2 PRIVATE SECTOR INVOLVEMENT IN LABOUR MIGRATION

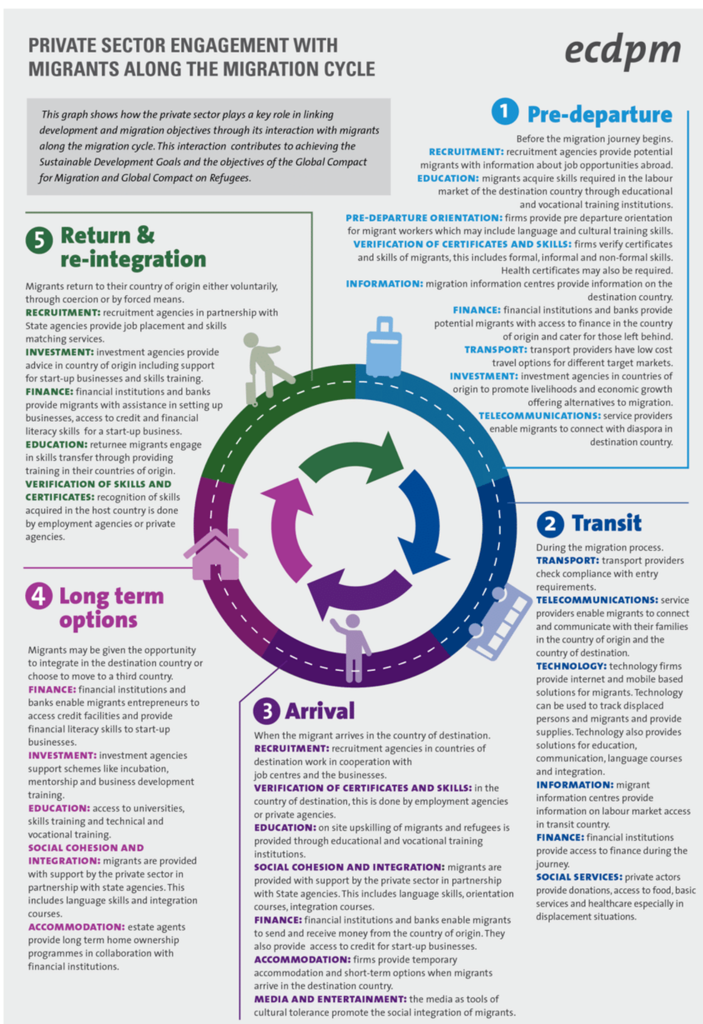
Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants (CPDE Migrants Constituency)

Introduction

Labour migration, as we know it today, emerged in the 1970s to 1980s. This was when neoliberal economic policies became the dominant economic thinking in the world. It therefore went hand-in-hand with the private sector's expansive and expanding role, in contrast with that of governments and non-government organisations. Not only do capitalists -- especially the big ones at the global and national levels -- benefit from the cheap and repressed labour made available by labour migration, they also profit from the commercialization of migration.

Governments have played an essential role in implementing neoliberal economic policies. They changed key legislations to pave the way for the enforcement of such policies and to set the framework for their implementation. They act as the main implementers of these policies and the ultimate protectors of the social and economic systems within which these policies are implemented. It is governments that primarily regulate migration and define the role of the private sector.

This is a scoping study about private sector involvement in labour migration, particularly the interface between migrant workers and private sector actors, while unavoidably touching on government policies. It focuses on private sector actors that provide goods and services for migrant workers in the migration cycle. One of the goals of this study is to help identify effective engagements of migrant workers and their movements with the private sector. It therefore excludes private sector actors acting as employers, as engagements in this area are already well-defined.



In their paper on the topic, Bisong and Knoll (2020) devoted a section to enumerating and briefly describing private sector activities that directly impact migrants along the migration cycle. Their paper focused on migration in general, not labour migration. This paper expounds on the role of some of those private sector actors in relation to migrant workers, drawing from the experiences of migrant labour-sending and some migrant labour-receiving countries in the Asia-Pacific region. While there are different forms of engagement by the private sector in the migration cycle, experiences of migrants in the region show the relative failure of private entities to uphold the Kampala Principles.

Kampala Principle 1: Inclusive country ownership

Financial institutions. Banks and other financial institutions serve as conduits for remittances sent home by migrant workers. Developments in technology have made this process faster and the costs and payments lower. These financial institutions may have offices both in sending and receiving countries, or they may have partners in either set of countries.

Sri Lanka. It is an economy that is highly dependent on the remittances of migrant workers abroad. Sri Lanka's remittance infrastructure is "relatively regulated" compared to that of other countries in Asia. There are more remittances flowing through formal channels than through informal ones. There are 25 financial institutions licensed by the Central Bank of Sri Lanka's Exchange Control Department. These include money and postal orders, bank transfers and transactions conducted by money transfer businesses. Of these, 22 are private banks, two are national banks and one is the Sri Lanka Post Service.[1]

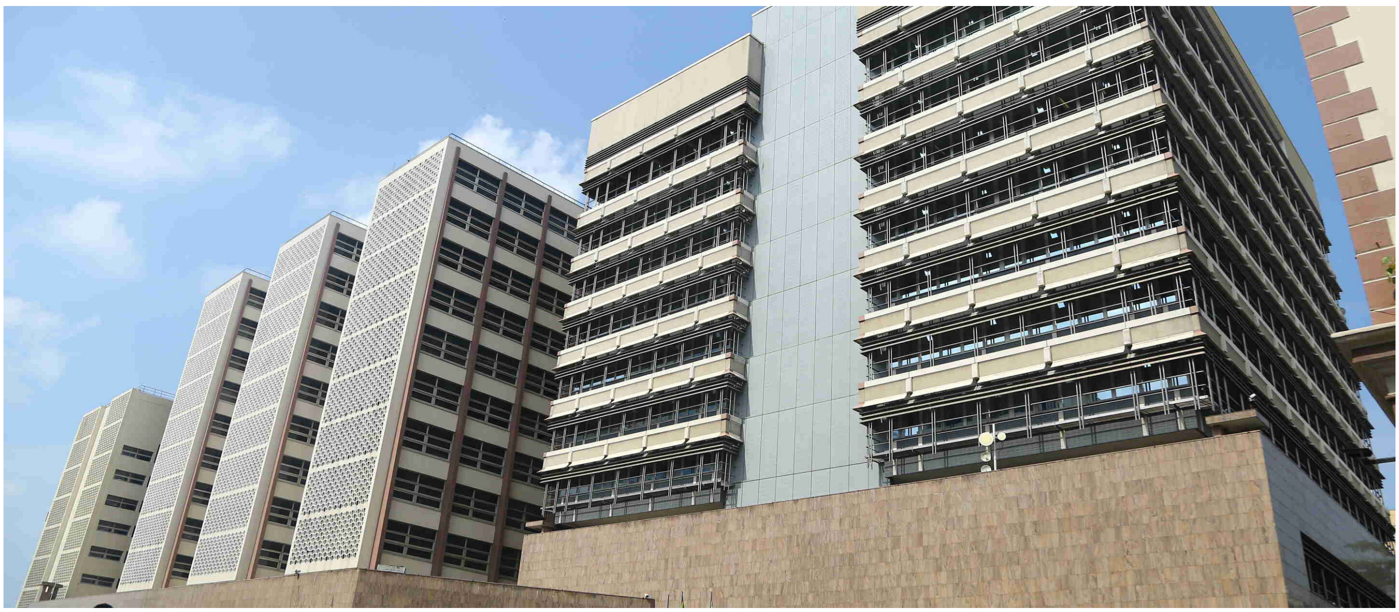


Photo from The Morning – Sri Lanka News

Pakistan. The country is one of the world's top remittance recipients, ranking sixth after India, China, Mexico, the Philippines, and Egypt.[2] Remittances to the country are expected to reach a record USD 28 billion in 2021. The country's central bank attributed this to increasing use of formal channels for remittances amidst the COVID-19 pandemic. Given the limitations on cross-border travel, and the government's efforts to encourage such use. Other contributing factors are the favorable foreign exchange rates, government efforts against money laundering, increasing digitalisation of money transactions, and incentives to banks for facilitating remittances.[3] Another observer states that contributing to the increase was the decreased pilgrimage to Mecca which helped migrant Pakistani save money and the lowering of the threshold for money transfer from USD 200 to USD 100.[4]

Across the Asia-Pacific region, concerns have been raised about formal means of transferring remittances. While their cost is "relatively low" compared to international standards, they are still a burden for migrant workers. Some are government efforts against money laundering and financing for terrorism. The result is the imposition of more requirements for senders and greater difficulties for banks. Many migrant workers also do not have bank accounts. Due to these reasons, informal means of sending remittances are popular among migrant workers.[5]

[1] Withers, 2019. .
[2] McCarthy, N. (2021, May 14). The world's top remittance recipients. Statista. https://www.statista.com/chart/20166/top-10-remittance-receiving-countries/
[3] Rizvi, M. (2021, January 16). Pakistan: Remittances set to cross record $28 billion this year. Khaleej Times. https://www.khaleejtimes.com/business/pakistan-remittances-set-to-cross-record-28-billion-this-year.
[4] Kuo, E. (2020, October 2). Good news: Covid-19 boosts remittances in Pakistan. The Borgen Project. https://borgenproject.org/remittances-in-pakistan/
[5] United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific [UNESCAP]. (2020). Asia-Pacific Migration Report 2020: Assessing Implementation of the Global Compact for Migration.

Kampala Principle 2: Results and Targeted Impact

Education and Training Institutions. Private institutions usually provide migrants with education and training on technical and vocational skills and a level of language skills. They ensure that prospective migrants meet the needs of the labour market, and provide skills certification crucial to migrants' employability. They also orient prospective migrant workers on cultures and customs of their destination countries.

India. The country is reputed to be running "the world's largest skilling programme." This programme has trained 400 million people in 10 years, and aims to maximise the benefits of the country's young labour force. It has a Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship and a Skill India program that creates India International Skill Centres (IISC). The centers are run by private sector actors, and provide skills certification on the basis of international standards.[6] Crucial to the creation of the IISCs is the National Skill Development Corporation[7] which, in its website, says that it was created through the Public-Private Partnership model and "aims to promote skill development by catalysing creation of large, quality and for-profit vocational institutions."[8] As a catalyst, it has provided funding to private sector actors that engage in skills training.

For prospective migrants with technical skills, the IISC targets employment in the healthcare, management, financial services and technology sectors in the United States (US), United Kingdom (UK), European Union (EU) and other developed countries. For prospective migrants who are skilled and unskilled, meanwhile, it targets employment in the construction, retail and driving sectors in the Gulf Cooperation Council states and the Middle East in general. Aside from providing education on technical skills, the centers also provide 160 hours of pre-departure orientation training consisting of the following topics: culture and migration processes, language skills, and digital literacy.[9]

Research, however, shows that since the program started in 2015, only 23 percent of those trained in the flagship scheme of the Skill India program were able to get jobs. This, despite the fact that almost USD 1.5 billion has been invested by the Indian government to the program.[10]

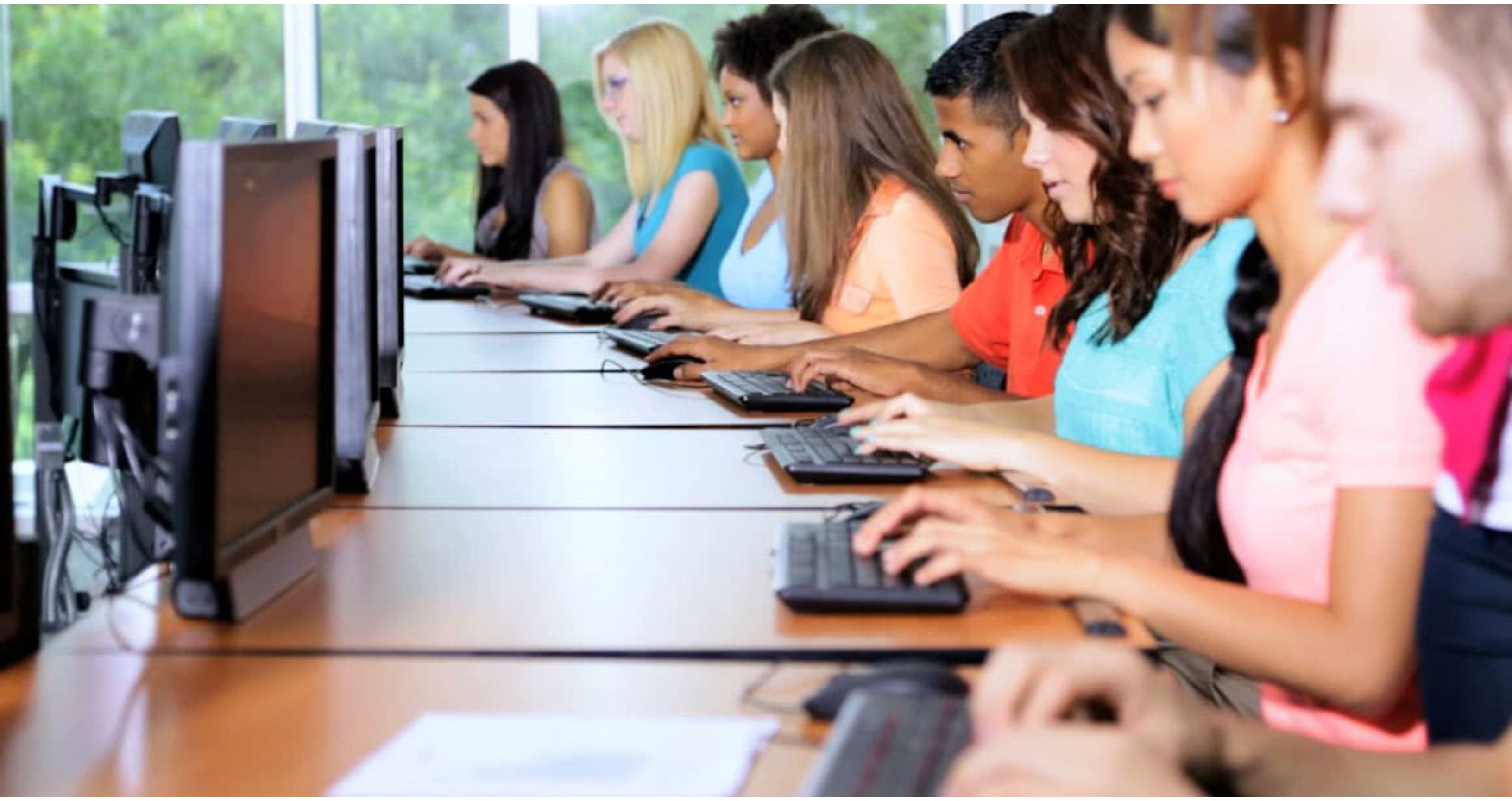


Photo from Computer Training Institute/Class in Grant Road, Mumbai - Brainpoint

[6] Government of India Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship. (2017). India International Skill Centers: Inter-ministerial and private sector cooperation. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/---sro-new_delhi/documents/presentation/wcms_566156.pdf
[7] The Economic Times. (2016). Government launches 15 India international skill centers.https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/economy/policy/government-launches-15-india-international-skill-centers/articleshow/53252497.cms
[8] National Skill Development Corporation. (n.d.). https://nsdcindia.org/about-us
[9] Government of India Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship. (2017).
[10] Vikram, Kumar. (2020, June 8). Just 23 per cent of trainees got jobs under Skill India Mission since 2015. The New Indian Express. https://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2020/jun/08/just-23-per-cent-of-trainees-got-jobs-under-skill-india-mission-since-2015-2153636.html

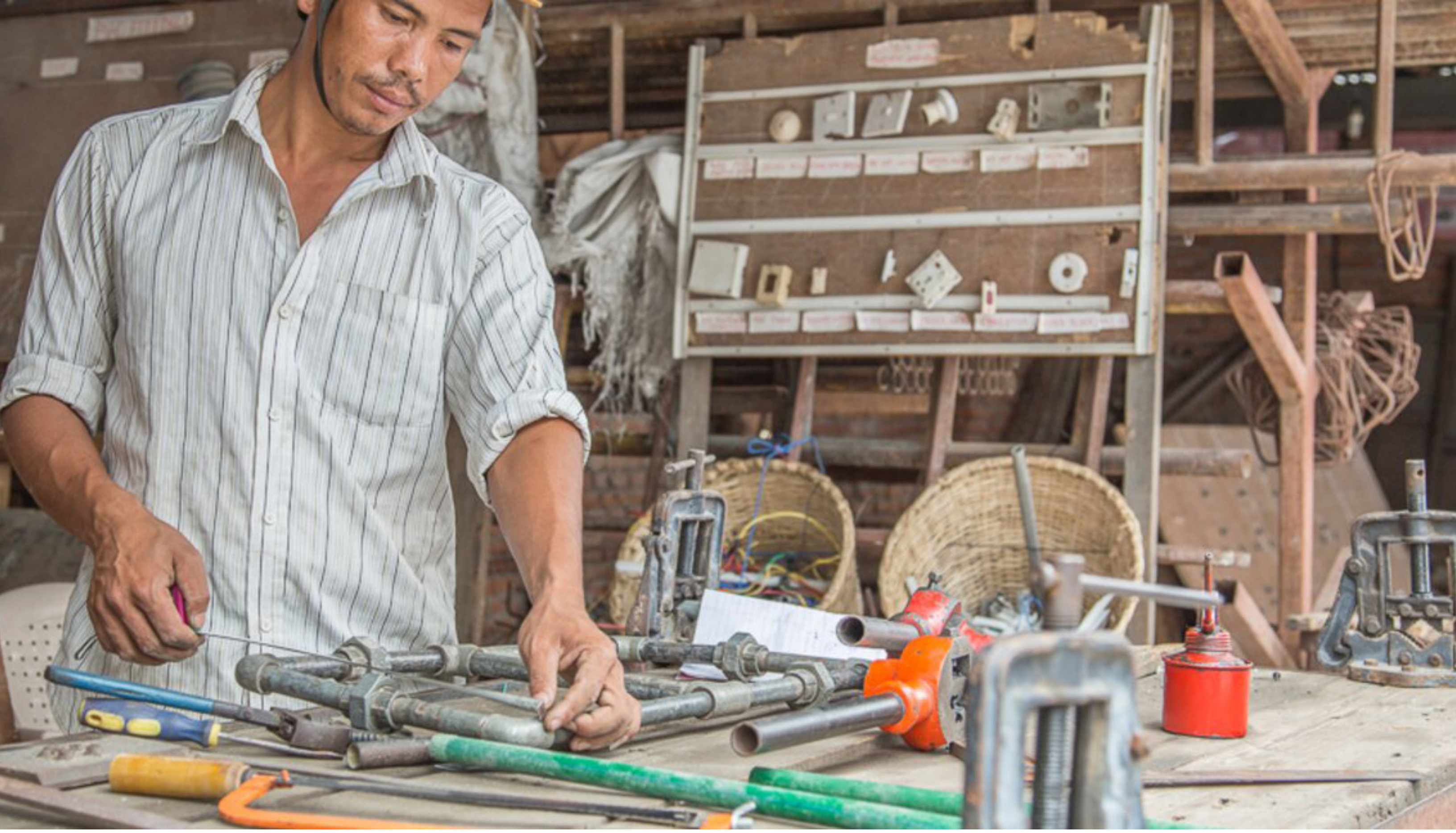


Photo from Helvetas.org

Nepal. Helvetas Nepal, a development NGO, has a Safer Migration or SaMI project that was cited in a background paper for the Global Forum on Migration and Development 2020 as undergoing "innovative partnerships for sustainable development," particularly in relation to "skilling migrants for employment." It is presented as a collabouration between CSOs, private sector actors and the Nepalese government's Council for Technical Education and Vocational Training and Foreign Employment Board. It aims to ensure decent work for migrants in receiving countries by providing life skills, health and other training.[11]

In its website, SaMI's work is described as providing prospective migrants with access to information, skills, justice, psychosocial support and financial literacy. In the "access to skills" section, prospective migrants are provided with one-month, free-of-charge training in the following fields: garment manufacturing, masonry, shuttering carpentry, plumbing, scaffolding, and electricity work. The training also includes life skills and healthcare.[12] This is where the private sector comes in, as SaMI, in its partnerships at the province and local levels, "refer[s] applicants to skills training institutes."[13]

Financial institutions. Private individuals and companies and banks lend money to prospective migrants so the latter can process their documents and buy their plane tickets to go abroad.

Sri Lanka. Private agencies dominate the recruitment of migrant workers, with the "partial exemption" of domestic workers. Recruitment fees are high, and include fees for medical examination, visa and passport, plane ticket, mandatory insurance and mandatory training. Many prospective migrants turn to money lenders who charge high interests for loans. Those who borrow money from lenders pay the highest proportion of their remittances and remain indebted for the longest time -- in comparison with those who depend on their own assets or receive non-interest loans from friends and family. According to a study, 80 percent of the remittances of migrants who took loans from money lenders go to paying debts, and they remain indebted from four to 11 years.[14]

[11] Global Forum on Migration & Development. (2020). The future of human mobility: Innovative partnerships for sustainable development. Theme 2: Skilling migrants for employment. https://www.gfmd.org/files/documents/rt_session_2_background_paper_on_skilling_final.pdf.
[12] Safer Migration Project [SaMI]. (n.d.). Access to Skills. https://www.sami.org.np/access-to-skills
[13] SaMI (n.d.). Province and Local Level. https://www.sami.org.np/province-and-local-level
[14] Withers, M. (2019). Sri Lanka's remittance economy: A multiscalar analysis of migration-underdevelopment. London and New York: Routledge, 75-83.

Bangladesh. In the country's first-ever Immigration Expenditure Survey in 2020, it was found out that, to finance their migration, 20 percent of migrant workers borrowed money from NGOs, while 15 percent borrowed from banks and other forms of lenders.[15] Bangladesh is the birthplace of Grameen Bank, which has served as a global model for microfinance institutions and provided loans to the poorest of the poor deemed credit-unworthy by most financial institutions. Despite microfinance's positive impacts to the community, it has been unable to prevent, and in fact serves as an enabler of, out-migration. In Bangladesh and other countries, microfinance has been used by the poor to either migrate to cities within the country, or to other countries.[16] Some researchers, however, assert that "the interest rate of microcredit is still high, and for many poor, this is unbearable." [17]

Photo from Dhaka Tribune

Recruitment agencies. Recruitment agencies, mostly private, bridge prospective migrant workers in sending countries to job opportunities and employment in receiving countries. They usually make migrant workers sign contracts containing their job description, salary, benefits, working hours, among others. Ideally, these agencies provide a layer of accountability for migrant workers. These, however, have been, in most cases, too weak and full of gaps. Nevertheless, they also hold pre-departure orientation seminars that educate migrants about their jobs and the conditions and culture of the receiving countries. It is important to point out that historically, many of the issues faced by prospective migrant workers and migrant workers stem from the practices of recruitment agencies.

Indonesia. In 2014, there were 515 licensed recruiters in Indonesia. The government issues licenses valid for five years, and allows these recruitment agencies to create an unlimited number of branch offices. Women migrant workers who go to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA), mostly for domestic work, do not pay recruitment fees. Independent contractors, meanwhile, are paid to look for women willing to work abroad. Branch offices, meanwhile, earn USD 30 per migrant. Agencies house women who want to become migrant workers from the moment they signify their desire to leave until they are able to leave. The goal is to prevent them from becoming pregnant or from changing their minds. Training is provided to them before and after going to the KSA.

Meanwhile, Indonesian men are asked to pay for two months worth of salary so they can leave for Malaysia in order to work on palm oil plantations there. Half of this amount goes to the agency, and half goes to the agents who directly recruited them. While migrant women going to the KSA leave legally, most of the men headed to Malaysia leave illegally. Proximity between Indonesia and Malaysia, combined with a complex regulatory system involving cumbersome processes and high fees, have forced Indonesians to leave illegally. [18]

[15] Ahmed, Z. (2020, December 13). Failing to repay loans, many Bangladeshi migrant workers lost properties: study. BDNews24.com. https://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2020/12/13/failing-to-repay-loans-many-bangladeshi-migrant-workers-lost-properties-study
[16] Kasu, B. (2018, November 12). How does micro-finance affect out-migration? Sociology International Journal, Volume 2, Issue 6. https://medcraveonline.com/SIJ/SIJ-02-00084.pdf
[17] Chowdhury, Tamgid A., Das, A.B., Chakraborty, L. & Barai, M.K. (2020). NGOs for development: Experience of Bangladesh in Bangladesh's economic and social progress: From a basket case to a development model. Palgrave Macmillan. https://uwaterloo.ca/scholar/sites/ca.scholar/files/l2chakra/files/chowdhury2020_chapter_ngosfordevelopmentexperienceof.pdf
[18] Martin, P. (2017). Merchants of labor: Recruiters and international labor migration. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 106-108.

Philippines. The country is often considered to be a "best-practice model" for protecting migrant workers at the recruitment and deployment phases.[19] There are 1,250 licensed recruiters in the country. The government makes it hard to set up a recruitment agency, imposing the following as separate requirements: USD 45,000 in investment, half of it in escrow deposit, and one-fourth of that in bank account. There has been an initial offer of 100 jobs after college graduation. Recruiters are required to have three years of experience in recruitment, two years of tax returns for shareholders, and a registered office space. All this for a one-year license that can be renewed for another three years. Ideally, these strict policies enforced by the government through the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration would compel agencies to resolve workers' complaints, else their licenses be suspended or withdrawn.

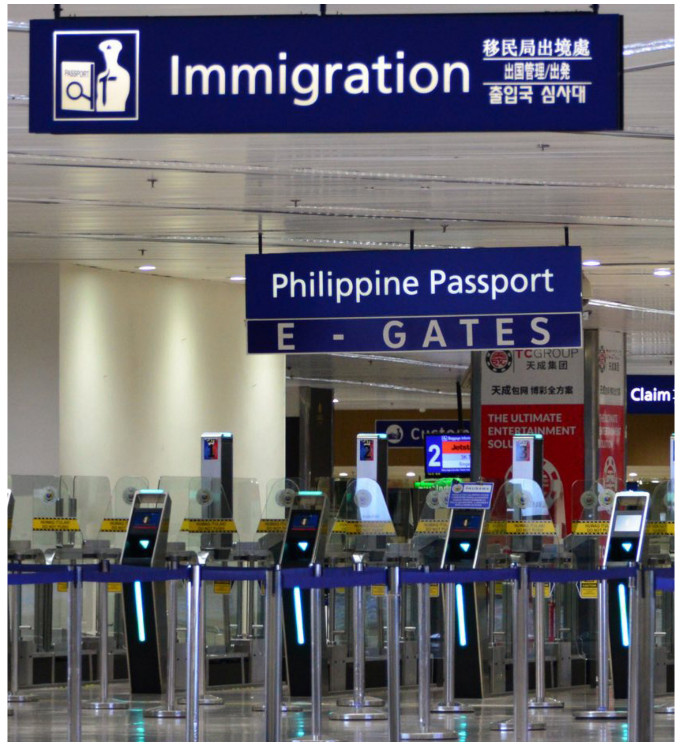


Photo from Travel Off Path

Recruitment agencies are often small businesses staffed by the owner and about 10 to 15 employees, including the owner's relatives. Once a prospective migrant is selected by a foreign employer, recruiters maintain regular contact with him or her. Recruiters are allowed by law to charge migrant workers one month of foreign earnings, but it is difficult to monitor their work unless workers complain. Skilled workers, health-care workers and professionals do not pay recruitment fees, as employers shoulder these. Manning firms that train seafarers also do not collect placement fees.[20]

In 2006, the country created its "supermaid" program that banned the collection of recruitment fees from domestic workers -- and mandated pre-departure skills certification and a minimum USD 400 monthly pay abroad.[21] Despite this, illegal agency fees have been imposed on, for example, domestic workers going to Hong Kong. Because of the ban on direct hiring in the city, prospective domestic workers are forced to approach recruitment agencies and find them jobs. These agencies charge them exorbitantly, from USD 1,400 to 1,600.[22]

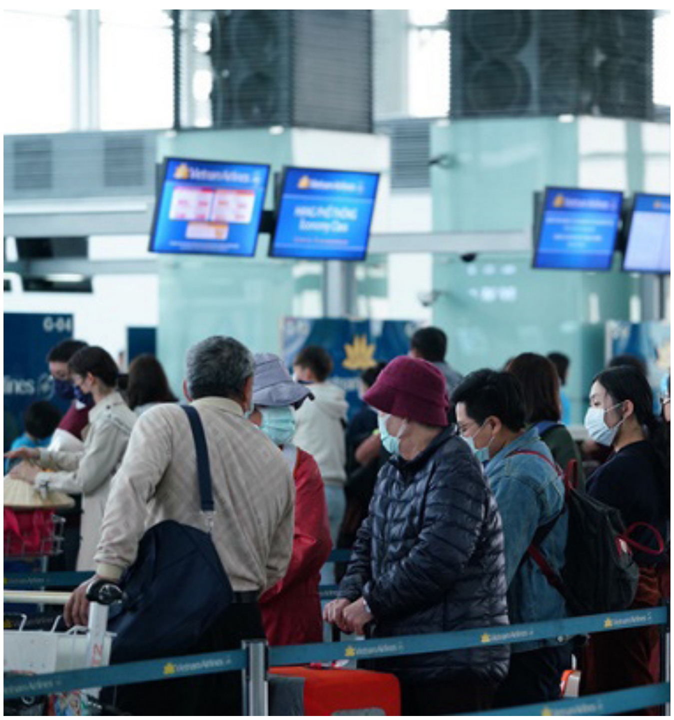


Photo from Vietnam Visa

Vietnam. There are 170 licensed recruitment agencies in Vietnam, but only less than 20 percent are privately owned, as the majority are either partially or wholly state-owned. Licensed recruiters are not allowed to collect fees from prospective migrant workers. Still, those who want to work abroad incur a lot of costs, and are described as going to "debt mountains." This is because people who want to work abroad go to unlicensed brokers who help them leave the country. Still, many migrants complain about paying deposits to recruiters but not being able to leave.

Vietnamese workers abroad often either abscond from their employers and work as illegal workers to avoid payments for migration-related expenses, or extend their stay to raise payments for these. In response, the Vietnamese government imposed a steep bond of USD 5,000 that migrant workers forfeit if he or she absconds from his or her employer or overstays in the receiving country. At the same time, the Vietnamese government has been encouraging labour migration, especially from poor and minority areas.[23]

[19] Martin, 2017.
[20] Martin, 2017
[21] Martin, 2017
[22] Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants. (2015). Migrant unionism in Hong Kong: A case study of experiences of foreign domestic workers in union organising. Just Work? Migrant Workers' Struggles Today. London: Pluto Press.
[23] Martin, 2017

Security agencies. The private sector provides services in the name of governments and in tandem with various government agencies. It is involved in "visa processing, processing reception or asylum requests and effecting detentions and removals on behalf of the state", as well as "providing border security and border management solutions, including software solutions, selling and managing equipment." Critics of the private sector role in migration governance point to various "humanitarian and regulatory breaches."[24] An executive of a "border technology firm" was quoted in 2018 as saying "Border management programs are basically the biggest business for the security industry now."[25]

Photo from ABC

Australia. Contracted by the government, the private sector is primarily responsible for security in Australian airports. Its staff operate scanners and random explosives testing machines. But the power to arrest lies exclusively with the Australian Federal Police.[26] With regard to migration, and particularly refugees, Australia and its private sector are more well-known because of the "off-shoring" of asylum seekers who arrive in the country by boat. Since 2001, these asylum-seekers have been sent to either Nauru island in the Pacific Ocean, Manus in Papua New Guinea, or Australia's Christmas Island -- even as the second was closed in October 2017.[27]

"There are," according to one research, "extensive accounts of how services for asylum seekers in these locations were delivered by the private sector with a consistent lack of respect for human rights."[28] Transfield Services, the private contractor in Nauru, for example, received 725 complaints in 14 months until April 2015 -- 45 of which are about child abuse and sexual assault. Investigations have exposed problems with staff behavior, record keeping and accountability. Personnel of the private security firm in the island, Wilson Security, were filmed preparing to use disproportionate force against asylum seekers and using derogatory language. The overall living standards of asylum-seekers were poor, resulting in high levels of physical and mental health problems -- with children particularly vulnerable.

Australia's experience with "off-shoring" asylum seekers shows the problems with "distancing services from the Federal government and the source of decisions about asylum claims." It also shows the conflicts between privately-provided services and health professionals -- as detention per se affects asylum seekers' health negatively, and healthcare is both scarce and costly. [29]

[24]Bisong & Knoll, 2020.
[25]Private sector to build invisible national borders. (2018, May 30). Border Management. http://bordermanagement.net/?p=14.
[26]Sarre, R. (2018, May 22). Why random identification checks at airports are a bad idea. The Conversation. https://theconversation.com/why-random-identification-checks-at-airports-are-a-bad-idea-96784.
[27]Ferris, E. G., & Donato, K. M. (2020). Refugees, Migration and Global Governance. Routledge.
[28]Lethbridge, J. (2017). Privatisation of Migration and Refugee Services and Other Forms of State Disengagement. Public Services International and European Federation of Public Service Unions. https://www.world-psi.org/sites/default/files/documents/research/final_psi_epsu_psiru_privatisation_of_migration_and_refugee_services.pdf.
[29]Lethbridge, 2017.

Kampala Principle 3: Inclusive Partnership

Financial institutions. Aside from safekeeping migrant workers' savings, financial institutions also offer loans to returning migrant workers who seek additional capital for starting a business and other endeavors.

Mongolia. There are many microcredits available for returning migrant workers in the country, especially those in urban areas. There are banks, non-bank financial institutions, savings and credit cooperatives, and NGOs who offer micro-loans and training on financial literacy and business. Bad loan records, however, are hindrances, and all forms require capital or that property that can be collateralised. Furthermore, interest rates are high -- and some NGOs charge higher than banks. In fact, microcredit providers target low-income and middle-class people and established businesses, not the poorest of the poor. [30]

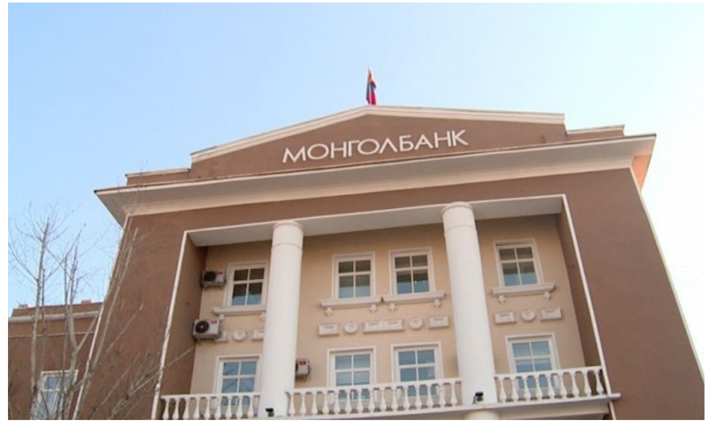


Photo from Montsame News Agency

Accommodations. Many migrant workers, except for domestic workers, pay rent for their dwellings in receiving countries. At the height of the COVID-19 pandemic, migrant workers were also often asked to stay in hotels for long periods of time until results of their swab tests came out.

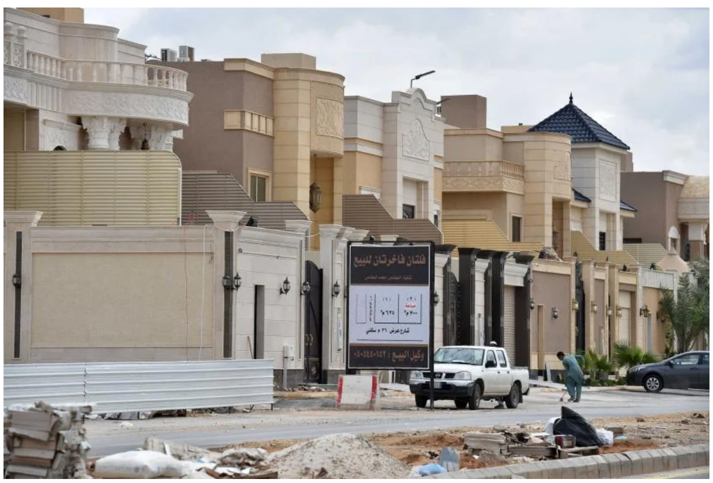


Photo from Human Rights Watch

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Starting May 20, 2021, the KSA, one of the top destination countries of domestic and other migrant workers, has been implementing a policy of institutional quarantine among unvaccinated migrant workers. The workers are asked to stay in hotels and take RT-PCR tests on the first and seventh day of their stay. The KSA declared that the cost of the quarantine will be shouldered by migrant workers and reflected in their plane tickets. [31] The institutional quarantine can cost up to USD 3,500, which is equivalent to a year's salary for a migrant worker. For this reason, the Philippines imposed a ban on the deployment of migrant workers to the country. It lifted the ban only when employers said they would pay for the cost of quarantine. [32] The Bangladeshi government, meanwhile, decided to provide money for the quarantine expenses, and give each KSA-bound migrant worker USD 236 to USD 295. [33]

Kampala Principle 4: Transparency and accountability

Governments have given the private sector a significant role in the governance of migration. While the government has awarded the private sector with a bigger role in the migration process, they fail to uphold accountability from these entities. This leaves migrant workers with no recourse if they are victimised and exploited by agencies.

Philippines. Under Philippine law, employers and recruiters have a joint responsibility in upholding migrant workers' contracts. Aggrieved workers often do not have money to file cases against recruiters, and when they do, the process takes many years, forcing them to settle. When courts rule in favor of aggrieved migrant workers, recruitment agencies are sometimes forced to close, while foreign employers are left unharmed.[34] At the same time, providing a meager settlement to migrants after a lengthy conciliation process allows for agencies to get away with their irregular and even illegal practices, as this makes them immune from charges in the future.

[30]International Organization for Migration and Swiss Confederation. (2016). Access to microcredit opportunities for returned migrants during and beyond IOM support: A study on microcredit in the AVRR context. IOM. https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/access_to_microcredit.pdf
[31]Arab News. (2021, May 10). Saudi Arabia introduces 7-day quarantine for unvaccinated visitors. https://www.arabnews.com/node/1856776/saudi-arabia
[32]Nihal, M. (2021, May 31). Workers relieved as Philippines lifts Saudi Arabia travel ban. The National News. https://www.thenationalnews.com/gulf/saudi-arabia/workers-relieved-as-philippines-lifts-saudi-arabia-travel-ban-1.1233060
[33]Tribune Report. (2021, May 29). Govt to pay quarantine rent for Saudi Arabia-bound workers. Dhaka Tribune. https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/migration/2021/05/29/govt-to-pay-quarantine-rent-for-saudi-arabia-bound-workers
[34]Martin, 2017.

Kampala Principle 5: Recognising, sharing, and mitigating risks

Recruitment agencies and employers. Joining efforts for the effective reintegration of migrant workers, recruitment agencies and employers assess the skills of returning migrants, including skills that the latter learned while working in the receiving country. They then match these with available job opportunities in the sending countries and help the returning migrant find employment.

Cambodia. The International Labour Organization (ILO), together with the government of Cambodia's National Committee for Tourism Professionals (NCTP) and Ministry of Tourism, are working with the Association of Cambodian Recruitment Agency and the Manpower Association of Cambodia to help former migrant domestic workers find jobs in the country's tourism sector. The project aims to recognise and certify domestic workers' skills and has employed trainers and assessors for this purpose. It has certified tourism professionals from among hotel workers in line with the standards of Cambodia and Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

The ILO and NCTP, meanwhile, have developed training manuals for apprenticeship, piloted courses on hotel services, and assessed returning migrant workers, prospective migrant workers and hotel workers for recognition of prior learning. Private recruitment agencies are tasked to coordinate with returning migrant workers and help them obtain a certificate of recognition for their work in the migrant receiving country. This certificate will be issued by the Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training and will be helpful for possible employment, even as there is still no data on how this is benefitting migrant workers. [35]

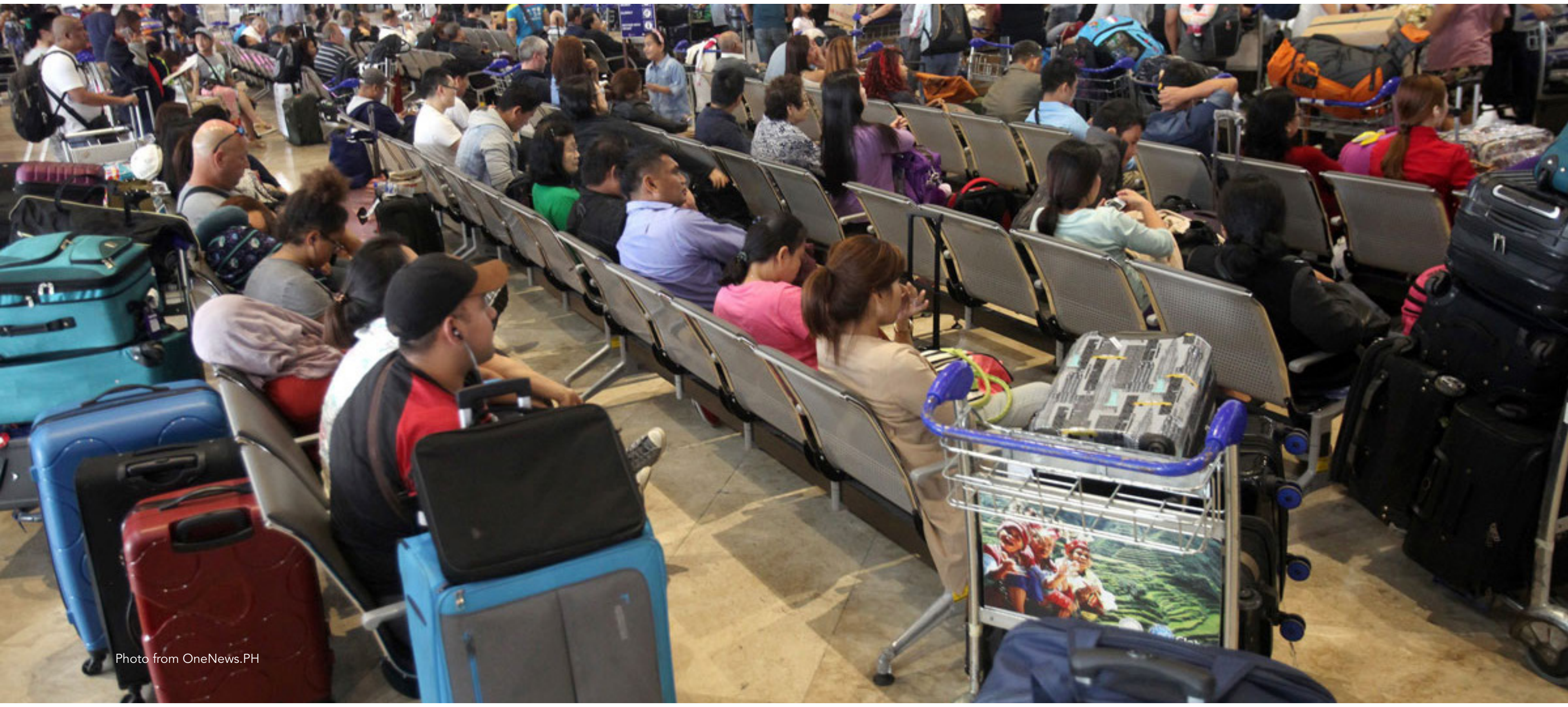


Photo from OneNews.PH

Philippines and Indonesia. There appears to be a minimal role for the private sector in these countries' migrant reintegration programs. In the Philippines, the services provided, mainly by the government, are the following: counseling, wage employment referral assistance, enterprise development, skills training and capability enhancement, and assistance to distressed OFWs. Those who were mentioned as partners of government agencies are also government agencies. Also mentioned were grants and loans from the government, as well as employment in the country's public school system.

In Indonesia, the stress is in interventions at the village level, and includes: information, skills training and assistance for business creation, community parenting, and development cooperatives. The only collabouration with the private sector is the provision of financial literacy trainings, even as the sector is mentioned as one of the partners in the program.[36] The minimal role of the private sector in migrant reintegration programs is also shown in other studies (see Bachtiar and Prasetyo 2017; Saguin 2020).

[30]Wickramasekara, P. (2019). Effective return and reintegration of migrant workers: With special focus on ASEAN member states. International Labor Organization.
[31]Wickramasekara, 2019.

CONCLUSION

The neoliberal turn in economic policies in the 1970s and the 1980s went hand-in-hand with international labour migration as we know it at present. With governments' efforts to systematise the export and import of migrant labour came a greater role for the private sector.

Private-sector actors now have been providing many goods and services to migrant workers from the Asia-Pacific region. Many of these goods and services have become essential to the journey of migrant workers along the migrant cycle.

Governments have said that private sector participation and public-private partnerships efficiently facilitate migration and make migration safe, regular, and orderly. Migrants and their movements, however, question whether or not the private sector actually helps defend and uphold migrants' human rights throughout the migration cycle.

Many migrant workers' experiences with the private sector involve exorbitant fees, onerous debts, abuse and exploitation and without support and redress, lack of accountability, among others. There is therefore a need for vigilance, that is to make the private sector accountable to their promises. Governments' narratives about the private sector's role, and their actual involvement in the migration cycle also have to be constantly questioned and verified.

The private sector, with the help of governments, has an increasing and now-essential role in the migration cycle, directly affecting the lives of migrant workers of the world. It is also responsible, together with governments, for many of the woes affecting migrant workers.