were: Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba and Dominican Republic, and these four make up the bulk of the current contingent of Hispanic-Latinos in the United States. In 2010, the Mexican community accounted for 63%, Puerto Ricans for 9.2%, Cubans for 3.5% and Dominicans for 2.8%, with the total accounting for three quarters of the Latin American diaspora.

The sixties saw the beginning of the flow from the Andean area: Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. In most cases, the migrants made use of the facilities offered by the U.S. to countries from the southern hemisphere: the waiver of visa requirements and easy access to residency. These measures were followed by the country quotas that reinforced the process: when the quotas were exceeded, Mexico was chosen as the through route for crossing the border. South American countries represented 5.5% of the diaspora based in the United States in 2010, with the main contingent of migrants coming from Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Argentina.

In the eighties and nineties, the throes of the Cold War also arrived in force to Central America, becoming the catalyst for the migration process. In Nicaragua, the process started during the eighties and nineties, with migrants from the upper-middle and upper classes linked to the Somoza dictatorship settling comfortably in Miami. The war in the region continued with the “Contra” in Honduras and affected the entire country: the consequent political, economic and social crisis led to the migration of a large number of middle-class citizens to the United States, with the lower-class opting for Costa Rica as a destination.

The whole region was a tinderbox, and especially El Salvador, where a bloody civil war caused the departure en masse of the lower middle-class towards the United States and, to a lesser extent, Canada. Many of the most politically-active Salvadorans fled to Mexico and then to the United States. They were followed by Guatemalans affected by low intensity warfare and the persecution of indigenous communities. The former entered Mexico as refugees before finding their way north. The final wave was composed of Hondurans, taking advantage of the ravages of Hurricane Mitch to request support from their U.S. ally. And they achieved their aim in the form of a large number of visas, leading to them subsequently becoming known as “environmental” migrants. Central Americans make up 7.9% of the diaspora. The Spanish only account for 1.3% of the Hispanic community in the United States, although many New Mexicans have considered themselves Spanish since time immemorial (U.S. Census Brief, 2011).

Without doubt, the decades-long economic, political and social crisis suffered by Latin America became the perfect stimulant for those seeking

opportunities in other places. In the eighties, known as the lost decade, the Southern Cone military dictatorships drove out the middle-classes and intellectuals, who sought refuge in countries such Mexico, Canada, France, England and Sweden, among others. This period saw an exodus of Argentines, Chileans and, to a lesser extent, Uruguayans, Bolivians and Brazilians in search of asylum and refuge.

But with the end of the dictatorships, the dilemmas of democracy, the vicissitudes of external debt and the change in the economic model combined in a series of factors that led to an explosion of migration: the problem was that there was no clear route out. The cities and, especially, the capitals were no longer able to provide employment to the new contingents of internal migrants. United States, the traditional destination of Latin American migration, had closed its doors with the 1986 immigration reform and migrants had to compete in a job market that was saturated with new migrants flowing in force from Central American. In Peru and Brazil, the descendants of Japanese took advantage of Japan's opening its doors to the second and third generations of the migrants who had left in the late nineteenth century.

However, in Europe, and especially in Spain, the door was open and there was work for everyone. The mass flow started with the Dominicans in the late eighties, and was then continued by Colombians, both men and women, who resented their country's traditional political violence coupled with drug violence. The banking crisis of 1990 led Ecuadorians to rapidly join the migration flow en masse. Finally, smaller contingents began to arrive from Bolivia, a country that is always in crisis and permanent revolution. These three countries enjoyed a special situation for some years, and their citizens were not required to acquire a visa. On the other hand, Peruvians, coming from a country immersed in a diplomatic conflict under the Velasco presidency, did require visas and faced greater difficulties to migrate. Many opted for intraregional migration to Argentina and Chile. Argentines also enjoyed easy entry to Europe and many turned to their Italian or Spanish ancestry to legalize their status. There were migrants from Paraguay, Venezuela and Cuba, although in much smaller quantities (see figure 1). Latin American migration to Europe really took off in 1999, reaching its peak in 2007 before falling with the onset of the financial crisis, prior to the start of the return process (Domingo y Valls, 2010).

In Spain there are fairly accurate figures on the foreign population, given the obligation to register in the Population Register, which is not the case in some other European countries where calculations are usually calculated by “rule of thumb”. An EU report titled “Clandestine” on irregular migration reveals a significant delay regarding reliable methods to account for irregular migrants. The estimates for 2008, ranging from 1.9 million to 3.8 undocumented migrants, speak for themselves (EU-27 members). Such a margin of error makes it impossible to define public policy and only opens the gap further between reality and perceptions. Worse still when the press claims that the overall number of irregular immigrants is 8 million. With such a lax handling of the figures, the general perception of the public and the media is that of an authentic invasion of immigrants, which in statistical terms is untenable.

Recent census information in several Latin American countries enables data on migrants in the previous five years to be broken down into state, municipal and departmental levels. In the case of Mexico, there is an extended questionnaire and a sample of 10% for 2000 and 2010, allowing a comparative analysis. Ecuador, Argentina and Colombia also have census data on migration broken down to national and departmental levels, although not in all cases.

According to the latest Argentine census, 1.8 million people, from a total population of 40 million, are foreigners. They represent 4.5% of the population, a percentage that is much lower than at the beginning of the twentieth century, when almost one in three people in Argentina came from Europe. The 2010 census indicates that 77% of immigrants came from neighbouring countries, particularly Paraguay, followed by Bolivia, Chile, Peru, Uruguay and Brazil.

There has been a significant increase in intra-regional migration in Chile, largely as a result of the country’s sustained economic boom. In 1980, official statistics indicated 85,000 foreigners, with this figure reaching 352,000 in 2011, of which 37.1% are of Peruvian origin, 17.2% Argentine, and 6.8% Bolivian (National Human Rights Institute, 2011) <http://www.desdelsur.bo/Desdelsur/articulo.php?tipo=Sociedad&d=995&id=>.

However, in order to obtain an overview for all Latin America it is necessary to refer to the work of the World Bank (Factbook, 2011), the only source that has detailed information on migration and remittances for every country. From our point of view it is the best available source, although obviously there are cases and figures that may be debatable. Nevertheless, it has allowed us to develop a typology according to different degrees of migratory intensity in Latin America and the Caribbean.

We consider the migration intensity index to be the ratio between the population residing in the country and migrants. It is a complicated relationship, as the population figures are usually quite accurate whilst there may be varying estimates for those related to emigration. Paradoxically, in many Latin America countries there is an inflation of figures for the migrant population.

For example, at a conference in 2012, the El Salvador Minister of Foreign Affairs claimed that official calculations estimated Salvadoran migration at 2.5 million people, which represented 40% of the total population. However, the World Bank (2011) estimates Salvadoran emigration at 1.3 million, representing 20.5% of the total population, one of the highest in Latin America. Meanwhile, the Salvadoran population in the U.S. was 1.2 million according to the U.S. 2010 Census (the US is host to roughly 90% of the immigrant population).

The question of figures is not only an academic discussion, it has profound implications for the design of public policies. A 40% migration poses a situation of demographic disaster in which the only solution is emigration. This not the case in El Salvador, but it is true in Granada, an island-country with a recent colonial past, very few resources and a 65.5% emigration rate. The extreme case is Dominica and its 104%, meaning that more people are born outside than inside the country.

The migration intensity index developed using the World Bank data highlights the plight of many Caribbean countries with explosive and catastrophic levels of migration intensity. Except for El Salvador, which would be the exception that proves the rule, all these cases are countries with a recent colonial history, very small in terms of territory and population, mostly islands and with very few resources. Their populations are generally

Table 2: LAC migration intensity index

Migration intensity index	Relationship between population and migration %	Countries %
Catastrophic	40 and +	Dominica 101, Granada 65.5, St. Kitts and Nevis 61, Guiana 56.8, Barbados 41
Explosive	20-40	Bermuda 24, St. Lucia 23.2, Jamaica 36, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines 37.6, Suriname 39, Trinidad and Tobago 26.7, El Salvador 20.5
Massive	10-20	Aruba 12.8, Bahamas 12.8, Belize 16.1, Cuba 10.9, Dominican R. 10.1, Mexico 10.7, Nicaragua 12.5, Uruguay 10.5
High	5-10	Bolivia 6.8, Cayman Islands 8.7, Ecuador 8.7, Guatemala 6.1, Haiti 9.9, Honduras 7.5, Paraguay 7.9
Medium	3-5	Chile 3.7, Panama 4.0, Peru 3.7, Colombia 4.6
Low	0-3	Argentina 2.4, Brazil 0.7, Costa Rica 2.7, Venezuela 1.8

Source: Author calculations based on World Bank data (2011).

of African origin, with a history of slavery and Spanish, French and Dutch colonialism, in addition to suffering from a major neo-colonial influence from the United States.

It should be noted that the Caribbean is still a colonial territory, with French, British, Dutch and American possessions. In several cases, the relationship

between these countries and their former colonial powers is very important, due to historical and linguistic affinities. This is the case of Jamaica and Bahamas with Britain, and Guadeloupe, Martinique and Guyana with France.

Barbados stands out among this group of Caribbean countries, with a very high Human Development Index (UNDP, 47 in 2011), but in the context of intense immigration. Barbados has relaunched its economy by overcoming its dependence on monoculture sugar cane farming and has opened itself to tourism and financial investments, which have led to its conversion into a tax haven. Barbados has a majority black population (80%) which speaks English, has a 99.7% literacy rate, a life expectancy of 73 years and an extremely low birth rate: 1.6 children per woman.

The case of El Salvador is different. It is a small, densely-populated country with culturally homogeneous mestizo population, a small indigenous population and a middling Human Development Index (105). Its incorporation into the migration process dates from the eighties and was triggered by a civil war in the context of the throes of the Cold War. However, it is now a growing country with a stable, dollar-based economy and ranks third in the Central American context, after Panama and Costa Rica.

In terms of the volume of migrants, the case of Mexico is exceptional and ranks first worldwide in the World Bank ranking with 11.8 million migrants, ahead of China and India, although in these two countries there is a serious problem regarding accurate figures. Mexican migration to the United States is both centennial and unidirectional. 98.5% of emigrants head for the United States, which highlights the geographic proximity factor, the deep historic relations between the two countries and the high degree of asymmetry of power between the two.

Among the four countries with higher contingents than the United States, only the Dominican Republic and, to a lesser degree, Cuba have broken this pattern of unidirectionality, which is also very evident in the case of the Central American countries. By contrast, the Southern Cone countries diversified their destinations, with Peru having clearly opted for a multitude of destinations: United States, Japan, Spain, Italy, Chile, Argentina, Ecuador and Australia.

In summary, by 2010 the U.S. Census indicated 20.4 million Latin American immigrants (born outside the United States), of which 11.4 are Mexican, 3.1 Central Americans, 3.6 Caribbean and 2.3 South American. In terms of family income, the best situated are the South Americans, followed by the Caribbeans and then the Mesoamericans: Mexican and Central American (U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2012).

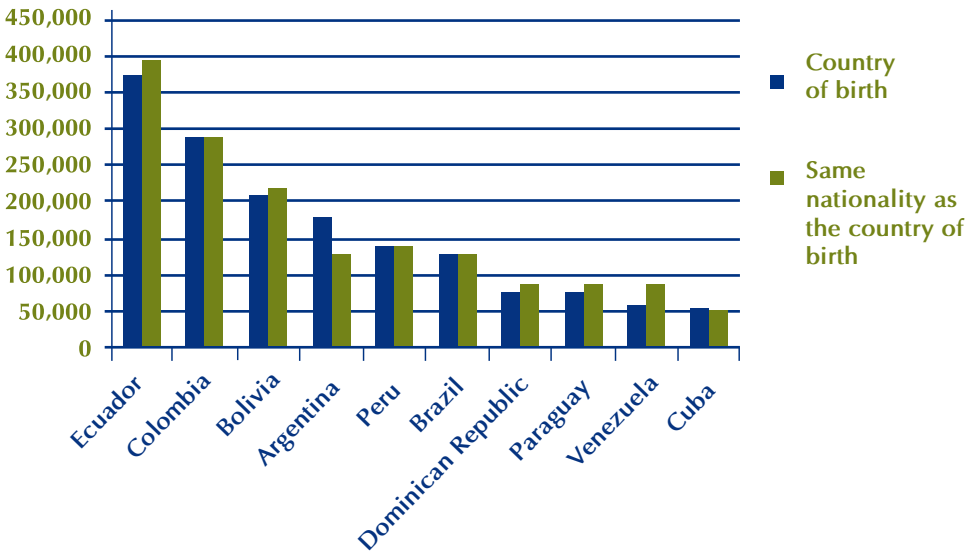
The corollary of this process is the migration reflux and a notorious decline of both legal and irregular migration in the United States and Spain. The financial crisis, which has now lasted for several years, halted migration flows after they reached their peak in 2007. Furthermore, the return process has begun, both voluntary and forced.

Meanwhile, Latin American migration ranks third in Europe, after European and African migration. However, the total number of Latin American migrants in Spain ranks second after European migrants (EU-27), representing approximately one third of the total. The cases of Ecuador, Colombia and Bolivia are notable, occupying the third, fifth and sixth places, respectively, in terms of residence permits and the population register. In the middle of the table we find Argentina, Peru and Brazil, and towards the bottom the smaller countries, such as Dominican Republic, Paraguay, Venezuela and Cuba. There are no Mesoamerican countries among the top ten (see figure 1).

The impact on Spain of four million immigrants is considered notable, having contributed significantly to GDP growth in the decade prior to the crisis. However, these migrants now bear the brunt of unemployment and the arrival flows have been significantly reduced.

Indeed, crisis, once again, is the only factor able to stop immigration. This is what happened with internal migration to the big cities of Latin America in the eighties, as duly indicated by Jordi Borja. And the fact is that contemporary migration is a wholly employment-related phenomenon: when there is no work and demand shrinks, the supply is almost automatically reduced. However, so far the crisis has not generated massive return processes for migrants of Latin American origin.

Figure 1: First ten Latin American nationalities in Spain



Source: Domingo and Valls, 2010. Population register.

For migrants, the balance of the crisis has been unemployment (to a much greater extent than for host country natives), lower family income, in some cases the loss of their mortgaged homes and, for some, return or re-emigration. In some cases, Spanish-nationalised Latin American migrants have been able to pursue other opportunities in Europe, especially in the UK, where there is a large Ecuadoran community.

The crisis has forced the traditional regulatory rigidity on immigration issues and three voluntary return programmes have been implemented since 2008: a “Social care voluntary return” programme with support for travel tickets, a monetary support pool and the commitment to not return within three years. The second “Productive Voluntary Return” programme forms part of the dominant paradigm known as “Migration and development” and aims to support entrepreneurs seeking to establish a business project in their place of origin. The third corresponds to the recovery and reimbursement of the accumulated unemployment benefits and insurance of migrant workers who wish to return to their place of origin, provided there are bilateral agreements and a commitment not to return in three years.

The three-year clause has already expired for the first migrants who took part in the programme, and the crisis is still far from over. However, it is important to point out that Spain has not closed the door permanently to immigrants and is aware of the loss of an important human capital, which could easily be reinserted when migrant labour is required again.

On the other side of the Atlantic, some Latin American countries are preparing for the return of migrants, although this is not a mass phenomenon. In the case of Colombia, new legislation has already been approved, whereas Peru and Ecuador are discussing the issue in their conferences.

In Colombia, Law 1565 considers four types of return: *supportive*, for victims of violence or extreme poverty; *humanitarian*, for reasons of force majeure, *labour*, for those who intend to employ their “skills, knowledge, trades and work experience gained abroad and in Colombia”, and *productive*, for the co-financing of production projects. The plan contemplates incentives for each type of return and accompanying procedures for the process of reintegration of internal or international migrants benefiting from the programme. There is also a series of tax incentives, including those applicable to household goods, the possibility to import tools and machinery. Additionally, returnees who were unable to comply with their military service are provided with facilities for the normalization of their situation.

7. Conclusions

Latin America lived on the brink of collapse during the eighties due to insolvency and the large amount of foreign debt. Paradoxically, during the present international crisis, unleashed in 2008 first in the United States and then in Europe, the region as a whole has resisted contagion and seems to have learned from the bitter experiences of the past.

It is not a bad time to return to the countries of origin, at least in economic terms. However, a lack of security seems to have created a totally different situation to that experienced by the migrants before their departure. This is the case of Mexico and Central America, which are immersed in a seemingly-endless spiral of violence that is reminiscent of Colombia in the eighties. Politically, most Latin American countries are democratic, with all the advantages and vicissitudes associated with a change of regime and

political alternation. According to the 2011 Human Development Index, there is an underdevelopment concentrated in three Central American countries, which are issuers of migrants: Guatemala (ranked 131), Nicaragua (ranked 129), Honduras (ranked 121) and two Southern Cone countries: Bolivia (ranked 108) and Paraguay (ranked 107), both with large contingents of Indian population. In the Caribbean, the situation in Haiti, devastated by the 2010 earthquake, represents a real humanitarian crisis. A recent IDB study confirms that Afro-descendants and the indigenous population earn 28% less than their white peers. The study was carried out in Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala, Paraguay and Peru, where ethnic information is available (Ñopo *et al.* 2009).

Meanwhile, the economic engines of the region are Brazil in the Southern Cone and Mexico in Central America, with the support of smaller but burgeoning economies such as Chile, Peru, Argentina, Colombia, Panama and Costa Rica.

In terms of migration, the picture is much more complex due to the fact that most countries face multiple processes of emigration, immigration, transit and return. However, a true legislative effervescence can be seen regarding immigration issues. Population laws are under reform in several countries in order to bring them into line regarding migrants' human rights. In the Union of South American Nations (USAN), intra-regional migration is considered a key factor in the region's development, leading to the launch of several regularization programmes for irregular migrants, such as *Patria Grande* in Argentina, and other similar programmes in Brazil and Chile.

Experience and progress is being gained in terms of free movement areas in the Andean Community, Mercosur, the CA-4 (Central America-4 (CA-4) Border Control Agreement) in Central America and CARICOM (Caribbean Community). In many of these cases, free trade areas have been extended to include the free movement of people. Nevertheless, progress has been made in the South American Conference on Migration from freedom of movement to the opening of employment markets, with the possibility of a South American nationality having been mooted. Any such nationality would include Suriname and the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, with only the colonial territory of French Guiana excluded.

In this period of migratory reflux, the US (United States) and Europe, from among the main destinations for Latin American migrants, are the most willing and have the most resources to receive and employ the skills acquired by return migrants. It is still early to assess the results, but there is political will to advance towards a solution to the problems.

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CHAPTER 2:

RETURN AND REINTEGRATION

OF LATIN AMERICAN

MIGRANTS IN EUROPE

Author: Amparo González Ferrer³

1. Introduction

One of the first difficulties faced by immigrants countries of origin when planning interventions and programmes aimed at maximizing the benefits derivable from their return is the ignorance of the dominant profile among those returning spontaneously, and the real impact, mistakes and successes of the various actions included in the assisted return schemes implemented both by themselves and, above all, by European countries. This chapter identifies some of the limitations of the current management of the return of migrants and its link with reintegration, and forwards a series of proposals aimed at strengthening the actions of the public authorities of the countries of origin in this regard. Return and reintegration are different moments in a single process that must be integrally designed to ensure effective interventions pertinent to the same. The proposals made here are based precisely on this concept and focus exclusively on voluntary return, whether assisted or not, as forced return responds to a different logic.

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Special attention is paid to the need to obtain better information on the assisted and, especially, spontaneous, return phenomenon as a requirement to strengthen the bargaining position of Latin American countries in their relationship with the EU on the management of the migrations, and to influence the European definition of return support programmes for the benefit of migrants and their chances of reintegration. First, we analyze the volume, characteristics and determinants of the return of Latin American migrants from Europe, and especially from Spain, to their countries of origin. We then identify a series of proposals through which the governments and administrations of the countries of origin can define and coordinate their actions to benefit the reintegration of returnees and the development of their countries.

2. State of the question according to figures: Latin Americans who leave Spain

Quantifying the return of recent immigration is always a challenge. According to the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), **between 20% and 50% of migrants abandon the OECD countries in which they reside in the first five years of their stay**, either to return to their places of origin or to continue their migratory adventure elsewhere (OECD, 2008: 171 ss.). In general, however, return figures are scarce and opaque. We do not know precisely whether large or small numbers of Latin American migrants return to their countries after residing for longer or shorter periods in Europe, and above all, we do not know who is more likely to return and why. This is the first obstacle in designing effective actions to promote a sustainable return based, obviously, on a successful professional and social reintegration.

In Spain, we are able to estimate the volume and characteristics of the returns using the Residential Variation Statistics (EVR), which reflect not only the de-registrations communicated by foreign residents to the Census Office of the municipality in which they reside (of which there are actually very few), but also the de-registration of foreigners due to erroneous inclusion and to expiration, which respond to procedural de-registrations effected by the municipalities once they have detected registrations corresponding to people who do not actually reside in the municipality. According to

these figures, the exits of Latin American⁴ citizens from Spain **have been**

Table 1: De-registrations recorded in Spain with destinations abroad 2007-2011, by country of birth and year

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total
Cuba	2,372	2,678	3,044	3,346	3,023	14,463
Dominican Rep.	3,249	3,779	4,230	4,267	4,240	19,765
Argentina	13,201	13,807	15,502	15,919	14,899	73,328
Bolivia	12,332	17,356	22,212	18,560	16,956	87,416
Brazil	9,242	13,036	17,480	19,110	15,932	74,800
Colombia	11,275	12,866	13,152	15,459	14,549	67,301
Chile	4,364	4,778	5,294	5,328	5,361	25,125
Ecuador	15,277	18,189	14,797	20,413	19,537	88,213
Paraguay	3,619	5,026	7,127	7,830	8,328	31,930
Peru	5,050	6,370	7,339	8,681	9,109	36,549
Uruguay	2,853	3,563	4,469	4,549	4,111	19,545
Venezuela	4,705	5,400	6,273	5,949	6,745	29,072
De-registration due to expiration	1,719	1,813	1,891	2,825	2,810	11,058
Unknown	105	149	247	358	449	1,308
Total	90,219	110,113	124,994	134,954	127,489	587,769

Source: EVR, INE 2012. Authors.

⁴ For these purposes, we understand Latin American citizens as: 1) people born in any Latin American country, even if they have Spanish nationality, 2) people born in Spain and holding the nationality of a Latin American country, and 3) persons born in Spain with Spanish nationality whose country of destination is expressly indicated as Latin American (the majority of this last group are children leaving Spain with their immigrant parents: 77% to Bolivia, 83% to Colombia and 88% to Ecuador).

considerable, with almost 600,000 de-registrations between 2007 and 2011, both inclusive (Table 1)⁵.

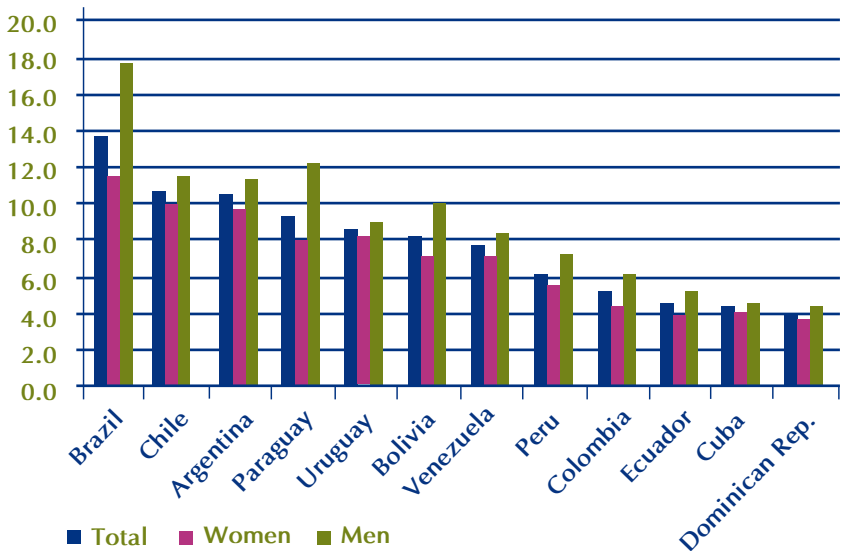
In absolute terms, the majority of these de-registrations correspond to people born in Ecuador, as this is the largest Latin American community in Spain, followed closely by the Bolivians. However, if we calculate the number of de-registrations recorded for every 100 people of the same origin registered in Spain, the ranking by origin changes considerably. In this case, we focus solely on the exits of foreigners in order to simplify the calculations. As can be seen, **the most returns in relative terms correspond to Brazilians (almost 14 de-registrations registered for each 100 people on the census in Spain), Chileans (10%), Argentines and Paraguayans (10% and 9%, respectively).** In fact, **Ecuadorians are, together with Cubans and Dominicans, those who return the least**, according to these figures (Figure 1).

Moreover, **there are far fewer cases of Latin American women leaving Spain compared to their male counterparts**, and especially the Brazilians (11% versus 18%), Paraguayans (8% versus 11%) and Colombians (4% versus 6%), but this is also true for Bolivians, Ecuadorans and Peruvians.

The same data confirms an above-average propensity to return for Latin American over-65s (Figure 2); on the other hand, young people between 20 and 40 years old, who are still in a position to reinvest the human and physical capital acquired during their migration in their home country, are not, on average, more likely to return than the rest of their countrymen. It should also be noted that children register rates of return well below the collective average, which may indicate greater the resistance to return of families that have already been united in Spain.

⁵ Some of these de-registrations do not correspond to returns to the country of origin, but rather emigrations to other countries from Spain (in many cases of de-registration due to erroneous inclusion, the destination of the migrant once they have left Spain is unknown). Nevertheless, it is likely that a very high percentage correspond to returns to the migrant's country of birth. Furthermore, it is possible that these figures do not reflect all departures and, in any case, those which are reflected appear with a delay in relation to the actual moment in which the migrant leaves Spain.

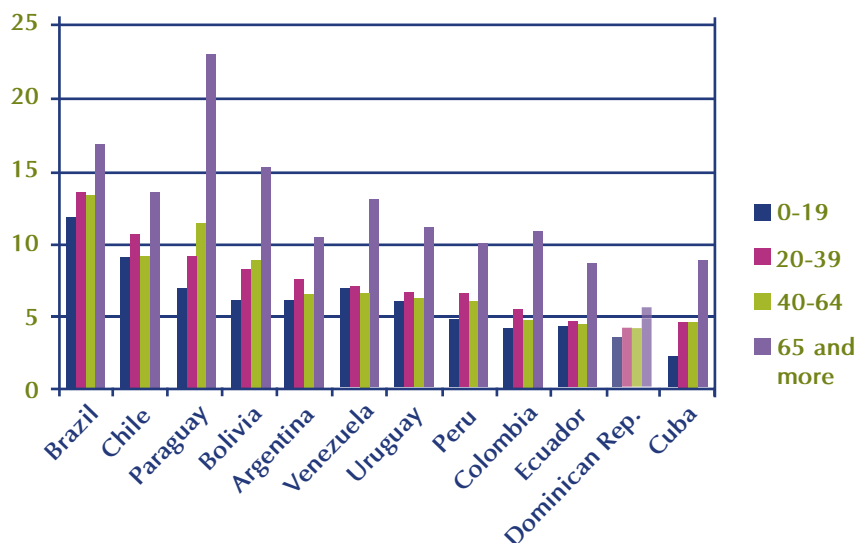
Figure 1: De-registrations due to change of residence from Spain to a foreign country for every 100 people on the census in 2011, by country of nationality and gender



Source: EVR 2011. Municipal Census 2011, INE. Authors.

Finally, naturalized Latin American-born Spaniards are also returning, though to a lesser extent in relative terms, given their comparative weight within the Hispanic population in Spain. In fact, this group accounts for about 8% of the exits registered by Latin Americans in 2011, whilst they represent more than 30% of the Hispanic population residing in Spain. However, our data clearly under-represents those with Spanish nationality, as we only become aware of their leaving the country when they report their de-registration. Again, better and more up to date data are required.

Figure 2: De-registrations due to change of residence from Spain to a foreign country for every 100 people on the census in 2011, by age group and origin



Source: EVR, 2007-2011. Municipal Census 2011, INE. Authors.

3. Debates: The return as a failure, as compliance with the migratory plan or as an adaptive response

Until the eighties, the reality of returnees remained largely ignored by international migration studies, although the magnitude of the return flows was already significant. International migration was understood primarily as an attempt to maximize revenues in a context of wage differences between countries (Sjaastad, 1962; Harris and Todaro, 1970). **While the wage differences between origin and destination remained, the return only seemed explicable as a logical reaction if the migrant was found to have erroneously calculated his/her chances of employment and income at the destination, or the economic and/or socio-emotional costs of migration, i.e., as reflecting a failure.** Obviously, this was and still is one of the causes of the return of migrants to their countries of origin. However,

Summary table 1: Volume and characteristics of Latin American migrants who leave Spain

Volume and characteristics of Latin American migrants who leave Spain

1. Between 2007 and 2011, some 600,000 Latin Americans left Spain, most presumably to return to their countries of origin.
2. In 2011, at least 8 out of every 100 foreigners with Latin American nationality cancelled their inscription in the local census in Spain after leaving the country. Those originating from Brazil, Chile, Argentina and Paraguay register a higher rate of return: Ecuadorians, Cubans and Dominicans, less.
3. Latin American women return less than men, especially Brazilians, Paraguayans and Colombians.
4. Latin Americans over 65 leave Spain at a greater rate than the average in all groups, but children do so far less than the average for all groups. Migrants between 20 and 40 years old leaving Spain show no greater propensity to return than the rest of the Latin American population.
5. Those who have acquired Spanish nationality are underrepresented among those who have left Spain for abroad, which is no doubt due at least in part to the system by means of which de-registrations are recorded.
6. We do not have access to data relative to the level of education and work experience of those who return to their countries, which constitutes an important handicap when planning strategies to support the reintegration of returnees for the countries involved.

it also became clear that many migrants returned to their countries despite the wage differences between origin and destination, and despite the increasing information on the costs and benefits associated with migration.

This information, together with the increase of studies on development, led to the adoption of a broader approach in which the return is not only or necessarily the sign of a failed immigration project. The family environment began to gain importance as a determinant to understand the logic of the migrant's decisions and more recently, with the rise of studies on transnationalism, emphasis has been placed on **the possibility that the ultimate motivation behind migration is not the intention to maximize income by taking advantage of wage differences between countries, but rather the desire to diversify the sources of income of the household to which the migrant belongs**, as stated in the New Economics of Labour Migration in the mid-eighties (Stark, 1991). Within this context, **the return does not necessarily have to answer a miscalculation, as the migration is planned as a round trip and, therefore, the return is rather the fulfilment of the initial plan** by means of which migrants attempt to compensate the market failures in their home countries. Moreover, the returns that were not initially foreseen by the migrant need not necessarily reflect a failure. On occasion, a change in the economic, social and/or political context either at origin or destination after the start of migration may make the return a much more attractive and successful option than remaining abroad. In fact, few people leave their countries with sufficient information about their options in the destination to be able to construct a feasible migration plan that is capable of being fulfilled. But even for those who do, a change in the socio-political and economic circumstances in the places of origin and/or destination can lead to a plan that initially seemed sensible and achievable becoming unworkable, or simply less than optimum.

However, it is difficult to know which migrants conceived their plans as a temporary absence that would allow them to save a certain amount of money to purchase goods or services in their country of origin, or to make certain investments on their return and ensure the sustainability of their business or farm, and which, instead, left with the initial idea of not returning, or at least not do so soon. Generally, those who emigrate for political reasons are less likely to return than others and, especially, than those who left to

complete or further their studies (OECD, 2008). Nevertheless, among those who leave for economic reasons it is not easy to determine who intended to return and does so according to their original plan, and who does not.

Understanding the migrant's motives and expectations when leaving his/her country is necessary to understand whether the potential return is to be conceived and perceived by the migrant and his/her environment as a success or as a failure. And these perceptions are crucial in determining the real possibilities of encouraging the return of those who had not originally planned to do so, and for finding out the circumstances necessary to make the return sustainable.

In summary, return and reintegration are different moments in a single process that must be integrally designed to ensure effective interventions pertinent to the same. The proposals below are based precisely on that conception.

4. Proposals identified and stakeholders for implementation

4.1. Proposals identified

Following consideration of the context in which the voluntary return of Latin American migrants from Europe is taking place and the obstacles and difficulties they face regarding their productive reintegration on arrival in their home countries, it seems reasonable to propose the following measures:

1. Establish differentiated programmes for the promotion of sustainable return (including reintegration), rather than a single programme. The differentiation should not only respond to the administrative status of the migrant, nor to his/her employment status, as at present, but must also take into account other crucial elements for reintegration, such as qualifications, the duration of the migration experience and the work experience gained during the same, or the family circumstances of the returnee.

Table 2: Triggers for the return and key factors for reintegration

Causes of return	Type of return	Conditions surrounding the return	Needs	Key reintegration factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Achieve savings target - Completion of a period of study and obtaining of a degree - Language Learning 	Plan fulfilled	(In general) good economic and emotional conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Information on labour demand in the corresponding sector in origin - Viable channels for entrepreneurship (access to credit) - Re-establishment of networks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Duration of migration - Effective and simple recognition of qualifications obtained and experience accumulated - Support for entrepreneurship
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Unable to find employment - Loss of employment - Unable to make enough money to survive and save 	Plan unfulfilled - failure	(Possible) Precariousness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Financial support for return - Payment of debts acquired with migration - Psychosocial support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Duration of migration - Employment or unemployment during migration - Psychological impact of 'failure', expectations of migrant and friends
A change in the socio-political and/ or economic circumstances in the places of origin and/ or destination	Adaptation to change of context Return as Open Option	An anticipated or unexpected return, but one which is not necessarily precipitated or effected in precarious conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Information to prepare the departure (when, how and with what help) - Information on the possibilities of the returnee's reintegration and that of his/her returning family members - Information on labour demand in the corresponding sector in origin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Access to information devices which are coordinated between origin and destination - Comprehensive care for immigrant families - Accreditation and recognition of employment experience - Organised help for entrepreneurship

2. A more ambitious definition of the target population for the return and reintegration programmes,

in such a way as to always include potential returnees and not just those who have already made the decision to return, as this is the only way to ensure the proper planning of the return, which, as we know, is vital for the migrant's capacity to reintegrate. Development of strategies to expand the group which receives information on incentives programmes and support for productive return.

3. Develop support devices that enable the customization and monitoring of the measures aimed at reintegration

within each of the different programmes following the registration of the returnee. The migrant should participate in the design of the same, indicating the actions to which more support should be directed. The consideration of the family circumstances of the (potential) returnee and the design of reintegration plans that contemplate the entire family unit affected - not only the migrant or asylum seeker - are crucial to achieve a sustainable return.

4. Monitor the individual support actions and assess the support programmes implemented.

La creación de una verdadera política pública orientada a la reintegración de los retornados depende de modo crucial de la comprensión adecuada de las fortalezas y debilidades de los programas aplicados en el pasado y en el presente. Esto exige la realización de evaluaciones sistemáticas y programadas de los planes en marcha que, a su vez, requieren monitorización individual de los procesos de reintegración de retornados de variado perfiles, con y sin ayuda.

4.2. Stakeholders in the implementation

As noted in Chapter 3, "Procedures and steps to be taken to improve the link between migration and employment" (C. Tamagno), ILO (International Labour Organization) suggests that proper migration management requires the establishment of a mechanism to ensure coordination and consultation among all ministries, authorities and bodies responsible for Labour Migration (ILO, 2006). The implementation of each of the proposals listed in the previous section and developed in paragraph 5 (below) requires the involvement of the public administrations in the countries of origin and destination, as well as the articulated efforts of civil society and the private sector aimed at inclusion as an essential complement to ensure their success.

The intensity of the involvement of each of these actors will vary depending on the specific proposal and the context in which it is intended to be carried out. Nevertheless, in general terms, it may be said that:

1. In identifying key profiles and in the definition of the desired profiles among the returnee migrants it is necessary, firstly, to establish coordination between border authorities and the agencies responsible for the collection of statistical information in the Latin American countries in order insert the necessary tools for collecting information on citizens returning from abroad, on their intentions regarding their establishment in the countries of origin and on the conditions of their arrival into the border control mechanisms.

The statistical information management systems must develop rapid processing tools for data collected at borders that enable the country's labour authorities to know who is returning, how they are returning and their destination within the country. In this sense, the proposals for a geo-referenced information system made in Chapter 3, "Procedures and steps to be taken to improve the link between migration and employment", by C. Tamagno, make complete sense.

The labour, territorial planning and social development authorities in each Latin American country must compare the data collected on effective returns with the data already available on labour, housing and education requirements in each of the places to which the returnees are headed, in order to identify the needs which can be covered by the returnees and, in turn, the new demands that they will create. Similarly, if this comparison is combined with a preliminary investigation of the labour needs and strategic sectors of each area of the country, which must be carried out in collaboration with the local social partners, it will help identify the type of return migrants that should be captured among the emigrant population abroad in order to respond to such demands and enhance the economic development of the country's different regions.

Secondly, in order to be able to provide them with information and measures that promote the return to the country of origin of people who are not yet included in the spontaneous flows, the actions of the Latin American authorities need to be much more transnational in nature. On one hand, the exploitation of the information that can be collected by the overseas delegations of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs is crucial in defining the pool of return candidates to whom the actions of the countries of origin could be directed. On the other, the strengthening of ties with the diaspora and

its associations will undoubtedly contribute to the success of these actions.

2. For the **customization of the support measures and the monitoring of the specific programmes and actions, the ministries involved** (Ministry of Employment, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Justice) **must be coordinated** with other civil society and private sector stakeholders that participate (or which could participate) by delegation or through self-interest in the implementation and development of programmes to support return and reintegration.

Customizing pre-return measures, i.e., in the European country in question, requires active coordination firstly with the diaspora's associations and international organizations active in migration management and, secondly, with the authorities of the European countries in order to lend viability to actions which, among other questions, accelerate the issue of work experience certificates, the advancement and transfer of social rights, the preservation of any residency rights, etc.

In the country of origin, the coordination of all stakeholders is crucial in identifying the sources of employment and the strategic sectors into which returnees can be reintegrated, always taking into account the territorial diversity of labour demand. Additionally, proper coordination with the network of private foundations and cooperatives involved, in many cases prior to the onset of the return phenomena, in providing finance/credit to micro-companies and the establishment of updated information and collaboration mechanisms with chambers of commerce and industry, and the network of local development organizations, when applicable.

5. Breakdown of the proposals identified

5.1. Proposal 1: Establish differentiated programmes instead of a single programme

Definition of the proposal

As noted, the conditions and the moment in which the return takes place, as well as the expectations held prior to the start of the migratory adventure, condition the chances of reintegration and, therefore, the more potentially effective interventions capable of contributing to the same. It is therefore

important to understand these conditions, both on the individual and on the family level, as early as possible in order to define the profile of the returnees to be reintegrated in the country of origin and to design differentiated and successful return and reintegration support strategies both in the countries of residence and in the countries of origin.

The experience of recent years allows us to clearly identify at least some typical profiles that occur with more or less frequency among those contemplating returning and among those who actually return. However, it is very important to point out that the countries of origin and destination generally have one single programme, or at most a couple of programmes, in which potential applicants are only distinguished in accordance with their possession of valid documentation, together with possible elements of socio-economic vulnerability.

If the programmes' ultimate goal is to achieve a sustainable return, the differentiation must not only or primarily respond to the migrant's administrative (irregular versus regular) or employment (employed versus unemployed) situation in the country of residence when requesting information on the return, as is the case with the majority of the programmes funded from Europe. They must also take into account other crucial elements for reintegration, such as qualifications, the duration of the migration experience and the work experience gained during the same, or the family circumstances of the returnee.

Specifically, and taking into account recent experience, it is crucial to conceive and articulate programmes and devices to support the return which are able to offer differentiated services to migrants in accordance with:

- * Type of return (the return as "emergency" against the return as an option).
- * Length of stay in Europe.
- * Qualifications (skilled and semi-skilled versus unskilled) and industry in which the migrant has worked during his/her stay in Europe.
- * Family situation (returning with family versus returning alone), which on occasion overlaps with the documentary situation, and the possibility of designing specific programmes for women or, at least, actions adapted to their social and labour circumstances in origin and destination.

The benefits to be derived from the existence of differentiated programmes of this type seem obvious, as they would reduce the procedural steps, enable the accumulation of experience and professionalism on the part of those involved, help to anticipate reintegration problems and their solution and, above all, help improve the image of the return support programmes among the potential users, thus expanding their circle of influence in a manner that is potentially more beneficial to the countries of origin.

Opting for the organizing of differentiated programmes requires prior knowledge of the main profiles among the potential returnees, as well as flexible budgetary planning for each one, as it will initially be difficult to establish the demand for each type and rigid budgetary allocations could frustrate the aim of initial assessment of the demand for each type of support.

One possibility would be to have access to a single joint budget, guaranteeing a minimum amount for each mode and leaving the remaining amount to be distributed according to the demand received. The budget allocation for the following years could then be adjusted in accordance with previous experience.

Experience and empirical evidence

Recent assessments of the use made by migrants from different countries of the return support programmes in Spain conclude that there is a need to address return programmes with a differentiated approach for each country in which geographical proximity is taken into account, as it seems that Moroccans, for example, have not used such programmes at all due to the requirement to refrain from returning in the following three years: due to the trans-border nature of their migration, this condition acts to discourage their participation (Royo, 2011).

Latin Americans, however, have been the main beneficiaries in absolute terms of the two main programmes that are currently in effect in Spain: *PREVIE* (Voluntary Immigrant Return Programme from Spain) and *APRE* (Supplementary aid programme for voluntary return with the accumulated, advance payment of unemployment benefit) (they have also been the main beneficiaries of productive return, less relevant in numerical terms to date).

However, the use by the different national groups of these programmes is uneven, indicating that the demanded requirements affect migrants from different origins within the LAC region in different ways. For example, Bolivia and Argentina were the countries with the highest number of beneficiaries of the *PREVIE* programme, while Ecuador, Colombia, Argentina and Peru, and more recently Bolivia, are the main beneficiaries of *APRE*, at least in absolute numbers.

The different rates of participation in the programmes according to national origin may be related both to the main characteristics of migrants from different backgrounds, and to the situation in their countries of origin and with the reintegration support plans available to the returnees in their countries of origin.

Some countries have diversified their support programmes for returnees, although so far the differentiation is minimal, limited in most cases to the distinction between logistical support for the return (importing of vehicles and household goods, travel assistance, etc.) and support for starting up businesses. No different itineraries are contemplated for returnees who return with their families and require, in turn, reintegration into both the labour market and the educational environment, for example, and returnees who left their family in the country of origin and require another type of support.

Differentiation in European countries in which Latin Americans live is also very scarce. In Spain, for example, support for the return has functioned primarily as emergency aid, focusing on the logistics of the return and with reintegration at origin being relegated to the background.

A key aspect to consider in the initial design of differentiated programmes is the length of the stay abroad and the returnee's age. Age determines the migrant's timeline for obtaining benefits from his/her investment, in the case of opting to start a business, and the duration of the stay abroad, if too short (less than three or four years) makes it unlikely that the migrant has accumulated the knowledge, skills and resources, in terms of savings and contacts, needed to ensure the success of a business as a means of creating employment (Dustmann and Kirchkamp, 2002; Mesnard, 2004).

Another element that often seems relegated to the background by programmes both in Europe and in the countries of origin and which, nevertheless, is crucial in planning appropriate support for the sustainable return of Latin Americans is related to the returnee/returned migrant's family situation. The process of regrouping the partners and children of Latin Americans in places such as Spain has occurred rapidly (Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2011; Eremenko and González-Ferrer, 2012). It is known that this generally results in delaying the return (Boccagni and Lagomarsino, 2011).

Furthermore, in the case of families grouped in Spain, this delay appears to have worsened due to the greater resistance to unemployment shown by Latin American women (Muñoz Comet, 2011), which has allowed regrouped migrant families to resist on the income of the wife/mother and the unemployment benefit of the husband/father. However, the continuation and aggravation of the crisis in many cases has frustrated this expectation, and as such the majority profile of returnees will be modified over time. Not only has the economic situation of many families deteriorated, but there has also been an accompanying deterioration of the administrative status of family members who have been unable to renew their residency due to a lack of work.

A good example of differentiated support programmes in countries of origin, compared to the low differentiation dominant in Spanish programmes, is provided by the *CONPES* (National Economic and Social Policy Council) Document in Colombia, which distinguishes: 1) Immediate attention for returnee programme, 2) Training programme for reintegration into the labour market as salaried workers, 3) Training programme for entrepreneurship, 4) Measures to support higher-qualified Colombians who are able to access research and teaching plans, and 5) Programme for the scheduled return of national citizens who are still abroad to enable their incorporation into strategic sectors considered of interest for national development. Although the activities that form of each programme require further development, their specialization points in the right direction.

This differentiation must be consolidated in the programs of all the countries involved in the management of returnees as a further element of mobility between Europe and Latin America that enables a rapider, more effective

adaptation to the changes are likely to occur in the dominant profile of potential returnees.

Key ideas

1. Forecast of differentiated programmes that are able to respond to the entire range of possible existing returnees profiles in a rapid and specialized manner.
2. Availability of different programmes in accordance with at least three key criteria: the family situation of the migrant, the duration of the stay abroad and the nature of the return (as an emergency or as a possibility).
3. To ensure programmes which do not condition their financing to the beneficiaries' administrative (irregular) and employment (unemployed) status, as this favours almost exclusive support to people in precarious situations, limiting the proper planning of the return and the possibilities of a productive return.
4. Separate the return support measures of a logistic nature (travel assistance and assistance with moving and customs duties, for example) from those of a productive nature.
5. Coordinate the return support programmes in the country of residence (Europe) with those designed and implemented in the countries of origin so as to avoid duplication and dually-benefited profiles against fully excluded profiles.

Basic conditions for implementation

1. Identify the most important determinants of the decision to return and the success of the reintegration upon return, and to design a minimum number of programmes that respond quickly and effectively to the different profiles and situations.

To do so, we need a proper exploitation of existing statistical information both in European countries in which migrants of Latin American origin have

settled, and in their countries of origin, allowing us to identify potential returnee profiles that are not covered by existing programmes.

Determine why certain types of migrants do not seek or do not obtain the existing aid, and design programmes in which they are included, to the extent of encouraging a better use of the human capital accumulated by the returnees.

2. Conduct pilot studies on the usefulness of each programme and the foreseeable budgetary requirements for each, bearing in mind that the purpose of each of the pilot programmes is not so much to respond to the needs of the population of potential beneficiaries but to provide information on the magnitude of the same (how many potential returnees may request the assistance designed for them), and to identify the existence of key elements in the configuration of the programmes that have been overlooked and should be incorporated into a comprehensive return policy.

3. Guarantee a minimum number of beneficiaries in each of the programmes during the pilot phase to ensure their usefulness, and provide a flexible budgetary framework to ensure the ability of each assessed programme to respond to the initially unforeseen demands.

4. Prior knowledge of the development needs and opportunities in countries of origin and the areas to which most migrants are likely to return, in order to design programmes aimed at strengthening the strategic sectors in the country's different regions, as well as to coordinate support programmes in countries of origin with ongoing programmes in European countries in order to avoid duplications and contradictions, as well as covering the widest possible range of applicants.

Such coordination is also necessary to ensure that the return is planned and that such pre-return planning is appropriately linked to post-return measures, as the most effective way to promote sustainable return.

5.2. Proposal 2: Expansion of the programmes' target population

Definition of the proposal

Reintegration begins, therefore, in European countries, as it is necessary to prepare the return sufficiently in advance to enable the returnees to

mobilize their resources. The productive reintegration of those who return in a situation of emergency or vulnerability is, in principle, more difficult than that of those who have been able to plan the return properly.

Taking this into account, it is highly likely that the countries of origin and their development needs benefit more from the return of those who are able to delay their return for longer, in so far as this will indicate a greater availability of resources of all kinds (employment, documentary situation, roots, etc.).

To this end, it is advisable to establish a more ambitious definition of the target population for the return and reintegration programmes, in such a way as to always include potential returnees and not just those who have already made the decision to return. The actions of the countries of origin must be designed in such a way as to favour those returns which are not catered for by Europe, as this will contribute substantially to the sustainability of return.

With this aim, it will be necessary to develop information campaigns on the differentiated programmes that target those members of the population who do not usually request or participate in the existing programmes.

Such campaigns must be broad in scope, disseminate information using various means both in the country where support is provided and in the migrants' countries of origin, contemplate as recipients not only the migrants who have yet to return, but also their relatives in the country of origin, as well as the potential employers and investors who may participate in the reintegration of the returnees.

These campaigns must also be accompanied by training programmes for the staff of NGOs and associations to which migrants turn for help for different motives and at different times in order that they may inform them about the possibilities of an anticipated return, even if they do not initially contemplate such an idea.

Identify, analyze and, where necessary, design and implement programmes to encourage the return of groups whose return is; not considered a priority by the European countries in which they reside and may give rise to disagreements, coordination difficulties and perhaps even conflict with the authorities in those countries.

Therefore, one of the risks involved in the implementation of this proposal, and to some extent the previous proposal, too, is related to the political negotiations and transnational collaboration in the design and implementation of a comprehensive policy for mobility, not merely return.

However, access to accurate, complete information about how the return support programmes applied in Europe favour certain interests is a fundamental element for the strengthening of the bargaining position of the countries of origin.

Experience and empirical evidence

In Spain, it is clear that the vast majority of returns are spontaneous and unassisted. Although Latin Americans have, in absolute terms, been the main beneficiaries of return support programmes in Spain, the 15,000 Latinos who have participated in the PREVIE programme since its launch, plus the 15,000 who have participated in the APRE programme, do not jointly represent even 5% of the total exits of Latin Americans heading abroad that were registered in Spain between 2007 and 2011 (about 600,000). Therefore, the beneficiaries of return support programmes in Europe are few in relative terms.

Furthermore, such programmes over-represent a certain type of migrant among their beneficiaries, one with not necessarily the best chances of reintegration in origin and, therefore, of participating in a sustainable return. The reason is that the requirements for participation in these programmes greatly over-represent irregular and unemployed migrants and, to a lesser extent, dependent relatives and people with short-term permits (in Italy, for example, those with long-term residency permits are excluded from the return support programmes).

Therefore, the beneficiaries of the programmes implemented in Europe tend to be migrants who have resided for shorter periods abroad and, consequently, have in all probability accumulated less professional experience and qualifications than the average.

This implies that the return and reintegration experience of the beneficiaries of such programmes, who represent a partial and biased sample of returnee Latin Americans, does not properly inform us of the reintegration difficulties faced by returnees in their countries of origin or of the potential impact that

such returns are having on the population and economy of the places of origin.

For example, we know that the acquisition of Spanish nationality during the stay in Spain does not automatically rule out the possibility of return and it is relatively common for naturalized Latin Americans who have requested information on possible support for their return to be automatically excluded from such programmes in Spain due to their not being considered foreigners.

It is clear that the motives, conditions and expectations of these migrants, whether naturalized or holding permanent residency permits, in relation to their returns are extremely relevant, and especially for the countries of origin, in order to design action programmes aimed at obtaining the maximum advantage from the migration experience in benefit of the development of the countries of origin.

Therefore, the design of actions and campaigns to identify these potential returnees as such and to enable the authorities implicated in their return to develop mechanisms providing financial support or incentives in-kind aimed at encouraging the return seems a reasonable proposal. And the same is true, obviously, for many non-naturalized migrants who wish to return and who have done so without the help of the support programmes offered in Spain, precisely because they have more resources to do so.

In order to connect with potential returnees who are excluded from the predominant profile among the beneficiaries of the return support programmes in Europe, it is absolutely necessary to diversify the support programmes (proposal 1) and to centralize and facilitate access to all the information on the various active return support programmes both in the countries of residence and, especially in this case, in the countries of origin.

The *SENAMI* (National Secretariat for Migrants) portal (<http://www.migranteecuadoriano.es/index.php>), which allows users to register in job boards (www.ecuadortrabajaunido.ec/), in databases on Ecuadorian talent abroad, in productive return support programmes, etc., provides a first example that points in this direction.

Similarly, the Italian Network for AVR (RIRVA, <http://www.reterirva.it/>) is another example and contains information on return programmes and activities that take place outside Italy. Ecuador was included in the pilot phase of the project for its constitution (Nirva-4) as one of the countries of origin for the coordination of actions. This was done as a means of increasing the access of Latin Americans in Italy to return assistance programmes.

The ideal scenario would be to develop a single platform for integrated, complete information that centralizes the information about programmes at origin and destination, allowing interested parties to access online, register, answer a basic questionnaire about their circumstances and objectives in relation to the return and immediately receive an initial guidance document on the possibilities relative to their case, as well as the possibility of contacting an agent specializing in advising on cases such as theirs.

Such an integrated platform could attract different profiles and facilitate their identification, as well as their subsequent follow-up.

Secondly, the promotion of relationships with the diaspora and its integration into return support programme activities would be very useful for promoting professional networks among migrants and among returnees with migrants who are still abroad, which would be beneficial in many ways, not just as a way to encourage return (Jonkers, 2008).

For some migration profiles, such as researchers, temporary return promotion programmes, in so far as they are able to contribute to the maintenance, or reestablishment of contacts and networks, may represent a first step towards transnational circulation or possible future permanent return.

Thirdly, conducting surveys on return intentions, such as that carried out by the Chancellery in some Colombian Consulates in countries with high migration rates, can also provide valuable information for the diversification of return profiles. It is true, however, that the monitoring of the surveys' respondents in order to ascertain who implements the return, how they do it and when, would be crucial in order to provide such surveys with greater use in the proper identification of new and interesting profiles.

Key ideas

1. The majority of returning Latin Americans do so spontaneously on the margins of the official return support programmes implemented in Europe. In Spain, since 2007 the Latin American beneficiaries of such programmes have represented 5% of all registered exits.
2. Return support programmes in Europe mainly reach a very specific type of return migrant: most are irregular or unemployed, or both at once, with shorter than average stays in Europe and sometimes with dependent relatives without residency permission.
3. The bias in the selection of beneficiaries greatly limits the usefulness of the analysis of the profile and reintegration experience of returnees as a suitable tool to assess the potential impact of return in countries of origin, the needs of returnees and the limitations of the programmes in place.
4. It is necessary to create incentives for spontaneous returnees to inform the authorities and stakeholders involved in the design and management return and reintegration policies about their intentions, desires, possibilities, needs, skills, etc.
5. The creation of online platforms capable of providing comprehensive information on sources of employment and investment in countries origin, companies interested in recruiting returnees, public and private entities that provide funding to support return and reintegration, the administrative processes necessary to prepare and implement the return, the legal implications of the return in relation to property and subsequent international mobility, etc., would be a relatively inexpensive way to provide information on such subjects and to incorporate them, or not, into existing or new programmes.
6. Conducting surveys in European countries on the return intentions of national citizens and their subsequent monitoring is another useful tool in this context.

Basic conditions for implementation

1. Detailed knowledge of the programmes implemented in European countries, their biases and limitations, as the fundamental starting point for the identification of potential returnees who are currently excluded.
2. Identification of migrants who returned spontaneously (outside official programmes supporting the return) and analysis of their characteristics and reintegration experience.
3. Identification of migrants still in Europe, interested in returning and who do not meet the requirements to qualify for official return support programmes, and analysis of their characteristics.
4. Reflection on the interest in promoting, or not, the return of migrants excluded from the usual return support channels.
5. Adapted design of incentive programmes for these new potential returnee profiles.
6. Creation of mechanisms to centralize and facilitate access to all the information on return support programmes and which gain reputation through personal attention to potential returnees who do not meet the requirements relative to irregularity, unemployment and social vulnerability.

5.3. Proposal 3: Comprehensive, specialized and customised support

Definition of the proposal

Not all overseas work experiences contain elements of asset accumulation that result in upward mobility, as we know from recent studies on the experience, for example, of Central Americans returning from the U.S. (Cobo *et al.*, 2010).

The main types of jobs in Europe for recent Latin American migration and

the average length of stay up until the start of the crisis give rise to the belief that the returnees' reintegration in the countries of origin will not always be easy.

Furthermore, there is a considerable heterogeneity of situations due not only to the diversity of the migration profiles and the returnees' different experiences in European countries, but also to the different situations prevailing in their countries and communities of origin. It is important to point out that migrants do not reintegrate into countries, but into cities and towns in contexts which are sometimes very different within the same country.

Thus, even with the existence of differentiated programmes, and once returnees have been included in such programmes, it will be necessary to develop support devices that enable the customization and monitoring of the measures aimed at the reintegration of each specific migrant, which must be faced in a comprehensive (taking into account all the dimensions) and specialised (attended by professionals from each area with adapted, up to date training) manner.

This requires anticipating the decision to return some time in advance and, in so far as possible, involving the migrant in the design of an individualized support plan ("percentage approach" in the UK).

In general terms, individualized support plans for returnees should be launched some months prior to the return date and continue for some time, including training measures for the re-adaptation to the social, employment and bureaucratic environment in the place of origin and the monitoring of the reintegration.

A comprehensive approach that considers psychosocial support, the reconstruction of networks and the migrant's family situation must also be adopted. In fact, in many cases, the plan must not be individualized, but rather "familiarised".

The risks of advance planning imply, obviously, a certain investment of resources in people who ultimately will not return, or at least not as a result of the information received. However, if the primary objective of the plans

is to ensure sustainable return, this should only be a worry if it is found that those who abandon the idea are precisely those that would have had the best chances of reintegration. The opposite would, in fact, be an indicator of the successful functioning of the programme.

In any case, it is important to point out that this approach may enter into conflict with the dominant approach of the programmes promoted by the European countries, which must be taken into account in the corresponding negotiation and coordination strategies.

Experience and empirical evidence

Advance, comprehensive planning: as demonstrated by multiple studies and experiences, the sustainability of the return depends primarily on the advance preparation by the migrant, making it necessary for the migrant to have access to the time, resources and will power necessary (Cassarino, 2004) . As part of this planning, the organizations dedicated to providing individualized support must always assess the returnee's training requirements in a range of areas that need not refer solely or mainly to the work aspect.

A crucial element in reintegration, whether dealing with a return to paid employment or with the creation of a new business, is the recovery and reconstruction of family networks and acquaintances.

In this sense, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society has been concerned with incorporating psychosocial support actions into the *CIRE (Coordination et Initiatives pour et Étrangers Réfugiés)* and Caritas return support programmes for Ecuadorean migrants in Belgium. These actions are developed in a coordinated manner by HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society) staff in Belgium and in Ecuador prior to the departure and for up to six months after the return. During the preparatory phase, the pros and cons of the decision are discussed within the family and, following the return, the migrants and their families are provided with help to reassess the migration experience, the benefits of the return and in rebuilding their social networks in the home community, something which is also essential for the success of the reintegration into the labour market, either as an employee or as an entrepreneur running a business.

Employing the same comprehensive approach aimed at contextualizing the proposed return within the individual's family and social environment, *AESCO* (America, Spain, Solidarity and Cooperation) provides support not only to the migrant applicant, but also to the entire family unit involved, advising on the education reincorporation plan for the migrant's children and the reincorporation into the labour market of the migrant's partner, in those cases which involve the return of complete family units.

It is important to point out that psychosocial support for reintegration is necessary both in return projects arising from a relative failure of the migration experience and in cases of adaptation to the circumstances and return as the fulfilment of the initial plan.

Moreover, the legal situation of migrants in Europe makes the idea of receiving support contingent to not returning to the country of residence for an extended period of time, for example, more or less attractive. The pros and cons of each programme and their relative importance, even if the requirements are met, vary depending on the individual circumstances.

Individualized support with the involvement of the migrant: in the UK, IOM (International Organization for Migration) applied what has been called the "percentage method" in various programmes to support the return as a system to determine, in agreement with the migrant, the best way to distribute aid in-kind to the different components involved in the reintegration: starting a business, excess baggage, housing, training, medical expenses, payment of fees, etc., in accordance with the personal and family circumstances. Obviously, limits were set for certain categories so as to ensure that a sufficient proportion of the assistance provided was used for training or productive activities that would maximize the sustainability of return.

This method enables the assistance provided to be correctly adapted to the individual needs without betraying the programme's collective goals, and also requires the migrant's involvement from the start in the rigorous planning of his/her return and reintegration plan.

Key ideas

1. Advance, comprehensive and personalised planning is necessary.
2. The comprehensive approach provides support not only to the applicant, but also to the entire family unit involved, advising on the education reincorporation plan for the migrant's children and the reincorporation into the labour market of the migrant's partner, in those cases which involve the return of complete family units.
3. El 1. Psychosocial support for reintegration is key in any kind of return, whether perceived by those implicated as a failure, an option, or the successful completion of a plan.
4. Personalized support should seek the involvement of the migrant him/herself in the advance planning of the return: the "percentage method" is a good way to ensure this responsible involvement.
5. Professionalization.

Basic conditions for implementation

1. Transnational network of return support staff, preferably with the involvement of returned migrants in informative activities.
2. Coordination of pre-departure and post-return actions with the involvement of the migrant, as well as that of the local authorities and companies in the places of return in order to adapt the return strategy to each migrant's actual conditions in each return location: the identification of sources of employment for each migrant requires detailed knowledge of many cities and towns.
3. The professionalization of the assistance and the development of information and training mechanisms that allow agents to maintain up to date knowledge on legal and economic-labour changes that are relevant to the design of customised reintegration itineraries.
4. Flexibility in the criteria employed for the allocation of aid to different

areas of reintegration in accordance with the migrant's circumstances, those of his/her family and those of the place of origin to which he/she intends to return.

5.4. Proposal 4: Monitoring of the individual support and assessment of the programmes

Definition of the proposal

A comprehensive concept of return requires its continuous and coordinated inclusion within mobility management policies, and not only the creation of time-bound programmes for specific population groups in vulnerable situations.

Adopting this approach requires the design of an authentic, durable public policy equipped with the necessary structures, which enables the accumulation of experience in managing reintegration at origin, as well as the capacity to react quicker in the face of possible changes in the source, profile and intensity of the return in the coming years.

The key element for the creation of such structures must come from the proper understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the programmes implemented in the past and in the present. This requires the systematic, scheduled assessment of the programmes currently underway and, simultaneously, the individual monitoring of the reintegration processes of returnees of varied profiles, with and without support.

Such monitoring must necessarily extend beyond the usual 6 or 12 months to which the beneficiaries of the programmes are usually subjected, and which is not even applied in certain cases for example the Spanish APRE (capitalization of unemployment benefits) programme.

In this regard, it is important that the countries of origin receiving the returnees have the necessary information about those who return as part of a support programme run from the country of residence, and in the event that the country does not monitor the reintegration of the beneficiaries of its programmes, the authorities of the country of origin should prepare a representative sample of the same, as a minimum. This is the only measure that will enable stakeholders to negotiate on such issues with accurate, solid information that allows them to request changes in the programmes'

conception and implementation in order to ensure greater coherence with the programmes implemented by the countries of origin and to obtain the European countries' ultimate goal of the successful reintegration and sustainability upon return.

It is important to point out that the assessment of the programmes and the longitudinal monitoring of the returnees' reintegration experiences during a relatively extended period of time need to be prepared in advance during the actual programmes' design phases, so as to ensure implementation during the conception the programmes' implementation phases by means of the appropriate selection of beneficiaries and the collection of information to facilitate their identification and monitoring. Assessment which is designed following the launch of the programme often does not cover all the necessary aspects and, therefore, may fail in its objective.

In addition to this requirement, it should be noted that the assessment of any programme, including those providing support to the return and the reintegration, has a monetary cost and, therefore, the assessment must be budgeted as part of the programme.

On the other hand, there are countries in Europe whose legislation imposes restrictions on the possibility of developing the monitoring of individuals who have already left the country, or on providing data on returned citizens to the authorities of the countries to which they return. Such restrictions must be taken into account when planning assessment strategies.

Finally, the beneficiaries themselves may be resistant to monitoring, especially if the migratory and/or reintegration experience has been traumatic in any way, for example when debts are left or when the return is accompanied by a family breakdown.

Experience and empirical evidence

Unfortunately, the inclusion of return support programme assessment activities is one of the most neglected aspects in the majority of the experiences registered to date.

Some of the NGOs responsible for the implementation of voluntary return support programmes in Spain, as such as *ACOB*E (Bolivia Spain Cooperation Association), Rumiñahui and *CEPAIM* (Consortium of Agencies for Integral

Action with Migrants), have opened or used their delegations in countries of origin to monitor beneficiaries, and especially those participating in the productive return programme, funded from Spain.

This is a viable option and, in certain circumstances, it may be even more convenient if the NGO was already implemented on the ground, knew the context and enjoyed a certain “reputation” in the community. These are all important aspects to be able to conduct a proper assessment. Nevertheless, the promoting countries must plan the financing of these monitoring activities as part of their return support programmes.

In Italy, the NGO *Virtus Italia Onlus* has included strengths and weaknesses assessment as part of its return support programmes for asylum seekers, refugees and irregular migrants, with particular focus on the beneficiary selection processes and the effectiveness of reintegration projects. It has also conducted satisfaction surveys among users at different times post-return, enabling the identification of areas for improvement that are adapted for future participants.

In Spain, the “Voluntary Migration creates jobs and businesses Model” funded by the Inter-American Development Bank in collaboration with the *Crea Empresas* Foundation in Spain and local partners in Ecuador (*Fundación Alternativa*), Colombia, Bolivia (FIE: Centre for Promotion of Economic Initiatives) and Uruguay (*Fundaso*), provided for the “design and implementation of a monitoring system in the project’s different sites of action to facilitate not only the assessment of the experience, but also to provide the necessary information for its systematization”. In fact, the programme included the training of agents in the countries of origin in order to monitor each of the businesses launched.

Furthermore, the project itself has grown and incorporated elements as new requirements for the sustainability and growth of the businesses created have been identified. For example, in June 2011 an agreement was formalized in Ecuador to activate a credit line called CREDI-NEGOCIOS, available to certain of the participants. The assessment of this initiative was planned for June 2012, in order to determine its future growth, replication, adjustment or replacement by new financial support for entrepreneurship alternatives.

Key ideas

1. A declared interest in monitoring tasks from the authorities and stakeholders involved in the implementation of return support programmes in countries of origin.
2. Lack of foresight and funding of monitoring and assessment activities by support programmes funded by European countries.
3. The need for a network of agents to monitor the activities: this could be a network pertaining to the participating parties or it could be established through agreements with organizations already operating on the ground.
4. Multiple instruments for monitoring and assessment: satisfaction surveys, agents specially-trained for monitoring tasks in countries of origin, SWOT (Strengths and Weaknesses. Threats and Opportunities), etc.
5. Continuous assessment to enable the modification and adaptation of the programmes while they are still underway to improve their efficiency and gain support for the systematization and growth/sustainability of successful experiences.

Basic conditions for implementation

1. Planning assessment activities for the return and reintegration support programmes as an integral element in each programme's design, with the corresponding budgetary allocation.
2. Availability of staff in origin and destination, coordinated and specially trained in monitoring and assessment tasks.
3. Monitoring of the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries of support programmes implemented not only by the returnees' countries of origin of returnees, but also by the countries from which they return.
4. Sharing information on the assessment of the programmes implemented

by the different agencies involved.

5. Extension of the monitoring periods of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries of support programmes to three years following the return.

6. Conducting of satisfaction surveys for the different participants involved in the implementation of the programmes, including the beneficiaries.

6. Conclusions

The conversion of the return into an attractive option for a more varied profile of migrants, not only those in an irregular and unemployed situation, so as to maximize their potential contribution to the economic and social development of the countries of origin, as well as the potential sustainability of the return, requires a comprehensive approach that contemplates the return as an element of migration management, covering not only the returns which are promoted through closed programmes, but also spontaneous returns, and the creation of the necessary conditions to achieve this goal.

The reintegration capacity of returnees depends primarily on the conditions in which they return and the institutional context existent in the places of origin. Both elements may be influenced by governments on both sides, provided realistic goals are clearly identified, the profiles of those who may and wish to return are clearly understood, and coordinated, long-term actions are implemented.

A serious commitment to development in the countries of origin and the sustainability of the return require an in-depth understanding of the national and local contexts to which the migrant is to return, the establishment of a stable framework for cooperation with the authorities and organizations in the location to which the migrant is to return, the coordination and complementarity of the different programmes and the planned monitoring of the results geared towards the adaptation and continuous improvement of existing programmes.

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CHAPTER 3:

PROCEDURES AND STEPS TO BE TAKEN TO IMPROVE THE LINK BETWEEN MIGRATION AND EMPLOYMENT

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1. Introduction

Today, it is estimated that around 86 million people work in a country other than that of their birth. This labour force is significant not only for its number, but also for its performance and qualities. But despite this and the efforts made in recent years to highlight its economic impact, the link between migration and employment, and exemplified in labour migration⁷, has not yet become a priority in the political agenda of governments in Latin America, more so bearing in mind the current crisis.

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⁷ Labour migration “as the movement of people from one country to another for the purpose of employment. Labour migration is usually regulated by each country’s migration legislation. Some countries take an active role in regulating external labour migration and seek labour opportunities abroad for their citizens” (IOM, 2006).

Although economic conditions have become more difficult, relatively high migratory movements have been maintained in almost all countries, with over 3 million people migrating during the period 2008-2010, representing a decrease of only 8% in comparison to the level of movements registered in the period 2005-2007 before the economic crisis. Not even the most serious economic crisis since the Great Depression has significantly reduced migration, which continues and will probably increase when the effects of the demographic imbalances in developed countries are felt more strongly⁸.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. Firstly, it seeks to provide an updated assessment of the key features, trends and factors influencing labour migration. Secondly, it recommends actions for strengthening relations between countries and the exchange of information to design actions to promote labour migration. The document can help countries of origin and destination to generate actions on labour migration: projects, programmes, integration mechanisms that help the different interests and focus attention on the needs of current and potential migrants.

This document is aimed at the public authorities of the countries involved and which are responsible for acting on the relationship between migration and employment, helping to establish a better interaction between these two variables. It is recommended that the Latin American countries strengthen their immigration policies with a focus on employment, enabling closer cooperation with the European Union within the framework of the European Union-Latin America (EU-LAC) dialogue, and thus contributing to the development of labour markets in countries of origin and destination by considering migration as a dynamic factor of development opportunities in the context of the current economic crisis.

The chapter is divided into three parts. The first part considers the current positions, debates, options and status of the issue. The second part develops the experiences of countries that manage labour migration by considering its applicability based on an analysis of the benefits and opportunities and the manner in which the stakeholders are involved in migration and employment management. The third part contains an analysis of each proposal, identifying the basic conditions for their implementation in accordance with the practices studied. Lastly, there is a series of recommendations for national, sub-national, regional and continental authorities.

⁸ Organization of American States (OAS, 2012: 6).

2. Debates, options and situation of the question

The OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) (2009: 151) identifies some important concepts about the nexus between migration and employment:

“The connection between migration and employment is a fundamental dimension in the relationship between international migration and economic development, as it is important for poverty reduction, and of interest to policy makers in migrants’ countries of origin and migrant-receiving countries.”

It is important that, through governments, efforts are made to design actions on immigration policy that are focused on labour migration, and especially on increasing the optimization of migration flows in relation to each country’s needs. The International Labour Organization (ILO, 2000: 85) states that:

“Migration presents governments with one of the most complex political problems. Labour migration, even short stay, causes considerable social and political adjustments, often unfortunate in nature, which affect a number of economic and social policy measures, ranging from education, health and local social services, to international development. Therefore, governments concerned with labour migration must not limit themselves to controlling the entry of migrants, to the contrary, they must incorporate migration policy as a fundamental part of various planning activities (employment, demographics, production) ⁹.”

As suggested by the ILO, the goal of migration policies must be to promote employment, protect and encourage the welfare of migrants, implement migrant support services and maximize the development potential created by labour migration through a comprehensive migration management that is agreed upon with the social partners and the State, accompanying migrants at all stages of the migration (transit, arrival, reception, return and reintegration), through the establishment of local policies and institutions to develop programmes that encourage cooperation between issuing and

⁹ Abella, M.: “Policies and Institutions for the Orderly Movement of Labour Abroad”. ILO BriefingPaper, ILO, Geneva, 2000, p. 85.

receiving states, and the workers who become migrants, and their families¹⁰. Therefore, employment is a key issue for development, since employment levels are crucial indicators for a country's economy.

The links between migration, development and employment are complex. There are some common elements that can interact between these three fields (GMG, 2010: 60-62)¹¹:

- * Labour migration has increased due to the opportunities for decent employment offered in developed countries¹².
- * The dynamics of labour migration and working conditions are composed by factors such as employment levels, working conditions and the existence of opportunities, security and human dignity that offer a different treatment in the countries of origin and destination. This dynamic in turn gives rise to consequences in homes, especially in employment patterns and career paths.
- * With regard to politics, the labour market plays an important role in the development of links between migration and development. Policies can consider actions on professional vocation and training and knowledge, educational programmes and welfare work, actions which from a prospective point of view enable greater mobility for migrants, as well as for the return of migrants with positive actions for development.
- * The facilitation of overseas employment is a strategy used by some developing countries to relieve labour market pressures and to increase remittances and the income of families with members abroad.

Considering the multiple links between migration and employment, migration policies must be consistent with and complementary to education, vocational training, economic development, labour market and development policies. An example of this is the fact that on the job training

¹⁰ ILO Multilateral Framework on Labour Migration. Non-binding principles and guidelines of rights-based labour migration. ILO, 2007.

¹¹ MAINSTREAMING MIGRATION into DEVELOPMENT PLANNING A handbook for policy-makers and practitioners. Global Migration Group 2010.

¹² It is estimated that there were 214 million migrant workers by 2010, including labour migrants and their families.

and skills acquisition affect the employability of migrants, and the transfer of knowledge has an impact on job creation. In order to understand the complexity and variety of elements that exist in the relationship between migration and employment policies, useful data appropriate for the detection and analysis of the effects of migration on labour markets are required, thus making it possible to determine their impact on employment, unemployment, brain waste and concentration in the informal economy of potential migrants in countries of origin and the socio-professional integration of migrant workers in the destination countries.

It is necessary to understand the relationship between employment and migration, increasing the impacts both in countries of origin and in countries of destination; helping to minimize imbalances in the labour markets, and especially in employment indicators (unemployment and brain waste), and in market problems, such as informality¹³ and wage disparities. This relationship can also improve labour market niches related to economic sectors, revealing employment opportunities for skilled migrants.

Employment is the most vulnerable sector and that which is most affected by changes produced by migration, and it is the area in which the main labour migration policies must be implemented in order to guarantee integration with decent employment. Countries do not always have binding policies between employment and migration, nor mechanisms capable of regulating the migrant contracting market. It is therefore important to bring to light the problem of migrant labour as a process whose root is to be found in structural elements and which requires a comprehensive approach, with labour migration being seen not as a problem in itself but as the manifestation of other economic problems in the countries of origin. It must almost be understood that labour migration encloses interesting development possibilities.

The contribution of migrants to the labour market is crucial, especially

¹³ A significant portion of migrants are concentrated in the informal economy of the countries of destination, as the market demands a considerable amount of low-skilled workers. In middle-and high-income countries, native workers can afford to reject jobs in the informal economy because they offer low wages, poor working conditions and do not offer social security. Such jobs are then taken by migrants.

when there is a shortage of labour in certain sectors with a high demand for specialized skills. For example, technical staff and tradesmen are highly-demanded in Europe¹⁴ and the United States.

Migrants tend to move to regions of rapid growth with relatively higher wages and lower unemployment¹⁵. The impact of migration on wages and employment depends on the initial conditions in the labour market, and on the number and skills of the migrant workers admitted. In times of economic downturn, immigrants continue to carry out work that local citizens avoid. In many industrialized countries, people with higher levels of education are less willing to engage in manual labour, even if it is skilled work.

The migrant workforce includes individuals with very different qualifications. At the upper end of the scale are professionals and management personnel who are employed in the internal labour markets of transnational companies in accordance with the progression of trade or direct foreign investment. These “itinerants within the same company” are present everywhere in the most dynamic regions of the world, bringing new production techniques and management skills. Three out of four of them go from one rich country to another, especially crossing the Atlantic, while the others will usually go from one to another of the more prosperous newly industrialized countries in East Asia and South America. Aside from the movements in these domestic markets, there is a large movement of highly skilled specialists and professionals in many occupations, such as in the fields of information and communication technologies (ICT), medicine, education, air and sea navigation, journalism and communications, and the entertainment world. Certain movements of these individuals can be classed as pertaining to “Mode 4” of the negotiations on trade in services (ILO, 2004).

¹⁴ In Europe, whose population is less mobile than that of the United States, there may be such a shortage of labour not only in different countries, but also in different regions of the same country. In the European Union, a high concentration of migrants was registered in four countries: Germany, France, Italy and the UK. Throughout the 1990s, the number of migrants from developing countries grew faster than those from other OECD countries, becoming the largest group by 1998: about 57.8 % of all migrant workers in the OECD Member States.

¹⁵ H. Brücker, G. Epstein y otros: “*Managing migration in the Welfare State*”, en: T. Boeri, G. Hanson y B. McCormick (dirs.), *Immigration policy and the Welfare State* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 120.

The International Labour Conference (ILO, 2004: 42) indicates that there is much debate about the possibility that immigration accentuates unemployment among the local population. There are indisputable movements when companies and micro-businesses undergo restructuring and contract foreign workers to replace native workers, especially the older and less skilled. It is more difficult to determine, after taking into account all the economic adjustments, if unemployment is greater among the local population after or before immigration. If immigration gives rise to economic expansion, it is unclear whether it causes higher unemployment among local populations. The OECD has examined the experience of several countries between 1984 and 1995, and has concluded that there is no apparent negative impact. One study found no relationship between unemployment and the increasing number of new immigrants: in those countries where the flow of immigrants was higher, unemployment did not change or decreased. In fact, some studies even indicate that immigration has brought an increase in employment as a result of increased production. The admission of unskilled workers may result, for example, in an increase in the manufacture of labour-intensive products and an increase in exports, which will increase the overall level of employment¹⁶.

MIGRATION POLICIES WITH FOCUS ON EMPLOYMENT. THE NEW PERSPECTIVE

The objectives to consider when generating a **migration policy with focus on employment approach**¹⁷ must assume an improvement of the migration process in order to offer decent employment (in the short-, medium- and long-term) with the protection of fundamental human rights: safe movement and with the provision of specialized training to the countries of destination; migratory entry and exit management in order to obtain an orderly migration, and special attention on forced migration and the search for solutions.

¹⁶ "Trade liberalization and factor mobility: an overview", en R. Faini, K. F. Zimmermann y J. de Melo (dirs.), en *Migration: The controversies and the evidence* (Londres, Cambridge University Press), 1999.

¹⁷ "All States have the sovereign right to develop their own policies to manage labour migration. International labour regulations, other national instruments and guidelines must play an important role in the formulation of these policies in order that they are coherent effective and fair" (ILO, 2006: 13).

The inclusion of migration policies with a focus on employment depends on good migration management involving the public administration and implementation of policy, promoting regular and orderly migration between areas of origin and destination and taking into account the entire migration process. This objective includes respect for the interests of the governments involved, facilitating migrant workers safe and efficient movement outside their countries of origin.

For good governance, migration policies must form part of national development policies that include:

- * **development goals:** designed to alleviate poverty, create employment and income opportunities, increase the savings rate.

- * **strategic goals:** aimed at developing systematic rights-based information on labour market niches in destination countries; the diversification of information in the regions of the countries of origin; the development of job offers in accordance with the local economic conditions and potentials in the countries of origin; establishing cooperation mechanisms relative to labour markets in order to discover the skills acquired abroad and apply them in the countries of destination, among others.

- * **social goals:** investment in education, improving employment conditions, curbing abuses in recruitment, offering a system of protection for migrant workers and their families.

Labour market policies can play an important role in improving the links between migration, employment and development. Policies on issues such as vocational training, educational programmes and assistance in seeking employment, aimed at potential and returnees (if the employment services are effectively managed), can produce positive effects on development.

Another concept to highlight is temporary labour migration, which positively links labour migration to development. There are three basic concepts¹⁸: 1) *Temporary labour migration*: understood as the displacement of foreign workers for a limited period of time with the **clear aim of returning to their country of origin** at the end of the agreed term. 2) *Temporary migrant worker*:

¹⁸ Convenio 97 y 143 de la OIT.

any foreign worker holding **a work permit for a defined period**, regardless of the amount of time they have to live in the country of destination. And, 3) *Temporary migrant workers* programme: a series of actions **agreed between the countries of origin and destination** in order to facilitate an orderly labour migration (regulated migration) in which, **in advance**, the number of workers, contract duration, category, compensation, working conditions, and **the mechanisms of return to the country of origin are defined** (ILO).

A first step which governments are able to take is to encourage actions under the concept of **temporary and circular migration** through Temporary Workers Abroad Programmes, which represent a process whereby, through the intermediation of governments, workers are able to migrate to work temporarily in another country, complying with the competences required by the contracting companies, with the immigration requirements of the country of destination, and with the guarantee that their human rights are to be respected under the concept of decent work. The implementation of such programmes is established through Cooperation Framework Agreements whose purpose is to provide temporary employment opportunities in different parts of the world. In order for such programmes to function correctly, the responsibilities of each actor involved in the management of temporary jobs abroad must be defined and the experience of contracted workers optimised. The concepts and applications of temporary and circular labour migration are crucial to identifying employment opportunities and providing employment and productive options as an alternative to develop the labour skills and talents of migrant workers.

The most important suggestions highlighted by the ILO in its Multilateral Framework for States include:

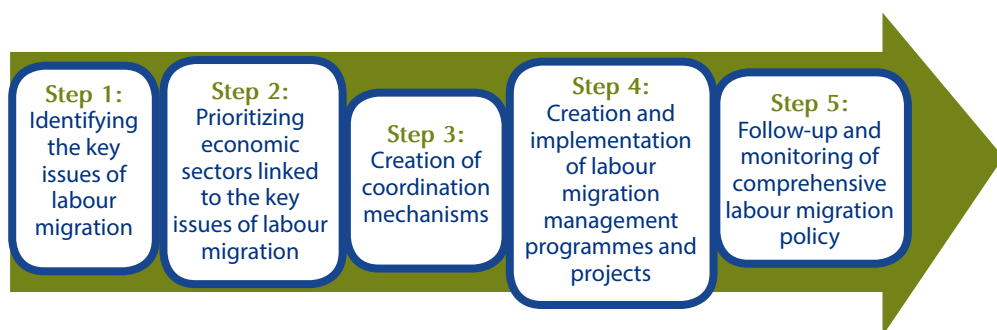
- * Assigning a key role to Employment Ministries in the design, development, management and administration of labour migration policies in order to link migration to labour and employment policies.
- * Integrating migration into each country's growth and development policies.
- * Extending the analysis of the contribution of labour migrations and migrant workers to the economies of the countries of destination, including

job creation, capital formation, social security coverage and social welfare.

- * Providing incentives to promote the productive investment of remittances in the countries of origin.
- * Facilitating the transfer of capital, skills and technology by migrant workers through incentives.
- * Promoting links with transnational communities and migrant entrepreneurship initiatives.
- * Improving governmental capacity and structures to analyze labour migration data, broken down by gender, for its application to gender-based labour migration policies.
- * Developing agreements and programmes in favour of temporary and circular labour migration.

3. Procedures for linking migration to employment

This section highlights the basic steps and procedures to implement a good relationship between migration and employment. The steps to achieve a good link contemplate:



3.1. Step 1: Identifying the key issues of labour migration

Both origin and destination countries must develop policies and actions that allow them to map the main problems related to employment-migration. It is important to generate studies and research to identify the priority issues facing each country. It is therefore important that the Ministries of Employment strengthen the work of the labour observatories to identify ad hoc statistical tools for migration and, at the same time, undertake joint efforts with other institutions, such as the National Statistics Institutes, in order to analyze the most important employment-related migration issues.

The role of labour observatories is crucial for the optimum management of labour migration indicators, as they are conceived as knowledge and diagnosis systems operating change and intervention instruments and which, in turn, generate spaces for consensus. The observatories are equipped with support tools for decision-making, policy and programme development, and the assessment of actions. In turn, labour observatories carry out analyses on the evolution of the labour market, the links between training and employment, occupational and training profiles, the design of new technologies and ways of organizing work.

It is important that employment observatories combine such elements as:

- * Their status as technical units dedicated to investigating the socio-employment reality.
- * Their condition as a tool providing input to the labour and educational authorities.
- * Their vocation to become a space of convergence and a meeting point for different social actors.

Based in the institutionalization of processes linking migration to employment, it is necessary that countries generate actions to develop “**Labour migration information systems**”. To do so, the observatories must be strengthened in order to convert them into Third Generation Observatories, which in turn enable:

- * The emphasizing of the **networked connections between producers and users** of information on the labour market and migration to develop the flow of useful information for decision making.

- * The prioritization of the production of information in order to make it available **at the correct time, in the correct format and to the necessary stakeholders** for it to be used in making decisions.

- * The integration of **the institutions and mechanisms pertaining to an employment and migration system**, enabling all the system's participants to access useful information.

- * **The connection of existing information to produce** new information.

3.2. Step 2: Prioritizing economic sectors linked to labour migration issues

A key element to be taken into account is that labour migration implies the training and mobility of transnational communities and families, defined as groups, networks and/or families whose relationships and connections exist between the societies of origin and of destination. For these people, technology makes it easier to stay in touch and maintain family ties, reducing migration costs and facilitating labour mobilization.

Analysing migration from the perspective of transfers is an interesting approach for identifying the key issues of labour migration. They are denominated the "3Ts" in the *Global Migration Group's* management manual.

- * The first refers to the transfer of people, the migration itself (T1) comprising the immigration, emigration and return.

- * The second is the transfer of knowledge and skills (T2): people, when they move, bring ideas and knowledge with them and acquire new skills and ideas abroad. This "knowledge capital" may circulate between the migrants' countries of origin and destination through social networks.

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¹⁹ Mainstreaming Migration into DEVELOPMENT PLANNING A handbook for policy-makers and practitioners. Global Migration Group 2010.

Each of these transfers has a different effect on development in the countries of origin.

People thus expand their economic ties to operate throughout the economies of their countries of origin and host, increasing the interdependence of migrant labour force. As noted by Orozco (2012), the economic link between migrants and their home country extends to at least four practices that involve investment and/or expenditure: 1) family remittances, 2) the demand for consumer goods, telecommunications, travel services, tourism, 3) capital investment, and 4) charitable donations to philanthropic organizations working with the migrants' communities of origin (Orozco, 2012: 06)²⁰.

3.3. Step 3: Creating mechanisms for the coordination of migration policy in the framework of social dialogue

We understand social dialogue as the capacity to dialogue developed by the State in order to implement, monitor and assess migration policies in coordination with social partners, civil society and migrant organizations to ensure the effective management of migration; this is also known as "migration governance". This governance involves dialogue between the various sectors of the State involved in migration management²¹; with civil society (NGOs, professional associations, migrant groups, religious groups, etc.), workers, employers and the private sector (companies, credit and financial institutions, among others), and migrant organizations themselves both in the places of origin and of destination, for the development, implementation, monitoring and assessment of migration policies. Migration governance is a political challenge both for the States of origin and for those of destination, as migration implies a shared responsibility.

The key elements of governance are: government legitimacy and accountability; freedom of association and means of participation; fair and legal frameworks to create a safe and predictable life and working environment; availability and validity of information; efficient public sector management and cooperation between the different branches of government, civil society and the private sector (GMG, 2010: 51).

²⁰www.thedialogue.org/PublicationFiles/TendenciasfuturasdelasremesasALCSP.pdf

²¹Executive (ministries), legislative and judiciary powers and public services, among others.

Due to its complexity, migration management requires comprehensive inter-institutional, inter-sectoral and inter-governmental coordination policies at various levels of government, as it involves multifaceted dimensions and areas and requires a multidisciplinary and interstate treatment, due to the multiplicity of actors in both the origin and destination countries.²² Labour migration management is characterised by a need for a collaborative coordination methodology, which must be committed to the formulation and implementation of integrated policies that allow migration to be linked to a country's development policies. Thus, the idea of mainstreaming, working with various sectors and actors around the idea of integrated labour migration management²³.

In order to address this complexity, there is a need for institutions and new instruments for labour migration management. Various instruments must be developed²⁴, including a multiplicity of agreements between the countries of origin and destination that must manage migration control, policies that relate to the regulation of the administrative situation of immigrants present in the respective territories, policies related to social integration (health, education, housing), without forgetting the cultural dimension.

This mechanism must be institutionalized through various procedures involving the raising of awareness among the various strategic sectors based on an awareness and advocacy plan to create and institutionalize the migration policy coordination mechanism. Subsequently, the

²² The ILO suggests that proper migration management requires the establishment of a mechanism to ensure coordination and consultation among all ministries, authorities and bodies responsible for Labour Migration. Likewise, it is necessary to implement specific structures and mechanisms to provide ministries with the capacities and competences necessary for designing, developing and implementing labour migration policies, including units responsible for the protection of migrant workers. Simultaneously, it is necessary to ensure that the relevant ministries have access to adequate technical and financial resources for the implementation of labour migration policies (ILO, 2006).

²³ Zurbriggen. "El desafío de innovar en la gestión pública". In Zurbriggen and Mondol. *Estado actual y las perspectivas de las políticas migratorias en el MERCOSUR*. FLACSO, Uruguay, 2010.

²⁴ Correlation policies, international politics, among others.

responsibilities of the different sectors must be defined to enable them to assume their role in migration management. The following step must involve the preparation of a “Migration Management Action Plan” for the construction and implementation of a comprehensive, employment-based immigration policy, which must define specific short-, medium- and long-term actions. This coordination mechanism must be institutionalized by means of a regulation granting legal and institutional support. It is essential that the agencies responsible for coordination have sufficient budgetary support for the design of a comprehensive immigration policy. At the same time, it is important to generate coordinated actions within the body created with a functional organizational structure aimed at strengthening the different lines of migration policy²⁵ prioritized by the State.

In Latin America, FIIAPP has given a series of courses on migration and employment²⁶ within the framework of the “Strengthening dialogue and cooperation between the EU and LAC to establish management models on migration and development policies” project, during which the interest of Latin American countries in working on comprehensive, rights-based migration policies was brought to light²⁷.

²⁵ Emigration, immigration, return, reintegration, among others.

²⁶ The courses were carried out with technical assistance from the Turin-ITC-ILO International Training Centre in Mexico on 22 and 23 March, bringing together the governments of Mexico, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic; in Costa Rica on the 26 and April 27, attended by representatives of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, and Lima from 23 to 25 July, with representatives of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador and Peru.

²⁷ The courses developed various strategies and mechanisms aimed at enabling migration to contribute to the development of countries of origin through the institutionalization of national immigration policy coordination bodies. Furthermore, emphasis was placed on the need for coordinated work for international cooperation between countries in order to provide migrants with specific services that are coordinated between the countries of origin and destination. Likewise, the importance of the implementation of follow-up, monitoring and assessment mechanisms for labour migration policies coordinated by the State with civil society, social partners and migrant organizations, was stressed.

3.4. Step 4: Creation and institutionalization of labour migration management programmes

The importance of a comprehensive immigration policy lies in the development of actions that enable the taking of decisions in favour of migrants. States must prioritize the development of actions within Employment Ministries, such as the implementation of a labour migration management body capable of assuming responsibilities which are institutionalised through decrees, laws and/or regulations, and the possible creation of a Directorate or Unit responsible for labour migration management. At the same time, it is necessary to create tools that facilitate and simplify the administrative processes related to labour migration. Similarly, there is a need for a National Action Plan for Labour Migration Management, with budgetary backing and the inclusion of short-, medium- and long-term guidelines, strategies and actions to be implemented in a decentralized manner at national, regional and local levels, as projects involving migrants are developed with their families in their places or origin.

Labour migration management involves the development and implementation of various programmes and systems to enable the proper management of the migration process, including:

- * An information system for migrants relative to labour market conditions abroad.
- * An information system relative to niche markets and investment opportunities, in coordination with the country's business and financial sectors.
- * An information system relative to labour migration flows, including the profiling and diagnosis of migrants and immigrants.
- * An education and training system for international labour migration, in coordination with the countries of destination.
- * A labour inspection system.
- * An intermediation and placement system.
- * A skills certification programme.
- * A retraining programme.
- * A programme for monitoring the international situation of labour markets and the celebration of international agreements.

- * The implementation of protection and social security agreements.
- * The generation of self-employment and entrepreneurship promotion programmes: for this to be accomplished, there is a need for a technical-financial platform to provide sustained support transnational entrepreneurship.
- * Legal and psycho-social support programmes.
- * The “*Brain Regain*” programme for highly-qualified temporary/permanent public service.

3.5. Step 5: Tracking, monitoring and assessment of the Labour Migration Policy

The process of linking employment and migration must develop follow-up and monitoring actions relative to the policies to be implemented, and above all with the goals established in the policies for the protection of citizens working abroad. Monitoring and control actions enable the optimization of the benefits of migrant labour, and as such it is necessary to generate institutional capacities and empower inter-ministerial coordination between the countries of origin and destination.

It is therefore important that the countries of origin and destination consider labour migration management as a priority in the overall development of countries and, at the same time, of foreign policy. It is pertinent that the Employment Ministries hold responsibility for labour migration management, guaranteeing protection, welfare and promotion via employment offices.

Labour migration management requires the close cooperation and coordination of the presidential cabinet, including the Employment and Foreign Affairs Ministries, among others. In turn, it is necessary to create agencies in the countries of destination and origin in order to strengthen the efforts to integrate migration into employment policies.

The control and monitoring of comprehensive labour migration policies must consider elements that are related to each other for the regulation of the labour force, to ensure the workers’ protection and the support of the community’s welfare. The most important measures to be implemented consider five areas:

1. Regulation of labour and migration markets.
2. The protection of migrants and local workers in the employment context.
3. The facilitation of social cohesion.
4. Social welfare improvements.
5. Social security benefits.

It is important that this monitoring involves international regulations relative to human rights and international law. The processes implemented and institutionalized through employment and migration offices must be monitored and assessed through the introduction of assessment and monitoring indicators. This is important as it strengthens the implementation phases of the areas that act in the labour migration process.

4. Proposals identified

The most innovative experiences to have incorporated labour migration management with the participation of stakeholders from government, civil society and cooperation, employers and workers and aimed at migration governance are to be found in Latin America and can be summarized by means of the following proposals:

1. Assigning a key role to Employment Ministries in the design, development, management and administration of labour migration policies linked to labour and employment policies.

2. Designing inter-ministerial and inter-sectoral working groups to incorporate migration policies into the National Development Plans of Latin American countries, enabling them to create jobs, design educational plans in accordance with the niche labour markets detected both in the countries of destination and of origin, as well as to design prospective programmes that include catalogues of jobs which are difficult to cover within the country.

3. Designing information offices to attend to potential migrants and their families from the Employment Ministry.

4. Developing information mechanisms with local, regional and central governments to activate co-development programmes between countries of origin and destination.

The most important experiences carried out in relation to the effective management of labour migration include those of Canada, Philippines, New Zealand, Spain, the UK and Australia.

5. Breakdown of the proposals identified

5.1. Proposal 1: Assigning a key role to the Employment Ministries

Definition of the proposal

In Chapter IV of the Multilateral Framework “Effective management of labour migration”, the International Labour Organization (ILO) has identified the importance of countries developing their own labour migration management policies. The ILO places prime importance on Employment Ministries in a promotional role that guarantee employment policies that include migration.

Employment Ministries must assume labour migration management within their policy lines, and for this reason it is important to influence the development of changes in their organizational structures, including their basic infrastructure. That is, the restructuring of the corresponding Organization and Functions Act (LOF), Organization and Functions Regulation (ROF), basic mechanisms of institutional change. These organizational documents must be coordinated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Immigration Directorates and/or Foreign Affairs Ministries to generate inclusive policies and functions for labour migrants.

Such policies are beneficial in terms of labour markets, especially in times of globalization and crises, when countries are able to negotiate not only products but also sources of employment for intellectual capital, in accordance with specialized niches according to the characteristics of the region.

A risk to bear in mind is the lack of sufficient staff trained in migration management capable of assuming a leading role in its implementation. Another risk is the type of migration management policy to be implemented, i.e., the national development plans must reflect how the country should act on migration; a country with a global vision of migration; a country that

looks to expel its national citizens; or a country that creates rules so that the decision to migrate, which is an intrinsic personal desire, is guided by State policies.

Experience and empirical evidence

As a result of Decision 545²⁸, countries in the Andean region have begun to implement strategic changes to generate policies that seek to integrate migration and employment. Some examples are mentioned below:

PERU

Since 2008, the Peruvian government, with the technical assistance of the ILO Project MIGRANDINA²⁹ has generated guidelines for labour migration management. One of the most important factors was the promotion on a regional level of Decision 545 -Andean Labour Migration Instrument, which expressly stated the importance of Labour Migration Offices dependent on the Employment Ministries. For 2009, changes were prepared in the Ministry's organisation, and on June 16, 2009 *MTPE* (Peruvian Employment Ministry) Organization and Functions Act (LOF) came into force, incorporating labour migration into its exclusive competences³⁰. For 2010, the Employment Ministry's Organization and Functions Regulation was institutionalised (Supreme Decree No 004-2010-TR), by virtue of which the Labour Migration Directorate was created.

The Labour Migration Unit would be the way to institutionalize actions aimed at improving labour migration management within the *MTPE*. This institution has the following functions:

- * Proposing and implementing national and sectoral policies on labour migration, in coordination with other levels of government and the related

²⁸ Andean Labour Migration Instrument. Eleventh Meeting of the Andean Council of Foreign Ministers of the Andean Community, 24-25 June 2003, Quirama, Antioquia-Colombia. www.mintra.gob.pe/migrante/pdf/decision_545.pdf
- Decision 545 was implemented unilaterally in Peru in 2004 (Tamagno C., 2010) <http://www.comunidadandina.org/camtandinos/OLA/Documentos/Pdf/EstudioDecision545OITmigrandina.pdf>

sectors.

- * Proposing national and sectoral standards, technical guidelines, policies, procedures and mechanisms related to labour migration in order to ensure compliance with the labour rights of labour migration stakeholders (potential migrants, migrants and their families, returnees, Andean migrants, immigrants).
- * Designing, proposing and implementing orientation systems and/ mechanisms aimed at labour migration stakeholders in order to provide them with appropriate channels for regular labour migration to increase living standards abroad.
- * Proposing and supporting the compliance of national and sectoral labour migration plans, programmes and projects, among others.

COLOMBIA

Through Law 1450 of June 2011, the New Development Plan (NDP) was created. Chapter III of the NDP: “Sustainable Growth and Competitiveness”, incorporates the concept of “Labour Migration Management” through the coordinated work carried out by MIGRANDINA -ILO with the Ministry of Social Protection (the current Employment Ministry), which is to carry out these functions with the Foreign Affairs Ministry. Through Decree 4108 of 2011, the new Employment Ministry created the Department of Mobility and Employment, which is responsible for the management and implementation of labour migration management. Decision 545 is currently in the process of implementation.

BOLIVIA

Labour migration was incorporated into the functions of the Labour,

²⁹ Institutional strengthening of migration issues to contribute to the development of the Andean Region countries. MIGRANDINA, a project funded by the Spanish Employment Ministry, 2008-2012.

³⁰ The LOF's most important articles are: Article 5, paragraph 5.1: “Develop, plan, direct, coordinate, implement, monitor and assess national and sectoral policies on labour migration”. Article 7, paragraph 7.7: “The MTPE has sole responsibility for: planning and regulating matters relating to labour migration to ensure the fulfillment of the rights of migrants and their families”.

Employment and Social Protection Ministry (*MTEPS*) Employment Area through Supreme Decree No. 29894 in 2009, coinciding with the creation of the new Bolivian Executive Body (formerly Executive Power). It is equipped with a “Migration Unit”.

ECUADOR

The Labour Relations Ministry has a Migrations Unit, which has worked in coordination with the Foreign Affairs Ministry on the implementation of the Ecuadorian-Peruvian Migration Statute, aimed at the regularization of migrant workers in both countries. Decision 545 is currently in the process of implementation.

5.2. Proposal 2: Designing inter-sectoral working groups on migration policies

Definition of the proposal

In order to create communication mechanisms and produce advances in the management of labour migration policy, it is important to design spaces in which social dialogue actions are generated in order to ensure that the ministries have adequate resources to implement labour migration policies. It is also important to establish procedures to ensure that the State, Civil Society and International Cooperation are able to coordinate actions for better migration governance.

The benefits of having a sectoral working group contribute to the obtaining of more information, better control of the operational plans and of the monitoring of immigration policy for all those working in favour of the same.

Experience and empirical evidence

The examples mentioned express the transverse connection between migration and employment policies.

PERU

The Presidency of Council of Ministers (PCM), by means of Supreme Decree No. 067-2011-PCM, created the Permanent Multi-sectoral Commission:

Key ideas

Key ideas

- * Raising of awareness of Employment Ministry employees.
- * Training of technical staff on labour migration.
- * Policy decision of the Employment Ministry employees who wish to implement labour migration management.

Basic conditions for implementation

Basic conditions

- * Political decision.
- * Technical capabilities.
- * Budgetary capabilities.
- * Monitoring and tracking.

Inter-sectoral Working Committee for Migration Management, chaired by the Foreign Affairs Ministry, thus constituting an institutionalized space in which to discuss the management of international labour migration. It is aimed at the development, implementation and monitoring of migration policy. Concepts have been inserted into the public administration in the various sectors of the State that require the management of and commitment to the issue of immigration. Work groups have been created to influence the different themes of migration management: group on immigration, health, social welfare, promotion and protection of the rights of migrants abroad, education and culture, employment and labour promotion, access to housing. Furthermore, this working group has been institutionalized and collaboration commissions have been generated: Cooperation Agencies Commission, to coordinate technical assistance, and the Civil Society Commission, as a consultative body.

COLOMBIA

The Foreign Ministry has collaborated on the immigration policy through its participation in the Inter-sectoral Comprehensive Migration Committee³¹.

It is also supported by the National Inter-sectoral Migration Commission, as an institutional space (Decree 1239 of 2003) for coordination and guidance

in implementing the country's immigration policy. The mainstreaming of migration is recognised and the different entities involved in the development and implementation of policies are convoked to address the different aspects of migration. The Commission is composed of: Home Office and Justice Ministry, Foreign Affairs Ministry, Social Protection Ministry, Trade, Industry and Tourism Ministry, National Planning Department, Administrative Security Department (DAS), Colombian Institute of Educational Credit and Technical Studies Abroad (ICETEX), Foreign Affairs Ministry's Bureau of Consular Affairs and Colombian Communities Abroad, Foreign Affairs Ministry's Internal Working Group for Visas and Immigration Coordination.

ECUADOR

The Joint Committee on Migration Management (CMGM) is the most important institutional space for dialogue on migration governance in Ecuador. An inter-sectoral and inter-ministerial committee constituted by 20 public and private institutions that undertake a variety of activities aimed at strengthening labour migration management. Through this Committee, Ecuador has developed a National Migration Management Plan in coordination with the National Assembly.

BOLIVIA

The Labour, Employment and Social Security Ministry is responsible for linking the issue of migration from the perspective of human rights. Under S.D. 29894, its mission is defined as: "Designing and coordinating the preparation of a Labour Immigration Policy in coordination with the Government Ministry's Directorate General of Immigration".

Bolivia has a proposed Labour Migration Policy for the Plurinational State of Bolivia, designed by the Labour, Employment and Social Security Ministry, through the Directorate General of Employment. The policy contemplates eight bases for the work to be carried out: 1) social protection

³¹ Its migration policy considers the implementation of the Community Plan abroad; consolidation of the RedEs Colombia portal; development of social protection agreements, local political participation and regulation of labour flows and productive channeling of towards productive housing, productive projects and education.

promotion policy (where one of the actions is related to developing a plan to support the return of migrants in order to provide a reintegration option in coordination with the Foreign Affairs Ministry, Government Ministry through the Directorate General of Immigration, in response to the return policy in Europe, the rigidity of which will lead to the return of many Bolivian migrants); 2) policy for information for migrants on migration flows; 3) migration governance policy; 4) migrant rights protection policy; 5) policy of prevention of abusive migration practices and protection against the same; 6) labour migration processes policy (one of the actions being implemented in this component is the creation of the Labour Migration Unit within the Labour, Employment and Social Security Ministry, aimed at promoting ordered, protected and informed labour migration processes, as well as those which are inherent in accordance with a Supreme Decree); 7) integration and social inclusion policy, and 8) migration and development policy.

Key ideas

Key ideas for the implementation of the working groups

- * Raising the awareness of the employees of the different ministries.
- * Training of technical staff on labour migration.
- * Tripartite coordination for the management of labour migration.
- * Design of operational plans for a coordinated effort between the ministries and agencies involved in labour migration management.
- * Implementation of monitoring and tracking instruments.

Basic conditions for implementation

Basic conditions

- * The existence of an institution that leads the group.
- * Constitution of working sub-groups for each subject and/or national priority.
- * The existence of ministerial budgets to fund the group's actions.
- * The existence of a specialized technical team and/or international facilitators working in labour migration management.
- * Coordination of actions with civil society, migrant organizations, trade unions and employers to work on initiatives related to labour migration management.
- * Monitoring and tracking by means of short-, medium- and long-term working plans.

5.3. Proposal 3: Designing information offices

Definition of the proposal

It is necessary that the Employment Ministries host migrant guidance offices in order to develop actions that contribute to decision-making in the migration process. The existence of such offices helps to improve travel conditions and minimize future problems prior to the decision to migrate.

Experience and empirical evidence

PERU

The country operates a Migrant Information Service linked to the One-Stop Employment Promotion Service, which aims to provide those involved in labour migration with an information service and timely, accurate and reliable guidance about the labour migration process in order to promote their employability and the protection of their social rights. The work of the service has been institutionalized by R.VM. No. 002-2011 MTPE/3, which approved DG 001-2011-MTPE/3/17. Approval of the General Directive No. 001-2011-MTPE/3/17 (P. 05/03/2011) "Directive regulating the PERU INFOMIGRA Information and Orientation Service³²". Implanted in the General Directorate for Employment's Directorate of Labour Migration, and to be progressively applied in those of the country's Labour and Employment Directorates and Regional Offices with which Inter-institutional Cooperation Agreements are established.

It has the following lines of action: the potential migrant, Peruvians abroad, immigrants and returnees. Based on the work carried out by the ILO through its projects and programmes, the Peruvian State, through the *MTPE*, seeks to contribute to improving the quality of life of migrant workers and their families throughout the country. To do so, it currently manages a project providing technical support to regional and local governments in order to discover the needs and skills of potential migrants, their families, returnees and immigrants. It also assists in generating actions in favour

³² <http://mintra.gob.pe/migrante/>

of co-development and productive return, reorientating the destination locations. On April 10, 2010, the Delimitation of Competences Matrix was approved by means of Supreme Decree 002-2010-TR.

Key ideas

Key ideas

- * Raising the awareness of those in posts of responsibility in the Ministry in order to generate a guidance service for migrants and their families within the Labour Migration Directorates and Units.
- * Training of officials who are to carry out this work in order to familiarise them with the processes involved in labour migration management.
- * Monitoring and control units.
- * Active participation in migration working groups.

Basic conditions for implementation

Basic conditions

- * It is essential that the Directorate of Labour Migration's functions include the provision of information and guidance on the process of labour migration and return to enable those wishing to move abroad/return to take a conscious decision.
- * The existence of a budget for the design of a migrant guidance portal in accordance with the main needs of migrants and their families.
- * The consideration of the Peruvian State as responsible for contributing to guaranteeing the rights of its citizens throughout the migration process and for helping to prevent irregular migration, human smuggling and trafficking, labour exploitation and fraud related to false job offers.
- * Regulation and control of private employment agencies.

5.4. Proposal 4: Develop information mechanisms

Definition of the proposal

There is a need to generate an Updated Information System for the migrants and their families. The System must be coordinated with all levels of

government, and as such the labour observatories play a decisive role in the implementation of policies and the design of activities in favour of good migration governance.

Experience and empirical evidence

PERU

Peru has designed an Inter-sectoral and Multidisciplinary Plan, applicable to all levels of government, to mainstream actions related to labour migration. It has the following lines of action: the potential migrant, Peruvians abroad, immigrants and returnees. The aim is to contribute to improving the quality of life of migrant workers and their families throughout the country. This action plan for strengthening regional and local governments, which has been institutionalized by Ministerial Resolution No. 204-2011-TR, July 21, 2011, aims to contribute to improving the quality of life of migrant workers and their families through the implementation of activities arising from labour migration management, helping to optimize the use of remittances and the protection of the rights of migrants and their families. The Presidency of Council of Ministers (PCM), by means of Supreme Decree No. 067-2011-PCM, created the Permanent Multi-sectoral Commission: Inter-sectoral Working Committee for Migration Management, chaired by the Foreign Affairs Ministry, thus constituting an institutionalized space in which to discuss the management of international labour migration.

Key ideas

Key ideas

- * Political decision.
- * Articulation with national and international labour observatories in order to share information regarding the strategic areas of the national migration process.
- * Development of partnerships between countries to share information through the Employment Ministries in order to better manage labour migration.
- * Subscribe to and implement international conventions on labour migration.

Basic conditions for implementation

Basic conditions

- * Labour Observatories working throughout the territory.
- * Contact with other international observatories.
- * Catalogue of basic information for decision-making in relation to labour migration management.
- * Incorporation into national instruments of questions that measure progress in labour migration management.
- * Technical capabilities.
- * Monitoring and control mechanisms.
- * National budget.

6. Recommendations on national, regional, bi-national levels

The scarcity of an appropriate organization and structure inhibit the success of immigration policies. The difficulty of inter-governmental organization and coordination lies mainly in the progress of State reform in terms of human rights and development, as well as the political will, ability of coordination and the design of sectoral policies, with different branches and levels of government.

Based on the experience of the Andean countries, it is possible to generate a series of recommendations that enable countries to link and/or design actions that relate migration and employment.

6.1. Recommendations on a national level: Institutional strengthening in relation to migration

*** Placing labour migration on the political agenda of the States**, linking it to the generation of employment.

*** A coordinating entity** with an action plan for comprehensive migration management is required, with a focus on gender and a short-, medium- and long-term budget to work on immigration policy.

- * Guarantee ongoing **technical assistance** through **international cooperation**.

- * Strengthening of the **coordination between the State and civil society and social partners, unions-employers**, for migration governance.

- * **Influence from civil society and social partners** to obtain the ratification of ILO Conventions 97 and 143 to institutionalize labour migration management within countries and ensure the rights of migrant workers.

6.2. Recommendations on regional and binational levels

- * Strengthen and/or promote the implementation of **CAN Labour Migration Agreement 545** in the four Andean countries: Peru, Colombia, Ecuador and Bolivia.

- * Promote bilateral, regional and multilateral coordination in order to **strengthen an Information System on Labour Migration** through the Employment Ministries. These systems must be homogeneous between countries of origin and destination, as must the tools and techniques used in the fieldwork on the employment conditions of migrants, in order to design appropriate policies. Focus must be placed on the relevance of unified design methodologies in the Region in coordination with EU.

- * Subscribe **bilateral social security agreements** between countries of origin and destination, developing strategies and mechanisms for portability of rights and social security pensions.

6.3. EU-Latin America recommendations

- * A Increase the **capacity of other countries** to manage labour migration using information shared at international summits.³³

- * **The EU, Latin America and the Caribbean must strengthen their**

³³ The Strategic Partnership between the EU and Latin America and the Caribbean began at the First Summit of Heads of State and Government of both regions in Rio de Janeiro in 1999, and was subsequently consolidated at the Summits held in Madrid (2002), Guadalajara (2004), Vienna (2006), Lima (2008) and Madrid (2010).

cooperation to jointly address the common challenges posed by the global economic crisis and which generate high rates of unemployment, the consequent return of return of migrants and migration of young people from the European Union to America.

*** The Global Approach and Mobility Partnerships** proposals posed European Union³⁴, in which the labour market plays a central role, must be extended with greater commitment in Latin America, following their development in Africa.

³⁴ It is necessary to foster greater understanding based on the analysis carried out as part of the Global Approach, creating Proximity Policies and Mobility Partnerships, as reflected in the Stockholm Programme and its corresponding Action Plan. Similarly, the recent Communication (18/11/2011 COM (2011) 743 final) presents a new Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM).

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CHAPTER 4:

MIGRATION AND SELF-EMPLOYMENT: LESSONS LEARNED FOR EMPLOYMENT THROUGH SELF-EMPLOYMENT

Author: María Villares Varela³⁵

1. Introduction

This chapter on self-employment migration is intended to explain the relevance of this type of employment in migration movements and to generate recommendations for the successful mobilization of financial, human and social capital, both in the country of destination and in the country of origin. Entrepreneurs who have been involved in migratory processes have, in general, access to different financial resources than those to which non-migrants have access. Migrant entrepreneurs have been exposed to the exchange of ideas, training, and social ties that have an impact on entrepreneurship. Therefore, employment through self-employment for immigrants and/or returnees presents specific characteristics that have to be taken into account for the implementation of programmes and initiatives that facilitate incorporation into the labour market and maximize available resources.

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The historical development of Spain as a country of emigration and immigration teaches us that migratory movements have shaped the business sector on both sides of the Atlantic. The Spanish population, characterized by high rates of emigration to Latin America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, is aware of the implementation of business processes as a social mobility strategy within the migration project. The Spanish migrant population consolidated a relevant business sector, occupying uncovered business niches and contributing to the growth and development of the major Latin American cities.

In turn, within the Spanish context and accompanying the economic development brought by democracy, Spanish immigrants to central and northern Europe returned to Spain. These return and immigration projects have been accompanied by accumulated capital investment projects in the form of business initiatives in which to invest the resources and the knowledge acquired. Part of the small urban entrepreneur community in Spain comes from the migration from rural to urban areas in the sixties, as well as the return migration from Europe. The semi-peripheral areas of the metropolitan areas of major Spanish cities are characterized by having been the focus for the reception of this type of migration and business investment.

Since the 1990s, the rapid migration flows to Spain of new neighbours, descendant from Spanish emigrants to Latin America were largely absorbed by contracted employment. However, some of these migrants began business projects which have gradually shaped our cities: call shops, cafes, hairdressers, restaurants, textile businesses, small convenience stores, etc., have all changed our cityscapes. These new neighbours have helped to replace local entrepreneurs in Spain and to revive neighbourhoods and business sectors, which had been progressively abandoned. The abandonment of these sectors by local entrepreneurship is explained by the low productivity of the initiatives and the need for an extensive labour force which the next generation of Spaniards, with higher levels of education and better job prospects than their parents, has been unwilling to assume.

In the context of the most recent years of the financial crisis, we know that some of these new neighbours began to re-migrate to other countries, to return to their countries of origin or to remain in Spain while recycling their careers and becoming involved in other professional activities. Similarly, Spain has shown that it remains a region of emigration, with Spanish citizens once more employing mobility as an alternative.

These migratory paths sometimes lead to self-employment projects. Human capabilities and economic resources are placed at the service of a company project. The following pages contain a review of the main characteristics of labour insertion through self-employment for the immigrant and/or returnee population and the main barriers and opportunities relative to starting up businesses. It also reflects the lessons learned from previous initiatives promoting self-employment, both for new neighbours and for citizens returning to the country of origin. The data analysed was collected through primary empirical material collected through different research activities conducted by the author (Villares, 2010; Villares, 2012), as well as through the review of other research.

The chapter is organized in the following sections. Firstly, the main factors affecting self-employment as part of a migration project are synthesized. The second section discusses how the strategy of self-employment in the country of origin is an occupational path that motivates the return of the immigrant population. Thirdly, we review the lessons learned in the form of proposals in relation to the factors that impede and facilitate self-employment, and finally, recommendations to strengthen business strategy are outlined.

2. Migration and entrepreneurship: What's different?

The concept of entrepreneurship versus proletariat marks the difference between those who sell a product and those who sell their working time. Or, put another way, between those who have the means of production and those who do not. Therefore, it is linked to the theoretical, 19th-century conception of social class. To the Marxist proletariat and bourgeoisie economic groups, the current Neo-Weberians (Goldthorpe, 1987) add a third pure type of class (bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and proletariat), which would include small employers who also need to work and the semi-autonomous employees who control, but do not own, the means of production (Escobar, 2005). Therefore, the concept of entrepreneurship includes any activity that is not included in the dependent economy or self-employment.

Within self-employment strategies, we may differentiate between self-employment and company initiatives. Self-employment is defined as an activity in which one works for oneself, without the need to be employed by another person and in which one does not necessarily employ other workers.

Helimann and Chen (2003) define self-employment as an activity that is initiated independently as a solution or alternative to paid employment. Another definition considers self-employment as a single-worker company which occasionally uses unpaid labour, for example, that of a family member (Alles, 2000).

One of the questions left open in scientific literature is that of which factors condition the incorporation into the labour market of the self-employed. That is, what are the main motivations behind self-employment. Is this a phenomenon based on the attraction of self-employment or on an expulsion from paid employment? The growing participation of the most vulnerable groups in the labour markets as self-employed workers (such as women and immigrants) has generated a growing interest in this area as an employment niche for those who are unable to find satisfactory paid employment (Blanchflower, 2000; OECD, 2001; Heilman, M., Chen, J., 2003; Herranz, 2007). This expulsion from paid employment towards self-employment seems to be explained by the crisis in the industrial sectors and the progressive service-based nature of societies that relegate the most vulnerable to self-employment.

While the migrant population shares similar characteristics to other groups on its path to self-employment, it also has particularities that define its insertion into the labour market. For example, the migration policy of the society of insertion will have an impact on migrant entrepreneurs that does not affect local citizens, usually by blocking small initiatives and promoting large capital investments. On the other hand, the migration experience, the different career paths, the exchange of ideas, the accumulation of financial capital, etc., are distinctive elements that shape employment for those entrepreneurs with a history of migration. All these accumulated resources can be mobilized in a business strategy, both in the countries of destination and in the country of origin upon a possible return.

Therefore, employment as an entrepreneur seems to be articulated in accordance with different structural factors, as well as the characteristics and resources acquired by the migrant entrepreneurs themselves. Among the features of the context to be taken into consideration in order to understand the self-employment paths, we may highlight the following:

- * The **political-regulatory framework** of the society of destination/origin, which includes migration policy and return policy, labour policy, and

other areas related to labour integration, residential integration, approval of qualifications and self-employment. Migration policy can generate a context of exclusion of immigrants from the mainstream economy (for example, substantial pockets of irregularity), or of inclusion in certain sectors (such as the existence of contracting mechanisms for certain sectors (contingencies)). Also, other factors will have a significant impact on the mode of labour incorporation: the regulation of the residency acquisition process, access to self-employment work permits, the regulation of family reunification, renovations, and self-employment work permits will affect the destination country's capacity to serve as a settlement context.

- * The **characteristics of the labour market** play a decisive role in the proliferation of entrepreneurship. Labour demand in specific jobs, employers' preference for one type or another worker, etc., decisively influence the labour incorporation of migrants and returnees. For example, unequal access to the labour market where vacancies correspond to jobs with a perceived low social status will facilitate self-employment as an option.

- * Characteristics **of existing migrant communities**. Portes and Rumbaut (1980) argue that a propensity to self-employment will depend on the characteristics of the settled communities. The proportion of migrant entrepreneurs in the receiving society will generate different opportunities in relation to social and professional integration. For example, a high concentration of immigrants settled in specific urban areas will facilitate the construction of a strong migrant presence, which in turn will enable the creation of support networks, services and differentiated consumption (Waldinger *et al.* 1990).

- * The **characteristics of local businesses** will also have an impact on the niches that are empty and liable to be covered by new entrepreneurs. Thus, the new migrants or returnees can replace a small business structure that has gradually abandoned such activities due to the lack of generational replacement and the high labour intensity of the initiatives, creating pockets in urban spaces in which such businesses are usually opened (Rath, 2000).

However, contextual factors do not explain why some migrant groups have higher self-employment rates than others in the same contexts. Scientific production has begun to answer these questions using approaches that emphasize the **personal and cultural characteristics** of different groups

of entrepreneurs. For example, the characteristics of entrepreneurs, such as educational levels, entrepreneurial family tradition, family size, structure of gender relations, etc., allow entrepreneurs to mobilize personal resources in order to facilitate the implementation of businesses.

The following chart shows the main factors affecting employment for the migrant population (foreign or returned).

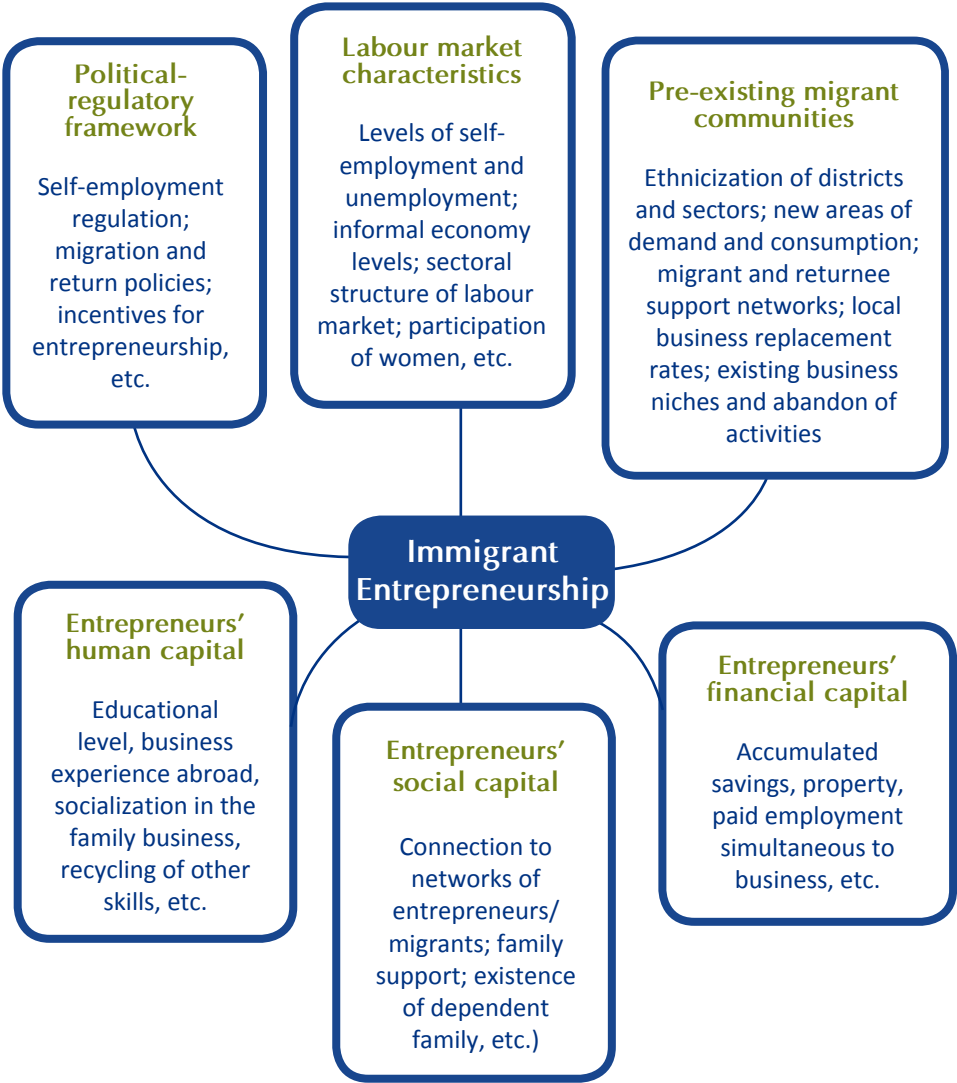
3. Self-employment and return migration

The relationship between return and self-employment has been an underdeveloped area in academic study on migration, although a central focus of return strategies and programmes implemented by international organizations has been constituted (SOPEMI, 1979, 1985, 2008). In general, these return programmes available to migrants who decide to establish their residence in their countries of origin include financial compensation to cover travel, the ability to receive social benefits in a single payment, training for starting a small business and access to soft loans in many cases. Therefore, return and self-employment go hand in hand within the framework of the design and management of migration policies for the reintegration of migrants into their countries of origin.

At the theoretical level, return and self-employment also appear to bear a relationship from certain perspectives that attempt to explain the driving forces behind international migration, although most academic development has focused on the impact of the return, rather than on its determinants (Taylor *et al.*, 1996, Haas and Fokkema, 2010), and the analysis of the return with the aim of taking up self-employment in the country of origin is even less developed.

Return migration contradicts the basic principles of the neoclassical traditions that explain migratory movements, as the movement is not only explained by wage differences between the countries of origin and destination. That is, returnees migrate to their countries of origin, which often have lower wage levels than the countries in which they were settled. Neoclassical theories explain return migration as a “miscalculation” on behalf of migrants of the benefits and costs of migration (Todaro, 1969. Borjas 1989). However, the return of migrants who enjoyed success in

Table 1: Factors influencing the emergence of migrant or returnee entrepreneurship



Source: author.

the host country and who nevertheless decide to return to their home country provides arguments against these neoclassical theories. Therefore, it is necessary to seek other explanations that allow us to understand why migrants return and what their employment expectations are. Thus, other factors such as socio-cultural elements that link migrants to their country of origin (King, 2000); the intersection of the family, migratory and life cycle also explain the return, such as retirement from active life, the age of the migrant's children, parents, etc., as well as the harmonization of strategies for caring for children and parents in the country of origin (Martinez, 2012).

In addition to these factors, the migrant's position in the labour market when they return appears to have a significant explanatory power, and particularly in relation to option of self-employment. The theoretical developments of the "new economics theories of labour migration" (NELM) (Stark, 1996) help us to understand why it is important to understand the relevance of self-employment in the country of origin in order to understand return migration. This theoretical current suggests that the savings and skills acquired by migrants in the country of settlement facilitate expectations of successful reintegration and upward mobility in the country of origin. These theories suggest that migrants decide to return not as a result of an expectation of higher wages, but for a professional change in which migrants return to positions of higher status in the labour market than those held in the destination country (Constant and Douglas, 2002; Dustmann and Kirchcamp 2002; Ghosh, 2000; Ilahi, 1999 Zhao, 2002).

This transition is explained by human capital theories that suggest that the gains obtained during the migration, such as the acquisition of formal education, ideas, professional training, values, etc., facilitate the mobility of migrants on their return to the country of origin. The transition to employment of a higher status appears to be linked to self-employed reintegration in the home country (Dustmann and Kirchcamp, 2002; Czaika and Villares, 2012).

Thus, previous research suggests that self-employed at the time of return generates additional benefits that offset the wage gap. The return to the country of origin enables migrants to access a higher status in relation to those held prior to migration and in the destination country. It also facilitates the maximization of the human, financial and social capital accumulated in the destination country. Thus, programmes designed to maximize the

characteristics of returned migrants in starting business must take into account the role of the business plan as part of the migration project.

4. Proposals identified

As covered in the preceding pages, the starting up of a business will benefit from a successful **maximization of the financial, human and social** capital that migrant entrepreneurs are able to mobilize. Different entrepreneurship programmes aimed at migrants in origin and/or destination have launched initiatives related to training, access to micro-credit, assessment and monitoring of business initiatives (IOM, 2009; EQUAL CONVIVE +, 2007; ACOBE, 2010). There is still scant empirical evidence about such programmes in the Latin American context, with the exception of the trans-national self-employment programmes run by ACOBE (Bolivia-Spain Cooperation Association) in Spain and Bolivia. Since 2007, the Amibe-Codem Foundation has run different programmes and projects in Bolivia and Spain in conjunction with ACOBE. This co-development approach facilitates productive development projects between Bolivian immigration in Spain and the development of Bolivia. Self-employment promotion programmes linked to productive development and return have been implemented in different contexts in Latin American countries, which are also mentioned in Chapter 2, "Return and Reintegration of Latin American migrants in Europe". From the 3x1 programme in Mexico to channel remittances from Mexican migrants from the United States; the finance services of the Ibero-American Development Bank for productive development, and the national programmes in different countries (the promotion programmes run by Ecuador's National Migrant Secretariat's Migrant Bank³⁶; self-employment promotion services offered by the association of Colombians abroad "Colombia Nos Une"³⁷; productive return programmes in Peru through the Migrant Counselling Service³⁸), mainly offering financing

³⁶ <http://www.migrante.gob.ec/banca-del-migrante/>; address obtained on 22-02-2013.

³⁷ <http://www.redescolumbia.org/noticia/empred-red.-el-autoempleo-como-alternativa-de-futuro>; address obtained on 22-02-2013.

³⁸ http://www.mintra.gob.pe/migrante/programas_incentivos_1.php; address obtained on 22-02-2013.

and micro-credit, are beginning to be consolidated. However, there is still little empirical evidence regarding the effectiveness and maximization of these programmes. Therefore, this section refers to the empirical evidence, the result of research by the author within the framework of the EQUAL CONVIVE+ programme and other research (Villares, 2010; Villares, 2012), and also experiences in other international contexts in order to compile good practices for the successful self-employment of migrants.

In relation to the actors involved in these programmes, inter-agency collaboration among public and private actors, business associations, non-governmental organizations working with migrants and returnees in origin and destination, chambers of commerce, etc., would facilitate the successful implementation of the programmes. Certain third sector organizations have extensive experience as information services on legal issues and even as trainers of future entrepreneurs or intermediaries between migrants and public administration services. The chambers of commerce and business associations often have vocational training workshops, access to information networks, to other entrepreneurs and other local services that facilitate the path towards creating a company. Multilevel coordination between all these institutions will maximize the success of the migrant entrepreneurs' business strategies. This has been the case, for example, with the experience within the framework of the EQUAL CONVIVE + programme, funded by the European Social Fund, for the promotion of self-employment for immigrant and returnee entrepreneurs in Spain, within the framework of which the inter-agency collaboration between regional government, municipalities, chambers of commerce, universities and NGOs provided a complement to the research, action and participation for entrepreneurs and managers of the programme.

The following pages contain proposals extracted from the key points of the "lessons learned" within the framework of these programmes, with the aim of guiding the actors involved in the design and implementation of future initiatives. These proposals are organized in accordance with the definition of each proposal, the empirical evidence supporting them and recommendations for successful employment. These proposals for successful self-employment are:

1. IMPROVE ACCESS TO AND MOBILIZATION OF FINANCIAL CAPITAL.
2. STRENGTHENING OF HUMAN CAPITAL OF ENTREPRENEURS.
3. MAXIMIZATION OF ENTREPRENEURS' SOCIAL CAPITAL.

Here, then, in detail are the proposals and recommendations.

5. Breakdown of the proposals identified

5.1. Improve access to and mobilization of financial capital

Definition of the proposal

This first proposal contains a central element to most of the programmes implemented to promote immigrant self-employment, which is **access to financial capital in order to start up a business**. Financial capital includes cash and properties in order to make profits in the market (Singer, 1980). Research on self-employment suggests that the main difficulty facing those wishing to set up a business is the lack of access to financial capital, and that women and immigrant populations meet the greatest obstacles (Loscocco *et al.*, 1991). This barrier has determined the general view of businesses run by women or immigrants as “undercapitalized” (Marlow and Patton, 2005). Access to capital may be blocked due to difficulties in saving or accumulating money: the barriers to career advancement or the existence of a “glass ceiling”; entrapment in low-paying sectors; highest rates of unemployment and instability and so on which affect women and immigrants also have a significant impact on their savings and investment capacity, due to the lower salaries they earn (Andes, 2000). Such barriers have also been reflected in studies on the different earnings of entrepreneurs carried out by Portes and Zhou (1996) and Rajjiman and Tienda (2000). This limitation on saving capacity blocks the potential of immigrants and women to obtain funding for their initiatives.

Therefore, the programmes implemented to help business people among the migrant population focus on facilitating access to capital (generally through micro-credit), as well as on offering assistance to counterbalance the causes of undercapitalization. The following section presents different experiences in which access to capital was contemplated as the main factor of the business projects.

Experience and empirical evidence

The programmes launched to facilitate entrepreneurship among the migrant population (EQUAL CONVIVE +, 2007; OECD, 2001) both in the countries of origin and of destination (or return) (ACOBÉ, 2010) include facilitating access to financial liquidity and the acquisition of equipment for businesses. These programmes have identified the lack of access to regular bank loans as the main source of undercapitalization for these vulnerable entrepreneurs. Banks tend to limit the funding of these businesses as, on occasion, the viability of the businesses launched is perceived as limited due to their position within saturated market areas, such as small business. The scientific literature reflects numerous examples of the undercapitalization of businesses. For example, following an analysis of a large sample of small businesses in the US services sector, Loscocco's research (1991) concludes that women and immigrants have more difficulty in accessing financial capital. Self-employed workers suffering greater difficulties in accessing capital were also shown to be those with greater difficulty in accumulating resources for the implementation of a business. This research shows that access to soft credit lines helps the more vulnerable entrepreneurs to overcome obstacles and compete on a more equal footing with entrepreneurs who do not suffer these problems.

Thus, facilitating access to financial capital is usually the starting point for these programmes. For example, in the case of Spain and its voluntary return programme, migrants are provided with the opportunity to capitalize on their unemployment benefits in order to be able to return to their home country and start a business. Furthermore, access to credit lines for those migrants in more vulnerable situations forms part of the majority of the initiatives mentioned above, with the final aim of promoting self-employment (in Ecuador, Colombia and Peru). Access to credit lines is usually provided through micro-credit programmes or interest-free loans with flexible payment methods adapted to business cycles (e.g., lower repayments during the business' first years, taking into consideration the reduced profits during the first months, etc.). Programmes facilitating access to soft loans were included in the voluntary return programmes implemented by different European countries aimed at Spanish and Portuguese migrants in the eighties (SOPEMI, 1985), allowing many returnees set up small businesses upon their return to their home country. This has been also shown to be effective in the EQUAL CONVIVE + programme, which has included the collaboration of banks such as Caixa Galicia to facilitate access to micro-credit for immigrant entrepreneurs and returnees. These measures have

been very effective for those migrants with greater difficulties in securing guarantees to access unsecured debts.

In order to facilitate access to capital, these programmes have taken into account the family situations of migrant entrepreneurs. Some research explores how married entrepreneurs are more likely to enter self-employment as a result of the economic support provided by their families to their businesses (Loscocco, 1991). Other studies show how family situations have a clear impact on immigrants' initiatives: for example, how the existence of dependents serves as an obstacle for savings and investment, while those immigrants who migrate with their families face fewer barriers (Oso *et al.*, 2007, EQUAL CONVIVE + 2007). Therefore, programmes such as EQUAL CONVIVE + took into account not only the migrant's business plan, but also their family situation as indicators of the level of support needed for the implementation of the business.

The design of a solid business viability plan has helped in obtaining capital from banks for future business. The design of a viability plan supported by technicians specialised in self-employment, entrepreneurial associations, specialists in the legal field, etc., has proved to be a key element in programmes such as ACOBE and EQUAL CONVIVE +. Both programmes included the individual design of business paths, in which the entrepreneur analysed the strengths and weaknesses of the business plans designed. A well-designed feasibility plan softens the barriers to monetary liquidity. In the particular case of ACOBE, the itineraries were supported by technicians from Spain and Bolivia, with the aim of including the specific characteristics of the contexts in which the businesses were to be opened (in this case Bolivia), which were largely unknown to the Spanish technicians (ACOB, 2010).

The promotion of immigrant entrepreneurship has to take into account access to trans-national business investment networks, which has also been identified as a competitive advantage in maximizing financial capital for migrant businesses. Maintaining business networks within the immigrant economy can lead to a significant exchange of goods and services between countries of origin and destination, which in turn can lead to a maximization of financial capital. Self-employment promotion programmes often take into consideration whether entrepreneurs have experience in trans-national businesses or business experience in the country of origin. The EQUAL CONVIVE + programme promoted businesses with such characteristics as part of its programme of co-development through the self-employment of

migrants. The ACOBE programme between Bolivia and Spain can also be included among those programmes with a trans-national dimension, as it facilitated the creation of businesses in the country of origin with support in both the country of origin and of destination.

The following table summarizes the main elements reflecting the main empirical evidence on the access to and mobilization of financial capital for migrant businesses.

Table 2: Financial capital: access to resources and mobilization

Access to financial resources	Mobilization of financial capital
Labour market characteristics Low-paid employment. Low labour mobility. Difficulty to save and subsequently invest in business.	Family situation The presence of dependant family members hinders the mobilization of capital for the company.
	Motivations for self-employment Migration savings and return project. Search for other rewards beyond those of a merely monetary nature.
Access to bank loans Lack of credit history. Opening in saturated areas of the market.	Networks based on family relationships and/or ethnic affinity that help to overcome the difficulties faced. Access to trans-national investment networks.

Source: author.

Basic conditions for implementation

- * Flexibilizar Increase flexibility of **access to self-employment permits** for small and medium entrepreneurs in order to regulate business activities undertaken in the informal economy. This would enable access to self-employment for migrant entrepreneurs who, in general, must first obtain a paid-employment permit in order to carry out self-employed activities.
- * Facilitate **access to grants and micro-credits**, which are a further sources of funding for the entrepreneurs contacted. The ability to access capital for

the initial investment without the need for a credit guarantee is an important barrier to overcome for the more vulnerable entrepreneurs. Moreover, in the majority of cases, micro-credits are accompanied by the requirement to undergo training in business skills and to present solid business viability plan. This contributes to a minimization of the risks of self-employment, as the presence of a bank guarantee is accompanied by the security that comes from having a guided business plan offering certain guarantees of viability.

- * Designing training plans for future entrepreneurs in collaboration with other institutions (NGOs, business associations, occupational trainers, etc.) that include the implementation of a company's **viability plan** adapted to the needs of the market in which the business is to be implemented in order to minimize the initial risks. This underlines the need for studies into the possibility of implementing certain businesses, exploring the saturation of certain markets, the location of the business, the risks assumed, etc. Entrepreneurs are encouraged to become familiar with an analysis of different scenarios relative to the short-, medium- and long-term profitability of the business.

- * Facilitate the mobilization of **savings and sale of properties** for the opening of the business. This is, in general, the main source of capital for returnees. The dispersion of the risk associated to the sources for raising capital minimizes both the business risks and the amount required through credit. The more sources of capital, the lower the investment risk.

- * Promote the mobilization of **resources available through the family and social network**, which act as a financial cushion when necessary. For example, in the design of feasibility plans or the granting of micro-credits by banks or social agencies, the availability of family members in paid employment with access to more stable earnings facilitates access to capital for entrepreneurs and minimizes risks.

5.2. Strengthening the human capital of entrepreneurs

Definition of the proposal

This proposal aims to facilitate the **strengthening of the knowledge, capabilities and intangible resources** held by entrepreneurs for the launch of the business. Human capital in entrepreneurship has been

studied in the relevant literature, highlighting the fact that the greater the human capital, the more sustainable the initiative. In this sense, scientific production suggests that businesses with a shorter lifespan are those run by businesspeople with lower levels of education and training in the management of business activities (Alles, 2000, OECD, 2001; Escobar, 2005, Marlow and Patton, 2005) . These studies show that women and minority migrants are the most disadvantaged in the race to launch the business, among other reasons due to shortcomings in the accumulation of human capital.

Lower educational levels, but above all, the lack of accumulated experience in management due to obstacles derived from discrimination related to origin lead to a considerable reduction in the option of success of these groups. Therefore, the level of education and management experience are core indicators in the analysis of a company's human capital.

Numerous studies suggest that entrepreneurs are more likely to have parents with a history in business or to have worked in a family business at some point during their lives. Knowledge of certain activities, management know-how, is very useful for the implementation of a business (Jones and Rams, 2007). But not only the skills and knowledge acquired for self-employment, but also having been the recipient of intangible resources within a family-business unit. These intangible resources identified in the research include a range of skills which are internalized by entrepreneurs, such as "sacrifice", reciprocity, expenditure-income adjustments in the family unit in accordance with the business needs, customer service know-how, etc. (Ram *et al.*, 2002; Catarino, 2008).

Experience and empirical evidence

Training background is another major factor providing support to entrepreneurship programmes for migrants and returnees. In addition to the entrepreneur's knowledge of the specific activity to be undertaken, these programmes serve to initiate training in business management training, basic accounting skills, context-specific legal regulations, the payment of taxes, etc. The report on entrepreneurship for women and immigrants in OECD countries (2001) summarizes the expert recommendations regarding the acquisition and transfer of knowledge for entrepreneurs, suggesting that successful businesses depend largely on the training and experience

in business management of the businesspeople involved. Therefore, the strengthening of these skills is recommended for the implementation of self-employment incentive programmes. Furthermore, research such as that carried out by Wilson and Portes (1980) with Cuban entrepreneurs in the US noted how those businesspeople with training in business practices related to the launching of companies enjoyed more advantages on the road to self-employment. This question was tested by comparing the business strategies of migrants who had worked for other Cubans in the United States with respect to those who had not.

Programmes such as EQUAL CONVIVE + (2007) have implemented various training paths in these areas that have facilitated the implementation of businesses, as well as allowing entrepreneurs to become familiar with the social reality in which their businesses are to operate. This was of great use to the foreign immigrants participating in the programme as, in general, they were unaware of how to run a company in Spain in relation to issues such as tax payments, opening licenses, etc.

The *ACOB*E process has highlighted the importance of individualized training programmes, in contrast to group training. The individual accompaniment of businesses, covering the planning of the training and support to be received in accordance with the specific characteristics of the business in question, was very well received by the future entrepreneurs.

The training accumulated while working in a business in the location in which the migrant is settled provides a range of knowledge that can be leveraged in subsequent initiatives, namely: the profitability of a business, location, products to offer, timetables, regulations applicable to the location, etc. Therefore, the promotion of communication between groups of immigrant entrepreneurs can facilitate the maximization of different accumulated knowledge for use during the launch of the business. The training programmes offered under the EQUAL CONVIVE + programme facilitated this type of collaboration between successful and new entrepreneurs.

The following table shows the different indicators identified in the corresponding literature and which influence the access to and mobilization of the human capital of the migrant business.

Table 3: Human capital. Access and Mobilization

Educational resources and skills	Mobilization of human capital
Formal training: investment in educational credentials	Regulation of the standardization of qualifications
Work experience in the country of origin	Recognition of human capital through employment in the immigrant economy
Work experience in the country of settlement	
Socialization in the family business	Training within other immigrant businesses in the country of settlement

Source: author.

Basic conditions for implementation

- * Fostering entrepreneurship in sectors in which **formal training** or prior experience has been obtained (either as an entrepreneur or as an employee). Such entrepreneurs enjoy advantages in the implementation of their business project. Knowledge of the techniques and skills needed to carry out the activity minimize the risks associated to the opening of a business.
- * Expedite the implementation of the **standardization of academic credentials** issued in the countries of origin in order to maximize the human capital of highly-qualified entrepreneurs, making it possible to extend the career followed in the country of origin in the country of destination.
- * To place equal value on those businesses that implement activities that were already carried out in the **informal economy**. This is also one of the characteristics most valued by entities offering micro-credits as a key to viability.
- * Activate the **experience obtained in family businesses**. Explore the family life in training programmes to discover situations in which a family business, and the participation in the same, is capable of leading to new business initiatives.

* Promote the individualisation of **training programmes**. One of the characteristics to have been identified as desirable is the individualisation of the training's timetables and content. The programming of individualized tutoring when preparing training programmes is considered as the most positive aspect. An increased focus on individual meetings could contribute to the generation of a more solid business plan. Thus, the individual adaptation of the training content to the characteristics of the future business (size, industry, capital, employees, location, etc.) is a key element to improving training.

* Promoting the **specialization of the activity** is also a factor that can determine the success of the business. Small entrepreneurs usually open small businesses, with a simple organizational structure and in saturated areas of the market. Entrepreneurs must be guided, through training and advice, towards the specialization of the activity through the business plan.

* In the case of business projects designed in a different location to that in which the activity is to be launched (e.g., as in the case of trans-national entrepreneurs or prospective returnees), it is recommendable to monitor the training programmes both **from the country of origin and from the country of destination**. Business projects designed in the country of destination can suffer from a lack of connection to the socioeconomic reality of the countries of origin, knowledge of the less-saturated market areas, the potential of the activities, etc. It is therefore suggested that business plans are completed in the country in which the business is to be launched.

* The opening of **franchises** is an attractive option in terms of strengthening the knowledge needed to start up the business. This system has advantages that mitigate the risks of entrepreneurship for immigrants who are unfamiliar with the market, as the business has already been tested and optimized by the franchisor and the general public, and lines of credit are often provided in association with the contract.

* Promoting the creation of a **social enterprise** (co-operative) can also be a strategy to consider in order to disperse the risks assumed and obtain more initial capital. This form of business organization can bring together people in similar situations and with limited resources and allow them to take advantage of a more efficient operation.

* Promote training in **legal management skills** and accounting basics to manage the company. Although many entrepreneurs outsource the

management of administrative procedures to professional agencies, it is necessary to cover the basic legal and accounting concepts, especially if the entrepreneurs are operating under unfamiliar regulations.

- * Raise awareness of the **services offered** by NGOs, regional and state institutions, business associations, etc., for small and medium businesses in order that those concerned have access to information about the resources available.

5.3. Maximization of entrepreneurs' social capital

Definition of the proposal

Social capital has been interpreted by economic sociology as investment in social relations with an expected profit in the market (Granovetter, 1983). Individuals engage in social interactions and form networks in order to obtain a wide range of benefits. Social capital differs from other forms of capital, whether economic capital (financial, property, etc.) or human capital (education, experience, skills, etc.). Social capital refers to the **resources (information, ideas, support, etc.) that individuals may only seek and obtain through social relations**, and which equip the individual to compete in the market (Groutaert *et al.*, 2003). How are the functions of social capital articulated in immigrant entrepreneurship? This conceptualization of social capital identifies social networks and family and community ties as functional factors for the opening of a business. Several empirical studies suggest that the mobilization of social capital in migrant companies corresponds directly and almost exclusively to the use of family ties (Cobas, 1987; Cobas and De Ollos, 1989; Ram 1992; Sanders and Nee, 1996; Rumbaut, 1997; Ram *et al.*, 2001, 2002, Song, 2001). According to Stewart (2003), the family has internal relationships which imply mutual obligation and trust, the command of which can be useful for complementing business strategies.

However, although the family can generate many resources, it can also limit. The research emphasizes the importance of these weak ties to increase information, as dependence on the family limits the circles necessary to obtain other resources (Renzulli *et al.*, 2000). Thus, businesses can benefit from other social ties in accordance with the current phase in which they are immersed. For example, the networks composed of family members

and closest associates are capable of providing financial support and initial advice. Meanwhile, during the stabilization of the business it is necessary to mobilize a broader social network due to the need for more informants, resources and business relationships. Therefore, it is suggested that social capital cannot be studied as a homogeneous concept and that it is used in different ways depending on variables such as the life cycle of the company, its characteristics, the household situation, etc.

Experience and empirical evidence

The taking into account not only the project and the individual situation of the entrepreneur in self-employment promotion programmes, but also their family situation and connection with the community, is an element that favours the profitability of social capital. This is not extensively applied in migrant entrepreneurship initiatives, although different research has shown it to be a central element of the path towards the creation of a company and the success of initiatives. The importance of social capital has been analysed in large-scale projects, such as the studies undertaken by Raijman and Tienda (2003) with Latin American and Korean entrepreneurs in the United States, where it was found that dense family networks enabled Asian migrants to acquire financial capital. This access to family networks enabled access to capital and information that in turn led to stronger businesses than those of Latin American migrants, which have smaller families. This type of result has led to the design of programmes that take into account the position of the entrepreneur in his/her social circle.

With respect to the implementation of this issue in self-employment promotion programmes, the EQUAL CONVIVE + 2007 programme took the family situation of entrepreneurs into account in order to support those with more limited social networks (e.g., single mothers).

Thus, those entrepreneurs with greater support within their family circle and community will have greater access to resources, bearing in mind that relatives are often the basis for funding. They also provide financial capital for expenses during the initial phase, etc. All these variables facilitate the taking of short-term risks by entrepreneurs. Other, more extensive family networks provide authorization and support to initiatives, access to other businesses and markets, etc.

Self-employment promotion programmes for migrants and returnees from OECD countries (SOPEMI, 1985) successfully facilitated access to local business networks for future immigrant entrepreneurs. This facilitates connections with other experiences and access to other resources which are lacking in the entrepreneur’s immediate social circle.

In summary, those entrepreneurs with more diverse social ties are capable of activating relationships that benefit the business strategy. The following table summarizes the different links of relevance to the company.

Table 4: Social capital in immigrant companies: networks and mobilization

Social ties
Family ties of entrepreneurs
Ties with people of different socioeconomic characteristics to those of the entrepreneur
Ties with people in positions of power, key institutions, etc.
Mobilization
Networks only represent social capital if they produce a profit in the market
Different networks have different utilities depending on variables such as the stage of the business, customer orientation, etc.
Social capital can be mobilized when there is a lack of human and/or financial capital

Source: author.

Basic conditions for implementation

* Encourage the inclusion of entrepreneurs in a **community network** made up of other entrepreneurs brings a number of benefits to the progress of the business. These networks act as mechanisms to facilitate the procedures required when opening the business: information and advice on administrative processes, bank guarantees, etc. These community networks can also generate new spaces of consumption, with some businesses

becoming consumer references throughout the entire community.

- * Supporting the organization of workshops, experience **exchange seminars**, networking forums, etc., with representatives from local, regional and state institutions, can facilitate the maximization of resources and contacts for entrepreneurs.
- * Introducing more flexible **criteria for family reunification** for migrant entrepreneurs as, in general, the existing criteria tends to be more restrictive in terms of requirements (higher purchasing power needed) than that applicable to migrants in paid employment.
- * Taking into consideration the role of the family in the design and monitoring of the plans prepared by the local administration and NGOs. As indicated in the previous section, the involvement of the **family** in the launch of the activity can facilitate success, especially in moments of greater vulnerability for the business. On occasion, family solidarity is essential to carrying out the business strategy. As raised in the section on financial capital, the stable income of another family member can act as a cushion during the more difficult moments of the business. However, if family solidarity is essential to the running of a business, the boundaries between occasional help and full-time work are sometimes diffuse.

The following table summarizes the recommendations made for the successful insertion of migrants and returnees as self-employed workers.

Table 5: Summary of recommendations for the implementation of immigrant entrepreneurship programmes

Strengthening of financial capital	Maximization of human capital	Strengthening of social capital
Facilitate access to micro-credits and grants	Promote activities related to the formal education of the entrepreneur	Facilitate the inclusion of entrepreneurs in the community networks of other entrepreneurs
Design of feasibility plan	Assess businesses already implemented in the informal economy	Organization of experience exchange workshops, forums, etc.
Facilitate the mobilization of savings and sale of properties	Design of individualized learning programmes	Family involvement in the early stages of the business (with care to avoid the creation of situations of family (self-) exploitation)
Mobilize the resources of the family network	Promote the specialization of the activity	
Access to trans-national investment networks	Monitoring of the training programmes in origin and destination	
	Inform of the possibilities of franchises as a business model	
	Promote social enterprises	
	Inform of the existing services offered by NGOs, regional institutions, business associations, etc.	

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CHAPTER 5:

PROMOTING THE CIRCULAR MOVEMENT OF KNOWLEDGE: SKILLED MIGRATION AND SKILLS RECOGNITION

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1. Introduction

In 1963, the British Royal Society coined the term brain drain to define the exodus of British scientists to the United States. Since then, the brain drain concept has been popularized to explain the migration of qualified people leaving developing countries and heading to developed countries. Even so, it seems necessary to point out that the majority of international qualified migration flows still take place between developed countries (Sims, 2009), especially between those with similar levels of development. Nevertheless, it is true that qualified migration flows from developing countries to developed countries have grown in recent years (IOM, 2008).

Despite this being a recurring theme in the academic literature on migration, it is during the recent decades **that the mobility of qualified workers has become a central theme when discussing international migration.** This growing interest is directly linked to a globalization process in which

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capital, information, goods, knowledge and people flow⁴⁰ with an intensity unknown to date between more countries than ever before.

Since its conception, there has been widespread use of the term brain drain as a synonym for decapitalization, assuming it was a process in which countries lost the investment they had made in some of their best prepared citizens (Martínez Pizarro, 2008). But this line of thought has been progressively joined by others. Thus, the early 2000s saw the emergence of other perspectives which highlighted the positive aspects of the movement of qualified people. Both the World Bank and the OECD and ECLAC (Economic Commission for Latin America) (Barcenas, 2010) indicated that in a highly-globalized context of circulating capital and goods, the movement of qualified human capital represented another element of a long-term positive exchange.

In any case, the two approaches (capitalization and exchange) relating to the impacts of the movement of highly-qualified people indicate that this movement takes place in a **globalized scenario in which it is not possible to imagine that these flows cease to exist**. The truth is that, in interconnected globalized economies such as we have today, it is increasingly common for certain qualified profiles to require international experience in order to be competitive. Therefore, given the evidence of the continuity of these flows, it seems particularly interesting to **examine the responses of the European Union and Latin America countries** in relation to this issue.

The aim of this chapter is, precisely, to examine the reality of the mobility of qualified personnel between Latin America and Europe. To do so, mention will be made of some of the discussions related to the movement of qualified people and the transformation of the brain drain into triple-positive phenomenon (win-win-win), in which the benefit is maximized for the country of origin, the country of destination and for the migrant. This chapter summarizes these recommendations in order to **propose a working**

⁴⁰ In terms of human mobility, the impact of globalization is evident in the intensification of migration flows in the last two decades. In 1990, the United Nations estimated that the international migrant population was composed of about 120 million people, representing 2.3% of the world population. In 2010, the estimated number of international migrants stood at 213 million, representing 3.1% of the total world population (United Nations DESA, 2009).

agenda to assist mobility policy technicians and managers in making decisions that facilitate a better flow of training and knowledge among Latin American and European Union countries.

2. Debates, options and situation of the question

One of the first elements of confusion that exists when talking about qualified migration is the very definition of the concept. Two definitions are employed when speaking of the “qualified migrant”, one of which is extensive and one of which is reduced in their scope. Thus, some definitions refer to qualifications in a broad sense, ranging from technical training to specializations of excellence. Others, however, understand qualification as only that which refers to scientific careers, while others include professionals and qualified technicians. In an attempt to unify the disparity of criteria in the definition, in 1995 the OECD and Eurostat presented the “Canberra Manual”⁴¹. According to the manual, highly-qualified people are considered as those who have successfully completed tertiary studies in any of the areas of science and technology, and those who, even without having completed these studies, are employed in an occupation that requires these skills. Furthermore, and in an extensive perspective, it also includes those who possess the knowledge and education qualifications corresponding to a professional technician in the various fields of science and technology.

However, the use of concept qualified migration **is still not unequivocal**. Thus, in Latin America the *IMILA* (Research on International Migration in Latin America⁴² database, operated by the Latin American Demographic Centre (Pellegrino, 2008) is employed. The database classifies migrants according to census occupation (professional and technical, directors and managers) and education (12 years of education completed) categories. For its part, the European directive on highly-skilled workers⁴³ (which supports

⁴¹ The English version of the Manual to measure human resources related to science and technology (Canberra Manual) can be found at <http://www.oecd.org/science/innovation/scienceandtechnologyandindustry/2096025.pdf>

⁴² See <http://www.eclac.cl/migracion/imila/>

⁴³ Directive 2009/50/EC of the Council, 25 May 2009, on the conditions of entry and residence of third-country citizens for the purposes of highly qualified employment. DOUE L 155/17, 18/6/2009.

the existence of the blue card for the residence of these workers in the EU) indicates that a highly-qualified worker is one who possesses the adequate and specific competence required, proven by means of higher professional qualifications (at least three years of training) or, exceptionally, a minimum of five years of professional experience comparable to higher education qualifications. Furthermore, for the European Union, highly-qualified migration is also defined by remuneration, which must result from a gross annual salary equal to at least 1.5 times the average gross annual salary in the Member State in question.

From the so-called **“internationalist” or “positive” perspective, it is claimed that human capital tends to go to locations in which it enjoys higher productivity**, and as such it is understandable and beneficial to the migrants and their country of origin that migrants go to places in which they obtain greater compensation and benefits in relation to their training. In this sense, qualified migration can have a positive impact on the country of origin to the extent that it facilitates the transfer of knowledge and technology (especially through return migration), as well as **the development of international networks, and promotes incentives in the countries of origin**, encouraging the training of a greater number of people as a result of the higher chances of success to be obtained through migration (Sims, 2009). Furthermore, and in the same vein, remittances can compensate for the loss of the most qualified workers (Bollard *et al.*, 2011), especially when the more qualified and trained are able to access higher-paid jobs in the countries of destination and, therefore, send home greater amounts as remittances.

Within the context of this perspective, the concern is not in the brain drain, but about the brain waste. The concern lies in the fact that the qualified migrant does not occupy, in the country of destination, a job commensurate with his/her training, as he/she is overqualified for the work that he/she carries out. Brain waste is indeed the most negative situation possible, and it does not benefit the country of origin, the country of destination or, obviously, the migrant (SOPEMI, 2007).

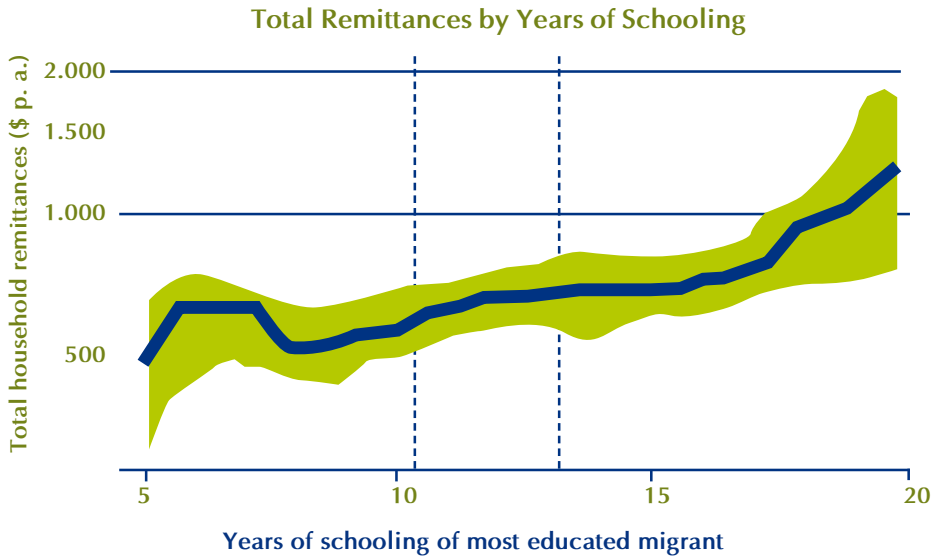
Nevertheless, in order to respond to the brain drain or waste of talent, there seems to be an increasingly clear need for coordinated actions and tools for the effective and beneficial management of the flows of qualified migrants. Thus, in recent years special attention has been paid to developing policies

Figure 1: The balance of the "brain drain" for the countries of origin and destination

Countries of origin: (possible) negative consequences	Countries of destination: (possible) negative consequences
<i>Brain drain:</i> loss of productive capacity due to a temporary lack of highly-qualified workers and students. Less public funds to support education.	Reduction of incentives for national citizens to obtain higher skills and/or competences. Can displace native students from the best schools. Cultural and linguistic barriers between native workers and highly-qualified foreigners. Possible transfer of technology to hostile countries.
Countries of origin: (possible) positive consequences	Countries of destination: (possible) positive consequences
Increased incentives to obtain highly-qualified training. The ability to export training reduces the risk/increases the expectations of a return on the investment in personal education. The economic return on investment in training can be increased. Circulation of knowledge and collaboration. Increased ties with foreign research institutions. Increased export opportunities for technology. Return of natives with foreign human capital and training. Remittances and other forms of support from the diaspora networks.	Increased R&D and economic activity given the additional availability of highly-qualified workers. Circulation of knowledge and collaboration. Increased ties with foreign research institutions. Export opportunities for technology. Increase in enrolments in post-graduate programmes/continuity of small research programmes.

Source: Regets, 2001. Authors.

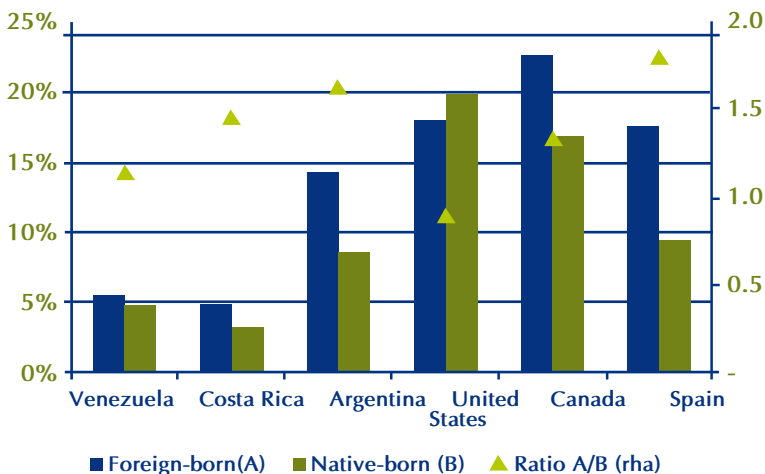
Figure 2: Remittances by years of schooling



Semi-parametric regression line from partial linear model with dataset dummy variables evaluated at means. 95% pointwise confidence intervals shown from 500 bootstrap repetitions. Vertical lines separate quartiles.

Source: Bollard *et al.*, 2011.

Figure 3: Over-qualification rate of Latin America and Caribbean workers by level of education and country of destination (circa 2000)



Source: Castelletti *et al.* 2010.

to promote “brain circulation” (Pellegrino, 2008) and which have a positive impact both on the countries of origin and on the countries of destination. In this sense, **more and more countries are opting, unilaterally, bilaterally or multilaterally, to establish mechanisms that limit, in some way, the negative impacts of the movement of qualified people, and to optimize the benefits.** As outlined below, the Euro-Latin American space can be especially receptive to these advances in the management of HRST (Human Resources in Science and Technology), i.e., the flows of qualified migrants.

Although migration between Latin America and the European Union has had special relevance and visibility as of the late nineties, the first relevant contemporary flows took place in the second half of the twentieth century. The movement of qualified migrants between Latin America and Europe, has a long history⁴⁴, although since 2008, and with Europe mired in a severe economic crisis, the small but constant flows towards Latin America have gradually increased (despite the difficulties in certifying the volume, as there is still a need to cross the figures from the countries of origin and destination in order to avoid duplicating the figures corresponding those who hold dual nationality). The figures show a steady flow of this type of migrant, motivated by a search for better career opportunities, both from Latin America to Europe and vice versa. And the debate on the social impacts of these movements in the countries of destination and origin has generated special interest in the European-Latin American space.

In the case of the European Union, much of HRST migration is intra-regional and intra-OECD. For some countries, in fact, this migration represents a substantial component in their labour markets: in Ireland or Luxembourg, for example, HRST from other OECD countries is equivalent to more than

⁴⁴ Between 1962 and 1973, more than 50,000 migrants (of European origin) left Latin America annually, motivated by the high demand for labour in the European economies. In the seventies, these population movements were accompanied by a more reduced flow of exiles, mostly from the Southern Cone. As their home countries returning to the democratic path, many of them returned to their countries of origin. In the eighties, the UK and the Netherlands received small population flows from the Caribbean countries, while as of the nineties, flows Andean migrants on their way to Europe, especially to the southern countries, grew strongly. If in 2000 almost half of the migrants from Latin America and the Caribbean were to be found in the United States, the conversion of Europe into the destination for this immigration flow grew exponentially throughout the 2000s.

15% of the native RHCT. The UK and Germany are the countries which receive the highest number of qualified European migrants, while the United States and Canada are the main non-EU destinations. In recent years, these flows have also been transformed. In part, because the crisis has accentuated qualified labour flows between European countries (Spain and Ireland have seen how 5% and 15%, respectively, of their stock of qualified workers have moved abroad). But also because these flows are becoming increasingly internationalized. Thus, in France and Portugal, qualified migration from countries outside OECD now exceeds that from OECD countries (OECD, 2009).

On the contrary, for many years the general perception in Latin America indicated that more qualified migrants migrated to destinations outside the region, with the intra-regional movements corresponding to less-skilled workers (ECLAC, 2006). As noted, this has not been true until relatively recently. In fact, a large proportion of Latin American qualified migration headed for destinations within the region, just as the flows of qualified European migrants were destined to other European countries. In both cases, the extra-regional flows of qualified migrants, mainly to the United States, were constant but lower in absolute terms. The proportion of professional and technical intra-regional Latin American migrants increased from 6% in 1970 to 8% in 1990 and 13% in 2000. Figures for that year indicate that Argentina, Dominican Republic and Venezuela were the countries with the lowest percentage of professionals and technicians among its workforce, while Brazil and Chile accumulated around 30% of Latin American HRST in their labour markets.

Gradually, and with special relevance in recent years, there has been an increase in the international -extra-regional- dimension of the mobility of qualified workers to a greater number of destination countries. Thus, according to the *IMILA* data, there has been a certain stagnation in recent decades in the number of qualified Latin American workers residing in countries in the region, while the number of residents in the United States and Europe, and especially Spain, has increased (Pellegrino, 2008). In France, Australia and the UK, 40% or more of Latin American residing at least 15 years in the country had completed higher education, while in Spain 23% of Latin American immigrants had reached this level.

By regions, the international mobility rates of people with higher education correspond to the Caribbean, followed by Central America. The proportion

Figure 4: Active Latin American workforce and qualified migrants by country of presence, 2000

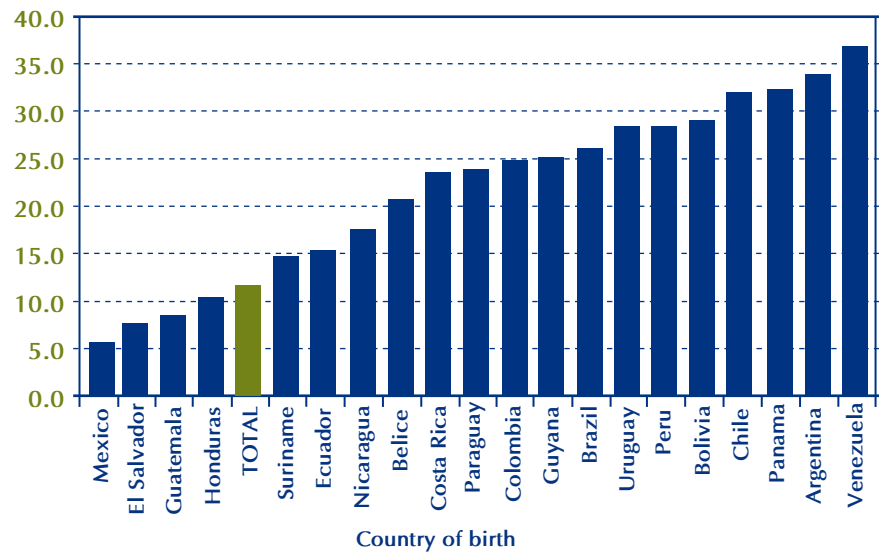
Country of presence	Year	Economically Active Population (EAP)	Professional, Technical and Similar (PTS)	Percentage PTS/EAP
Argentina	2001	625,532	58,044	9.3
Bolivia	2001	28,810	6,624	23.0
Brazil	2000	87,241	27,299	31.3
Chile	2002	67,505	18,407	27.3
Colombia				
Costa Rica	2000	143,855	17,885	12.4
Cuba				
Ecuador	2001	37,725	6,308	16.7
El Salvador				
Guatemala	2002	15,991	2,495	15.6
Haiti				
Honduras	2001	8,869	2,211	24.9
Mexico	2000	43,941	12,115	27.6
Nicaragua				
Panama	2001	26,533	4,533	17.1
Paraguay	2002	83,746	10,663	12.7
Peru				
Dominican Republic	2002	53,791	3,161	5.9
Uruguay				
Bolivarian Republic of	2001	481,275	59,510	12.4
Venezuela		1,704,814	229,255	13.4
Total				

Source: CELADE IMILA project, ECLAC, 2006.

of South American citizens is lower, which explains the imbalance between the percentages of qualified Latin American immigration between the U.S. and Europe, as the former country is the destination of mostly Caribbean and Central American citizens.

The reasons for these flows are the wage differences between the countries of origin and destination, the greater opportunities in terms of technology and financial capital that exist in host countries, and migration policies, as in

Figure 5: Percentage of Latin Americans having completed higher education, residents in OECD countries, by country of birth (circa 2000)



Source: Pellegrino and Vigorito, 2009.

Figure 6: Qualified migration from America to OECD countries, 2000

Region	Participation in the OECD stock (%)		Emigration rate (% of labour force**)		Participation of qualified workers (%)	
	Total	Qualified	Total	Qualified	Among residents	Among migrants
America	26.3	22.6	3.3	3.3	29.6	29.7
North America	2.8	4.6	0.8	0.9	51.3	57.9
Caribbean	5.1	5.7	15.3	42.8	9.3	38.6
Central America	13.7	6.6	11.9	16.9	11.1	16.6
South America	4.7	5.6	1.6	5.1	12.3	41.2

Source: Solimano, 2008.

the United States and to a lesser extent the European Union, that promote the migration of highly-qualified personnel (Sims, 2009).

The migration flows of entrepreneurs, scientists, engineers, professionals and students (in short, the so-called HRST) **have a clear impact on the transfer of expertise, use of technology and production capabilities**. At this point, it is particularly significant to note the importance of student mobility as a key to knowledge transfer. Thus, after the United States, the European Union countries are the second most popular destination for international students from Latin America and the Caribbean. Spain and France are host, respectively, to 23% and 8% of the Latin American students studying post-graduate courses abroad.

3. Proposals identified

In this section, four basic proposals are indicated for incorporation into the working agenda of labour immigration policies in the European-Latin American scenario. The proposals have been prepared taking into account regional frameworks (EU, Mercosur, Andean Community, etc.) and their approach to the mobility of qualified workers, as well as the practices developed by individual countries and theoretical approaches on talent circulation developed by academic experts and international institutions such as the ILO and IOM, among others. Despite its historical baggage, the migration of highly-qualified people has not been a priority on the EU-Latin American agenda, and few bilateral or multilateral experiences can be noted in this regard. Even so, the constant, and increased, flows of qualified human resources in recent years are the subject of greater interest among governmental managers and decision-makers in the EU-LAC framework, as it seems clear that talent is a key element for the positioning of countries and regions in the context of today's global economy.

Proposals:

- * Design **mobility schemes for qualified workers**.
- * Foster **dialogue** and **cooperation between countries**.
- * Strengthen **dialogue** and **public-private cooperation**.
- * Establish **comprehensive knowledge mobility schemes**.

4. Breakdown of the proposals identified

In today's globalized world, there is significant competition for attracting talent. There are many countries that, despite maintaining restrictive general immigration policies, strive to be more attractive for HRST. As the OECD notes, "A knowledge-based society relies on a highly-qualified labour force not only for high-tech and research industries, but also increasingly for all sectors of the economy and society. The increasing intensity of knowledge implies that all countries have a great need for highly-qualified workers who are able to access, understand and use knowledge for technological and economic development. The global competition for this talent is growing day by day" (OECD, 2009).

Attracting talent requires mobility (entry and exit) and permanence frameworks, which are not always appropriate. Today, many countries are now assuming the need to rethink their immigration policies, designing much more flexible instruments and mechanisms that allow them to respond more effectively to current challenges. In fact, it is not only the institutional and regulatory frameworks that are subject to change, but also the very concept of HRST migration.

As reiterated throughout this chapter, concern about the "brain drain" has been a constant for many countries within Latin America and the Caribbean and the European Union. For many countries of origin of qualified-labour, the concern was the loss of labour productivity and the waste of the training received by the migrants composing these flows. But gradually, and in the measure that mobility has been assumed as a unique component of globalization, many of the HRST-issuing countries have begun to identify the beneficial opportunities offered by mobility, which involves the transfer of knowledge and skills, the accumulation of human capital and interaction networks, improved productivity and the fostering of innovation, among others (Ermólieva, 2011).

As this conceptual framework is strengthened and reinforced in most of the European-Latin American space's countries, the focus of the debate has changed. Today, the debate no longer centres on the brain drain, but on **the concerns about the waste of talent**. In this context, two key interests have acquired relevance in the EU-Latin American agenda, with considerable

impact on the mobility of qualified workers in both regions. On one hand, regulatory frameworks governing the mobility of qualified persons. On the other, the difficulties in the recognition of qualifications and professional skills. Finally, the challenge of managing international student mobility in the European-Latin American space cannot be overlooked.

4.1. Designing mobility schemes for qualified workers

Definition of the proposal

The design of mobility schemes for qualified workers is the key objective for guaranteeing the circulation of talent. To develop these schemes, there is a need to design tools and specific actions that respond to the country's short-term reality and which are, simultaneously, flexible and agile, as these instruments must correspond to the long-term vision of the country's needs in order to avoid rigidities that hinder changes when faced with new international dynamics. In this regard, it is essential to link mobility schemes to each country's economic development forecasts and policies and, in so far as is possible, to those of the region in which each country is located.

It is especially important to clearly establish the mechanisms regulating the entry and residence of qualified workers, and to the extent possible, work towards the harmonization of these instruments. In fact, this is what the European Union countries are doing through the directive on highly-qualified workers, but there is a need for Latin American countries to progress in multilateral cooperation in this regard. The contrasting of these two management systems must be made easier than is currently possible as a result of the dense network of national laws that regulate the process today. In order to promote the circulation of knowledge there is a need for convergent regulatory frameworks that establish minimum common standards that allow for greater benefits to be obtained in attracting highly-skilled workers both in Latin America and in the European Union.

Experience and empirical evidence

The European Union countries, like most OECD countries, have traditionally been net receivers of international HRST mobility. Even so, tools and actions designed to attract and retain qualified personnel, ranging from economic incentives to the streamlining of procedures for family reunification,

language support or housing, etc., are recent in nature. Furthermore, in the case of Europe, there is a range of initiatives launched by the Union in relation to this question.

In 2005, the European Commission presented a policy plan on legal migration that, among others, included a proposal for a directive on the conditions applicable to the entry and residence of highly-qualified workers⁴⁵. The directive aims to strengthen the EU's ability to attract third-country nationals for the purposes of highly-qualified employment, facilitating and simplifying the admission of such nationals (harmonization of the conditions of entry) and improving their legal status (and the rights attached to the same). When a citizen from a third country meets the requirements set out in this policy (certified training or professional qualifications and an employment contract with a salary equivalent to 1.5 times the average gross annual salary of the destination country), he/she is granted a European Blue Card. The European Blue Card grants migrants the right to enter, reside and leave the issuing Member State, and to cross the other Member States; to access the labour market in the sector in question; and to be afforded the same treatment as that enjoyed by the local citizens of the country of residence. After 18 months of legal residence, the migrants may move to another Member State in order access to highly-qualified employment. This initiative is the most advanced development to attract talent in the European-Latin American scenario, and even so, its development is being carried out in an irregular fashion. The difficulties lie not only in the reluctance of States to cede powers in matters as sensitive as the entry of aliens into their territory, but also in the impact of the crisis on European economies and, consequently, on the implementation and development of this regulatory framework.

Key ideas

- a)** At present, the capturing of foreign talent has become a key element in the immigration policies of many countries.
- b)** It is essential to design mobility schemes to promote the circulation of qualified workers and the circulation of talent, taking into account the short-, medium- and long-term scenarios.
- c)** Mobility schemes must be linked to each country's economic development policies and instruments, and to the associated employment policies.

⁴⁵ See footnote 43.

d) It is important to design review mechanisms and to establish assessment indicators, in order to adapt the management of the policies to the expected results.

e) In so far as is possible, the schemes must be established under convergent regulatory frameworks that establish minimum common standards that allow for greater benefits to be obtained in attracting highly-qualified workers both in Latin America and in the European Union.

Basic conditions for implementation

a) Development of responsive, flexible schemes

It must be understood that the management schemes must be adapted to the specificities of each group of workers. It is important to provide instruments and actions for workers with credentials and skills, as the requirements (and their recognition) cannot be the same for all groups. In addition, **there is a need to design actions and instruments that respond to the different groups of highly-skilled workers**, and not only according to their qualifications, but also in relation to their migratory project (family, short-term, etc.) or the type of profession in question (employment with regulated access, such as that related to medicine, or employment with no such restrictions). In this sense, elements such as fast track entries and the existence of tests/training in origin must be explored before the worker moves to the destination country. Finally, each country's objectives when designing such mobility schemes must be examined, establishing whether they imply costs (application, visa, etc.) and how they are to be implemented.

b) Establishing schemes linked to employment and economic development policies

Independently of the above, such mobility schemes must be **linked to employment and labour market policies**, as avoiding the loss of talent is a key requirement to ensuring a good positioning in the competition for global talent. It is also essential that these mobility policies are designed and implemented in coordination with the country's **economic development policies** (trade, etc.) and are embedded in its foreign policy, especially in the context of multilateral dialogues.

c) Improving information and statistical data

Even though it may seem an element of lesser importance, it is necessary to improve information and statistical data. One of the constants in the study of the phenomenon of qualified migration is the lack of comparable statistical data with which to develop efficient and effective public policies. The perception that the circulation of highly-skilled workers has a negative impact for the countries of origin does not have, at present, sufficient statistical basis. In fact, this implies that the claims highlighting the greater volume of remittances sent by qualified workers to their countries of origin cannot be taken as absolute truths, either. Progress is needed on the further development of statistical information, which must be configured with criteria as uniform as possible in order to facilitate comparison when discussing qualified migration and its impact both on the labour markets of the countries of origin and on those of the countries of destination, as well as on the economic and social development of the same. In this regard, **it is absolutely necessary that the public institutions responsible for the preparation of public statistics establish permanent working networks** that promote the production of similar indicators. And in turn, the EU-LAC research teams must be promoted in order to pursue specific research objectives and to strengthen international working networks.

4.2. Foster dialogue and cooperation between countries

Definition of the proposal

It is difficult today to speak of countries of origin and destination in relation to the mobility of qualified workers. There are many countries that receive highly-qualified workers, while others are the source of economic migration flows, and in turn, countries which continue to issue highly-qualified workers whilst receiving migration flows motivated by economic or family reasons. It is important, therefore, to understand that the mobility schemes must be designed to ensure successful mobility for each type of worker, in order to obtain the maximum benefit both in origin and in destination. To do so, certain issues of impact that are key to constructing comprehensive mobility schemes must be considered.

Similarly, it is important to use this dialogue and cooperation framework to strengthen the mechanisms in order to ensure, if necessary, the return (reintegration) of qualified professionals to their countries of origin. Here, once again, dialogue between the countries of origin and destination is essential, as is the establishment of the mechanisms that facilitate relationships with the diasporas. These return initiatives complete the knowledge

mobility circle. As the OECD notes, the circulation of knowledge “could be understood as the return of qualified migrants to their home countries after a period abroad or a pattern of temporary and circular migration between the country of origin and abroad [...] and the maintenance of networks that facilitate the continuity of knowledge exchange” (OECD, 2009).

Experience and empirical evidence

When discussing mobility, it is essential to consider the structures that provide displaced workers with legal security. It is also essential to contemplate the portability and transferability of social rights as a key element for the movement of persons, whether for long or short periods of time. In this regard, the EU-LAC scenario has an interesting example of good practice that would be interesting to extend: the **Ibero-American Multilateral Agreement on Social Security** (<http://www.oiss.org/>).

The portability of labour rights implies the possibility to enjoy the rights acquired, or in the process of being acquired, in a previous country of residence in other countries, even when these are not the worker’s country of origin. Portability implies extensive dialogue and collaboration, as it cannot be the unilateral product of one State, but rather requires collaboration between one or more States. In addition, the portability of rights has a dual positive impact. On one hand, it enables improvements in the migrant worker’s productivity through the continuous adaptation to and training within the labour market in the host country and, on the other hand, the improvement of working conditions in the country of origin, acting as a vector for the transfer of knowledge and productivity.

The First Ibero-American Multilateral Agreement on Social Security came into force on May 1, 2011, having been approved during the Seventeenth Summit of Heads of State and Government held in Santiago de Chile in November 2007. It has currently been ratified by Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Spain, Portugal, Bolivia and Paraguay. This First Agreement represents the construction of the world’s largest socio-laboral space and is a unique opportunity to implement actions to protect the social security rights of workers who fall within its scope of application. In this regard, the Agreement enables the accumulation of social security contributions in different States in order to obtain benefits in countries other than those in which they were generated, establishing the basic principle of the equal treatment all persons, independently of their nationality.

The successful Ibero-American Social Security Agreement process serves as an invitation to extend the measure to other areas, which can only be achieved within stable frameworks of dialogue and cooperation between countries.

The constant demand for highly-qualified immigrants, traditionally in Europe or in countries such as the U.S., Canada or Australia although now reaching a wider range of destinations, has increased concerns about the impact that these flows can pose for the countries of origin, “draining” human resources in key sectors such as education or health. Given these potential risks, more than a decade ago a debate was opened on how to respond to this situation, which for some countries was becoming to represent a drain of qualified human resources (in Jamaica, for example, 20% of nurses are working abroad). The EU has been particularly sensitive to the issue, and within the framework of its immigration policy called on the Member States to create mechanisms for the better management of this type of contracting (COM, 2005). The most common instruments have been the establishment of ethical codes of conduct, joint migration management (bilateral agreements), the establishment of reinstatement plans and institutional cooperation on higher education.

There has been a growing interest in ethical codes of recruitment, i.e., the establishment of guidelines and elements aimed at influencing the recruitment of highly-qualified workers, mainly in the field of healthcare. Internationally, the World Organisation of Family Doctors and the International Council of Nurses have adopted codes of conduct in this line in an attempt to minimize costs for the countries of origin.

Among States, the UK is certainly a pioneer in the establishment of measures to promote the ethical recruitment of foreign professionals. By means of the Code of practice for the international recruitment of healthcare professionals⁴⁶, the British government has gradually strengthened the regulation covering international recruitments by hospitals that form part of the National Health Service, as well as by the recruitment agencies that

⁴⁶ The document can be consulted at http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/www.dh.gov.uk/en/Publicationsandstatistics/Publications/PublicationsPolicyAndGuidance/DH_4097730

offer their services to these hospitals. Initially, the mechanism for controlling recruitment consisted of the creation of a list of “protected” countries from which the National Health Service was not allowed to contract highly-skilled staff. The regulation, originally aimed at hospitals, was later extended to recruitment agencies, which were also restricted in their capacity to contract health professionals from “protected countries.” To improve control in contracting, since 2004 the National Health Service code limits the use of recruitment agencies to those that adhere to the code of conduct, thus forcing the private sector to comply with the rules of ethical recruitment.

On the other hand, the UK has established control measures for ethical recruitment, requiring the existence of a bilateral cooperation agreement as a prelude to hiring health workers. These agreements involve a clear commitment from both parties to seek a shared and beneficial management of highly-qualified migration, providing greater transparency and enabling greater control of the private sector’s role in the recruitment process.

An example of such bilateral agreements on the ethical recruitment of health workers is that signed by the UK and the Philippines, a traditional “exporter” of qualified manpower in the health sector. The agreement sets out the requirements to be met by the public employment services in both countries in order to ensure transparency and prevent abuse. The agreement requires that the contractor bear the costs of the worker’s displacement, as well as any expenses related to the management of visas, and establishes a minimum contract term of 12 months. Contractors are required to pay a processing fee to the Filipino foreign employment agency, as well as a contribution to the workers welfare fund, which is established as a guarantee trust. The agreement also establishes a series of best practices and a code of conduct to ensure that the recruitment has a positive impact for the country of origin, the country of destination, and for the migrant worker.

Key ideas

- a)** It is essential to establish lines of dialogue with those preferred HRST countries of origin in order to facilitate interaction and responsibility, favouring the existence of networks and the transfer of knowledge (Pellegrino, 2009).
- b)** Such dialogue enables the identification of those areas of the labour

market that generate concern in the countries of origin and countries of destination. Thus, to prevent the brain drain in certain sectors, **ethical clauses can be incorporated into national or supranational regulations** to prevent the recruitment of professionals in these sectors.

c) The dialogue must be closely linked to the realities of the labour market. The establishment of fast track access measures or selection measures applied in the countries of origin require dialogue and collaboration tools if they are to be successful for the employee and for the countries of origin and of destination.

Basic conditions for implementation

a) Promote multilateral and interregional dialogue

It is necessary to promote dialogue between the Euro-Latin American countries on migration and mobility. Thus, it is possible to establish national or regional mobility schemes (for example, at the First Summit of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) with the European Union (EU) held in Chile in January 2013), taking into account the concerns of other countries and regions. Following initiatives developed in the Ibero-American scenario, it is necessary to progress in the creation of a shared working agenda in order to discuss labour migration policies and the mobility of qualified workers.

b) Develop regional mobility schemes to ensure legal security

It is important to progress towards common actions and instruments designed within frameworks of legal security, which is key to promoting migrant mobility accompanied by certain guarantees, as well as a prerequisite to ensuring the security of borders and the labour markets of the countries of origin and destination.

c) Avoid the “brain drain” (ethical clauses) and optimize the benefits for all parties involved

To avoid the undesired effects of “**brain drain**”, there is a clear need to reach agreements that enable the establishment of ethical clauses in the destination country’s entry processes, which in turn enable the protection of those sectors which are especially sensitive for the countries of destiny.

Moreover, cooperation and dialogue also seems necessary for the development of formulas related to international student mobility and the return of qualified professionals to the country of origin (Cossu, 2009).

4.3. Strengthen dialogue and public-private cooperation

Definition of the proposal

To speak of the labour market is to speak of the interaction between the public and private actors involved in the same. In this regard, it is crucial **to strengthen the dialogue with the private sector in developing regulations for attracting talent**. Most HRST develop their careers in private companies, and as such it seems important to maintain open lines of communication with the private sector. Public-private dialogue will enable immigration managers to respond more efficiently to the needs of businesses and industries that require highly-qualified personnel and, in turn, will ensure that **these companies are aware of the social impact (not only economic and linked to the company) that the circulation talent has on the countries of origin and destination**. The participation of the business world and, in a different manner, that of the diaspora, is key to the development of specific instruments and actions to achieve the objectives of improving the flow of knowledge.

Experience and empirical evidence

The role of the diasporas and, more specifically, of the remittances that they send, has been a topic of general interest when talking of migration and its impact on the development of the countries of origin. Various initiatives have opted to strengthen the impact of remittances on the countries of destination and, more generally, others have chosen to work to enable the diaspora communities to put their skills, abilities and knowledge at the disposition of the countries of origin.

In 1997, the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) presented its “Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate Nationals” (TOKTEN), which enabled expatriate professionals to participate in consultancies in their countries. Thus, UNDP attempted to reduce the dependence of the countries of origin on international experts developing their activities in the country. The programme aimed to counteract brain drain by transferring skills and knowledge to countries through its own nationals. Voluntary, since 1994

the TOKTEN programme has formed part of the “United Nations Volunteers” programme.

Meanwhile, and with the intention of consolidating the progress made through the TOKTEN programme, in 2001 IOM established the “Migration for Development in Africa” (MIDA) programme⁴⁷. The programme promotes collaboration between public and private stakeholders in order to promote the transfer and circulation of competences, knowledge and skills among Africans living abroad and their countries of origin, through visits, return projects (real or virtual), etc.

By developing specific programmes aimed at coordinating the demands in origin and the contributions of the diaspora, the project developed tools to promote economic transfers, decentralized cooperation and physical, virtual and technique transfers. The participation conditions are also stipulated in order to optimize the exchange of knowledge or skills. The assessment of the MIDA projects is essential to ensure the adaptation of the expected results and objectives reached.

Key ideas

- a)** When speaking of mobility management, it is important to establish a broad framework of dialogue that allows the participation both of economic and of social actors.
- b)** It is important to promote public-private partnerships, designing actions and instruments to facilitate the participation of private actors, particularly employers’ organizations, trade unions and NGOs.
- c)** It is necessary to strengthen the role of transnational networks and the diasporas, which can become active players in the interaction between countries, and to promote benefits for the country of origin and of destination.

⁴⁷ For further information in “The MIDA experience and beyond”, IOM 2009. It can be consulted at http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/MIDA%20publication_SP_for%20web.pdf

Basic conditions for implementation

a) Promotion of public-private partnerships

The mobility of highly-qualified people takes place mainly within corporate and academic environments. In this sense, it is necessary to foster partnerships involving governments and private actors. Joint initiatives to promote **technology start-ups**⁴⁸ would, in this sense, be the most suitable measure to combine the roles of governments and the private sector.

b) Guarantee the participation of economic and social actors in the design and implementation of mobility schemes

It is essential that areas of dialogue be created to allow social and economic agents to participate in the design of mobility frameworks in order to optimize the results of mobility. The dialogue can be established within the framework of employment policies, development policies or the mobility policies themselves, depending on each country's institutional composition.

c) Maximize the role of transnational networks and of the diasporas

The diasporas, as transnational scientific communities, are key actors for the generation of knowledge innovation and transfer processes. **Programmes linking migrated scientists with local scientific communities**, for example, have proven to be good mechanisms for the transfer of knowledge, but also for the promotion of domestic industries into which acquired knowledge can be injected (see the cases of India and Taiwan and the role of the diasporas in building a high-tech industry). The role of public authorities in this regard is important, as it reinforces the role voluntarily carried out by those involved and ensures the success of their initiatives. In the UK, for example, such initiatives provide initial tax advantages that protect the growth of businesses during their first, weaker, steps.

⁴⁸ See the article on “Chilicon” Valley, referring to the boom in technology start-ups in Chile. <http://www.economist.com/node/21564589>

4.4. Establish comprehensive knowledge mobility schemes

Definition of the proposal

The design of mobility schemes for the highly-skilled cannot be carried out independently of a country's economic and social reality. It is therefore vital that they are developed within a comprehensive context that includes not only the mobility of talent, but also other related factors.

The aim, therefore, is to establish mechanisms that enable secure mobility, while avoiding the waste of talent and promoting the circulation of knowledge. Making mobility beneficial for all involved means working to prevent a waste of talent, progressing in the standardization of professional qualifications and credentials, strengthening the common educational space and establishing regulatory frameworks for qualified people who want to work in other countries within the Latin America and Caribbean and European Union space.

Experience and empirical evidence

One of the main problems when discussing the mobility of qualified workers are the difficulties many of them face in accessing posts that are matched to their education and training. While it is true that, in part, this may be due to the requirements of the labour markets in the countries of destination, it is also true that in many cases it is due to the impossibility of proving that they possess the knowledge and skills required for carrying out qualified employment.

In the European Union there is no automatic recognition of academic qualifications among member countries. European governments are responsible for their education systems and are free to apply their own rules, including the very existence of mechanisms for the recognition of qualifications obtained in other countries. This means that when an EU citizen wants to demonstrate their professional skills to work in another Member State, he/she must initiate a recognition process. Practice has converted this process into a more or less rapid exercise, although not always a fair one, which will be completed with the full development of the European Higher Education Area (Bologna Process).

Meanwhile, in Latin America there is *COREDIAL* (Regional Convention on the Recognition of Studies, Diplomas and Degrees in Higher Education in Latin

America and the Caribbean), which is aimed at integrating each country's criteria by developing common validation and approval frameworks, and which was signed in 1974 by some 20 States. The uneven development of this instrument may be due, among other reasons, to the reluctance of the individual countries to facilitate the approval of foreign qualifications. Thus, for example, the agreement contains a number of exceptions, such as Uruguay, which prevents the certification of qualifications if there is no reciprocity regarding the qualifications granted by the country. This fact highlights the need to strengthen initiatives that encourage and facilitate academic coordination and the recognition of qualifications and degrees.

In the Euro-Latin American scenario, the instruments of coordination and dialogue in relation to the recognition of qualifications are even less visible. In 1991, within the framework of an Ibero-American summit, the idea of strengthening the links between higher education institutions and of creating a common space for higher education in Latin America was incorporated into the agenda. In 2004, the Declaration of Guadalajara issued following the 3rd European-Latin American Summit expressed a commitment to the construction of a Euro-Latin American University Space, and the following year the EU-LAC Ministerial Conferences on Higher Education were institutionalised (Escribano, 2006). But this commitment to a shared higher education space is still far from becoming a reality.

Key ideas

- a)** One of the main problems when discussing the mobility of qualified workers are the difficulties many of them face in accessing posts that are matched to their education and training. It is not always possible to verify degrees or training which were obtained in different countries to those of the labour market which the migrant wishes to access, giving rise to a large percentage of qualified workers entering the labour market in positions that do not correspond to their educational level or professional skills.
- b)** The lack of recognition of degrees and training is one of the key elements that explain the brain waste.
- c)** Degree standardisation and skills recognition mechanisms are weak both within the EU and within Latin America. There is a need to examine indicators to assess the professional competence of skilled workers who, due to the existence of different administrative hurdles, carry out qualified work without the recognition of their qualifications.

d) In the Euro-Latin American context, the international mobility of students, which has experienced growth in recent years. The mobility of university students is an indicator of the competitiveness of higher educational institutions which offer a wide range of undergraduate, masters and doctorates degrees to attract students from other countries. Although most of these courses require the physical presence of the student, the impact of new technologies in academia is also evident, with the existence of a considerable number of virtual masters.

e) To strengthen international student flows between Latin America and Europe, it is feasible to think that progress can be made in the introduction of common educational credentials (as has been done in the Euro-Mediterranean space) and in the strengthening of interregional grants systems.

f) Return policies must be seen as complementary to those aimed at attracting talent, as they guarantee the circulation of knowledge, innovation and the transfer of technology.

Basic conditions for implementation

a) Progress in the standardisation of qualifications and the recognition of skills

In order to minimize the “waste of talent”, it is important to develop and streamline mechanisms for the standardisation of qualifications and the recognition of professional skills. In this sense, there is a need to strengthen inter-country cooperation mechanisms, as well as to encourage private sector participation. This is necessary not only because many academic institutions competing in the international arena are not publicly owned, but also because work experience should be useful to companies. Therefore, fostering public-private partnerships is fundamental. Many countries already have such mechanisms (see the case of the UK), giving rise to the need to analyse the corresponding good practices in order to facilitate their extrapolation to the Euro-Latin American scenario. With regard to professional skills, it is necessary to advance in the establishment of indicators to assess the results of the same. In this sense, again, dialogue with private actors is essential.

b) Facilitating the movement of international students

Although the creation of a Euro-Latin American higher education scenario has already been introduced into the Euro-Latin American agenda, the progress made in this direction is not yet sufficient. It is therefore essential to further develop complementary actions that enable and facilitate international student mobility between the two regions. A step in this direction would be the creation of joint training programmes involving universities on both sides of the Atlantic. The aim is not only to encourage the movement of students to other countries that already offer many academic programmes, but also to work towards the creation of joint qualifications that can be monitored in various countries within the Euro-Latin American scenario.

On the other hand, there is a large number of national and multilateral grants to encourage the movement of students between the European Union and Latin America. Unfortunately, information on these grants is disordered and somewhat impractical, as it requires reviewing hundreds of web pages belonging to the academic institutions that provide the grants, or searching specialized search engines. The systematization of mobility opportunities should be a first step towards building a space that effectively enables student mobility. Finally, facilitating the process of obtaining and issuing student visas should also be a key instrument in promoting such mobility.

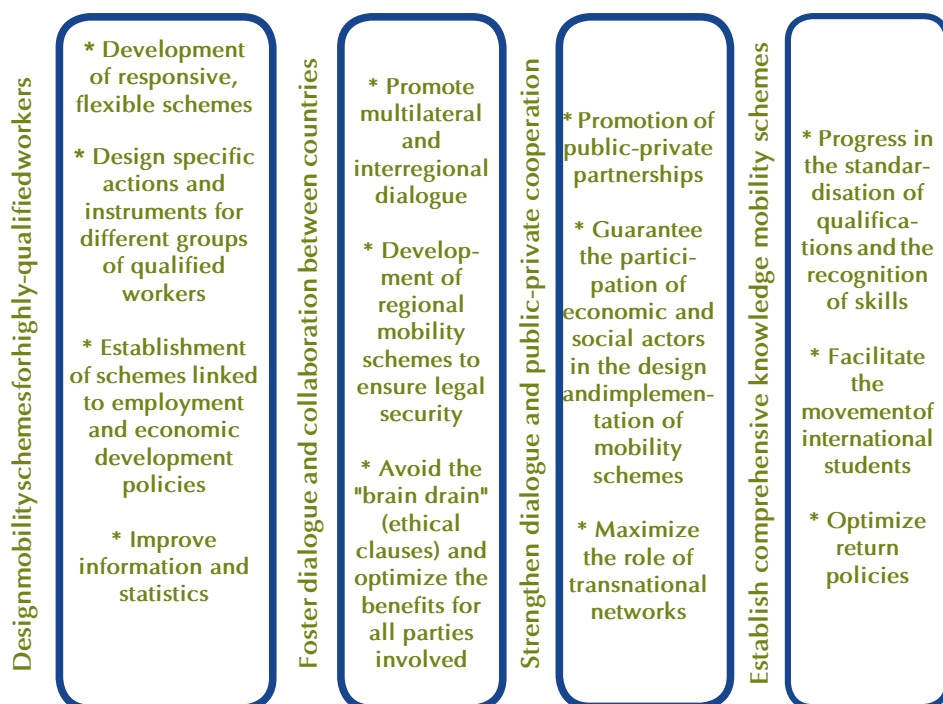
c) Optimizing return policies

Within the framework of a comprehensive mobility scheme, importance must be given to return policies that, as with exit policies, provide legal certainty to migrants. Return policies must be seen as complementary to those aimed at attracting talent, as they guarantee the circulation of knowledge, innovation and the transfer of technology.

When developing such policies, it is important to establish recapture instruments for attracting the skilled migrant and, above all, their incorporation into the home market must be commensurate with their qualifications and skills in order to ensure that their talent is not wasted. Furthermore, once again it is essential that dialogue be established with private actors, especially transnational corporations capable of becoming vectors of mobility.

5. Recommendations

Figure 7: Summary of recommendations



Source: author.

Mobility is a vital option for many qualified workers, but it also, as we have noted throughout this chapter, contributes the **creation and dissemination of knowledge**. People pass on their knowledge, skills and capabilities both **to others and to public and private, social and economic institutions**. They promote innovation and, as noted by the OECD, act "as a vital complement to the transfer of knowledge through flows of goods and capital across borders" (OECD, 2009). It is, therefore, a situation that is a priori positive both for individuals and for the countries of origin and destination.

The governments involved must **manage this mobility** in order to avoid its negative impacts and optimize its inherent benefits. This means **committing**

to coherent mobility strategies that take into account the exit, entry and return mechanisms, as well as specific actions relating the maximization of the benefits of qualified personnel diasporas abroad. Not many countries have become aware of the importance of efficiently managing this mobility of knowledge, and as such it seems appropriate to point out certain elements that should be taken into consideration in order to obtain a **better use of human mobility**, as well as **the transfer technology, science, knowledge and innovation** that this mobility implies.

In summary, all these elements are aimed at **encouraging the circular mobility of knowledge, understood as a key element to increase a country's economic competitiveness**. This objective aims to avoid the waste of human capital and to optimize its impact on the economic and social development both of the countries of destination and of the countries of origin. In 2005, the Global Commission on International Migration stated that "governments and employers must remove the obstacles to the mobility of highly-qualified personnel that unnecessarily impede economic competitiveness" (GCIM, 2005).

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CHAPTER 6:

FEMALE MIGRATION, EMPLOYMENT POLICIES AND CARE-GIVING

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1. Introduction

During the last twenty years, and from a global perspective, international migration has become increasingly associated with women in developed countries. Women have risen from 49.4% of migrants in the eighties to representing 51.5% in the early 2000s. And this percentage increases for the European region, where women account for 52.3% of migrants, thus making Europe the most feminized geographical region in terms of migration (United Nations, 2012). This process has contributed to the rapid settlement in Europe of women from Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) in the early part of the 21st century. It is estimated an annual average of 950,000 people emigrated from the Americas to OECD countries between 2003-2007, half of whom settled in the US. Nevertheless, the majority of the female migrants during this period went to Europe (OECD, 2012) and especially to the countries in Southern Europe (Spain, Greece, Portugal and Italy).

Eurostat estimated that 2,363,900 people originating from LAC were living in the European Union in 2011, of which 49.1% resided in Spain, 12.0% in Italy, 5.3% in Portugal and 3.9% in Germany. The main source areas were

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the Andean Region and the Southern Cone, from which a predominance of women migrants, with the consequent increase in the feminization of migration between these regions. Thus, the percentage of women is higher among foreigners from Latin America than other nationalities. For example, in Germany women from LAC represent 63.8% of people from this region; in Spain, the figure is 55.8%; in Italy in 62.5%, and in Portugal 56.1%.

This increased participation of women in the population movements between LAC and Southern Europe is associated to the needs of the labour markets, which situate migrant women in certain, very specific sectors that respond to the new outsourcing demands of modern societies. The service sector accounts for the majority of the migrant workforce, which is employed in jobs that have been abandoned by the domestic workforces as a result of the increasing deregulation and precariousness of these activities. In the case of women migrants, trade, manufacturing, sales administration activities, preparation of meals, housework and care are the main sources of employment.

The predominance of women in any given activity depends on the national labour markets and the migration policy in force in each country. In general, according to the latest data from the European Union (2011), 13% of immigrant women work in trade, 11% is engaged in manufacturing and 10% are employed in the supply of food. But of all these activities, special attention is drawn to the strong presence of foreign workers in activities that may be called “care services” (dedicated to the personal care of children, the sick and the elderly) and in “domestic service”. The care service labour market concentrates the highest number of migrant workers: 16% of the female labour force born outside and resident in the European Union is employed as caregivers in nursing homes, hospitals and day centres. Meanwhile, domestic service accounts for 10% of female migrant employment.

Without doubt, one of the most striking phenomena associated to the evolution of labour markets in recent decades has been precisely the reactivation of these personal care jobs, among which the global demand for domestic service stands out (Ariza 2011). The manpower requirements for the provision of care are so pressing that even during the strongest period of economic recession, 2008-2011, this has been the sector that has created a greatest number of jobs. Domestic service increased its number of employees by 17.8%, and jobs related to “institutional care” have increased by 643,000, with an increase of 46.9% of foreign workers (OECD, 2012).

The social, demographic, cultural, economic and political changes of the last few decades have driven this demand for workers in Western countries. Of all these transformations, mention may be made of population ageing and an increase in dependent people requiring daily care, the incorporation of women into the labour market (with the consequent reduction of relatives able to devote themselves full-time to the reproductive needs of the households), and the increasing trend towards the geographical dispersion of the household, along with the emergence of new values related to family and leisure, that have led to a new manner of managing the time devoted to the domestic space.

As for South Eastern Europe and Germany, which are the areas in which 70% of the LAC population resident in the European Union lives, and also where there has been a greater influx of women of these nationalities, mention may be made of the fact that these are the areas with a higher demand for domestic service and care-giving labour, with such activities becoming a labour market entry niche for immigrant women and, especially, for those of Latin American origin (León, 2011; Martinez, 2010). The usual career path of women migrants in Southern Europe begins in domestic service, primarily in the provision of care for children and adults, before progressing to the provision of formal care in care homes and hospitals or, to the contrary, in the cleaning and/or catering, textile, food or agricultural sectors (Anderson, 2000).

This precarious, flexible, and often casual labour market hinders the social and employment stability of migrant workers. This chapter proposes that advances be made in the labour management of these activities and in the visualisation of the potential of the service sector to spearhead effective employment policies that can be linked to the governance of migration and which reduce the collective's social exclusion. Since the most recent guidelines on employment issued by the international agencies responsible for migration management have been directed towards intervention in the private personal care and domestic service market, this chapter focuses particularly on this activity and the criteria followed by employers, unions and governments to carry out the management of the labour market.

Through the presentation of practical propositions that promote the integration of immigrants and offer alternatives to the management of employment and migration, this paper seeks to awaken the interest of government bodies in the interaction of policies in different areas that

facilitate and promote sustainable employment, the generation of new jobs and which increase the individual skills of migrants. Specifically, the recommendations are based on the study of the cases of Germany, Italy, Portugal and Spain, as they represent the concentration of the most feminised migration flows, and they reflect various forms for the recruitment of foreign labour for the provision of personal care.

2. Debates, options and situation of the question

The analysis of international migration from a gender perspective has evolved slowly. Although it was known that women were migrating, they were considered from the perspective of “family reunification” and their concerns were not incorporated into migration project studies. It was not until the eighties that social sciences began to consider migrant women as active agents in the process and to analyse their position in population movements with distinct specificities to those of men. The goal was to reveal the experience and the particularities of female migration, and to do so it was necessary to highlight the different migration processes between the sexes based on their different roles within the family, the market and society (Morokvasic, 1984).

As for the determinants of female migration, these displacements began to be analyzed in terms of their contribution to the economic and social development of the recipient countries, and thus such research highlights the role of women as active agents of change and of participation in labour markets. In addition to factors associated with extreme situations in the places of origin, such as economic crises, wars and conflicts, female population movements are particularly related to the changes in the labour markets in Western countries. These changes include the evolution from an industrial economy to a service economy, which has led to the creation of niche gender- and ethnic-orientated occupations that require the contracting of male and female migrants in very different jobs that are characterised by the traditional gender divisions in the workplace. These are activities that native populations are no longer willing to undertake due to the intensity of the tasks and the casual nature of the labour relationships (Kofman *et al.*, 2000).

The data from the European Labour Force Survey (European Union, 2011) confirm the establishment of these labour enclaves for immigrant men and

women and, above all, the inclusion of the female population in the services sector, highlighting those working in personal care and domestic work, as detailed in the introduction. The shortage of native workers is greatest in these areas of the labour market. For example, the domestic service sector employs ten female immigrants per native worker. When studying the figures by nationality, we see that in the Southern Europe countries, where more Latin America women have settled in recent decades, the need for domestic workers is more relevant. Thus, in Spain 33.5% of immigrant women work in domestic service, while the percentage among women from LAC is 37.1% (INE, 2011). In Italy, the successive employment market adjustments for domestic and care service employment that have taken place in recent years are also examples of the demand that exists around this activity. In fact, in the past ten years two employment market adjustment processes have been approved, aimed only at those working in domestic service and in the care sector (Law 189/2002 and Law 3/2009). In 2002, the employment status of 316,000 domestic workers was legalised, followed by 295,000 more in 2009. In Spain, the last legalisation process took place in 2005, resulting in employment permits being extended to 187,300 foreigners working in domestic service.

The rapid consolidation of female migration flows in developed countries since the nineties and the opening of new spaces for women migrants in Southern Europe shifted research interests to the high concentration of migrant women in the domestic and care sectors. The high concentration of this group in these occupations led to the analysis being focussed on the connection between female migration dynamics and the organization of domestic and care services (Williams, 2011).

This new research of the nineties suggests that the demand for workers in the care sector is one of the elements that contributed to the feminization of migration and, in particular, the migration of women from the Americas to Southern Europe. Associated with this new field of research are new theoretical concepts such as “international division of labour” (Parreñas, 2001) and “transfer of reproductive labour” (Juliano, 2012; Anderson, 2000). These terms refer to how the delegation of reproductive and domestic tasks to female migrants allows the integration of women and men from Western countries into high-wage productive jobs. In this regard, emphasis is placed on the fact that the career paths of local people depend on the home care provided by migrant domestic workers, which in turn are dependent on the unpaid care work provided by women in their family environment in

their countries of origin to their non-migrant children and elders (Parreñas, 2001; Yeates, 2009). This is what is known as “global care chains” (Hochschild, 2000).

These pioneering studies in this area focused primarily on the United States, where the residual welfare state did not allow for an analysis of the implications of social policies in the development of care provision as an employment niche for immigrant women. But when this current of research moved to European countries in the early 2000s, the academic agenda was soon expanded with the incorporation of research into the impact of social policies on the employment patterns of migrant women in the care sector (Williams, 2011; Kilkey *et al.*, 2010). Such research discovered that not all public welfare measures affect the integration of migrant women into the welfare labour market in the same way. Moreover, some of these studies even conclude that certain public care programmes may facilitate the arrival of feminized migration flows (Martinez, 2011).

The scenario in which the welfare labour market develops is, therefore, very complex, making it necessary to understand not only the occupational and professional processes of native men and women and the increasing assistance needs of the adult population. That is, its proliferation depends not only on a massive demand for public programmes, as public personal care programmes are also a key factor in the process.

Therefore, migrant labour is situated within various institutional contexts influenced by the culture of care and the effects of public policies aimed at situations of dependency (Shutes and Walsh, 2012). The formulas chosen for the commodification of care work are variable in each country, ranging from more formal, regular and professional options, such as the use of residences, specialised day care centres and nurseries, to more flexible and irregular procedures, such as the increasingly widespread recruitment of domestic workers as care providers. Consequently, the employment policies aimed at migrant women need to reflect this diversity.

The statistical data from the European Labour Force Survey show us these different employment paths by nationality, gender and country of destination, highlighting the importance of the provision of care in the labour market by the foreign population. Thus, the percentage of immigrants employed in domestic service amounts to 17.0% in Italy, 14.9% in Spain and 14.7% in Greece. These areas also have low levels of migrant

workers employed as caregivers within the social services areas. By contrast, “Health and Social Services” accounted for 19.3% of the foreign labour force in Sweden, 16.4% in the Netherlands, 11.6% in France and 10.7% in Germany. In these countries, domestic service has a limited presence in the labour market, to the point that in Sweden and the Netherlands it is a virtually inexistent activity both for the local and for the immigrant populations.

Table 1: Percentage distribution of the immigrant population by sector of activity in certain European Union countries, 2011

	Germany	France	Netherlands	Sweden	Spain	Portugal	Italy	Greece
Agriculture and fisheries	0.7	1.3	1.7	0.6	5.7	0.0	4.0	8.9
Mining and manufacturing	25.0	11.7	14.5	13.2	9.3	14.1	20.6	13.4
Construction	7.0	12.3	4.2	4.1	10.5	9.9	13.6	19.2
Comercie	12.7	11.7	12.6	11.1	13.6	13.3	10.1	14.6
Hotel and catering	8.8	7.0	6.8	7.2	16.1	10.5	8.8	12.1
Education	4.5	5.2	6.6	11.3	2.2	9.1	1.9	1.5
Health and social services	10.7	11.6	16.4	19.3	5.0	7.2	4.8	3.2
Domestic service	1.1	5.4	0.0	0.0	14.9	5.1	17.0	14.7
Public Admin.	2.4	6.4	6.3	3.7	2.0	7.1	1.4	0.9
Other	26.6	27.5	30.8	29.4	20.6	22.2	17.7	11.5

Notes: zeros indicate that the estimate was not reliable enough for publication.

Source: European Labour Force Survey (Eurostat), 1Q-3Q (2011); OECD, 2012.

These differences, in terms of the institutional space in which care services are provided, are determined by the ways in which the States, the market and families divide and organize the provision of assistance. In general, two basic patterns can be identified: first, those countries that tend toward the invisibility of family care needs and where social protection policies for dependency offer a minimum coverage. In practical terms, the responsibility is delegated to relatives, and as such domestic workers become the main mechanism for the privatization of care. This is the case of Southern European countries such as Spain, Italy and Greece, where migrant workers are employed in households as carers through domestic service contracts

(Bettio *et al.*, 2006; Martinez, 2010). On the other hand are those countries that have incorporated the decision to outsource these tasks to the private sector into their social policies as an opportunity to create jobs. In these cases, the result has been the adoption of social care programmes that promote the privatization of these services. This is the case of countries such as Germany and Austria, where the public provision of long-term care is more extended and the recruitment of migrant workers is focussed on employment related to the provision of care within the welfare system.

Both options require the input of migrant women, but the impacts on the integration of this group differ. In the first case, the inclusion of migrant workers in the non-professional care and domestic services sectors is effected without recognition of the labour force requirements in these sectors. As such, their incorporation is not accompanied by public policies that take into account their labour rights or legal status. These countries experience higher rates of irregular immigration, have deficient recruitment systems in the countries of origin and immigration policies that hinder the obtaining of residency permits.. This group includes migration systems of Spain and Italy. In the second case, personal care and domestic service are included in social policy programmes (primarily those focussed on care for dependent people) and the entry of migrant labour as a cheaper and more flexible resource than the development of family-oriented social services is encouraged. The regulations developed in Austria and Germany are aimed in this direction. Their immigration policies strive to shape migration flows to labour market requirements, and such the formalisation and professionalisation of domestic and care work is considered important.

3. Proposals identified

Four basic proposals are indicated for incorporation into immigration and employment policies. These recommendations have been prepared after having studied the experiences of Germany, Spain and Italy and the analysis of the connections that exist in these countries between social protection, immigration policy and the social integration of immigrant workers. The number of female immigrants has increased in all these states in recent years, and there have also been changes in these countries' immigration policies in order to regularize the employment situation of women migrants, especially those working in the care sector. Furthermore, together with

Portugal, these countries are host to 70% of EU residents from Latin America and the Caribbean.

1) Increase the flexibility of migration policies in relation to work and residency permits to enable an optimum supply of workers for each employment category in each country, avoiding irregular migration flows and promoting the socio-professional integration of immigrant women.

2) Actively support the transition from informal to formal employment, attempting to recover workers' skills and promoting new training in accordance with the needs of the labour market in the countries of destination.

3) Link social protection policies with immigration and employment policies that recognize the figure of the non-professional, domestic caregiver, the main activity of immigrant women in European countries.

4) Review the domestic service labour regulation, promoting its inclusion in the formal labour market and seeking to reveal any vulnerabilities or cases of exploitation that may result from its invisibility.

4. Breakdown of the proposals identified

4.1. Increase the flexibility of migration policies in relation to work and residency permits

Definition of the proposal

The migration flows received in Europe in recent decades from Latin America have been motivated eminently by employment-based reasons. Their insertion in the labour market has been rapid, as during the period of employment growth these migrants chose in large measure to settle in the countries of Southern Europe. However, this accelerated settlement has not been accompanied by adequate social and labour integration, as this group has mainly accessed irregular employment that has not enabled its

members to obtain the work and residency permits necessary to enjoy all of the rights afforded to citizens in the countries of destination. This has been most notable in the case of foreign women, as their significant presence in the irregular domestic service markets and in the sex and entertainment sectors has led to their occupying a more permanent position of social exclusion.

In a context of economic crisis such as that of today, there is a greater need for immigration policies that enable the legal settlement of the foreign population, as this is the only procedure capable of producing a better balance between the migration processes and the needs of the labour market. If the entries to and departures from the labour market are frequent, so too is the granting and the loss of work permits. And this situation has a greater impact among women migrants, as their gender-derived social and political vulnerability makes them more prone to situations of irregularity, which in turn leads to increased exposure to exploitation and abuse.

While the European states have been reluctant to relax immigration policies, fearing the mass influx of foreigners as a risk following their implementation, the fact is that the rigidity with which work and residency permits are granted has not limited the arrival of migratory flows, with migrants opting to settle irregularly. This situation has resulted in negative effects for the countries of destination, as: the skills of the members of this segment of the population have not been optimized, their transition between jobs has been mitigated as they have become settled, and they have paid less social security contributions.

The introduction of greater flexibility into the requirements for obtaining residency and work permits and for obtaining citizenship would facilitate the permanence of migrants in the formal labour market, ensure the payment of Social Security contributions, combat the existence of the underground economy and tax fraud, while simultaneously promoting improved collaboration between the countries of origin and of destination. The implementation of this proposal would have a transnational effect, as it would enable the introduction of new, EU-directed schemes for the promotion of circular migration, the temporary movement of people back and forth between countries of origin and destination, which depend mainly on those involved possessing work and residency permits (European Commission, 2011).

This legal settlement policy for citizens from third countries is accompanied by the configuration of the necessary mechanisms to promote the return and readmission of irregular migrants, which would require the implementation of transnational contracts and agreements between the countries of origin and destination involved.

Experience and empirical evidence

The immigration and employment policies implemented in the countries of Southern Europe have not been focused on adapting the needs of the labour market to the arrival of a regular immigrant population. Moreover, the attraction for the installation of the migrant population has been the “precarious employment magnet”. Deregulated labour markets with ample opportunities for the effective search for employment in low-skilled occupations (Laparra, 2008). During the periods of greatest migratory flow, irregular immigration represented 50.3% of the total in the case of Spain. Even in 2007, irregular immigration represented 33% of the total.

This situation is quite widespread in southern European countries, with several research projects having shown that the lack of an explicit labour migration policy has led to the effects of immigration on the labour market having been less positive than expected, and a failure to meet the real employment demands (Muus, 2006). Hence, the countries of this region that have received more intense migratory flows, such as Spain, Greece, Italy and Portugal, have based their immigration policy adjustments on the legalisation of irregular immigrants. Since the entry into effect of its immigration policy in 1985, Spain has carried out six immigration policy adjustments focussed on the granting of residency rights to undocumented migrants, with the majority being destined to the domestic service, hospitality and agriculture sectors. The most recent process took place in 2005 and brought to light over half a million irregular immigrants. In the case of Italy, two regulatory processes have been carried out in last the decade, both linked to domestic service and mainly aimed at channelling the socio-labour integration of female migrants.

This regularization policy has replaced the idea of effective labour immigration policies based on the planning of labour market needs prior to the reception of irregular immigration flows. The Global Commission on International Migration does not recommend the use of such regulatory processes as general amnesties due to the negative implications for

integration and because they do not respond to the idea for which have been designed: to offer residency permits to irregular migrants for whom, for humanitarian or economic reasons, the return to their countries of origin is not advisable (Boswell, 2005).

The absence of this planning is associated with the non-recognition by governments of the foreign labour needs of their labour markets. Thus, in times of economic crisis, the mis-balances between the markets and the employment status of the members of the foreign population are more noticeable. And this is the situation in Spain, Italy, Greece and Portugal. Traditionally, and due the arrivals of flows of young migrants, the activity and employment rates in these countries were higher for migrant women than for local females, and also higher than those of migrant populations settled in European countries with a history of receiving migrant labour. However, as of 2008, the ratio of female migrants with respect to the labour market has been reversed in Mediterranean countries. Activity rates are still very high in all of the Mediterranean countries for foreign women, but occupancy rates have fallen more than those of the local female population, due to the massive job losses experienced mainly in Spain and Portugal and which have particularly affected the foreign population. Therefore, the toleration of irregular migration has not served as a long-term solution for the shortage of workers in the labour market, provoking instead a very severe imbalance between the segment of the migrant population seeking work and the segment that is working. This in turn leads to higher risks of poverty and exclusion among this group as a result of the recession.

Moreover, the risk of converting migration into permanent settlement processes has also led to the adoption of restrictive immigration measures, such as the trend towards the criminalization of irregular migration and of the people who provide assistance to irregular immigrants in the host country (cases of Spain, Italy and France). Historical experiences of the implementation of these rigid migration control policies have shown that they do not always have the desired effect and have often encouraged the establishment of family reunification migration rather than a return to origin. This was the case in Europe during the 1973 oil crisis (Castles, 1985), which saw the introduction of policies such as that of Germany, which established a deadline for the granting of work permits to the spouses and children of immigrants in the years following the crisis (Gualda, 2012). This kind of policy did not stop the growth of migration and created the setting for a rapid growth in family reunification. It is still early to assess these

consequences on the countries of Southern Europe, although the failure of the return policies introduced by the Spanish Government is clear (see Chapter 2, “Return and Reintegration of Latin American migrants in Europe” Amparo González), as is the increase in the residency permits granted for family reunification that has been seen since 2007.

Key ideas

a) The flows of female migration from Latin America and the Caribbean to Europe have settled especially in southern European countries and, above all, in Spain. The settlement has been rapid (during 2001-2006) and employment was found above all in the underground economy. The participation of immigrant women in the domestic and care services is very high.

b) The high representation of women migrants in the informal economy gives rise to a situation of political, social and employment vulnerability, as these workers depend on the control exercised by employers in relation to their residency and work permits. Furthermore, if we take into account the fact that a large percentage of Latin American women living in Europe have been regrouped with their children, this risk is passed on to their descendants, whose participation in educational and social environments is related to their parents’ legal status.

c) Irregularity also has negative effects on the host countries, which do not receive the Social Security contributions of these workers who, in times of crisis, limit their geographical mobility as their entry into and departure from the country depends on the status of their work permits.

d) The flexibility of migration policies in relation to the obtaining and maintaining of work permits would maximize the benefits that foreign workers offer to the destination’s labour markets, encourage re-migration to other areas in times of economic crisis, favour the social and political inclusion of migrant populations and their families, and enable a better adjustment between migrants’ skills and the jobs in which they are employed.

Basic conditions for implementation

a) Elimination of policies that criminalize irregular immigration.

- b)** Promote the granting of residency and work permits to citizens of non-EU countries, allowing them to enter the country legally and avoiding temporariness (for example, avoid the renewal of work permits being subject to specific social security contribution periods).
- c)** Mitigate the measures that inhibit the free movement of people from outside the EU space.
- d)** Analyze the needs of the labour markets in the countries of destination and explicitly recognize the entry of foreign labour.
- e)** Materialize this planning through bilateral agreements on free movement and mechanisms for the recruitment of seasonal workers in the countries of origin.
- f)** Promote transnational dialogue between the countries involved to establish order in the migration routes and establish agreements for the return to and the reintegration in the communities of origin.
- g)** Develop a strong administrative apparatus, with coordination between the various levels of government involved (above all between the Interior and the Employment Ministries).

4.2. Actively support the transition from informal to formal employment

Definition of the proposal

The existence of an attraction of migratory flows towards irregular labour markets in the countries of Southern Europe has led to a natural tolerance of undocumented immigration by the governments involved. The risks of poverty and social exclusion faced by this group, which lacks legal stability, have been extensively analyzed by several research projects and international agencies (UNFPA, 2006). The transition to a situation of legal regularization depends on the formalization of the labour markets, leading to the consideration of access to regular employment as a means of upward mobility for immigrant workers. In this sense, women's transition within the labour market is more complicated due to a high concentration in a small range of occupations that tend to be located in the underground economy, by

the difficulty of finding jobs in other activities offering career advancement, and a higher responsibility in reproductive tasks in households, which sometimes leads to the fragmentation of their career paths.

Therefore, active policies for the employment of migrant women must be conceived from this gender perspective, taking into account the specific difficulties encountered by women in the labour market and their high degree of involvement in domestic service, in which labour mobility is more associated to an improvement of working conditions than a change of employment. Furthermore, in the event of actually finding a new source of employment (hospitality, personal care, ethnic economy, etc.), female migrants usually find that their new job “reproduces many to the characteristics associated to domestic service [...]: unstable, low-skilled, low-paid and/or little or moderate socially value” (Escrivá, 2003).

It is quite common for non-EU citizens resident in the EU to interrupt the career path associated to the training obtained in the country of origin and to adapt to the specific needs of occupations in which there is shortage of labour. It is essential, therefore, that each country realistically delimits the activities requiring foreign workers and recruits in the countries of origin following the provision of training on the specific occupation in question.

The countries with the most recent immigration models, such as in the cases of Greece, Spain, Ireland and Portugal, coincide with those in which the transition to formal jobs is more complicated. This is due, on the one hand, to the limited time spent in the countries and the scope of their underground economies and, on the other, to the fact that these countries have played host to the largest flows of female migration. Therefore, these countries must incorporate active policies that facilitate employment mobility towards positions that make greater use of the workers’ skills and which also promote the formalization of employment. This requires offering protection and support to those working in the informal economy to enable them to access the funds and resources necessary to allow the transition to take place successfully. For example, by granting unemployment benefits that stimulate vocational training in jobs that are difficult to fill or by improving training systems for these activities. Current figures show that the economic crisis is having a harder effect on the less educated immigrants (Molina, 2010).

Another, more direct means of encouraging the formalization of

employment is to award subsidies for contracting, or specific reductions in payroll taxes and Social Security contributions (Bacchetta *et al.*, 2009). The main risk of these practices is the requirement of a large stock of information on the labour market in order to ensure that they reach the target sector of the population. The benefits of their implementation, however, are unquestionable. Not only do they enable the balancing of worker training, but they also offer a transnational scope, since the training acquired in the country of destination can be used to create micro-businesses and companies upon the return to the country of origin.

Experience and empirical evidence

Recent research reveals, through empirical analysis, the greater difficulties faced by migrants in terms of occupational mobility, which are especially pronounced for foreign women. The National Survey of Immigrants in Spain (ENI, 2007) confirms that sectoral and occupational concentration is higher among women with lower levels of qualification, and that the “residence time” variable does not always act favourably, as nine out of ten women residing in Spain for more than three years continue to work in the domestic service sector, while eight in ten of those who began working in unskilled jobs following their arrival in the country of destination remain in the same situation (Molpeceres, 2012).

Some research identifies immigration policy as one of the basic sources responsible for the concentration of women in specific activities from which they have great difficulties to escape (Parella, 2011, Stephen, 2011). They note that the recruitment of foreign domestic workers has been fuelled by immigration policy and the establishment of quotas and regulatory adjustments that encourage the employment of immigrant women through this route. Germany, Italy, Greece and Spain have all set such quotas and introduced the selection in the countries of origin of manpower to perform these tasks. This situation is accompanied by the fact that in many countries the legislation governing domestic service is excluded from the general employment regulations, due the activity’s consideration as a special employment, usually carried out in worse working conditions in terms of wages, working hours and social benefits. In other cases, the activities carried out by migrant women fall outside migration and employment legislation control, as they are to be found in the underground economy. Such activities include prostitution (Mestre, 2005). Moreover, almost all European Union

countries have restrictions in their procedure for the standardisation and recognition of foreign professional qualifications, with migrants suffering procedural delays that inhibit their occupational mobility.

Key ideas

a) The immigration population in Europe suffers from pigeon-holing and high levels of labour immobility. This situation is more extreme for women, as access to prestigious job is more limited by structural factors.

b) The career paths of Latin American women usually begin with their participation in paid domestic service, with a particularly high participation in tasks related to the care of the elderly, the sick and children. Progress towards other sectors of activity is highly complicated due to the high degree of irregular migration among this sector, representing a barrier to the obtaining of work permits. Also, once a work permit has been obtained, immigrants are not always in a position to risk taking on other, less secure and more unstable jobs.

c) Research on labour mobility among immigrant populations establishes that the time spent in the country and the possession of university studies are key factors to finding employment in the most successful and socially valued occupations.

d) Immigration and employment policies must find common channels that enhance the occupations of women migrants in the countries of destination through continuous training programmes that enable a secure transition from the irregular to the formal employment market.

e) These measures would also enable the optimization of migrants' individual skills while promoting co-development, as the improvement of female migrants' qualifications would, in the event of return, enable better reintegration into the labour market in the countries of origin.

Basic conditions for implementation

a) Establish the capacity of the labour markets and their cyclical developments in the different productive sectors prior to the arrival of migratory flows.

- b)** Investment in an adequate career guidance network to reduce the periods of transition between unemployment and employment.
- c)** Provide advice and support in relation to mobility towards other occupations through better intermediation and greater occupational training.
- d)** Design of life-long continuous training plans that enable the adaptation of the labour market requirements to the characteristics and training of workers.
- e)** Conversion of vocational training into one of the key factors for labour integration and support for transitions between jobs, both for those leaving occupations for which there is no longer a demand (such as in the construction sector) and for those that have become established in occupational niches that are hard to abandon and which are difficult to access in the countries of origin (for example, domestic service).
- f)** Facilitate the recognition of qualifications acquired in the countries of origin and streamline the administrative procedures in this area.
- g)** Ratify ILO Convention No. 81 ("Labour Inspection Convention") and organize inspection and administrative bodies that function correctly (International Labour Office, 2006) in order to combat irregular employment markets.

4.3. Link social protection policies with immigration and employment policies

Definition of the proposal

Given the widespread demand for immigrant women as caregivers in homes and in public and private institutions, States must recognize the shortage of labour supply in the sector and adopt measures on migration and employment in order to adapt their rigid immigration policies to the requirements of the labour market. Interventions aimed at regulating this sector require the interrelationship of public policy in three areas: social protection policies focussed on dependence, employment policies and immigration policies.

This proposal recommends the subsidisation of the privatization of care by means of social protection programmes and the management of an employment and pay conditions framework, in order to place these employees on the same footing as those in other sectors. The aim is to avoid the creation of submerged care markets that affect the social integration of workers and the quality of the care provided. The only risk of this measure is that the care labour market remains a point of entry to work in the country of destination and that some families obtain domestic service without the corresponding contract. It is therefore necessary to implement the monitoring of compliance with contracting obligations.

Moreover, the implementation of this measure must be accompanied by the creation of bilateral agreements and specific training courses to train future workers in these activities. The benefits are undeniable: the extension of the network of informal employment in this activity would be mitigated, the arrival of flows of regular migrants would be enhanced, and it would be possible to develop the training skills of the employees.

Experience and empirical evidence

Those countries in which employment, immigration and social protection policies have not been linked coincide with those that have received faster, more irregular flows of female migration. This situation violates labour rights and gives rise to higher levels of social exclusion for workers employed, on the whole, as home help. This is the process that has taken place in Spain and Italy. However, those countries in which public LTC policies have been linked to migration and employment policies have experienced greater integration on behalf of female migrants, and the risk of social exclusion has been reduced. Their labour markets require caregivers and the available workforce is foreign, thus leading to the creation of formulas that facilitate legal residency. In countries that have sought to resolve this dilemma, the solutions have focused on adapting employment and migration policies to the requirements of the policies pursued in the areas of welfare, the care of dependents and families. The table below explains in detail the experiences of Austria and Italy, as they represent these two models of care market management.

Key ideas

- a) There is a relationship between migration flows and the need for a supply

of female labour in the activities related to personal assistance in developed countries.

b) In those States in which there is no adequate regulation of public assistance for those requiring long-term care, immigrant caregivers are hired through domestic service. This has taken place in all the countries of southern Europe, and especially in Italy and in Spain, the latter having seen this activity become an employment niche for Latin American women.

c) The insertion of female immigrant caregivers into the domestic service market promotes the de-professionalisation of this occupation, favours the invisibility of the sector, reinforces irregular migration flows and does not ensure the quality of the care provided.

d) In countries with stronger welfare states, formulas have been created for the employment of female immigrants in the field of household care. The main measure implemented has been the implementation of the figure of the immigrant caregiver in relation to the economic benefits contemplated by social protection regulations.

The case of Austria

The public long-term care system was restructured in 1993, with the incorporation of an economic benefits programme aimed at the care of the elderly and dependent persons at home and in nursing homes. These financial transfers consisted of direct payments to users to enable them to acquire the type of personal care required in their individual situations in the private market. This enabled a reduction in care costs and provided users with the freedom to choose their preferred care system. This programme offered wide coverage to the dependent population, but the frequency of the care provided was very low and the attention provided was centred on basic care. This resulted in Austrian families seeking new modes of home care provision offering more intensive assistance (Theobald, 2010).

Thus, as of the 1990s, Central and Eastern European migrant workers began to obtain employment in an unregulated home care sector. The opening of the borders of Eastern Europe countries after 1989, and the enlargement of the EU in 2004, encouraged the settlement of citizens

from this area. The insufficient regulation of the above-mentioned economic benefits enabled their investment in the informal contracting of carers by the users.

This phenomenon resulted in an intense political and civil debate on the labour conditions of these non-professional migrant carers. The majority were employed without contracts, which gave rise to the possibility of the abuse of labour rights and the violation of the principles of human rights. In 2007, the Austrian government began to work on the legalization of the care work provided by migrants in private homes. Two legislative measures were introduced: the “Home Care Law” and an amendment to the Industrial Regulation (Gewo), in order to regulate the legal contracting of Austrian and EU care workers by the person receiving care, a relative or non-governmental associations. All the political and social actors involved in the development of the law agreed to prioritize the legal status of migrant carers, leading to the possibility of self-employment for foreign workers in this sector. In principle, personal care tasks were limited to domestic activities and certain instrumental and social aspects of daily life. Since 2008, these workers have also been authorized to assist their employers in tasks related to personal hygiene and the preparation of food. The supply of medicines has also been recognized recently as one of the tasks that can be carried out by such workers.

In 2006, it was estimated that 30,000 migrants were working as caregivers in 15,000 Austrian households. Following the implementation of the 2007 regularization programme, the number of legal caregivers increased from 227 in 2007 to 26679 by the end of 2010 (Österle and Bauer, 2011).

The working conditions and salaries of the workers providing care in private homes have been subject to an attempted regularization: 24h-carers can work between a minimum and a maximum of 48 hours 128 hours per week, respectively, for two consecutive weeks. After 14 days, the caregiver must interrupt their work during the same time period. Thus, two people must be contracted in order to provide 24 hour care per day. The salary for self-employed carers is set according to the national minimum wage applicable to this sector of activity

(1093.53 Euros). If two nurses are contracted, the cost can be up to 3,000 or 4,000 Euros (Simonazzi and Picchi, 2011).

The case of Italy

The Italian migration regime is characterized by the scarce organization of migration flows and a tendency towards regularization (Näre, 2011). 2008 saw the beginning of a political debate within the Berlusconi government aimed at the adoption of a harder line in relation to the entry of migration flows. In order to reduce the arrival of foreign migrants, the Government approved the consideration of irregular migration as a crime. However, and following various discussions within the ruling party, the approach of the measure was modified: irregular immigration was criminalised except for those foreign workers employed directly by private households. Consequently, a specific regulatory process aimed at migrants employed in domestic and care activities was formulated. About 295,000 applications were received, of which the population from Ukraine represented the majority (42,000), followed by Moroccans (38,000), Moldovans (29,000) and Chinese (22,000).

These data provided by A. Simonazzi and S. Picchi (2011) confirm the concentration of immigrant workers in these activities. However, and despite these attempts at regularization, the National Domestic Workers Association (ACLI-Colf) estimates that only between 30% and 40% of the families who initially declared their interest in the regularization finally adopted the measures introduced. The authors believe that the reasons behind this situation are the conditions required in order to obtain the legalisation of the migrant care worker: the employers had to pay 500 Euros in the concept of previously unpaid social security contributions, provide an adequate and comfortable room to the worker, earn a minimum annual income of 20,000 Euros, formalise a contract for at least 20 hours per week, and pay the domestic worker's social security contributions.

Basic conditions for implementation

- a)** Recognize the figure of non-professional home caregiver and include the same in public programmes providing support to situations of dependency

as a means of provision. By doing so, it would be possible to link social protection policies with immigration and employment policies

b) Classify the caregivers in private homes with a status other than that of domestic service, thus facilitating the professionalization of the provision of care in private homes.

c) Promote specialized training aimed at assisting people with functional diversity. Understand the medical problems associated with certain illnesses and promote the emotional capacities necessary to attend to people who require palliative care.

d) Establish collective agreements with those countries with which female migratory circuits have been established, encouraging recruitment in the countries of origin and the implementation of training courses in the areas of care for the elderly and dependent adults.

4.4. Revise the labour regulation applicable to domestic service

Definition of the proposal

The usefulness of domestic service is well-known by families in almost all European Union countries. Therefore, despite the attempted regularisation of the care sector in order to promote the contracting of a large number of female immigrants through the granting of economic benefits that subsidize the wages of caregivers, these social protection measures are not sufficient to manage the labour market that has emerged due to the demand of private homes: the careers of many men and women rely on hiring domestic service and, in the context of demographic aging, the combination of public care resources and the contracting of private caregivers is a habitual practice. Public spending is limited, domestic service relaxes tensions between relatives and fills the gaps present in social policies. Therefore, and due to the popularity of its extension within a context of demographic aging and a weakness of public services that facilitate the work-life balance, there is a need for better regulation to enable the professionalism of the sector and greater social recognition of the workers involved in the same, which would lead to working conditions commensurate with the intensity of their work.

Domestic service remains among those activities with the worst wages, hours and working conditions and is still one of the few sectors with limited labour rights. And this situation is common in all developed countries,

hence the reticence of the local population to enter these occupations and its decision to remain in better paid jobs related to public social services. Women working in domestic service must overcome many structural disadvantages associated with immigration controls, labour markets that are segmented by gender and ethnicity and the pressure of the survival of their families in their home countries. According to Eurofound (2008), unregulated work is particularly high in the domestic service sector, with 19% of workers working without contracts.

The regulation of domestic service enabling the professionalisation of the care sector and equating household employment with the working conditions of other workers in each country is proposed. The implementation of this measure does not present any risks as it does not affect immigration policies and enables greater compliance with the national labour standards.

Experience and empirical evidence

One of the last countries in the European Union to have attempted to regulate domestic service is Spain. An analysis of the latest figures from the Social Security in this country shows us the importance of domestic service in the labour market. The data confirm that the activity has grown in terms of social security contributions since the outbreak of the economic crisis. Between 2007 to 2008, there was a 6.4% increase in the number of employees and, although in 2010-2011 growth was slower, it nevertheless reached 1.9%.

This importance in the economic panorama stems from its social relevance. Domestic service is consolidated due to its condition as the only occupation that allows professional expectations to be combined with family obligations without modifying the low male presence in household tasks. It is flexible enough to encompass not only the cleaning of a household, but also the care of people living in the same, whilst the population does not question the desirability of reinforcing the social services system.

Until January 1, 2012, and the entry into force of Royal Decree 1620/2011, the working conditions of domestic workers in Spain practically depended on their ability to bargain with the employing families and the “good treatment” that these were willing to dispense. The main change brought in by this new Royal Decree was the inclusion of Domestic Employment in the General Social Security Regime (although it still called Special Scheme

for Domestic Workers) and the obligation of all employers to legally register all of their workers. Under the previous legislation, domestic service formed part of a special category of employees grouped in the “Special Scheme for Domestic Workers”.

This new regulation has overturned certain abusive contracting conditions, such as the absence of the obligation to extend a written contract. The new regulation also approves oral contracts but, if the employment relationship equals or exceeds four weeks, a written document detailing the working conditions and the tasks to be carried out by the worker must be signed. The required wage is the minimum inter-professional salary established each year by the Government. In 2012, this was 641.4 Euros/month for a 40-hour working week. The hourly rate during this year was 5.2 Euros/hour.

However, the Royal Decree 1620/2011 made no reference to the new care activities that tend to develop within the domestic sector and has yet to establish differences between the new forms of employment that arise for the contracting of caregivers. Therefore, caregivers in private homes are not paid according to the levels of professionalism and specialization required in personal care occupations, nor are their salaries adapted to the degrees of intensity of the dependence of those they serve. Their salaries are set in accordance with the recommendations established for Domestic Work in general. Furthermore, despite the introduction of the obligation to contract domestic staff, no mechanisms that enable work inspections in the event of non-compliance with the regulation have been adopted.

Key ideas

- a)** The aging of the population, the increase in the size of the dependent population, low male responsibility in reproductive tasks and the difficulties arising from the work-life balance have become the social-economic bases for the increased demand for domestic workers. In Southern European countries, the care of the elderly, children and sick adults has been commodified by means of domestic service.
- b)** The domestic sector is an employment niche for immigrant women in almost all European countries. The employment of Latin America women in this activity is predominant in Spain.
- c)** Countries must be aware of the need for domestic workers in their labour

markets. Migrant women are imported to provide labour in this activity, in most cases working without contracts and exposed to greater risks of abuse and exploitation. Irregular situations are a potential source of violation of fundamental rights and, therefore, must be pursued through the creation of channels providing legal access to domestic service.

Basic conditions for implementation

- a)** Creation of a legal framework applicable to all domestic workers, including irregular residents.
- b)** Establish clear criteria in terms of pay, sick leave, compensation for accidents at work, rest periods and adequate accommodation, especially for the case of live-in domestic workers.
- c)** Allow the inspection of the workplaces of domestic workers and caregivers in private homes. The aim is to ensure compliance with the applicable labour conditions and that workers are treated in accordance with the national employment laws.
- d)** Ratify the International Labour Organization's Convention 189 on "Decent work for domestic workers", which imposes minimal agreements on base salary, sick leave and disability benefits, benefits during holiday periods, suitable accommodation conditions for live-in domestic workers and the obligation for employers to treat their employees in accordance with the legal labour standards.

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CONCLUSIONS

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1. The capabilities approach and migrations

The Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq wrote:

“The real wealth of a nation is its people. The basic objective of development is to create an environment that enables human beings to enjoy a long, healthy and creative life”.

The capabilities approach was born as an alternative to GDP: it does not consider development as the mere accumulation of consumer goods or financial wealth. The capabilities, or human development, theory considers the freedom to choose between opportunities and to participate in society as central to the quality of life of migrants. Having a say in the process is as important as the end result. Thus, this approach is closely linked to the defence of human rights.

The capabilities theory as applied to the reality of migration was born of a stifling of freedoms, namely: the legal status of foreign migrants diminishes their rights and opportunities with respect to those of local or nationalised citizens. This inequity is represented, in the context of employment, by the obligation to obtain a permit in order to make a living. A work permit that, furthermore, must be periodically renewed. However, this general limitation on “functioning” in the job market is accompanied by other “functional restrictions”, such as loyalty to an employer for a period, or confinement to a sector of activity and geographical area of work. In summary, the migrant worker is subject to legal discrimination. The legal component of this “entrenched inequality” in society and in time must be corrected by public action from the perspective of human development.

The capabilities approach is based on the two following questions:

What are migrant workers really capable of doing and being?

What opportunities are actually available to them to do or be what they are capable of doing or being?

Both questions refer to the socio-labour qualities that accompany migrants and to the opportunities to which they have access as a group. That is, the personal resources and the legal and institutional framework in which these qualities function. From this approach, the task of government is to make the realization and expansion of “internal capabilities” in the labour market viable.

An outline of these theoretical ideas in line with the chapters of this manual would be as follows:

1. To understand how to leverage migrants’ diverse internal capabilities in order to produce innovative ways of developing paid employment and to generate new jobs for migrants as entrepreneurs. An example would be the recognition and exploitation “*of specific cultural dispositions*”, in other words, of the plurality of forms and contents in the care of people.
2. To assess what might be called “the third working language”. That is, the synthesis of work cultures or of the ways of working and producing in which the migrant has been socialized throughout their international occupational journey. In other words, encourage *the creative adaptation of the skills and techniques learned along the migration route*. To not mutilate the capital of communication and relationship skills that expand opportunities.
3. With respect to *qualified migration*, the question is to offer a range that does not drown the plurality and nuances in the realisation of excellence. And to develop the freedom to transfer and revert it to the context of origin.

2. Policies to increase the fluidity of migration and obstacles to its viability

Theories indicate and shape those aspects which are of a priority nature. And as our approach is to develop the capabilities of migrant workers, we are opting for *policies that facilitate mobility and decent employment* against

restrictive policies that conceive development in terms of GDP growth and migrants as low price spares for the labour market.

Facilitating mobility requires a clearly distinction between temporary work flows from permanent work flows. Mobility is not equivalent to migration. They are distinguished by the duration of the project and the structure of the employment. The criteria are different when managing seasonal jobs in tourism and agriculture, or qualified employment in the financial markets or multinational companies that are not long-term, from those that propose to maintain the immigrant in the national labour market. Independently of whether one or another type of policy is proposed, the enrichment of individual capabilities does not have the same effect on the occupational pyramid.

The emphasis on the link between migration and employment is no coincidence, as it rests on the proof that work functions as *one of the most fruitful elements* for the development of skills. One of the products of a job is monetary remuneration, which is a priority for temporary mobility, but less so for the permanent migrant. Salary can compensate brain waste, but it is not fruitful in itself. Work that is not suited to skills, however well paid, downgrades and damages the emotional development and mutual recognition with other workers. In other words, although salary enables access to other opportunities it has no value by itself. However, a job suited to personal characteristics and skills is inherently beneficial to health, safety, training and social relationships or affiliations.

The two key aspects of migration and employment policies, as seen from the capabilities approach, are *the legality of employment and freedom to choose*. Legality is a “support function” for other labour freedoms, such as discussing of working hours. Guaranteeing legality requires a good estimate of the real seasonal or long-term needs of works, and not confusing “understandable economic convenience” with “real labour needs.” It thus follows that an immigration and employment policy for the development of capabilities needs to strengthen labour inspections. This action is directed at user employers.

The second principle is to broaden the freedom to choose, to change employers and activity. And to convert this freedom into a real opportunity, the regulatory rigidities and the overload of administrative procedures must be reduced, whilst offering reliable information. But there are obstacles that

limit the feasibility of such policies. And in this sense the distinction, in the context of the capabilities approach, between the “freedom to do” and “real opportunities that are provided,” i.e., access and exercise, are relevant. Thus, if most of the returns that occur are not assisted by public policies, then it can be concluded that the freedom to choose is not in fact a reality.

By the same reasoning, working as a “live-in domestic maid” limits capabilities more than when undertaking the same tasks in an external capacity. It is understood that in the first condition, the core capabilities pertaining to privacy are affected, while external domestic workers enjoy greater protection of their freedoms and the use of the same. This is also the case in the more regulated labour sectors through their being subject to work inspections.

The capability approach focuses on the freedom of each person to define their migration project. It is pluralistic in terms of values and strives to correct injustices derived from regulations and treatment, as well as the entrenched and historical inequality of foreigners. And, in the field of immigration and employment policy, it defends individual active participation and governance. That is, the freedom of immigrants to decide their own career path and the need to encourage the participation of socio-economic actors in the design, implementation and evaluation of the measures agreed.

The “consented and maintained irregularity” is the biggest obstacle to the development of capabilities. Irregularity is “consented” upon entry and “maintained” during the stay. And public perception that migrants enter or remain in the country in an undocumented situation leads to more restrictive policies. Therefore, a recommendation running through all the chapters of this manual is *to prevent and reduce situations of irregular contracting and underground economy*. Legal entries for declared jobs and agile management to adapt the worker’s profile to the occupation they are to hold.

3. Brief list of proposals and recommendations

In the introductory pages and the development of each of the chapters of this work we have listed some guidelines and strategies aimed at enabling public authorities to develop more effective immigration policies linked to

the socio-labour reality of their countries, with the final aim of promoting safer, more stable migration offering greater opportunities. First, we have presented the multiple links between migration and employment. And, secondly, we have developed a series of recommendations to help design public policies that promote “fruitful functions”, i.e., which favour the deployment of other capabilities related to the sphere of employment.

In concluding, the following list showing the aims that employment-centred migration policies should strive to obtain may be useful:

1. Improve the quality of the statistical observatories responsible for labour migration.

2. Establish an ongoing dialogue between the countries of origin and destination in order to develop coherent and coordinated policies. Share the analysis of good experiences, and also of failed practices.

3. Increase the flexibility of work permits to facilitate the movement of workers in order that, when matching the supply of migrants to the labour markets, high rates of brain waste and circumstantial or long-term unemployment are not produced. Simplify the procedures that facilitate movement between self-employment and paid employment, as well as the changing of employer and industry. This would contribute to reducing the present rates of irregularity.

4. Prepare realistic forecasts of the labour market needs in order to adapt to the offers to the existing demand, either in terms of numbers or in terms of professional skills. Distinguishing between temporary or seasonal employment and durable and sustainable employment. This would help reduce irregularity in the future.

5. Standardize regulated educational certifications and the recognition of training to avoid wasting combined capabilities and the deterioration of personal skills.

6. Prepare the design, approval and implementation of migration and employment policies with the participation of all the actors involved. Monitor and assess the programmes implemented. In summary, promote the individual’s capacity to act and for governance (defined as an extension

of the mechanisms that enable the key stakeholders in this policy to be heard and to participate).

In times of economic crisis that see a reduction of public resources, it is especially necessary to know that our efforts lead to the expected results. The legitimacy of the actions of public authorities is based on their ability to respond to social problems and demands. Thus, only a systematic assessment of the actions implemented will allow us to measure this ability.

By assessing the policies and programmes implemented, we will be on the road to developing a better immigration policy that benefits everybody, as migrant workers can make a better contribution to the economic and social development of the countries of destination and origin when they are afforded dignified working conditions, and when their human rights and labour rights are protected.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

- ACOBEL:** Bolivia Spain Cooperation Association
- AESCO:** America, Spain, Solidarity and Cooperation
- APRE:** Supplementary aid programme for voluntary return with the accumulated, advance payment of unemployment benefit. Spain
- CA-4:** Central America-4 (CA-4) Border Control Agreement
- CARICOM:** Caribbean Community
- CELAC:** Community of Latin American and Caribbean States
- CEPAIM:** Consortium of Agencies for Integral Action with Migrants
- CINDA:** Interuniversity Centre for Development
- CIRE:** Coordination et Initiatives pour Réfugiés et Étrangers. Belgium
- CMGM:** Joint Committee on Migration Management
- CONACYT:** National Council for Science and Technology
- CONPES:** National Economic and Social Policy Council. Republic of Colombia
- COREDIAL:** Regional Convention on the Recognition of Studies, Diplomas and Degrees in Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean
- DESA:** United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
- EC:** European Commission
- ECLA:** Economic Commission for Latin America
- EU:** European Union
- EVR:** Residential Variation Statistics
- FIE:** Centre for Promotion of Economic Initiatives. Bolivia
- FIIAPP:** Foundation for International and Ibero-American Administration and Public Policies
- GCIM:** Global Commission on International Migration
- HIAS:** Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
- HRST:** Human Resources in Science and Technology

ICETEX: Colombian Institute of Educational Credit and Technical Studies Abroad

ICT: Information and Communication Technologies

IDB: Inter-American Development Bank

ILO: International Labour Organization

IMILA: Research on International Migration in Latin America

INE: National Institute of Statistics

IOM: International Organization for Migration

LAC: Latin America and Caribbean

LOF: Organization and Functions Act

MIDA: IOM Migration for Development in Africa Programme

MTEPS: Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Protection

MTPE: Peruvian Ministry of Labour

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

OJEU: Official Journal of the European Union

PCM: Presidency of Council of Ministers

PREVIE: Voluntary Immigrant Return Programme from Spain

RIRVA: Rete Italiana per i Rimpatri Volontari Assistiti. Italy - Italian Network for AVR

ROF: Organization and Functions Regulation

SELA: Permanent Secretariat of the Latin American and Caribbean Economic System

SENAMI: National Secretariat for Migrants. Ecuador

SICREMI: Continuous Reporting System on International Migration in the Americas

SOPEMI: OECD Continuous Reporting System on Migration

SWOT: Strengths and Weaknesses. Threats and Opportunities

TOKTEN: Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate Nationals

UNASUR: Union of South American Nations

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

US: United States of America



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