

# Global « skilled » migration governance and the role of CSOs

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# 1 An issue of global migration governance full of paradoxes

- ..and to begin with
- The paradox stressed by Dani Rodrick ...which should rally all those who believe in the virtues of free trade: »the gains from liberalising labour movements across countries are enormous, and much larger than the likely benefits from further liberalisation in the traditional areas of goods and capital. If international policy makers were really interested in maximising worldwide efficiency they would spend little of their energies on a new trade round or on the international financial architecture. They would all be busy at work liberalising immigration restrictions. » Rodrick (2002) in Boeri et alii eds « *Immigration policy and the welfare system* » OUP

2...and all the more so with the global governance that developed in the 1980s and after

- The turn of the 1980s towards a global governance where free market principles prevail
- Four actors:
- - the traditional States and Markets duo, where the logics of free market gave to big businesses a major role in the construction of global products markets
- - a liberalisation, only checked in certain areas by the other two actors : International Institutions and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs)

- The creation of the WTO in 1996 was a highmark in this evolution
- So was the demise of the socialist eastern block in the early 1990s
- ..as well as the rapid liberalisation of finance, which turned global within a decade
- ..all of which transformed production processes (with the development of global value chains) and consumption processes (with worldwide distributors for manufactured products and speculative markets for primary resources)

### 3 ..still with no real global governance scheme for migration flows

- It is widely acknowledged that no global migration governance scheme has been developed in the meantime (see for instance the Global Migration Governance Project, Oxford University)
- One has first to distinguish between categories of migrants: the refugees, the skilled workers and the mix of the rest .
- A blunt typology where some global governance schemes can be specified for the first two, while the « rest » remains ..a complex black box that has largely to be dealt with

# A global governance scheme for the refugees

Taking care of refugees is looked upon as a global public good

-Specific UN institutions like the ILO and the UNHCR (League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) have set up a multilateral scheme to deal with this issue

-And States are more or less cooperative to upgrade this corpus of rights of the refugees. ...with some improvement at regional levels ..

-;and the issue remains open to discussions and debates to define the conditions and the means that refugees are entitled with , debates where CSOs are active interlocutors

# A global governance of segmented markets for the « skilled » migrants

- to some extent a global governance of segmented markets has been developing concerning skilled migrants
- With a set of national policies , defining quotas, focused on high skills (namely tertiary degree) , mixing demand led and supply led procedures as well exemplified in Rey Koslowski 's contribution with the cases of Canada, Australia and the US.
- Clearly such issue could have been taken on board in a WTO framework
- But national practices of host countries are not converging and impacts on home countries are not homogeneous
- Especially because a market of tertiary education has been developing at international level, where rankings of institutions ,such as the Shanghai ranking, and development of ICTs (information and communication technologies) , of which the diffusion of the MOOCs , are reconstructing the international market of skilled workers
- all of which put in a new setting the question of the brain drain, making multilateral progress on this issue more difficult to reach

# The third category remaining a black box

- The « rest » , so to speak, is mixing would be workers with a diversity of skills, economic refugees, parts of families willing to live together, illegal immigrants, migrants from developed economies,..but also would be inactive residents with their own means of living (with a large range of cases, more or less wealthy)
- In this mix we have a lot of potential workers...
- And altogether this « rest » represents » the vast majority of migrants.
- ...hence the surprise that no global governance scheme really deals with this mass



- Some ask why an international institution like the WTO does not exist (WMO)
- Others stress that it concerns not only labour market issues but also crucially citizenship issues with the diverse advantages and constraints attached to it that are at stakes (an issue of impacts on social protection systems which is often brought forward in national debates over immigration, mixing facts and myths)

- Still clearly , dealing with this issue, goes beyond a question of market construction (as the objective of WTO is) ...it goes deeper and touch again an issue of global public good which has to be considered in its own right (and not as a proxy of a market construction issue), all the more so that the process of internationalisation has many dimensions and is more and more facing a challenge of common human fate, be it because of global change like with our environment, but also with our much and irreversibly increased economic interdependence ...not to mention that a similarly irreversible social threshold has been crossed with the internationalisation of most national societies...and the demographic imbalances that ensure that these trends are here to stay

# 4 looking for what govern global migration : lessons from the empirics

- We cannot look specifically to what we called the « rest » , eg migrations flows which are not refugees, nor skilled
- Not only for statistical reasons but also because the borders between these categories are blurred, migrant trajectories often mixing along time the various status.
- As what we called the « rest » is in fact massive, the empirics of gross flows of migrations will still be telling.
- Notice, passim, that what we called « skilled migrations » remains a small specific part of the gross flows, a bit if we stick to the comparison with product market as if we analyze the construction of the international car market on the basis of the upper quality decile of cars, certainly useful but a bit short for the construction of the internationalisation of the labour market.

# On the lessons of statistics of migration flows (a)

- Mouhoud and Oudinet (2014) have analyzed the sensitivity of net an migrations to the state of the labour markets in host countries for a range of 19 countries/regions between 1971-2009.
- The showed that the state of the labour markets of the host countries had an impact but of a second order of magnitude compared with the fixed effect of countries. ...all of which tends to show that specificities like historical links, existing networks , attractiveness of amenities (eg public services « tied » to citizenship and residence ) played a lasting role, structuring resilient flows of migration.
- What E.M. Mouhoud presentation is adding is that large political changes in home countries are mainly affecting flows of skilled migrants ..;all of which kind of comfort the previous analysis on the path dependency nature of the migration structure , stressing occasions in which it can be altered ( flows of refugees in case of internal wars or other major disaster being another potential source of changes)

# On the lessons of statistics of migration flows (b)

- To the above findings , one can add the observations done by T.J.Hatton (2012) on the effect of the post 2008 recession on migrations in European and North American countries.
- Hatton stresses an historical continuity between state of labour markets in host countries and changes in migrations flows: the 10% rule by which a 1% rise in unemployment leads to a 1 per thousand drop in migration.

- This is consistent with Mouhoud and Oudinet(2014) findings, as well as other observations » observations made by Hatton on the recent period which has seen a sharp rise in populist parties, demonstrating against immigration, especially in Europe. A European Values Survey shows at the same time that the main reason for this opposition is blamed on the strain put by the migrants on the welfare system. ...which refers back to the attractiveness of the amenities for the migrants stressed by Mouhoud and Oudinet(2014)

# 5 on the drivers of the political debates on migration

- Clearly the economic climate is not the ultimate driver
- It has its importance but is embedded in a more complex framework..., non withstanding that It plays asymetrically between host and home countries
- But touching on citizenship issues the political debates , mainly in host countries are an important component of the issue ....
- .;and looking into the future the migration issue is very likely to be more debated in home countries, not only for its brain drain dimension but also for its « backlash » effect on local governance (in terms of democracy, culture and economic planning)

- The debates in host countries are all the more fierce that they have entered into a major lasting depression
- Unemployment and budget deficits are threatening the social protection systems (including somehow the education systems)
- They are obviously shrinking and differentiating their coverage ; ageing of population also add to the pressure



- People that are experiencing the most these reductions tend more to protest and blame new comers for these deteriorations.. and all the more so that migrants tend to be overrepresented in the local segments of the protection systems taking care of the poorest ( be it in services for the unemployed or in the specialized parts of the health sytems , as shown with the present health reform in France which tries to cope with the saturation of the free services in hospitals, directly called upon by the poor, bypassing the first level of private doctors)

- The fact that overall in ageing societies the social protection system tend to benefit from migrant populations, which have a more favorable demography, tend to be overlooked by the populist movements rising all over.
- We have there overall a major social challenge for all developed economies, facing a future of slow growth and ageing, which questions the sustainability of their welfare systems.

## 6 On the agenda to get out of such impasse (a)

- Somehow the challenge on sustainability is as important as the climate challenge, meaning that it implies changes in behaviours that are unlikely to be imposed top down but require bottom up mobilizations.
- Rallying forces to maintain while updating social protection systems
- Difficult to do under budget constraints of slowly growing economies without changing the fully market nature of these systems
- Relying on CSOs as intermediaries for such transition seems a necessity ..and all the more so that similar organisations will be concerned with environmental issues.
- Banking on the fact that they already have been very active on migration issues ( rights and welfare)

## 6 On the agenda to get out of such impasse (b)

- How could such objectives be attained ?
- Support CSOs actions to create new « commons » to help with social care, health care and education
- Acting on both sides, host and home countries, in a reappraisal of « skilled » migrations , benefitting the reconstruction/update of social protection systems.
- Constructing the elements of an international society , or of an internationalisation of reconstructed national societies, more open to all the issues we mentioned (see Touraine on the destruction of our old society links in the process of market liberalization we went through for the last three decades (a whole generation)

## 6 On the agenda to get out of such impasse (c)

- Actions of CSOs to construct a multilateral governance scheme for migration flows have to be accompanied by significant adjustments of the global governance of trade
- A change of WTO that has already been advocated to account for financial issue (like speculative undervaluation, undue subsidies,..)
- One has also to avoid the backlashes of a search for competitiveness in product market on welfare states ..and adjust accordingly the WTO rules (how? Minima in tariffs ..a scheme whereby you tax products according to the social costs paid for social protection in both trading countries)
- Requires also to check the big disorders on fiscal issues

- Various initial situations (a lasting diversity) that will leave us with various ways to move in the good direction
- Can these ways correspond to the various regimes identified in the previous papers?
- It has to be checked in more details but clearly there is some congruence in all these perspectives
- ..all of which is worth researching to help to take in a cumulative way the road to a more economically, socially and environmentally sustainable future

- Thank you for your attention