



Employers' Role and Influence in Migration: A literature review



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Executive summary

The Intergovernmental Consultations on Migration, Asylum and Refugees (IGC) Chair's theme for 2012–2013 is “The role and influence of employers in migration”. The IGC is an informal, non-decision-making forum for intergovernmental information exchange and policy debate on issues of relevance to the management of international migratory flows.¹

This report provides an overview of the literature and research on the employer's role and influence in the employment of migrant workers (including refugees and asylum seekers, high- and low-skilled workers, and permanent and temporary workers) in Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States of America (IGC Participating States). It is intended to support discussions and forums between IGC Participating States during 2012–2013, and to stimulate ongoing policy debate and research.

Much of the literature on migration naturally focuses on the migrant experience, migrant outcomes and impacts (economic, social and cultural) on receiving (and sending) nations. As such, there is a substantially smaller portion of literature devoted to the role and influence of employers in migration. However, researchers and governments are increasingly recognising that employers can have a significant role in improving labour market and settlement outcomes of migrants. In doing so, employer-focused research and literature has examined employer demand for migrant workers, and what mediates that demand, as well as the challenges employers face in recruiting and retaining migrant workers.

The demand for migrant workers has grown as most IGC Participating States are experiencing demographic changes which mean that they cannot exclusively rely on “making” their own skilled workers. Natural population growth rates have slowed in many developed countries due to declining fertility and longer life expectancy. Additionally, a highly competitive global market means that employers are continually demanding more labour and higher-skilled labour. As economies move to a more service-based orientation and knowledge-intensive or high-tech manufacturing and services to stimulate and sustain economic growth, this demand for more educated and skilled workers – in many cases workers from offshore – grows. The literature suggests that features such as high education and experience requirements, as well as workers who have a global focus and knowledge, make migrants particularly attractive.

Employers also demand workers in low-skilled areas. The literature suggests that a combination of perceived positive qualities of migrants, such as good work ethic, as well as low uptake from domestic workers in low-skilled occupations (due in part to under-valued skills, adverse working conditions, labour intensity, seasonality and geographic constraints), has meant that migrants in many IGC Participating States are filling these roles.

As such, the data shows that migrant workers are concentrated at two ends of the industrial and occupational spectrum. Across IGC Participating States migrant workers appear to be

¹ The Chair of the IGC rotates among the 17 IGC Participating States on an annual basis. The Chair also identifies a main theme for consideration through the year, and is responsible for the organisation of annual high-level conferences and for overseeing the implementation of the IGC work plan.

concentrated in hotels and restaurants and private households with employed persons (likely to be domestic care). In Australia migrants are over-represented in manufacturing, and in New Zealand in health and social work. Migrant workers are most likely to be found in both elementary, low-skilled occupations, as well as professional high-skilled occupations.

Migrant employment is a key element in the integration and settlement of migrants in a host country. As employers are a significant gate-keeper in this process, it is important to understand what the barriers and facilitators are to recruitment and retention. Employers consistently point to migrants' lack of ability to speak and comprehend the national language as a significant constraint. Other barriers are lack of work experience and ability to check and recognise foreign qualifications. Discrimination is also a significant hurdle to migrant recruitment, both on the part of the employer and also from public perceptions that can act as a significant influencer. Humanitarian migrants (asylum seekers and refugees) encounter these same barriers to employment, but are doubly burdened by employer confusion as to whether they are permitted to work, as well as higher levels of discrimination. While refugees who have been granted permanent residence are able to work, in some countries, asylum seekers are unable to seek work and/or can only do so after a certain period of time.

Employers use a number of different recruitment strategies, including recruitment websites, company websites, specialist journals and publications, national press, recruitment agencies, employment agencies, other intermediaries, trade and employment fairs, networks and word of mouth, and sub-contracting. The main themes through the employer literature is that employers do not set out to recruit migrants, and that networks and word of mouth are the most commonly used recruitment strategy. Both of these themes can act as a barrier to migrant recruitment. Migrants (including refugees and asylum seekers) are not likely to be a part of any professional or social networks that employers use. However, there is some evidence that employers use migrant networks and their migrant employees to help recruit. While this is positive for some migrants, it can also, in some cases, increase the proportion of migrants in lower-skilled occupations in specific sectors (for example, hospitality and agriculture/horticulture).

The employer literature tended not to make distinctions between recruitment of migrants who are already in the country versus recruitment of potential migrants who currently reside elsewhere, because in most cases employers do not set out to recruit migrants. However, there were some preferences for temporary migrants and irregular migrants over migrant workers with secure residence status (and domestic labour) but this appeared to be prevalent in certain sectors where there can be fluctuating demand and sub-contracting arrangements. These sectors include hospitality, agriculture and horticulture, and construction.

Government policy settings also significantly influence the extent to which employers have a tendency to employ migrants or not. The immigration policies of IGC Participating States have evolved over time, and some have moved to more open systems (such as Sweden), while others (such as the United Kingdom) are seeking to reduce employer reliance on migrant workers. Different emphases have also been placed on permanent and temporary migration policies. Some countries have made permanent migration avenues more rigorous and temporary migration more targeted. Obviously immigration policies reflect the needs and objectives of individual countries, and for many IGC Participating States the movement towards more managed migration policies is a reaction to the impact of the global financial crisis and rising unemployment. In conjunction with general policy directions, IGC

Participating States institute a number of limits or controls on migration to ensure employer demand for workers is met and to ensure the local domestic labour market is not negatively impacted. Examples of such limits include caps or quotas, labour market tests and occupational shortage lists for permanent migration; and for temporary migration, tighter definitions of source countries and sectors, admissions ceilings and stricter requirements for workers returning to their home countries. All IGC Participating States use these mechanisms to some degree, but there is a trend for more flexible and accessible systems, in response to employer, trade union and employer association feedback.

Governments not only set the policy conditions which employers and migrants exist under, but they also provide support to encourage employers to recruit and settle migrant workers. Programmes and initiatives that are funded or delivered by governments focus on the key issues and challenges that migrants and employers face; namely, qualification recognition, job matching, complex immigration systems, language and work experience. To this end, initiatives within IGC Participating States cover a wide spectrum of programmes and mechanisms, including employer input into the policy-making process; wage subsidies; signposting and guidance for employers on the recruitment process; reduction of system complexity; fast-tracking processes; job-matching databases and advisors; qualification recognition agencies and systems; document checking; mobility partnerships; pre-departure information; work placement schemes; literacy, language and numeracy training; mentorships; and circular migration support.

Evaluations and research find that each of these mechanisms have their advantages and challenges. However, it is clear that employer involvement at design and delivery stages has had the most success. What is also apparent is that initiatives that are employer-focused are in the minority but are increasingly a focus of IGC Participating States. However, to date this is an under-researched and under-funded area. Employers are also challenged by complex national and local arrangements which make it difficult for them to identify who could help them recruit and settle migrant workers.

This report also explores the issue of compliance and exploitation, and compares employer compliance systems across some IGC Participating States. While financial penalties and other employer sanctions may have deterred employers from employing irregular migrant workers, in general it is unclear to what extent such sanctions have had on employers who deliberately seek to circumvent the system. Nevertheless, enforcement must be a key priority for IGC Participating States. As time goes on, it will be interesting to better understand how recent enhancements to enforcement, such as in the United States of America, will decrease irregular working as well as exploitation.

Contents

Executive summary	ii
Scope	1
Purpose	1
Definitions	1
Limitations	4
Organisation of this report	5
Introduction	6
Migrant stocks and inflows of IGC Participating States	7
Permanent and temporary migrants	10
Humanitarian migrants	13
International students	14
Demand for migrant workers	17
Where are migrants employed?	18
Employer demand for migrant workers	27
Skill and labour shortages	28
Constraints on demand	34
Recruiting migrants	52
Recruitment strategies	52
Intermediaries	55
The employer's role in facilitating employment and country entry	67
Support for employers, and the role of government	82
Employer-provided support in the settlement and retention of migrant workers	100
Compliance and exploitation	109
Humanitarian migrants	110
Temporary seasonal worker programmes	111
Irregular working	112
Informal economy	113
Immigration compliance systems and employer sanctions	114
Conclusions	125
Humanitarian migrants	126
Policy development and implementation	127
References	129

Appendix 1: Research questions	144
Appendix 2: Employment of foreign-born persons by sector (%), 2011	146
Appendix 3: Foreign- and native-born workers aged 15 to 64 by skill level of employment (ISCO), 2009–2010	147

Tables

Table 1: Labour migration flows by permanent versus temporary, relative to total labour force and employment, 2009.....	13
Table 2: Occupations over-represented and under-represented by migrants in IGC Participating States, 2005-06.....	24
Table 3: Summary of labour migration restrictions (employer recruitment from abroad for non-seasonal work) for IGC Participating States.....	43
Table 4: Labour market tests in IGC Participating States (length and characteristics)	46
Table 5: Rights of asylum seekers to work in IGC Participating States.....	50
Table 6: Seasonal and temporary worker programmes.....	71
Table 7: Examples of official websites.....	86
Table 8: Examples of bilateral agreement and health worker migration.....	97
Table 9: Employers' sanctions: Comparison of main features in a sample of IGC Participating States	117

Figures

Figure 1: Inflows of the foreign-born population, and in proportion to the population, in IGC Participating States, 2010.....	8
Figure 2: Proportion of foreign-born working-age population, IGC Participating States, 2005 ..	9
Figure 3: Foreign-born, by duration of stay, IGC Participating States, 2005.....	10
Figure 4: Migrant inflows by type, permit-based statistics, IGC Participating States, 2010.....	11
Figure 5: Temporary migration, IGC Participating States, 2010.....	12
Figure 6: Size of humanitarian intake relative to population (2010)	14
Figure 7: Number of international tertiary-level students, and per 100 tertiary students, in IGC Participating States, 2009.....	15
Figure 8: Main origin countries of international students in OECD countries, 2009	16
Figure 9: Employment of migrant workers by sector, 2011.....	20
Figure 10: Migrants in IGC Participating States, by occupation, 2005-06	23
Figure 11: Share of foreign-born workers aged 15 to 64 in low-skilled jobs, 2009–2010.....	25
Figure 12: Over-qualification rates of highly educated employees aged 15 to 64 not in education, by country of birth, 2009–2010	26
Figure 13: Minimum processing time, in days, work permits with a job offer, selected OECD countries, 2010.....	84

Scope

Purpose

In order to focus more policy debate and understanding on the role of employers in immigration systems, New Zealand, as Chair of the Intergovernmental Consultations on Migration, Asylum and Refugees (IGC) for 2012-2013 proposed the theme of “The role and influence of employers in migration”.² The IGC is an informal, non-decision-making forum for intergovernmental information exchange and policy debate on issues of relevance to the management of international migratory flows.

The following international literature review examines the role and influence of employers in migration. Particular attention is paid to the challenges faced by employers and governments by type of migrant, and industry sector. The review of literature considers levels of employer demand for different types of migrants: permanent and temporary, high-skilled, low-skilled, students, refugees and asylum seekers. The key questions the literature review sets out to answer are attached at Appendix 1.

The review draws on research and literature from the IGC Participating States: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States of America (USA).

Definitions

For the purposes of this review, we have defined a number of terms which are used in the literature and data on migration. It is noted that within the academic research, and within and between countries, some terms have no generally and internationally recognised definition.

Migrants

Migrants in this report refers to individuals who have moved from one country to another. Note that we do not cover migration within a country. In the main, the literature reviewed refers to recently arrived migrants or newcomers, rather than migrants who have settled in a country for a longer period of time. In general, the literature does not define the settlement duration they refer to.

Permanent migrants

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) defines a “permanent-type migration” as migrants with settlement rights, as well as migrants on temporary but renewable residence permits that can lead to settlement (Vargas-Silva, 2011). The term “permanent” does not indicate that the migrants enter the country with the right of permanent residence. The OECD definition excludes temporary migrants whose temporary

² The Chair of the IGC rotates among the 17 IGC Participating States on an annual basis. The Chair also identifies a main theme for consideration through the year, and is responsible for the organisation of annual high-level conferences and for overseeing the implementation of the IGC work plan.

residence permits cannot be renewed or only renewed under limited circumstances. The OECD's definition of a permanent migrant also excludes international students, even if they stay for more than a year in the host country.

A permanent migrant is a person who moves to a country other than that of their usual residence for a period of at least a year (12 months), so that the country of destination effectively becomes their new country of usual residence.

Temporary migrants

Researchers, policy-makers and statisticians differ on the definition of temporary migration in respect to the duration of stay. As the employer research will show, "temporary migrants" can often stay within a receiving country for anywhere between two months to four years (Khoo, Voigt-Graf, McDonald, & Hugo, 2007). However, there is an agreement that the temporary but uninterrupted absence from the place of origin is an important condition for temporary migration. Temporary migration is a move made for a short period of time with the intention of returning to the place of usual residence. If the migrant worker is on a permanent migration or residence track, they would be classified as permanent rather than temporary (OECD, 2011a).

The OECD's temporary migrant measure includes very different types of workers and temporary migrant classifications vary across countries. The OECD's temporary workers include trainees, working holiday makers, intra-company transfers, seasonal workers and a heterogeneous category called "other temporary workers" (Vargas-Silva, 2011).

High-skilled migrants

Migrants are generally perceived as highly skilled when they have at least a tertiary education level of qualification. Other definitions are also used, including the nature of the occupation in which they are employed and the extent to which they are knowledge-intensive. Some countries use wages paid as a definer, and those who earn above a threshold value are considered to be highly skilled.

Humanitarian migrants

The term "humanitarian migrant" in this literature review encompasses refugees, asylum seekers and other types of humanitarian entrants.

The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (the Convention) is an international convention that defines who is a refugee, and sets out the rights of individuals who are granted asylum and the responsibilities of nations that grant asylum. Article 1 of the Convention as amended by the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees provides the definition of a refugee:

A person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual

residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.³

An **asylum seeker** is a person seeking refuge. Once granted asylum, they have **refugee status** and are afforded the rights that entails.

The OECD defines foreigners admitted **for humanitarian reasons** (other than asylum proper or temporary protection) as foreigners who are not granted full refugee status but are nevertheless admitted for humanitarian reasons because they find themselves in refugee-like situations (OECD, 2007a). Examples can include substantial discrimination amounting to gross violation to their human rights in their home country. Substantial discrimination includes individuals and/or communities who are deprived on a discriminatory basis of their basic human rights, such as access to education, employment, freedom of speech and freedom to practice one's religion. They may be sponsored to settle in a host country under family reunification or other policies. In Denmark, residence permits on humanitarian grounds are rarely issued and only on a case-by-case basis (particularly to individuals suffering from physical or mental illnesses of a serious nature) (Sorensen, Hansen, Dannerfjord, Oueitti, & Eskelund, 2011).

Quota refugees are people whom the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has mandated as refugees overseas. Of the 135 countries that have signed the UN Convention on the Status of Refugees, nine governments currently host the bulk of the refugees who are annually resettled: Australia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden and the USA.

Convention refugees are asylum seekers who have been granted refugee status by the authorities of the country in which they seek protection.

Different countries may also have specific humanitarian categories that they define in different ways. These specific differences are not always important when considering the employer's role and influence in migration and so tend to be discussed together.

However, refugees and asylum seekers tend to have quite different rights when it comes to employment. Those who have been granted refugee status are afforded similar rights as citizens when it comes to working, while asylum seekers are often not able to work, or at least not until some months after they have applied for asylum. Where this difference impacts the employers' role, they are considered separately.

Irregular migrants

Irregular migrants are also referred to as illegal migrants and undocumented migrants. The use of the terms "irregular" and "undocumented" is encouraged in order to change attitudes towards irregular migrants and their association with illegality (Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants [PICUM], 2009). There can be four main pathways to irregularity: regular entry but working in breach or visa overstaying, refused asylum seekers who do not leave or who are *de facto* non-removable, withdrawal or loss of status for various reasons, and clandestine entry (PICUM, 2009).

³ Further information about the history of the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol can be found on the website for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49da0e466.html>

Irregular migrant workers are working when their visa does not permit, are overstaying and/or are working in breach of the conditions of their visa (for example, number of hours or period for which they can work).

Limitations

This literature review has been conducted by applying search terms in academic databases. However, this method yielded very few publications. As such, searches for “grey literature” were undertaken. Grey literature refers to reports which are difficult to find via academic databases because they are not published commercially or are generally inaccessible. However, they tend to be original and recent and are therefore an important source of information. Examples include technical reports and policy papers from government agencies, working papers and studies from research groups or committees and reports commissioned by government agencies and the not-for-profit sector.

A call for research and reports was also submitted to IGC Participating States to ensure coverage across the countries of interest. A snowball approach was also taken, using reference lists from reports and journal articles to identify other relevant reports and articles. Only literature and reports in English have been reviewed which means that coverage of some IGC Participating States is more limited than others.

As such the review draws on a wide range of sources, and both quantitative and qualitative studies conducted by academics and researchers from a range of disciplinary backgrounds. Many of the employer-based studies reviewed were based on small sample sizes, weakening the generalisability of findings. However, they do offer in-depth information on the decision processes of employers in the recruitment and retention of migrants. Of note, studies using different methods, across countries, were remarkably similar in their findings.

In the time frame available for this review it has not been possible to review every relevant piece of literature and information. A particular gap identified in the review has been evaluation literature on the effectiveness or impact of employer-focused initiatives to recruit and retain migrant workers. As such, many of the exhibits and cases in this review are descriptive and rely on available information on websites.

The data presented on the stock and flows of migrants to IGC Participating States is based on readily available statistics through the OECD. For the section “Demand for migrant workers” we intended to contrast employment of migrants and the general population by sector. Unfortunately, no recent data is available to enable us to undertake this analysis. We therefore provide an overview of migrant employment by industry sector and make some general observations. However, we are not able to conclude whether this is representative, or otherwise, of the general population in each country.

The approach we have taken in undertaking this literature review is employer-centric. We have not included a separate section on refugees and asylum seekers. In most cases asylum seekers cannot seek work, and where they can (and as for refugees too) they are treated by employers in the same category as a general migrant worker. Therefore we have taken an integrated approach to how we have discussed migrant workers and humanitarian migrants. Where there are specific differences or issues we have separated this out in the discussion.

In discussing the role that governments play, this review focuses on employer-focused initiatives and policies. It is recognised that there are many governmental and non-governmental support programmes and strategies that are migrant focused which facilitate employment more generally (such as labour market programmes including public employment services and self-employment support strategies), and targeted measures for migrants and humanitarian entrants including English language training provision and qualification recognition. Because the literature is so vast and the programmes offered so diverse, we only focus on programmes and initiatives that are aimed at employers or where employers play a significant role in development and/or delivery.

Organisation of this report

This report is divided into four sections:

1 Introduction

This section sets the scene by providing a short overview of the global trends and influencers of migration. A profile of which IGC Participating States are receiving the most migrants, by type of migrant, is also presented.

2 Demand for migrant workers

This section focuses on what mediates employer demand for migrant workers. It includes a discussion of what industry sectors, occupations and skill levels migrants tend to be employed in and why. The role of the employer in the demand for migrant workers is then considered, specifically as a strategy to fill labour and skill shortages. Perceptions of migrant qualities are also discussed. It is recognised that governments also place limits on employer demand, and mechanisms that IGC Participating States use are outlined.

3 Recruiting migrants

The literature on the recruitment strategies employers use is reviewed. Next, the role of employers as it relates to specific types of migrants is discussed, as well as the requirements that governments impose on employers who employ migrants in these categories. Lastly, the support that governments provide employers to recruit migrants (and humanitarian migrants) is examined, as well as commentary on how this matches with the types of support employers want.

Once in employment, employers play a role in settlement and retention. The types of support employers offer post-recruitment across IGC Participating States is reviewed, and the role governments play in facilitating employers to do so.

4 Compliance and exploitation

It is accepted that migrants can be particularly vulnerable to exploitation. The nature and extent of exploitation of migrant workers is discussed, as well as the systems governments have in place to ensure immigration compliance by employers.

Introduction

This literature review focuses on migration, viewed through an employer lens. While much of the migration research naturally, and importantly, concentrates on the migrant experience and the impact of migrants on the wider economy, much less is devoted to employers. Employers can be a key mediator in migrant inflows and outflows, the development and implementation of migration policy, and in the settlement of migrants. There is therefore an imperative to better understand their demand for migrants, the recruitment and employment practices they use and how governments can help facilitate and regulate the process to improve outcomes for both employers and migrants.

Governments, and other institutions, can “make” skilled workers through education and training, or “buy” them through immigration. Generally policy strategies use a combination of these approaches. The employer, migrant and government relationship does not exist in a vacuum. Labour mobility, and the supply and demand for skills and labour, are influenced by a complex and dynamic set of macro forces, including demographic trends, economic conditions, geographic proximity, historic and economic ties, and structural change. As such it is important to consider these forces and situate the employer (and government) within them.

Many developed economies are experiencing slow rates of natural population growth due to underlying demographic trends such as declining fertility and longer life expectancy. These demographic trends impact particularly on the working age proportion of the population. The OECD (2012) estimates that between 2010 and 2020 the working age population (20- to 64-year-olds) of OECD countries will grow by 2 per cent, which is a drop from 8.6 per cent between 2000 and 2010. Almost half of these countries will see declines. This raises a number of questions, including how labour markets and businesses will adapt to changing demography, what role immigration will play in filling labour and skill shortages and employer availability of, and access to, certain types of migrants.

Economic conditions also have influence. This was evidenced during and after the global financial crisis. In times of recession, labour markets shrink and the demand for migrant workers can diminish. In the UK it was found that employment rates for migrants and ethnic minorities were relatively stable, although youth, those living in deprived areas, and men in general, were more impacted (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2009). However, in most OECD countries the impact on migrant workers was hard and swift. Overall the impact on unemployment was more acute for migrants than for the native born (OECD, 2012). Migration policy also has influence here. The economic downturn led to many governments implementing “nationals first” employment policies.

Structural changes within and between regions and countries have also led to shifts in demand for different types of labour and for different types of migrants. Globalisation has led to shifts in many economies from manufacturing production to knowledge-intensive services (OECD, 2007b). In many developed economies, manufacturing employment has shrunk or remained static while there has been high job growth in areas such as business and property services, computer consultancy and other professional services. In many cases, low-skilled jobs have moved to low-wage economies. Computerisation and adaption of technology has also meant that many routine tasks and jobs have disappeared, and employers are

demanding less labour in these areas that have traditionally employed large proportions of migrant workers.

Amongst some countries, close geographical proximity and historic and economic ties also facilitate labour migration. For example, Spain's immigration has traditionally been strongly influenced by common cultural and linguistic ties and Latin American migrants were favoured. However, since the mid-1980s this has diversified whereby economic migrants from Africa enter in higher proportions than migrants from Spanish-speaking countries and northern Europe (Corkill, 2001). In more recent times, free labour mobility areas have had significant effects. For example, the establishment of the European Economic Area (EEA) in 1994 is one of the most significant examples of a free labour mobility area, in terms of the number of countries involved and the rights that member countries' nationals have in entering the labour markets of other participating countries. Open labour market policies in Ireland changed migration patterns. Pre-European Union (EU) enlargement, migrants were around 6 per cent of workers in the construction sector, but by 2007 (also at the height of the construction boom) the share of non-Irish nationals had risen to 17 per cent (Krings, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamonska, & Wickham, 2011).

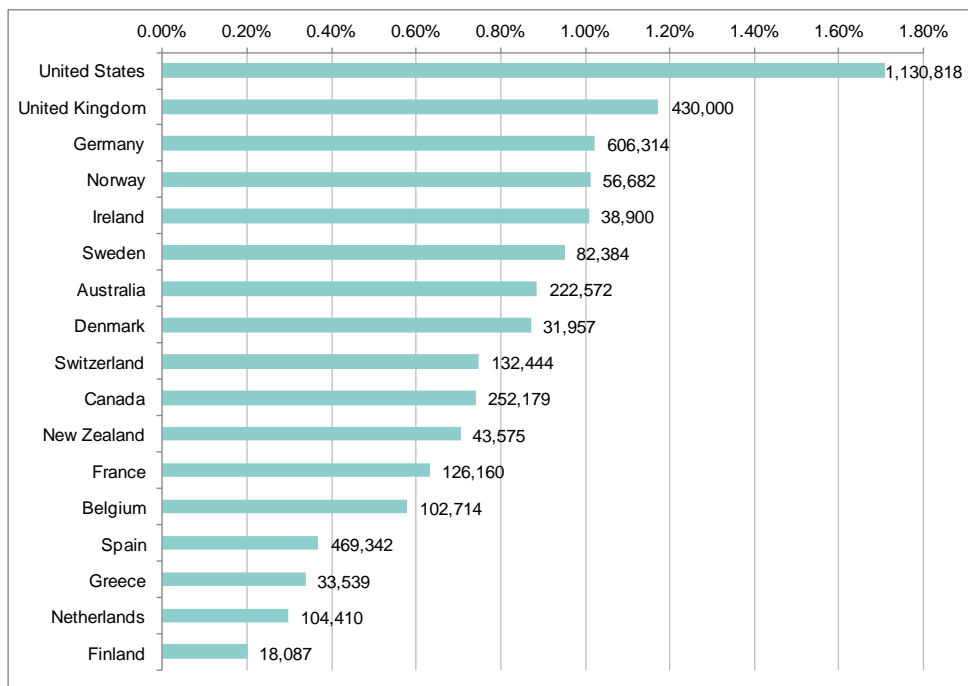
There are also examples in other IGC Participating States such as the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement between Australia and New Zealand which allows nationals of either country to travel, live and work in the other without restriction; and the Mercosur Free Movement and Residence Agreement that operates across four Latin American countries and some associate countries.

Migrant stocks and inflows of IGC Participating States

All of these factors interact and lead to different inflows and outflows of migrants between countries. An examination of migrant flows show that some countries have been more impacted by macro forces and immigration policy than others. In 2010, the USA had the highest number of migrants (of all types) enter the country at 1.1 million, with Germany second at 606,000 (Figure 1). Compared to the total population, it shows that the USA also had the highest proportion of migrants enter the country, with the UK not far behind.

Note that migration datasets usually refer to migrants interchangeably as "foreign-born persons" and as "migrants". We use this terminology interchangeably in our discussions of data, in line with the terminology used by the datasets we draw on.

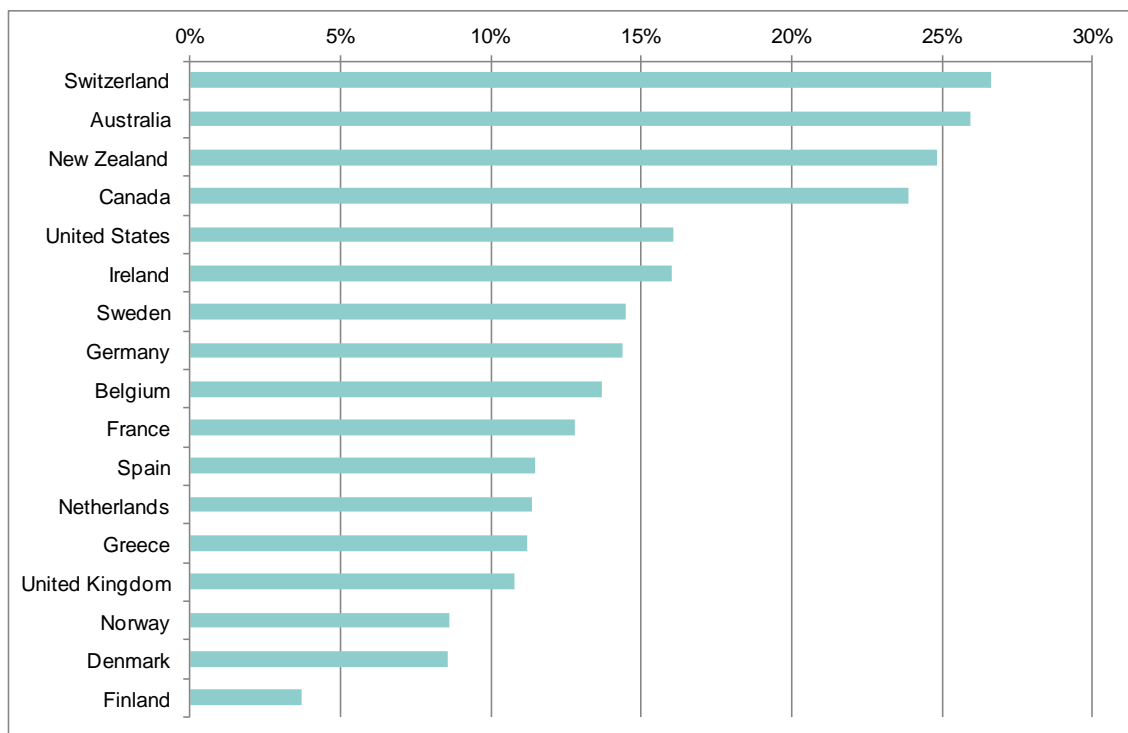
Figure 1: Inflows of the foreign-born population, and in proportion to the population, in IGC Participating States, 2010



Source: OECD International Migration Database

The data outlined above only provides a snapshot of migration at a point in time. To better understand the “stock” of migrants within a country it is important to consider the number and proportion of the working-age population who are foreign-born, and how long they have been in the country. The issues that recent migrants face differ to those that longer-term migrants encounter. Figure 2 shows that the foreign-born are over a quarter of the working-age population in Switzerland and Australia, while Finland has proportionately less migrants.

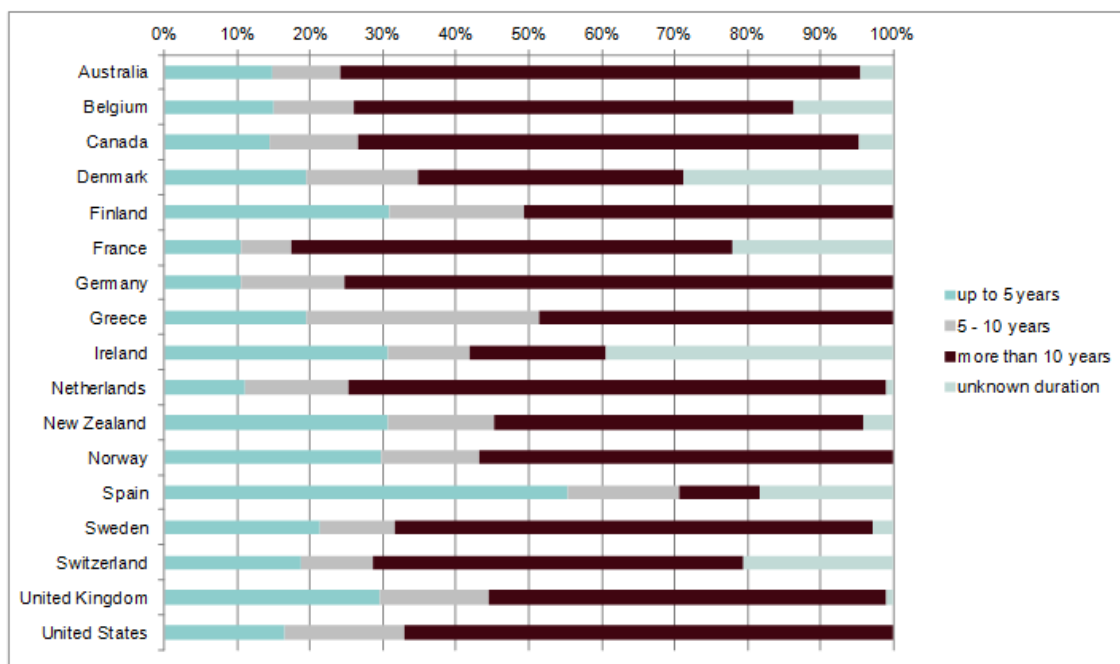
Figure 2: Proportion of foreign-born working-age population, IGC Participating States, 2005



Source: Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries 2005-06

Figure 3 suggests that certain countries also have a longer history of migration; for example, the USA and Germany; while other countries like Spain have had more recent migration inflows. The strategies for migration and settlement policy for each of these countries are therefore likely to differ.

Figure 3: Foreign-born, by duration of stay, IGC Participating States, 2005



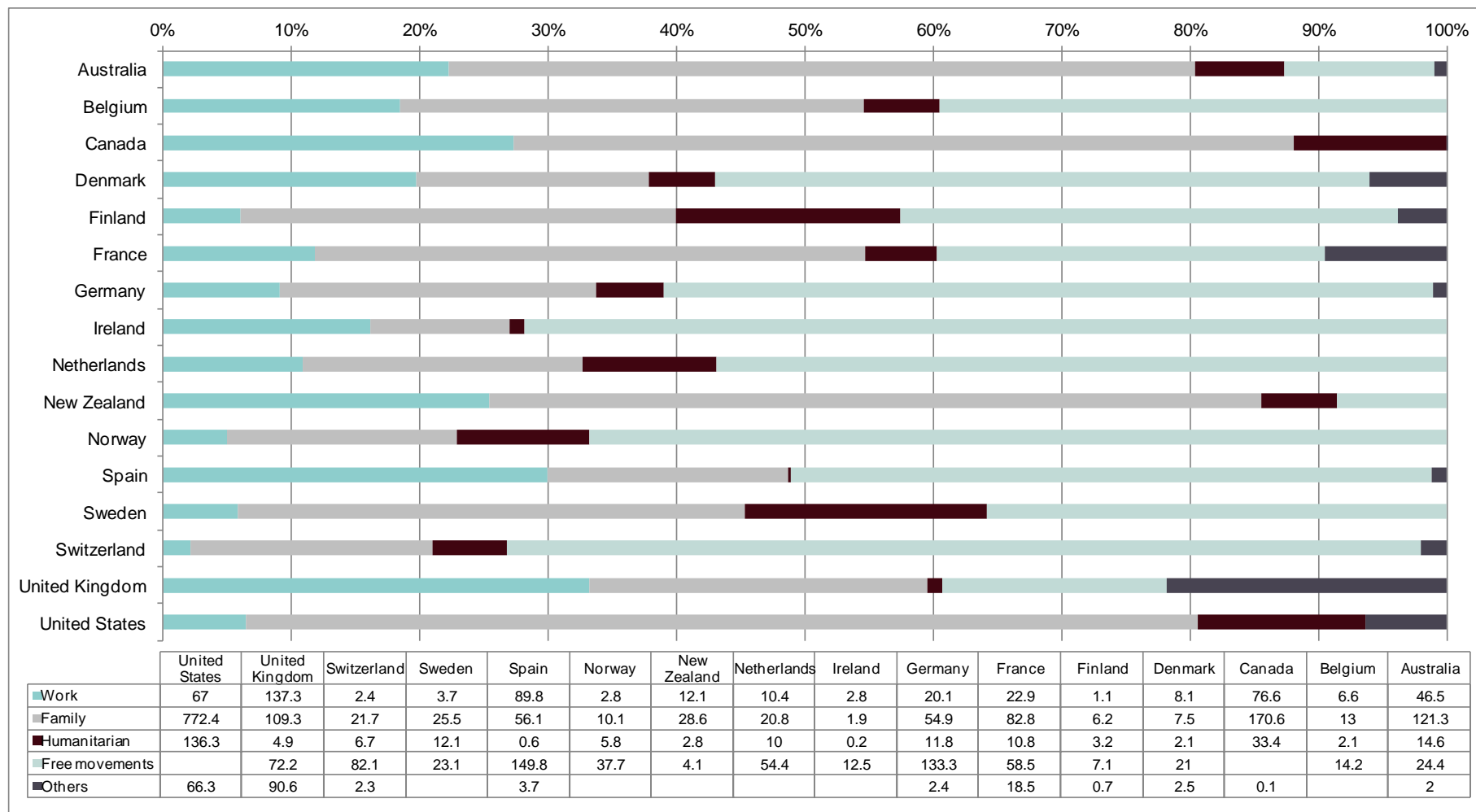
Source: Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries 2005-06

Permanent and temporary migrants

Migrants enter countries under different policy categories, which can influence their settlement outcomes and the extent to which they require further support. Figure 4 and Figure 5 show the diversity of migrant inflows across countries in 2010. For example, seasonal workers are a significant feature of Germany's migration compared with other countries, while there are proportionately more humanitarian migrants in Sweden and Finland's migrant entrants.

In 2010, temporary migrants (defined in the OECD international migration database as international students, working holiday makers, seasonal workers and intra-company transfers) were a large proportion of migration to both New Zealand and Australia, while France, Denmark, the Netherlands and Spain had larger proportions of permanent migrants. However, as a proportion of the resident population, Switzerland, New Zealand, Australia and Canada have high flows of permanent migrants, while France, Finland and Belgium have a lower proportion (OECD, 2011b).

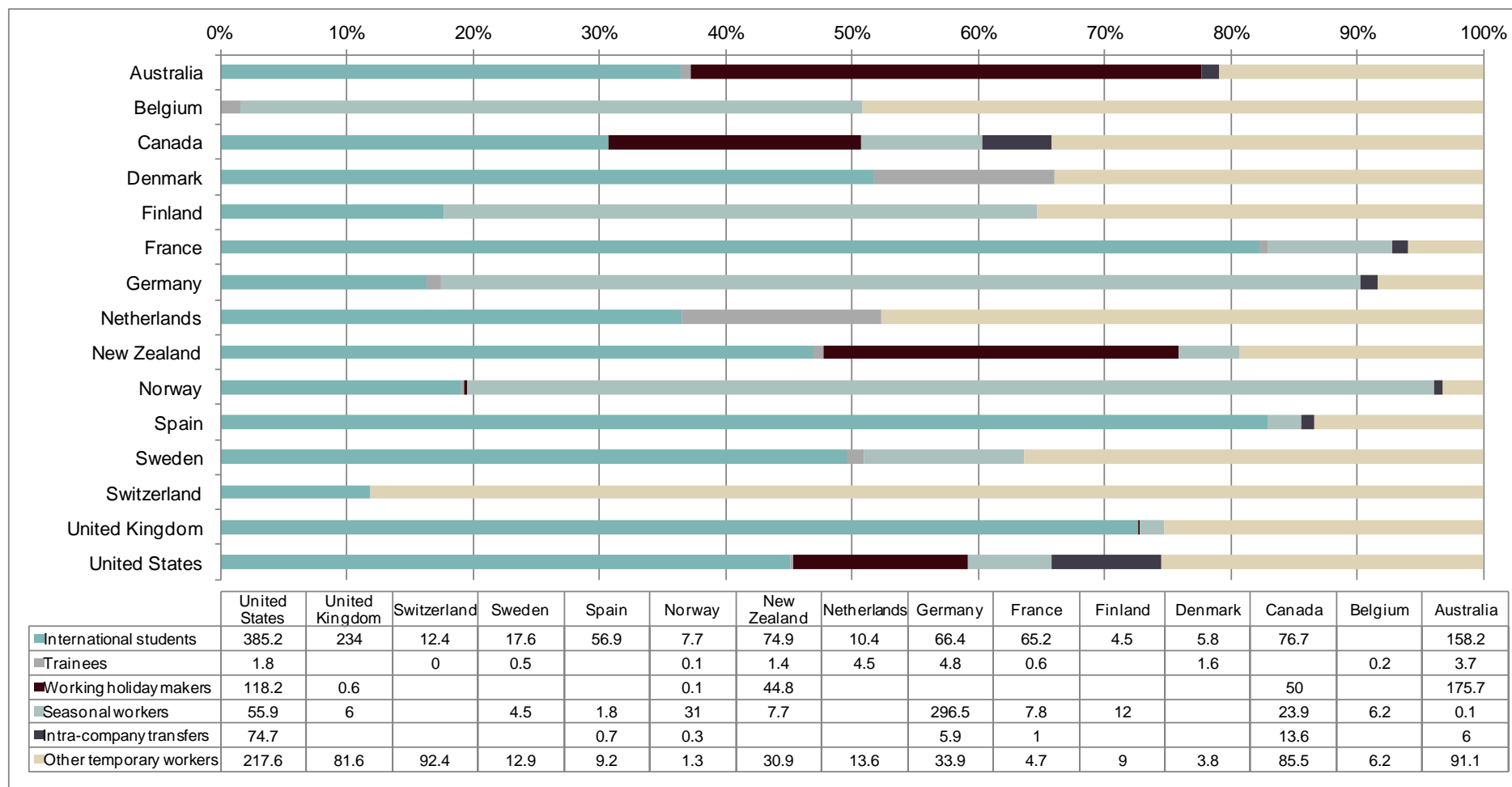
Figure 4: Migrant inflows by type, permit-based statistics, IGC Participating States, 2010



Source: OECD International Migration Database

Notes: Excludes Greece due to incomplete data. The database categorises Work, Family, Humanitarian, Free movements and Other as Permanent. Family includes accompanying family.

Figure 5: Temporary migration, IGC Participating States, 2010



Source: OECD International Migration Database

Notes: Excludes Greece and Ireland due to incomplete data.

The database categorises International Students, Trainees, Working holiday makers, Seasonal workers, Intra-company transfers and Other temporary workers as Temporary.

To better assess the size of migration flows, flows can be shown as a proportion of employment of the resident population (Table 1). High labour migration relative to the total employment is shown in New Zealand, Australia and Switzerland. In Australia and New Zealand, the Working Holiday programme, seasonal work and temporary skills work categories contribute to the high flows (OECD, 2011b). In Switzerland, intra-company transfers are a large proportion of temporary inflows.

Table 1: Labour migration flows by permanent versus temporary, relative to total labour force and employment, 2009

Country	Total labour flows (permanent and temporary), per 1,000 employed	Permanent labour flows, thousands	Temporary labour flows, thousands
Australia	34.0	52	320
Belgium	2.9	7	6
Canada	13.9	64	169
Denmark	3.8	7	4
Finland	9.8	2	23
France	1.3	22	12
Germany	9.1	18	331
Ireland	1.6	3	N/A
Netherlands	2.9	11	14
New Zealand	45.2	12	86
Norway	6.3	3	13
Spain	5.8	102	6
Sweden	4.6	3	18
Switzerland	19.5	3	87
United Kingdom	8.9	142	114
United States	3.7	66	451

Source: OECD (2011b), *Recruiting immigrant workers: Sweden 2011*

Notes: Excludes Greece due to incomplete data.

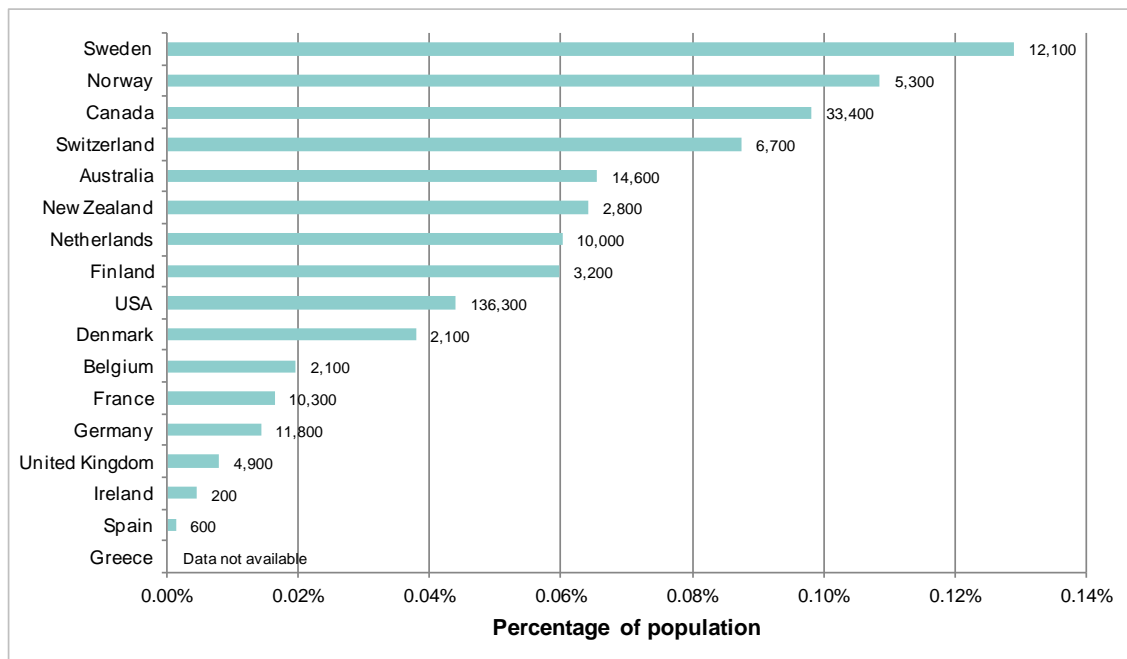
Humanitarian migrants

There are three internationally recognised durable solutions open to refugees: voluntary repatriation, local integration, or resettlement to a third country in situations where it is impossible for a person to go back home or remain in the host country. In 2011, asylum

applications increased by more than 20 per cent, mostly because of increasing claims from Afghanistan (OECD, 2012).

Figure 6 shows that while absolute numbers of humanitarian-based permits granted in the IGC Participating States are helpful to give a picture of the size of the humanitarian migrant population, when taking account of the population base in each country it can be seen that some countries are dealing with a much larger relative intake than others.

Figure 6: Size of humanitarian intake relative to population (2010)



Source: Numbers of humanitarian migrants: OECD (2012), *International Migration Outlook 2012*, OECD Publishing, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/migr_outlook-2012-en. Country population estimates: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2011), *World Population Prospects: The 2010 Revision*, <http://esa.un.org/wpp/Excel-Data/population.htm>.

Notes: New Zealand's International/Humanitarian stream includes a Samoa Quota and the Pacific Access Category. The Samoan Quota was formally established in 1970. The quota is based on the spirit of close friendship embodied in the 1962 Treaty of Friendship between New Zealand and Samoa. The quota allows up to 1,100 Samoans, including their partners and dependent children, to be granted residence in New Zealand each year. The Pacific Access Category (PAC) was established in July 2002 for Pacific countries with which New Zealand has close cultural and historical ties. The current PAC allows up to 250 citizens of Tonga, 75 citizens of Tuvalu, and 75 citizens of Kiribati, including their partners and dependent children, to be granted residence in New Zealand each year. It is likely that these entrants are included in the figure and may skew New Zealand's "humanitarian" statistics.

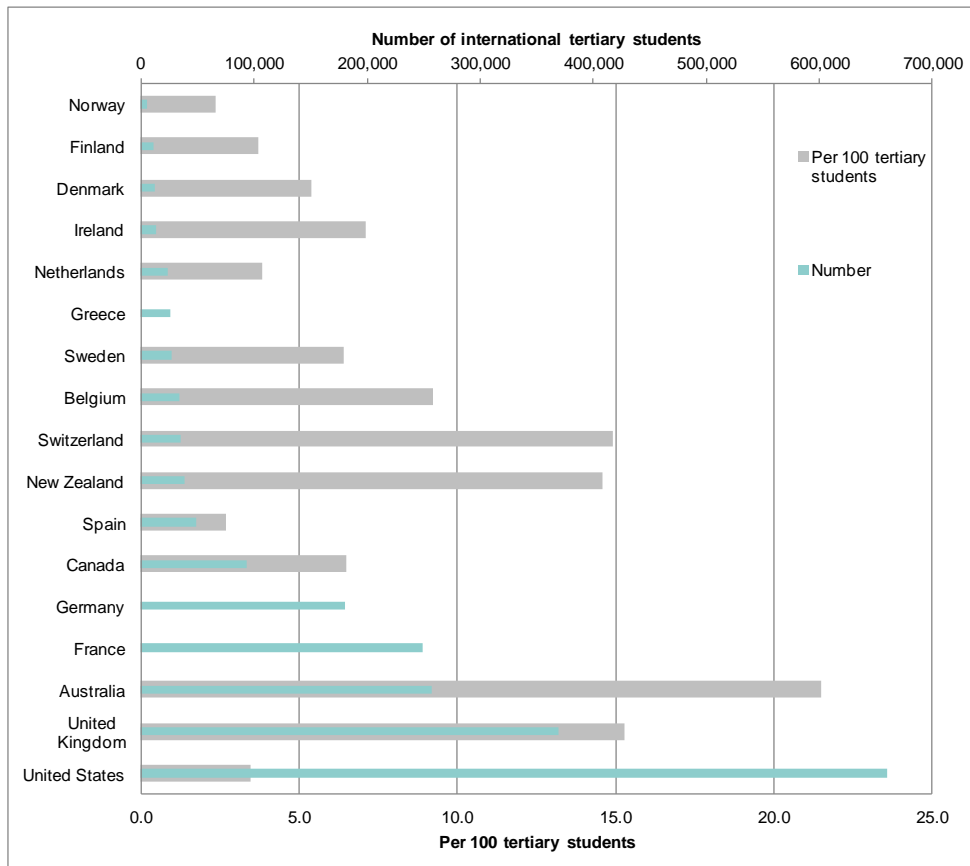
International students

Another trend which impacts on the available pool of labour is the growing international education sector. International students can contribute to the pool of labour by working while they are studying, working in their holiday periods and staying on in the host country after graduation.

The international student population is projected to continue to grow rapidly over at least the next decade (Bashir, 2007). In 2009, the number of international students grew by 6 per cent in OECD and Russian Federation countries to 2.6 million, and account for more than 6 per

cent of all students in OECD countries (OECD, 2012). The USA captures the largest number of international tertiary students, but Australia has more international tertiary-level students as a proportion of total tertiary students (Figure 7). Asian countries are the predominant sending regions (Figure 8).

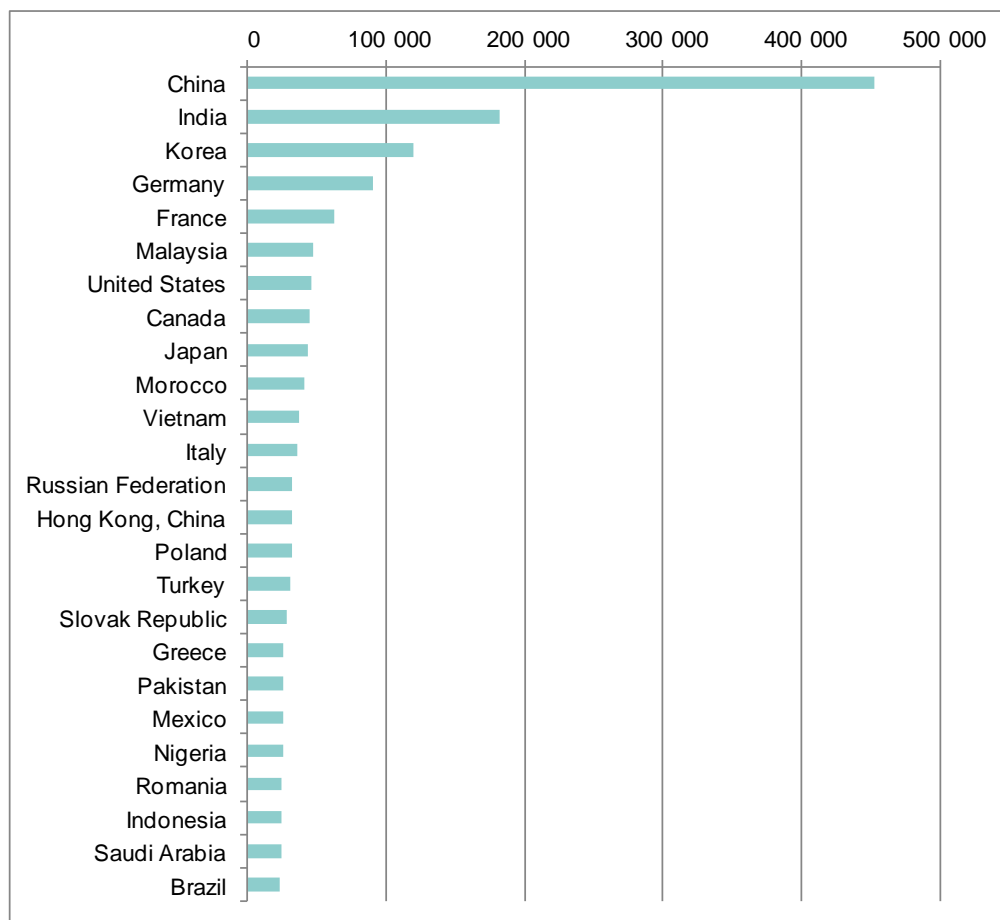
Figure 7: Number of international tertiary-level students, and per 100 tertiary students, in IGC Participating States, 2009



Source: OECD Education Database

Notes: 2008 data for Greece

Figure 8: Main origin countries of international students in OECD countries, 2009



Source: OECD Education Database

Having canvassed the general context for migration, and how it differs between IGC Participating States, the next section explores the role of employers as a driver for the demand of migrant workers.

Demand for migrant workers

The demand for migrant workers is influenced at the macro level, such as by economic conditions, changes in industrial structure and the need for specific knowledge-intensive skills to support innovation and economic growth.

When economies are growing, businesses and employers often need more employees to meet customer and client demand. Growing economies are usually associated with tight labour markets, so businesses and employers often need to either upskill or increase the productivity of existing staff or seek migrant workers. However, in times of recession, and as experienced with the global financial crisis, the economy contracts and countries revert to “domestic workers first” policies. Across Europe, policies on immigration to enhance knowledge-capital and innovation were encouraged during the period of growth leading up to the global financial crisis, but while there has not necessarily been a reverse of these policies, their implementation has been halted (European Migration Network, 2011a). However, the degree to which these national-level preferences and policies are affecting employer decisions to hire migrant workers is debatable, and is likely to be affected more in some sectors and occupations than others. In some areas, migrants may continue to be a preferred source of labour, and this is discussed further in the next section: “Recruiting migrants”.

A recent study of migrant workers and employers in the Irish construction sector contrasts the changing employment conditions of migrants in a buoyant economy compared with the recent situation of large-scale job losses (Kriings et al., 2011). Migrants found it easier to find work in the “boom years”, and less rigorous pre-screening or recruitment processes were used; however, in the downturn employers reduced wages and made some redundancies. Both migrant workers and domestic workers experienced similar effects.

The industrial structures of cities and regions have also changed. Many regional economies have shifted from manufacturing production to knowledge-intensive services (OECD, 2007b), so there is greater demand for higher-skilled workers, and increasingly highly skilled migrants. In some of the most highly skilled occupations, a truly global labour market has emerged (Jones, 2010). Migrants, in concert with increasing the skill level of domestic workers, can contribute to countries’ economic development in this context, and this explains the heavy focus on highly skilled migrants in many EU countries (European Migration Network, 2011a).

There is competition among industrialised countries for international talent. As they also face labour force shortages and aging populations, the search for talent becomes global. Companies are increasingly global in reach, and are recognising that they must be outward-facing to compete. In doing so, they are finding it harder to recruit the skills, particularly for high-skilled occupations, and are increasingly looking offshore. A challenge for both employers and potential migrant workers is that high-skilled occupations also require a higher command of the local language.

Competition can also exist for lower-skilled occupations, as there is still labour-intensive and low-skilled work to be done in developed economies, and sectors like food production (including agriculture and food processing), and hospitality and social care (for example, social work, occupational therapy, care workers and senior care workers) are still reliant on migrant workforces (Geddes & Scott, 2010; Lucas & Mansfield, 2010; Moriarty, 2010). In the

primary sectors, which often have a seasonal nature, there are high peaks and flows which have resulted in many countries using temporary migration policies to address short-term labour market needs in that sector. In these low-skilled occupations, an unwillingness to address labour shortages in other ways (for example, improving conditions, increasing wages) creates structural labour shortages, and continued reliance on migrant workers in preference to domestic workers (Geddes & Scott, 2010).

Another driver affecting demand for migrant workers is the aging population. This works in two ways to increase demand. In general, an aging population will lead to a shortage of workers as those retiring are not being replaced by young workers in the domestic population. In addition to this, the sectors in which people are employed to care for the aged will begin to experience an increased demand for their services, with a corresponding need for increasing numbers of people to work in these sectors.

Where are migrants employed?

Sector

The original intention of the report was to contrast the sectors where migrants are employed in IGC Participating States with the sectors where the general population are employed. However, it has not been possible to obtain data relating to the industrial distribution of workers in the general population using the same sector definitions as the migrant employment data. While observations about the sectors in which migrants are employed can be made, it is not possible to conclude whether this is representative, or otherwise, of the general population in each country.

Data collated by the OECD in 2011⁴ shows that the sectors in which migrants are most likely to be found varies by country, though some patterns do emerge (see Figure 9).⁵ With a few exceptions, migrants are consistently most heavily represented in “other services”, which is a catch-all category for all services not specified, and is likely to include IT and information services; financial and insurance activities; arts, entertainment and recreation; and so on. The sector that consistently features very low proportions of the employed migrant population is agriculture and fishing.

The relatively smaller concentration of migrant workers in agriculture and fishing is somewhat surprising, given that many governments have schemes to specifically facilitate entry of workers in this sector. However, the data upon which this is based is generally census-driven, and these kinds of surveys often struggle to capture the true extent of temporary, seasonal migrant workers that might be in this sector (Geddes & Scott, 2010). It is also possible that the rural nature of many of these jobs affects concentration, with migrants more likely to be concentrated in urban areas (Hugo, 2008; Luis, 2009; Searle, Prouse, L’Ami, Gray, & Gruner, 2012).

Of all the countries for which data were available, Greece and Spain stand out as having very different profiles of sectors in which migrants are employed. Migrant sector employment in Greece and Spain that differs from comparator IGC Participating States includes:

⁴ Comparable data were not available for Australia, Canada or New Zealand.

⁵ The data for this figure appears in Appendix 2.

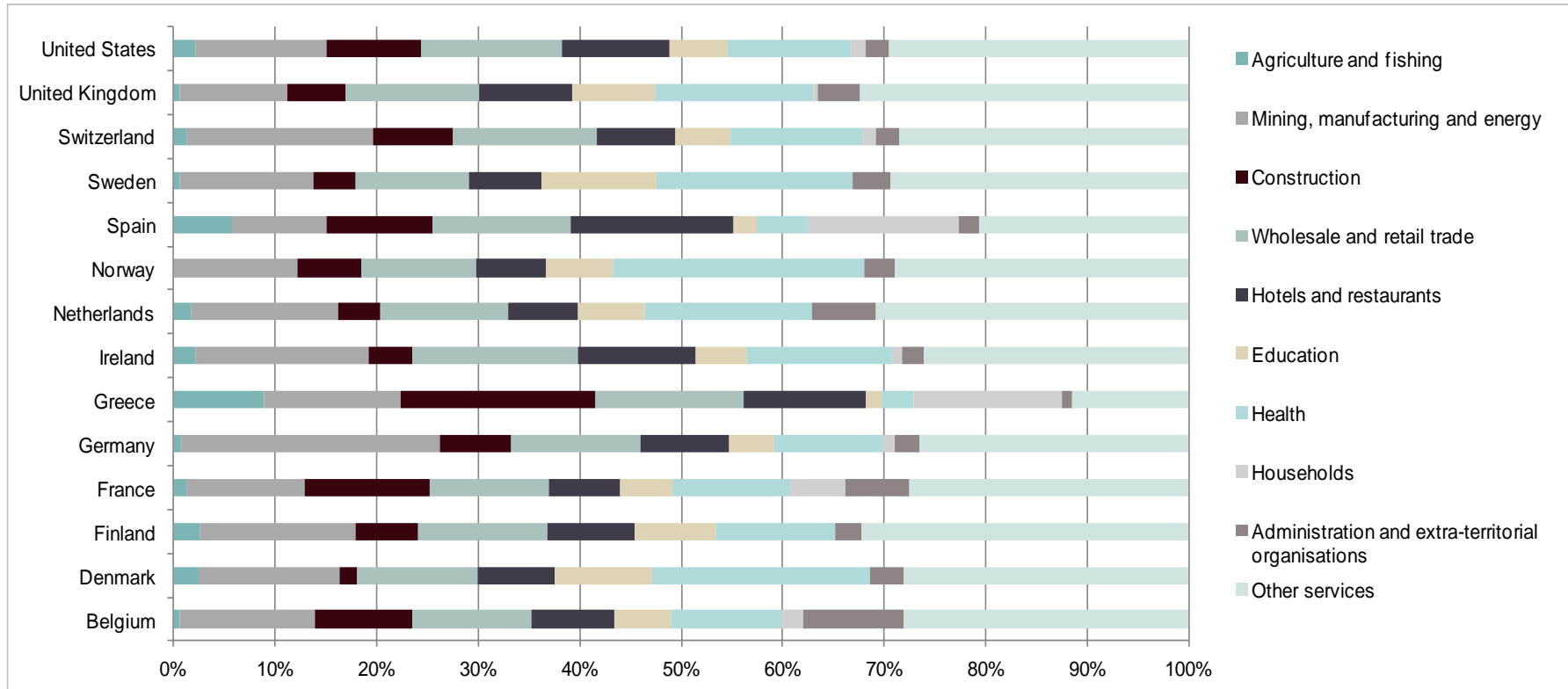
- Households: both have nearly 15 per cent employed in households (compared with the next highest figure of 5.4 per cent in France).
- Agriculture and fishing: though still relatively small proportions (8.9 per cent in Greece and 5.7 per cent in Spain), they are much higher than any other IGC Participating State.
- Health: there are very small proportions employed in this sector when compared to other nations; all other IGC Participating States have at least 10 per cent of migrants employed in this sector.
- Construction: nearly 20 per cent of Greece's employed migrant population work in this sector (next highest 12.3 per cent in France).
- Hotels and restaurants: this sector employs the second highest proportion of migrants in Spain.

Other points of interest include:

- A high proportion of migrants are employed in the health sector in Scandinavian countries, compared with others.

Three quarters of migrants in Germany are employed in the mining, manufacturing and energy sector, notably more than any other country.

Figure 9: Employment of migrant workers by sector, 2011



Source: OECD (2012)

Humanitarian migrants

While there are few published labour statistics that differentiate between type of migrant, there is evidence that humanitarian migrants are concentrated in the lower-skilled segments of the labour market, referred to by Colic-Peisker and Tilbury as the “secondary labour market” (2006, p. 204). This is not only in contrast with domestic workers, but also with other types of migrants (Hugo, 2011). The kinds of sectors that have been identified in the research as being those where humanitarian migrants are concentrated include transport (taxi drivers, couriers), cleaning, food processing, security, aged care, manufacturing, hospitality, interpreting/translation, retail, and administration/clerical work (Bloch, 2004; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2006; Hugo, 2011).

A survey tailored to new refugees in the UK, administered at regular intervals over a two-year period, found that the manufacturing industry was the largest employer (Cebulla, Daniel, & Zurawan, 2010). Eight months after the asylum decision, manufacturing employed 25 per cent of working refugees. Other industry concentrations were accommodation and food service activities, human health and social work, and wholesale and retail trade.

Occupation and skill level

While certain sectors of the economy have driven demand for migrant labour, there can also be demand for specific skill sets that the domestic labour market may not be able to provide. The global nature of the labour market as well as the increase in mobility of individuals and households means that employers often recruit migrants into specific occupations. These can range from doctors to IT consultants to farm labourers. In some cases there is a shortage of domestic candidates with the requisite skills, in other cases there is a lack of domestic workers who want to work in such jobs (particularly lower-skilled jobs, jobs with unsocial or long hours or jobs in more remote locations). Internationally, the needs of each country differ but often the use of skill shortage lists is a way that governments show what specific skills are in demand. Skill shortage lists are often compiled through consultation with employers, industry associations, local government and non-governmental organisations.

Data collated by the OECD in 2005-06 for selected IGC Participating States⁶ shows that the occupations in which migrants are most likely to be found vary significantly by country. Figure 10 shows occupational groups⁷ by IGC Participating State, contrasting migrant workers and the population of each country. The occupations where migrants are most likely to be found tend to fall either in “Legislators, senior officials and managers” and “Professional” occupational groupings, or in “Craft and related trades workers” and “Elementary occupations”⁸ groupings. It is important to bear in mind that this data is now eight years old, and changes in the global economy and economies of each nation may mean that the profile of occupations in which migrants are employed has changed.

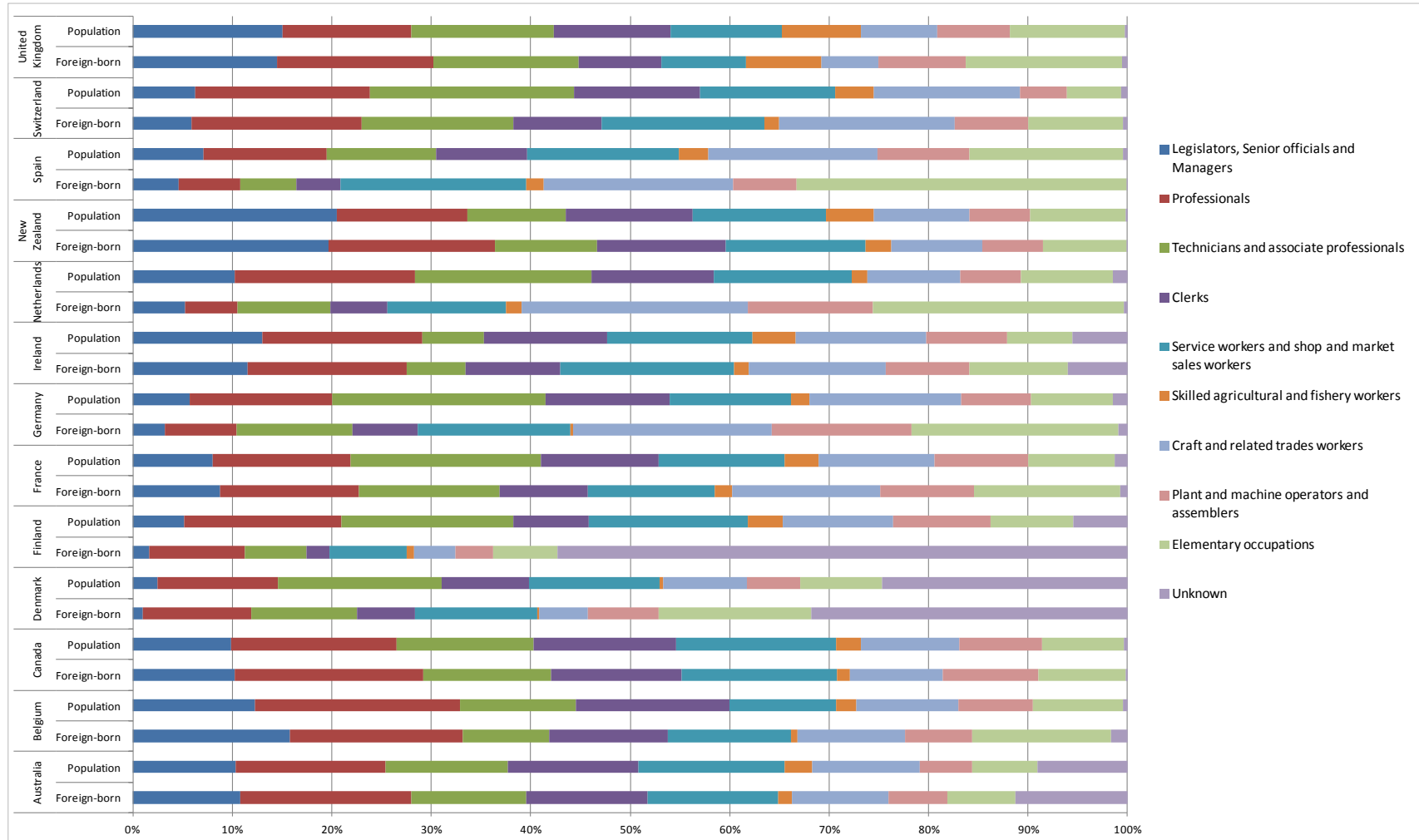
⁶ 2005-06 data were not available for Greece, Norway or Sweden. Data for the USA by occupation are not available in a comparable format, so are missing from this analysis. Data for Denmark and Finland were also omitted due to very high levels of “unknown” occupations – 32% and 57% respectively.

⁷ Classified using ISCO-88. For further explanation please refer to <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/isco/isco88/index.htm>

⁸ Elementary occupations consist of simple and routine tasks which mainly require the use of hand-held tools and often some physical effort.

The fact that these occupational groupings sit at opposite ends of the skill level spectrum reflects the differing nature of types of migrant groups. While it is not possible to look at this data set by type of migrant, it is reasonable to expect that those entering on skill-based visas will likely be concentrated in higher-skilled occupations than those arriving as a result of forced migration. Research in Australia has shown that those entering on skill-based visas were concentrated in managers/administrators and professionals, while those entering on humanitarian visas were most likely to be employed as labourers (Olliff, 2010). In a New Zealand survey of employers of migrants arriving under skilled categories, 52 per cent were professionals, while only 3 per cent were employed as labourers or elementary service workers (Wallis & BRC Marketing and Social Research, 2006). These findings highlight the heterogeneity that becomes hidden when looking at migrant populations as a whole.

Figure 10: Migrants in IGC Participating States, by occupation, 2005-06



Source: Database on Immigrants in OECD countries: <http://stats.oecd.org/>

As a way of putting this information in context, the way in which the distribution of foreign-born workers by occupation differs from that for the population as a whole is presented. Table 2 shows the occupational groups where there is the most over- or under-representation for individual countries. In Europe, migrants are consistently over-represented in elementary occupations, the lowest skill level occupations in the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) skill level classification system (skill level 1). However, in New Zealand and Australia they are over-represented amongst professionals, the highest skill-level grouping (skill level 4). Most commonly among the IGC Participating States, migrants are under-represented among skilled agricultural and fishery workers (skill level 2).

Table 2: Occupations over-represented and under-represented by migrants in IGC Participating States, 2005-06

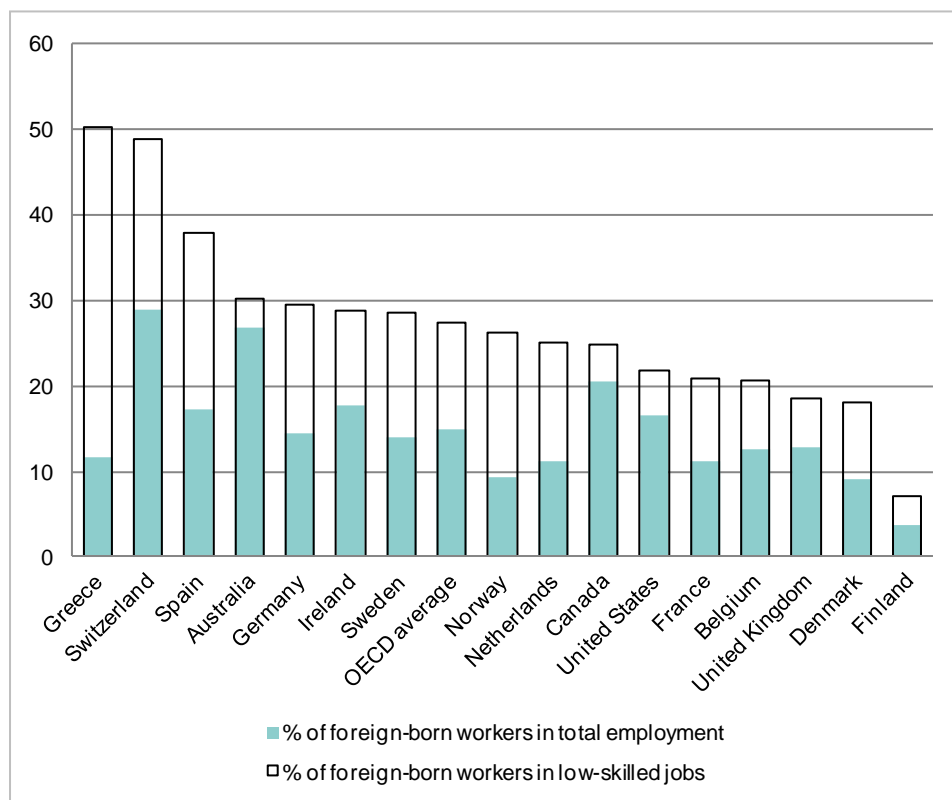
Country	Over-represented	Under-represented
Australia	Professionals	Skilled agricultural and fishery workers
Belgium	Elementary occupations	Skilled agricultural and fishery workers
Canada	Plant and machine operators and assemblers	Skilled agricultural and fishery workers
France	Elementary occupations	Skilled agricultural and fishery workers
Germany	Elementary occupations	Skilled agricultural and fishery workers
Ireland	Elementary occupations	Skilled agricultural and fishery workers
Netherlands	Elementary occupations	Professionals
New Zealand	Professionals	Skilled agricultural and fishery workers
Spain	Elementary occupations	Clerks
Switzerland	Elementary occupations	Skilled agricultural and fishery workers
United Kingdom	Elementary occupations	Clerks

Source: Database on Immigrants in OECD countries: <http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm>

This information is borne out in data relating to the skill level of positions in which foreign-born workers are employed. Figure 11 shows that foreign-born workers are consistently over-represented in low-skilled jobs in all IGC Participating States. However, the difference seems to be more marked in the European countries, with countries such as Australia and Canada having a far closer match between the percentage of foreign-born workers in low-skilled jobs compared to the percentage of foreign-born workers in total employment. Aligning with the data on sectors earlier in the report, Greece and Spain have the biggest discrepancies between the two figures – in Greece, foreign-born workers represent only 11.6 per cent of those in employment, but 50.3 per cent of those in low-skilled jobs.⁹

⁹ A full breakdown of low-, medium- and high-skilled jobs is included in Appendix 3.

Figure 11: Share of foreign-born workers aged 15 to 64 in low-skilled jobs, 2009–2010

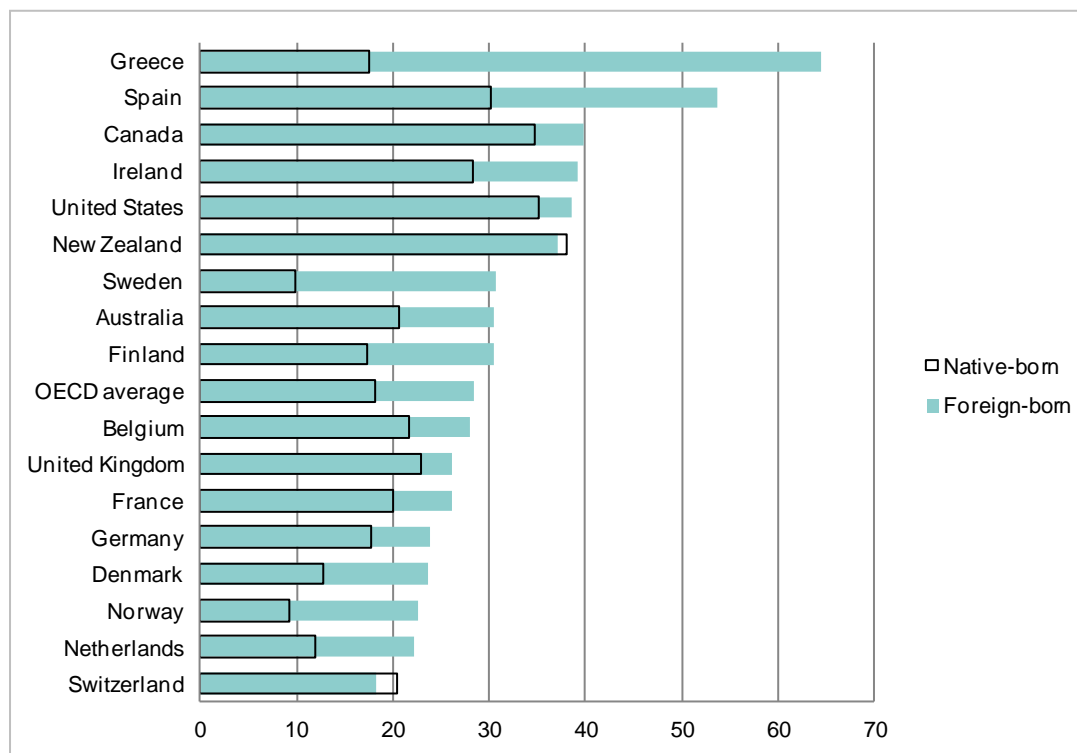


Source: OECD Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2012 – European Union Labour Force Surveys (Eurostat); Australian and Canadian Labour Force Surveys; US Current Population Surveys

Looking at over-qualification rates of highly educated employees adds another perspective to migrant employment. For the most part, foreign-born workers have higher rates of over-qualification when compared to native-born workers in IGC Participating States. The only two exceptions to this are New Zealand and Switzerland, where the two groups are far more similar and native-born workers have slightly higher rates.

As might be expected from the rest of the data regarding sectors and occupations, the rates of over-qualification of foreign-born employees are very high in Greece and Spain – well over half – and particularly when compared to native-born workers.

Figure 12: Over-qualification rates of highly educated employees aged 15 to 64 not in education, by country of birth, 2009–2010



Source: European Union Labour Force Surveys (Eurostat); Australian, Canadian and New Zealand Labour Force Surveys; US Current Population Surveys

Note: Countries are ranked by immigrants' rate of over-qualification.

Humanitarian migrants

As has been highlighted already, the Australian Longitudinal Study of Immigrants to Australia shows starkly the different outcomes experienced by different categories of migrants in terms of occupation, with humanitarian migrants concentrated in lower-skilled occupation groups. In addition to this, while all migrant types experienced a degree of “occupational skidding” (Hugo, 2011), this was greatest for humanitarian migrants. While only 13 per cent of humanitarian migrants who arrived in Australia in 2000–2001 had been labourers (or related) in their former country of residence, 37 per cent were employed in these occupations on arrival, and this had risen slightly to 40 per cent 18 months later (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2003).

In the UK, employed refugees predominantly worked in low-skilled elementary occupations. It should be noted that 12 per cent of the UK workforce is in these types of occupations, while a little over a third of refugees surveyed are in these occupations too (Cebulla et al., 2010). Only 7 per cent of refugees worked in managerial or professional occupations, against 28 per cent of the UK workforce. Underemployment is also an issue, with half of employed refugees stating that their jobs required fewer skills than they had on offer.

A similar situation occurs in New Zealand. Of refugees currently working, 18 per cent were labourers, 23 per cent were technicians or in trades, 13 per cent were community and personal service workers, 13 per cent were sales workers and 11 per cent worked as a

manager or in a professional occupation (Searle et al., 2012). This compares with the general population of which 11 per cent are labourers, 12 per cent technicians or in trades, 9 per cent sales workers, 17 per cent managers and 19 per cent professionals.

Summary

The data show that migrant workers are concentrated at two ends of the industrial, occupational and skill level spectrum, and as the discussion will later highlight, this is due to employer demand for labour and skills in areas of shortage.

Migrant workers are most likely to be found in both elementary, low-skilled occupations, as well as professional high-skilled occupations. This highlights the different skills and labour that employers need, and the areas of shortage they appear to face. It also reflects the nature of the types of migrant groups that enter IGC Participating States and the measures in place that allow migrants to enter – high-skilled worker categories, but also temporary worker programmes and humanitarian visas.

Employer demand for migrant workers

The extent to which employers demand migrant workers depends on a number of factors, aspects of which can have both positive and negative effects on demand. In the following discussion, the characteristics of sectors experiencing skill and labour shortages are described, followed by the perceived qualities of migrants and how they can lead to a positive effect on business outcomes. Some of the limits on demand are then explored, both from employer- and government-led perspectives.

Employers are placed at a critical juncture of facilitating and undertaking innovation, and recruitment of labour and skills, to maximise their profits and thus contribute to economic growth.

In responding to labour and skill shortages, employers can use a number of different strategies:

- increase wages, increase working hours of existing workforce and/or improve working conditions (to attract labour)
- change the production process to make it less labour-intensive (through technology or investment in capital)
- relocate to countries where labour costs are lower
- switch to production of less labour-intensive products and services
- employ migrant workers (Bridget Anderson & Ruhs, 2012).

For many employers a number of these options are untenable, especially in the short term (for example, the health and construction sectors are site and location specific and

production cannot be shifted elsewhere), so employers are increasingly relying on migrant workers.

A survey of 720 employers in the UK found that the most-used strategy for responding to skill shortages was to increase training of existing staff (38 per cent) or increase recruitment activity from within the UK or the EEA (32 per cent) (SQW Consulting, 2009). Ten per cent of businesses stated that they would consider recruiting migrants from outside the EEA.

In Sweden only a very small proportion of employers recruit migrant workers. Of the 1,926 employers surveyed by the Employment Service who indicated they perceived they had a shortage of labour during 2012, only 89 recruited migrant workers as a result (Pärlemo, Delgado, & Kersten, 2012). For them, skill shortages meant that recruitment processes were long or did not eventuate in an appropriate candidate.

Skill and labour shortages

Employers facing skill and labour shortages is not a new phenomenon; however, for some IGC Participating States, the ability to utilise migrants is a recently available option to address shortages. It has been noted that in many sectors and countries there has been little analysis of *why* employers recruit internationally, and the costs and benefits of doing so (Hussein, Manthorpe, & Stevens, 2010). However, it is usually related to high vacancy levels and difficulties recruiting from the domestic workforce (either because the domestic workforce do not want those particular jobs or do not have the appropriate skill sets for that job). For UK employers, the most common effect of not being able to hire migrant workers is increased workload for existing staff, and skill shortages in themselves lead to increased operating costs (such as having to pay overtime), loss of business and difficulties meeting quality standards (SQW Consulting, 2009).

In a survey of employers by the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (2005), a lack of supply of candidates with the required skills and experience were the most often cited reasons for recruiting migrant workers. While both labour and skill shortages may lead to increased employer demand for migrant workers, they are conceptually different:

...a skills shortage refer[s] to a situation where there is an insufficient number of trained/qualified individuals in the domestic market to meet the demand for an occupation while labour shortages occur where there is an insufficient number of individuals willing to take up employment opportunities in a particular occupation. (European Migration Network, 2011a, p. 22)

Given the nature of these shortages, they are generally sector-specific and the literature on migration tends to focus on a core set of industry sectors that as a result tend to have larger proportions of migrant workers. These sectors include health (doctors, medical practitioners, nurses), social care, hospitality, construction, agriculture¹⁰, food production, professional services (for example, financial services, IT) and education. In the UK survey mentioned above, employers in the hotels and restaurant sector were most likely to say they would recruit migrants (non-EEA migrants) when faced with a skill shortage (SQW Consulting, 2009).

¹⁰ The agricultural migrant workforce tends to enter host countries using temporary migration categories so are not well captured in the previous data-related discussion. Migration research also tends to pay special attention to migration into the agricultural sector.

In the context of examining employer demand for migrant workers, it is useful to look at the cross-cutting characteristics of these sectors that have led to shortages, as it begins to inform the reasons for this demand. While there will be exceptions:

- Labour shortages tend to occur in sectors and occupations with a high proportion of jobs that are low-skilled with unattractive employment conditions, where employers often look to migrant workers as a viable way of minimising costs and maximising profit.
- Skill shortages tend to occur in higher-skilled occupations and sectors where high levels of education and experience are required, and where a highly mobile, global talent pool encourages international recruitment.

Features of sectors and occupations seeking migrants¹¹

Low- or undervalued-skills

Many of the sectors where labour shortages are experienced and migrants are concentrated have been characterised by jobs with low skill requirements for entry. Many roles in hospitality, social care, agriculture and food production involve roles that do not require specific education or experience for new entrants. For example, in hospitality, an expressed preference to recruit for attitude rather than experience (Lucas & Mansfield, 2010) reflects the fact that skills can quickly be developed on the job.

In Sweden, common occupational categories of work permits granted were housekeeping and restaurant personnel, kitchen and restaurant staff, cleaners, and building and construction workers (Pärlemo et al., 2012).

Adverse working conditions

Many of the sectors identified as employing migrant workers to fill shortages involve low wages, long hours, shift work, outdoor work, and precarious employment arrangements. Examples include the agriculture and horticulture sector, and the hospitality sector, in all IGC Participating States (Baum, 2011; Geddes & Scott, 2010; Gibb, 2006; Law Commission of Ontario, 2012; Lucas & Mansfield, 2010; Palacios & Rubio, 2010; Ram, Edwards, & Jones, 2002).

Labour-intensive

For some sectors there is a requirement for labour that is not easily replaced by technology. Automation and technology may not be a viable substitute for labour. In agriculture, for example, the nature and fragility of some crops means that a great degree of care needs to be taken (Geddes & Scott, 2010). The labour-intensiveness of construction is another that attracts a large proportion of migrant workers.

In service sectors, social interactions with clients and customers are an integral part of many roles and can act to exclude migrant workers. These include specific occupations in sectors such as hospitality, health, and social care. This is also true of many professional areas with

¹¹ Where specific sectors are given as examples of these different features, we acknowledge that it may only apply to specific occupations or types of work within the sector (by their nature, broad “sectors” contain a large degree of variability).

high levels of interpersonal business activity – an example of this is the finance sector, where labour is a substantial cost for financial firms (Jones, 2010).

Seasonality

A variable demand for labour over time is a key characteristic of many sectors that choose to meet shortages through use of a temporary migrant workforce. These include industries such as agriculture, where farming and crops follow seasonal patterns, and hospitality, where customer demand also fluctuates throughout the year (Dench, Hurstfield, Hill, & Akroyd, 2006; Geddes & Scott, 2010; Lucas & Mansfield, 2010). Particularly in agriculture, requiring large numbers of workers for short periods of time means that the need cannot easily be met by the local workforce – both due to the magnitude of the workforce and the fact that the temporary, uncertain nature of the work makes it unattractive to domestic workers. In order to maintain economic viability, offering year-round employment is not an option for many employers in these sectors, and so temporary migrant workers are an attractive proposition. Fluctuations in demand in the hospitality sector lead to a preference for a flexible workforce in order to minimise costs while still delivering a high level of service (Lucas & Mansfield, 2010).

Geographic constraints

While relocating business activities may be a viable measure to combat skill and labour shortages in some industries, there are characteristics of others that make this impossible. Agricultural jobs will always be rural by nature, and in many service-based sectors such as health and hospitality, organisations need to be based where client/customer demand exists.

There are other sectors where it is possible to move production, even off-shore. For example, food manufacturing could be moved to countries where labour is cheaper and costs can be minimised. However, this has a wider impact on the economy (Geddes & Scott, 2010). Taking jobs and income out of the national economy (up and down the supply chain) means that employing migrants to fill labour shortages may be a better option.

High education and experience requirements

Although many sectors with low skill entry requirements feature among those hiring migrants, shortages are also experienced where there are very high education and/or experience requirements for roles. In many cases, the years of education and training required to build up specific qualifications and knowledge and a small pool of domestic workers with those skills mean that shortages cannot be filled by local employees. The long lead-time for up-skilling potential domestic workers means that recruiting these skills internationally is often a more viable option. Sectors requiring these kinds of workers include chemical manufacturing, manufacturing, IT, research and development, and health (Bauer & Kunze, 2004; Jones, 2010; North, 2007).

We have previously noted that Sweden has granted permits for more low-skilled occupations, but higher-skilled professions also feature, including IT specialists, civil engineers, engineers and technicians, and plant breeders (Pärlemo et al., 2012). This is occurring in other countries too.

International focus/labour markets

While this is not technically a feature of any specific sector, employers with an international outlook, engaged in exporting activity, tend to employ more migrants (Bauer & Kunze, 2004; North, 2007). The UK banking and finance sector is a relatively high employer of migrant workers (Jones, 2010; SQW Consulting, 2010). Its global outlook and the demand for employees who understand international markets and systems are drivers of the sector's demand for migrant workers.

Employer perceptions of migrant qualities

Employer demand for migrants is also driven by the perceived value proposition of migrants relative to alternative responses to addressing skill and labour shortages or increasing productivity. The literature points to a number of qualities of migrants that employers desire, or perceive that migrants have:

- ability to meet labour shortages
- work ethic, and conversely their lower expectations
- the ability to provide an international perspective
- ability to meet high-skill shortages.

Labour shortages

The features of sectors and occupations that tend to have migrant workers – adverse working conditions, seasonality, labour-intensiveness and geographic constraints – highlight that in many cases employers can struggle to fill lower-skilled occupations through the domestic labour force. In contrast, migrants are seen as a group of workers who will do the work that others will not (Ruhs, Anderson, & McNeil, 2011).

Availability is a key reason why employers recruit migrant workers. For many, there may not be a deliberate strategy to recruit international workers but due to a lack of domestic applicants or domestic workers who are willing to work under the conditions offered, employers turn to migrant workers. This is particularly so for certain sectors. In the interview-based study of 124 employers in the UK, employers across different sectors had started to recruit migrant workers because they had difficulty finding domestic workers to fill vacancies. This was particularly so for employers in the agriculture, construction, and hotels and catering sectors seeking workers for low-skilled jobs. Employers in those sectors mentioned that because the positions vacant were low-skilled they often had domestic candidates from employment agencies or government welfare-to-work organisations that they found unsuitable and “unemployable” (Dench et al., 2006).

There are also industry differences. A couple of employers in the hotels and catering sector in the UK study commented that from their experience migrant workers had higher perceptions of hospitality as a good industry to work in, had relevant work experience, and saw it as a long-term career option (Dench et al., 2006). However, those employers said that this could not be said of domestic workers who had more negative perceptions of the industry.

Work ethic, and lower expectations

In the UK, research has identified preferences for migrants because they are seen as being potential sources of cheap labour (due to lower expectations about wages and employment conditions) with higher productivity and output (Ruhs et al., 2011), which all impact positively on the bottom line for employers.

A positive work ethic and attitude are consistently mentioned as advantageous qualities of migrant workers, as perceived by employers (Hussein et al., 2010). Employers in the UK study contrasted their migrant workers with domestic workers and found that their migrant workers were more reliable and dependable, and did not complain as much as domestic workers. In one New Zealand study, a good work ethic was cited by 28 employers¹² as a positive attribute of migrant employees, but on the other hand 11 employers¹³ noted that migrants have a bad work ethic and are therefore not suitable (McLaren & Spoonley, 2005).

Lower absenteeism and lower staff turnover was noted by a number of employers in the UK study (Dench et al., 2006). Migrant workers' reliability, ability to turn up to work and better sick leave records were considered by employers to be an advantage, compared with domestic workers.

High productivity rates were also noted by employers. Productivity in the context of this topic refers to migrants' willingness to work longer hours, speed of work, higher output and meeting deadlines and targets. This was mentioned in a number of different sectors, including agriculture, construction, and administration, business and management. Employers mentioned that migrant workers were particularly motivated to earn extra money, often to send back to family and extended family in their home countries (Dench et al., 2006).

An in-depth single case study of a quality control and repackaging business in the glass products industry in Barnsley, South Yorkshire, UK provides further insights into the underlying drivers which lead to employment of migrant workers (MacKenzie & Forde, 2009). In that case, 90 per cent of the workforce of 300 people were migrant workers. The business's low-cost strategy and demand for "compliant" workers had led increasingly to the employment of migrant workers. The study tracked the business's employment trends over time and found that there was a deliberate strategy of jobs with low pay and long hours because of cost pressures. As a result the business targeted marginalised groups. In the 1980s the business recruited mostly females and wives of men working in the local coal mining industry, and by the mid-1990s this led to recruitment policies favouring young workers. But as this workforce became unsatisfactory, migrant workers were targeted. While the migrant workers were valued because of their perceived strong work ethic and willingness to work long and hard hours, over time the business found that the longer they were in the country they became more aware of their rights, became more demanding and no longer exhibited the traits (compliance and willingness to work long hours for minimum pay) they were originally hired for.

¹² Out of 115 employers interviewed. Good work ethic was the second most often cited attribute. More skilled or suitably skilled was the most cited positive attribute.

¹³ Again, from 115 employers. Language was the most often cited barrier (78 employers).

Governments are concerned that migrants can be exploited by employers who may view them as a source of cheap labour. Certainly in the UK employers study, a few employers commented that migrant workers were more likely to be satisfied with the minimum wage (Dench et al., 2006). But at the same time, employers were quick to comment that that wage was better than what migrant workers were able to attain in their home country.

In another UK study where employers talk about “good attitude”, it essentially equates to a willingness to work hard for low pay and precarious employment conditions (Matthews & Ruhs, 2007). Governments therefore have a role in not only educating employers in the benefits of migrant workers, but also in setting labour standards and promoting good employer practices.

International perspective

The unique international perspective that migrants can bring to a company can be a driver of employer demand, and applies to both high- and low-skilled roles. Two New Zealand studies of employers have found that employers appreciate migrants’ language skills, international perspective, overseas experience, international contacts, overseas market knowledge and the added value they provided of being able to speak to their trading partners (North, 2007; Podsiadlowski, 2007a). One of the studies also found that employers with international business activities were much more likely to employ migrants (North, 2007).

The study also tested whether a migrant background or international experience of the CEO was a determinant of migrant employment. No relationship was found; that is, whether the CEO was a migrant or had overseas experience did not appear to predispose them to employing migrants (North, 2007). The majority of CEOs were European males born in New Zealand, but 62 per cent had overseas work experience.

Employers in Finland, in a small qualitative component of a larger international graduate study, commented that while they had no explicit strategy for hiring international graduates, their cross-cultural and native language skills were an advantage (Cai, Shumilova, & Pekkola, 2009).

Higher-skilled shortages

Employer demand for migrants to work in high-skilled positions is less complex than for lower-skilled positions. For employers, the driver is about accessing relevant skills and intellectual property rather than minimising labour costs. As discussed earlier, where skill shortages exist in occupations with very high education and experience requirements, a limited pool of domestic workers will mean that employers look offshore.

Employers in the UK commented that for higher-skilled positions, specific skills were in short supply; for example, in the finance and accountancy sector (Dench et al., 2006). In that case, headhunters were used to recruit employees and the net was cast internationally.

Summary

Employers face skill and labour shortages, and after taking into account alternatives to migrant recruitment (such as domestic skills development), employers turn to migrants to fill those gaps. There are some key industries and occupations where these shortages are taking place and they have a number of features which contribute to their shortage. These include low- and/or under-valued skills, adverse working conditions, labour intensity, seasonality, geographic constraints, high education and experience requirements, and international focus. All of these factors contribute to migrant concentration in certain sectors and occupations, particularly agriculture and fishing, hotels and restaurants, and manufacturing, as well as accounting and finance, and health and social care.

In addition to the features of the industries and occupations, employers can also have perceptions about migrant workers that influence whether they are more or less likely to recruit a migrant worker. Work ethic is an oft-cited quality applied to migrant workers. While positive, in some circumstances this can also reflect migrant worker receptiveness to lower wages, more hours and higher output, compared with domestic workers. This can make migrant workers vulnerable to exploitation.

On the positive side, for some sectors, migrants' high skills and education, and international perspectives and knowledge, made them attractive to employers.

Constraints on demand

Employer-driven constraints on demand

Ability to communicate well in the national language

Weak national language ability is highlighted in a number of surveys and interview-based studies of employers as a key reason for migrant employment difficulties and is often mentioned as the main reason for not employing migrants (Cai et al., 2009; Dench et al., 2006; Immigrant Employment Council of British Columbia [IEC BC], 2012; North, 2007; Podsiadlowski, 2009a; Stock, 2010a; Wallis & BRC Marketing and Social Research, 2006).

The studies suggest that this is particularly critical for sectors where there is a health and safety risk component, like construction, or where there is a large customer or client-facing component to the job. One employer in the UK construction sector also acknowledged that literacy and numeracy challenges were also faced by their non-migrant staff and the company had taken to employing tradespeople based on their technical skills, and office-based staff focused more on tasks that needed higher levels of literacy and numeracy (Dench et al., 2006). Employers in retail, wholesale, business and finance, education, health, and community services in Wellington, New Zealand, identified English language difficulties as the main reason for not employing migrants, for other sectors recognition of qualifications (construction and consultancy) were the main reason (Podsiadlowski, 2007a).

Employers in a New Zealand study also commented that language difficulties were not unique to migrants, and some of their local staff also had inadequate skills (North, 2007). Additionally, there was some evidence that employers were trading off English language skills with sought-after skills. One employer commented that they often brought interpreters into interviews when the skills were desired so that they could better understand what the migrant might bring to the position.

In an Australian study, English language skills were considered by most employers as important or very important (85 per cent), although it was less important for employers in the restaurant industry (Khoo, Voigt-Graf, McDonald, & Hugo, 2004). This is unsurprising as chefs, particularly, in ethnic restaurants would not need to have strong English language skills. Interestingly, the same study found that larger businesses tended to rate English language skills as more important than smaller businesses.

Employers in 15 focus groups across British Columbia, Canada, stated that lack of English language fluency was one of the top two barriers to migrant employment (the other being lack of Canadian work experience) (IEC BC, 2012). The 150 employers from eight industry sectors commented that sector/occupation-specific English and application of English to various work situations was particularly important.

Lack of basic English was cited by employers in the UK as the main reason for refusing refugee workers or placing them in positions below their experience and qualifications (Hurstfield, Pearson, Hooker, Ritchie, & Sinclair, 2004). While the level of English ability may vary by sector and level of job, all employers in this study discussed the need for a basic level of English for health and safety reasons. This is echoed in an evaluation of a refugee job placement programme in New Zealand, where there was a perception held by employers that if employees cannot understand and comply with health and safety legislation in the workplace, they will be liable for any accidents (Elliott, 2004).

Employers can be constrained particularly when the national language is not spoken outside national boundaries. This is the case in Sweden where employers cannot count on a large pool of migrant workers who can be recruited immediately into a position which requires interaction in Swedish (OECD, 2011b). While there are migrants who may acquire Swedish language skills more quickly, such as those from Finland, Denmark and Norway, language barriers are a big barrier for potential labour migrants to Sweden.

Additional resource requirements when hiring migrant workers

Employers have also commented that migrant workers can be easier and faster to bring in from overseas, but are not always less costly (Ruhs et al., 2011). The UK study highlighted that employers considered the administrative workload attached to migrants as a disadvantage. Additional tasks, or tasks which were more time consuming because of the nature of migrant workers, included setting up bank accounts, acquiring insurance and tax numbers, vetting applicants and reference checking, and ensuring the legality of migrant workers and document checking. For some employers the paperwork and administrative costs of employing migrants was a significant deterrent to recruiting migrants in the future (Dench et al., 2006). Research with employers hiring refugees also found the ability to ascertain legal status to work as a barrier to hiring refugees (Hurstfield et al., 2004). The penalties that can be imposed on employers may make them reluctant to become involved in hiring humanitarian migrants. While refugees usually have the right to work, employers can

be confused about determining work rights and not hiring refugees or asylum seekers becomes the default risk mitigation strategy.

In addition to these administrative costs, migrant workers will often also require support to integrate and settle. A poor grasp of the national language may lead to a lack of integration into the wider workplace if migrant workers choose to mix only with other migrants, speaking their native languages. Employers may actively have to manage this to prevent alienation of parts of the workforce; for instance, by mixing up teams and sections, and ensuring migrant workers from the same background were not in the same team or section (Dench et al., 2006).

Work experience

An interview-based study of recruitment agencies for social care workers in the UK found that employers preferred social workers from countries which had similar education and practices (Hussein et al., 2010). In this case, migrants from Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, and sometimes the USA and Canada, were preferred.

This finding is supported in a study of New Zealand employers which found that New Zealand work experience had a strong influence on whether employers recruited a migrant applicant. This influence held regardless of whether the position was skilled or less skilled, although the influence was slightly stronger for skilled positions (North, 2007). Employers who did not employ any migrants also indicated that lack of relevant work experience discouraged them from employing migrants.

A survey of 2,091 employers in Canada in 2004 found that 50 per cent of respondents considered that Canadian work experience is a requirement for employment, or that foreign work experience is not an equivalent to Canadian experience (Public Policy Forum, 2004). Employers used work experience as a proxy of a number of worker qualities: ability to work in the Canadian work environment, can meet Canadian standards, and organisational fit/culture.

A small study of 10 Finnish employers also commented that the Finnish working culture is straightforward, open, trusting and flexible, and that migrant employees and those with no previous experience of working in Finland may find it a challenging working environment (Cai et al., 2009).

Equivalency of qualifications

The influence of qualifications acts on two levels: lack of local qualifications, which are perceived as higher value than foreign qualifications, and a lack of recognition or equivalency of overseas qualifications. The New Zealand study found, as with work experience, that New Zealand qualifications influenced the recruitment decision (North, 2007).

Certification and qualifications will be important for some occupations, but less important in others. It also appears to be the case that the need for equivalent qualifications is based on a perception, rather than an organisational policy or previous experience in hiring migrants. Interestingly, the survey of Canadian employers found that half of all respondents had no experience of verifying the equivalency of educational or professional qualifications, and few could name a credential recognition company (Public Policy Forum, 2004).

Fellini et al. (2007) show that national skill certification across countries in the construction industry differs, which results in obstacles for migrant workers. Certification of professional skills in high-skill areas (such as engineers and architects) was required in Italy, Portugal, Germany, the UK, the Netherlands and Switzerland. However, for the medium-skilled (surveyors and other skilled labourers) and low-skilled (general labourers), certification was only required in Switzerland, the Netherlands and Germany. Therefore lack of overseas qualification recognition will be an issue for employers in those last three countries, and they will tend to resort to alternative recruitment strategies to compensate (such as employment agencies or sub-contracting).

Bauder (2003) concludes that non-recognition of foreign credentials means that migrants are effectively pushed out of the high-skilled parts of the labour market. While employers interviewed as part of the study of South Asian and Yugoslavian migration to Canada were satisfied with the employees, the wages of workers were constrained by lack of work experience and qualification equivalency.

Negative employer attitudes towards migrant workers

Various studies show that employers make judgments about applicant's suitability based on perceptions about race and ethnicity. This will have implications for the recruitment of migrant workers, and can work both positively and negatively for migrant workers. For example, Shih (2002) found that employers in the low-skilled labour market preferred migrant Latino workers over African-American workers because of perceived manageability and pliability of workers. Again in another study of employers in the North Carolina hospitality industry there were preferences for Hispanic workers because of their perceived excellent work ethic (Johnson-Webb, 2004). Employers in the cleaning sector in London spoke of strong preferences for Portuguese and Eastern European workers. In contrast, employers had less preference for black African workers because they were perceived to have difficulties with paperwork and/or to be less suitable for employment (Wills et al., 2009).

In Ireland, employers showed general preferences for good attitudes over skills and experience (E. Moriarty, Wickham, Krings, Salamonska, & Bobek, 2012). In this regard, good attitudes and work ethic were viewed as the most important qualities of migrant workers. As discussed previously, work ethic is often a proxy for working long and hard hours which can act as a positive factor at the recruitment stage for migrants, but can make them vulnerable to exploitation. In New Zealand, interviews with 18 employers, human resource managers, recruitment agencies and service providers found that they perceived New Zealand employers to have generally negative perceptions of migrants (Podsiadlowski, 2009b). Employers were perceived as being wary of migrants, and generally hesitant to, or reluctant to, employ them. Podsiadlowski (2009b) infers that discriminatory behaviour and some form of racism could be the underlying causes.

As already discussed, in certain sectors where there have been high labour shortages, employers preferred to recruit migrant workers as they were seen as better than the domestic labour supply (Wills et al., 2009). However, in some situations migrant status and ethnicity is used as a proxy for tractability (uncritical acceptance of management's decisions). A study of 41 employers across different sectors in Germany, Italy, Slovenia, Denmark, Hungary and Switzerland found that employers in Denmark favoured migrants of Asian origin because of this (Bonoli & Hinrichs, 2012).

A number of experimental, in-field studies in various countries show that employers discriminate against job applicants with “foreign” names. Recent testing of students’ applications for internships in Germany found that applications with a Turkish-sounding name were, on average, 14 percentage points less likely to receive a job interview than one with a German-sounding name (Kaas & Manger, 2012). In Sweden, an Arabic sounding name was discriminated against by one in every four employers (Carlsson & Rooth, 2006). In Toronto, Canada, applicants with English names and Canadian education and experience were more than three times more likely to receive a request for an interview than applicants with Chinese, Indian or Pakistani names with foreign education and experience (Oreopoulos, 2009). A Finnish literature review and field experiment provides a good overview of studies in Greece, France, Ireland, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, Australia, Canada and the USA (including some of the studies discussed above) (Larja et al., 2012). The study concludes that in European countries an employee with a “foreign” name would have to send out 18 applications to get an interview, compared with 10 for a majority applicant. The relative call back rate is lower in the USA, Canada and Australia. In their field experiment they found that ethnic discrimination did not differ by sector, region or type of recruiter (employer versus temporary work agency) (Larja et al., 2012).

In a recent study in the three cities of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, it was found that employers may be using subconscious discrimination, where names are used to infer language skills and do not take into account other indicators (such as language proficiency information, or jobs that may not require as high a level of language skill) (Oreopoulos & Dechief, 2011). Clearly this has implications for the migrant worker where employers, who may be filtering many applications and wish to avoid a bad recruitment decision, will make a global assessment based on name alone.

Employers also assess “organisational fit” in the recruitment process. In many circumstances that can be valued more highly than skills and work competence, and tends to work against migrants. This has been found in Norway (Horverak, Bye, Sandal, & Pallesen, 2011) as well as Canada (Liu, 2007).

It appears across a number of studies that discrimination can both work for and against migrants. However, even when it can have positive effects discrimination can entrench stereotypical beliefs that are not beneficial for migrant workers in the long term. Employer and workplace education and training may be ways to counter such attitudes.

Negative public perception of migrants can affect employer demand. This can act both where employers themselves hold these negative attitudes, but also where they are conscious that negative perceptions of migrant workers held by the public may impact negatively on their business. Various international media reports have voiced concern about migrant workers displacing local workers. This can lead to low acceptability of employing migrant workers, and to employers not recruiting migrant workers because of feared community reprisal.

In New Zealand, community surveys in 2009 and 2010 found that respondents were generally positive about migrants and immigration, but were least positive about migrants from China and Samoa, and refugees (Department of Labour, 2010a, 2010b). Additionally, 15 per cent indicated that increasing numbers of people from different cultures and countries made their community a worse or much worse place to live (Department of Labour, 2010a).

About a third felt that migrants increased the level of crime in New Zealand and took jobs away from New Zealanders (Department of Labour, 2010a, 2010b).

An international survey in 2011 found that nearly half (45 per cent) of respondents believed that migrants had a negative impact on their country. With regard to employment, 48 per cent believed that migrants made it more difficult for locals to get work (Gottfried, 2012). These negative opinions were more likely to be held by people with a pessimistic outlook about local and global economies. This echoes findings from an earlier World Values Survey, where many of those endorsing restrictions to migration linked this to the availability of jobs (Kleemans & Klugman, 2009). These perceptions have also increased as a result of the global financial crisis and corresponding economic downturns. In many cases, governments have instituted “national/domestic worker first” policies which can have negative implications for migrant workers. For example, the UK Government is focused on encouraging employers to invest more in the resident workforce and reduce their reliance on migrant workers.

There are variations between countries in perceptions of migrants. As already discussed above, community surveys in New Zealand show a generally positive view of migrants and immigration. A review of a national survey of public attitudes to migration in Canada finds that generally there is support for current levels of migration (Reitz, 2011). Indeed, most Canadians (82 per cent) agreed that migration had a positive impact on the economy, and relatively few thought that migrants would “take away jobs” from other Canadians (25 per cent).

Humanitarian migrants

The refugee and employer research finds similar themes discussed above in relation to migrants in general. However, the hurdles to labour market integration for refugees and asylum seekers can be higher, particularly when they may have additional legal issues and access to work permit issues. While in most countries refugees have work rights, but asylum seekers do not, employers do not always make this distinction. As such, employers appear to be more receptive to employing migrants than refugees (Elliott, 2004). Key barriers that employers identify are confusing permission to work documentation, lack of familiarity and comparability of qualifications, language and work experience, and negative public image of refugees (Brahmbhatt, Atfield, Irving, Lee, & O’Toole, 2007; Hurstfield et al., 2004). Like general migrants, refugees in the UK perceive that employers underestimate their prior qualifications and work experience (Green, 2006).

Interviews with 11 employers in Australia who were involved in an employment service which targeted refugee and humanitarian entrants, or whose workforce included a significant proportion of employees from refugee backgrounds, find that some employers have very positive perceptions of refugees (Olliff, 2010). They were considered to be conscientious and good employees (which is consistent with other employer perceptions studies internationally; for example, Williams, 2006). However, they also encountered challenges, such as women refugee migrants bearing the responsibility for establishing the household and caring for the family after arrival, which is a barrier to employment. Additionally, poor access to culturally appropriate childcare can also be a barrier to women entering the labour force. Employers also commonly believe that refugees lack awareness of workplace culture and practices, and will therefore be difficult to recruit and manage (Hugo, 2011).

Like other migrants, language difficulties are often highlighted as the main barrier in recruitment (Olliff, 2010; Williams, 2006). In a study of refugees and employers in West Yorkshire, UK, employers who had recruited refugees had difficulty knowing which organisations they should contact for support (Williams, 2006). As will also be discussed in relation to government support and settlement support, a key finding across employer studies is that while there are a range of support services available for employers, these are often not well co-ordinated and many are not well linked to employers. Some employers in another study in the UK commented that they would not be opposed to hiring refugees or being involved in work placements but were unaware of any schemes (Craw, Jefferys, & Paraskevopoulou, 2007). There was also a concern that the business would have to bear the costs of a migrant or refugee who struggled and was not a good fit with the organisation. In New Zealand, a small study demonstrated that this can be a significant barrier for small and medium enterprises in taking on refugees (Elliott, 2004).

In the UK, negative media reporting influences perceptions of employers, and refugee research finds that many refugees blame politicians and the media for creating a negative image of refugees and migrants (Bloch, 2007; Green, 2006). Other studies find that discrimination by employers and the public is a barrier to employment and integration (Butcher, Spoonley, & Trlin, 2006). Tilbury and Colic-Peisker (2006) find that employers have a tendency to blame the labour market, their customers and clients, other staff members, the community, and refugees themselves for any of their own potential or actual refugee or migrant discrimination behaviour. These deflection strategies have the outcome of absolving employers of responsibility, and can therefore be a difficult policy problem to tackle.

This is reflected in a study of a refugee work placement and mentoring project in West Yorkshire, UK, where project delivery staff felt that “employers’ stubbornness to accept refugees into their workforce, despite the project’s efforts, led to a lack of communication or communication breakdown; the project tried various ways to engage employers however it was an uphill struggle” (Williams, 2006, p. 11).

Bloch (2007) concludes that the efforts of government and other actors should therefore not just focus on the capacity and capability of refugees, but also employer attitudes and discrimination as well as media stereotyping.

Summary

Time and again, employers comment that the lack of ability to speak and comprehend the national language is a constraint to the employment of migrant workers. This can lead to difficulties in migrants finding work as well as under-employment. Employers in sectors with a significant health and safety component and a high customer-facing component were more likely to mention this as an issue.

Work experience in the country was also consistently mentioned in employer surveys and interview-based studies. Large proportions of employers seek this as an employment requirement, which is a significant barrier for migrants to overcome. For some sectors, equivalent work experience was sufficient. For example, health and social care employers in the UK were more likely to employ migrants who came from a similar health system.

Additional checks and balances that employers had to perform, and difficulties recognising foreign qualifications, are also a deterrent to employers. Identity checking, migrant status, document checking and qualification recognition all take time and resources. Contrasting these hurdles with the situation with domestic workers shows that migrant workers can be at a disadvantage.

Discrimination and low employer acceptance is also a barrier. Various studies show that employers discriminate on the basis of migrant names and perceived ability to “fit” into an organisation. Additionally, negative perceptions against migrant workers held within a community can also deter employers from recruiting migrant workers.

Refugees encounter the same barriers to employment as migrant workers, but this can be compounded by confusion about rights to work and work documentation. Employers have both negative and positive perceptions of refugees. Like other migrant workers, the work ethic of refugees is valued; however, employers also have negative perceptions of refugees which act as a barrier to employment. The key factors that act as a barrier to employing refugees are confusing permission to work documentation, qualification recognition, language and work experience, and negative public image of refugees.

As a result, governments across IGC Participating States have developed initiatives and programmes to address these issues. Initiatives include education, awareness-raising and guidance for employers, work placement and mentorship programmes for newcomers, qualification assessment systems, and literacy, language and numeracy training targeted at migrants. These initiatives and programmes will be discussed in the next section in relation to the recruitment, retention and settlement of migrants, and the role of the employer and government.

Government-driven constraints on demand

Policy directions

The turmoil in financial markets which began in 2008 has severely impacted on national economies around the world. Partly as a result, most developed countries have introduced measures to tighten visa requirements for some categories of migrants, reducing the numbers of temporary admissions, and strengthened compliance and enforcement mechanisms to reduce the burden of unauthorised migrants on local economies.

As mentioned above, the UK Government is currently focused on encouraging employers to invest more in the resident workforce and reduce their reliance on migrant workers. In their health sector and National Health Service, after a period of sustained growth in staff in order to improve service levels, there is now an emphasis on increasing productivity of existing staff and looking for new ways to work (Bach, 2010).

In contrast, Denmark's new government has a focus on wide-ranging reforms in integration policy including a stated ambition to grow the number of migrants in employment by 10,000 by 2020 (Sorensen et al., 2011). Denmark also has, as part of its integration policy, mandatory and comprehensive integration and introduction courses for all newly arrived migrants and refugees. In line with this policy direction, there have also been calls to actively brand Denmark as a country to live and work in to create demand for migration (Oxford Research A/S & The Copenhagen Post, 2010).

Other countries have instituted major immigration policy reforms which are demand-driven and employer-led. For example, Sweden introduced a new labour migration policy in 2008 which saw it move to an almost entirely demand-driven system. Employers are able to recruit migrants for any occupation, as long as labour market tests are undertaken and the migrant is employed under appropriate wage and employment conditions. Without skills requirements, salary thresholds and limits on permits, Sweden's new policy has been described as "the most open labour migration system among OECD countries" (OECD, 2011b, p. 11). This is contrasted with the previous system where trade unions were able to veto recruitment. Like Denmark, there has also been investigations into how Sweden can market itself better to potential migrants (Pärlemo et al., 2012).

Spain, Norway and the USA are other IGC Participating States that have moved to demand-driven systems (Papademetriou, 2010). In doing so, there appears to be a convergence towards hybrid selection systems that use points systems in conjunction with employer-led migrant selection.

Limits on international recruitment

IGC Participating States use a number of different approaches to identify and manage labour demands, and some use a combination of approaches. Approaches include occupational shortage lists, labour market tests, minimum income restrictions and the setting of caps or quotas. Table 3 is an overview of the approaches used by IGC Participating States to identify and manage labour demand.

Table 3: Summary of labour migration restrictions (employer recruitment from abroad for non-seasonal work) for IGC Participating States

Country	Occupation restriction	Labour market test	Cap
Australia (TFW)	Skilled	No	No
Belgium	Skilled	Yes	No
Canada (TFW)	No*	Yes	No
Canada (Permanent)	Yes	No	Yes
Denmark	Skill/Salary	Yes	No
Finland	No*	Yes	No
France	No	Yes*	No
Germany	Skill/Salary	Yes	No
Greece	No	Yes	No
Ireland	Skill/Salary	Yes	No
Netherlands	No	Yes*	No
New Zealand (TFW)	Yes	Yes**	No
New Zealand (Permanent)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Norway	Skilled	No	Yes
Spain	No	Yes	No
Sweden	No	Yes	No
Switzerland	Yes	Yes	Yes
United States (H-1B)	Yes	No	Yes****
United States (EB)	Yes***	Yes	No*****
United Kingdom	Skilled	Yes	Yes

Source: OECD (2011b) and further information from IGC Participating States

Notes: TFW: Temporary foreign worker. * Labour market test for low-skilled is very restrictive. ** Only for low-skilled and not on skill shortage list. *** Very low cap for low-skilled occupations. **** Over half of H-1Bs enter outside the cap. ***** No cap on low-skilled, but higher priority is placed on high-skilled which can result in no places for low-skilled.

Occupation restrictions and skill shortage lists

Many countries operate skill shortage lists, which serve both to limit and facilitate labour migration. The way in which these lists of occupations are compiled varies from country to country, as does the content and format. In most cases these lists include occupations for which migrant workers will be considered, and by omission, restricts entry in other occupations. Denmark operates *The Positive List* which is a list of professional fields which are experiencing shortages of well-qualified people (Sorensen et al., 2011). The list is revised twice a year based on surveys which identify sectors where there is a structural shortage. However, they may also serve to explicitly exclude occupations – Ireland also operates a list for which migrant labour specifically will not be considered, in occupations where it is deemed that local labour should be used to fill shortages (European Migration Network, 2011a).

A number of IGC Participating States actively co-operate with employers/employer organisations in the compilation of skill shortage lists; for example, France, Ireland, the UK and Germany (European Migration Network, 2011a). The following description of how the UK arrives at its shortage list shows how, although it is government-led through the Migration Advisory Committee (MAC), employers can play a role shaping these tools (Exhibit 1).

MAC-type independent bodies have been considered by other jurisdictions. Martin (2010) notes that USA proposals for such a commission have not generally been accepted by employers as they are concerned it will not reach the right decisions. Instead, new guest worker programmes, and criteria employers must satisfy to obtain migrants, have found favour.

The Australian government has recently announced the establishment of a Ministerial Advisory Council on Skilled Migration (MACSM) to provide expert advice on the role of skilled migration in the Australian economy (Bowen, 2012).

Exhibit 1: Employers' role in shaping occupational shortage lists, the United Kingdom

At the national level, regulation of the movement of labour needs to be supported by good information on current and future demand and supply. In the UK, the Migration Advisory Committee (MAC) was established as part of the movement towards a points-based immigration system. The MAC advises the UK Government on migration issues, and as part of its role establishes and updates shortage occupation lists for skilled occupations. In providing advice MAC considers three questions: Is the occupation skilled? Is there a shortage of local labour? Is it sensible to use non-EEA workers to help fill the vacancies? (Martin, 2010). Bach (2010) considers that while MAC has only been in operation a relatively short period of time, it has helped in a more systematic analysis of skill shortages, and the utilisation of migrant labour.

The shortage lists are geared towards high-skilled migrants, but MAC has been receptive to employer recommendations and evidence. For example, skilled chefs, particularly for ethnic restaurants, have been added to Tier 2 of the points-based immigration system due to evidence presented by Bangladeshi and Chinese restaurants (Geddes & Scott, 2010).



Labour market tests

For some routes to migration the employer needs to show that they have been unsuccessful in filling the position using local workers before they can recruit/sponsor the migrant worker. Econometric studies generally show positive impacts of immigration on national economies, with little impact on fiscal costs, house prices and rising unemployment (Hodgson & Poot, 2011; House of Lords Select Committee on Economic Affairs, 2008; Longhi, Nijkamp, & Poot, 2008). However, the literature and econometric evidence is mixed on the effect of migration on displacement of the local workforce, particularly lower-skilled workers (Borjas, 2006; Card, 2001; House of Lords Select Committee on Economic Affairs, 2008). To mitigate the potential negative impact on the native population, governments usually use labour market tests and shortage lists (Chaloff & Lemaitre, 2009a).

Labour market tests usually consist of employers publishing the job offer locally and nationally for a specified length of time and demonstrating that they have been unable to fill the position with local workers. In several countries, a shortage occupation list provides an exemption to the labour market test.

Labour market tests across IGC Participating States vary in the types of recruitment and advertising avenues the employer must use (for example, public employment services and national press) and the length of time the position must be vacant for (Table 4).

Some labour market tests are more rigorous, prescriptive and lengthy (for example, Belgium and Ireland) while other IGC Participating States operate a much more open policy (for example, Sweden). The labour market test in Sweden includes publication on the Swedish job bank (*Platsbank*) or with European Employment Services (EURES) for 10 days, although in some cases alternative advertisement options may be accepted. Employers are not required to interview or hire local workers who apply, nor explain why they were not appropriate (OECD, 2011b).

There have also been changes over time in some IGC Participating States, due to employer concerns. For example, labour market tests for temporary skilled migration to Australia were removed in 1996 in response to employer feedback on the complexity of the system and the increasing internationalisation of the Australian economy (Khoo et al., 2007).

There are questions around the effectiveness of labour market tests as a tool for restricting migrant labour.

Labour market tests have been criticised as not meeting the objective of reducing displacement of local workers. Martin (2010) comments that in the USA most employers identify the migrant worker they want to hire before posting job vacancies, which suggests that employers do not, and will not, hire local workers who apply.

Martin (2010) contrasts attestation with certification procedures used in the USA for different types of visas. Attestation is a “trust the employer” approach and only requires employers to state that they have undertaken recruitment regulations, but no checks or enforcement takes place before the migrant worker enters the country. Certification refers to employers posting job advertisements and recording the reasons why local workers are not hired. Certification applies for low-skilled jobs, and attestation applies for jobs and migrants where a university degree is required.

Table 4: Labour market tests in IGC Participating States (length and characteristics)

Country	Programme	Duration (days)	Labour market test characteristics
Australia	Work permit	N/A	Must attempt to recruit locally. Verification of prevailing wage.
Belgium	Low-skill work permit	60–135	PES. Only for recruitment under bilateral agreements.
Canada	TFW NOC 0/A	14	Must demonstrate attempt to recruit Canadians or Permanent Residents, including National Job Bank <i>or</i> recruitment activities consistent with the practice within the occupation. HRSDC/Service Canada is not necessarily limited to verifying advertising requirements.
	TFW NOC B	14	Must demonstrate attempt to recruit Canadians or Permanent Residents, including National Job Bank <i>or</i> recruitment activities consistent with the practice within the occupation. HRSDC/Service Canada is not necessarily limited to verifying advertising requirements. Prevailing wages for occupation must be indicated in advertisements.
	TFW C/D; SAWP	14	National Job Bank and at least one of: newspapers, community and/or internet. Must demonstrate attempt to recruit Canadians or Permanent Residents, including National Job Bank and at least one of: newspapers, community and/or internet. HRSDC/Service Canada is not necessarily limited to verifying advertising requirements. Prevailing wages for occupation must be indicated in advertisements.
Denmark	Work permit	N/A	Job must be full-time (37 hours per week), social partners must confirm shortage.
Finland	Permanent workers	14	PES
France	Seasonal agricultural	-	PES
Germany	Work permit	1–28	PES. Local PES decides on publication time for each request, on average 2–4 weeks. No labour market test for foreign university graduates from the 10 new EU member states.
Greece	Work permit	-	Submission to PES (Organization for the Employment of the Labour, OAED) for approval.

Country	Programme	Duration (days)	Labour market test characteristics
Ireland	Work permit	54	Vacancy must be advertised with PES/EURES for at least 8 weeks and in local/national newspapers for 6 days.
Netherlands	Work permit	35	PES must approve employer request.
New Zealand	Recognised seasonal employer	N/A	Must advertise position locally (vacancies must be listed at local PES (Work and Income) office) and take all reasonable steps to recruit locally.
	Temporary work visa ¹⁴	14 (10 working days)	Genuine attempt to recruit suitable resident workers. Bona fides test, 14-day (10 working days) labour market test only for low-skilled jobs.
Norway	Work permit	N/A	Labour market assessment from PES. Exemption for seasonal agricultural quota.
Spain		15	Employers must interview candidates sent by PES although they may reject them.
Sweden	Work permit	10	PES/EURES
Switzerland	Work permit	21	Cantonal PES and Federal approval.
United Kingdom	Tier 2 work permit	28	Resident labour market test, PES and other advertisements.
United States	H-2A (Agri.)	35	Employer must hire local workers even if they apply during the first half of the foreign worker's contract.
	H-2B (Temp.)	3-10	Labour certification following advertisement of job (at least 10 days with PES and 3 days with private press) and justify any rejection of candidates.
	EB2/3	60	Average labour market test time.

Source: Adapted from OECD (2011); (Chaloff & Lemaitre, 2009b; Triandafyllidou, Marouf, & Nikolova, 2009)

Notes: PES = Public Employment Service; HRSDC = Human Resources and Skills Development Canada; EURES = European Employment Service, N/A = not applicable; - = Data not available

Minimum income restrictions

As part of immigration systems which target high-skilled workers, and in some cases to restrict labour migration, some IGC Participating States operate minimum income requirements. In response to growing unemployment, from 1 June 2009, Irish employers who want to recruit non-EU migrants had to pay them at least €30,000 per year (Cerna, 2010). In 2009, Germany lowered the required minimum income for highly qualified workers from €86,400 to €63,600 as part of its move towards a more open migration policy

¹⁴ This does not include the Working Holiday Scheme which does not require a labour market test.

(Laubenthal, 2008). Trade unions and employer associations in Germany have more recently been pro-actively supporting labour migration and have lobbied for further lowering of the minimum income levels, as evidenced in the Netherlands, to enable employers to attract more qualified workers to Germany (Laubenthal, 2008).

In other IGC Participating States there is a requirement for employers to indicate that they will pay the migrant the market salary rate. This is to ensure that migrants are protected from exploitation, but also to protect local employment conditions and wages. Examples include Australia's subclass 457 visa for an employer-skilled position, for which employers must demonstrate they are paying the migrant worker the prevailing market wage. However, for temporary migration visas, the income threshold is currently set at AU\$51,400 to ensure that migrant workers have enough money to be self-reliant while in Australia.

The EU Blue Card allows highly educated skilled workers of non-EU states the opportunity for the right to work and stay in the EU. The migrant worker's salary must be at least 1.5 times the average gross salary in the member state, and for shortage occupations, 1.2 times the average gross salary (Cerna, 2010). In Germany, the migrant worker must have a working contract with a gross annual salary of at least €44,800 (€3,733 per month), and for shortage occupations (scientists, mathematicians, engineers, doctors and IT) at least €34,944 (€2,912 per month).

Caps/quotas

Some countries place limits on the numbers of migrants who may enter for the purposes of working. While the UK has not had limits in the past (based upon the assumption that the requirements of the points-based system they use for entry can be adjusted to achieve this), they have recently capped the number of third-country nationals that can enter on skilled and highly skilled pathways (European Migration Network, 2011a). In Switzerland, a limit of 5,000 short-stay permits and 3,500 normal residence permits for third-state nationals was introduced in 2011, and will be maintained in 2012. Those eligible for these permits are almost exclusively managers, specialists and qualified workers (Federal Office for Migration, 2011). A quota was introduced in Norway in 2002, and the number of permits has been limited each year at 5,000 for skilled workers and specialists (Pärlemo et al., 2012). The quota for seasonal work is decided by individual regions within Norway.

Conversely, other countries have targets that certain employers should meet, stimulating employer demand for refugees and migrants. For example, Denmark's former government set a goal that 4 per cent of state-sector employees must be migrants or descendants from non-Western countries (Sorensen et al., 2011). Ministries were required to monitor their progress towards the goal, and to have an action plan for the integration of ethnic minorities.

Legal status of humanitarian migrants

Differences in migrant status affect who is legally entitled to work.

Legislative restrictions

In general, there are many restrictions placed upon those seeking asylum (as opposed to quota refugees who arrive with refugee status). While some countries do allow asylum seekers to work, this tends to be dependent upon the individual meeting different criteria (in particular around proving identity), and individuals are often not allowed to apply for work

permits for a defined period of time after applying for asylum (ranging from 3 to 12 months) (Table 5). When asylum seekers gain a favourable decision, they will usually gain the same right to work as other residents.

While this has many implications for individuals themselves in terms of ability to integrate and maintain skills (Da Lomba, 2010), it also impacts employer demand for humanitarian migrant workers. This is highlighted in research showing that some employers find the ability to ascertain legal status to work as a barrier to hiring asylum seekers (Hurstfield et al., 2004). The penalties that can be imposed on employers may make them reluctant to become involved in hiring humanitarian migrants.

In addition to legal/financial penalties, negative public perception of humanitarian migrants can affect employer demand. Hurstfield and her colleagues (2004) in the UK found that even organisations who were positive about hiring refugees feared a public backlash to the extent that they would not be named in the study. These negative public attitudes appeared to be based on perceptions that refugee workers were taking jobs from local people, and also the negative media coverage given to irregular workers becoming associated with refugees in the minds of the public.

Table 5: Rights of asylum seekers to work in IGC Participating States

IGC Participating State	Asylum seekers able to work?*
Australia	Yes
Belgium	Yes
Canada	Yes (however, claimants from designated countries of origin must wait until a positive decision on their claim or 6 months)
Denmark	No
Finland	Yes, after being there 3 months
France	No
Germany	Yes, after 12 months
Greece	Not allowed to work until receive “red card” (can take 1–2 years)
Ireland	No
Netherlands	No
New Zealand	Yes, under certain circumstances ¹⁵
Norway	Yes, under certain circumstances
Spain	Yes, after six months
Sweden	Yes, if certain criteria are met
Switzerland	Yes, after three months
United Kingdom	Yes, after 12 months
United States	Yes, after six months

Source: National government websites

Notes: * Even where asylum seekers are able to work, there are usually a number of qualifiers to this; for example, having proper legal documentation

¹⁵ Asylum seekers who arrive in New Zealand without proper documentation are often detained on arrival, to allow the government to confirm their identity and ensure that they do not pose a threat to our national security or have criminal intentions. Once this has been established, such people may be “conditionally released” into the community. They must live in an agreed location and report periodically to the authorities while they are awaiting the outcome of their application for refugee status. People on conditional release have limited access to basic social entitlements and cannot be granted temporary Work Permits. People who enter New Zealand with legal documentation (and subsequently apply for refugee status) are normally granted a Temporary Work Permit and are also eligible for a greater range of social security benefits.

Summary

Employers operate within a business environment which is shaped and influenced by government policy. Therefore employer demand for migrants can be limited by initiatives and programmes instituted by government. General policy direction, particularly whether a country has an open or closed immigration policy, is a significant determinant. Flowing from policy direction will be whether any limits are in place for migrant entry, and the types of tests in place to help manage that. These include caps on number of migrants, labour market tests, occupation shortage lists and assessments of where shortages lie.

Particularly for humanitarian migrants, the ability to ascertain legal status works as a barrier to employment. In some countries, asylum seekers are unable to seek work and/or can only do so after a certain period of time.

Recruiting migrants

Employers play an important role in the integration of migrants into the workforce and into a country. Rodriguez (2004) refers to employers as labour market gatekeepers, on a continuum of passive hirer to central organiser.

Some avenues to migration place greater responsibilities on employers than others. For example, seasonal worker and guest programmes usually include employer-provided accommodation and transport, while high-skilled migrant programmes usually only require the employer to take reasonable steps to check that the employee is a legal worker. In developing and implementing labour immigration policy, nations are balancing initiatives and systems that are responsive to employer needs for migrant workers but also ensuring migrants are not exploited and the policy outcomes from immigration are achieved.

The following section outlines the recruitment strategies and practices that employers use in relation to migrant labour. Additionally, the roles that employers and governments play in facilitating migration and employment are also discussed. Specific initiatives that employers use, and the specific initiatives that governments deliver or support are also outlined.

Recruitment strategies

Most employers do not specifically set out to recruit migrants. A survey of New Zealand employers found that most (96 per cent) had no explicit policy on recruiting migrants (North, 2007). A matched pairs case study approach in the UK found that the use of migrant staff was largely unplanned (SQW Consulting, 2010). Employers do not set out to employ migrants as part of an active business plan. A Canadian survey found that both urban and rural employers felt that a number of other labour market strategies were prioritised before hiring migrants. These included:

- developing the skills of current employees
- measures to encourage retention of current employees
- hiring more youth
- hiring aboriginals
- changing job descriptions to reallocate work
- attracting workers from other organisations or companies (Public Policy Forum, 2004).

Nevertheless, employers in that study believed that Canada was relatively successful in attracting migrants with necessary skills and were generally satisfied with the migrants they recruited.

In recruiting migrants there are also a number of different avenues which have different implications. Employers can recruit migrant workers who are already present in the country or recruit migrants directly abroad. Migrants who are already in the country can be easier for employers to recruit as they may not have to take extra steps to bring them into the country, and depending on the length of time in the country may have less barriers to integration.

In general, the literature points to the following recruitment strategies:

- recruitment websites
- company website
- specialist journals and publications
- national press
- recruitment agencies
- employment agencies
- other intermediaries
- networks and word of mouth
- sub-contracting.

High-skilled jobs

The UK Home Office commissioned study found that the strategies that employers use depend on the skill level of the job, rather than the sector the employer is in (Dench et al., 2006). For high-skilled positions, employers tended to advertise in specialist journals and publications, on their company website, and the national press. In some cases, specialist recruitment agencies and headhunters were used. Employers in the UK did not tend to use specific media or advertising aimed at migrant workers or an international audience (Dench et al., 2006). They believed that there was high demand from migrant workers for work in the UK so that they did not need to do anything extra. As such, most of the literature in this area concentrates on recruitment of workers who are already resident in the country.

A more recent study in the UK did find some differences by sector (SQW Consulting, 2010). While advertising in the local press and word of mouth were the most frequently used methods, hotels and restaurants relied more on recommendations for existing staff, health and social work organisations used Jobcentre Plus (the public employment service) more than other sectors; and computing, food and beverage and other sectors used online advertising and job websites more than other sectors.

Selection practices for high-skilled positions are standardised and usually comprise a CV and/or application form, screening and accessing the applicant's qualifications and experience, behavioural interviews, and reference checks. For larger employers, psychometric testing is also often used (Dench et al., 2006). Psychometric testing was also identified in a New Zealand study as an increasingly popular part of the selection process (Podsiadlowski, 2007b). However, it is warned that some psychometric tests are only appropriate for certain cultures and groups of people, and as a result people from a different national context may answer in unexpected ways. Researchers in a Canadian employer survey and focus group-based study commented that employers may be using recruitment practices that systematically discriminate against migrants (Public Policy Forum, 2004). Employers raised the level of education or training for a position to filter the number of applications they received, and used standardised testing (including literacy tests) that was not necessarily related to the skills for the job.

Low-skilled jobs

For lower-skilled jobs, the recruitment and selection process appeared to be more fluid; that is, the migrant worker might visit the employer to enquire about a job and may find out at that time whether they have a job or not. In general though, most low-skill jobs in the UK study were advertised locally – through the local press, notices on-site and notices at the local employment centre (Dench et al., 2006). Newspapers in the language of potential target employees are also used. For example, North Carolina employers regularly used Spanish-language newspapers to recruit Hispanic workers (Johnson-Webb, 2004).

Some employers for lower-skilled jobs used application forms, but in general just basic health and personal information was required. Face-to-face and/or telephone interviews were used, depending on whether the applicant was currently onshore or offshore. Interviews tended not to be as comprehensive as those for higher-skilled jobs (Dench et al., 2006).

Urgency and tightness of the labour market also influences employer strategies. For example, in boom years Irish employers used less rigorous recruitment strategies and checks, and were more likely to accept less than optimal skill sets (Krings et al., 2011; E. Moriarty et al., 2012).

In low-, medium- and high-skilled positions, passports and other documents are usually checked; sometimes after the job offer, and in other cases as part of the recruitment and selection process. The UK study noted that in a few cases, no checks were made as to whether the applicant was able to legally work in the country (Dench et al., 2006). A general complaint by employers, regardless of country, was the difficulties encountered in arranging work permits/residency (for migrant workers who are already in the country and wish to remain and for workers who may be resident outside). Employers in a New Zealand study commented that they perceived there to be a lack of alignment between immigration policy and implementation, and industry need, and that rules were constantly changing and unclear (North, 2007).

Business size

Size of business also mediates the types of strategies used. Across IGC Participating States, larger employers tended to use a mix of different methods, while small and medium enterprises (SMEs) tend to rely on information networks and referrals (International Organization for Migration [IOM], 2012a). Various studies have focused particularly on the needs and practices of SMEs as they are a large proportion of the economy, but are also likely to face capacity and capability issues in relation to recruiting and settling migrant workers. SMEs are defined differently in various jurisdictions. The European Commission defines SMEs as employing fewer than 250 persons and an annual turnover not exceeding €50 million. Industry Canada defines small as less than 100 employees (for goods-producing businesses) or fewer than 50 employees (for service-based businesses), and medium-sized is fewer than 500 employees. In New Zealand, SMEs have less than 20 employees.

Larger employers will tend to use private recruitment agencies and other intermediaries (who tend to perform checks on documents and qualifications) more than smaller employers, and therefore smaller employers are likely to face further difficulties with qualification recognition and document checking.

Larger employers also have the resources to participate in international job fairs and international recruitment missions to source workers resident in other countries.

Undocumented workers

For undocumented workers, networks and word of mouth are common, but other recruitment strategies used are contacting labour recruiters or smugglers to procure migrant workers, indenture migrant workers by paying the smuggling fare, and visiting community and commercial areas frequented by migrants (Rodriguez, 2004).

Summary

Employers use a number of different recruitment strategies, including:

- recruitment websites
- company website
- specialist journals and publications
- national press
- recruitment agencies
- employment agencies
- other intermediaries
- trade and employment fairs
- networks and word of mouth
- sub-contracting.

Larger businesses and employers seeking higher-skilled workers are most likely to use more formal channels of recruitment, several recruitment strategies simultaneously and formalised selection procedures. In contrast, SMEs and employers of lower-skilled workers tend to use networks and word of mouth.

Intermediaries

Use of recruitment and employment agencies

Recruitment agencies provide workers to employers directly, while employment agencies provide staff to employers on a temporary basis. Employer studies, across sectors and across countries, find that larger employers tended to use both recruitment and employment agencies (and smaller employers used neither). Employment agencies are often used in the construction and agriculture sector.

UK employers noted that agencies were not necessarily an avenue to recruit migrant workers but that they seemed to mostly have migrant workers on their client list (Dench et al., 2006). In line with findings that most businesses and organisations do not target migrants or refugees specifically, the majority of organisations in a UK study hired refugee employees through recruitment agencies (Hurstfield et al., 2004).

Agencies were often used so that employers did not have to deal with the administrative burden of recruitment, and in relation to migrants particularly, the checking of documentation and legality of workers. However, employers also found them to be expensive, and often the quality of workers obtained through this method was not up to standard (Dench et al., 2006).

Recruitment agencies, particularly international recruitment agencies, are also commonly used in the finance sector – for very senior positions (Jones, 2010) as well as bottom- to mid-level positions (E. Moriarty et al., 2012). International recruitment agencies in the Netherlands for Polish migrants have historically focused on the agriculture sector but have now broadened to the logistics industry, packaging jobs and industrial production (Pijpers, 2010). Some international recruitment agencies in the Netherlands have also expanded their service offerings to include housing and transportation of migrant workers.

A study of the recruitment of Polish migrants to Ireland also found recruitment agencies to be commonly used in the software sector, as well as for higher positions in the construction and hospitality sectors.

In Sweden, most seasonal workers come from Thailand and are predominantly recruited through a few Thai recruitment and employment agencies. These agencies have established strong relationships with Swedish berry employers and are relied on for the selection of employees (IOM, 2012a).

Employment agencies in the UK

In the UK, the term “gangmaster” is used to refer to labour providers or employment agencies who supply large numbers of flexible and temporary labourers for the agricultural industry. While gangmasters will provide domestic workers, about 75 per cent of agency workers are foreign-born (Geddes & Scott, 2010). Geddes and Scott (2010) estimate that one-third of temporary vacancies in the producer end of the UK food industry are filled by labour providers such as gangmasters. Dench et al. (2006) in their literature review of other employer studies in the UK found that employers in the food and drink processing industry in the East Midlands often had a larger employment agency as a main supplier as well as a number of employment agencies as “preferred providers” to meet peaks in demand.

In UK studies there have been reports of employment agencies exploiting migrants and offering lesser pay, terms and conditions to migrants than other employees (Dench et al., 2006; Rees, 2006; Wilkinson, 2012). The exploitation of temporary workers in the agricultural and food processing sector as part of the gangmaster system; the 2004 Morecambe Bay cockling disaster where 23 irregular Chinese migrant workers were drowned by an incoming tide off the Lancashire/Cumbrian coast; and the ongoing work of the Temporary Labour Working Group (a consortium of major retailers, growers, suppliers, labour providers and trade unions) led to the establishment of the *Gangmasters Licensing Act* and the Gangmasters Licensing Authority, which registers and licences labour providers in the agriculture and food processing sector. Further discussion on the Gangmasters Licensing

Authority initiative and the employers' role will be discussed in the next section: "Compliance and exploitation".

The UK Department of Health has established a list of preferred recruitment agencies for National Health Services (NHS) employers as part of a move to focus recruitment efforts through agencies that have been approved as having an ethical and effective approach (Buchan, Baldwin, & Munro, 2008). NHS employers are responsible for the implementation of the UK code of practice for healthcare organisations involved in the international recruitment of healthcare professionals. The code of practice adheres to the World Health Organisation code of practice. As part of the code, all employers and agencies should follow good recruitment practice, not charge fees for gaining employment, and offer appropriate support and induction to international healthcare professionals. The code covers recruitment agencies, temporary staff working in the NHS, and private sector organisations providing services to the NHS. The code also specifies that developing countries should not be actively targeted for recruitment unless that country formally agrees.

Amid concerns about the exploitation of migrants that use recruitment and employment agencies, the International Labour Organization adopted Convention C181 – *Private Employment Agencies Convention* – in 1997. It seeks to improve the functioning of the labour market and to protect workers who use the services of private employment agencies. It restricts the charging of fees to migrant workers by private employment agencies and calls for minimum wages. To date, Convention 181 has not been widely ratified. Twenty-five countries have ratified the Convention, but many more have not (four of the 17 IGC Participating States have ratified the Convention). It has been suggested that a promotional campaign for the Convention, better tools to facilitate the decision of ratification, and tools and support for implementation could improve ratification (Hess, 2006).

Recruitment agencies themselves also use websites and employment websites. A study of recruitment agencies in UK social care found that of those who advertised outside the UK, this was mainly through web-based advertising boards (Hussein et al., 2010). More active recruitment methods used were similar to those used by employers – special advertising campaigns in press offshore, offshore recruitment events, in-market visits and word of mouth. It is important to also consider the attitudes of recruitment agencies to migrant workers, as they can often mediate access to employers. A New Zealand study which submitted equivalent résumés to technology recruitment companies other than the name of the candidates – native born Brian Miller and migrant Hau-Jie Li – found that the migrant candidate was significantly less likely to be contacted than the native-born candidate (Ward & Masgoret, 2007). These findings are similar to those previously discussed for employers.

In some cases, employers recruit directly from offshore, in partnership with recruitment or employment agencies in the target country. This strategy usually stems from previous positive experiences with migrant workers that have involved well-established, reliable organisations. Cases involving private agencies or employers undertaking this role themselves have sometimes proved more challenging. As described in a UK study, employers were seeking to recruit workers directly from the "accession states" or A8 countries.¹⁶ In one case, an agriculture sector employer had established a recruitment office in Latvia that advertises jobs in the local press, receives and filters applications, undertakes

¹⁶ The countries that joined the EU in 2004 are known as A8 countries or accession states. These are the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

local reference checks and helps applicants prepare and translate their CV. Applicants with job offers were also provided with seminars about living and working in the UK and what to expect. Flights were arranged by the employer and the new recruits were met at the UK airport by a Latvian worker. Enrolment and deployment fees were charged to migrant workers to cover costs.

The role of well-established, reliable organisations as an intermediary is highlighted in the International Organization for Migration's (IOM) work with the private sector and could be a model for international recruitment. IOM and Maple Leaf Foods of Canada have signed bilateral agreements relating to IOM's assistance in facilitating safe and legal Colombian labour migration to Canada for Maple Leaf. For the facilitation of Honduran and Mauritian labour migration for the company, IOM and Maple Leaf have signed trilateral agreements including the respective governments. IOM assists in the identification of potential workers, the documentation, and in their preparation and travel to Canada.

Recruitment and employment agencies are an often used channel for the recruitment of migrant workers. Therefore government policies and initiatives should not only be aimed at employers but agencies too. This appears to be a gap in most IGC Participating States. As mentioned above, some countries and international bodies have established mechanisms aimed at ensuring recruitment and employment agencies are implementing good practice, specifically in relation to the facilitation of employment of migrant workers.

Public employment services

Public no-fee employment services exist in most IGC Participating States. Examples include JobCentre Plus in the UK, Bundesagentur für Arbeit (Federal Employment Agency) in Germany, Employment and Economic Development Office (Työ- ja elinkeinotoimisto) in Finland, Job Services Australia, and Work and Income New Zealand.

In Canada, www.workingincanada.gc.ca allows employers to post jobs and to search for candidates, both domestic and potential migrants. It is considered to be the most widely used public job-bank for employers to recruit migrants and temporary workers (IOM, 2012a). However, in Germany, the public employment service plays less of a role in migrant recruitment, mostly due to lack of trust between employers and the service, and between migrants and the service (IOM, 2012a).

In general, migrant employers do not place heavy reliance on this intermediary because they have already dismissed domestic workforce options or find that the applicants received through public employment services are not suited to the positions offered (Dench et al., 2006; Evalua Research, 2010). Martin (2006a) notes that public employment services have become less important over time as the employment services and recruitment services industries have expanded.

Networks and word of mouth

The use of networks more generally by employers, particularly SMEs, can act against migrant workers. Informal networks and social networks used by employers for recruitment generally tend to exclude migrants (Liu, 2007). However, several studies point to employers using migrant networks as an avenue for recruitment.

Recruitment through migrant networks tends to occur more in lower-skilled positions and in specific sectors. In a New Zealand study, the use of networks of existing employees as a recruitment strategy was almost never used for managerial, professional and skilled positions, but was used in lower-skilled positions (North, 2007). Although in the UK finance sector, interpersonal contact networks and professional networks are common methods of recruitment for senior managers (Jones, 2010).

Word of mouth and referrals from friends and employees were also commonly used in the UK and USA hospitality sector (Geddes & Scott, 2010; Johnson-Webb, 2004); the UK business administration sector (Dench et al., 2006); the UK, Irish, Italian and Swiss construction sectors (Chan, Clarke, & Dainty, 2010; Dench et al., 2006; Fellini, Ferro, & Fullin, 2007; Krings et al., 2011); in Sweden (Pärlemo et al., 2012); in New Zealand (Podsiadlowski, 2007b); and across a number of industry sectors¹⁷ in British Columbia, Canada (IEC BC, 2012). Even for larger hotels, recruitment practices are informal – mostly word of mouth or local advertisements – and unstructured interviews are used for selection. However, chain hotels were more likely to use standardised application forms and selection methods.

Within the construction sector in Italy, Portugal and Switzerland, it has been commented that the high prevalence of family ownership of businesses has meant that there is a reliance on more informal recruitment strategies, like word of mouth and personal/ethnic networks (Fellini et al., 2007).

Humanitarian migrants are also often dependent upon networks and word of mouth for gaining employment (Hurstfield et al., 2004), as they often have less access to employers and the labour market. Employers may prefer not, in the first instance, to consider humanitarian migrants due to uncertainty about their immigration and worker status. In New Zealand, a recent study found that the most common way refugees got their job was through friends and relatives (40 per cent) (Searle et al., 2012). Others answered job advertisements (18 per cent) or contacted an employer directly (16 per cent). Interviews with 116 refugees in the UK also found that friends were the most-used avenue for gaining employment; however, it was warned that this often led to humanitarian migrants being employed in the lower-skilled end of the labour market (Brahmbhatt et al., 2007).

In the USA, employers in the North Carolina hospitality sector used word of mouth and social networks of incumbent employees to recruit migrant Hispanic workers (Johnson-Webb, 2004). North Carolina employers found networks of incumbents to be a superior recruitment strategy as they believed this yielded better quality employees as the employee does the filtering.

While these networks act as an advantage for migrant workers, they also serve to increase the concentration of migrants in specific sectors and types of jobs (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2006).

Migrants can also feel pressure from employers to select the “right” applicants, and this is especially so for migrants using temporary seasonal worker programmes who do not have automatic rights of return. The evaluation of the New Zealand Recognised Seasonal

¹⁷ Construction, manufacturing, mining, technology, retail, tourism and hospitality, trucking, and oil and gas.

Employer scheme commented that workers felt pressure and responsibility to use their own networks wisely and do a good job at recruitment to ensure that they could return in subsequent seasons (Evaluate Research, 2010).

Personal and migrant networks can also lead to irregular work and migration. For example, 20 employers in the clothing and restaurant sector in the UK spoke of the pressure to help relatives who come to the country illegally and felt an obligation to employ them (Ram et al., 2002). Employers in this study tended to use more informal recruitment strategies, relying heavily on asking employees, friends and family if they knew anyone requiring work.

Governments tend to address these more informal recruitment practices via signposting of good human resources and recruitment practices, development of public employment services and databases of potential applicants, and raising employer awareness of the pitfalls and advantages of such networks.

Sub-contracting

The literature points to sub-contracting occurring more so in the construction sector than other sectors, mostly due to the way work is now arranged in the sector internationally. For example, construction of infrastructure and larger projects tends to be led by a large, sometimes multi-national, project management company which outsources individual tasks of the production process to smaller companies.

Subcontracting can take four main forms (Fellini et al., 2007):

sub-contracting to companies who employ migrant workers already living in the country

- sub-contracting to foreign firms
- sub-contracting to the foreign self-employed
- sub-contracting to recruitment and employment agencies (as already discussed).

Differences are also present in different countries. For example, recruitment and employment agencies play less of a role in Italy, as they have only recently been introduced. In Germany there was a tendency to use foreign sub-contractors, mostly due to the influence of bilateral agreements with some Eastern European countries and Turkey (Fellini et al., 2007).

Higher-skilled workers tend to be employed by the larger project management companies, while those in trades and general labouring positions tend to be employed by sub-contractors and employment agencies (Krings et al., 2011).

Sub-contracting is often used as a cost-saving strategy. There is evidence of the sub-contracting of migrant workers leading to payment of wages below minimum rates and cash payments in Ireland (Krings et al., 2011). Governments have sought to tackle these practices through establishment of minimum wages and conditions of employment. In the case of Ireland, Registered Employment Agreements are in place, which are a collective agreement relating to the remuneration or conditions of employment of a particular class, type or group of workers, which is registered with the Labour Court. The provisions of such agreements are legally binding to the parties and to sub-contractors.

Bilateral agreements and intermediaries for specific schemes

Free-market labour agreements and agreements between sending and receiving countries for labour (usually of a temporary nature) also facilitate the recruitment of migrant workers.

While the Philippines is not an IGC Participating State it is a key sending country for many IGC Participating States. The Philippine Overseas Employment Administration is a government agency which regulates recruitment (including registering of employers which hire Filipino workers), checks worker contracts and provides pre-departure orientation to migrants. Its activities are financed through processing and membership fees (Martin, 2006a; Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, 2009). Philippine law makes foreign employers jointly liable with Filipino recruiters to fulfil the provisions of their contracts.

The Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme in the UK allows workers to enter the UK for seasonal agricultural work for farmers and growers. The scheme is administered for the UK Home Office by operators who are recruitment agencies, but in some cases are individual employers who recruit for their own needs. Employers specify their general preferences to operators (for example, number of workers required, gender and nationality preferences, etc.) and the operators deal with the recruitment and selection process. They contact and recruit employees and undertake the administration and paperwork so that it takes the burden away from employers (Dench et al., 2006).

In New Zealand, in the Recognised Seasonal Employer programme, the government has relationships with sending countries (Pacific Island states) so that appropriate workers are recruited and filtered (Evaluate Research, 2010). For employers, the provisions for return employees are an important part of these programmes, so they do not have to spend more time re-recruiting and training employees that have worked with them in earlier seasons (Evaluate Research, 2010; Martin, 2006b).

The Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program in Canada matches workers from Mexico and the Caribbean countries with Canadian farmers who need temporary support during planting and harvesting seasons, when qualified Canadians or permanent residents are not available. The federal Human Resources and Skills Development Canada manages the programme for Citizenship and Immigration Canada. In Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime provinces, the private sector, not-for-profit organisation Foreign Agricultural Resource Management Services (F.A.R.M.S.) plays an administrative role for employers for a fee of CA\$35 per worker, paid by the employer. It works with the governments of sending countries, makes travel plans for farmworkers and works with Canadian government staff to ensure that work permits for farmworkers are processed. Martin (2006a) considers that the best practice aspects of this programme include the active involvement of farm employers in programme design and administration, the Mexican government's involvement in migrant recruitment, and monitoring of their conditions in Canada and health insurance coverage. However, there are some aspects of the programme that could be improved, particularly the working conditions and rights of migrants (Gibb, 2006).

Initiatives for migrants and humanitarian migrants

An Australian review of approaches that facilitate employment for humanitarian entrants commented on the benefits of intermediate labour market programmes (Olliff, 2010). These include private and publicly funded programmes and voluntary sector organisations that

bridge humanitarian entrants into longer-term employment. The review provided a useful mapping of different services in operation at the local level which target humanitarian migrants. The approaches used by these services include:

- individual casework and referral to other services
- work experience placements
- support with applying for work; job search, applications and interview skills
- advocating and liaising with employers
- orientation to Australian work culture and systems
- career advice, guidance and planning
- mentoring
- post-employment support
- employing bicultural or bilingual workers within employment services
- addressing racism and discrimination in employment and the wider community (Olliff, 2010).

Organisations in Australia tended to provide some of these services, and no one organisation provided an entire suite of services. Olliff (2010) recommends greater investment in social enterprise initiatives, and traineeships and apprenticeships, as ways to improve the intermediate labour market.

Refugees and asylum seekers tend to have quite different rights when it comes to employment. Those who have been granted refugee status are afforded similar rights as citizens and other migrant workers when it comes to working, while asylum seekers are often not able to work, or at least not until some months after they have applied for asylum. Because employers do not tend to target humanitarian migrants specifically (as discussed above), the role of voluntary sector organisations, as it applies to employers, is often to educate employers and actively facilitate work placements for migrants (either paid or as work experience). They may also have a role in facilitating employment by undertaking the often onerous and difficult task of checking documentation of refugees (Hurstfield et al., 2004).

In many cases, the role of the employer can often be provision of work placements to enhance future employability. In some cases, employers' experiences of unpaid work-placement refugees may lead directly to paid positions (Hurstfield et al., 2004), or it may be that having a track record of practical work in their new host country enhances the chances of migrants securing other jobs in the future.

Many organisations at the local level in IGC Participating States have been established in both the public and private sectors to facilitate migrants (and humanitarian entrants) into the workforce through the use of mentor programmes and internships/work placements. These initiatives strike at the heart of employers' requirements for local work experience. Work placements have a crucial role to play in facilitating future employment and increasing the employability of humanitarian and other migrants. While the initiatives are not employer-led they provide a balancing role between migrants and potential employers. It has been stated that the most successful work experience programmes are the ones which directly involve

employers, and that incentives for employer participation should be considered (Alboim & McIsaac, 2007).

Good practice examples include the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC) in Toronto, Canada (Exhibit 2); the Skilled Migrant Programme at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand (Exhibit 3); Talent Pool in Calgary, Canada (Exhibit 4); and specifically for humanitarian migrants, Given the Chance and Building Bridges in Melbourne, Australia (Exhibit 5); and the Federal European Social Fund Right to Stay programme in Germany (Exhibit 6). It should be noted that few evaluations of such mechanisms are readily accessible in order for other governments and operators to learn from them. Evaluations of the two refugee programmes described in Exhibit 5 and Exhibit 6 have been completed and are in the minority. It is recommended that such programmes be regularly monitored and evaluated. TRIEC and Assisting Local Leaders with Immigrant Employment Strategies (ALLIES) recommend that such programmes should also be rolled out nationwide (ALLIES, 2011; McIsaac, 2010). The Settlement Council of Australia (2012) also notes that many work experience programmes only allow participation of the not-for profit sector, and should be expanded to the private sector.

While there are some very good examples of partnership arrangements between the public sector and predominantly migrant associations, not-for-profit organisations and community organisations, funding bases are often short-term and unpredictable. Because support can be provided by many different organisations, support can be fragmented and confusing for employers and migrant workers alike. The Immigrant Employment Council of British Columbia (IEC BC) concluded, as part of their employer consultation exercise, that while governments are funding local agencies to help migrants into employment, there appears to be a disconnect between those agencies and employers (IEC BC, 2012). The local agencies were the least frequently used option for recruitment of migrants.

Exhibit 2: Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC)

TRIEC is a multi-stakeholder council that works to create and champion better solutions for the integration of migrants into the Toronto region labour market. It is funded by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration, and the Ontario Trillium Foundation. It is also sponsored by a number of large businesses in the region (in 2011-12 sponsors included Manulife Financial, Royal Bank of Canada, Scotiabank and Steam Whistle).

TRIEC is staffed by about 20 people, governed by a board of directors and the Council is led by employees from Royal Bank of Canada.

For employers, initiatives provided by TRIEC include:

- a new online learning hub – the TRIEC Campus, www.trieccampus.ca – offering free, self-paced resources to support businesses, managers and staff in today's culturally diverse workplace (also includes training videos)
- working with the Consortium of Agencies Serving Internationally-trained Persons and other community partners to better connect migrants with meaningful work
- The Mentoring Partnership
 - The programme brings together recent skilled migrants and established professionals in occupation-specific mentoring relationships. Includes coaching, online self-development resources and assistance in networking.
 - Now operating for over six years in the Toronto Region, TRIEC has facilitated close to 1,000

- mentoring relationships between skilled migrants and established Canadian professionals each year.
- An evaluation has found that almost 70 per cent of participants found employment in their field within three months.
- The programme has been used as the model for the National Mentoring Initiative, which expands support to migrants in cities other than Toronto.
- Career Bridge paid internship programme, operated by Career Edge Organization
 - Paid mid-level professional positions (between 4 and 12 months). Includes a workplace coach to provide intern with on-the-job coaching, knowledge sharing, networking opportunities and professional guidance. Over 1,650 skilled migrants have participated in the programme.

Source: <http://triec.ca/> and IOM (2012a)

Exhibit 3: Skilled Migrant Programme – “Workplace Communication for Skilled Migrants”, Victoria University of Wellington

An important component of settling and integrating successfully involves learning new ways, and building new networks and friendships with locals who can “show you the ropes” and pass on advice. However, integration is not a one-way process of adjustment. Welcoming, helpful locals are a key ingredient for any migrant’s success in a new country. This is where the Victoria University of Wellington’s Skilled Migrant Programme stands apart from most other migrant employment interventions.



The programme combines the academic expertise of the University’s School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies tutors, the human resources specialisation of a local recruitment company, The Johnson Group, and the skilled volunteer mentoring of members of the Rotary Club of Wellington.

Course participants are professionally qualified migrants to New Zealand who have been unable to obtain work commensurate with their skills despite many endeavours.

The essential elements of the Skilled Migrant Programme are:

- **Internship.** The internship module is crucial. It gives participants on-the-job experience and serves as their first rung on the New Zealand employment ladder. A critical component is that internships are well planned and well supported.
- **Classroom.** The classroom module serves both as a preparation for internship and for future employment.
- **Authentic language.** For many participants, fluency is not a major problem. Their difficulty is that the English that they know is not the English of the New Zealand professional workplace. Ironically, the problem may not be so acute for non-fluent speakers, since employers and others may make allowances for their obvious unfamiliarity with English. Nevertheless, they too need to discover customary usage. The Language in the Workplace Team, also based at Victoria University of Wellington, has a body of research that identifies exactly what language people use in New Zealand workplaces, and how and in what circumstances they use it. This research informs the content of the Skilled Migrant Programme tuition.
- **Personalised instruction.** One-to-one conversation and interview practice with native speakers is arranged for the internship placement in a New Zealand workplace. This has a major impact on improving participants’ performance.
- **Volunteer mentors.** Institutions that offer communication courses for skilled migrants will struggle to staff the courses fully. Partly it is a question of resources and funding. Internship organisation and support require considerable resources. Personal instruction is expensive. Partly it is a question of the range of skills and knowledge needed among instructors. For instance, experts in teaching of

pragmatics and workplace English may not be experts in current interview and selection practices. Volunteers working as conversation and interview tutors, visiting lecturers, and mentors, and helping to locate internships add greatly to the success of the model. Fortunately, New Zealand has a large number of service clubs with members who have skills and knowledge appropriate to the tasks that are needed. In this case, the Rotary Club of Wellington provides volunteer mentors.

Since the inception of the Skilled Migrant Programme in April 2005, the programme has assisted up to 50 skilled migrants each year with eligibility to live and work in New Zealand. Eighty per cent of participants have been placed in work as a result of the programme.

The programme is partly funded by the Wellington Region Work and Income, Ministry of Social Development.

Source: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/lals/eli/skilled-migrant-programme>

Exhibit 4: Talent Pool, Canada

Talent Pool was created to bridge the gap between the demand for skilled workers and skilled people who were under-employed or unemployed. Talent Pool:

- encourages organisations to hire new migrants and give them a Canadian experience
- provides information via a website for employers to help them access underutilised pools of talent, including new migrants
- provides employers with information on how to evaluate foreign credentials and international education
- provides quick, cost-effective access to qualified candidates.

Source: Public Policy Forum (2004) and <http://www.chambertalentpool.com/>

Exhibit 5: “Given the Chance” and “Building Bridges”, Australia

Given the Chance is a targeted programme for refugee and humanitarian entrants. It was developed by the Ecumenical Migration Centre at the Brotherhood of St Laurence in 2002 in response to refugees' need to have the best chance of engaging in meaningful and sustainable employment. It is sponsored by a number of employers, community and philanthropic organisations, with some additional funding from the state government.

It applies a multi-disciplinary case management approach, guiding participants into the following integrated and specialised support services:

- pre-employment training, including Australian workplace culture preparation
- supported business and personal mentoring
- employment placements with support for trainees and optional advice for employers through the Building Bridges programme
- employment opportunities ranging from accounts and customer service to administration and health care.

More than two-thirds of Given the Chance participants go on to find employment or undertake study to improve their chances of finding work and build useful skills.

In response to some of the challenges faced in delivering Given the Chance, Building Bridges was established in August 2007. Building Bridges is a training resource for employers of refugees participating in the Given the Chance programme. It gives managers, mentors and buddies the skills they need to successfully integrate refugees into their workplace.

Building Bridges gives employers the right tools and strategies to overcome difficulties such as awareness

of the standards of work, cultural differences in the workplace, and the effects of refugee experiences.

Building Bridges offers:

- four training modules that look at refugee experiences, cultural differences and strategies to work with these issues
- a resource manual for managers, line managers and supervisors
- on-the-job learning tools to help create and review goals
- ongoing support for employers and managers
- training in career development and people skills for managers.



Source: Olliff (2010), Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2008),
<http://www.bsl.org.au/Services/Refugees-and-migrants/Given-the-Chance.aspx> and
<http://www.bsl.org.au/Services/Refugees-and-settlement/Building-Bridges>

Exhibit 6: The European Social Fund XENOS Programme of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany

The main aim and objective of the programme is to support refugees with “right to stay” status to gain access to job opportunities and acquire qualified training with institutions. Funded via the European Social Fund, the programme sought to encourage co-operation amongst partners (in networks and projects with several implementing organisations) to deliver services to refugees. The services provided must combine:

- labour market advisory activities to enhance the competencies of refugees to improve their employment chances
- advisory, informational and liaison activities to motivate enterprises for recruitment and long-term stabilisation and security of jobs for refugees with a right to stay
- information and raising awareness of actors in the labour market, and relevant public sector actors.

Each funded project was run differently but many projects included awareness-raising amongst (prospective) employers. This included:

- advice to (prospective) employers
- provision of direct advice to employers at the local level, and getting employers on board
- raising general awareness of employers
- matching refugees and enterprises; customised placement
- measures for stabilising employment relationships
- acquisition of employers through public relations
- operating a job exchange.

A distinctive feature of the projects was co-operation with external partners. Eighty-one per cent of projects evaluated partnered with employment agencies. Chambers of commerce and industry, crafts chambers and other employers’ associations and organisations also played a role.

The evaluation commented that direct co-operation with enterprises/potential employers was critical for project success. The evaluation found that:

- 24 per cent of projects co-operate with partner companies that frequently provide traineeships, training places or jobs for refugees
- 44 per cent had contact with enterprises that occasionally provide these placements

- 32 per cent of implementing agencies indicated that these contacts were generally ad hoc and reactive.

On average, projects had about 21 employers which frequently provide training, traineeships and jobs. About 80 employers were also on databases that did this occasionally.

It was concluded that a success factor of the programme in general was the highly tailored and individualised service delivery by the networks. Specifically in relation to employers it was commented that implementing agencies are most likely to succeed when they have established long-term relationships and contact with enterprises or have partner companies they can work with.

Source: Mirbach and Schobert (2011)

Summary

In general, public employment services are not a common channel for the recruitment of migrant workers. Recruitment strategies frequently used by employers to hire migrant workers are recruitment and employment agencies, networks and word of mouth, sub-contracting, and intermediaries established for some migration categories. Each of these strategies has advantages and disadvantages. For example, recruitment agencies can help ease the administrative burden for employers and provide them access to a large pool of migrant workers; however, there is some evidence that some recruitment agencies are operating discriminatory practices. Migrants already in employment are often used by employers to gain access to more migrant workers, but often migrants feel pressure to identify appropriate workers (and fear reprisal) and this strategy can further segment migrants in certain sectors and positions.

Various initiatives and mechanisms are in place in IGC Participating States to mitigate some of these risks, such as minimum wages and conditions, employer guidance and codes of practice for recruitment agencies. Voluntary sector organisations and partnerships between government and private sector providers are also playing a greater role in the intermediate labour market. Good practice mentorship programmes, work placement programmes and awareness-raising and education programmes specifically tailored for employers are in operation at the local level in some IGC Participating States. Longer-term funding and ensuring support is co-ordinated and easily accessible to employers are some of the challenges faced.

The employer's role in facilitating employment and country entry

Once an employer makes the decision to recruit a migrant worker, their role usually relates to the conditions attached to work permits and schemes on which migrants enter or have entered the country. Most studies of employers and their use of schemes suggest that employers are not always clear what schemes they use to recruit migrants, they find the immigration system complex, and they do not tend to pro-actively seek information about

schemes and work permits until they need to recruit a migrant worker (Dench et al., 2006; North, 2007).

Work permits

Work permits usually involve the employer sponsoring the migrant worker to enter, or stay in, the country. Work permits tend to be appropriate for more highly skilled jobs and can be used for intra-company transfers. As such, certain sectors are more likely to use work permits. The UK Home Office commissioned study found that the hotels and catering; administration, business and management; and finance and accountancy sectors used work permits, while the construction and agricultural sector employers did not (Dench et al., 2006).

Work permits place more onus on the employer to apply for the permit (in contrast to high-skilled migrant programmes). Many employers contended that they took on the person who was most appropriate for the job, regardless of whether they had a work permit or not. However, other employers stated that they were not prepared to employ someone who did not have permission to work (Dench et al., 2006). The majority of employers in the UK study found the process of applying for a work permit time-consuming and bureaucratic. Verification of documents was a particular issue. Many employers had to seek the advice of specialist consultants, at a cost, as they found it too complex to do themselves.

For employers in the hotels and catering sector, work permits were preferable to other schemes due to their longer-term nature, but they could not hire migrants in lower-skilled jobs through the scheme (Dench et al., 2006).

Work permits in different jurisdictions and for different categories can be easier to obtain. For example, the USA Conrad 30 Waiver programme allows J-1 medical doctors to apply for a waiver for the two-year residence requirement upon completion of the J-1 exchange visitor programme. The J-1 medical doctor must obtain sponsorship from a state health department. Employers and physicians interviewed preferred the programme over other programmes because approval times were faster (Hagoplan, Thompson, Kaltenbach, & Hart, 2003).

In Sweden where substantial migration policy change came into effect in December 2008, the worker applies for the permit and must include details of their new Swedish employer (name, contact, and address), salary (who pays it, and how much), job (duties and hours), the employer's offer of employment, and where the job is subject to a labour market test, confirmation that the job has been published in the appropriate channels (OECD, 2011b).

In Norway, employers can, with power of attorney from the employee, apply for a residence permit. The employer can also apply for residence permits without power of attorney by using the early work commencement scheme (Pärlemo et al., 2012). This applies to specialist employees with specific expertise or a salary of at least NOK 500,000 per year.

High-skilled migrant programmes

Most high-skilled migrant programmes permit the employee to legally work in the receiving country regardless of the occupation or sector they are eventually employed in, as long as they have certain characteristics. Some IGC Participating States operate this supply-driven migration system, and the majority of their permanent migrants enter through these means.

Australia, New Zealand and Canada are examples, although recent policy developments place more emphasis on prior job offers (OECD, 2011b). Denmark introduced a “Green Card Scheme” in 2008 using a point system which issues a three-year residence permit to foreign nationals which allows them to seek and take employment in Denmark (Sorensen et al., 2011). Points are allocated for educational level, language skills, work experience, adaptability and age. The Netherlands also has a job-search permit for highly educated migrants (OECD, 2011b).

For these programmes, employers have no role other than checking eligibility. From an employer perspective this is positive as they do not have to undertake any additional specific paperwork.

In some cases, other organisations play a role in the application process, rather than employers. For example, the UK’s Tier 1 (Exceptional talent) category requires the endorsement of a “designated competent body” – the Royal Society, Arts Council England, British Academy and Royal Academy of Engineering.

Seasonal worker programmes

Seasonal worker or guestworker programmes have operated in most IGC Participating States over the last 80 years. Two of the largest programmes between 1940 and the mid-1970s were the USA Bracero programme and Germany’s Gastarbeiter programme. In some years annual admissions under the Bracero programme almost reached half a million, while Gastarbeiter brought almost a million (Preibisch, 2010). In the last 20 years temporary worker policies have evolved with more of a focus on smaller-scale programmes which target skills in a narrow range of sectors.

Seasonal worker programmes in IGC Participating States tend to be highly structured and require employers to play a more active role in policy implementation and provision of employee facilities (such as accommodation and transport). In part this is to mitigate concerns about exploitation of temporary migrant workers who can be particularly vulnerable. It also mitigates seasonal migrant workers being substitutes for local workers. The programmes can also have development assistance aims. For example, one of the policy aims of the Recognised Seasonal Employer scheme is to encourage Pacific economic development. It allows for the temporary entry of offshore workers to work in the horticulture and viticulture industry and preference is given to workers from the Pacific Islands. Other temporary and circular migration programmes in Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Sweden and the UK are linked to the development of, and co-operation with, third countries (European Migration Network, 2011b).

Martin (2006b) notes that most industrialised countries are shifting responsibility for seasonal worker programmes to employers. Employers, rather than unions and industry associations, are developing programme requirements and regulations. Some governments are also reducing their level of oversight. For example, in Canada the user-funded, private organisation F.A.R.M.S. handles many tasks that governments in other countries are responsible for. However, Martin (2006b) warns that when there is a high employer role in programme design, rather than workers and unions, there is a concern that worker protection is overlooked, and there should be an ongoing role for government to ensure minimum standards.

Most seasonal worker programmes require a labour market test to be met and for the employer to provide accommodation, but there are variances between countries as to whether seasonal migrants pay the costs of accommodation and air travel to the destination. Table 6 outlines seasonal worker programmes across IGC Participating States and the extent to which programmes require employers to provide accommodation and travel.

Evaluations of these programmes have been undertaken to examine the effectiveness of these programmes on intended policy outcomes, the effects on migrant workers, and to uncover delivery lessons for employers. In the UK study a few farmers commented that they had encountered logistical problems in providing accommodation, including planning and cost issues (Dench et al., 2006). For some, the initial cost of providing accommodation was more than they had expected, as well as the cost of ongoing maintenance and servicing. Employers who are relatively new to the scheme also commented that they offer considerable personal support to their employees, including medical and dental treatment support.

Table 6: Seasonal and temporary worker programmes

Country	Programme name	Admissions and ceilings	Sending countries	Industries	Employer requirements			Comments
					Labour market test	Free housing	Free transport	
Australia	Seasonal Worker Programme	Capped at 12,000 over four years 1,550 visas in 2012	East Timor, Kiribati, Nauru, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu	Horticulture Tourism (accommodation), sugar cane, cotton and aquaculture in limited locations	Yes	No Workers will pay for these costs, but they need to be reasonably priced	Maybe Pay the full cost upfront, and later recoup a proportion of that cost from workers	Open from 1 July 2012 to 30 June 2016. It replaces the Pacific Seasonal Worker Pilot Scheme which ceased on 30 June 2012
Belgium	No specific programme, but there are seasonal worker (agriculture and horticulture) permits granted for stays of 65 days or less. In the past Belgium has signed guest worker agreements with many countries (for example, Italy, Spain, Greece, Morocco, Turkey, Tunisia, Algeria and Yugoslavia). These agreements ended in the mid-1970s.							
Canada	Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program	No cap Approx. 18,000 per annum	Mexico, Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Trinidad and Tobago	On-farm primary agriculture and to sectors included under the national commodities list	Yes	Yes	No A portion of this cost can be recovered through payroll deductions in all provinces except British Columbia	In British Columbia a proportion of housing costs can be deducted from workers' wages

Country	Programme name	Admissions and ceilings	Sending countries	Industries	Employer requirements			Comments
					Labour market test	Free housing	Free transport	
Denmark	No specific programme Between the late 1960s and 1973, Danish companies imported guest workers, especially from Turkey, Pakistan, Yugoslavia, and Morocco							
Finland	No specific programme Only berry, fruit and vegetable pickers whose employment relationship lasts for a maximum of three months may work in Finland without a residence permit Seasonal work (Work Without a Residence Permit)							
France	Seasonal foreign worker programme	No cap 15,000 per annum	Tunisia, Morocco, and Poland	Agriculture	Yes	Yes		
Germany	Seasonal workers	No cap 295,000 per annum	New EU Member States; an agreement with the labour administration of Bulgaria deals only with employment in the hotel and restaurant sector. A similar agreement exists with the labour administration of Croatia.	Fruit, vegetable, hop and tobacco farms and vineyards	Yes	Maybe	Maybe	Seasonal workers have contracts that may or may not provide housing and other services. As part of the reform of immigration law, the ban on recruiting unskilled foreign workers (those without at least three years of occupational training) remains in place, especially due to the large proportion of unemployed who have not completed

Country	Programme name	Admissions and ceilings	Sending countries	Industries	Employer requirements			Comments
					Labour market test	Free housing	Free transport	
								occupational training. The employer may use foreign seasonal workers for no more than eight months per calendar year.
Greece	Seasonal work	25,000 per annum	Albania Egypt	Agriculture Fisheries				Maximum time period of six months, per calendar year. The seasonal worker is employed by a specific employer on a fixed-term employment relationship. The contract must mention the kind of occupation of the migrant. The renewal of the residence permit is not possible. The entry, residence and the time period of seasonal work are determined by the bilateral or multilateral agreements between Greece and other countries.

Country	Programme name	Admissions and ceilings	Sending countries	Industries	Employer requirements			Comments
					Labour market test	Free housing	Free transport	
Ireland	No specific policy. “There is no evidence of seasonal non-EU migration on any significant scale and immigration-related incentives for circular migration do not exist” (Quinn, 2011, p. vi). There is a specific policy focus on educational tourism and international students.							
Netherlands	The Blue Birds pilot circular migration		South Africa Indonesia	Experienced employees at MBO level or highly educated starters that did not come under the Highly Skilled Migrants Scheme				The pilot circular migration that was started in December 2009 will end on 1 September 2011. Applications that were submitted before 1 June will be settled on the basis of the criteria that apply to the pilot.
	Seasonal labour project	104,000	Eastern Europe	Agriculture Horticulture	Yes			2002 to 2007: Project between the Dutch Organisation for Agriculture and Horticulture in co-operation with the Centre for Work and Income.
New Zealand	Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme	Capped at 8,000 a year In 2010-11, 7,091 RSE workers arrived (in the first	Federated States of Micronesia, Kiribati, Nauru, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Republic	Planting, maintaining, harvesting, or packing crops in the horticulture or	Yes	No Access to suitable accommodation, food and health services, at a	No Pay for half the return airfare between	

Country	Programme name	Admissions and ceilings	Sending countries	Industries	Employer requirements			Comments
					Labour market test	Free housing	Free transport	
		season 2007-08, 4,486 RSE workers arrived)	of Marshall Islands, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu	viticulture industries		reasonable cost	New Zealand and the RSE worker's country of residence	
Norway	Seasonal worker	Capped 2,500 permits to seasonal work in the agriculture and forestry industries		Forestry, agriculture, the fish processing industry, plant nurseries and the restaurant and tourism industries				
Spain		Each year, a specific number is estimated outlining how many third country nationals are allowed to work temporarily in Spain that year.		Agriculture, hotel, services, commerce, trade and more recently, technical areas	Yes	Maybe Employers have to provide adequate housing, pay and organise travel.	No Employers have to provide adequate housing, pay and organise travel.	Spain does not have special temporary worker programmes but a general framework within the Organic Law 4/2000 to make issuance of residence and work permits easier for seasonal workers.
Sweden	Seasonal workers Receive the same permit as	7,143 (2009) 4,471 (2010)	No specific countries, but tend to be Thailand, Ukraine, China, Bangladesh and	Agriculture, horticulture	Yes	No	No	Starting in 2011, employers must have a subsidiary office registered in Sweden, demonstrate their

Country	Programme name	Admissions and ceilings	Sending countries	Industries	Employer requirements			Comments
					Labour market test	Free housing	Free transport	
	any other foreign worker recruited by a Swedish employer		Vietnam					ability to pay workers, even if the season is poor, and present payslips from prior years to receive new authorisation. They are not required, however, to secure housing for the workers or to guarantee their return. Foreign businesses hiring to a Swedish company are exempt from the labour market test.
Switzerland		Capped at 1,000			Yes	Yes		
United Kingdom	Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme (SAWS)	Capped at 21,250 (2012 and 2013)			Yes	Yes	No	Before 2007 SAWS applied to students from outside the EEA, but since 2008 the scheme has been restricted to Bulgarian and Romanian nationals, as part of the transitional controls on migration from those countries when they joined the EU. Those

Country	Programme name	Admissions and ceilings	Sending countries	Industries	Employer requirements			Comments
					Labour market test	Free housing	Free transport	
								restrictions will be lifted in 2013.
United States	H-2A Temporary Agricultural Workers	No cap 45,000	H-2A Eligible Countries List		Yes	Yes	Yes	
United States	H-2B Temporary Non-Agricultural Workers	66,000 per fiscal year, with 33,000 to be allocated for employment beginning in the 1st half of the fiscal year (1 October – 31 March) and 33,000 to be allocated for employment beginning in the 2nd half of the fiscal year (1 April – 30 September)	H-2B Eligible Countries List		Yes			

Source: National immigration websites and various documents (Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations, 2012; European Migration Network, 2011a; Evaluate Research, 2010; Federal Ministry of the Interior, 2011; Hedetoft, 2006; Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, 2013; International Labour Organization, 2009a; Karafolas, 2012; Martin, 2006b; Merwood, 2012; Minority Rights Group International, 2011; Norwegian Directorate of Immigration, 2012; Quinn, 2011; Siegel & van der Vorst, 2012)

These findings are echoed in an evaluation of New Zealand's Recognised Seasonal Employer scheme. In the first season, two-thirds of employers surveyed reported problems or difficulties in providing pastoral care (helping workers access suitable accommodation, linking them to community groups and services such as health care, shops and banks) (Evaluate Research, 2010). However, by the second season this flipped to almost the same percentage (63 per cent) reporting no problems. Shortage of suitable accommodation in the first season was one of the key challenges faced by employers and as a result some were considering investing more in accommodation for subsequent seasons.

As part of the New Zealand scheme, employers are to provide pastoral care to workers, and a variety of arrangements are used including contracting in specific skills and individuals with the same background as the workers, using existing workers, using an accommodation manager in a dual role, and contracting other local workers to provide pastoral care (Evaluate Research, 2010). Local initiatives in collaboration with sending nations have been developed and sharing of pastoral care workers between employers has filled gaps in provision.

A study of the Canadian programme revealed that worker housing conditions were sometimes not acceptable, including lack of indoor bathrooms, too many people in a small space, lack of privacy and lack of appropriate food and clothing storage facilities (Gibb, 2006). The study recommended a number of changes including updating of housing guidelines and increasing the frequency of housing inspections.

Recruitment arrangements differ between programmes. The Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program allows employers to choose the nationality and gender of their migrant workers. This approach has been criticised as continuing the rationalisation and gender segmentation of the agricultural sector, and divisions between worker groups (Preibisch, 2010). This can also lead to discrimination of migrant workers, as previously discussed.

In the main, employers across IGC Participating States are complementary of seasonal worker programmes that have been developed and implemented. Some employers do find it challenging to meet requirements in relation to provision of accommodation and pastoral care, and there is some evidence to suggest that some migrant workers are being exploited and living in sub-standard conditions. Employer education and regular monitoring of employers is used by governments to mitigate these risks.

Student visas, temporary worker, working holiday makers schemes

A number of other schemes operate in IGC Participating States for more temporary migration including working holidays, temporary worker programmes and working holiday makers schemes, and employers often recruit migrant workers with these visas and permits. In general, employers find these types of schemes useful because they usually do not have specific employer requirements, but generally perceive them as less effective than other programmes and schemes because of their usually short time frames. Employers are often confused about the different time frames, especially when there have been recent policy changes (Dench et al., 2006). Employers are usually concerned about the level of training they provide migrant workers in these categories, and the knowledge they gain while working, given they will then be required to leave the country.

However, temporary migrants can be attractive for some employers in certain sectors as they can be matched with the seasonal, project-based or unpredictable nature of demand

(Anderson & Ruhs, 2010; Lucas & Mansfield, 2010). This is especially so for employers in sectors like construction, agriculture/horticulture and construction where long-term employment can be unprofitable. These employers also often use agency workers, of which migrants can be a large proportion (Lucas & Mansfield, 2010).

Nations are increasingly recognising that international students can be a way to access skilled migrants once they complete their studies. As such, migration policies have changed in many countries to make it easier for international students to work while they study, as well as to enter the workforce once they graduate.

The decisions employers and governments face in this migration category is the extent to which they can work while they are studying (usually limited by number of hours), and whether and how to effectively transition graduates to the domestic workforce. Both win-win and win-lose outcomes are possible. For example, policies that give students work rights during and after study may help contribute to employer and country ability to meet current needs for well-settled migrant labour. Even when students leave following completion of study, the linkages formed may generate spin-off benefits in terms of investment and trade opportunities.

By contrast, a range of potentially negative outcomes could be envisaged by allowing more open student visa conditions without sufficient risk management. There may be employment exploitation of students, and increased risk of potential migrant workers using the visa category to enter the country to gain work. If international students have poor study experiences; for example, due to a rapid influx of new students; this may adversely impact on the sustainability of growth in the education sector and the country's reputation as a travel destination more generally. Pressures placed on education institutions from rapidly increasing rolls have the potential to adversely impact on the quality of domestic students' educational experiences. It is important that policy proposals are transparent about these broader considerations, as this will assist in identifying risk mitigation strategies.

Finland has recently instituted a goal of increasing the number of international students to 20,000 by 2015, and for international education to be developed as an export industry (Cai et al., 2009). In Ireland, international students have been recognised as a source of export earnings and recent strategies seek to cement Ireland as a centre for international education with targets of increasing international student numbers in tertiary education by 50 per cent and English language schools by 25 per cent by 2015 (Quinn, 2011).

However, in Ireland, especially in the context of high unemployment and a shift towards migration focused on high-skilled workers, there have been concerns that individuals were entering the country to work via the education route. Since 2005, in order to work, students must be in a full-time course of at least one year duration which leads to a qualification. Students may work for up to 20 hours per week. Further limits have recently been placed on the length of time students may stay in Ireland (depending on the type of student; for example, educational students are permitted to stay for 90 days while degree students have a seven-year maximum stay). In addition checks have been put in place to ensure students' progress academically through the education system.

Some countries have been moving towards more favourable work policies for students. Ireland permits students to work while studying. In New Zealand the limit is 20 hours a week and in Australia it is 40 hours per fortnight, and unlimited when courses are not in session.

However, the recent trend towards tightening policy settings in relation to time limits has been in response to abuse by both employers and migrants' education institutions. The UK has reduced work entitlements for certain categories of students; student visitors with courses less than six months are not allowed to work, and those studying below degree level are only allowed to undertake 10 hours of work per week during term time (MartinJenkins, 2010).

Some countries are continuing to improve their work and residency opportunities for international students, notably Canada, Denmark, Ireland and the USA, while others, such as Australia and the UK, have made changes to their immigration policy to tighten immigration controls and reduce the use of student visas as a vehicle to work or live permanently in a host country (MartinJenkins, 2010; Sorensen et al., 2011). In 2007 the Graduate Work Scheme was established in Ireland, which allows all graduates with an Honours Degree and above to remain in Ireland for one year to find employment and apply for a relevant work permit (those with an ordinary degree may remain for up to six months). Degree and post-graduate students are permitted to work full-time for that duration. In Denmark, international students are allowed to stay for an additional six months after the completion of their higher education programme to look for work in Denmark (Sorensen et al., 2011). In the USA, holders of science, technology, engineering and mathematics degrees can apply for a 17-month extension to their optional practical training. This facilitates post-graduate work in that it makes it easier for employers to retain student visa holders with specific high-demand skills, through an opportunity to sponsor the degree holder into the Non-Immigrant HB-1 Visa (Specialty Occupation) (MartinJenkins, 2011). In Canada, graduates of a Canadian post-secondary educational institution with one year of post-graduation full-time work experience in Canada are able to apply for the Canadian experience class visa. This provides a pathway to transition from temporary to permanent residence.

In Sweden, students who switch their student permit to a work permit are generally moving into a skilled occupation, but a significant proportion (one in three) are moving to low-skilled occupations in restaurants and hospitality (OECD, 2011b). While it is unclear from the data whether students move into these occupations at the completion of their degree, or whether these occupations are entry level and related to their course of study, it does suggest that there is a level of mismatch between graduates and occupations in Sweden.

Employers often recruit temporary skilled workers in the context of intra-company transfers. In these cases, other than sponsoring the migrant, employers usually offer a number of other support measures such as:

- airfares, including sometimes for dependants
- temporary accommodation, sometimes for duration of employment
- removal expenses
- superannuation
- living away from home allowance
- food allowance
- medical insurance
- settling-in allowance

- assistance with the national language, including for dependants
- assistance with children's education.

In these cases, the costs associated with these support measures are usually paid by the local office employing the migrant worker. An Australian study found that of employers who had employed migrants through a temporary skilled worker visa, airfares and housing were often provided while English tuition for dependants and assistance with children's education were less-used support measures (Khoo et al., 2004).

Migrants recruited through skilled worker categories often have quite a different profile to workers in other categories, particularly low-skilled and seasonal worker programmes. For example, in Australia, temporary skilled migration programmes have led to increases in engineers, computing professionals, medical practitioners, nurses and school teachers (Khoo et al., 2007). In this category, the motives for employment of migrant workers is usually not related to lower labour costs. In a survey of 135 employers by Khoo et al. (2007), less than 10 per cent of employers indicated that migrant workers were less costly than hiring an Australian resident. For many employers, migrants offered additional benefits. For example, 60 per cent of employers were hiring and/or transferring the migrant worker so they could provide training to local employees.

Summary

The role and influence that employers have in facilitating employment once the recruitment decision has been made depends on the terms of the visas or permits that apply to the worker. There is a continuum of employer involvement. Migrant workers who personally apply for visas and permits through high-skilled migrant programmes usually require little additional involvement from employers; other work permits require employers to play a sponsorship role. In contrast, seasonal work programmes have a high degree of employer involvement, and there is a trend across IGC Participating States for employers to play a greater role. In this category, employers are generally certified, are subject to a labour market test and may be required to provide accommodation, transport and pastoral care.

Migrants who enter under temporary worker programmes pose challenges for employers. While the application processes may be faster, employers may be dissuaded from employing such migrants due to the short time they may be allowed to live and work in the country.

Governments set the conditions associated with migration categories, but also provide support to encourage employers to recruit migrant workers. The support offered tackles barriers that employers face in recruiting migrant workers, such as qualification recognition, job matching and simplified immigration policies.

Support for employers, and the role of government

In discussing the role that governments play, this review focuses on employer-focused initiatives and policies. It is recognised that there are many governmental and non-governmental support programmes that are migrant focused and facilitate employment more generally. General labour market programmes play this role, such as Jobcentre Plus, unemployment related benefits, employment zones, Action Teams, Step-Up, Work Based Learning, Train to Gain, and self-employment support strategies in the UK, as well as refugee-focused SUNRISE and the subsequent Refugee Integration and Employment Service (RIES)¹⁸.

Because the literature is so vast and the programmes offered so diverse, and in many cases do not have direct implications for employers, we do not cover them in detail in this review. This section focuses on targeted measures for migrants and humanitarian entrants which have a direct interface with employers. In doing so, attention is paid to what support employers have specifically asked for. Key amongst these are reduction in system complexity and faster processing times, as well as services related to document checking and qualification recognition. Programmes and policies that target SMEs in their hiring, recruiting and training of migrant workers are also canvassed (ALLIES, 2011).

In general, governments facilitate employers' recruitment of migrants through a number of initiatives:

- reducing system complexity through faster processing and information provision
 - fast-tracking processes, faster processing and increased system flexibility
 - signposting and guidance for employers on the recruitment process
 - input into the policy-making process
- job matching
 - qualification recognition agencies and systems
 - document checking
 - work placement schemes
 - wage and orientation subsidies, and incentives to recruit migrant workers
- arrangements with other countries
 - mobility partnerships
 - pre-departure information
 - circular migration support.

Reducing system complexity

Studies of employers in a number of countries have found that employers are frustrated by the excessive processes and bureaucracy they endure in recruiting migrant workers. Employers in the UK Home Office study wanted less administration and paperwork (Dench et al., 2006). The USA H-2B programme, which admits temporary foreign workers to fill

¹⁸ RIES ended in September 2011.

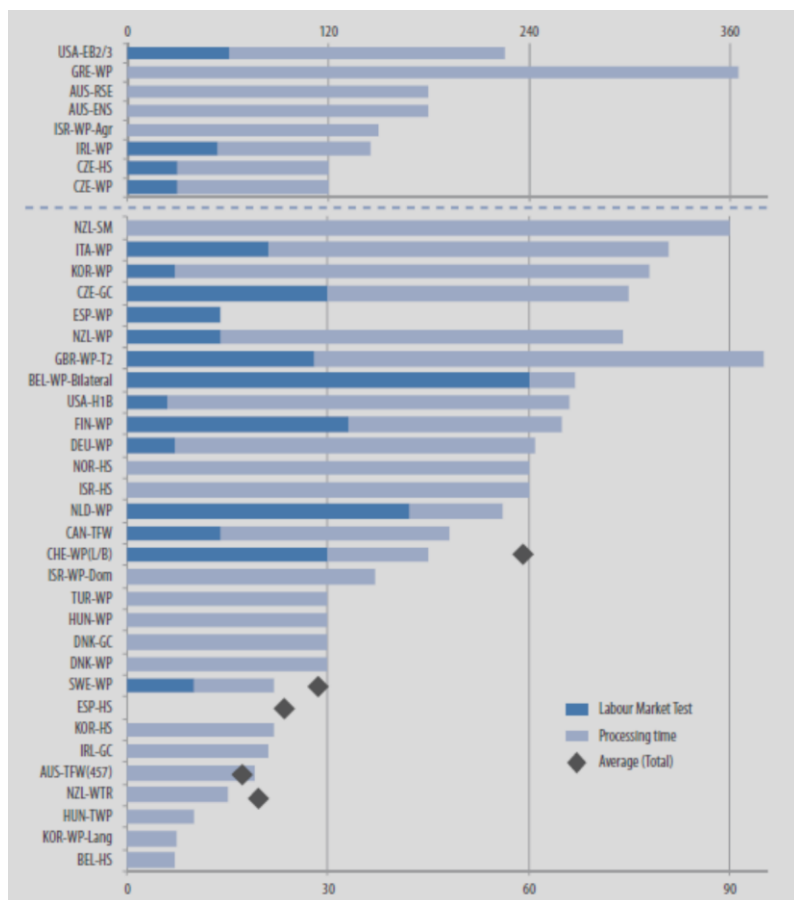
temporary non-farm jobs, has been criticised by employers as being cumbersome, despite 95 per cent of employer requests being approved within 15 days (Martin, 2010). Recruitment agencies also acknowledge that the process of recruitment, including obtaining visas, work permits and qualification recognition, is a barrier to international recruitment (Hussein et al., 2010). In New Zealand, the most mentioned assistance required to make employing a migrant easier was a faster and more efficient application process (22 per cent of employers surveyed), and 14 per cent reported that length of time to process applications was a potential barrier to migrant employment in the future (Wallis & BRC Marketing and Social Research, 2006).

Some employers in an Australian study (38 per cent of 135 employers) considered application procedures to be complex, and others thought that processing times were slow (40 per cent) (Khoo et al., 2004). In Canada, there can be a four- to five-year wait for processing applications to migrate to Canada. Employers have voiced frustration that there are no means to fast-track skills which are needed immediately (Alboim & McIsaac, 2007). Recent policy changes in Canada are designed to improve overall efficiency of the system, including reduction in visa processing time. Due to recently announced changes, new applications under the Federal Skilled Worker Program will be processed in a few months, rather than a few years (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012). The Government of Canada is also moving to develop and implement an Expression of Interest model, which will provide employers with access to a pool of skilled workers.

Fellini et al. (2007) found that burdensome immigration processes in the UK, Italy, Portugal, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland led to lags between the availability of workers and the needs of employers. Due to the difficulties faced, employers preferred to use other strategies rather than direct recruitment of non-EU workers. As mentioned in other studies, employers used employment agencies because they would address legal and work permit matters on behalf of employers. The IOM study on migrant and employer access to labour market information commented that across the seven countries studied (Canada, Germany, Italy, Poland, Sweden, the UK and the USA) “cumbersome and lengthy immigration procedures” are a key factor in discouraging SME recruitment of migrant workers” (IOM, 2012a, p. 7).

Sweden, which moved to a much more simplified and demand-driven immigration policy in 2008, still has long processing times and backlogs (half of employer applications are processed in less than five weeks, but the average processing time is six to seven months) which hinder employer recruitment of migrant workers (IOM, 2012a; OECD, 2011b). In part this has been due to the rise in applications. The processing times related to work permits across and within IGC Participating States vary (Figure 13). Few countries process applications in less than 30 days.

Figure 13: Minimum processing time, in days, work permits with a job offer, selected OECD countries, 2010



Source: (OECD, 2011b)

Notes: HS: High-Skilled. WP: Work Permit. GC: Green Card. Dom: Domestic. SM: Skilled Migrant. WTR: Work to Residence. RSE: Regional Sponsor. EB2/3: Permanent Residence for Employment. TFW: Temporary foreign worker. Sweden: 75% of permits are processed in more than the “minimum” time. United Kingdom: time for processing 65% of applications (commitment). New Zealand: 63% are processed by the time shown.

Australia: Median processing time. “Average (Total)” refers to average processing time, where available.

The normal processing time for work permits in Norway has been four months, and politicians have been calling for shorter processing times to meet the needs of employers and job seekers (Pärlemo et al., 2012). Processing times are now shorter (5 to 10 days), due to the establishment of service centres specifically for migrants and employers, and electronic applications. The service centres allow migrants and employers to receive information on Norwegian working life as well as submission and processing of all documents for work permit and tax purposes.

Any initiatives which make it easier for employers to bring in migrant workers will be seen by employers as positive. Employers interviewed prior to the UK implementing their points-driven immigration system generally agreed that replacing the previous complex system with a simpler system was advantageous (Dench et al., 2006).

System flexibility

Depending on the needs and sector of the employer, concerns are voiced on policies in place for the recruitment of high-skilled migrants versus low-skilled migrants. Generally, employers with high shortages of low-skilled workers are opposed to changes in migration policies that seek to phase out low-skilled schemes (Dench et al., 2006), which is a general trend across IGC Participating States.

For other employers, such as multinational companies which rely on intra-company transfers, their needs are more specific – for example, soft skills – and they may have localised job shortages (Lopes, 2004). For them, systems which allow entry of such migrants, without necessarily being in a high-skill category or a narrowly defined occupation list, would be beneficial.

Fast-tracking processes

IGC Participating States offer fast-tracked processes for certain migration categories and for some certified employers. For example, Australia's migration policy, which focuses on regional areas of Australia, uses Regional Certifying Bodies (such as regional economic development agencies or chambers of commerce) to certify employer nominations and requests. Sweden certifies good employers, usually larger organisations, towards the Swedish Migration Board, which can reduce the turnaround time for work and residence permits from up to seven months to seven calendar days. The USA offers Premium Processing Services for employers who file applications to sponsor a migrant on a non-immigrant, temporary employment visa which guarantees application processing within 15 calendar days. It should be noted though that additional fees per application are charged of US\$1,225 for the service. In New Zealand, the Accredited Employers scheme pre-approves employers who need skilled or talented workers from overseas. They receive priority process in processing work visa applications, and do not need to undertake a labour market test. Applications to become an accredited employer involves a variety of forms and supporting documents relating to the employer's business (such as financial viability, commitment to training and employing New Zealanders, and sound human resource and workplace policies and practices) and a fee of NZ\$1,430 for the first year. This is renewable annually for NZ\$410 a year.

Intra-company transfers in some countries also benefit from simplified processes. The L-1 visa for intra-corporate transfers in the USA is considered the most employer-friendly visa under the USA immigration policy (IOM, 2012a).

IOM (2012a) notes that while fast-tracked processes do help employers recruit migrant workers, particularly temporary migrants, they are generally not accessible to SMEs who do not have the funds, the need to conduct intra-company transfers or the number of applications to enable it to reach fast-tracked status.

Other fast-tracking processes are sector or occupational specific. For example, in response to a shortage of doctors in the Irish public health system, the Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service (located in the Department of Justice and Equality); the Department of Jobs, Enterprise and Innovation; the Department of Health and Children; and the Health Service Executive agreed revised immigration arrangements for non-EEA doctors. Since June 2010 non-EEA doctors who wish to work in the public health service may present

themselves for registration to the Garda National Immigration Bureau or the local immigration registration office on production of a valid passport, a letter of appointment confirming that they have a position in the public health service and proof of registration with the Irish Medical Council. These doctors do not need to hold an employment permit.

Signposting and guidance for employers

The IOM (2012a) comments that over the last 5 to 10 years, countries have employed new information technologies which has made information on legal migration procedures for employers more user-friendly. Governments provide dedicated official employer websites which detail migration legislation, procedures and guidance (Table 7).

Table 7: Examples of official websites

Country	Website
The Netherlands	Digital Labour Migration Desk for Employers http://www.arbeidsmigratie.nl/
United Kingdom	Home Office UK Border Agency, Businesses and sponsors section http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/business-sponsors/
Sweden	Sweden Migration Board, Employers section http://www.migrationsverket.se/info/166_en.html
New Zealand	Employers hub http://www.immigration.govt.nz/employers/
Denmark	workindenmark https://www.workindenmark.dk/
Canada	Hire foreign workers, Citizenship and Immigration Canada http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/hire/index.asp

The efficacy of employer websites and helplines will be mediated by the complexity of the immigration system. For example, in Sweden where policy reform has led to a single legal channel for migration, 86 per cent of the users of the Sweden Migration Board’s website were satisfied with the information provided (IOM, 2012a). The Sweden Migration Board also offers Customer Service via telephone and email. About half of the queries through these channels are by employers, mostly in relation to processing time and the application process (Pärlemo et al., 2012). This is contrasted with an older study in the UK where employers found the website confusing to navigate (Dench et al., 2006). Further, only half of the employers interviewed were aware of the telephone helpline, while others had concerns about the conflicting advice they had received. There were also differences found between sectors. Employers in the agriculture sector were more aware of government migration information and found it to be useful, there was low awareness in the finance and accountancy sector, and hotels and catering had relatively low awareness which was of concern given the proportion of migrant workers in that sector (Dench et al., 2006).

Employers are also relying on information provided by other sources, such as business associations, unions and voluntary sector organisations. In some cases, these are part-

funded by government. An example of such guidance is the Conference Board of Canada's (a not-for-profit applied research organisation) *Immigrant-friendly businesses: Effective practices for attracting, integrating and retaining immigrants in Canadian workplaces* (Conference Board of Canada, 2009).

Employers in a study of refugee employment in the UK mentioned that voluntary sector organisations, such as Refugee Councils, played an important role in supporting them (Hurstfield et al., 2004). Document checking and provision of information by these organisations was mentioned as particularly useful.

Funded by Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, the not-for-profit organisation Maytree provides the www.hireimmigrants.ca website, which tailors information by size and sector of employer, and various refugee councils, unions and business associations provide information and guidance for employers in the UK, New Zealand and Sweden. It has also been noted that employers' associations in Germany have tended to focus on on-the-job training and domestic skills development, rather than migration, to address skill shortages (IOM, 2012a).

Another example of industry-specific guidance is Immigration New Zealand's (2012) *Guide for dairy farmers employing migrants dairy workers*. This guidance, along with a guide for migrants, recognises:

- the dairy industry's increasing reliance on migrant labour
- that government needed to do more to better prepare migrants for living and working on dairy farms in New Zealand
- the need to raise awareness of the things employers could do to be good employers
- industry concern about the treatment of some migrants on some dairy farms and the effect this could have on the industry's reputation and productivity.

The guides have been developed by Immigration New Zealand, working with industry partners such as Federated Farmers, Rural Women and DairyNZ. The guide takes employers from recruiting migrant workers to preparations for their arrival, what to do when migrants arrive, how to relate to migrant staff, where to go for more assistance, challenges that migrant workers face, accommodation and a checklist.

While signposting and guidance for employers by governments and other agencies is useful, they can be difficult to access (due to multiple agency provision), and guidance provided by different organisations can be confusing. Based on focus groups with 150 employers in Canada, researchers concluded that the array of resources and service providers are an impediment to migrant recruitment, and as a result employers do not know who to approach for assistance (IEC BC, 2012). Further value can be extracted though some means of provision for personal contact and/or a "one-stop shop" approach. While many employers felt that their information needs were being met by unions, industry associations and other operators, there was often a sense that, in relation to government, they did not know which agency they should approach, and there were a number of calls for a "one-stop shop" (Dench et al., 2006). A discussion of mediated services in the context of settlement of migrant workers will be discussed in a following section. However, Exhibit 7 is an example of mediated provision whereby a regional chamber of commerce in New Zealand works with employers to provide advice on migrant recruitment and retention.

Exhibit 7: Wellington Regional Newcomer Skills Matching Programme, delivered by Employers' Chamber of Commerce Central and funded by Immigration New Zealand

This programme delivers services to three groups:

1) employers – through the Newcomer Skills Matching Programme, support and advice on working with newcomers and on retention of newcomers' skills

2) newcomers - job options, referrals and placements, CV development assistance and career development advice

3) local settlement stakeholders – to ensure that there is a continuum of support for newcomers seeking employment and prevent duplication with other services.



Employers' Chamber of Commerce Central delivered 11 presentations throughout the central North Island. Three hundred and twenty-six participants received information on a number of topics, including employment trends and current challenges in attracting and retaining skilled migrants. Ninety-six per cent of participants agreed that the information provided would help them to better retain their newcomer staff. Employers' Chamber of Commerce Central also conducted 20 face-to-face follow-up meetings with businesses that employ or are thinking of employing newcomers, and a focus group for employers to provide recommendations to be used to further refine the tools and presentations.

Employer information needs/expectations on immigration policy and updates on changes

Employers in the UK Home Office study commented that they wanted regular updates on policy regarding migrant workers, and this could be disseminated via post and/or email (Dench et al., 2006). They wanted less information (both in content and frequency), and clearer information. They did not want information overload, and therefore suggested only updates on planned or actual changes. Employers in another study in the UK, just after the change to a points-based system, commented that they wanted further guidance or advice on how to recruit workers from Central and Eastern European countries, where they had not had much previous experience (Pemberton & Stevens, 2010). Better communication was mentioned by 19 per cent of employers in a survey of services provided by Immigration New Zealand (Wallis & BRC Marketing and Social Research, 2006). Most New Zealand employers who had contact with an Immigration New Zealand relationship manager did so because they needed information and assistance on immigration policy or process (44 per cent) or immigration applications (42 per cent) (Stock, 2010b). Swedish employers who had submitted work permit applications wanted better and more structured information on applications and the process (Pärlemo et al., 2012).

Canadian employers who undertook intra-company transfers voiced a need for readily accessible information on visas and legal requirements, and simple and transparent visas and legal requirements (Lopes, 2004).

Other areas of interest to employers are foreign qualifications and work experience equivalency (Dench et al., 2006) and criminal record checks (Pemberton & Stevens, 2010). Employers also mentioned that they would like easy to understand information and support materials which they could provide to their migrant workers (Dench et al., 2006).

The Norwegian Directorate of Immigration engages regularly with large employers who regularly recruit migrant workers (Pärlemo et al., 2012). These meetings inform employers

about new laws and regulations. It also enables the Directorate of Immigration to better understand employer needs.

Input into the policy-making process

We have previously discussed employers' role and influence in the formation of occupational shortage lists, such as through the UK Migration Advisory Committee. However, employers and industry associations across IGC Participating States have had broader influence in the policy-making process. Parusel and Schneider (2010) document how employers and unions in Germany have been involved in guiding and determining migration policy. When the recruitment of foreign labour was banned in 1973, a number of government committees were established which included trade unions and business associations, and were charged with further developing labour migration policy and improving the integration of migrant workers. In the late 1990s, lobbying by IT employers on the demand for migrant workers to meet growth in ICT technologies and services led to specialised temporary work permits (green cards) for IT specialists to work in Germany for up to five years.

In Belgium, immigration and labour policy is debated at the national and regional levels (European Migration Network, 2011a). The Advisory Council for Foreign Workers is a body which comprises government departments, regional migration services and institutions, as well as representatives of employees and employers. It advises on federal initiatives to change labour migration regulations. In Ireland, the Expert Group on Future Needs, which includes employers, advises the government on current and future skills needs and labour market issues (European Migration Network, 2011a).

However, employers and unions have been less successful in recruiting employees from abroad in some countries. Bartram (2007) discusses the case of Finland which has proportionately less migrant workers than most IGC Participating States. He contends that Finland's economic history and broader, long-term focused industrial policy (which has favoured domestic skills development, modernisation and investment in capital and innovation) has meant that policy makers and politicians have not treated employer lobbying for access to low-skilled migration as a priority.

The trend for IGC Participating States is to have employer representatives on groups and councils who advise on migration and labour market issues to government. In establishing such groups and councils it is important to consider how best to ensure both larger employers and SMEs can have a voice, balanced against perceptions of "provider capture" – the influence that employers may have on migration policy delivery which may serve individual interests rather than migrant workers and/or the wider economy.

Job matching

Germany's labour market policy changes in 2009 led to an increased focus on job placement and the removal of red tape (Parusel & Schneider, 2010). The measures to speed up job matching and to find jobs that are best suited to job seekers, however, have mostly been aimed at those residing in Germany. For migrant workers, it becomes the employers' responsibility to find the migrant worker and ascertain whether the migrant is suitable for the job.

As previously discussed, public employment agencies provided at the national level are well used in some IGC Participating States for the recruitment of migrant workers (Canada), but


less used in others (Germany). From an employer perspective, support for migrant recruitment and retention is often viewed as confusing and complex. Employers often comment on the need for a “one-stop shop” to navigate the recruitment and hiring process, and for identifying appropriate candidates. Clearly, public employment agencies are not playing this role in respect of migrants for many countries.

ALLIES (2011) suggests that such a service could be implemented via a fee-for-service social enterprise that could be delivered by a business association or not-for-profit organisation. However, it is unclear at this stage whether, and how much, employers would be willing to pay for this type of service. In the absence of a one-stop shop, partnerships and networks between government and regional and local organisations, employer associations and other stakeholders become critical.

New Zealand employers mentioned that a website or database of skilled migrants would be useful to support the employment and retention of migrants (Wallis & BRC Marketing and Social Research, 2006). However, New Zealand employers in a more recent study indicated that while they were aware of a number of organisations that provide settlement support services, only 14 per cent indicated that the services included websites that connect migrants/skills with employers (Stock, 2010a). The ALLIES (2011) report also recommends an online database of screened candidates as one of the hiring programmes that would support SMEs in their employment of migrants. The SkillsInternational.ca website in Ontario is one such example, and focuses on internationally educated professionals. It provides a searchable database of qualified and screened applicants who are ready to work in a field related to their education and experience. More than 79 agencies across Ontario working with migrants screen and post résumés to the site. Employers can perform a variety of searches based on relevant criteria including skills, experience and education to review the résumés of qualified candidates. EURES, the European Job Mobility Portal, also has similar features and provides job vacancies from 31 European countries, résumés from interested candidates and guidance on recruiting migrants. The Portal is supported by public employment services and EURES Advisors in European countries and regions.

In Denmark, Workindenmark includes an internet portal, service centres in three of Denmark’s largest cities (Copenhagen, Aarhus and Odense), and a job and CV bank. SkillSelect in Australia allows employers to search amongst applicants who are interested in migrating to Australia. SkillSelect enables employers to search by occupation, qualifications and English language ability, and has a facility for employers to contact the applicant to discuss sponsorship and employment. At the local level, Immigration New Zealand has funded the New Kiwis programme in Auckland as described in Exhibit 8.

Exhibit 8: New Kiwis, delivered by Auckland Chamber of Commerce, New Zealand (funded by Immigration New Zealand)

	<p>New Kiwis is an online migrant recruitment website managed by the Auckland Chamber of Commerce for Immigration New Zealand. New Kiwis is split into two sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• New Kiwis Local focuses on helping employers reach skilled migrants who have recently arrived in New Zealand and have posted their CV to the site.• New Kiwis Global focuses on matching employers with migrants offshore who are looking to work and settle in New Zealand and have posted their CV to the site. Employers registered with the New Kiwis site are able to post job advertisements to the site and scan CVs for prospective migrants to interview for roles.
<p>The Auckland Chamber of Commerce closely monitors activity on the site. The Chamber's Employment team works hard to assist migrants with interview preparation and assistance, as well as assisting employers in targeting migrants that fit their skill needs.</p> <p>In 2011-12:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Employers posted 303 vacancies to New Kiwis Local, and 160 vacancies on New Kiwis Global.• 254 migrants that registered with New Kiwis Local found jobs via New Kiwis Local, and 104 migrants found roles via New Kiwis Global.• 216 new employers were registered, bringing the total to 4,769.• Employers downloaded 4,623 CVs from New Kiwis Local and 1,271 CVs from New Kiwis Global.	

A job-matching service has also been established in New Zealand to ensure that there are enough labour and skills to rebuild Christchurch after the earthquakes in 2010 and 2011. In February 2011, a magnitude 6.3 earthquake struck Christchurch, resulting in severe damage and the loss of 185 lives. The greater regional area (Canterbury) was struck earlier with a 7.1 magnitude quake in September 2010. Greater Christchurch has a population of just under 460,000 people, and the earthquakes have resulted in:

- a requirement of an estimated 24,000 additional construction-related jobs at the height of the rebuild
- increased demand for workers in construction support occupations, as well as other sectors as economic activity increases
- 10,000 houses to be rebuilt, 105,000 houses to be repaired
- NZ\$3 billion in damage to commercial premises and NZ\$3 billion damage to infrastructure
- a total cost of the rebuild of damage to property, contents and infrastructure estimated at NZ\$20 billion (10 per cent of New Zealand's annual gross domestic product) (Cosgriff, 2011; New Zealand Treasury, 2012).

The Canterbury Employment and Skills Hub has been established to help employers fill job vacancies to support the rebuild. The Hub enables employers to list job opportunities and match available New Zealanders to them. If New Zealanders are not available then it will facilitate visa applications for migrant workers, and Immigration New Zealand can fast-track their application. The Hub's initial focus will be on trades and manual occupations. The Hub

includes highly experienced and well-connected skills brokers who scan across all sectors, including the public employment service database, and the tertiary sector. There is also a web presence to help match job seekers to employers (<http://opportunitycanterbury.org.nz/>).

There is a movement towards better use of technology to facilitate employers' searches for workers amongst IGC Participating States which is a positive step. However, because such databases are aimed at supplying potential migrant candidates, they will not necessarily be well used by employers who are not specifically considering migrant workers in the first place (but still need to be aware of these resources). They represent an additional step employers have to take in the recruitment phase, unless they are already seeking a migrant worker to fill a specific labour or skill gap. The provision of government-funded, but fee-for-service, matching services should also be treated with caution as this initiative is untested and is likely to crowd out the private sector, and stray into areas which may be best left in the hands of businesses and employers.

Qualification recognition agencies and systems

In the UK, the National Academic Recognition Information Centre (NARIC) is a private organisation contracted by the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills to provide information, advice and opinion on vocational, academic and professional skills and qualifications. UK NARIC also funds some of its services by corporate memberships. It holds a global qualifications database which is used as a guide for benchmarking international qualifications. UK NARIC is part of the NARIC network, an initiative of the European Commission which aims to improve academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study in EU member states and EEA countries. UK NARIC is also part of the wider network of information centres including the European Network of Information Centres as well as other IGC countries like Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the USA.

For specific types of labour migration, there are some organisations within Germany which undertake assessments of requirements and qualifications which help facilitate job matching. For example, International Placement Services (ZAV) within the Federal Employment Agency is tasked with supporting the international labour market and helping German companies recruit foreign workers. ZAV undertakes qualifications recognition assessments for migrants as well as advice on job applications and interviews. ZAV includes a centralised employers service in Bonn and works with employers as well as temporary employment agencies and private placement agencies (Mies, 2008). As well as qualifications recognition for migrants which benefits employers, ZAV provides information and labour market consulting, matching and screening of job seekers, an internet job exchange and recruitment events for employers. Job matching is supported by VERBIS – an internal IT system that assists in scheduling assessment appointments and includes a smart search function to link job seekers to employers quickly and efficiently. The Central Office for Foreign Education offers evaluation certificates for migrants with a foreign first degree (€100 for the first certificate and €50 thereafter).

The Government of Canada launched the Foreign Credential Recognition (FCR) Program in 2003 to improve the integration of foreign-trained skilled workers into Canada's labour market by developing and improving FCR processes in Canada. The sector-specific Internationally Educated Health Professionals Initiative was launched by Health Canada in 2005 to address the shortage of health professionals. By facilitating changes to the assessment, training and recognition processes, the initiative aims to increase the number of

internationally trained health professionals who are licensed and practicing in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2008).

In 2007, the federal Canadian Government launched the Foreign Credentials Referral Office (FCRO) to provide information, path-finding and referral services on FCR to help internationally trained individuals succeed and put their skills to work in Canada more quickly. Its establishment was to streamline a cluttered area of policy instruments, funding programmes and provincial arrangements (Alboim & McIsaac, 2007). The mandate of the FCRO is to guide, monitor and facilitate the implementation of the FCR process. The federal government's role in FCR comes from its shared responsibility for immigration and its leadership role in strengthening the labour market and the economy across Canada. The responsibility for assessing and recognising foreign credentials rests with provincial and territorial governments and regulatory and assessment bodies.

Non-regulated occupations account for approximately 80 per cent of Canada's labour market. Generally, in these occupations, it is the prospective employer's responsibility to assess the transferability of the applicants' credentials, training and experience for the position. Ultimately, employers are key partners in helping internationally trained individuals integrate into the Canadian labour market.

FCR is a complex issue that involves many partners and stakeholders. In Canada the Government plays a facilitative role in the development of co-ordinated, pan-Canadian approaches. Support is provided through, for example:

- Providing information and tools through FCRO's website. Employers have access to the *Employer's roadmap to hiring and retaining internationally trained workers* guide (Alliance of Sector Councils, 2010); whereas migrants can benefit from the *Planning to work in Canada?* workbook (Foreign Credentials Referral Office, 2011), and the *Occupation facts* publications (Foreign Credentials Referral Office, 2012).
- Utilising the International Qualifications Network website (www.credentials-competences.gc.ca) to catalogue successful practices on foreign credential recognition and to provide a comprehensive source for past and present foreign credential recognition activities, programmes, projects and tools.
- Delivering the Federal Internship for Newcomers Program that provides internationally trained individuals with the opportunity to integrate into the Canadian labour market through temporary internships in a variety of federal government departments.
- Supporting the *Pan-Canadian Framework for the Assessment and Recognition of Foreign Qualifications* – a joint commitment by federal, provincial and territorial governments to improve processes for assessing and recognising foreign credentials in Canada. One of the goals under the framework is that within one year, an individual will know whether their qualifications will be recognised, or be informed of the additional requirements necessary for registration, or be directed towards related occupations commensurate with their skills and experience.

Early and timely recognition is also important. This reduces the relative disadvantages that migrants face, as well as any mismatches that may occur in the future. Examples of pre-migration screening of credentials include Australia's SkillSelect system, a compulsory competencies assessment for all migrants for resident permits for more than a year in

France (IOM, 2012b), and assessment of educational credentials of Foreign Skilled Worker applicants prior to landing in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012). In Canada, Foreign Skilled Worker applications will need to have their education credentials assessed as part of their points assessment. A list of assessment organisations designated by the Minister will be made available early in 2013. The assessment¹⁹ of foreign educational credentials will provide prospective newcomers with a more realistic understanding of how their credentials compare to education standards in Canada. It will also give them the opportunity to upgrade their education prior to coming to Canada if they choose.

While there are some recent technology-enabled qualification assessment systems in operation in IGC Participating States, the complexity and delays in processing qualification recognition still presents a barrier to recruitment of migrant workers (IOM, 2012b). In Sweden, it was concluded that lengthy and complicated recognition and accreditation procedures were the source of difficulties in recruitment of migrant workers in regulated professions (such as for doctors and nurse), despite employer demand (IOM, 2012a).

Document-checking services

As previously discussed, employers can find it challenging to adequately check the identity of migrant workers and their eligibility for work. Given that many categories for entry require employers to perform the necessary checks, governments have established systems to facilitate this process. This can be a particular issue for asylum seekers and refugees. Hurstfield et al. (2004) recommended that the UK Government provide support for employers in identity checking as well as publishing good guidelines on the employment of refugees.

The UK's employer checking service is a developing service which checks migrant status and validates documents within a service standard of five working days. Other IGC Participating States have developed internet-based services and databases to enable employers to check the documents and migrant status of new hires. Examples include E-Verify in the USA, Visa Entitlement Verification Online in Australia, VisaView in New Zealand and France's Biometric visa and database system.

Work placement opportunities

As previously discussed, work placement opportunities for migrant workers and refugees enable migrants to use their skills to gain local work experience. ALLIES (2011) recommends that internships be activity-focused, on a core business area, to ensure that migrants can demonstrate their value-add to the employer.

At the local level, support is often provided through local government and refugee councils. For example, in the early 2000s, refugee councils in Glasgow and London undertook pilot programmes of work experience. A scheme in Oxfordshire for refugees involved an eight-week work placement with an employer whereby the employer did not have to pay the employee but employees could remain on benefits. In all these pilot programmes, employers subsequently offered full-time work to a proportion of the refugees who gained work experience (Hurstfield et al., 2004).

¹⁹ Note that this is qualification assessment, not recognition, as part of the pre-application process. It is a factor in their successful selection, but is not a pre-arrival requirement.

Green (2006) comments that even though employers are facing labour and skill shortages, it is noteworthy that employers themselves are largely absent from local initiatives aimed at labour market integration of refugees and other migrant workers. It is concluded that employers are generally unwilling to publicise their work in relation to refugees and migrants; therefore, there are few good practice models to publicise and roll out more generally. Further work needs to be done by organisations and governments to work with employers to remove the stigma associated with hiring and employing refugees, and work placements could target particular sectors in the first instance (Green, 2006).

Wage and orientation subsidies

Quebec offers a migrant-specific wage subsidy programme. It is provided by Emploi-Québec in co-operation with the Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles and Investissement Québec. Employment Integration Program for Immigrants and Visible Minorities provides employers with financial assistance to cover:

- a portion of the migrant worker's wages for a maximum of 30 weeks (in some cases 52 weeks), to facilitate job entry
- wages paid to the migrant worker's coach
- the creation of special activities or adaptation of human resource management tools
- expenditure incurred to train or adapt the skills of the migrant worker.

It encourages employers who are reluctant to hire migrant workers, and may lack the capacity to provide orientation and training, to take a risk on hiring. A similar Wage Subsidy Program also operates in Halifax, through Immigrant Settlement and Integration Services (a community organisation). ALLIES (2011) recommends that a national wage subsidy be implemented with further work completed on reducing SME barriers to enter the programme through simplified application procedures, and identifying the ideal rate and duration of the subsidy.

In Sweden, subsidised employment programmes offset the costs of hiring a migrant worker. About 14,000 recent migrants have been employed through the following programmes:

- **Step In Jobs:** An employer who employs a migrant who has a residence permit for a maximum of three years receives 80 per cent of the salary from the state. The job must be linked to Swedish for Immigrants language training.
- **New Start Jobs:** An employer who employs a migrant who has had a residence permit for a maximum of three years receives a tax incentive accredited to the employer's tax account which corresponds to the amount of payroll tax (31 per cent). This programme also applies to the employment of youth and the unemployed.

Denmark also offers wage supplements to employers who hire a migrant, and this wage supplement is paid to the employer for up to a year (Sorensen et al., 2011).

Not all organisations have expressed favour for wage subsidies. For example, the Public Policy Forum (2004) concludes that employers do not require a wage subsidy to participate in bridging and work placement programmes. Instead it recommends that employers should be assisted via administration and process support to participate in such programmes, rather than wage subsidies. IOM (2012a) comments that such programmes can reduce employer

risk, but the cost-effectiveness and optimal employment matching of such schemes is untested.

The evaluation evidence on general wage subsidy programmes (that may apply to the unemployed, long-term unemployed and indigenous) internationally is mixed. There is some evidence that they facilitate ongoing employment; however, they are associated with high deadweight loss, can stigmatise disadvantaged groups, be related to the substitution of similar disadvantaged job seekers and can be at risk of employer abuse (Johri, De Boer, Pusch, Ramasamy, & Wong, 2004). The additionality of wage subsidy schemes is also unclear, particularly the extent to which the migrant, or other, worker is placed into a job at a higher skill level than without the subsidy (Johri et al., 2004).

Awards

An employer-focused consultation on migrant recruitment in British Columbia, Canada, recommended that a brand be developed for employers who use good practice migrant recruitment and retention practices (IEC BC, 2012). Branding and awards can be a good way to showcase and encourage good practice. Examples include the *Best Employers for New Canadians* competition (www.canadastop100.com/immigrants), which is funded by the Government of Canada's FCR Program. Winners of the competition are announced in a special editorial feature in the national press. Employers are evaluated according to whether:

- they offer programmes specifically designed to assist employees who are recent migrants to Canada
- they have taken steps to reduce employment barriers for recent migrants, such as by recognising foreign educational credentials or experience
- they assist new employees with foreign professional or educational credentials in getting these qualifications formally recognised in Canada
- they offer "onboarding" programmes, such as internal coaching or mentoring, to help new employees who are recent migrants understand the Canadian workplace
- their managers and employees receive training in cross-cultural issues or inclusiveness to help create a welcoming and productive environment for employees who are recent migrants.

The Canadian FCRO also runs the International Qualifications Network Awards. Through these awards, the international qualification network community (including employers, regulatory bodies, sector councils, academia, migrant-serving organisations and governments) recognises initiatives and/or events in the following four categories:

- workplace integration
- innovation
- engagement
- overseas initiatives.

Mobility partnerships

Parusel and Schneider's (2010) study of labour demand in Germany concluded that amongst other policy options, the increased use of bilateral agreements and mobility partnerships were needed to ensure migrants are gainfully employed.

Various bilateral agreements exist between countries at the national level for the free movement of labour. In some cases these are general, such as the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement between New Zealand and Australia and the Ankara agreement between Turkey and the European Economic Community. Others are more sector specific, such as those previously described in relation to temporary seasonal workers. Mobility partnerships also operate in other sectors, such as health, which make it easier for employers to access migrant labour (Table 8).

Table 8: Examples of bilateral agreement and health worker migration

Countries	Notes
UK–China	Launched March 2006. Only for nursing staff. Employers and recruiting agencies should only recruit through Chinese recruitment agencies listed by the Chinese Ministry of Commerce. No direct recruitment from China, nor from rural areas.
Philippines–Canada	Agreements with the provinces of Saskatchewan, Manitoba, British Columbia, Alberta and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. Specifies no recruitment fees to be charged. Both parties to explore projects for human resource development in the Philippines.
Spain–France	For Spanish nurses to work in France. The programme lasted from 2002 to December 2004.
Poland–Netherlands	A project which allows Polish nurses to work in the Netherlands for a period.
Germany and the A8	Signed bilateral agreements in 2005 to organise the recruitment of foreign nursing aids.
Italy–Spain	“Semi-formal” links with Spain to recruit Spanish nurses.

Source: Adapted from Dhillon, Clark, & Kapp (2010)

While mobility partnerships are a useful tool for facilitating the flow of migrant labour, they can introduce complexity into the migration system, as they represent another rule or mechanism that an employer may need to be aware of.

Pre-departure information

For some migration categories, pre-departure briefings are mandatory and are to be provided by the sending country. In general they are implemented in the context of bilateral agreements between host and sending countries for temporary migration programmes. For example, the Recognised Seasonal Employers programme in New Zealand for seasonal workers from the Pacific requires governments in the Pacific states to deliver pre-departure briefings to help workers prepare for New Zealand conditions and work. The content of such briefings includes climate, clothing, taxation, insurance, health and wellbeing, travel

arrangements, different payment rates, budgeting and setting up bank accounts. Consequences of overstaying, having a good work ethic and upholding their country's reputation are also covered (Evaluate Research, 2010).

Simpson (2009) notes, in relation to social workers from Eastern Europe entering the UK, it would be helpful for governments and stakeholders to consider better education and training prior to them leaving their sending country. He suggests that the following topics be covered in such training: the UK context for current practice and policy, current law, common local and colloquial expressions, and current social work terminology.

In general, labour market information and information on working and living in the host country, if provided, is through governments (rather than the responsibility of employers). The Canadian Immigrant Integration Project differs in this regard, as employers were heavily involved in offering résumé advice, seminars on job search strategies and information on career opportunities to potential migrants (IOM, 2012a). The programme has been in operation since 2005 by the educational organisation Association of Canadian Community Colleges, and is now funded by Citizenship and Immigration Canada. It offers migrants group seminars on the Canadian labour market, individual counselling sessions and the production of a personal action plan for labour market integration, and assistance in immigration preparation and job search.

The IOM (2012a) recommends the promotion of publicly funded pre-departure information and training programmes for all levels of skills, and for regulated and non-regulated sectors.

Circular migration support

Programmes which support migrants' return to their home countries also provide support to employers. For example, employers benefit from assistance with recruiting employees offered through the Returning Experts Programme (Rückkehrende Fächkräfte), funded by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, which supports graduates and experts trained in Germany who are interested in returning to their country of origin (Parusel & Schneider, 2010).

The Netherlands ran a circular migration pilot, "Blue Birds", in 2010. Migrants through this programme could only work in jobs and sectors in which there were shortages (mostly agribusiness, chemistry, engineering, finance, hospitality, IT, logistics, technical, telecommunications and health), be "middle-skilled" and could stay for a maximum of two years. Employers have to make arrangements for payment, housing and health insurance, but a job market test was not required. A personal development plan was also developed to ensure migrants improved their knowledge, skills and capability in the Netherlands. Employers were to meet with the migrant and a counsellor after arrival to agree the plan. The pilot focused on two countries – Indonesia and South Africa.

The pilot ceased in 2011 after only eight migrants were working in the country under the programme, rather than the planned 160 migrants (Siegel & Van der Vorst, 2012). The pilot was deemed largely unsuccessful due to lack of agreement on its goals and support at the political and departmental level, capability of the contracted provider, lack of clear focus and targeting of sectors, and misaligned goals and objectives. The economic downturn was also a contributing factor to the difficulties faced by the pilot.

Employers found criteria for participation to be overly rigid, particularly in relation to the duration of employment and country choice (Siegel & Van der Vorst, 2012). Language barriers and difficulties in acknowledging diplomas and skills also led to employer dissatisfaction, as well as employers deciding not to enter the pilot.

A two-year circular migration pilot – the “Triple Win Migration” project – also began in Germany in 2011. It enables small- and medium-sized enterprises to recruit migrant workers while also creating benefits for migrants, their home country and the employer. There is a specific focus on recruitment of skilled migrants in the nursing sector (Albania and Bosnia – a target of at least 80 migrants) and in engineering (Indonesia and Vietnam – a target of at least 20 from each country) (Schmieg & Ziller, 2012). ZAV and local networks in the pilot countries work together to recruit suitable applicants. Candidates have pre-departure briefings including information about professional, linguistic and cultural aspects of their stay in Germany. Support is offered during their stay, as well as return and reintegration support to their sending country (Siegel & Van der Vorst, 2012).

Circular migration programmes appear to be in their relative infancy across IGC Participating States. Their ongoing evaluation and provision of lessons learned to a wider audience will pay dividends for employers and migrant workers alike.

Summary

Governments support employers in their recruitment of migrant workers through various mechanisms. In IGC Participating States this ranges from employer input into the policy-making process to the provision of wage subsidies. Other ways that governments support employers are through:

- signposting and guidance for employers on the recruitment process
- reduction of system complexity, and increased system flexibility
- fast-tracking processes
- job matching
- qualification recognition agencies and systems
- document checking
- mobility partnerships
- pre-departure information
- work placement schemes
- circular migration support.

Each initiative has its advantages and pitfalls. However, any initiative which makes it easier, and less complex, for employers to access and recruit migrant workers is a positive step.

Employer-provided support in the settlement and retention of migrant workers

Employers can have a role in settlement support and integration of migrants into the workplace, although the proportion of employers who do provide additional support is relatively low. In New Zealand, a survey of employers found that only some (24 per cent) made any changes to their business to accommodate migrants (Stock, 2010a). However, organisational capacity can be an issue, as larger businesses will have more resources and capability to offer support than smaller businesses (North, 2007). Therefore, governments have tended to play a role in facilitating support for the settlement of migrant workers as well as targeting employers as a significant actor in the settlement process.

Employers with a relatively large proportion of migrant workers will tend to provide additional support. In most cases, these will be aimed at areas where employers and migrants face challenges in the workplace, namely:

- language difficulties
- communication difficulties
- knowledge of relevant policy or standards (Public Policy Forum, 2004).

Examples of employer-provided support in these areas include:

- inductions
- cross-cultural training, cultural/diversity awareness
- settlement support
- translation, interpretation and language, literacy and numeracy programmes
- mentorship schemes
- ongoing training.

It should also be noted that in many cases, such support is offered to workers in general, rather than specifically to migrant workers. As noted previously, domestic workers can be challenged in the same areas as migrant workers.

Different ways that employers provide support to their migrant workers post-recruitment are discussed below. In doing so, special attention is given to the role of government in supporting such initiatives.

Inductions

Employers that operate within specific national systems and standards tend to offer inductions to migrant workers. For example, some social work employers in the UK offer inductions to their international recruits (Hussein et al., 2010). While the content of inductions vary, they may include overviews of the social care system in the UK, and cultural and practice learning needs, as well as ongoing supervision and mentoring. Indeed, a manager's guide on employing overseas workers recommends the provision of inductions and continual supervision (Skills for Care, 2007).

About half of the 1,505 migrants surveyed in Denmark considered it important that their workplaces offered industry programmes and mentoring or buddy programmes (Oxford Research A/S & The Copenhagen Post, 2010).

Humanitarian migrants

Hurstfield et al. (2004) provides a useful case study of bus company Travel West Midlands' experience of setting up an induction programme to recruit refugees in England. The tailored induction programme aimed to give refugees the skills required to work for the company. The induction programme consisted of:

- efforts made to build up a profile of the aspirations and profile of the refugee communities in the area to help develop the induction programme
- determining interest within refugee communities for employment opportunities at Travel West Midlands
- a publicity campaign in multiple languages and leaflet drops in refugee communities
- application filtering, and procedures for assessing driving skills, English language and maths, and document checking
- 140 hours of English training
- 11 hours driving tuition, followed by a test
- bus-driving theory.

The full induction programme was relatively long – around four months. This is likely to have affected the programme's retention rate (only two stayed until the end of the course) (Hurstfield et al., 2004), and the employer subsequently worked to keep in more regular contact with refugees during the programme and on streamlining the programme.

In Australia, refugees and other stakeholders discussed the importance of employers providing induction programmes and orientation to new refugee migrant employees. Based on interviews and studies of other programmes, it was identified that the following good practice elements are key to orientation or induction programmes for employees from refugee backgrounds (Olliff, 2010):

- opportunities for mentoring and buddying within a workplace for peer support and learning
- bringing together the new employee, supervisor, team leader and mentor/buddy to develop a goal-setting framework where key requirements of the role are mapped out
- developing induction programmes which are workplace-specific.

In general, governments have taken on the role of provision of guidance, rather than provision of inductions themselves.

Cross-cultural training, cultural/diversity awareness

A Canadian survey and conference on employers and migration recommended that tools such as manuals, diversity courses and videos that promote cultural understanding be promoted to employers (Public Policy Forum, 2004). Governments at the national and regional/local level often provide such resources to businesses, but in other cases other not-

for-profit and community organisations play this role. An example of such guidance is the *Employing a diverse workforce: Making it work* guidance document published by Alberta Employment and Immigration in Canada (Alberta Employment and Immigration, 2008).

An international survey of hotels found that 75 per cent reported that there were documents in place that were used regularly to support multiculturalism in their businesses (Baum, 2011). It was reported that this documentation covered recruitment, training, equal opportunities and benefits of diversity. Smaller businesses tended to have informal processes related to diversity, rather than formal documentation. IOM (2012a) also notes that SMEs in general will lack capacity to deal with cultural diversity issues both at recruitment and in migrant retention and settlement.

Other country studies also find that diversity practices are relatively underutilised. In Canada, an employer's survey found that more than half of the respondents did not have any policies or practices relating to visible minorities and diversity (Giscombe & Jenner, 2009). In Wellington, New Zealand, it was found that half of the 100 organisations surveyed did not address the issue of cultural diversity and had no measures in place (Podsiadlowski, 2007a). It was identified that larger and older businesses with more diverse workforces were more likely to have a diversity strategy than other workplaces.

Immigration New Zealand has funded pilot projects for one-off programmes in diversity and employer awareness. In 2011-12, Immigration New Zealand provided funding to the Auckland Chamber of Commerce, the Canterbury Employers' Chamber of Commerce, and the Employers' Chamber of Commerce Central to help build employer understanding of the relationship between good settlement outcomes, migrant retention practice, and organisation productivity and success.

In Denmark, diversity programmes and campaigns have been government-driven, and have been aimed at local authorities rather than focused directly on the employer in the first instance. The diversity programme in 2006–2011 included tours to businesses to showcase good practice and advice on diversity management (Sorensen et al., 2011). A campaign was launched in 2010 which included a publication which highlighted 20 case studies of how companies have harnessed diversity to improve business growth.

Mentorship schemes

Some New Zealand employers are using internal buddy and mentorship schemes to help integrate their migrant workers, but these are also provided to other new employees (North, 2007). However, it very much depends on the capacity of firms as to whether more intensive mentorship schemes are used – larger firms have more resources available to provide such support. Several firms in that study also believed that they had no role in supporting a migrant employee.

Employers are also involved in more formal mentorship programmes such as the Canadian example in Exhibit 2: Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC).

Settlement support

As well as “in work” support, employers can provide support to help migrants settle. Support can include settlement/family counselling, leave to see family overseas, accommodation for the first few weeks, information about the area, putting the employee in contact with the

ethnic community or community group, and alternative positions to suit their requirements (North, 2007).

Outside of sectors where migrants are traditionally concentrated employers have little experience employing migrants (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2006). As a result various commentators have expressed that there is a role for government in educating employers in the benefits of migrant workers and to highlight the employer role in settlement (ChangeMakers Refugee Forum, 2012; Olliff, 2010; Williams, 2006).

As previously discussed, it can be hard for employers to find information about services to support their refugee recruits (Williams, 2006) and migrant workers more generally. To encourage employers to better understand and play more of a role in employee settlement, Immigration New Zealand's online employer hub includes a number of resources, including:

- flip cards highlighting the differences in communication styles between Kiwis and other cultures that can contribute to incorrect first impressions
- a 17-minute video introducing the principle and benefits of good settlement practice – an excellent resource for playing to a workforce before a new migrant arrives
- information on the settlement stages and how employers can support settlement
- employer case studies.

An example of how these resources are used by employers is described in Exhibit 9. It should be noted that New Zealand's *Purchasing Strategy for Settlement Services* outlines an increased focus on services tailored to employers and the workplace, online settlement resources and tools, the provision of information specifically geared towards sectors and employers which rely on migrant staff, Settlement Support New Zealand support for employers and workplaces, and ensuring migrants are matched to the skills New Zealand requires. Settlement Support New Zealand is an example of guidance, tools and signposting mediated by one-on-one tailored advice.

Exhibit 9: Rebuilding Christchurch and the role of migrant workers and employers

In February 2011, a magnitude 6.3 earthquake struck Christchurch, New Zealand resulting in severe damage and the loss of 185 lives. The greater regional area (Canterbury) was struck earlier with a 7.1 magnitude quake in September 2010.

The rebuild of Christchurch and Canterbury is underway and there is a recognition that migrant workers will be needed to fill labour and skill shortages in the construction sector, particularly in high-skilled occupations. The number of migrants needed will depend on the availability of New Zealand workers to meet demand.

Immigration New Zealand is closely monitoring the potential supply of workers – including those from New Zealand training institutions, people moving off welfare benefits and workers available in Canterbury, or from the rest of New Zealand who may be prepared to move to Canterbury for the rebuild.

As the rebuild accelerates, employers are taking on more and larger contracts and require more staff to undertake these large, commercial and residential projects. In Christchurch, employers have been taking on migrant workers, particularly from Ireland and the Philippines. The employers range from small family-run businesses to large multinational enterprises. In some cases, employers are working with employment and recruitment agencies in the Philippines to identify appropriate workers. In other cases, employers are recruiting directly offshore.



Examples of support that employers have provided their migrant workers include:

- welcoming newcomers at the airport
- billeting website to help house migrant workers
- purpose-built accommodation
- pastoral care
- providing entertainment, parties and barbecues for newcomers to meet staff and the community
- working alongside the local Filipino community to welcome newcomers
- transport
- provision of work clothing, especially due to the climate differences between the Philippines and Christchurch
- connections to churches and local services, ethnic retail services
- seminars on setting up tax numbers, opening bank accounts, setting up a house, etc.
- buddy and mentor systems with New Zealand-born staff
- welcoming into the family and culture; for some employers, there was an emphasis placed on cultural exchange objectives as well as bringing in workers into their family and making them feel welcome
- seminars and training on the New Zealand work culture and slang, and other aspects of New Zealand life.

All of this has occurred with the help and support of a Settlement Support New Zealand (SSNZ) co-ordinator, attached to the Canterbury Employers' Chamber of Commerce. SSNZ is an Immigration New Zealand initiative which provides a one-stop shop for migrant settlement in local areas in New Zealand. The SSNZ co-ordinator in Christchurch has been able to provide the Immigration New Zealand developed employer resources and tools directly to employers and helped tailor it to their circumstances. The co-ordinator has been involved in running training sessions, in association with employers, and running monthly events for newcomers to help settle migrant workers into Christchurch.

SSNZ has had to think creatively about addressing the needs of both employers and migrants in a city which has had to deal with a completely new business environment. Many employers have never been involved in employing and working with new migrants and the challenges of living in Christchurch post-earthquake are also unique and have had to be taken into account.

The tools and services developed and implemented were part of the "Connecting Canterbury Employers and Newcomer Skills Programme", delivered by Canterbury Employers' Chamber of Commerce and funded by Immigration New Zealand.

The programme provides Canterbury employers improved awareness, access and support to the newcomer skills they need to grow their business. A focus group and subsequent survey of Canterbury employers were used to get a better understanding of what resources would be most useful to assist employers when they are employing new migrants for the Christchurch rebuild, with a focus on the construction and trades sectors. The results will be used in developing further resources to support employers and their new migrant staff. The Canterbury Chamber also delivered activities designed to raise employers' awareness of the settlement and retention messages and the settlement support services available.



Your First Source For Business Advice

Source: As told by the Christchurch SSNZ co-ordinator to MartinJenkins, and Immigration New Zealand

Translation; interpretation; and language, literacy and numeracy programmes

Research in New Zealand concluded that employers who employed migrant workers who did not have English as their first language tended not to provide specific language support (North, 2007). Where employers did take steps to support migrant workers at the recruitment stage, they were generally no different than for any employee; for example, provision of English language material and making sure information is explained by other staff or a union representative. Where other methods were used, these were low- or no-cost methods, such as explanations via a co-worker of the same language background or an employee-nominated support person. Initiatives that carry additional costs; for example, interpreters or material provided in the migrant's own language; were not used often.

Once employees were on the job, only some New Zealand employers invested in language training. However, this very much depended on the level of English language training needed to undertake the job. Some employers also commented that language training is not, and should not be, part of their core business (North, 2007). This was echoed in employer research in the UK, in relation to refugees. Employers expressed a willingness to support the work-related language development of refugees, but suggested that the burden should not lie solely with the employer (ChangeMakers Refugee Forum, 2012; Hurstfield et al., 2004).

A local business association survey in New Zealand found that poor communication skills of migrants were a deterrent and businesses suggest that government-funded workplace training and trial contracts may help (North, 2007). However, a provincial press survey worryingly reported that 41 per cent of employers would refuse to employ migrants even if incentives, subsidies and support were offered (North, 2007). In an interview and questionnaire-based study of New Zealand employers, only 12 per cent of employers provided English language tuition (North, 2007).

Some governments provide funding and initiatives to employers and migrant workers to improve skills in the national language. Through the Government of Canada's settlement programme a variety of projects combine language learning and work experience including internships and mentorships. Some projects also deliver language training in the workplace at the request of employers. In New Zealand, the Tertiary Education Commission's Workplace Literacy Fund provides support for employers to increase their employees' literacy, language and numeracy skills linked to workplace requirements. The fund is aimed at programmes that target migrants and humanitarian entrants as well as the domestic workforce. A small-scale survey of employers in New Zealand who do not currently provide in-house literacy, language and numeracy initiatives again found that there was a view that provision was not the responsibility of the employer, that they did not think there was need in their area, and in one case one employer would not hire people who had these needs (Kell, Guy, Hastwell, & Harvey, 2009). There also appeared to be low knowledge of government funding available to support such initiatives.

Denmark's support in this area is much more comprehensive and driven through local government arrangements. In 2004, performance subsidies were introduced for local authorities to incentivise them to improve the language competencies of newcomers and their employment opportunities. Local authorities received performance subsidies when a newcomer passed the Danish language competency exam, and for every newcomer who holds a non-subsidised job for at least six months (Sorensen et al., 2011). In addition, local authorities must offer Danish language courses within a month of the newcomer's arrival,

and the migrant is able to take those language courses for up to three years. The language courses focus on spoken and written Danish and cover occupational-specific language too. The government also funds pilot projects for migrants targeted at job-related Danish. The local authority must also offer four-month courses in Danish society, culture and history. Seventy-nine per cent of the 1,505 migrants surveyed in 2010 found it important that their workplace offered language courses (Oxford Research A/S & The Copenhagen Post, 2010).

Germany's Federal Government also funds integration and language courses. The courses provide qualifications in German language skills and basic knowledge about German laws and public administration system, society, history and culture. Between 2005 and 2010, 917,503 participation certificates were issued for courses, and 35,634 integration courses were carried out across Germany (Federal Ministry of the Interior, 2011).

In the USA, some counties offer free English classes for adults through community colleges, while others offer English language programmes through the county's education department and hold them on school campuses (McKay, 2008). Some colleges and training organisations also work closely with employers to develop curriculum (for English language training and workplace/vocational training), donate equipment, ensure staff can be released for training, provide business visits, and provide opportunities for internships and potential employment.

Translation tends to be used more often when the migrant workforce is a relatively high proportion of staff. For example, North Carolina employers in the hospitality sector frequently commented that they translated work-related materials and signage into Spanish, offered English classes at their own expense (and sometimes on company property) (Johnson-Webb, 2004). Employers also spoke of actively seeking to recruit bilingual employees to help manage their current migrant workers.

In Canada, employers commented that difficulty understanding accents, migrants who nod to indicate they understand instructions when they do not, and poor literacy skills were the source of language difficulties they faced (Public Policy Forum, 2004).

A study of social care employers in the UK found that employers were finding it hard to retain migrant workers (Pemberton & Stevens, 2010). Migrants took roles in the sector in part to improve their English language skills, but once these were acquired the migrant worker tended to be able to work in a more highly skilled area elsewhere. This also relates to issues of over-qualification of migrant workers and the impacts on recruitment and long-term retention.

The employer literature finds that employers not only have concerns about language competency but organisational fit, communication style and national workplace culture. Immigration New Zealand's new interactive online resource WorkTalk is one such example of a tool to help raise awareness of these challenges, and to help employers (and migrants) improve how they respond to them (Exhibit 10).

Exhibit 10: WorkTalk, New Zealand

WorkTalk (worktalk.immigration.govt.nz) is an interactive online resource for migrants and their employers. Users are invited to watch several simple scenarios and then test themselves, answering multiple choice questions about the best response for the worker or employer in specific situations.



WorkTalk has been developed with the support of the Victoria University of Wellington's Language in the Workplace team whose research has established a database of situations where a workplace misunderstanding has been the result of a simple cultural difference.

WorkTalk provides the next step for employers from Immigration New Zealand's popular Employer Toolkit. The website uses clear photo-story workplace scenarios to describe the kind of workplace situations where new migrant staff and their employers sometimes struggle to connect. There are two versions of the scenarios – one from the employee/worker's perspective, the other from the manager/employer's view. This is followed by a "what would you do?" tick box questionnaire and suggestions on handling tricky communication situations.

Humanitarian migrants

Employers often recognise a need to support refugee recruits in their development of local language skills. Hurstfield et al. (2004) found that some of the employers they spoke to had provided English classes to assist their employees to improve their language skills. Motivations to do this included the centrality of being able to communicate with the English-speaking public to the employee's role and ensuring that employees are in a better position to benefit from job-specific training and development (enabling progression). Two of the organisations had secured funding to help with these initiatives: through a local learning partnership and using government funding. These employers expressed a willingness to support the language development of refugees, but were concerned that the burden should not lie solely with the employer (Hurstfield et al., 2004).

Government funding appears to be key in the settlement of humanitarian migrants, and for facilitating employers' role in settlement. It is unclear to what extent employers would do so without government support.

Ongoing training

A conference on employers and migration in Canada concluded that, in general, employers did not devote enough resources to ongoing training and development of their employees, particularly migrants. It was suggested that governments could develop programmes to assist employers in improving training for all employees (Public Policy Forum, 2004).

Businesses interviewed in Haringey, UK, did offer training to their staff, but in general further development did not occur for workers in routine and manual jobs. As businesses were facing increasing competition, there was an incentive to find staff (and migrant workers) for low wages, so they tended not to want to put additional investment into training (Craw et al., 2007).

Humanitarian migrants

In relation to healthcare professionals, training provision has been identified as a barrier to full integration (Buchan et al., 2008). This issue may be more acute for refugees. For

example, only a small proportion of refugee doctors in the UK who need to re-train or qualify actually receive the training they need (Bloch, 2004).

Summary

Employers clearly have a role in settling migrants well. Examples of the types of support employers provide include:

- inductions
- cross-cultural training, cultural/diversity awareness
- settlement support
- translation; interpretation; and language, literacy and numeracy programmes
- mentorship schemes
- ongoing training.

Support generally focuses on the areas migrants and employers experience difficulty in, such as language difficulties, communication difficulties, and knowledge of relevant policy or standards, as well as integration into the life of the host country. The role of government in supporting these initiatives is primarily related to the provision of information and guidance, and funding for language, literacy and numeracy programmes.

Compliance and exploitation

It should be noted that the majority of employers do not set out to exploit their workers, especially migrant workers. Employers in a UK interview-based study reported that they offered migrant workers the same conditions as domestic workers (Dench et al., 2006). They also commented that they often tried to ensure migrant workers were not being exploited through building rapport and asking questions to make sure they were being treated well (Dench et al., 2006).

It has also been stated that the complexity and bureaucracy in many national immigration systems means that employers can inadvertently breach employment regulations (Green, 2007). While a proportion of migrants are highly skilled and cognisant of their employment rights, a significant proportion of migrants have characteristics that make them vulnerable to unfair treatment by employers. Indeed, many studies highlight that lower-skilled workers in certain sectors are more vulnerable. A study in the construction sector found that trades and labour occupations were usually associated with underpayment and rights violations, while higher-skilled professions such as architects, engineers and quantity surveyors are not usually associated with underpayment (Krings et al., 2011).

The Law Commission of Ontario (2012) provides a useful definition for “precarious work” and “vulnerable worker” which can be applied to the employment of migrants.

Precarious work is characterized by lack of continuity, low wages, lack of benefits and possibly greater risk of injury and ill health... Measures of precariousness are level of earnings, level of employer-provided benefits, degree of regulatory protection and degree of control or influence within the labour process... The major types of precarious work are self-employment, part-time (steady and intermittent) and temporary.

...

It has been said that “the sector in which workers are employed, the size of the enterprise in which they work, the non-standard nature of their employment contract and their demographic circumstances are markers that help to identify them as “vulnerable” ... vulnerable workers are those whose work can be described as “precarious” and whose vulnerability is underlined by their “social location” (that is, by their ethnicity, sex, ability and immigration status). (Law Commission of Ontario, 2012, p. 10)

In this context, vulnerability does not refer to workers themselves, but the situation facing them.

Gadow (2009, as cited in Wilkinson, 2012) paints a picture of the typical migrant to the UK as:

- a national of an EU accession state
- relatively young and new to the UK
- limited understanding of UK law, the labour market or UK institutions
- variable command of the English language
- limited family and social networks

- with restricted welfare rights due to their immigration status.

These general characteristics can be applied to a proportion of migrant workers in all IGC Participating States. As such, they can be particularly vulnerable to exploitation. Wilkinson (2012), in his summary of four research projects on the working and living conditions of migrant workers in the UK, notes that two of the qualitative studies found “routine, systematic and widespread exploitations” (Wilkinson, 2012, p. 15). Examples include unjustified dismissal, withholding of holiday and maternity rights, refusal of time off for medical treatment, failure to return accommodation bonds, and irregular and illegal deductions for clothing, transport, training and other services. Other examples of exploitation include inadequate compensation for formal qualifications (Bauder, 2003).

Forced labour is a subset of exploitative behaviour and is indicated by two or more of:

- threat or actual physical harm to the worker
- restriction of movement
- debt bondage
- withholding of wages or excessive deductions
- retention of passports and identity documents
- threat of denunciation to the authorities. (International Labour Organization, 2005, as cited by Scott, Craig, & Geddes, 2012)

In discussing exploitation it is useful to talk about a “continuum of exploitation” (Skrivankova, 2010) which can range from forced labour usually linked with trafficking to conditions that are contrary to human dignity (that may be contrary to decent work). As such the nature and extent of exploitation of migrant workers is difficult to capture and discuss because types of exploitation usually occur under different contexts, and also have different legal interventions attached. In this context we point to literature related to humanitarian migrants, temporary seasonal worker programmes, irregular workers and the informal economy as it is usually in these circumstances that exploitation may arise.

Humanitarian migrants

Refugees often work in low-paid, low-skill jobs, and may find it hard to progress into better employment (Craw et al., 2007; Scottish Refugee Council, 2011). These kinds of jobs are often also higher-risk in terms of physical health and safety. There is also evidence of refugees working for less than the minimum wage, and without contracts (Craw et al., 2007), or in precarious forms of employment (fixed-term, employed via agencies) (Scottish Refugee Council, 2011).

Refugees (and migrant workers) can also be expected by their employers to work extremely long hours. At the same time, refugees (and migrant workers) were more likely to offer to work over time to earn more. However, the vulnerability of refugees (and migrant workers) and the tendency for them to be taken advantage of was mentioned by employers. Often refugees (and migrant workers) were not informed of their employment rights, and in some cases they were unsure of their legal status which made them more likely to be exploited. A study undertaken by the Scottish Refugee Council (2011) highlights these issues amongst refugees:

I've worked for some companies that were not too kind, some companies that thought that because you are a refugee you don't know your rights, that they could manipulate you, intimidate you to pay you lowly. (Scottish Refugee Council, 2011, p. 2)

Temporary seasonal worker programmes

The worker-based literature on temporary seasonal worker programmes, in particular, focuses on the extent to which workers are exploited. There have been claims related to programmes in the USA, the UK, Canada and New Zealand of exploitation (Dench et al., 2006; Evaluate Research, 2010; Gibb, 2006; Palacios & Rubio, 2010). In the USA, the imbalance of power between employers and workers is considered to lead to severe exploitation, unsafe working conditions, underpayment, and being less likely to complain of rights violations (Palacios & Rubio, 2010). In the UK, there were some reports of employers using the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme seeking to claim back travel and accommodation costs from migrant workers which are supposed to be provided free as part of the programme (Dench et al., 2006). As discussed above, excessive deductions can be an element of exploitation.

In Canada, the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program is largely seen as meeting policy objectives (Gibb, 2006), but power imbalances and programme mechanisms mean that in practice migrant workers cannot exercise their rights in the same way as other workers (Preibisch, 2010). While migrant workers report very positive outcomes from the programme, such as higher sources of income, positive and mutually beneficial relationships with employers, good working conditions, comfortable housing, and good health and safety practices, others fear repatriation, have health and safety concerns, insufficient leave, substandard housing and insufficient transport (Law Commission of Ontario, 2012). It has also been stated that the complex nature of another temporary Canadian programme, the Temporary Foreign Worker Program²⁰, means that it is difficult to ensure temporary foreign workers are provided with the same rights as domestic workers (Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010). For example, the right to return airfare is often not enforced, and protections are mostly complaint driven and migrant workers face a number of barriers in this area.

Programmes also have mechanisms in place which allow seasonal workers to return to the host country in subsequent seasons. This usually relies on employers naming workers that they wish to return. This also appears to place pressure on migrant workers to not complain about any abuses or exploitation they may suffer (Palacios & Rubio, 2010).

Learning from these examples, the New Zealand programme specifically developed policy mechanisms to mitigate the exploitation of workers. To be part of the programme, employers must register as a Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) and retain that status to be eligible to access offshore workers. Labour inspectors in RSE regional teams take a relationship management approach to their statutory and other compliance-based responsibilities for the RSE policy. Labour inspectors ensure minimum employment conditions are met, monitor pastoral care and other aspects of the RSE policy and facilitate dispute resolution between

²⁰ Established in 1973 and initially targeted at highly specialised skills not available in Canada (academics, business executives and engineers). The programme now includes low-skill jobs, due to employer demand, including in construction, hospitality, food and beverages services, and residential cleaning.

employers and workers. Their facilitative and relationship-based approach has been both praised and criticised by employers and unions. It has made the process easier for farmers to take part in the programme; however, in other cases failure by employers (poor employment practices and pastoral care provision) were not well identified and the process for rescinding RSE status too slow (Evaluate Research, 2010).

In Canada, more steps have been taken to protect temporary foreign workers, including information-sharing agreements and working groups between provinces to support the enforcement of federal and provincial laws and standards (Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010). Employers are also ineligible to access the Temporary Foreign Worker Program for two years if they have been found to provide migrant workers with wages and working conditions which are contrary to their employment contract. Helplines and interpreters have also been offered to temporary foreign workers to enable them to make employment-related complaints and queries.

Irregular working

There can be many pathways to irregular migration, for example:

- entering a country without the proper authority (for example, through clandestine entry and entry with fraudulent documents)
- remaining in a country in contravention of their authority (for example, by staying after the expiry of a visa or visa work permit, through sham marriages or fake adoptions, as bogus students or fraudulently self-employed)
- moved by migrant smugglers or human trafficking
- deliberate abuse of the asylum system (Koser, 2005).

Illegal migration is a collective term for many forms of abuse of the immigration rule. It may be entering the country illegally ... or by breaking the immigration rules in the UK – by working full time having been allowed into study, or by failing to leave at the end of their stay. (UK Home Office, 2007, p. 8)

Irregular working may occur with or without the help of smuggling networks. A number of reports identify that irregular immigration, the use of migrant smuggling networks and immigration fraud have grown in recent years. These studies identify stricter border controls and security measures being introduced by developed countries as one of the drivers of this growth (Crépeau & Nakache, 2006; Koser, 2005, 2008; Papademetriou, 2005). It is suggested that, far from stemming migrant smuggling, more stringent border controls and tighter selection criteria may have the unintended consequence of pushing individuals towards illicit means to cross borders.

A European Commission report identifies work opportunities and the toleration among EU member states of the irregular employment of third-country nationals as a significant pull factor for irregular migrants entering the EU. In many member states, the risk of being detected by competent authorities is currently very low for both the employer and the employee (European Commission, 2006).

The stock and proportion of migrants who are working illegally in IGC countries is difficult to estimate. Estimates for individual countries range from under 1 per cent to 5 per cent of the workforce (Bruno, 2011; Howells, 2011; Martin & Miller, 2001; PICUM, 2009). Instances of people trafficking and smuggling, as well as better technology to forge documents and evade sanctions, have all increased the propensity for irregular working as well as the difficulty in estimation. In relation to employers, the difficulty can then be providing a case for monitoring and sanctions as it can be perceived that the extent of the problem is not large. In a review of irregular working in Australia, employers and stakeholders submitted that the number of irregular workers is not significant (Howells, 2011).

Informal economy

Like irregular migrants, the statistics and estimates of migrant employment in the informal economy is sparse. Even the term “informal economy” does not have an internationally recognised definition. The OECD concludes that the informal economy usually refers to economic activities and transactions that are sufficiently hidden so that they are unmeasured or untaxed (Andrews, Sánchez, & Johansson, 2011). It is presumed that economic agents are at least passively aware that bringing these activities to the attention of authorities would imply tax or other legal consequences. Home production is generally excluded. It can include:

- informal workers employed by firms
- informal self-employed
- informal production by firms.

Country variances are found. A survey by the United Nations of non-observed economy adjustments to GDP used by national statistical offices varied from 0.8 per cent in the USA to 11.2 per cent in Spain (United Nations, 2008). This will affect the extent to which migrants in various countries are employed in the cash or informal economy.

Differing views of the informal economy have evolved over time. It has traditionally been viewed as exploitive, low-paid and organised fraudulent activity. However, recent studies show that most informal work is not by marginalised workers but by workers and firms who choose informality (often on a voluntary basis) (Andrews et al., 2011). In this context, the OECD defines the informal economy as economic activities and transactions that are hidden so that they are unmeasured or untaxed. In general, it only refers to activities that are involved in the production and transaction of legal goods and services and home production is generally excluded.

As for the literature on irregular migration, informal employment of migrants is often found in the garment industry, domestic sector, hospitality, agriculture and construction sectors across IGC participating states (Likic-Brboric, 2007). Sub-contracting and self-employment in the construction sector in particular gives rise to cash payments and the cash economy (Krings et al., 2011).

The literature documents women migrants as vulnerable to exploitation, particularly those fleeing extreme poverty or ethnic/religious wars in their home countries and who are provided transport by people traffickers. It has been estimated by the Spanish police that

some 20,000 irregular migrants are forced to work as prostitutes and subjected to violence, intimidation and mistreatment (Corkill, 2001).

An older survey of migrants in Spain also estimated that around 30 per cent of non-EU migrants worked in the underground economy (Carrasco, 2000, as cited in Corkill, 2001). Those working in the informal economy then become even more vulnerable to exploitation as employers have the knowledge that they are unlikely to complain of mistreatment because of their uncertain status.

As part of a strategy to remove the root causes of informality, the International Labour Organization's decent work agenda consists of four objectives:

- generating opportunities for employment and income
- enhancement of rights at work
- improvement of social protection
- strengthening of representation and voice in the informal economy.

As part of the work agenda, each participating country has a work programme in place to work towards these four objectives.

Immigration compliance systems and employer sanctions

Immigration compliance systems are necessary:

- to discourage entry and employment of unauthorised workers
- to protect the labour market from unfair competition
- so that unauthorised workers are not exploited. (Howells, 2011; Martin & Miller, 2001)

There can be many potential responses to irregular migration. Examples include (Ruhs & Anderson, 2010):

- increased border control
- more effective employer sanctions
- regularisation exercises
- guest worker programmes
- return agreements with countries of origin
- policies that promote economic development in order to reduce emigration pressures.

Some of these have already been discussed previously in this review, and in this section we focus on employer sanctions. Employers are expected to maximise their profits, which leads to a number of business and recruitment objectives:

- minimise labour costs
- recruit good workers with preferred qualities and attitude
- minimise immigration costs (compliance with legal employment and minimising sanctions).

There may therefore be incentives to employ migrant workers illegally as they may be perceived to possess good work ethic and attitudes – in some cases, employers perceptions of good work ethic and attitudes is related to migrant willingness to accept worse employment conditions (longer hours and less pay) than other workers. At the same time there are disincentives to employing irregular workers as they can be more difficult to retain. These incentives and disincentives are balanced by the probability of detection and the level and type of sanctions governments use to deter irregular employment.

Ruhs and Anderson (2010) tested these assumptions through 39 in-depth interviews with employers in the UK. They found that employers used a strategy of semi-compliance by sometimes choosing not to know the immigration status of their employees and incorrectly assuming that certain documents were proof of legal immigration status. Employers spoke of *bending* the law rather than breaking the law. The rationale for this approach was due to perceptions that they were working within rigid and burdensome immigration law, and felt that it should not be their responsibility to ensure the legality of their workers. For many, this resulted in a preference for using employment businesses and agencies as this transferred the responsibility to another organisation. Employers and employer associations who contributed to an Australian review of employer sanctions in relation to irregular working also commented that governments are responsible for protecting sovereignty, not employers, and therefore checking employees' status should not be their role (Howells, 2011). This was also echoed in a UK Migrants' Rights Network (2008) paper whereby employers stated that they resented their role as "unpaid immigration officers". Employers in another study also mentioned that the responsibility of ensuring workers return home at the end of a seasonal or temporary work programme was "an inordinate burden on businesses and employers" (Dench et al., 2006, p. 70).

Some governments have recognised this spectrum of irregularity, and the burdens immigration systems placed on employers. For example, since 2007, the UK government has recognised that there is wide variation in non-compliance and certain types of irregularity pose more problems than others. As such the "degrees of harm" concept was introduced and enforcement was targeted at practices that were most harmful (through an assessment of both benefits and costs to the UK). Ruhs and Anderson (2010) conclude that semi-compliance is difficult for the state to control, but at the same time appears to serve the interests of both migrants and employers.

Irregular working also appears to be more prevalent in certain sectors. Employers in a UK-based study perceived there to be more irregular working in the agriculture and horticulture and construction sectors. This was explained by the seasonal nature of work, cash payments, mobility of workers, and pressures on labour costs as contributors to this occurring. Data from enforcement agencies confirm that irregular employment is most likely to be situated in these sectors (Table 9). Sectors which are more regulated tend to have less irregular working. For example, social care and health tends to have less instances of irregular working than construction and hospitality (J. Moriarty, 2010).

Immigration compliance systems from an employer perspective generally consist of employer sanctions in the form of fines and penalties, regular checks and monitoring by enforcement agencies, and information campaigns for employers. These systems need to be mutually reinforcing and prioritised in order to deter irregular worker employment. Corkill (2001) concluded that about one in every three Spanish employers employs irregular

migrants. The penalties in place do not appear to be a deterrent, and weak surveillance and acceptance of economic informality also contribute.

IGC countries tend to use employer sanctions such as fines and other penalties to ensure employers do not recruit and retain unauthorised workers. For most IGC countries, employer sanctions are a relatively recent addition to labour and immigration laws – since the mid-1970s in western Europe, the late 1980s in the USA and since 1997 in the UK (Martin & Miller, 2001). Table 9 provides an overview of employer sanctions in a sample of IGC Participating States.

Table 9: Employers' sanctions: Comparison of main features in a sample of IGC Participating States

	France	Germany	United States	United Kingdom	New Zealand	Australia
Sanctions enacted	1972	1972	1986	1997	New changes in 2009	1958 Specific employer sanctions 2007
Major enforcement agency	Labour	Labour	Immigration	Immigration	Immigration	Immigration
Fine	1,000 times minimum wage	DM 100,000	First offence: US\$275–\$2,200 for each worker Second offence: US\$2,200–\$5,500 for each worker Subsequent offences: US\$3,300–\$11,000	Civil penalties for employment: Up to £10,000 for each illegal worker, or face up to 2 years in prison Criminal offence: Unlimited fine for <i>knowingly</i> employing an illegal worker and/or maximum 2 years imprisonment	NZ\$10,000 for employing Allowing or continuing to allow while knowing: NZ\$50,000 Exploiting and knowing: imprisonment for seven years and/or NZ\$100,000	Up to AU\$66,000 per illegal worker. The penalties are higher where an illegal worker is being exploited through slavery, forced labour or sexual servitude.

	France	Germany	United States	United Kingdom	New Zealand	Australia
Employer obligation	<p>Fax information on new hires to registry</p> <p>Biometric visa and database system introduced in 2008</p>	<p>Check work permit</p> <p>Enrol in health/tax system</p>	<p>Mandatory completing of an Employment Eligibility Verification Form (I9 form)</p> <p>Does not require knowledge of illegality for a civil offence.</p> <p>Voluntary and new hires internet-based checking system (E-Verify, since 2001)</p>	<p>Checks to determine the legality of workers</p> <p>Continued responsibility to check ongoing entitlement to work</p>	<p>Checks to determine legality / entitlement to work</p> <p>Free online tool VisaView for checking work entitlement</p>	<p>Enough that a non-citizen is found to be working without a visa or in violation of their visa entitlements.²¹</p> <p>Visa Entitlement Verification Online system for employers and labour suppliers to check permissions</p>
Enforcement	<p>Third parties providing information on employers and fax information</p>	<p>Third parties providing information on employers and cross-checks between databases</p>	<p>Third parties providing information on employers and priorities determined locally</p> <p>New worksite enforcement strategy in 2009. New initiative to increase inspections (audits) of business owners' employee verification forms (I9)</p>	<p>Third parties providing information on employers</p>	<p>Acting on third parties providing information on employers</p> <p>Targeting of high risk industries, often in joint operations / investigations with other government stakeholder agencies</p> <p>Employer education drives / programmes</p>	<p>Third parties providing information on employers and targeting of high risk sectors</p>

²¹ The Australian Government plans to introduce new laws in 2012 to establish civil penalties and fines for employing or referring illegal workers. The exposure draft Migration Amendment (Reform of Employer Sanctions) Bill 2012 was released by Minister for Immigration and Citizenship Chris Bowen on 3 August 2012.

	France	Germany	United States	United Kingdom	New Zealand	Australia
Major violating industries	Construction, agriculture, hotels and restaurants, janitorial, garments	Construction, agriculture, hotels and restaurants, janitorial, garments	Construction, agriculture, hotels and restaurants, janitorial, garments	Construction, agriculture	Construction, agriculture / viticulture, hospitality, entertainment – tourism	Agriculture, forestry and fishing; construction; accommodation, cafes and restaurants
Enforcement issues	Sub-contracting, co-ordination between agencies Criminal proceedings against employers rare	Sub-contracting, intra-EU services	Document fraud, making enforcement an INS priority		Sub-contracting Gathering evidence and securing witnesses Co-ordination between agencies	Criminal proceedings against employers rare
Estimated illegal workers	400,000 (2001)	600,000 (2001)	4,000,000 (2001) 8,000,000 (2010)	725,000 (2007) 69,750–570,000 (2010)	14,044 (2012, this is an estimate of “overstayers” rather than illegal workers)	53,860 (2010)
Total foreign workers	1,600,00	2,500,000	15,000,000			
Total foreign as percentage of total employment	6	7	11			
Illegal as percentage of total employment	1.5	1.7	2.9 5.4 (2008)	0.7–0.9 (of total population)		0.9

Source: Department of Labour – Immigration, 2011; Howells, 2011; Martin & Miller, 2001; PICUM, 2009; Triandafyllidou, 2009; CLANDESTINO Database on Irregular Migration <http://irregular-migration.net>; Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment provided information

IGC Participating States' sanctions generally consist of fines, and in some cases imprisonment, for the employment of "illegal" workers. Recent trends include increased penalties for "knowingly" employing illegal workers as well as for employing illegal workers but not necessarily having knowledge of their illegality. In Australia, the USA, the UK and New Zealand, civil penalty provisions have emerged with stricter liability and infringement notices (Howells, 2011). Howells (2011) notes that while in a number of countries knowingly employing an illegal worker constitutes a criminal offence, traditionally it has not been an efficient or effective way to regulate illegal employment. Traditionally, many IGC Participating States also have a poor record of law enforcement in this area. Ruhs (2006) comments that in 2002, only 53 employers were fined for immigration violations in the whole of the USA, and between 1998 and 2004 only 17 employers were successfully prosecuted in the UK for illegal employment. The USA has more recently placed greater emphasis on investigating and prosecuting employers who knowingly and repeatedly employ illegal workers (Bruno, 2011). As a result, 237 employers were fined in 2010. Clearly, enforcement of employer sanctions is critical to an immigration compliance system.

International compliance systems have, over time, placed greater responsibilities on employers to perform necessary checks on the legality and permits of their workers. In response to this added responsibility, countries have developed internet-based databases to enable employers to check permits of new hires; examples include E-Verify in the USA and Visa Entitlement Verification Online in Australia. Other jurisdictions offer an employer checking service upon submission of applications and documents. For example, the UK's employer checking service is a developing service that checks migrant status and validates documents within a service standard of five working days.

E-Verify in the USA is one of the longest running programmes which launched as a basic pilot programme in 2001. E-Verify is an online system jointly operated by the Department of Homeland Security and the Social Security Administration. Registered employers can check the work status of new employees against Department of Homeland Security and Social Security Administration databases. The programme remains voluntary, and as at 31 March 2012, 353,822 employers were enrolled (USA Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2012). Given that there are around 6 million employers in the USA (USA Census Bureau, 2007), only a minority of employers are currently enrolled.

Although these verification programmes are considered an important measure in combating irregular migration, there is evidence in the USA, where this scheme has been in place the longest, that the employer verification programme may have exacerbated identity crime amongst irregular migrants (Rosenblum, 2011). Identity theft of genuine documents held by legitimate USA citizens has continued to increase and, because the stolen identity is genuine, the verification systems in the USA will not detect that the job applicant is an impostor.

The possibility of fines was a concern for many employers in an interview-based study of employers in the UK (Dench et al., 2006). A few commented that this had deterred them from taking on some migrants who may have been legal, but their paperwork and status was uncertain. Employers of more low-skilled migrants commented that they were being more vigilant in checking their paperwork. The study also found that a few were recruiting illegally, but this was usually through ignorance rather than an intention to employ irregular workers. Some employers also assumed that recruitment agencies undertook checks.

These findings, as well as other studies in the field, highlight that the majority of employers do not knowingly set out to hire irregular workers. While sanctions are a deterrent for the majority of employers who operate good practice recruitment and employment conditions, employer sanctions are not generally sufficient to deter the smaller proportion of employers who are more willing to hire irregular workers. Martin and Miller (2001) conclude that without employer sanctions there would be more irregular worker employment; however, sanctions in isolation do not prevent irregular worker employment.

The provisions of the Migration Amendment (Employer Sanctions) Act 2007 are wholly ineffective as a deterrent against the small number of employers and labour suppliers who engage or refer non-citizens who do not have lawful permission to work or who work in breach of their visa conditions. The Employer Sanctions provisions are also ineffective as an educational tool for recalcitrant employers and labour suppliers. (Howells, 2011, p. 14)

Employer sanctions need to be married with monitoring and checks to ensure compliance. The countries examined as part of this review mostly checked compliance when they received information on potential irregular workers from the public, other government agencies or as part of regular monitoring exercises targeted at high-risk employers and sectors (Howells, 2011). Depending on the severity of the situation and the circumstances, compliance offers may issue warning notices.

The priority and resources dedicated to compliance and monitoring depended on policy directions. Recent policy changes and emphasis in the UK, the Netherlands and France have led to increases in number of enforcement operations and workplace raids (PICUM, 2009). In 2008, it was reported that almost 900 employers and 1,000 irregular migrant workers were arrested in France as a result of raids.

Clearly, employers' responses to such operations and general monitoring will depend on the regimes operated and the employers' sector (being one which tends to house more irregular migrants or not). An Australian study of employers found that only 20 per cent rated it at the difficult end of the scale (Khoo et al., 2004). Although in a more recent review, employers submitted that the administrative burden, cost and inconvenience they faced was high, particularly in relation to checking the identity and permissions of all employees and ongoing monitoring on a month-by-month basis (Howells, 2011).

The costs borne on employers in relation to employer sanctions and penalty regimes is often perceived by employers as being too high (Dench et al., 2006; Howells, 2011). The UK Home Office estimated that the civil penalties regime instituted in 2007 would cost employers around £27 million. Employers' associations commented that most costs were related to staff training and implementing IT, which would vary by type and size of business.

Compliance checking/targeted raids in the ethnic restaurant sector in the UK, which was over-represented in employers serviced with fines in 2007-08, appears to have led to a change in behaviour of employers. Employers in London's Chinatown have been reported as being more vigilant in checking workers' eligibility and dismissing them if they are not legal (PICUM, 2009).

Information provision and campaigns

Governments have instituted campaigns and provided guidance to educate employers about irregular working. Examples include online employers' toolkits and guidance. Unions and employer associations are also supporters of eliminating irregular working and work with their members to prevent irregular working, as well as submitting articles and information bulletins in industry-specific media (Anderson & Rogaly, 2005; Blake, 2008; Perry, 2007; Walkup, 2006).

In Australia, the Department of Immigration and Citizenship's compliance officer network offers employer awareness training sessions to employers and employer associations. Between 2008 and 2009, 2,223 employer awareness visits were conducted. The sessions educate employers, industry bodies and unions about immigration status checking to reduce the number of irregular workers. While evaluations have not been carried out, compliance offers and employer organisations have viewed awareness-raising and education programmes as successful. As a result of training, major employers in risk areas have altered their employment procedures to check for work entitlement (Howells, 2011).

However, an earlier review of irregular working in Australia concluded that while public campaigns are useful for the majority of employers, they do not encourage employers who are not interested in co-operating (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 1999).

Regulation

Migrant workers tend to concentrate in countries and industries which tend to be more deregulated. A study of migration in the construction industry in Italy, Portugal, Germany, the USA, the Netherlands and Switzerland found that migrant worker inflows were low in the Netherlands and Switzerland as their labour markets were highly regulated, compared with Italy and Portugal (Fellini et al., 2007).

Codes of practice and regulation of specific industries have been used to deter and/or mitigate exploitation. The UK established the Gangmasters Licensing Authority (GLA) in response to pressure from employers, trade unions and in the wake of the deaths of 23 migrant cockle-pickers. The Gangmasters (Licensing) Act was introduced in 2004 to curb exploitative and fraudulent activities by gangmasters/labour providers supplying labour in the agriculture, forestry, horticulture, shellfish-gathering and related food-processing and packaging industries. Studies have found that labour providers, unions, employers and representatives of vulnerable workers perceive that the GLA has improved working conditions for migrant workers and made a more level playing field for employers (Wilkinson, 2012). The GLA has also been praised as creating positive relationships with retailers and labour suppliers (Wilkinson, Craig, & Gaus, 2009). An evaluation in 2009 found widespread support for the GLA and that it has been effective in tackling exploiters and protecting the exploited; however, it could be strengthened through broadening its remit, and allocation of more resources to enable it to carry out its duties (Wilkinson et al., 2009).

It should be noted that the GLA is only responsible for certain sectors. It has been commented that other sectors like construction, hospitality and care are all sectors where migrants are over-represented and should be within the GLA's remit (Wilkinson, 2012). For

other employers and sectors, the penalties have been considered to be so weak that they offer no meaningful disincentive (Wynn, 2009, as cited in Wilkinson, 2012).

Regularisation

Amnesties have been used in many IGC Participating States to legalise undocumented migrants. In Spain, there have been six major regularisation programmes since 1985, and the most recent Normalisation Process ran in 2005 (Levinson, 2005). The government objectives of these programmes include controlling the informal economy, to gather information on and reduce the numbers of unauthorised migrants, and to correct shortcomings of previous regularisation exercises. The 2005 process placed greater demands on employers in the application process than previous programmes. Migrant applications for work permits had to be applied through employers, and employers must demonstrate that they are paying into social security, have no history of breaking immigration laws in the previous 12 months, and that they had not been sanctioned for violating workers' or migrants' rights.

This programme has been considered as largely effective in bringing migrant workers into the formal economy (and reducing exploitation), and led to the regularisation of 577,923 migrant workers, and 81 per cent of those joined the social security system (International Labour Organization, 2009b).

There have been calls in the UK for regularisation programmes to take place for undocumented migrant workers. Wilkinson et al. (2009) state that undocumented workers make large contributions to the economy, but are forced to lead an underground existence and are vulnerable to exploitation. They conclude that the government has a moral responsibility to act.

Summary

An intergovernmental workshop on irregular migration in Northern Europe discussed a number of issues relevant to IGC Participating States, which we repeat here:

- Social and labour rights should come first in order to establish a human rights-based approach towards the issue;
- More collaboration amongst different actors working in the field, especially between individuals and organizations, should be encouraged to find opportunities to work with researchers; involving NGOs in conducting research and making policies is thus of utmost importance;
- Increased networking and cooperation amongst different actors are therefore encouraged to raise awareness;
- Regularisation as a key issue needs to be explored in depth;
- Many human rights instruments have never been properly implemented nor well interpreted; using the legal framework to effectuate change for undocumented migrants such as providing them with free access to public services was identified as a key element;

- Work within media personnel to influence journalists' practice – when and if appropriate conveying voices of migrants without mediation. Developing a progressive narrative for migration is necessary to shed light on the phenomenon; there is a need to perceive irregular migration as a solution and not as a problem;
- A proper use of language is crucial in order to change attitude towards irregular migrants; terminology plays a key role. The terms “undocumented” and “irregular” were then advocated instead of “illegal”. (PICUM, 2009)

Conclusions

In undertaking this literature review, it was a significant challenge to identify and assess research that included employers as participants, and also initiatives that were employer-centred and evaluations of those initiatives. While employers are a key influencer in the demand for, recruitment of, and the integration and settlement of migrants, they have not been a central target of research and government initiatives. A key recommendation of this literature review is for more systematic involvement of employers in the development, delivery and monitoring of migration initiatives. In outlining this, we recognise that there are significant barriers to this occurring, including lack of business capacity and capability to be involved, business survey fatigue, the complexity of integrating data needs across policy fields, and the design of longitudinal business data collection systems and funding for policy evaluation and research in times of decreasing public baseline expenditure.

The research gathered spans relatively sizable online and paper-based questionnaires that allow some generalisations to take place, to small, interview-based studies which provide rich and nuanced data on the motivations and decision processes of employers in the recruitment and settlement of migrant workers. The studies, across IGC Participating States, are relatively consistent in their messages. Based on employers' statements, the following conclusions were made.

- Demand for migrant workers
 - Employers are facing labour and skill shortages. Their employee needs are dichotomous: both high-skilled and low-skilled occupations.
 - Employers do not set out to recruit migrant workers.
 - If employers are in the hospitality, construction, health and social work, finance, or agriculture and horticulture²² sectors, they are more likely to have relatively high proportions of migrant workers.
 - Migrants have a high work ethic and are filling positions that the domestic workforce are not.
 - Migrants can bring an international perspective, skills and knowledge to the business.
- Recruiting migrants
 - Employers use a number of recruitment strategies, but word of mouth and networks are most commonly used.
 - Migrants' lack of ability to speak and comprehend the national language, lack of work experience in the host country, and foreign qualifications are significant barriers to recruitment. Negative employer, and public, attitudes are also a determinant of employment.
 - Immigration policies and systems are confusing and slow, and do not meet their needs.

²² Note that while the data find that migrants are not over-represented in the agriculture and horticulture sector, it is likely the Census data on which it is based does not well reflect the temporary and seasonal nature of their employment.

- Immigration and integration advice and support is fragmented and hard to access.
- Compliance and exploitation
 - Fines and employer sanctions are a deterrent to employing irregular workers (and in some cases migrants where there is uncertainty), but do not appear to discourage employers who deliberately employ and/or exploit irregular migrants.

Humanitarian migrants

Most IGC Participating States place work restrictions upon those seeking asylum (as opposed to quota refugees who arrive with refugee status and have work rights on arrival). While some countries do allow asylum seekers to work, this tends to be dependent upon the individual meeting criteria (particularly confirming identity), and individuals are often not allowed to apply for work permits for a defined period of time after applying for asylum (ranging from 3 to 12 months). When asylum seekers gain a favourable decision, they will usually gain the same right to work as other residents.

In relation to recruitment and settlement, employers do not appear to make the distinction between general migrant workers and refugees or asylum seekers. In comparing the migrant literature and the humanitarian migrant literature, the findings are essentially the same. The main barriers that employers perceive to refugee recruitment are language, work experience, qualification recognition and discrimination – the same challenges that general migrants face. However, the inability of employers to ascertain legal status to work, and the penalties imposed, make employers particularly reluctant to hire refugees. Refugees also appear to face more discrimination than migrants, both by employers and the community.

Most refugees gain employment through friends, family and networks. Given that their networks in the new host country will be largely undeveloped this can present a significant hurdle to employment in a position commensurate with their knowledge and skills. Other than networks, public employment services and specialist refugee services are the main channels to employment. Given that the research suggests that their links to employers and employer associations are not as developed as they could be, this can represent another significant challenge.

As refugees are faced with additional hurdles, they are more likely to be concentrated in lower-skilled occupations in comparison with the general population as well as general migrant workers. Surveys and data analysis find that refugees are concentrated in the following sectors: transport (taxi drivers, couriers), cleaning, food processing, security, aged care, manufacturing, hospitality, interpreting/translation, retail, and administration/clerical work.

A number of specialist programmes and initiatives for the employment of refugees have been developed at the local and national level. Examples include Refugee Integration and Employment Services (RIES) in the UK, Right to Stay in Germany, and Building Bridges in Melbourne, Australia. While Building Bridges is specifically tailored to employers, RIES is more refugee-focused involving a case-managed 12-month programme to support migrants in their search for a job and post-employment support. Again, initiatives that are employer-focused and refugee-focused are in the minority, and multiple different programmes and

short-term funding have impacted on their success and viability. Note that RIES was disestablished last year due to decreases in funding to the UK Refugee Council.

Because one of the main barriers to employment of refugees is lack of clarity about their work status, employers in a number of studies comment that the most useful support that agencies and government can provide are document-checking services. Specialist programmes which had document-checking as part of the offering were particularly valued by employers.

Policy development and implementation

Faced with the issues and challenges outlined in the above sections, IGC Participating States have, encouragingly, tailored policy settings and mechanisms to mitigate the barriers and facilitate migrant employment. However, there is still further work to do to ensure that the employer voice and participation continues to be part of the development and operation of policies and programmes. This has also occurred in challenging economic times, which has resulted in many IGC Participating States seeking to take the approach of more “managed migration” by reducing avenues for migrant entry and reducing employer reliance on migrants.

Labour market tests, occupational shortage lists, caps and quotas and general national policy direction are used in combination by all IGC Participating States to manage migration and employer demand. In line with policy directions, some countries are reducing the duration of labour market tests and removing quotas, while others are tightening visa categories and shortening occupational shortage lists. These have both increased and reduced employer demand for migrants.

There are examples of national and local initiatives which have been successful in facilitating migrant employment and are employer-focused. Key features of these successful initiatives are:

- a comprehensive service tailored to the key barriers identified by employers and the literature; that is, language and communication difficulties, work experience, qualifications recognition and discrimination
- individual case management and referral services for employers and migrants
- migrant support for searching and applying for work, as well as career advice and planning
- education and awareness-raising for employers, and the media/public
- employer liaison and outreach
- migrant orientation to work culture and systems
- work and sector-specific language training
- mentoring
- work placements.

However, it is noted that the funding and delivery of many of these initiatives is short term and not well co-ordinated. Not only does this reduce their potential impact, but is an additional barrier for employers who often comment on the need for a “one-stop shop” for

their recruitment and migration needs (employers have noted that they find immigration systems to be confusing, and in many cases, not timely and responsive to their needs). Any systems or mechanisms which reduce complexity and channel information and programmes through one entry point will be advantageous to the employer and the migrant.

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Appendix 1: Research questions

Recruitment of migrants

- What is the nature and determinants of employer demand for migrant workers and refugees/asylum seekers? How does this differ across different industries/sectors/employers?
- Are migrants/refugees/asylum seekers segmented into certain industries/occupations?
- What are employers' recruitment practices and use of migrant/refugee/asylum seeker labour (how and whom do employers recruit?)
- What are employers' responses to perceived staff shortages? How are these constrained in specific sectors/occupations (for example, policy/regulatory barriers to employing people without locally specific skills or qualifications; caps on numbers; limits on ratios of foreign-born to local workers, etc.)?
- What support do governments provide employers to recruit migrants/refugees/asylum seekers?
- What support do employers want?

Refugee/asylum seekers/vulnerable migrants

- What initiatives (including initiatives in the non-Government sector) do countries have in place to encourage employers to hire refugees/asylum seekers/vulnerable migrants?
- What are the key features of successful initiatives to encourage employers to hire resettled refugees/asylum seekers/vulnerable migrants?
- What are employers' perceptions of working with former refugees/asylum seekers?
- What are the factors that act as barriers or facilitators to employing former refugees/asylum seekers/vulnerable migrants?
- What supports do employers receive from governments to employ refugees/asylum seekers/vulnerable migrants?
- What types of sectors/industries are refugees/asylum seekers/vulnerable migrants most often employed in?

Compliance and exploitation

- What is the nature and extent of exploitation of migrant workers and refugees/asylum seekers?
- Is this a particular issue in certain employment sectors or for certain types of migrants (for example, refugees/asylum seekers, low-skilled workers, temporary workers, illegal workers, students)?
- What systems do countries have in place to ensure immigration compliance by employers? How are these enforced and monitored?

- To what extent are migrants/refugees/asylum seekers being employed in the cash economy? Is this an issue for specific sectors/groups of migrants/refugees/asylum seekers?

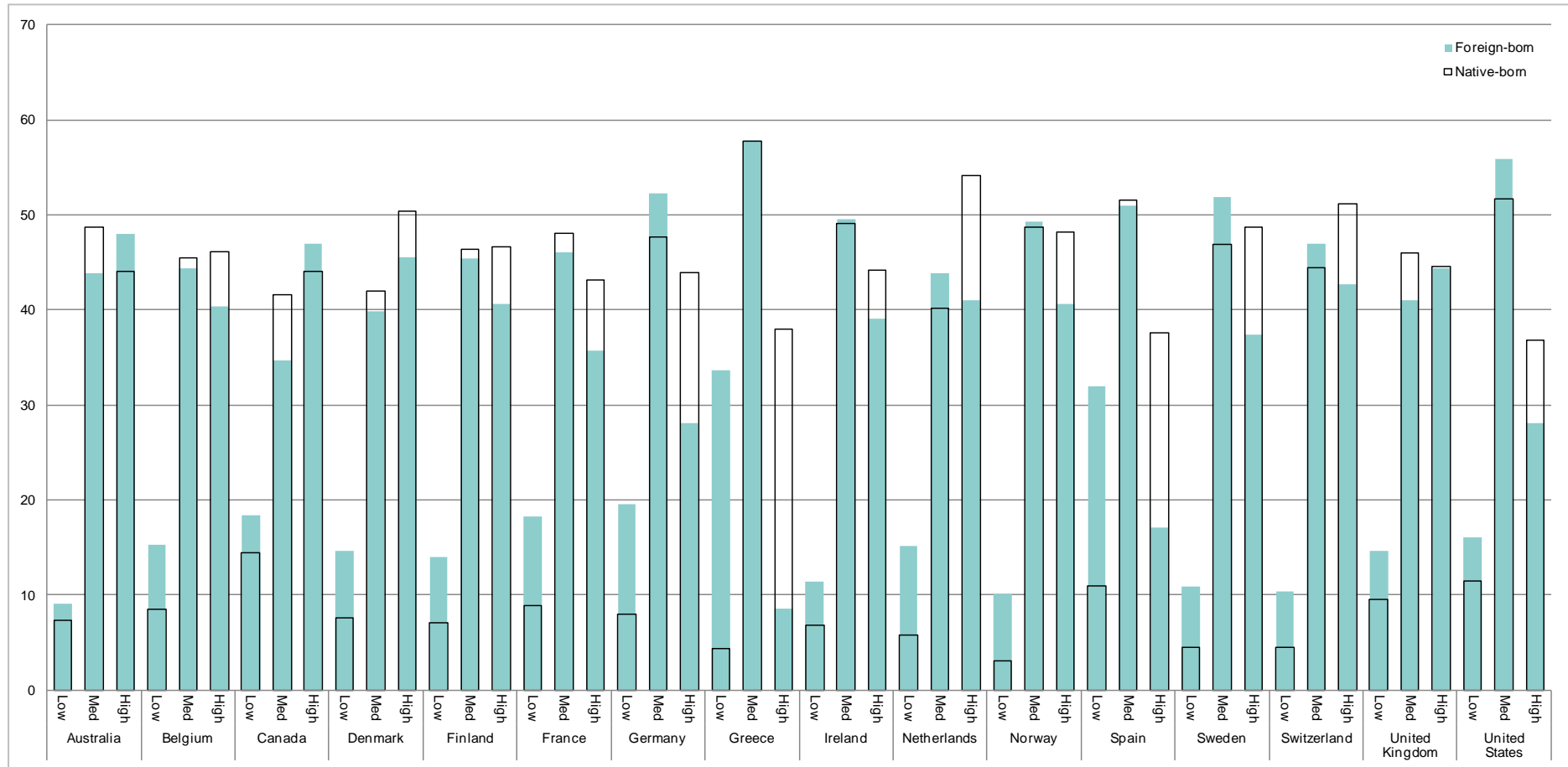
Appendix 2: Employment of foreign-born persons by sector (%), 2011

	Agriculture and fishing	Mining, manufacturing and energy	Construction	Wholesale and retail trade	Hotels and restaurants	Education	Health	Households	Administration and extra-territorial organisations	Other services
Belgium	0.6	13.3	9.6	11.8	8.2	5.5	10.9	2.2	9.9	28.0
Denmark	2.4	13.9	1.8	11.8	7.5	9.5	21.5	-	3.2	28.0
Finland	2.6	15.3	6.1	12.8	8.5	8.1	11.7	-	2.5	32.3
France	1.3	11.7	12.3	11.7	7.0	5.2	11.6	5.4	6.4	27.5
Germany	0.7	25.6	7.0	12.7	8.8	4.5	10.7	1.1	2.4	26.6
Greece	8.9	13.4	19.2	14.6	12.1	1.5	3.2	14.7	0.9	11.5
Ireland	2.2	17.1	4.2	16.3	11.7	4.9	14.4	1.0	2.2	26.0
Netherlands	1.7	14.5	4.2	12.6	6.8	6.6	16.4	-	6.3	30.8
Norway	-	12.0	6.2	11.2	6.8	6.5	24.3	-	3.0	28.5
Spain	5.7	9.3	10.5	13.6	16.1	2.2	5.0	14.9	2.0	20.6
Sweden	0.6	13.2	4.1	11.1	7.2	11.3	19.3	-	3.7	29.4
Switzerland	1.2	18.4	8.0	14.2	7.7	5.3	13.1	1.3	2.2	28.6
United Kingdom	0.5	10.6	5.7	13.2	9.2	8.2	15.6	0.4	4.1	32.4
United States	2.2	12.9	9.3	13.9	10.5	5.8	12.1	1.4	2.4	29.5

Sources: European Labour Force Surveys (Eurostat), Q1-Q3 2011; United States: Current Population Survey 2011

Notes: A dash indicates that the estimate is not reliable enough for publication.

Appendix 3: Foreign- and native-born workers aged 15 to 64 by skill level of employment (ISCO), 2009–2010



Source: European Union Labour Force Surveys; US Current Population Surveys; Australian and Canadian Labour Force Surveys

