Chapter 3

Integrating migration and development into labour market policies

Well-functioning labour markets are key for countries' economic and social development. This chapter analyses the interrelations between migration and labour market policies. It explores how emigration affects different sectors and skills groups, whether emigration and remittances have an impact on households' decision on labour supply and how remittances and return migration are related to self-employment. It also questions how immigration affects labour markets in host countries. The chapter then explores how labour market policies affect the decision to migrate and (re)integration of immigrants and return migrants by enhancing market efficiency through government employment agencies and reinforcing labour supply through vocational training programmes.

An efficient labour market is key for development. A smooth functioning of the labour market ensures that employers find workers with adequate skills to pursue their activities and that all workers receive a remuneration that corresponds to their skills. Beyond economic efficiency, the widespread access of the population to formal and decent jobs improves social cohesion. Against this backdrop, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (SDG 8.5) reiterated the importance of achieving "full and productive employment and decent work for all [...] and equal pay for work of equal value" (UN, 2015).

However, employment conditions in many countries are still far from this ideal scenario. Many developing countries are facing strong demographic pressure, insufficient and low quality labour demand and high rates of informal and vulnerable employment. The competition between workers – especially the lowest skilled – in countries characterised by the inadequate provision of the education system to meet the needs of the labour market and a lack of adequate information often push people to look for better job opportunities abroad. The existence of international wage gaps also encourages people to move to countries with better employment prospects including higher wages and, in some cases, better employment conditions.

While dysfunctional labour markets might spur international labour mobility, migration, in turn, has an impact on the labour markets of both the country of origin and destination, especially concerning wages and employment outcomes. At the same time, active labour market policies¹ (ALMPs) can positively or negatively affect the decision to migrate and return and play a significant role in the (re)integration of immigrants and returnees.

For such reasons, this chapter explores the interrelations between migration and labour market policies. It begins with an overview of the labour market characteristics in the ten partner countries involved in the Interrelations between Public Policies, Migration and Development (IPPMD) project. While the second section investigates how different migration dimensions affect labour markets in countries of origin and destination, the third section explores how labour market policies can influence migration outcomes. Based on the findings of the project and the policy practices in the ten countries, the chapter concludes with a series of policy recommendations.

Table 3.1. Migration and labour market: Key findings

How does migration affect labour markets? Emigration can generate labour shortages in certain sectors and skills groups, but also alleviate pressure in the labour market. Emigration and remittances tend to reduce household labour supply. Emigration and remittances tend to reduce household labour supply. Emigration and remittances and return migration stimulate self-employment. Emigration and remittances and return migration stimulate self-employment. Emigration and remittances tend to reduce household labour supply. Emigration and remittances tend to reduce household labour supply. When vocational training programmes do not meet the needs of the domestic labour markets, they foster emigration. The coverage of most public employment programmes is too small to have a significant impact on emigration. Immigration provides an ample supply of labour for the economy and can fill labour shortages in certain sectors.

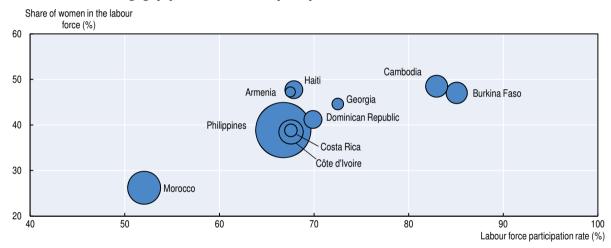
Note: These findings do not apply to all countries. More country-specific findings can be found in the IPPMD country reports.

Overview of the labour market in the ten partner countries

The labour market situations for the ten countries are very different (Figure 3.1), with wide variation in the size of the working age population. In 2015, the Philippines had the largest working-age population, at 64 million people, while Armenia had the smallest, at 2 million people. Labour force participation rates also vary significantly across the countries. The rates are highest in Burkina Faso and Cambodia, where few people can afford not to work and levels of social safety nets are low. The lowest rate is in Morocco, largely because of the low participation rate of women. There is a higher proportion of active females in the labour force (45-48%) in Burkina Faso, Cambodia and Haiti, which are the poorest countries in the project, and where a high share of the population obtains an income from working. Armenia and Georgia, which share the common features of the former USSR countries, also have higher labour participation rates for women.

Figure 3.1. The labour market situations vary enormously for the ten partner countries, 2015





Note: The size of the circle reflects the size of the working age population.

Source: ILO Key Indicators of the Labour Market (KILM), http://www.ilo.org/global/statistics-and-databases/research-and-databases/kilm/lang--en/index.htm.

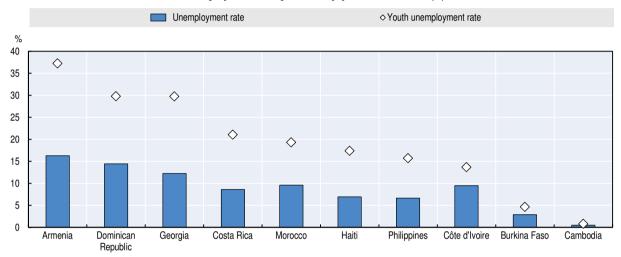
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The unemployment rate also differs across countries (Figure 3.2). Armenia has the highest unemployment rate, followed by the Dominican Republic and Georgia. Unemployment in Cambodia and Burkina Faso is very low because of the high share of self-employed workers and low level of social safety nets. People aged 15 to 24 are the group the worst affected by unemployment in most countries. The youth unemployment rate is higher than 30% in the three countries with the highest unemployment rate. Unemployment, however, may not reveal the full picture. Prevalent underemployment and informal employment is another common feature in many developing countries. This, in particular, can be exacerbated in the countries where subsistence agriculture is large (OECD, 2009).

Agriculture accounts for the largest share of employment in Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Côte d'Ivoire and Georgia (Figure 3.3). It is the most important source of employment in Burkina Faso (84%), though many people are engaged in subsistence agriculture, indicating limited opportunities for better quality wage employment. In Armenia, Haiti, Morocco and

the Philippines, the share of employment in the agricultural sector remains significant although the service sector is the biggest employer. The countries with the lowest share of employment in agriculture are Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic, where the service sector accounts for about 70% of employment. Figure 3.3 also illustrates how the ten countries are at different points in the transition from economies dominated by agriculture and those based on services. In general, the share of employment in agriculture has decreased in the last decade, while the share in services has increased.

Figure 3.2. **Unemployment is most severe among young people, 2015**Unemployment rate per country, youth and overall (%)

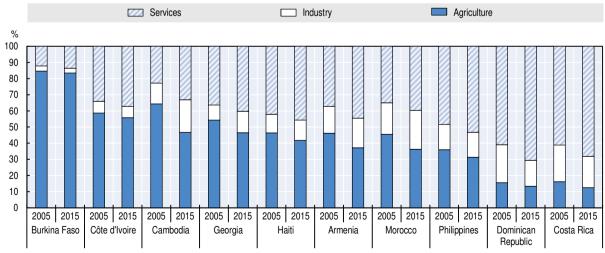


Note: The term "youth" covers people aged between 15 and 24.

Source: ILO Key Indicators of the Labour Market (KILM) http://www.ilo.org/global/statistics-and-databases/research-and-databases/kilm/lang--en/index.htm.

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Figure 3.3. **Agriculture is accounting for a declining share of employment, 2005–2015**Share of labour force (%), three sectors compared



Note: Data for 2015 is projected.

Source: ILO Global Employment Trends: Supporting data sets http://www.ilo.org/global/research/global-reports/weso/2015/lang--en/index.htm.

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How does migration affect labour markets?

Migration can affect the labour market through four different dimensions:

- Emigration can affect wage levels and unemployment by reducing labour supply. It also means a reduction of labour at both national and household levels, which may constrain productivity and development.
- Remittances can affect the remaining household members' labour decisions by increasing
 the lowest wage rate they would be willing to accept (the so-called reservation wage),
 allowing them to leave wage employment or start up a small business.
- Return migrants bring financial, human and social capital accumulated abroad back to their country. They too may start new businesses, creating new jobs in their country of origin.
- Immigration may affect the wages and employability of the native population while filling labour gaps in certain sectors.

The sectors and skills groups affected by emigration vary across countries

Emigration means a reduction in a country's population overall. It also means a reduction in labour supply if the migrants were participating in the labour market before emigrating. Theoretically, a significant drop in labour supply can relax the competition in the labour market, which in turn increases wage levels and decreases unemployment. The effect, however, can vary depending on the characteristics of the workers who fill the jobs left open by emigrants. Wages will be higher for those whose skills substitute the skills of those who left but lower for individuals whose skills complement the other workers. The effect of the fall in supply may be exacerbated in labour-intensive sectors such as agriculture.

It is possible that certain sectors are more affected by emigration than others. The IPPMD research explored this for four sectors that are key to the economy: agriculture, construction, education and health. The number of emigrants who left each sector was compared with the number of workers remaining (Table 3.2). Emigrants are more likely to come from the agricultural sector in Armenia, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Costa Rica and Haiti. The health sector is significantly affected by emigration in the Philippines, reflecting the general trend in the country (WHO et al., 2012). In fact, stakeholders in Manila noted that the health sector has considerable shortages, especially in rural areas. Most people with relevant skills choose to leave for better job opportunities rather than stay in the domestic market.

Table 3.2. The agriculture sector is one of the most affected by emigration

	Agriculture	Construction	Education	Health
Armenia	13	12	1	6
Burkina Faso	13	2	1	0
Cambodia	29	20	7	0
Costa Rica	8	4	3	6
Dominican Republic	10	11	10	14
Georgia	6	9	11	16
Haiti	17	6	11	6
Philippines	6	22	21	69

Note: Numbers in the table show the share of emigrants who left each sector in relation to the remaining workers in that sector. The numbers should be compared across the sectors and countries. Côte d'Ivoire and Morocco are excluded due to lack of data.

Source: Authors' own work based on IPPMD data.

The emigration of highly skilled workers has a direct impact on the labour market. When the losses are large it can damage the economy by reducing productivity. The IPPMD analysis explored the patterns of emigration among occupational groups and skills levels. Figure 3.4 compares the ratio between the number of emigrants who left each group and the workers remaining in that group. This reveals that emigrants from Georgia, Haiti and the Philippines are mostly from the more skilled occupational groups. This is not the case for the other countries. Armenia and Cambodia, for instance, are mainly losing lower skilled workers to emigration.

Figure 3.4. **Skills levels that are affected by emigration differ across the countries**Share of current emigrants in the total number of remaining workers in each skills group

Note: The figure displays the share of emigrants who left in each skills group in relation to the remaining workers in that skills group. The skills level of occupations has been categorised using the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) provided by the ILO (ILO, 2012). Skills level 1: occupations which involve simple and routine physical or manual tasks (includes elementary occupations and some armed forces occupations). Skills level 2: clerical support workers; services and sales workers; skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers; craft and related trade workers; plan and machine operators and assemblers. Skills level 3: technicians and associate professionals and hospitality, retail and other services managers. Skills level 4: Other types of managers and professionals. Côte d'Ivoire and Morocco are excluded due to lack of data.

Costa Rica

Haiti

Burkina Faso

Source: Authors' own work based on IPPMD data.

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Georgia

Philippines

Emigration and remittances reduce household labour supply

Dominican Republic

Emigration by a household member affects the labour choices of the members left behind. Two different channels play a role here. First, if households lose their main worker, other members may need to work to compensate. The so-called lost-labour effect may be exacerbated in rural areas where more households are working in agriculture than in urban areas. Consumption in agricultural households, in particular at the subsistence level, is often directly linked to production, which makes it more necessary to replace the lost labour. On the other hand, migrants often send remittances back to their family. This income may raise the overall household income, thereby reducing their need to work. The literature generally suggests that this income effect of remittances on reduced labour supply is significant. In other words, remittance-receiving household members are less likely to participate in the labour market (Kim, 2007; Acosta, 2006; Hanson, 2007).

The lost-labour effect is driven by the fact that emigrants often leave when they are young and productive. IPPMD data confirm that in most countries for which data is available, more than half of the emigrants who left during the year prior to the survey were

0

Cambodia

in the 15-to-34 age group. Most emigrants had also been working before they left. Figure 3.5 compares the share of employed people among non-migrants and recent emigrants. In all countries except Côte d'Ivoire and Georgia, the employment rate among recent emigrants was higher than among non-emigrants. In Georgia, for example, 67% of emigrants were unemployed prior to their departure, and most of them were in the productive working age group.

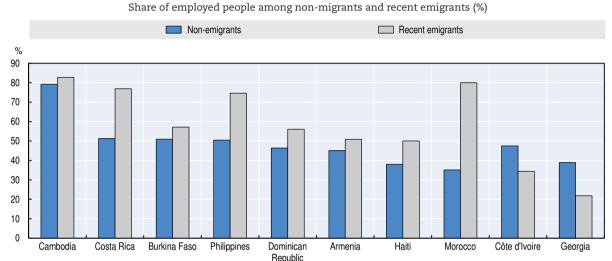


Figure 3.5. Emigrants are more likely to have been employed than non-emigrants

Note: The sample is limited to the working age population and excludes immigrants. Recent emigrants are those who left less than a year ago.

Source: Authors' own work based on IPPMD data.

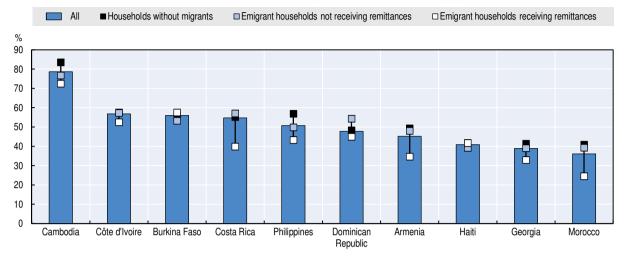
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To what extent are remittances substituting for losses in labour in the IPPMD sample? Although it is challenging to differentiate the pure effects of lost labour and the receipt of remittances, the IPPMD data give some hints. Figure 3.6 compares the average share of working household members from non-migrant households, emigrant households that are not receiving remittances and those that are receiving remittances. In most countries, households that are receiving remittances from former members have the lowest share of working adults. In Burkina Faso and Haiti, emigrant households that are not receiving remittances have the lowest share of working adults. In Cambodia and Côte d'Ivoire the difference between the two groups of emigrant households is marginal. These four countries (except Haiti) have the highest share of agricultural households in the sample (Chapter 4); it may be that they have more difficulties replacing the absent member.

Many factors play a role in households' labour supply decisions. These include the size of the household, the education level of family members and household wealth. A regression framework was used to separate out the effects of these factors on households' labour decisions. The results in Table 3.3 suggest that households are more likely to reduce the labour supply when they have absent members and/or when they receive remittances. The receipt of remittances appears to play a stronger role in households' labour decisions than the emigration of a household member. Although not shown in the table, the amount of remittances received also influences the labour supply when restricting the sample to those receiving remittances from current emigrants.

Figure 3.6. In most countries, households receiving remittances from their emigrant members have the lowest share of working members

Share of household members aged 15-64 that are working (%)



Note: The sample excludes households with return migrants only and immigrants only. Source: Authors' own work based on IPPMD data.

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Table 3.3. Emigration and remittances both reduce household labour supply

Dependent variable: Share of the employed among household members aged 15-64 Main variables of interest: Household has an emigrant and household receives remittances Type of model: Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) Sample: All households with at least one member working Variables of interest: Household has an emigrant Household receives remittances Dependent variable: Share of the employed household members among: ΔII Women Sample: Armenia Burkina Faso Cambodia Costa Rica Côte d'Ivoire 1 Dominican Republic Georgia 1 1 Haiti II Morocco Philippines 11

Note: The arrows indicate a statistically significant positive (upwards arrow) or negative (downwards arrow) relation between the dependent variable and the main independent variable of interest. Household labour supply is measured as the share of household members aged 15-64 that are working. The sample excludes households with return migrants only or those with immigrants.

However, the effect of having absent members can differ depending on the households' economic activity. There is some evidence in the literature that rural households whose main income comes from farming suffer more from losing labour to migration (Démurger and Li, 2012; Lacroix, 2011). To explore this for the sample, several regressions were conducted for agricultural households³ and non-agricultural households (Table 3.4). These suggest that agricultural households are more likely to be affected than non-agricultural households by

the fact that they have an emigrant. In Burkina Faso, for instance, agricultural households are found to reduce their labour supply by having an absent migrant member while non-agricultural households are not. The response also varies for men and women – the share of men working in agricultural households decreases while that of women increases. As more than 80% of current migrants from Burkina Faso are men in the IPPMD sample, it is probably hard to find substitutable male labour in the household. This means that the women left behind have to compensate with their own labour. If they lack the financial resources to hire in labour, agricultural households can face difficulties in maintaining their production levels. Remittances may allow households to hire extra labour, but at the same time a malfunctioning labour market can prevent this from happening.

Table 3.4. Households' agricultural activities play a role in labour decision as a response to emigration and remittances

Main variables of inte Type of model: OLS	Share of employed among rest: Household has an e	migrant and household	nen, women, all) aged 15- receives remittances	64			
Variables of interest:	Household has an e						
	Household receives	-					
Sample:	Agricultural households			No	Non-agricultural households		
	All	Men	Women	All	Men	Women	
Armenia	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Burkina Faso		1	1				
Cambodia	11	1	1	1		1	
Costa Rica							
Côte d'Ivoire							
Dominican Republic				1	1		
Georgia	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Haiti				1		1	
Morocco	1			11	1	1	
Philippines	1		1	11	1	1	

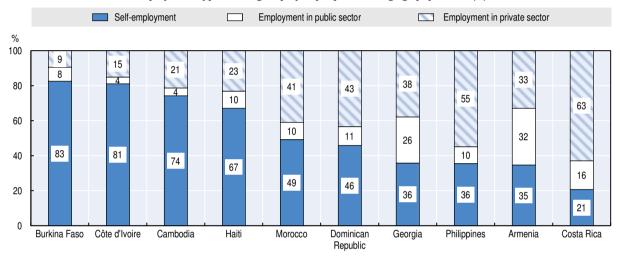
Note: The arrows indicate a statistically significant positive or negative relation between the dependent variable and the main independent variable of interest. Household labour supply is measured as the share of household members aged 15-64 that are working. The sample excludes households with return migrants only or those with immigrants.

Remittances can be used to stimulate more self-employment

Self-employment is a common feature in developing countries, especially where agriculture plays a large role in the labour market. Self-employment can be seen as vulnerable employment because earnings are typically lower than wage employment and the access to social protection is often limited. However, it can be a means to overcome poverty and in many cases is the only option for earning income (Fields, 2014). Of the IPPMD survey countries, Burkina Faso had the greatest share of self-employment, followed by Côte d'Ivoire, Cambodia and Haiti (Figure 3.7). A closer look at the sectors of economic activity for which data are available reveals that in Cambodia and Burkina Faso agricultural self-employment accounts for 76% and 61% of all self-employed people respectively. In Haiti, however, only 10% of self-employed people had agricultural occupations. It seems that microenterprises such as stall and market salespersons account for more than 50% of self-employment in Haiti.

Remittances raise household income. Not only can they help meet basic consumption needs and reduce poverty (Acosta et al., 2008; Adams and Page, 2005), they can also provide members left behind with the required capital to start up a business and boost self-employment (Mesnard, 2004; Dustmann and Kirchkamp 2002; Woodruff and Zenteno, 2007; Yang, 2008). While Chapter 6 explores how remittances affect business enterprises in further detail, this section focuses on the link between remittances and self-employment. In most countries, the share of self-employed people is higher among households receiving remittances than those not-receiving remittances (Figure 3.8). The difference is statistically significant in Armenia, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Morocco and the Philippines.

Figure 3.7. **Self-employment accounts for a large share of employment in most countries**Employment types among employed people, working age population (%)



Source: Authors' own work based on IPPMD data.

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Figure 3.8. The share of self-employed people is higher among remittance-receiving households

Households receiving remittances Households not receiving remittances 0/ 100 90 80 70 60 50 40 30 20 10 0 Côte d'Ivoire Cambodia Philippines *** Dominican Armenia Morocco 3 Georgia Republic

Share of self-employed among employed (%)

Note: The sample excludes households with immigrants only. Statistical significance calculated using a chi-squared test is indicated as follows: ***: 99%, **: 95%, *: 90%.

Source: Authors' own work based on IPPMD data.

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The link between remittances and being self-employed is further analysed in a regression framework. Probit estimations were carried out controlling for individual and household characteristics. The results, shown in Table 3.5, imply that, in Armenia, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Georgia and Haiti, people are more likely to be self-employed when they belong to households receiving remittances. The Caucasus countries differ when disaggregating the sample by gender and household location, however. In Georgia, men in rural areas are more likely to be self-employed than women in remittance-receiving households. In Armenia, on the other hand, women in rural areas are more likely to be self-employed. This is largely explained by the profile of emigrants as in rural households in Armenia four out of five emigrants are men, leaving women to become the main breadwinners in rural areas.

Table 3.5. The links between self-employment and remittances

Dependent variable: Individual is self-employed Main variables of interest: Individual belongs to a household receiving remittances Type of model: Probit Sample: Employed people Women Men Sample: All individuals Rural Urban Rural Urban Armenia Burkina Faso Cambodia Costa Rica Côte d'Ivoire Dominican Republic Georgia 1 Haiti Morocco **Philippines**

Note: The arrows indicate a statistically significant positive or negative relation between the dependent variable and the main independent variable of interest. Household labour supply is measured as the share of household members aged 15-64 that are working. The sample excludes households with return migrants only or those with immigrants.

Data from the other countries do not confirm this hypothesis, but do not confirm the contrary either. There is no evidence that remittances are linked to lower rates of self-employment. The only exception is women in rural areas in the Dominican Republic, who seem to be less likely to be self-employed in remittance-receiving households. The share of self-employed women in rural Dominican Republic is considerably lower than that of rural men in general. This suggests that there is a general tendency of women for not engaging in self-employment and with remittances the need to run an additional income generating activity may be even less. Other studies have found a pronounced decline in income among self-employed women in the Dominican Republic (Abdullaev and Estevão, 2013), which may have pushed women to abandon self-employment once the household receives remittances.

In general, there is a higher probability of people being self-employed when their households receive remittances. It should be noted, however, that self-employment does not automatically mean entrepreneurship and the creation of wage-employment or additional jobs. In many cases, self-employment only involves one individual or immediate family members and therefore has a limited impact on the labour market.

Return migration can boost self-employment

Return migrants often come home with accumulated financial and human capital. The savings accrued during migration can help them fund entrepreneurial activities and self-employment. There is growing evidence from the literature of return migrants' tendency to be self-employed and establish businesses (De Vreyer et al., 2010; Ammassari, 2004). The IPPMD data confirm that return migrants are more likely than non-migrants to be self-employed in all the surveyed countries except Cambodia and Haiti (Figure 3.9). In Armenia, Costa Rica and the Philippines, the probability of being self-employed is in fact higher by 7% to 10% for return migrants. In Cambodia, however, return migrants are less likely to be self-employed.

Private employed Public employed Self-employed ◆ Returnees self-employed % 100 90 80 70 60 50 40 30 20 10 Burkina Faso Côte d'Ivoire Philippines Morocco Dominican Costa Rica Cambodia Hait Georgia Armenia Republic

Figure 3.9. Return migrants are more likely to be self-employed than non-migrants Employment status among non-migrants and share of self-employed among returnees

Source: Authors' own work based on IPPMD data.

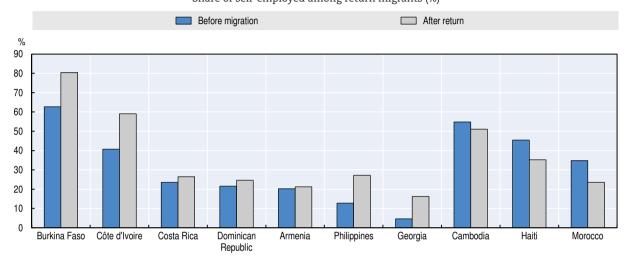
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It may be the case that return migrants were already self-employed prior to their migration or that they chose migration as a strategy to set up a business or to become self-employed. In fact, pre-migratory conditions and individual characteristics including their skills and employment status before leaving increase the probability that return migrants will become entrepreneurs (Hamdouch and Wahba, 2012). The IPPMD data confirm that the share of return migrants that are self-employed is higher than it was prior to their emigrating, with the exception of Cambodia, Haiti and Morocco (Figure 3.10).

The literature finds that non-migrants living in households with return migrants are also more likely to be self-employed, thereby helping create employment opportunities in the labour market (Giulietti et al., 2013; Démurger and Xu, 2011; Piracha and Vadean, 2009). Figure 3.11 displays the ratio between the share of households with self-employed workers for households with return migrants and households with no returnees. Households with return migrants have a higher share of self-employed people in all countries except Cambodia, Côte d'Ivoire and Haiti. Probit regressions controlling for other individual and

households characteristics show that having a return migrant correlates with having self-employed members in households in Armenia and Costa Rica. The link was negative in Cambodia, however.⁵

Figure 3.10. **Self-employment among return migrants is higher than before they left home**Share of self-employed among return migrants (%)

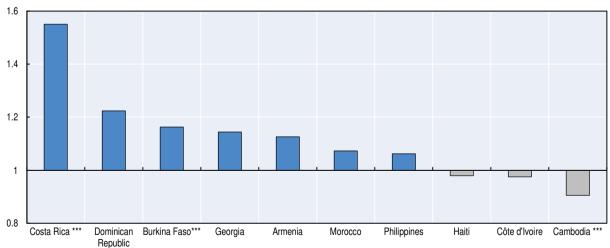


Source: Authors' own work based on IPPMD data.

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Figure 3.11. Households with return migrants are more likely to have a self-employed member

Ratio between the share of households with self-employed workers for households with return migrant and households without return migrant



Note: If the ratio is above 1, the share of self-employed members in households with return migrants is greater than in households without return migrants; the opposite is true for a ratio of below 1.

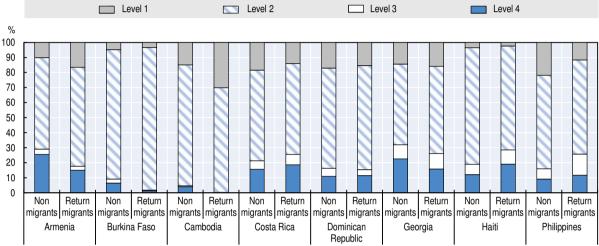
Source: Authors' own work based on IPPMD data.

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Return migrants have a different set of skills

Skills that returnees have acquired from their migration experience can enhance the skills set of labour in their home countries. Figure 3.12 compares the skills composition of return and non-migrants using the ILO classification described earlier in Figure 3.4 (ILO, 2012). Figure 3.12 shows that the composition of skills varies between the two groups in each country; however, no general patterns were found across countries.

Figure 3.12. Occupational skills composition of non-migrants and return migrants differ Share of employed people in each skills group among non-migrants and return migrants (%)



Note: The skills level of occupations has been categorised using the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) provided by the ILO (ILO, 2012). The higher the level, the more complex the skills and tasks required. Côte d'Ivoire and Morocco are excluded due to lack of data

Source: Authors' own work based on IPPMD data.

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In Armenia, Burkina Faso, Cambodia and Georgia, a larger share of return migrants have lower skilled occupations than non-migrants. This can be partially explained by the fact that most migrants from these countries were low-skilled workers prior to their departure (except Georgia, as shown in Figure 3.4). Their jobs in the destination countries were often at the same skills level or even below the ones they had at home. Their lack of skills prior to emigrating makes it difficult for them to obtain more highly skilled jobs in the destination countries. In addition, very few of the migrants in the sample acquired any kind of education or participated in vocational training programmes while they were abroad. Less than 10% of return migrants in the survey in these countries reported having acquired education in destination countries (1% in Cambodia) (Chapter 5).

On the other hand, in Costa Rica, Haiti and the Philippines the share of return migrants with more highly skilled occupations is higher than for non-migrants. In these cases it is possible that these people left more highly skilled jobs when they originally emigrated, especially those from Haiti and the Philippines (Figure 3.4). IPPMD data also confirm that the share of returnees who obtained education and training in the destination countries was higher in Costa Rica (24%), the Dominican Republic (28%) and Haiti (19%). Whether return migrants' acquired skills will be used productively depends

on several factors, including their migration experience as well as the transferability of the skills acquired to the home labour market.

Immigration constitutes an important source of labour and can fill shortages in certain sectors

Immigrants are an important source of labour in a growing number of developing countries. Immigration is often seen as a negative factor by native populations, who fear it could lower wages or reduce job opportunities. However, the literature generally confirms that immigration has little impact on native workers' wages or employment rates (Altonji and Card, 1991; Dustmann et al., 2013; Longhi et al., 2005). Some empirical studies have found a slightly negative impact on the wage level of the low-skilled native workers (Camarota, 1998; Orrenius and Zavodny, 2003). Most literature, however, is based on the research for OECD countries (Facchini et al., 2013; Gindling, 2008). The impact of immigration in developing countries may differ because of the structural differences as well as the different compositions of immigrant populations.

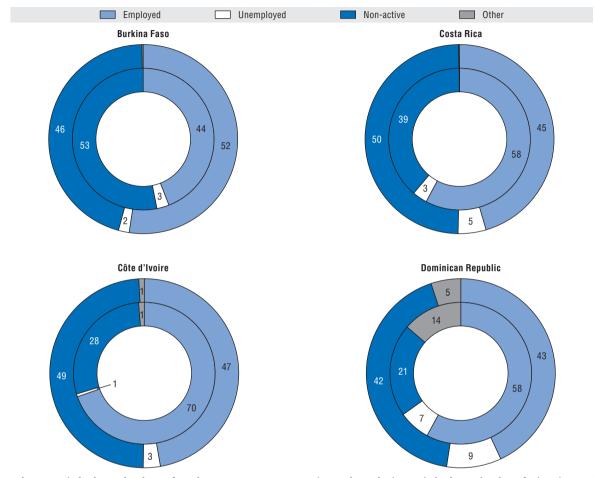
Of the IPPMD countries, Burkina Faso, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire and the Dominican Republic provide sufficient data to analyse how immigration affect their labour markets (Chapter 2). Immigrants constitute 4% of the total labour force in Burkina Faso, 28% in Costa Rica, 20% in Côte d'Ivoire and 21% in the Dominican Republic in the IPPMD surveys. Most immigrants are in their productive years and contribute labour to their adopted economies. Most of them migrated to seek better job opportunities. Immigrants in the 15-to-44 age group make up around 74% of all adult immigrants in Burkina Faso, 47% in Costa Rica, 40% in Côte d'Ivoire and 64% in the Dominican Republic. The share of employed people in the total immigrant population is higher than for the native population in all these countries except Burkina Faso (Figure 3.13). Immigrants in Burkina Faso have similar characteristics to return migrants rather than immigrants in other countries because most of them are the children of Burkinabe parents (Chapter 11).

Immigrants are more likely to concentrate in certain sectors and industries (Patel and Vella, 2007; Kerr and Mandorff, 2015). Table 3.6 shows from the IPPMD data for Burkina Faso, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic, the share of immigrants in the total number of workers in the four sectors: agriculture, construction, education and health. In Burkina Faso, the education and health sectors have larger shares of immigrant labour than the agriculture and construction sectors. It is mainly explained by the different education and skills profiles of the immigrants in Burkina Faso. In Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic, however, the agriculture and construction sectors heavily depend on immigrant workers. Without the immigrant workers, these sectors can face labour shortages. Stakeholder interviews revealed a concern related to the construction of the Canal of Nicaragua – if those jobs pay well and offer good conditions, many of the Nicaraguan construction workers in Costa Rica may leave to work on that project, creating a labour shortage.

A closer look at the immigrants' occupational skills in Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic show that most are employed in jobs that require lower skills levels (Figure 3.14). Immigrants may be forced to accept low-skilled jobs and lower wages than native workers on account of their limited access to the labour market. Those with irregular migration status, in particular, are more likely to accept worse employment conditions and this may negatively affect employment opportunities and wage levels of the native workers.

Figure 3.13. The share of employed adults is higher among immigrants than for the native population

Share of adults with different employment status (%), among native population and immigrants



Note: The outer circle shows the share of employment status among native workers; the inner circle shows the share for immigrants. The sample includes adults aged 15 and over.

Source: Authors' own work based on IPPMD data.

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Table 3.6. The agriculture and construction sectors heavily depend on immigrant workers in Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic

Share of immigrants in the total number of workers in the corresponding sector in countries of destination (%)

	Agriculture	Construction	Education	Health
Burkina Faso	2	3	9	6
Costa Rica	42	55	13	11
Dominican Republic	48	32	3	2

Note: Numbers in the table show the share of immigrants in relation to the sum of native-born and immigrant workers in the four sectors. The numbers should be compared across the sectors and countries. Côte d'Ivoire is excluded due to lack of data.

Source: Authors' own work based on IPPMD data.

Native-born workers

Level 1 Level 2 Level 3 Level 4 Costa Rica **Dominican Republic** 100 100 11 16 90 90 80 80 46 70 70 57 60 60 50 50 67 60 40 40 30 30 50 20 37 20 10 10 18 17 0 0

Figure 3.14. Immigrant workers in Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic are more concentrated in lower skilled jobs

Share of employed people in each skills group (%), among native-born workers and immigrant workers

Note: The skills level of occupations has been categorised using the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) provided by the ILO (ILO, 2012). The higher the level, the more complex the skills and tasks required.

Immigrant workers

Source: Authors' own work based on IPPMD data.

Native-born workers

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Immigrant workers

How do labour market policies affect migration?

The previous section shows that migration affects the labour market through various channels. At the same time, migration may also be affected by the labour market policies implemented in individual countries. Labour market policies try to balance the appropriate degree of flexibility while providing necessary protection for workers. Several policy instruments, such as wage setting, legislation protecting employers, unemployment insurance and other benefits and various active labour market policies (ALMPs) targeting unemployed workers are typically used to improve labour market outcomes. These policies largely focus on the formal sector, which means the way they interact with the informal sector is less clear.

Effective labour market policies can have an indirect impact on households' migration decisions by improving their labour outcome. IPPMD data confirm that most existing emigrants decided to migrate for job-related reasons. Policy instruments that improve the domestic labour market may therefore reduce the incentive to migrate. The labour market policies studied within the IPPMD project can be implemented through several instruments and with different objectives:

- Government employment agencies can help to enhance labour market efficiency.
- Many countries are enlarging the scope of **vocational training** in order to reinforce their labour supply.
- Finally, **public employment programmes** are often introduced to increase labour demand.

To date, the impact of these labour market policies on migration remains unexplored in the research. This section attempts to disentangle the links between the policies and the decision to emigrate, the reintegration of return migrants and the integration of immigrants in the labour market.

Box 3.1. Labour market policies and programmes covered in the IPPMD project

The IPPMD household survey asked household adult members whether they benefited from certain labour market policies and programmes (listed in Figure 3.15).

The community survey collected information on whether the communities have vocational training centres and job centres. It also asked if certain types of training programmes were implemented in the communities and whether they have been offered public employment programmes.

Figure 3.15. Labour market policies explored in the IPPMD surveys



Note: The IPPMD survey also asked if individuals received unemployment benefits; however, no country had unemployment benefits at the time of the survey. 6

Government employment agencies tend to curb emigration flows

Efficient employment services should help job seekers find suitable jobs and ensure employers fill their needs. Government employment agencies aim to improve the functioning of the labour market by providing information on the economy and local labour market, including employment opportunities. There are government employment agencies in all the IPPMD countries except Haiti. They differ in terms of the size of the institutions in charge, geographic area covered, platforms used to exchange the information, effectiveness and public awareness. Their rate of usage by IPPMD survey respondents appears to be low in general, ranging from 1% in Morocco to 5% in Georgia.

If people can find jobs in the local labour market through government employment agencies, they may choose to stay rather than move abroad to seek work. The survey shows that in most countries except Georgia and Morocco, the share of people who have no plans to emigrate is higher for those who found jobs through government employment agencies than those who did not (Figure 3.16). Of course, the individual characteristics of the respondents matter. Many of them are highly educated (except in Cambodia) and have public jobs, which are seen as a secure type of employment. On average, 77% of them are employed in the public sector; in Burkina Faso 90% of those who found jobs through such agencies are public employed. They are also more likely to belong to households with no current emigrants. A considerably higher share of them is living in households without any emigrants in all countries (though the difference is marginal in the Philippines).

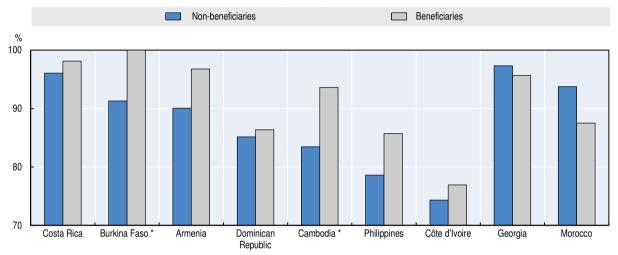
It should be noted, however, that to be able to establish a causal relationship between government employment agencies and households' emigration decisions, further information is required, such as when they benefited from the employment agencies.

The use rate of government employment agencies by return migrants is close to zero in all countries. Most return migrants (with the exception of those in Costa Rica) either do not participate in the labour market or are self-employed. Return migrants' lack of passage

to the government employment agencies may partially explain their propensity to self-employment. In this case, they may have chosen to be self-employed as a last resort.

Figure 3.16. A higher share of beneficiaries from government employment agencies have no plans to emigrate than non-beneficiaries

Share of people with no plans to emigrate among non-beneficiaries and beneficiaries from government employment agencies (%)



Note: Haiti is not shown because there are no government employment agencies. Statistical significance calculated using a chi-squared test is indicated as follows: ***: 99%; **: 95%; *: 90%.

Source: Authors' own work based on IPPMD data.

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Almost no immigrants (with the exception of those in Burkina Faso) have used government employment agencies in the destination countries, even though they have access to the services in most countries. Most immigrants tend to rely more on their own networks than native populations for job searches. Government employment agencies can play a role in better integrating immigrants into the labour market and boosting their potential contribution to the economy.

Vocational training may increase emigration

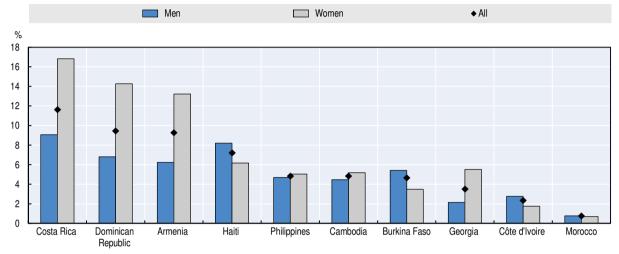
Vocational training has become a key labour market strategy in many developing countries. With growing global economic integration and rapid technological change, acquiring new skills across all sectors is important to adapt to market demand. The participation rate in vocational training programmes in the past five years varies across the IPPMD countries (Figure 3.17). Costa Rica has the highest share (12% of the surveyed labour force), while Morocco has the lowest (1%). In Armenia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic and Haiti, a considerably greater share of women have participated in vocational training programmes than men.

Vocational training programmes can affect different outcomes of migration. By enhancing labour skills, people may find better jobs in the domestic labour market, thereby reducing the incentive to emigrate. On the other hand, vocational training can be a means to make would-be migrants more employable overseas. Figure 3.18 compares the migration intentions of employed and unemployed people who participated in vocational training with those who did not. In most countries, the share of people planning to migrate appears to be higher for those who had participated in a vocational training programme than for those

who did not. The exceptions are Armenia and Cambodia. As seen earlier in Figure 3.4, the propensity to emigrate is higher among low-skilled occupational groups than high-skilled groups in these countries. Vocational training in this context may contribute to upward labour mobility and reduce the incentives to look for other jobs abroad.

Figure 3.17. The participation rate in vocational training programmes varies across IPPMD countries

Share of labour force who have participated in vocational training in the last five years (%), by gender

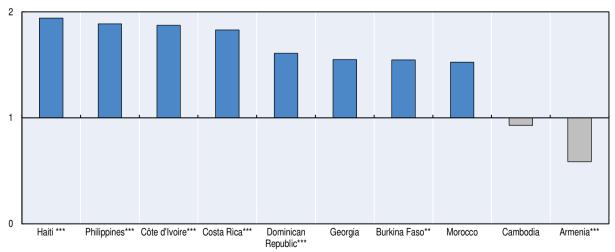


Source: Authors' own work based on IPPMD data.

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Figure 3.18. Plans to migrate are correlated with participation in vocational training programmes

Ratio of the share of individuals planning to emigrate among participants of vocational training programmes over that of non-participants



Note: If the ratio is above 1, the share of people who plan to emigrate is higher among the group who participated in vocational training programmes than those who did not; the opposite is true for a ratio below 1. Statistical significance calculated using a chi-squared test is indicated as follows: ***: 99%, **: 95%, *: 90%.

Source: Authors' own work based on IPPMD data.

StatLink http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933417697

Regression analysis suggests it is possible people are participating in vocational training programmes with the goal of finding jobs abroad. Probit estimations explored the link while controlling for other individual and household characteristics. They found a positive and statistically significant relationship in the Dominican Republic, Haiti and the Philippines (Table 3.7). How vocational training affects migration decisions can depend on the labour market outcome. If training does not lead to the right job or a higher income, this may increase the incentive to withdraw from the domestic labour market and search for other jobs abroad.

If the impact of vocational training on participants' income is positive, the income differential might be used to help another household member migrate. Table 3.7 also shows that in Burkina Faso, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Morocco and the Philippines, households with a member who has participated in vocational training are also likely to have a member who plans to migrate in the future.

Table 3.7. The links between vocational training participation and plans to emigrate

	to chingrate	
Dependent variable: Intention to emigrate Main variables of interest: Participation i		
Type of model: Probit		
Sample: Labour force aged 15-64		
Sample:	Individual level	Household level
Armenia		
Burkina Faso		1
Cambodia		
Costa Rica		1
Côte d'Ivoire		
Dominican Republic	1	1
Georgia		
Haiti	1	1
Morocco		1
Philippines	1	1

Note: The arrows indicate a statistically significant positive or negative relation between the dependent variable and the main independent variable of interest. Household labour supply is measured as the share of household members aged 15-64 that are working. The sample excludes households with return migrants only or those with immigrants.

Vocational training programmes can serve as a (re)integration channel for return migrants and immigrant workers. As re-entry to the home labour market may require certain return migrants to acquire new skills, training programmes can help returnees to develop these skills and find employment. In countries of destination, most immigrants have low-skilled jobs as shown above (Figure 3.14). In this respect, supporting both return migrants and immigrants to reinforce their skills through vocational training programmes can help them to find jobs which correspond better to their education and skills level, thereby increasing their potential contribution to the economy both in countries of origin and destination.

Public employment programmes have a limited impact on migration

Public employment programmes (PEPs) are in place in all the countries, with multiple objectives and varying priorities. Some governments introduce PEPs to increase overall labour demand and to complement job creation in the private sector. In other contexts, these programmes act as a social safety net, especially for the poor and vulnerable. For instance,

cash-for-work or food-for-work programmes are often targeted to households close to the poverty line to provide a minimum income in return for temporary work. In some cases, governments use PEPs following a disaster or as emergency mechanisms.

The take-up ratio for PEPs in the IPPMD survey appears to be very limited. The participation rate was around 1% or even less in most countries, except Haiti and Cambodia. Haiti has the highest share (4%) of its labour force who participated in such programmes, followed by Cambodia (3%). PEPs in Haiti were introduced in the post-disaster context following the 2010 earthquake and mainly included cash-for-work and rubble-removal initiatives. At the time of the survey, these initiatives were in their final stages. In Cambodia, PEPs have been implemented to better integrate the poor and vulnerable in the local labour markets. Most of them were taken up by people in rural areas.

How can PEPs affect households' migration decisions? They can either increase or decrease the incentives to migrate depending on the households' response to the additional income received. Where these programmes improve local employment opportunities, there may be less incentives to migrate as the opportunity cost of migration increases. In rural areas in particular, public works programmes to support agricultural workers during the farming off-season can provide an alternative to seasonal migration. On the other hand, the increased income received may encourage migration. Overall, the impact of PEPs on migration is likely to depend on three critical factors:

- Duration: PEPs typically provide only short-term employment to individuals. In most
 countries, jobs are likely to last for weeks rather than months. This should not alter much
 the decision to migrate of beneficiaries. At the same time, the short duration limits the
 effect PEPs might have in providing the resources that would-be migrants need to leave.
- Coverage: Very few PEPs offer a guarantee of work to eligible individuals, and in any case the programmes are limited to the lean season each year. Because the potential population for this kind of programme is very high, and most governments lack the resources to implement them everywhere they are required, their capacity to lower the incentives to emigrate remains low.
- Income level: Because the individuals' decision to migrate is often driven by the level of income rather than the availability of work, PEPs are unlikely to have a major impact on migration. In the best case, these programmes offer a wage equivalent to the prevailing salary for unskilled (typically agricultural) work in the area they cover. More often, however, the wage is set below this, either as a means of extending coverage, limiting distortions to the local labour market or as a self-selection mechanism that ensures only the neediest apply.

Further analysis was carried out in the regression framework for Haiti and Cambodia to explore the link between participation in PEPs and households' migration decisions. The results for Haiti showed households benefitting from such programmes were more likely to have a member who plans to emigrate. However, no evidence was found to suggest this intention was leading to actual migration. Descriptive data from the community survey in Cambodia suggests PEPs may be positively associated with emigration as the share of households with emigrants is higher in communities with such programmes than in those without.

Policy recommendations

Well-functioning labour markets are key for countries' economic and social development. While the labour market characteristics vary across the IPPMD countries, they seem to be tightly linked to migration in all cases. This chapter calls on governments to take into account migration when designing labour market policies in view of the country's development.

Depending to what extent sector and skills groups are losing labour to emigration, labour shortages may transpire while workers may benefit from less competition for jobs. Households also respond to emigration and remittances by working less. However, migration is found to contribute to the labour market by stimulating more self-employment. This is supported by remittances and financial capital brought by return migrants. Return migrants' occupational skills acquired in previous countries of residence can also contribute to the skills set of the home country labour market. Likewise, immigrants constitute an important source of labour for certain sectors in the economy.

Migration is, in turn, affected by labour market policies. This chapter has explored how different active labour market policies can influence the decision to emigrate and the (re)integration of return migrants as well as immigrants. The analysis demonstrated a link between labour market policies and the decision to emigrate. By enhancing labour market efficiency and providing people with easier access to the domestic labour market, government employment agencies can help people stay rather than move abroad to seek jobs. On the other hand, vocational training programmes may encourage people to emigrate by equipping them with skills that are more employable abroad. This is the case when training programmes do not match labour market needs. Whether PEPs affect migration depends on several factors such as the duration, coverage and income level of the programmes.

Policies are needed to address the potential negative effects and leverage the positive effects migration can bring to the labour market. At the same time, labour market policies should incorporate migration into their design.

Table 3.8. Integrating migration and development into labour market policies

	Policy recommendations
Emigration	 Adjust vocational training programmes to reflect demand in the local labour market and better match demand with supply. Expand the territorial coverage and awareness of governmental employment agencies, especially in rural areas, while working more closely with the private sector, to match needs with labour supply and ensure that households that lost labour to emigration can easily replace it if needed.
Return migration	 Expand government employment agencies' activities to reach out to emigrants overseas. They should also target return migrants so that they have a greater chance of finding a formal job. Ensure vocational training programmes match domestic labour needs to foster the inclusion of return migrants in the labour market.
Immigration	 Develop better information systems, through an extended network of employment agencies, to help immigrant as well as native-born workers find the jobs that best correspond to their skills. Increase training opportunities to upgrade general skills levels and ensure that immigrant job seekers do not have any legal barriers to the labour market.

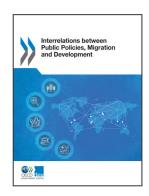
Notes

- Active Labour Market Policies (ALMPs) defined by OECD include all social expenditure (other than
 education) which is aimed at the improvement of the beneficiaries' prospect of finding gainful
 employment or to otherwise increase their earnings capacity. This category includes spending on
 public employment services and administration, labour market training, special programmes for
 youth when in transition from school to work, labour market programmes to provide or promote
 employment for unemployed and other persons (excluding young and disabled persons) and special
 programmes for the disabled. https://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=28
- The analysis controls for household size, dependency ratio, male-female ratio, average education level, household wealth and geographical location (rural/urban). Fixed effects were applied for different regions.
- 3. The IPPMD survey defines households as agricultural when they cultivate land and/or raise livestock (Chapter 4).
- 4. The analysis controls for individuals' age, sex, and education level. At the household level, the set of controls includes household size, dependency ratio, household wealth and geographical location (rural/urban). Fixed effects were applied for different regions.
- 5. Further discussion can be found in country reports.
- Armenia abolished unemployment benefits in 2013 in view of strengthening vocational training programmes.
- 7. The analysis controls for individuals' age, sex and education level and employment status. At the household level, the set of controls includes household size, dependency ratio, household wealth and geographical location (rural/urban) and whether the household has an emigrant or not. Fixed effects were applied for different regions.
- 8. This is the case for India's Mahatma Ghandi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme and the Productive Safety Net Programme in Ethiopia.

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