



UN LIBRARY

NOV 14 1974

UN/SA COLLECTION



Distr.
GENERAL

E/CN.5/515
14 October 1974

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

COMMISSION FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
Twenty-fourth session
6-24 January 1975
Item 13 of the provisional agenda

THE WELFARE OF MIGRANT WORKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES

Report of the Secretary-General

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION	1 - 7	2
I. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN THE WORLD OF TODAY	8 - 25	4
II. IMPLICATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION FOR INDIVIDUALS, FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES	26 - 116	9
A. The situation in receiving countries of Western Europe	27 - 60	9
B. The situation in sending countries	61 - 82	22
C. Variations in the problems and needs of migrants: examples from Africa and Latin America	83 - 112	30
D. Requirements for action	113 - 116	37
III. INTERNATIONAL ACTION IN THE FIELD OF MIGRATION	117 - 134	39
A. International organizations active in the field of migration	118 - 120	39
B. Types of existing international action	121 - 134	40
CONCLUDING REMARKS	135 - 142	43

INTRODUCTION

1. This study has been prepared in accordance with resolution 1749 (LIV) of the Economic and Social Council, adopted upon the recommendation of the Commission for Social Development. In its resolution, the Council decided "to include in the agenda of its fifty-eighth session the question of migrant workers". It requested the Secretary-General "to invite the International Labour Organisation to make available to the Commission for Social Development at its twenty-fourth session and to the Council the results of the programme of action on migrant workers" of the International Labour Organisation, "including the progress achieved on this subject at the 1974 session of the International Labour Conference". The Council also invited the Secretary-General "to submit to the Commission for Social Development, in co-operation with all the specialized agencies concerned, a supplementary report on the welfare of migrant workers and their families, with particular attention to the educational needs of their children".

2. The text of the Council resolution, and statements made during the deliberations of the Commission for Social Development and the Council suggest that the Secretary-General's report was to focus primarily on international economic migration in search of employment. Particular attention is being given in this study to migration towards and within Western Europe as the foremost contemporary example of mass labour movement across national boundaries. This type of international migration is largely temporary and a high proportion of it takes place within the same continent or even between neighbouring countries; it contrasts in many respects with traditional, centuries-old migratory movements of continental or, more often, intercontinental scope which result as a rule in permanent settlement abroad. In order to provide a broader insight into the social problems of international migration, however, reference is also made in the course of the study to international labour migration as it takes place in other regions and to permanent immigration in countries of Western Europe or elsewhere. Due to limitations in time and resources, the data collected on non-European migration relate mainly to Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.

3. The study is in three chapters. Chapter I contains a general description of migratory movements in various parts of the world. It is intended to provide a framework for discussions in the remaining parts.

4. Chapter II deals with the main theme of the study, namely the welfare problems experienced by migrant workers and their families at the various stages of migratory movements, the social programmes and measures developed on their behalf, the adequacy of existing policies and the need for more effective social protection. Since the contribution requested from the International Labour Organisation gives particular attention to the situation of migrants as workers and to problems relating to employment opportunities, working conditions, wages, social security and occupational integration, the present supplementary study focuses on the migrants' personal life and discusses problems related to the migrants' health, education and culture, housing and social integration. Priority consideration has been given to the welfare of children, as a most vulnerable group and in view of their special problems and roles in the process of social integration; of migrant

youth and women; of the migrants' families as a whole, whether they accompany the workers or are left behind in the country of origin; and of the communities from which migrants originate or into which they are received.

5. Because of their international dimension, problems of migration require international action for their solution. The international component of migration policies is discussed in chapter III of the study, which reviews existing international activities as regards legislation, technical assistance and research, and considers the future development of international co-operation in this field.

6. Thanks to the interest expressed by the United Nations Children's Fund in the problems outlined above in relation to chapter II and to UNICEF's financial assistance, special arrangements were made for the implementation of that part of the project. They included the appointment of a principal consultant - Mr. Alexander Neilson (United Kingdom) - and of national consultants in five sending countries and five receiving countries: Mr. H. Heyden (Federal Republic of Germany); Mrs. A. Hiziroglu (Turkey); Dr. A. Little (United Kingdom); Mr. M. Marcelletti (Italy); Mr. L. Martinez Cachero (Spain); Mrs. N. Petrovic-Zmijanovic (Yugoslavia); Mr. J. Revol (France); Mr. K. Sahli (Algeria); Mr. H. Tzaut (Switzerland); and Mr. J. Widgren (Sweden). These consultants were selected in consultation with the national authorities concerned, which also assisted in facilitating their access to relevant sources of information.

7. The present study has been implemented in co-operation with the competent specialized agencies (International Labour Office, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and World Health Organization), other intergovernmental organizations (Commission of European Communities, Council of Europe, Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) and numerous non-governmental organizations active in the field of migration (mentioned in chapter III of the study). The convening of an Advisory Meeting (Geneva, 3-5 December 1973) in which most of those organizations participated, and subsequent individual consultations, made it possible to take full advantage of the results of ongoing international activities and to avoid duplication.

I. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN THE WORLD OF TODAY

8. The over-all picture of contemporary international migration is characterized by its magnitude and diversity.

9. In West Africa, four principal streams of migration may be observed. The first and numerically the most important is from north to south, that is, from the countries adjacent to the southern limits of the Sahara - Mali, the Niger and Upper Volta - to the Ivory Coast and Ghana, and from Guinea to the Ivory Coast. Migrations from Mali and the Niger tend to be definitive, whereas those from the savannah areas of Mali and the Upper Volta and the rain forests of Ghana and the Ivory Coast are seasonal. The second direction is east-west, with seasonal movements from Mali, northern Guinea and the coast of Senegal to the ground-nut growing areas of Gambia and Senegal. The third stream, made up of permanent and semi-permanent movements, moves parallel to the Atlantic Coast: it consists of migrants from Dahomey, Nigeria and Togo to adjacent countries, mainly Ghana, and from eastern Nigeria to Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and the United Republic of Cameroon. Lastly, there is an intercontinental migratory flow from Dahomey, Senegal, and other neighbouring countries to France. The north to south and the coastal migrations have been estimated to involve 1 million persons per year, of whom one half go to Ghana, and the east-west movements some 75,000 persons. The proportion of foreigners in the two principal countries of immigration - 12 per cent in Ghana (1960) and 17 per cent in the Ivory Coast (1965) - is another indication of the amplitude of the movements. There are approximately 100,000 black Africans in France, a quarter of whom are Senegalese.

10. Migration within eastern Africa, where the new national boundaries cut across many tribal lands, offers an example of a most complex pattern. Many of the individual countries are both suppliers and recipients of migrant labour, and there is a mixture of seasonal and permanent migration. Some countries of the region (mainly Southern Rhodesia, Uganda and Zambia) receive a few thousand migrants from countries of middle Africa (mainly Angola and Zaire). On the other hand, there is a sizable emigration from Eastern Africa to Zaire (agricultural labourers, copper mine workers) and an even larger movement, involving approximately 150,000 persons each year (mainly from Malawi and Mozambique) to the mines of South Africa.

11. In addition to those just mentioned, the Republic of South Africa imports for work in its mines, and also industry and domestic service, labour from other countries of the southern African region - mainly from Lesotho and, in much smaller numbers, from Botswana and Swaziland. In 1969, there were 250,000 foreign workers in the mines, representing 68 per cent of the labour force. Such movements affect drastically the economies of the emigration countries concerned: it has been estimated that three fifths of the labour force in Lesotho and one half in Botswana might be away at any one time. Mine workers from Lesotho, Swaziland and parts of Botswana are said to spend two thirds of their life between the ages of 16 and 45 years in employment away from home.

12. In North Africa, migratory movements are from the inhospitable, sparsely populated areas of the interior to the fertile Atlantic and Mediterranean littorals. In 1971, there were 700,000 Algerians, 170,000 Moroccans and 100,000 Tunisians in France; the same three nationalities were represented by 26,000 persons in Belgium, 23,000 in the Federal Republic of Germany and 18,000 in the Netherlands. Some traditional countries of emigration, such as Italy and Spain, have also starting recruiting North African labour. Migratory movements within North Africa - from Tunisia to the Libyan Arab Republic, for instance, are of unknown proportions.

13. While a small proportion only of the migratory movements described above lead to permanent settlement in the receiving countries, the objective of permanent settlement characterizes the intercontinental migrations to countries of Oceania, principally Australia, and, to a great extent in North America.

14. Apart from short-term movements within the region, the principal migratory flows from the West Indies are directed to the United States of America and the United Kingdom. The former, by far the larger in the past, has been gradually restricted by the United States immigration laws; in 1971, only 25,000 permanent immigrants were admitted. West Indian migration to the United Kingdom increased from about 1,000 per year around 1952 to 17,000 10 years later - in application of the then unrestricted right of entry of the British West Indians as Commonwealth citizens. In 1962, however, legislation was enacted with a view to controlling immigration from Commonwealth countries, after which the migratory flows were gradually reduced. The current annual immigration is about 7,000 persons, many of whom are the dependants of settled immigrants. The pattern of immigration, which was of undefined duration until 1962, has since then gradually taken a more definitive character.

15. In South America, intra-continental migratory movements are taking place mainly to Argentina - where 1,600,000 immigrants from Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay were counted in 1969, representing 6.5 per cent of the population - and to Venezuela, mainly from Colombia with a migrant population estimated at somewhere between 300,000 and 700,000. Migratory movements are mostly between rural areas. Migrants work on plantations or provide the extra labour required at the time of harvesting; many wander from province to province, following the sequence of the harvests, and spend much of their life on the roads; others drift to the mines or cities, making their homes in shanty towns. A high proportion of migrations are clandestine, and most of the workers involved are illiterate and unskilled.

16. In Asia, the most significant movements are taking place in the Middle East: between Arab countries - more than 70 per cent of the labour force of Kuwait was, in 1970, of foreign origin - and to Israel, where the annual rate of permanent immigrants (with a high proportion of skilled individuals) was 37,000 around 1970. No significant movements are reported from the rest of Asia.

17. Migration within Eastern Europe is on a relatively small scale. Apart from some movements of frontier workers (for instance, between Poland and

Czechoslovakia), exchanges of labour are carefully organized and usually of fixed-term duration: they may result from contracts for specific projects, whereby most of required manpower is supplied by the executing country, or from arrangements which have as their main purpose the training of groups of workers. The principal receiving country of the area is the German Democratic Republic, where it is reported that approximately 13,000 Hungarians, 12,000 Poles and lesser numbers of Czechoslovaks and Rumanians are currently at work. There are also arrangements for importing labour to countries of Eastern Europe from other regions; for instance, Egypt has signed agreements with Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia to supply respectively 10,000 and 15,000 workers for the construction industry and agreements for transfers of labour-cum-training have been concluded between the German Democratic Republic and Nigeria.

18. Since the beginning of the sixties, nowhere has immigration grown at such spectacular a rate as in Western Europe. The trend started in the 1950s in France and Switzerland, and then spread all over the region. It is estimated that the number of migrants legally working in Western Europe in 1972 was 7.3 million, making with their dependants a foreign population of 11.9 million. The total, including clandestine immigrants, may have been as high as 13 million - almost equal to the population of the Netherlands. There were 3,700,000 migrant workers and their dependants in France, 2,800,000 in the Federal Republic of Germany, 2,600,000 in the United Kingdom, 1,000,000 in Switzerland, 520,000 in Belgium, 400,000 in Sweden and 200,000 in the Netherlands. Migrant workers represented 8.3 per cent of the labour force in France, 8.7 per cent in the Federal Republic of Germany and no less than 20 per cent in Switzerland. ^{1/} The above figures do not take into account the seasonal and frontier movements. At the present juncture, a slowing down of migratory flows may be observed, mainly as a result of restrictive measures taken in both receiving and sending countries. But the stocks of immigrant manpower continue to rise in every receiving country and the determining factors of migration remain strong. Some pockets of manpower shortage have even appeared in the traditional emigration countries and started new migratory flows. There seems to be a generalizing trend for the less attractive jobs to be left to immigrants.

19. With some exceptions - the nationals of former French African territories in France and the workers circulating within the European Economic Community and Nordic Convention areas - an alien worker is not permitted entry into any Western European country unless he has been specially recruited; that is to say, he must be in possession of a work permit or, in some cases, a written contract of employment. Illegal employment involves penalties which may include imprisonment and the employers are liable to a fine. The deterrents are insufficient, however, to halt the flow of illegal immigration and the traffic which accompanies it. Data on the migrants' length of stay are scarce and would need updating: a study undertaken in France for the period 1962 to 1967 showed that 25 per cent of migrants

^{1/} Owing to recent changes, Switzerland can no longer be considered a major immigration country; the entire migration policy of Switzerland is currently under review.

left within 1.5 years of their arrival and 50 per cent within six years. Of all returned Italian emigrants between 1962 and 1968, more than half had stayed abroad for less than a year, 25 per cent for one to three years and almost the same proportion for more than three years. What can safely be stated is that most migrants leave their country with the intention of remaining abroad for only a few years, that the majority actually stay longer than originally expected and that a general trend has been observed for some years towards an increase in the average length of stay of immigrants in Western Europe.

20. A survey of the economic activities in which immigrant workers are engaged in Western Europe shows that, in comparison to the national labour force, they are underrepresented in the agricultural, commercial and service sectors, and concentrated in the manufacturing and construction sectors. In nearly every receiving country the unskilled and semi-skilled account for more than 60 per cent of the total immigrant workers. There are wide variations according to the nationalities of origin. Female migrant labour tends to concentrate in manufacturing industries (particularly textiles, clothing and light engineering), services (domestic and catering) and commercial occupations. Very few of the immigrant women enter any of the receiving countries as skilled workers. Most of them were either unemployed or employed in agriculture before their departure, so that employment abroad is their first opportunity of engaging in non-agricultural work. Even when women have a higher educational level than men, they lack vocational training; as a result, they are employed in sectors that are traditionally badly paid. A notable proportion of migrant workers are young and current trends are accentuating that situation. Female workers form an even younger group of immigrants than men.

21. The majority of migrant workers in Western Europe leave the country of origin unaccompanied by their dependants; at some later date, depending on their adaptation to the new environment and the immigration regulations of the receiving country, they may be joined by their families. It is estimated from various sources that there are at present in the migrant population 860,000 children under 16 years of age (of whom 650,000 are of compulsory school age) in France, 606,000 (280,000) in the United Kingdom, 450,000 (220,000) in the Federal Republic of Germany, 755,000 (330,000) in Switzerland, 150,000 (115,000) in Belgium, 130,000 (60,000) in Sweden, and 22,000 (10,000) in the Netherlands. In spite of the remaining limitations on the entry of dependants, in several countries such as Sweden and Switzerland, the percentage of children is higher for immigrants than nationals. Low national averages should not conceal the fact that, in areas where the immigrant population is concentrated, a substantial minority, or in some cases, a majority of school children are immigrants.

22. By far the largest part of migratory movements, even to such countries as the United States or those of Western Europe, are unorganized. Although, the control of migration should not result in denying migrants their internationally-recognized right to move across national boundaries, there is no doubt that unorganized migration is a main source of trafficking and abuse.

23. A distinction should be made between intercontinental and intracontinental migration. The balance between the two types of migration has been changing, a

most spectacular example of the reversal of previous trends being, in the 1950s and 1960s, the shift among the emigration countries of Europe from migration overseas to migration to other European countries. The main intercontinental movements - to Australia, Canada, the United States and Israel - involve primarily permanent migrants with a relatively high level of skills and a socio-economic status close to that of the nationals (many of whom are former migrants). By comparison, the intracontinental movements which take place in all regions of the world, sometimes over very short distances, offer a composite picture with regard to their duration and the characteristics of migrant groups. There are marked differences - in terms of economic and social implications - between migratory movements from rural areas, predominant in western Africa and South America, and migration from rural to urban areas, predominant in Europe.

24. Considerations linked to the duration of migration allow for numerous distinctions among migratory movements, with permanent migrations and seasonal migrations at the two extremes. These two extremes, together with fixed-term migration, have obviously very different characteristics (regarding, for instance, whether migrant workers are accompanied by their families), but they have in common the lack of uncertainty about the duration of the movement. By contrast, immigration of the type now predominating in Western Europe is characterized by the fact that it is of undefined duration thus giving rise to previously unknown social problems.

25. Finally, observation of different migratory flows shows considerable variation in the characteristics of migrant groups. As to their socio-economic status, it varies from the comparatively high level of qualifications prevailing in intercontinental migrations to the high proportion of unskilled and illiterate individuals found in the African and Latin American intracontinental movements. The circumstances of migration, the types of employment offered, national customs and existing migration policies deeply affect the age and sex distribution of migrant groups as well as the proportion of single workers and families in the migratory flows.

II. IMPLICATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION FOR INDIVIDUALS, FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES

26. The decision to emigrate is motivated by the desire and will to better one's lot, and there is no reason why migration should not prove a positive and rewarding experience for the individuals concerned. Moreover, many of the hardships now associated with the condition of the migrant could be avoided. Taking migration to the industrialized countries of Western Europe as the main example, the following discussion will be devoted to an examination of the needs of migrants in changing family circumstances and community environment, and the ways in which these needs may be met, the adequacy of existing social programmes and possible avenues to their improvement.

A. The situation in receiving countries of Western Europe

27. Certain of the handicaps from which immigrants are suffering in Western Europe are shared to some extent with elements of the autochthonous population; others are peculiar to immigrants. Such a distinction may have significant policy implications. Thus, the large majority of immigrants has a low socio-economic status - a characteristic which is also shared by nationals with similarly low qualifications and low incomes. Both groups, for instance, may be found living together in the same slum areas and may suffer from insanitary living conditions and overcrowding, poor diet and under-performance of children at school. However, there are restrictions to the upward socio-occupational mobility of immigrants that nationals do not face to the same degree and therefore opportunities to escape from their unsatisfactory situation are fewer.

28. Immigrants are newcomers to a strange environment. Most of them are transplanted from a rural to an urban milieu, and the ensuing difficulties of adaptation are not unlike those experienced by internal migrants. Migrants from the Maghreb, West Africa or Turkey, however, find it more difficult to reconcile their traditional outlook with the demands of urban and industrial life than do newcomers from rural areas of the same receiving country particularly when the immigrant leaves his family behind.

29. The obvious source of the handicaps peculiar to international immigrants is the fact that they are aliens. Apart from those involved in movements within the European Economic Community or Nordic Convention areas, migrants can stay only as long as they have the right to work, are not free to look for the employment of their choice, are subject to a number of administrative restrictions - regarding, for instance, the reuniting of families - which are the most severe when, as newcomers, they go through the most painful period of the adaptive process. At that stage, they have to learn a new language and new modes of thought, to understand a code of behaviour which may make little sense to them and to adjust to new eating and other living habits. Above all, they have to face prejudices and discriminatory attitudes on the part of the population.

30. Additional hardships, specific to immigrants, stem from their belonging to two different countries and cultures. They are especially acute in the case of persons migrating for undefined duration, who are expected to maintain close links with the country and culture of their origin. The complexity of the migrant's situation has educational implications, such as the burden imposed on children who must be prepared both for their life in the receiving country and for an uncertain future in their country of origin. It has also economic implications, related to family or kinship obligations among individuals living in different countries.

31. As noted above, some of the major needs of immigrants, and the relevant policy requirements, are not fundamentally different from those concerning that segment of the local population having certain socio-economic traits in common with immigrants. The need for decent housing and the need for adequate health care belong in that category. Other needs, particularly in the area of education and culture, must be defined in terms which reflect the distinctive condition of immigrants. There is also the overriding need for both immigrants and members of the receiving communities to accept and to be accepted, in other words, the need for social integration.

Social integration

32. Social integration may lead to the assimilation and naturalization of immigrants, but it is also relevant to the situation of those immigrants who have no intention of settling down in the host country however short or prolonged their stay may eventually prove to be. It is a two-way process, whereby both "guests" and "hosts" recognize the identity or complementarity of their interests. For harmonious individual and group relations to be established and maintained, immigrants have to learn to function adequately as members of their new community and the permanent residents have to learn to recognize that migrants are contributing to the development of the national economy and to accept them.

33. Although preparation for migration should take place whenever possible in the country of origin, the successful adaptation of immigrants depends to a large extent on the effectiveness of reception, information and counselling services in the receiving countries. Reception services are mentioned later in this report. Information activities are carried out mainly by voluntary organizations, only some of which have financial support from their Governments. With a few exceptions like Sweden (where 40 immigrant information centres are operating), assistance to immigrants at the crucial stage of their orientation to the host country would seem to deserve more active governmental interest and support. It was one of the recommendations of a National Algerian Seminar on Emigration that a network of centres should be organized in the receiving countries to welcome and provide lodgings for immigrant workers and their families for as long as is necessary, to put the worker in touch with his employer, to supply the migrants with medical care, information and legal services, and to introduce them to the language of the host country. The International Labour Organisation has been and continues to be concerned with this aspect of governmental action on behalf of immigrants.

34. Counselling immigrants puts a heavy strain on the limited resources of established social welfare agencies, the staff of which may not be well prepared to communicate with immigrants and to understand their special problems. The European Economic Community, as early as 1962, and the Council of Europe in 1968 recommended the creation of specialized services and training programmes. A good example of efficient, specialized professional service is offered by the French Service social d'aide aux emigrants; and another combining the advantages of trained and volunteer help is provided by the Caritas organizations in several countries. The employment of social workers from the countries of origin of immigrants, useful as it is, is often restricted by national regulations governing the practice of social work and the recognition of foreign diplomas.

35. The press, radio and television are potentially powerful means for the adaptation of immigrants. Addressing immigrants in their own language, they could help them become better acquainted with life in the host country, and to keep in touch with developments in their country of origin. In some receiving countries, like Sweden, short articles to that effect appear in the daily newspapers, while periodicals intended for immigrants are published in nearly all countries. Radio broadcasts vary greatly in quality and quantity from one country to another. The daily broadcasts in France in the main immigrant languages illustrate the useful role that could be played by the media. Immigrants have limited access to television, and when they can look at it, as in hostels, it is during the peak viewing hours when none of the few programmes prepared in their language are featured.

36. With some exceptions, such as the Irish and West Indians in the United Kingdom or Italians in parts of Switzerland, immigrants have on entry little or no knowledge of the language of the host country. Few have had formal education beyond primary school level and many are illiterate. Without at least some understanding of the spoken language they are unable to follow instructions given in the course of their employment, have no prospect of promotion, find the most simple transactions of living complicated, and are isolated from the host community. When this lack of knowledge is combined with illiteracy, the barriers to adaptation become very great. Measures to combat these conditions have been taken in all receiving countries. In Sweden, it is obligatory for employers to allow immigrant workers 240 hours of paid leave of absence to attend classes in Swedish; courses are arranged under public or voluntary auspices or those of trade unions, including courses for immigrant housewives, and there are special educational facilities for illiterates. In other countries, literacy and language courses (combined or not with other forms of adult education or vocational training) are arranged by governmental authorities (e.g., in France, where any association of workers or individual firm can apply for a State-paid instructor, provided that 20 or more persons are to be taught); by employers (e.g., in France and the Federal Republic of Germany); by trade unions and voluntary organizations (e.g., in Belgium and the United Kingdom); or by the consular authorities of the countries of origin (e.g., in Switzerland).

37. There are many factors which militate against regular attendance at language classes. Overtime, shift work, employment in activities like the construction

industry which involve moving from one site to another, all reduce the possibilities of instruction at the place of work. After work, an immigrant is often too tired to benefit from the instruction that may be available. It is significant that a sample survey undertaken in the Federal Republic of Germany revealed that a large majority of immigrant workers had acquired their knowledge of German through contacts with their fellow workers or encounters with Germans in their leisure time; only 6 per cent mentioned language courses. A seminar organized by the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) has formulated a series of suggestions for improving the situation: to combine intensive courses, during holidays or periods of annual leave, with extensive courses at other times; to incorporate social and cultural activities into language courses; to use specially-adapted curricula and the services of specially prepared teachers; to invite employers not only to organize courses and facilitate attendance, but also to offer money or other incentives; and, for the Governments of the receiving countries clearly to accept the ultimate responsibility for the arrangements required. 2/

38. Special attention needs to be given to the difficulties of adaptation experienced by women. Young unmarried women from rural areas, prior to emigration, often have had no opportunity of meeting persons other than family members or neighbours. Exposure to codes of behaviour different from those at home, and the greater freedom of contacts, can confuse their sense of values. Married women who enter receiving countries as workers in order to effect an early reunion with their husbands, or who are the first member of the family to emigrate, are subject to great stress as they worry about the children left behind. Regarding housewives, a World Health Organization working group has observed that "poor lodging and overcrowding can make life particularly difficult for a wife, especially if she is struggling to maintain some standards of hygiene and bring up her children decently. Her language difficulties are probably greater and her chances of learning the host language less. The food available may be strange, and methods of preparation are sometimes inadequate. In some cases her isolation may be increased by customs of rigid seclusion, and she may have to support frequent pregnancies". 3/ Reaching the housewife with counselling and educational services has helped the social integration of the family group as a whole.

39. Considerably more research and pioneering projects would be necessary to understand and improve the plight of the almost 3 million children of immigrant living in Western Europe. Children have, to be sure, a greater ability than

2/ Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, Seminar on Adaptation and Integration of Permanent Immigrants, Geneva, 29-31 May 1974, General conclusions and recommendations, published in International Migration (Geneva), vol. XII, No. 3, 1974, pp. 119-137.

3/ Health Aspects of Labour Migration, Report on a working group convened by the World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe, Algiers, November 1973 (Copenhagen, World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe, 1974, document No. EURO 4003), p. 21.

adults to learn a language and to adjust to new situations. This, however, places upon them the additional burden of acting as interpreters and mediators between the family and the outside world. Because his parents are busier and therefore less available now than in the home country, the migrant child feels neglected or punished. When he is caught between the desire to go along with his peers and the reluctance of his parents to relinquish their traditions and values, he has feelings of guilt. At home and also at school, efforts made to teach the language and culture of the country of origin in addition to those of the host country, may be difficult to accept for a child whose outlook is usually limited to the present and its immediate requirements. The problems of adaptation of migrant children vary with the age groups, as do the channels most appropriate to bring them help: the younger children could be reached mainly through the basic health and welfare services available to their mothers; the children of school age, mainly through the educational system; the adolescents, through leisure-time activities and at their place of training or work. In the latter group, it is the girls who experience the most acute and potentially harmful conflicts between the ways of life of two different worlds and who are the most in need of protection and guidance.

40. The receiving communities as much as the immigrants themselves have to adapt to the situation created by the employment of foreign labour. For the host community the presence of an immigrant group is disquieting. A survey conducted in 1966 by the Institute of Applied Sciences, Federal Republic of Germany, found that 20 per cent of the middle class, 40 per cent of skilled workers and 60 per cent of semi-skilled or unskilled workers would like to get rid of foreign labour. While sensational reporting in the press of isolated incidents helps to increase these fears, accurate information by the media could do a great deal to dispel them. Too little has been done in this respect so far. However, serious efforts are being made by public authorities and voluntary initiative in most receiving countries to inform and educate the citizenry. The social welfare services of receiving countries which are in contact both with immigrants and nationals could promote a better understanding between the two groups - a possibility which has only been very partially exploited up to now.

41. No action aimed at facilitating social integration can fully succeed without the active support of immigrants and nationals alike. While major attention has been given to the participation of immigrant workers in trade union activities, attempts have also been made to involve immigrants in the affairs of the communities in which they live. One of the most significant examples is offered by Belgium, where Communal Consultative Councils of Immigrants have been set up in areas with a large foreign population, which include representatives of that segment of the population, to advise the authorities on matters concerning the welfare of immigrants and the education of their children. Elsewhere, immigrants have been called upon to participate in community development programmes, some of which, as in the United Kingdom, benefit from active governmental support. Ideally, all members of a community where immigrants are living should be encouraged to work together not only on

problems affecting the migrant minority but on local affairs generally. There are plans in Switzerland for establishing local advisory councils for that purpose. The Swedish Government has announced its intention, starting in 1976, to give immigrants the right to vote in municipal elections.

Housing

42. Efforts towards the social integration of immigrants may be counteracted by housing policies which tend to isolate the foreign population or even to encourage the creation of ghettos. Finding suitable accommodation is a major problem also for nationals and there seems, at first, to be no justification for separate solutions. However, it must be stressed once more that immigrants suffer, in this as in other aspects of their personal life, from specific handicaps such as restrictions in their conditions of employment and stay, discriminatory attitudes on the part of the population, difficulties of communication and the larger size of their families. There is also a natural tendency for newcomers to stay close to their compatriots. There may be merit, therefore, in facilitating first the integration of newcomers in their respective national groups while aiming, in the longer term, at the gradual acceptance of the groups by the host society.

43. National legislation in most receiving countries makes it obligatory for immigrant workers recruited through official channels to be provided with accommodation by their employers, mainly in hostels for single workers, some of which are for women. Living conditions in these hostels have improved over the last few years as a consequence of the enforcement of legal accommodation standards. The most unsatisfactory kind of accommodation is usually found in hostels built by employers within factory compounds. Also unsatisfactory is the tie between accommodation and employment, as a result of which the loss of employment involves the loss of accommodation. But more important is the fact that the employers' obligations do not extend to those workers who have not been recruited through official channels. It has been estimated that, in 1968, only one third of the immigrant workers in the Federal Republic of Germany and less than one fifth in France were housed by their employers or with their help. For the majority of immigrants, therefore, the problem of housing must be solved otherwise.

44. When looking for accommodation, immigrants tend to congregate in certain districts of industrial cities and frequently immigrants of the same nationality, or even from the same province of a sending country, are to be found living in proximity. In the past this was due to immigrants following the paths of their predecessors. In the United Kingdom, it was customary for settled immigrants to advise potential emigrants in their home area where work could be obtained. It was not uncommon to find, in a firm employing immigrant labour, that all the foreign workers came from the same island in the Caribbean. The established immigrants usually provided accommodation for the new arrivals until they could find it for themselves, which was almost invariably in the same neighbourhood. The factors that caused the earlier immigrants to settle where they did - nearness to the firm offering employment, housing within their means and obtainable

by them - were equally applicable to those that followed. In the 1950s and early 1960, the old working-class districts near the centre of industrial towns were gradually being vacated by indigenous labour moving to the suburbs; as the majority of immigrants did not qualify for public housing or could not afford the rent, they remained in the decaying central districts with those nationals of the lowest socio-economic status. As more new immigrants arrived, they occupied the vacated quarters; thus these immigrant communities expanded. Much the same pattern was followed in other countries.

45. With the larger influx of foreign labour into Western Europe, the housing conditions of immigrants have now diversified, but remain on the whole unsatisfactory. As a general rule, the best housed immigrants are to be found among the nationals of countries which have been sending immigrants for the longest time; conversely, the relative newcomers are the most disadvantaged. Those living in slum areas or bidonvilles, or in furnished lodgings, are especially prone to being exploited. With their limited means and other handicaps, immigrants suffer much more than the local population from the general housing shortage still prevailing in all receiving countries with the only possible exception of Belgium. They cannot escape from exploitation, overcrowding and insanitary living conditions without special assistance.

46. Ensuring equality of treatment for immigrants and nationals in relation to housing has been the subject of Conventions, of the International Labour Organisation, a provision of the European Social Charter and a recommendation of the Commission of European Communities. The same instruments also ask for a policy of active assistance, in which all receiving countries have actually been engaged. But whatever the efforts made, the results achieved remain everywhere inadequate. In France, for instance, it is estimated that 20 per cent of immigrants are still living in slums; 26.8 per cent in overcrowded quarters; 13 per cent in furnished lodgings; and the rehousing of bidonville inhabitants, most of them immigrants, has still to be completed.

Health

47. Because of medical examinations prior to migration, on entry immigrants form a generally healthy group. Apart from malaria and parasitic diseases, reported in some cases, the incidence of imported health problems on the immigrants themselves or on the host population is very limited. On the other hand, immigrants are a vulnerable group. They are less immune than the host population to common diseases and, at the time, more exposed to the hazards of poor housing, malnutrition and inadequate hygiene. They are particularly liable to develop tuberculosis: a French study has shown that tuberculosis was three to five times more frequent among immigrants, especially Africans, than among the local population. The more severe incidence of venereal diseases in a group comprising a relatively high proportion of single young men is also understandable. Because of difficulties experienced by immigrants in the process of adaptation, mental troubles and the accompanying psychosomatic symptoms (often digestive)

are more common among them than among their hosts. It was found in the United Kingdom that the incidence of mental illness among immigrants was 8-9 per 1,000, as compared with a little more than 6 in a control group of British-born persons living in slum areas and a national over-all figure of 3-4 per 1,000. Women and children, the most directly affected by the difficulties of social integration, are particularly vulnerable to psycho-social maladjustment. The high rate of industrial accidents among foreign workers (estimated in the Federal Republic of Germany to be 2.5 times higher than among German workers) is also attributable to problems of adaptation, whether in learning the language or the industrial discipline. A World Health Organization working group concluded that, for immigrants, "health problems were subordinate to and dependent on social problems". 4/

48. At a seminar organized by the International Children's Centre, 5/ numerous examples were given of the adverse effect of social factors on the health of migrant children. Thus, ignorance or faulty habits may be responsible for malnutrition; for rickets, as a result of the traditional belief held by North Africans that young children should not be exposed to daylight; and for not protecting children, by vaccination, against tuberculosis, or whooping cough. Poor housing conditions are responsible for respiratory and gastro-intestinal diseases and for the frequency and seriousness of accidents (poisoning and burns). They make it also unavoidable, in the case of acute illness, that children should be hospitalized - hence the constantly increasing proportion of immigrant children in pediatric wards of European hospitals (30 per cent in Brussels and Paris, 40 per cent in London in 1972). The adverse psychological consequences of the complete removal from his normal surroundings are especially acute for the more vulnerable migrant child.

49. In the World Health Organization working group mentioned above "there was general agreement that it was not necessary to establish special services to meet the needs of foreign workers, but that existing services did require important adaptation and, where necessary, expansion". 6/ For the most part, additional measures should aim at facilitating the use by immigrants of established services. The right approach is, to bring the services to the immigrants rather than to rely on their finding their way to the services. Personal contact with all new arrivals and home visiting should be seen by health and welfare agencies as an important duty. There is much to commend the system adopted in some towns in Sweden, whereby selected immigrants who have been in the country for some years are used to contact newly arrived families; their first-hand experience in dealing with the health problems of their own families, and with all the manifold difficulties of settling down in a new environment, is made available to newcomers. Various ways have been found of solving the problems of communication: staff of the same nationality as the

4/ Ibid., p. 13.

5/ International Children's Centre, Seminar on the Children of Migrant Workers (Paris, 1973).

6/ Health Aspects of Labour Migration, p. 25.

immigrants or with a knowledge of their language may be used in the health services; in Switzerland, the public health authorities provide doctors with appropriate phrase books in the languages of the immigrants; in the Federal Republic of Germany, doctors are attached to certain consulates to act as consultants to local physicians. Extensive health education is essential and needs to be adapted to the language, culture and level of literacy of the migrant groups concerned. The medical care provided in receiving countries could be more effective if well-conceived health certificates were delivered to migrants prior to their departure.

50. In accordance with the provisions of multilateral or bilateral instruments, sickness insurance benefits and socio-medical assistance are as a rule available for immigrants under the same conditions as those obtaining for nationals. It is again a task of the health and welfare services to ensure that immigrants are well informed of the benefits to which they are entitled and the steps they must take to establish their eligibility.

Education 7/

51. The right of migrant children to enjoy the same educational opportunities as nationals was affirmed by the European Economic Community in 1962, as regards the citizens of other Member States, and by the Council of Europe in 1970. In 1972, the General Conference of UNESCO invited Member States "to take concrete measures to facilitate equality of access to education and of educational opportunity for foreign migrant workers and their children, and to improve this education". 8/ In all European countries of immigration, the legislation concerning compulsory schooling actually applies to all children, including migrants, and the latter are admitted to primary schools on an equal footing with nationals. It has been realized, however, that this important step towards equality of treatment had to be supplemented by a series of measures corresponding to the special handicaps and needs of migrant children for genuine equality to be achieved.

52. Surveys undertaken in recent years have shown that, in the Geneva primary school system, 40 per cent of the Spanish children were one year behind, and 20 per cent two years behind their age grades, compared with 22 and 8 per cent respectively for the total school population; that in London, children in areas with a high immigrant population were six months behind children of the same age in the rest of England; and that in Paris, Algerian children between 6 and 14 years of age were more than one year behind French pupils of the same age. Also in France, it has been determined that the proportion of Spanish children of normal school age had declined from 81 per cent at the beginning of

7/ The question of adult education for migrants will be dealt with in the ILO report.

8/ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Records of the General Conference, Seventeenth Session, Paris, 1972, vol. I, Resolutions and Recommendations, resolution 1.141(c).

the compulsory schooling period to 37 per cent at the end of that period; the corresponding figures were 63 and 35 per cent for Algerian children and 47 and 23 per cent for Portuguese children. When comparisons are limited to migrant groups and local families of low socio-economic status, the percentages of children lagging behind their grades are much closer. In both cases, children receive little encouragement and help from their parents, poor living conditions adversely affect their school performance, and in many instances girls are kept at home to look after younger children while both parents are at work. Unlike local children, however, migrant children have to adjust to a different educational system and to learn a different language. Even in the case of immigrants whose mother tongue is that of the host country, e.g., the West Indians in the United Kingdom, the language they speak at home is a separate language expressing a different culture. The newly arrived immigrant child has usually gone through the traumatic experience of being separated from one or both his parents for a more or less lengthy period. Particularly damaging is the plight of those children who have entered the country illegally and are secluded for many months before it is possible for their parents to send them to school.

53. Without special assistance, it is most likely that immigrant children will find themselves placed in classes with younger children, which cannot but slow down their intellectual development and unnecessarily limit their educational achievements. Even worse, they may be placed without justification in special classes for mentally handicapped children. A UNESCO Expert Meeting thought it especially important that "those whose difficulties were primarily due to problems of adaptation were not put in such classes. There was a risk that putting such children in special classes would aggravate their disturbances by accentuating the causes of maladjustment".^{9/} The risk of substandard education may obtain in classes where local children are outnumbered by immigrants, which explains the dispersal policy adopted in the United Kingdom (where a proportion of one third of immigrant children is considered the maximum acceptable in any school) and in the Federal Republic of Germany (where that proportion is established at one fourth of the pupils). Segregative measures concerning the education of immigrant children would accentuate that risk, while running directly counter to the objective of facilitating their social integration.

54. Ways should therefore be found of helping immigrant children gradually to catch up with local children in the framework of the general school system. Recommendations to that effect have been formulated by the Council of Europe, and attempts in that direction have been made in most receiving countries. In France, "beginners classes" in which instruction in French is provided for one scholastic year are arranged in two grades - one for children aged 6 to 9 years and the other for those between 10 and 12 years. Special classes have also been organized at lower secondary level for young immigrants entering the country between the ages of 12 and 16 years. In the Netherlands, if 10 per cent of the pupils in any one school (representing no less than 15 children) cannot be

^{9/} United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "Report of the Expert Meeting on the Education of Foreign Migrant Workers and their Children, Paris, 22-26 October 1973" (ED-73/CONF.602/9), para. 28.

reached in Dutch, an extra master is appointed (two if the pupils concerned total 25 or more) whose specific duty is to bring children as quickly as possible to the point where they can derive full benefit from attending the normal classes. In the Federal Republic of Germany, transitional classes are formed within normal schools for each group of 15 children speaking the same foreign language; children remain in these classes, where instruction is given in their mother tongue and German is taught as a second language, until they have acquired sufficient knowledge of German. Instructors from Greece, Italy, Spain and Turkey are provided by their respective Governments to work alongside their German colleagues in such classes. A similar system is followed in Sweden. In Switzerland, foreign children start, if necessary, in special admission classes and are enrolled as soon as possible in the normal classes corresponding to their age where they are assisted through intensive courses (in small groups or even individually) in overcoming their linguistic handicap; moreover, arrangements are made to ensure that linguistic difficulties do not stand in the way of their promotion to further grades. Special admission classes, and intensive tuition in the national language combined with attendance at normal classes, are also found in the United Kingdom.

55. For such arrangements as those described above to be fully effective, they should be accompanied by a series of measures that have been enumerated in a resolution of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe: 10/ that parents be advised before emigration of the educational facilities and requirements of the country of immigration; that provision be made for the transfer of the child's scholastic record to the receiving country; that the educational authorities are advised in advance of the arrival of the child; that co-operation be established between educational authorities and teachers in the countries of emigration and immigration; and that parents be encouraged to take part in the school life of their children. Elaborating on the latter recommendation, the ICEM seminar mentioned above has recommended that in neighbourhoods with a considerable immigrant population "parent schools" should be set up, where immigrants would be taught the language and at the same time given a better understanding of the curriculum of their children by establishing contacts with their children's teachers. 11/ Useful attempts at involving immigrant parents in school affairs have been made especially in Sweden and Switzerland.

56. In the UNESCO seminar mentioned above, "the participants paid particular attention to teacher training as something closely linked with the problems of pupils' school performance. They considered that extra training was necessary

10/ Council of Europe, Consultative Assembly, Twenty-second Ordinary Session (Third Part), Documents and Working Papers (Strasbourg, 1971), document 2880, appendix VIII, resolution (70) 35.

11/ Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, op. cit.

for teachers in areas where there was a very high proportion of immigrants". 12/ In line with a recommendation of that Seminar, the UNESCO secretariat has made plans for an exchange programme between sending and receiving countries, the participants to be teachers, and also social workers, who could benefit from a closer knowledge of the educational and social services of the countries to which the migrant workers were going or from which they had come.

57. What has been discussed so far is the need to facilitate the normal integration of the migrant child into the educational system of the receiving country. But this has to be done without sacrificing the equally important objective of maintaining the child in the language and culture of his country of origin. Such important practical considerations as the possibility that the child will return someday to his country militate in favour of the bi-cultural education of emigrants. There are also more fundamental justifications: in the discussions at the UNESCO seminar, "the native culture clearly emerged as an inalienable element of the individual's personality". 13/ It is, moreover, in the interest of the receiving community not to remain impervious to the cultural heritage of its guests, and ideally the educational system might play a role in this connexion. Receiving countries have been slow to realize this dimension of the problem. The most significant examples are those of Sweden and the United Kingdom, whose official policy objectives concerning the education of immigrant children have switched only recently from total assimilation to the protection of the children's cultural differences. Current experiments in some receiving countries are in line with the finding of the UNESCO seminar that there is "a vital need to introduce teaching of the mother tongue and to incorporate it in the official school curriculum. To provide a minimum of four to five hours of such teaching per week, a reorganization of school time-tables would be required so as to enable migrant children to attend classes in the language of the host country under the best possible conditions ... Teaching of the native culture and language should be continued at secondary level and should take the place of instruction in the first foreign language". 14/ In 1973, experimental classes for testing the appropriate methods for achieving such objectives were started in Belgium, France and Sweden under the sponsorship of the Council of Europe.

58. There is indeed a need for careful experimentation and research to solve what appears as a most complex problem. Integration and the preservation of one's cultural identity are to some extent conflicting objectives, and the child himself is caught between the two requirements. Concretely, what is expected from him by his family may be quite different from what is expected by his peers, and the child's response will vary depending on individual circumstances. The

12/ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "Report of the Expert Meeting on the Education of Foreign Migrant Workers and their Children, Paris, 22-26 October 1973," para. 29.

13/ Ibid., para. 32.

14/ Ibid., paras. 32 and 33.

child born in the host country may be particularly reluctant to learn what is for him almost a foreign language and a foreign culture and what seems to be, to judge from the community's attitudes towards his parents, more a burden than an asset.

59. The chances of successfully handling the situation just described are especially great in the case of children who enter the receiving country before school age. This would justify some concentration of the resources available for assistance to migrant children in that age group. The UNESCO seminar mentioned above recommended that "suitable steps should be taken by the appropriate authorities of each country to admit as many migrant children as possible to pre-primary education and to enable them to derive the greatest possible benefit from it". ^{15/} The most varied examples of help to migrant children of pre-school age are offered by Switzerland. In that country, nursery schools accept immigrant children on the same terms as nationals and the education is provided for one or two years prior to compulsory schooling. Some cantons subsidize private nursery schools for foreign children. The steps taken to facilitate the integration of those pre-school children include the organization of beginners' classes in the local language; the placing of foreign children, usually twice a week, in Swiss families with children of the same age; the organization of private language lessons at preferential rates; and the provision of facilities for trainee nursery school teachers to spend a period of training in a country of emigration. The children thus assisted are generally able to enter immediately normal classes when the time comes for them to enrol in a primary school.

60. The educational opportunities offered to young immigrants beyond the age of compulsory schooling are among the less satisfactory aspects of the policies developed in receiving countries on behalf of migrants. Below-average performance at primary school, uncertainties about the future and the parents' lack of financial means account for the fact that youngsters belonging to the second generation of immigrants are significantly under-represented in vocational training and higher-education institutions. Eligibility requirements for scholarships or other forms of financial assistance are stricter for immigrants than for native students, whereas the reverse should be the case. In France, the Fonds d'action sociale allocates a portion of its revenue to such assistance, but the resources so allocated are not equal to the need. For youngsters who join their families in receiving countries at an age when they are no longer compelled to go to school, the pre-vocational training facilities that they require have only begun to be developed. In France again, two non-residential courses for young men were recently inaugurated in the Paris region to provide such pre-vocational training. It is proposed to extend the system to all population centres where there is a large number of immigrant families, and in due course to arrange similar training for young women.

^{15/} Ibid., para. 26.

B. The situation in sending countries

61. Governments of the labour-exporting countries have manifested deep concern with the implications of emigration for national development and for the welfare of the individuals, families and communities involved. It is expressed in their participation in the elaboration of relevant international instruments, in bilateral negotiations and agreements with the authorities of the countries to which their nationals emigrate and in policy decisions and practical measures of assistance to migrants. Whereas the last of these might take place in the receiving countries, e.g., the sending of national teaching staff to participate in the education of migrant children, much has to be done at home - whether on behalf of the migrants, prior to their departure and after they have returned, or on behalf of the family members left behind during the period of emigration. The authorities of receiving countries also play a role in that connexion, particularly at the pre-emigration stage, and it is part of the Government's responsibility in sending countries to ensure that they do so in conformity with the national interest and that of the migrants themselves.

Prior to emigration

62. In order to form a sound judgement as the basis for their decision to look for employment abroad, it is essential that prospective emigrants have access to reliable, readily understood and current information on the general living conditions and specific job opportunities in receiving countries. Some of those countries issue brochures on living conditions for distribution by consular offices or recruitment commissions: among the most effective are those published by the Federal Republic of Germany and Sweden, which are available in several languages and cover a wide range of subjects of interest to emigrants. Of the sending countries, Italy is probably the best equipped with official and voluntary information services. The Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Prime Minister's Office and various organizations publish bulletins and guidelines for emigrants and migrant workers. The radio and television corporations regularly broadcast a programme illustrating the problems that potential emigrants may encounter abroad. Information on specific job opportunities is, of course, provided by the recruitment commissions or the national agencies - such as the Algerian National Labour Office - concerned with organized emigration. For movements of labour within the European Economic Community, which are now almost entirely spontaneous, there is a well-organized exchange of information on job opportunities among the labour exchanges in the various member countries and potential emigrants have no difficulty in obtaining advice.

63. Some Governments, recruitment commissions and voluntary organizations have launched programmes to prepare persons who have decided to emigrate, usually those who have signed an employment contract with a recruitment agency, for the conditions they are likely to face in the receiving country. In the best circumstances, the preparation includes instruction in the language of the country of immigration and vocational training. Thus, the Spanish Institute of Emigration arranges courses on "environmental preparation" which cover instruction in the language of the

receiving country and information on its history, geography and customs as well as the conditions of work, contracts of employment and social security rights. The trainees are advised of the assistance the Spanish Government can provide in the receiving country, and for the dependants of emigrants who remain at home. The Spanish Institute also organizes vocational initiation courses in trades that emigrants will follow in receiving countries. The courses are given free of charge in evening classes for a period of four months; they are available in vocational training establishments in large towns, and sometimes in the emigrant's own village by means of mobile training centres. The Catholic Commission for Migration works in close co-operation with the Spanish Institute; the social workers of the former interview most of those emigrating. The Women's Section of the Falange, which has organized courses on the same lines as the Institute, and the Catholic Commission pay special attention to the preparation of emigrant women.

64. In Portugal, Caritas conducts courses for prospective emigrants. The preparation lasts between three and four weeks, during which time the trainees are given information on the social security system, currency, way of life and working and living conditions in the receiving country, and are introduced to the language. In Turkey, a voluntary organization subsidized by the State arranges classes in German, often with German instructors, for workers about to emigrate to the Federal Republic of Germany. In the same country, an engineering firm runs a residential school to train workers it intends to employ, and provides a thorough introduction to the German way of life. In Yugoslavia, some vocational training programmes have been launched which also include "socio-political preparation" aimed at informing emigrants of their rights and duties, of the assistance they might expect from the diplomatic and consular missions in the receiving countries, and of the trade union movements existing in those countries.

65. Preparation for emigration still suffers from many limitations. Apart from the inadequate scope of existing programmes, these can only reach those, often a minority, whose emigration is arranged through official channels. Experience also shows that the trainees do not fully grasp the importance of their preparation until they are confronted with the actual problems of adjusting to new living and working conditions. On the other hand, the preventive role of such preparation cannot be over-estimated. This would justify further joint efforts on the part of sending and receiving countries, which should include the working-out of well-conceived incentives. Expanded programmes of preparation for emigration should cater for one category of beneficiaries to which very little attention has been paid up to now, that is, the wives and children about to rejoin the head of the family abroad. Children especially, after a long separation from one or both parents during their crucial formative years, have to be prepared for a difficult period of readjustment and need the skilled assistance of social welfare personnel starting as soon as the decision for them to leave has been made.

During emigration

66. The usual pattern of emigration among married workers is for the father (or sometimes the mother) to leave first and to be joined or not by the other family members at a later stage. For instance, in 1972 in the Federal Republic of Germany,

74 per cent of the total foreign labour force were male married workers, almost half of them living without their families. The proportions varied considerably from one nationality to the other: 64 per cent of all married Turks, 45 per cent of the Yugoslavs and 50 per cent of the Portuguese were unaccompanied, while the proportions were 29 per cent among Italians, 37 per cent among Spaniards and 19 per cent among Greeks. A major factor accounting for the separation, at least temporary, of migrant workers from their dependants is the policy of immigration countries concerning the uniting of families. While this is encouraged by international instruments and bilateral agreements, several immigration countries impose a waiting period which may be as long as three years (in the case of Yugoslav workers in Switzerland) and other conditions such as evidence of adequate housing. The difficulties of finding accommodation and also of meeting the cost of transportation result in considerable delays. It is not uncommon among Jamaicans in the United Kingdom to wait up to eight years before bringing over their families. In addition, the obligation commonly faced by groups of migrant workers such as black Africans to contribute to the support not only of their wives and children, but also of extended family groups, explains why virtually none of them can afford to have their dependants with them.

67. In cases where both parents emigrate and the children are left behind, arrangements for their care vary according to local traditions. In Jamaica, for instance, children are usually left in the care of a grandmother or other maternal relatives and when there are no close relatives they are often placed in the care of step-parents, or guardians, who are not as reliable as close relatives. In Turkey, the care of children is entrusted to the father's closest male relative - either the children's uncle or grandfather. In a number of cases, the family is split so that some children accompany the parents while others are left behind. Those left behind are often the youngest ones, who it is felt would receive closer care in that way, but it also happens that the older children are left to work in the fields and look after the aged ones in the family.

68. The maintenance of the family members left behind depends to a large extent on the money sent home by the emigrant workers. The right of an emigrant to transfer to his homeland such portion of his wages and savings as he wishes is guaranteed by international conventions, and the European Social Charter adopted by the Council of Europe. To encourage emigrants to remit their wages and savings, the national banks in some countries (e.g., Algeria, Turkey) offer favourable rates of exchange. There is keen competition between Portuguese banks to handle this type of business; branches for that purpose have been opened in receiving countries, even in bidonvilles. Since the money sent home by emigrants commonly ranges between a quarter and a half of their earnings, and wage levels in receiving countries often are as much as three times as high as that in the sending countries, the workers' families are generally better off than before emigration. Studies have documented the improved diet and decrease in sickness in parts of southern Italy that were attributable to the money sent home by emigrants. It has been estimated that in some Algerian villages 80 per cent of the cash income available is derived from remittances.

69. As a result of bilateral and multilateral treaties and international labour conventions, all of the receiving countries of Western Europe pay family allowances to migrant workers for their resident children and, in most cases, for their non-resident children as well. Allowances for non-resident children are generally paid at the prevailing rates in receiving countries with the exception of France where lower rates are applied. The procedures for payment differ from country to country; they are the most effective when, as in the case of Spanish children whose father works in France, allowances are paid directly by social security agencies in the sending country to the mother or whoever is the guardian of the children. As for other forms of social security, e.g., sickness insurance, they depend on the existence of an agreement between the sending and receiving countries. Generally in such agreements the contribution of the emigrant worker to the social insurance system of the receiving country assures the dependants in the sending country the benefits to which they would have been entitled had they followed the worker, provided that similar social security schemes exist in the country of origin.

70. A major gap in the social protection of the dependants remaining in the home country is that there is at present no effective legal means to compel an emigrant to contribute to the support of such dependants. Even if both the countries concerned have subscribed to the United Nations or the Hague Conventions on the recovery of maintenance obligations abroad, 16/ the machinery generally is lacking in the sending country to implement them. In most sending countries there is no special arrangement to provide for abandoned dependants. In Spain, the Institute of Emigration has funds at its disposal to provide assistance in such cases, whereas some of the abandoned children may find shelter in two homes operated by the Catholic Emigration Commission. In certain regions of Italy there are special programmes to provide assistance to the families of emigrants in emergency situations. In Yugoslavia, a law was passed in 1973, which, inter alia, specifies the duties of emigrant workers towards their dependants left at home.

71. However, the majority of emigrant workers not only expect to reduce their living expenses to the barest minimum in order to send money home (and to save for the future), but also make every effort to spend part of their annual leave with their family. In some countries migrant workers are encouraged to do so by such means as reduced travel fares at certain times of the year and extended leave. In the Netherlands, for instance, the agreement with the Turkish Government provides for employers to make travel grants to enable workers to visit their families in Turkey when they have completed their first contract and the contract has been renewed. In other countries, some firms allow immigrants to work longer hours in return for extra leave to be spent at home.

16/ Convention on the Recovery Abroad of Maintenance (United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 268, p. 4); Convention sur la loi applicable aux obligations alimentaires envers les enfants, Conférence de la Haye de Droit International Privé, Recueil des Conventions de la Haye (La Haye, Martinus Nijhoff, 1973), p. 32; Convention concernant la reconnaissance et l'exécution des décisions en matière d'obligations alimentaires envers les enfants, Conférence de la Haye de Droit International Privé, p. 36.

72. The separation of family members for an unknown length of time threatens the stability of the family unit. Thus, in the Serbian region of Yugoslavia the separation of couples through migration has resulted in a divorce rate of 10 per cent, while the average rate for the region is 1.5 per cent. Broken marriages due to emigration in that region are more frequent in the cities (up to 28 per cent), whereas the least hit are the small villages (5 per cent). The exposure of the migrating partner to different ways of life adds to the emotional strains of separation, so that husband and wife may gradually become strangers to each other. The adverse effects of separation upon children are obvious when both parents have left and they suffer from inadequate care on the part of their guardians, or when they are abandoned by their natural parents; but even in less extreme circumstances, it is apparent from the children's aggressive or delinquent behaviour and lower achievements at school that separation may have a severe impact on their emotional and intellectual development. This is confirmed by many case histories in the files of the International Social Service, but very little systematic research has been undertaken so far on the matter and even less on the kind of psycho-social help these children require.

73. Not only the families but also the communities of origin suffer from the effects of emigration. The decrease in the percentage of the economically active population is all the more acutely felt as emigrants are generally drawn from those possessed of greater than average initiative in their respective communities. Moreover, in most sending countries the rates of emigration are higher in communities with lower rates of economic activity. The relative affluence created by the emigrants' remittances is no compensation for the unhealthy social conditions resulting from the abnormally high proportion of aged and dependant persons, and the unfavourable sex ratio. Some traditional areas of emigration, for instance in Greece and Portugal, have lost so many young men that difficulties are being experienced in maintaining even elementary public services. The deterioration of the social and economic situation in communities of origin tends to become permanent in spite of the temporary character of individual migration, since many of the returning migrants, after they have become accustomed to the urban way of life in receiving countries, settle in the more industrialized parts of their home country.

74. Most of the difficulties experienced by families and communities in the sending countries are linked to the uncertain duration of migratory movements towards Western Europe. Concerted arrangements between receiving and sending countries should offer prospective emigrants a clearer choice between a fixed-term employment and longer-term or permanent stay abroad, the latter involving the migration of families or at least their early reunion. Concerted action is also necessary to ensure that maintenance obligations are fulfilled, while receiving countries, in return for the benefits they derive from importing foreign labour, should assist in the development of effective social welfare services on behalf of the workers' dependants in sending countries and conduct their recruitment operations in a way which would avoid the further deterioration of economic and social life in areas of traditionally intensive emigration.

After emigration

75. The return of emigrants to their country of origin takes place under varying circumstances. Migrants may come back after a short and unsuccessful experience abroad, or after several years. The return movements may involve migrant families, or unaccompanied workers, or again workers who had left alone and formed a family while abroad. It is known, for instance, that from 1960 to 1970 in the Federal Republic of Germany, 19,000 marriages were contracted involving Yugoslav workers - 5,000 among Yugoslavs and 14,000 between Yugoslavs and Germans. Returning children may have been born in the host country or arrived there at an early age, or they may be older children with a short or extensive period of school attendance abroad. There are, unfortunately, no significant data available on the returning children's profiles. The potential benefits of emigration as a working, educational and social experience that workers and their family members can use to their advantage after their return depend, for their realization, on the extent to which migrants have been able to find what they were seeking abroad - skills, knowledge, savings - and at the same time to maintain their cultural links with the home country. Much depends also on the assistance they receive, once they are back, in the process of their occupational and social reintegration.

76. Neither in receiving nor in sending countries have satisfactory arrangements been made in order to maximize the economic benefits of labour migration - that is, to enable migrant workers to acquire skills that would correspond to the developmental needs of their country of origin. Against this generally negative background, the possibilities of helping individual returnees' successful occupational reintegration are necessarily limited. Even so, it seems that in sending countries, "apart from a few exceptions, the institutions concerned have concentrated mainly on emigration proper and much less on reintegration in the socio-economic system on return, which is the crucial point and can already of itself, according to the way in which it is dealt with, constitute a source either of benefits or of negative consequences for the country's development". ^{17/} There are only isolated examples of efforts made to prepare migrant workers for their return, to allow them opportunities for re-training, to recognize the qualifications they have acquired abroad, and to facilitate their actual re-employment.

77. In Greece, Italy and Yugoslavia action is taken to advise emigrants abroad of vacant positions at home, while Spanish emigrants may apply for admission to re-training centres before they return. Vocational courses for re-training returnees seem to be best developed in Portugal and Spain. The problem of recognizing qualifications obtained abroad has nowhere been satisfactorily solved. Even within the European Economic Community there are, as yet, no arrangements for harmonizing the standards of professional training. Only some of the certificates awarded by vocational training institutions in France are recognized in Algeria, and by institutions in the Federal Republic of Germany in Greece. Particular difficulties seem to be experienced by returning migrants who consider

^{17/} Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Seminar on International Migration in its Relationship to Industrial and Agricultural Adjustment Policies, Vienna, May 1974 (Paris, in publication). Conclusions, para. 4.

themselves qualified for admission to the public service. Opportunities for the re-employment of returnees are better, and assistance to that end more effective, in the more industrially developed of the sending countries such as Italy and Spain, but few return on better terms: it has been estimated that the percentage of emigrants who have become skilled workers while abroad and are able to move into skilled occupations upon their return to Italy is between 10 and 15 per cent. In other sending countries, the higher expectations of returnees are hard to reconcile with the stagnating employment situation and, sometimes, the cautious attitude of prospective employers towards those who have worked abroad.

78. The most successful returnees are probably those who possessed either agricultural land or a business and had migrated for the specific purpose of saving enough to be able to develop one or the other. In this class also are emigrants from rural areas whose motive was, through the savings acquired abroad, to free themselves from debt or to purchase a piece of land. Greece and Turkey have developed loan and credit policies to help returning emigrants invest their savings in small businesses. However, a much higher proportion of returned emigrants were employed in the tertiary sector than in the industrial and agricultural sectors of the economy of the receiving countries. This in part explains why a high proportion of them actually move from their native, rural community to the urban areas of the home country. For those who do not succeed in their new trade, re-emigration may be the only answer.

79. The economic reintegration of women seems to be particularly difficult since, in many cases, there are hardly any job openings that could not be occupied by qualified women available in the country. The level of unemployment is often higher among women than among men. The changes in social status of returnees are much more pronounced for women than for men. Women may have experienced abroad more freedom, independence and responsibility and therefore a feeling of emancipation that makes the process of readaptation to the home situation particularly painful. For those of them whose emigration was the first opportunity to participate in economic activities, it is doubtful whether they will accept to move back to the condition of housewives as easily as they accepted to move from the family to the factory. Many instances of women's re-emigration may probably be explained by these circumstances.

80. The UNESCO seminar mentioned earlier has stressed that "the return of emigrants frequently raises considerable difficulties as regards their reintegration into the education system". ^{18/} These difficulties vary according to the age of children, their length of stay abroad, and the nature of the educational facilities made available to them in the receiving country. At one extreme there is the child who was born abroad or migrated at pre-school age, and was able to enter the education system of the country of immigration and to progress through it in the normal manner. Such a child may be unable to read and write in his native language and have a limited knowledge of the literature, history and culture of his country

^{18/} United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "Report of the Expert Meeting on the Education of Foreign Migrant Workers and their Children, Paris, 22-26 October 1973", para. 45.

of origin; if so, he is virtually an immigrant in his homeland. Furthermore, compulsory education in the country of origin may have a shorter duration than in the country of immigration (e.g., five years in Turkey against nine years in most receiving countries). If the child has reached the age limit for such education, he will be at a disadvantage compared to national students in a vocational training or higher education establishment not only on account of a possible language handicap, but also because he will continue to think in the language in which he has been educated. At the other end is the child who has completed his compulsory schooling before emigration. If his parents' stay abroad is short there is no major problem of reintegration on return, except that if the child aspires to further training the time spent outside the country may be wasted. If the child remains abroad for an extended period, his social and occupational reintegration is likely to be much more difficult. Between these two extremes are the children whose compulsory education was interrupted by emigration, and whose integration in the educational system of the receiving country is disrupted by re-emigration. Such children, if they return while still under compulsory school age, are particularly difficult to accommodate in the educational system. Much of what they had been taught in the home country is forgotten, and they have not, or only just, reached the point of assimilation of instruction given in the country of immigration. While emigration and re-emigration can be traumatic experiences for adults, they are even more so for a child with the added problems of adjusting to different educational systems. The child has a foot in both systems but is sure of his place in neither.

81. Reference can only be made here to what has been said earlier of the importance, in the receiving countries, of maintaining children in the language and culture of their country of origin. Studies undertaken by the Italian educational authorities have shown that migrant children thus educated face no serious difficulty in resuming schooling in their home country, and that often the experiences acquired abroad have influenced favourably their intellectual capacity. For the many less fortunate, however, their adjustment or re-adjustment to the national educational system would require remedial measures similar to those applied in the case of new arrivals in receiving countries. Such measures have been advocated by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, in a resolution adopted in 1970, and more recently at the seminar organized by UNESCO. Up to now, none of the sending countries seems to have tackled in any significant way the educational problems of children returning from abroad, which is all the more understandable as many of those countries are still struggling to ensure the access of all children to basic education. One can only note the arrangements made in Italy and Spain for recognizing the school diplomas acquired abroad.

82. An important aspect of the social welfare of migrant workers after their return to the home country concerns the maintenance of their acquired social security rights. The question has been solved multilaterally for workers circulating within the area of the European Economic Community. Thus, say, an Italian who has been employed in France and the United Kingdom would be able to add the periods he has worked in each to the time he has worked in Italy to qualify for old-age pension in his home country or whichever of the other member States in which he has worked and where he chooses to retire to. The same applies

to all other benefits for which a qualifying period is required. For the nationals of other sending countries, a series of bilateral agreements allow for the payment of a benefit in a country other than the one in which the right was acquired to the extent to which the social security institution in the sending country makes similar provision for its own workers. Some bilateral agreements allow for the payment of unemployment, sickness and maternity benefits by the social security institutions of the receiving country for a short period after the workers have returned; thereafter the returnees must qualify in their own country. The right to compensation arising from injuries sustained at work is covered by so extensive a network of agreements and international labour conventions that benefits may practically be paid in all countries supplying labour to Western Europe. Only some agreements, for instance those passed by Switzerland with Italy and Yugoslavia, provide for the cumulation of rights (and for the transfer of contributions) as regards old age and disability pensions. There are still many cases where workers reaching retirement age will receive a less favourable pension if they have spent part of their active life abroad than if they had not.

C. Variations in the problems and needs of migrants: examples from Africa and Latin America

83. The examples which follow, describing the situation in Africa and Latin America, have been selected to illustrate the wide range of social problems associated with international migration. Migrations to Ghana and the Ivory Coast from the Upper Volta, to South Africa from Lesotho and Mozambique, to Argentina from Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay, and to Venezuela from Colombia, seem to offer a meaningful sample. The movements described range from the seasonal to the definitive, and from the strictly-organized to the largely clandestine. The generally healthy condition of some of the migrant groups involved contrasts with the severe plight of others. The kinds of housing, health, educational and social security problems encountered by migrants, and their difficulties of adaptation, as well as the way in which they are assisted in solving these problems, also vary considerably from one type of migratory movement to another.

Migration to Ghana and the Ivory Coast from the Upper Volta

84. Workers from the Upper Volta emigrating to Ghana find either seasonal employment on the plantations and farms, or work - sometimes for long periods - in the mines. For the former, migration means very little change in their way of life, and no distinction appears to be made between immigrant and national seasonal workers. The plantations and large farms are required to provide medical facilities which rudimentary as they may be, are probably as adequate as the services in the home area of immigrants; these, moreover, have equal access with nationals to such public health facilities as are available. The immigrants, except in respect of injury sustained at work, are not covered by social insurance; as almost all of them are drawn from the subsistence agricultural sector in the Upper Volta, they are not covered in their own country either.

85. The proportion of women taking part in annual migrations is increasing; while

most of them are accompanying their husbands, there are some who do so on their own. Some of the plantations provide a crèche, but it is unusual for young children to accompany their parents. This appears to be related not to the possible effect of emigration on the child, but to the custom of placing young children, particularly the first and second, with their grandparents for rearing. As for the older children, their stay in the host country is too short to require the provision of educational facilities.

86. Those from the Upper Volta gravitating to the mines almost always select those in which many of their countrymen are employed. Indeed, in some there are so many emigrants from the Mossi tribal areas of the Upper Volta that they have become known as "Mossi mines". Around these have grown villages in which the social structure of the homeland is reproduced, and which are ruled by Mossi chiefs whose authority is recognized in both Ghana and the Upper Volta. These communities do much to ease the transition from subsistence farming to industrial employment for new immigrants.

87. Although many of the mine workers remain for short periods, there are also semi-permanent and permanent immigrants. Only about one eighth of those employed in the mines stay for more than five years. The majority return sooner or later to their tribal area, as few are prepared to sever completely their tribal connexions; to do so would involve the loss of the right to use tribal land, which to most of them represents a form of social security if not the only means of providing for their old age. Those who remain permanently may have been fortunate enough to obtain pensionable posts in the public services, or their children have found employment in Ghana. Others, having acquired a little capital, become petty traders; the women are particularly evident in this respect.

88. There do not appear to be any special arrangements for the education of the children of immigrant workers. They are free to attend the national primary schools if there are places available, and because Ghana has one of the most extensive educational systems in Africa, many are able to do so. In 1960, of the foreign labour in Ghana, 85 per cent had never been to school, but 30 per cent of the aliens born in the country had had a school education. This is reflected in the occupational levels of the second-generation aliens; whereas few of the foreign-born had been successful in acquiring a skilled trade or entering the clerical profession, many of the locally born have been able to do so. In agriculture, a higher percentage of the latter managed their own farms than did those born abroad. The percentage of non-national children who are able to proceed to higher-educational establishments is about half that of the nationals.

89. The seasonal migration from the Upper Volta to the Ivory Coast differs but slightly from that to Ghana. An agreement was concluded between the two countries in 1960, according to which the former should supply labour for the plantations of the Ivory Coast, and collect a fee for each worker. The agreement stipulates the rates of wages that should be paid; that a reception centre should be established at Bouaké, where migrants may stay while waiting to be assigned work (the average stay being three days); free transport and lodgings should be provided for the immigrant worker and his family up to two wives (but the majority of immigrants are unmarried or prefer to leave their families at home and send them money).

90. In addition to the seasonal workers, it is estimated that in 1965 there were some 135,000 persons from the Upper Volta residing in the urban areas of the Ivory Coast, the majority of whom were employed in the private industrial sector. Immigrants from the same area tend to engage in the same class of work. They become identified with their occupations, and gradually tribal and social gradations become conjoined. Associations are formed which often exhibit tribal characteristics to a degree which may result in hindering integration, but they serve a useful purpose in providing informal reception services for new immigrants.

91. The above-mentioned agreement stipulates that immigrants shall be provided with accommodation to a specified standard by their employers. Immigrants also benefit from the legislation requiring industrial employers and large plantations to provide medical services, while they have equal access with nationals to public health services. They are covered by the national social insurance scheme which includes old age, disability or survivors' pensions, and maternity benefits for employed women. Old age and other pensions are payable abroad. Family allowances are payable to insured employees with one or more children; it is not known if these allowances are payable in respect of non-resident children, but in view of the difficulty of verifying claims, it appears unlikely.

92. Seasonal migration in this region seems, on the whole, beneficial to all parties concerned - the migrants, their relatives who remain at home, the sending and receiving countries. The relative backwardness of agriculture in the sending areas can hardly be attributed to migration, which, quite to the contrary, has been responsible for the introduction of improved agricultural implements. It is true that periodic movements of a large number of persons can contribute to the spread of disease, making it almost impossible to control malaria and the spread of parasitical infections. But this is largely due to spontaneous migration, as migrants recruited under official arrangements undergo medical examination prior to emigration and on the termination of their employment. Longer-term migration can put a strain on family life, as wives and children accompanying or following the migrant workers remain a minority. On the other hand, the extended family structure of the African type can accommodate the absence of its members.

Migration to South Africa from Lesotho and Mozambique

93. For more than a century there has been emigration from Lesotho to what is now the Republic of South Africa. The majority of the emigrants are recruited for the mines through agencies established in Lesotho. A recruit could "sign on" for a tour of 120, 180 or 270 eight-hour shifts; nearly 90 per cent choose the 180 shift contract, as this involves a continuous stay in the Republic of only seven months and does not interfere with agricultural duties. Employers other than the mines who desire to employ a Sotho must apply for a "no objection" certificate, which is granted only if the vacancy cannot be filled by an indigenous Bantu. The certificate stipulates the point of entry and the departure and the permitted length of stay, which in no case exceeds two years. Except in the border areas, the few Sothos who take agricultural employment in South Africa generally remain for just under one year.

94. None of the immigrants is allowed to have his family join him. Any Sotho in employment who wishes to return to visit his relatives must obtain a signed statement from his employer to the effect that he has been given leave of absence between certain dates. If the leave is over-stayed re-entry to South Africa may be refused. There is no guarantee that the immigration authorities will permit re-entry; a change in the labour market situation could result in the border being closed. An oscillating pattern of migration has thus been established, of varying length and volume according to the needs of the economy, which assures the Republic a supply of labour at a controlled price with little regard being paid to the consequences for migrant groups and the sending country.

95. Those aspiring to work in the mines are medically examined before recruitment and again on joining the mine; any found unfit at the second examination are sent home at the expense of the mine. A period is allowed for acclimatization, which often is spent in physical exercises in a room heated to the temperature likely to be encountered in the mine. Mine workers are quartered in hostels built in compounds to which visitors rarely are admitted. The large number of males living in close proximity has given rise to such social evils as drunkenness and homosexuality. The arduous work in conjunction with dietary deficiencies has led to an increase in tuberculosis. A recent study on beri-beri revealed the highest incidence among workers accommodated in hostels, which was attributable to excessive drinking and neglecting to take proper meals. Promiscuity has resulted in the spread of venereal disease, and the oscillating system of migration tends to carry the infection to the rural areas of origin.

96. Although the emigrants send remittances to help support their dependants, the amount transferred averages only 20 per cent of their earnings. Whereas, under the normal system of subsistence farming, any surplus would be shared among the extended family, the remittances are regarded as personal possessions. Much of the earnings and savings of the emigrants are spent on consumer goods and trashy semi-durables. Some save enough to buy an ox for ploughing, but it has been said that most of the returnees take nothing back with them but the undesirable consumption habits they have acquired abroad.

97. While the adult male members of the family are away the cultivation of the subsistence crops and the care of the livestock devolve on those left behind - the women, adolescents and the aged. The consequences are only partly mitigated when the males are able to return for the ploughing and harvesting. Not only does agricultural production decrease, but the necessary conservation works are not carried out, which in turn further diminishes the output and so strengthens the motivation to emigrate. A vicious spiral has been established.

98. The absence of the head of the household often leads to the breakdown of family life and parental authority and tutelage. The youngsters who otherwise would be attending school are needed to look after cattle. This has led to the introduction of arrangements whereby the young herdsmen take turns at going to school. Their progress, in comparison with those who are able to attend school regularly, is so poor that many become discouraged and turn their backs on education, looking only to the time when they will be old enough to emigrate to

the mines. The absence of the male parents prevents their agricultural experience, scanty as it may be, from being passed on to their sons.

99. The adverse consequences of emigration are especially painful for the wife. She may be without news of her husband for considerable periods. In addition to her need for money and her lack of physical strength to cope with many of the farming chores, there is loneliness and worry. The husband may have met with an accident, or formed an attachment, temporarily or permanently, with some other woman, both of which are not uncommon. The immigration control makes it almost impossible for her to make inquiries.

100. A less unsatisfactory situation obtains in the case of emigration to the Republic of South Africa from Mozambique, thanks to the regulations established by a convention concluded in 1928. The maximum period of service in the mines is limited to 18 months, the initial contract being for 313 shifts (12 months) and a subsequent contract for 156 shifts. After the first nine months' service and during any period of re-engagement, one half of the wages earned has to be paid on the worker's return to Mozambique. A Mozambiqui is not permitted to re-emigrate unless he has remained six months in the country.

101. Recruitment in certain areas is restricted in order to prevent too great a reduction in the number of males of working age, which has the effect of maintaining the production of subsistence crops. The emigrant's family generally is able to support itself during his absence. The payment of deferred wages in the country of origin ensures that at least a portion of the earnings are ploughed back into the agricultural holding. The same sort of social situations arise as in Lesotho, but their effects appear to be less serious as the pressure to emigrate is not so great, and the enforced break between contracts allows tribal and family associations to be maintained.

Migration to Argentina from neighbouring countries

102. A distinguishing feature of intra-continental migration in Latin America is the high proportion of illegal immigrants. In Argentina, which receives immigrants from the contiguous countries of Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay, the legal immigrants enjoy the same social protection as nationals; the only restrictions are that they neither may be employed in the civil service or the armed forces, nor own land or buildings within a zone 150 kilometres deep from the frontier that separates their country of origin from Argentina. Under a treaty with Chile, the length of stay of a non-seasonal worker, other than a mine worker, is limited to three years; mine workers may enter and leave as they please, all that is required from them being a valid Chilean identity card. The immigrants from Uruguay cannot be distinguished from Argentines: the legal immigrants are soon assimilated, and many of the clandestines are able to regularize their position. A large proportion of the Paraguayan immigrants take up agricultural employment under conditions that are very similar to those in their own country; of those who drift to the towns, the men, legally or illegally, find work as labourers, while many of the women obtain employment in domestic service or in the textile factories - which tends to be rejected by Argentine women. A treaty with Bolivia permits the entry of seasonal

workers and their families, but the latter are prohibited from taking employment.

103. The case of the Bolivians illustrates, perhaps in an extreme form, the lack of effective social protection for the seasonal and illegal immigrant workers. Agents of the sugar companies tour Bolivia to recruit labour for the harvesting of the sugar cane. Usually those family groups with the largest number of members of working age are chosen first; although dependants are legally prohibited from working, their labour is essential as the head of the family working alone could not earn enough to maintain them. As soon as immigrants reach their destination they are required to build the shack that will be their living quarters for the next six months. There is neither running water nor sanitation. An indication of the insanitary condition of the accommodation is given by the fact that it is the practice to burn the shacks when the workers leave.

104. Medical services are available on the plantations, but often they are reserved for workers the management cannot replace. Illegal immigrants are not covered by any social insurance, although they may be required to contribute up to 6 per cent of their earnings to the existing schemes. The plantations are required to provide an issue of milk to children under six years of age and schooling facilities to the older ones. As even young children are needed to help their parents in the cane fields, the latter requirement is seldom honoured. It is open to question, of course, whether the children would have received any formal education in their homeland since Bolivia has the highest illiteracy rate in South America.

105. About 30 per cent of the Bolivians entering each year remain illegally in Argentina. They move from one harvest to another or settle wherever they can find work. Their illegal status precludes them from seeking employment, purchasing land or dwellings, or renting accommodation. The only course open to them is to take under-paid jobs with an employer, who is prepared to risk a fine if he is discovered, and to build shacks, from whatever material they can procure, on waste ground - often former refuse dumps. Around most of the cities insanitary agglomerations of these shacks have grown to the size of small towns with populations of several thousands. Not only do these slums segregate their inhabitants from the local community, but their presence arouses active hostility. Immigrants are not the only dwellers in these villas miserias; a large part is made up of national migrants, attracted to the area by the elusive prospect of high wages, and the socially maladjusted to be found in any large city.

106. Government authorities have embarked on an ambitious housing programme in order to clear the villas miserias, to rehouse up to 70,000 families first in "transition centres" and then on new estates where housing can be bought at low cost. The programme applies to areas heavily populated by immigrants; not only are these eligible for the programme, but advantage is being taken of it to regularize their legal status in the country. Another large-scale housing programme has been launched to develop the regions along the national frontiers: approximately 15,000 housing units are planned to be built in 11 frontier zones, whose social infrastructure must also be developed. Express provision has been made for access to the programme by foreigners as well as nationals.

107. The social effects in Bolivia of the emigration of some 200,000 nationals each year, and the permanent loss of some tens of thousands of its labour force, are not known with any certainty, but they probably are relatively slight. The movement takes place in family units, so that there can be little disruption of family life attributable to emigration per se, although the conditions under which migrants are forced to live could affect this issue. Since the Bolivian migrant is a landless man, the loss of his labour does not substantially affect the per capita consumption of subsistence crops. The meagre sum each head of a family is able to bring back to Bolivia, if and when he returns, can have no impact on social structure, and very little on consumption habits.

Migration to Venezuela from Colombia

108. The Colombian labour force is generally poor. In the agricultural sector holdings are very small and seldom able to support more than two persons. While that is true for the whole country, it has particular relevance for the provinces bordering on Venezuela, which are separated by the Andes from the more developed areas in the west. The option open to the landless Colombian is not whether but where to emigrate. As there is widespread unemployment in the urban centres, the logical choice is Venezuela; it is nearer, and there is work to be found. The emigration is definitive, and the greater part of it is clandestine; of the estimated 600,000 Colombians in Venezuela only about 100,000 are there legally. The possibilities offered to those illegal immigrants who have lived in Venezuela for at least two years to regularize their situation seem to be seldom used.

109. There does not appear to be any significant adverse effect on the economy or social structure in the areas of emigration that are attributable to the movement. There is no question of the production of staples decreasing on account of lack of labour to cultivate the land. If any remittances are made, they are likely to be too small to affect the consumption patterns of the recipients. The migrants' wages are low and either they send for their families or marry locally; in either eventuality the remittances cease.

110. The illegal immigrant in Venezuela is without civil rights; he cannot own real estate and certain other forms of property (e.g. a car) or even legally marry. He is liable to imprisonment or deportation if he attracts the attention of the authorities. Between 8,000 and 10,000 are expelled each year. Those who can stay usually find work in the sectors that largely have been abandoned by Venezuelans - agriculture and domestic service. The living and working conditions of the immigrants who find employment on the ranches and farms are certainly no worse, and more often than not better, than those they were accustomed to in Colombia. The illegal immigrant who moves to the town may be forced to accept substandard wages, and very inferior accommodation. Legal immigrants in Venezuela, while generally having equal rights with nationals as regards working conditions, are required to hold a work permit. Certain occupations are closed to them, and their number in any enterprise is controlled.

111. The legal immigrant in employment is eligible for the same benefits as the national worker and, unlike in Colombia, the agricultural employee is included in

the social insurance system. He is, however, at a disadvantage compared to his Venezuelan counterpart in that, if he returns to Colombia, his old-age pension is commuted to a lump sum equivalent to no more than five years' annual benefits. The wife of an insured legal immigrant is entitled to cash maternity grants. The medical services in Venezuela are in advance of many of the Latin American countries; all workers, regardless of their legal status, are eligible to use the facilities, and the privilege is extended to their families. The children of legal and illegal immigrants may attend Venezuelan schools to the extent to which there are places available. There is a reciprocal arrangement between the two countries whereby children in the border regions attend the school nearest to their home, irrespective of whether it is in Colombia or Venezuela.

112. In some of the frontier provinces of Venezuela the population is reported to be 50 per cent Colombian. There is no difficulty in assimilation; indeed, it is probably incorrect to use this term as, in these zones, the majority of the nationals are of the same ethnic stock as the immigrants. In the towns of the interior, Colombians are said to be easily assimilated in the host communities, but it is assimilation with the lower strata. Within the little world of the rancho, villa miseria or favela, there is always some degree of integration based on the common bonds of poverty and low hope.

D. Requirements for action

113. The diversified picture of international migration given above has included reference to the existing programmes developed on behalf of migrant workers and their families in both the receiving and sending countries. There is evidence that most existing programmes are only partially adequate. There are also some more specific conclusions to be derived from available experience, which relate to the desirable orientations of social policies for migrants in the future.

114. First, the issue of equal versus differential treatment of migrants and nationals, with which policy planners are faced everywhere, requires in most cases a balanced approach. Any differential treatment of migrants that can lead to or aggravate discrimination must obviously be avoided, and the situation in Western Europe, Africa, Latin America or elsewhere shows that a number of problems confronting international migrants are shared by nationals of similar socio-economic status. However, the principle of equality of treatment may be in some cases of limited applicability. The education of migrant children probably offers the most meaningful example; ensuring the equal access of all children to educational facilities is a necessary first step, which needs, however, to be supplemented with special provision aimed at removing the particular handicaps from which migrant children are suffering; moreover, the needs peculiar to those children - particularly that of maintaining their original language and culture, in the case of non-permanent migration - call for novel and carefully-conceived arrangements. Neither the common treatment of all children nor segregated facilities for those of foreign origin could be the right answer. Migrant children should be helped to adapt to the requirements of the normal curriculum, and the curriculum adapted to the requirements of migrant children. Equality of

treatment requires special assistance in all situations where the lack of such assistance would actually result in unequal access to services and benefits; moreover, housing, health or social security and education needs of migrants are such that equal access to existing services is not the full answer, so that differential treatment is necessarily called for.

115. Secondly, it is a general principle of social policy that preventive action should be given preference, whenever possible, over remedial action. Often, however, remedial actions come first and preventive programmes tend to be developed at later and more progressive stages of social policies. Existing activities on behalf of migrants include such preventive measures as the medical screening of applicants for employment abroad, which is a common feature of all programmes of organized migration. But on the whole, existing provision is largely of a remedial nature, when it is not merely palliative. What is lacking is the longer-term perspective which is a prerequisite for the development of sound preventive programmes. Such programmes also call for concerted action between receiving and sending countries on a large scale; preparation for emigration, preparation for return, as well as progress in the exchange of information and the training of staff as the basis for more effective prevention in the fields of health, education or social welfare, should be the joint concerns of both groups of countries.

116. Finally, the responsibility of Governments for the welfare of migrant workers and their families should be clearly established. This is not to say that the valuable role played by voluntary organizations should be reduced, or that public financing of social programmes should be preferred to contributions from the employers of foreign labour. The point at issue is that the responsibilities of the Governments of receiving and sending countries for controlling labour movements across their borders should encompass the social as well as the economic aspects of international migration, since the two aspects are closely interrelated. It is generally recognized that, in the receiving countries, economic policies involving the employment of foreign labour should develop in accordance with the national interest and not only in response to the needs of individual firms, and that in the sending countries, the implications of labour emigration for development are a major national concern. But the economic benefits derived from international migration entail, for the national communities affected, corresponding obligations, and Governments alone are in a position to ensure that these obligations are fulfilled, that the scope of social programmes on behalf of migrants is commensurate to the migrants' contribution to development and that the necessary arrangements are made for enhancing the effectiveness of such programmes through appropriate co-ordination at the national level and international co-operation.

III. INTERNATIONAL ACTION IN THE FIELD OF MIGRATION

117. A number of international organizations, whether governmental or non-governmental, are active in the field of international migration. Some of these organizations are concerned with certain aspects of migration; others have a broader interest which has intensified in recent years, particularly with regard to migratory movements in Western Europe. The following paragraphs provide brief information on the main organizations active in the field of international migration and review their activities, with particular reference to their current programmes.

A. International organizations active in the field of migration

118. Within the United Nations family, the United Nations itself and its regional economic commissions are competent to deal, inter alia, with the demographic, human rights and social aspects of migration. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) is concerned with the equality of treatment of migrant workers and with all matters concerning their employment, working conditions, trade union rights and social security. The World Health Organization is particularly concerned with human migration from an epidemiological point of view, and otherwise deals with the health of migrant groups as part of its endeavours to improve the health and social conditions of the community as a whole. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is interested in the study of migration and in the promotion of equality of educational opportunity and treatment for migrant workers and their children.

119. Among intergovernmental organizations outside the United Nations system, the main specialized body is the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, founded in 1951 with the aim of arranging for the transportation of European migrants overseas and facilitating their processing and settlement. Most regional organizations, including the Council of Europe and the European Economic Community, are active in the field of international migration. Within the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee and the Development Centre have programmes in that field.

120. Among non-governmental organizations, those which are primarily concerned with international migration or have established specialized sub-bodies include the International Council of Voluntary Agencies (Refugee and Migration Commission), the International Catholic Migration Commission, the World Council of Churches (Secretariat for Migration) and the International Social Service. Assistance to international immigrants is among the objectives of charitable organizations such as Caritas Internationalis. The International Children's Centre, the International Federation of Settlements and Neighbourhood Centres, the International Union for Child Welfare and the World Young Women's Christian Association have recently launched projects relating to international migration in accordance with their specific interests. This list is far from exhaustive.

B. Types of existing international actionLegislative action

121. The international conventions adopted by the International Labour Organisation, including the Migration for Employment Convention (Revised) 1949 (No. 97) and related legislative activity, are described in the contribution submitted separately by the ILO to the Commission for Social Development at the present session. Several major instruments adopted by the United Nations either in the form of conventions, like the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, or in the form of declarations, like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as a number of resolutions of the General Assembly or the Economic and Social Council, contain provisions concerning the condition or rights of international migrants.

122. At the regional level, the Regulations of the European Economic Community and the Nordic Convention have conferred on the nationals of the contracting parties the right of free movement within the subregions concerned and equality of treatment, the right of admission of members of workers' families and equal access to social services and benefits. The European Social Charter and the European Social Security Convention, adopted by the Council of Europe, include provisions concerning the quality of treatment of migrant and national workers. A series of recommendations on matters relating to the situation of migrant workers has been issued by the Commission of European Communities (regarding, e.g., housing and social services) and by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe (regarding, e.g., social services, low-cost housing, education of children, return to the home country), while the Organisation for Economic Development and Co-operation has formulated a Recommendation on the Movement and Employment of Foreign Manpower the aim of which is to liberalize national administrative regulations on the entry and residence of migrant workers and their families.

Financial and technical assistance

123. The Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, in addition to arranging for the transportation of migrants at reduced cost, provides, at the request of Governments, related services which include counselling, medical examination, reception, placement, vocational and language training and the organisation of adaptation courses. The Committee's Selective Migration Programme for Latin America provides, inter alia, for emergency assistance, grants for initial installation, dependents' allowances and salary supplements.

124. The 1972 General Conference of UNESCO authorized the Director-General to seek "extra-budgetary resources for assisting Member States to take concrete measures to secure equality of access to education and educational opportunity for foreign workers and their children". ^{19/} As mentioned earlier, the UNESCO secretariat has planned an exchange programme between social workers and teachers from receiving and sending countries, and has approached the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and Yugoslavia to elicit their interest in participating in such a programme.

^{19/} United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Records of the General Conference, Seventeenth Session, Paris, 1972, vol. I, Resolutions and Recommendations, resolution 1.142(b).

125. The Commission of European Communities has established an action programme in favour of migrant workers and their families, whether they come from countries of the Community or from other countries, to help them solve their problems of housing, training, schooling and access to social services. The Commission is also proposing to use the existing European Social Fund to assist migrant workers. The Commission has already extended financial assistance to member States for the construction or conversion of housing for migrants. The Council of Europe, through its Resettlement Fund, has made loans for the building of quarters and social centres for migrants, the establishment of vocational training establishments and the launching of pilot projects on the education of migrant children.

126. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development has a technical co-operation programme in favour of four member countries (Greece, Portugal, Spain and Turkey) and one associated country, Yugoslavia. The question of emigration has been given an important place in the programme, in the form of research projects dealing with such matters as the positive and negative effects of migration for the country of origin, the productive use of migrants' savings or the reintegration of workers in their home country.

127. Some activities of non-governmental organizations belong in the category of financial assistance, such as the loans granted by the International Catholic Migration Commission with a view to making their journey to countries of resettlement easier for migrant families; or in the category of technical assistance, such as the help extended by the International Social Service to facilitate family reunion, the recovery of maintenance obligations, or arrangements for the custody and guardianship of children left by migrants in the country of origin.

Collection and exchange of information

128. The collection on a continuing basis of data on international migration is part of the demographic and statistical activities of the United Nations. The paper, "International migration trends, 1950-1970" (E/CONF.60/CBP/18), prepared for the 1974 World Population Conference, is among the most recent United Nations documents on that matter. Similar work is pursued by the regional economic commissions, and the Economic Commission for Europe has plans to launch a study on the demographic aspects of internal and external migration in Europe in the 1960s and 1970s. Several governmental and non-governmental international organizations are engaged in data-gathering activities relating to various aspects of international migration. The Commission of European Communities is preparing a new regulation on the compilation of uniform statistics relating to foreign labour.

129. In addition to a series of ILO regional conferences in Africa, Europe and Latin America which included agenda items on international migration, a number of international meetings on the social aspects of migration have been held in recent years. Most of them have been mentioned earlier in this report: the Expert Meeting on the Education of Foreign Migrant Workers and their Children (Paris, October 1973), organized by UNESCO; the Working Group on the Health Aspects of Labour Migration (Algiers, November 1973), organized by the WHO Regional Office

for Europe; the Seminar on the Children of Migrant Workers (Paris, March 1973), organized by the International Children's Centre; the Seminar on International Migration in its Relationships to Industrial and Agricultural Adjustment Policies (Vienna, May 1974), organized by the OECD Development Centre; and the Seminar on Adaptation and Integration of Permanent Immigrants (Geneva, May 1974), organized by the Intergovernmental Committee on European Migration.

130. For the future, the ILO has plans for an expert meeting on international labour migration and the further consideration of the matter in regional conferences; UNESCO has plans for a meeting of experts in educational planning and administration, and for a seminar which would bring together specialists in school and adult education, literacy experts and social workers, with a view to contributing to the solution of migrants' educational problems: the Intergovernmental Committee on European Migration, for follow-up seminars on the adaptation and integration of permanent immigrants; the Council of Europe for an ad hoc conference on the educational problems of migrants and for a meeting of non-governmental organizations interested in migration; the OECD, for a seminar to serve as a forum for the exchange of information on migration; and the International Children's Centre, for a seminar on the situation of children of migrant workers in the countries of origin.

131. The Fifth Planning Conference on the European Social Development Programme, convened at Geneva in March 1974, recommended that particular attention be given to the welfare of migrant workers and their dependants, especially children, at meetings to be organized in coming years within the framework of United Nations regional activity.

Studies and research

132. Studies and research activities in the field of international migration are manifold, and it would be possible only to give some examples of projects, at the planning or implementing stage, dealing with the social aspects of migration. Reference may be made to work on the socio-economic status of foreign workers and their families, and their housing conditions, undertaken by the Commission of European Communities; to the OECD study on the participation of foreign manpower in the social security and other income transfer systems of receiving countries; to the comparative study by the International Union for Child Welfare of family laws and their impact on the children of migrant workers; and to the research project of the International Federation of Settlements on the role of community action in promoting the welfare of migrant groups. Valuable studies on the problems of migrants are published by the International Catholic Migration Commission in Migration News and by the World Council of Churches in Migration Today, both with English, French and German editions.

133. The Seminar on Demographic Research in Relation to International Migration (Buenos Aires, March 1974), organized by the Committee for International Co-ordination of National Research in Demography in close co-operation with the United Nations and its specialized agencies, has identified major gaps in existing research activities. While the meeting was principally concerned with the

demographic aspects of international migration, it also stressed the need for developing research on the economic and social aspects of the phenomenon. In the latter respect, such research items as the determinants of the individual decision to emigrate on a cross-cultural comparative basis, the process of social integration in receiving societies, the social impact of emigration on the country of origin and the determinants of return migration, were mentioned. Genuine research in such areas and, more generally, on the social problems associated with migration as the basis for strengthening relevant social policies and programmes, is at present quite inadequate. The international dimension of the phenomenon of migration makes it especially important for the competent international organizations to play an active part in the further development of the necessary basic and action-oriented research.

134. A major obstacle to the development of both research and action is, as already mentioned, the dearth of reliable statistics on migratory movements. Such factors as the increasing transportation facilities and mass travel across national boundaries, the free movement of labour in certain areas and the increasingly complex pattern of migratory movements, added to the persistence of clandestine migration on a large scale, actually account for the inadequacy of existing statistics and justify the search for more adequate data. The efforts undertaken in that direction and towards the international standardization of migratory statistics need to be continued and amplified.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

135. In considering the origin and nature of the present-day international mobility of labour, the interplay of socio-economic conditions in both sending and receiving countries should be constantly kept in mind, and full recognition given to the role which labour mobility plays in the development of both categories of countries. Policies and programmes in this field ought therefore to be inspired by an acknowledged communality of interest in resolving the problems entailed by labour migration. At the same time, efforts to improve the situation of international migrants should be seen as an integral part of policies in favour of all vulnerable groups within the population.

136. The persistence of a high rate of international labour mobility as a permanent feature of the socio-economic future of both sending and receiving countries is likely. Although future trends will be determined by a number of as yet unknown influences, any comprehensive policy to improve the lot of migrant workers and to meet their many needs presupposes a long-term perspective of intervention and should therefore take due account of all factors which tend to establish labour mobility as a lasting phenomenon.

137. With regard to the related issue of the duration of individual migrants' stay in receiving countries, it should be recognized that the prevailing situation is both a cause and an effect of policies and programmes in sending and in receiving countries. Expectations of a continuous rotation of short-term migrants limit the extent of services and provisions which a receiving country is willing to provide and of the efforts by sending countries to re-integrate returnees. At the same

time, the limited provision of services and benefits contributes to maintaining a high rate of rotation and discourages attempts to settle down for a longer period. Conversely, more generous and long-term provisions - e.g., in the fields of housing or education - presupposes longer average periods of emigration, if not permanent settlement, and at the same time contribute to making these expectations a reality.

138. In view of the strong impact which a large-scale and persistent labour mobility is bound to have on the labour market structure and economic development of all countries concerned, full recognition should be given to the interdependence of actions taken in sending and in receiving countries with regard to the recruitment, preparation, conditions of life and work, social provisions and services, general education and vocational training, and preparation for eventual return and reintegration of migrant workers and their families.

139. Increased attention should therefore be given - on bilateral or multilateral levels as appropriate in different problem areas - to the need for intensified co-operation between sending and receiving countries with a view to harmonizing existing conventions and agreements on migrant workers, enhancing the efficiency and extending the coverage of services and benefits in their favour, and eliminating provisions which are either discriminatory, contradictory or not inspired by a recognition of common interests and responsibilities. Such efforts should especially be directed at policies for the recruitment and preparation of prospective migrants; conditions of entry and eligibility for work permits; access to housing and other conditions for a normal family life; minimum standards of services provided specifically for migrants or their access to general public services; guarantees of civil and political rights; access to facilities such as vocational training which permit upward mobility within the country or successful reintegration in the country of origin; and conditions for permanent settlement and the acquisition of citizenship in the receiving country.

140. While attention should be given to all phases of the migratory cycle, co-operative efforts to maximize the personal and occupational benefits of migration in view of eventual return to the home country should be given particular weight by governmental and other competent agencies. The greater freedom of choice and action which the individual migrant would acquire - whatever his or her decision to stay or to return - would by itself suffice to justify such a course. Furthermore, the recognition of the benefit which receiving countries have drawn from the immigration of labour in recent years entails a commitment towards the sending countries. Programmes to improve the qualifications of migrant workers and to facilitate their future careers in whatever country they eventually decide to settle, are typical requirements on intercountry co-operation towards common goals.

141. The ultimate aim of social welfare and related policies with regard to migrant workers and their families, in contrast to shorter-term objectives, should be to eliminate the need for any special intervention in favour of these groups of the population, with the only exception of programmes and provisions which fulfil legitimate claims for the maintenance of their own cultural heritage and their acquired rights, and thus call for special programmes in such fields as education and social security. In view of the above-mentioned interpretations of the

character and probable persistence of present-day labour mobility, large-scale preventive and development-oriented programmes should be preferred to all forms of ad hoc and remedial interventions which mostly turn out to be "too little too late" and which, despite their usefulness in certain situations, often serve to maintain migrant workers and their family in a perpetual situation of marginality with regard to the rest of society. Long-term policies should aim at ensuring the maximum of social, economic and cultural intergration in the appropriate forms, and to offer genuine opportunities for complete assimilation to those immigrants who decide to settle permanently in receiving countries. Both of these objectives should however be conceived without thereby excluding the possibility that multicultural behavioural patterns will obtain among the population as a natural long-term result of international labour mobility. To enhance the positive aspects of this development, neither integration nor assimilation should be seen merely in terms of a unilateral adaptation by the immigrants to the habits and ways of life of the receiving country, but as a give-and-take process by which the latter not only understands but facilitates the process of mutual adaptation.

142. Improved methods of public information on the situation, needs and expectations of migrant workers and their families represent only a first step towards such a goal. Efforts to create consultative bodies involving both representatives of migrants' groups, the existing permanent population, the competent authorities and interested non-governmental agencies should be further stimulated in all areas with a significant proportion of resident immigrants. An improved and more functional division of competences and responsibilities, e.g., between central, regional and local authorities and between such statutory authorities and non-governmental bodies, with regard to all aspects of the living situation of migrant workers and their families, would be especially called for. The role of trade unions and other interested organizations, which are able to assist the migrant workers and defend their rights not as a special group, but as an integral part of social groups with common interests and aspirations, is especially relevant in this connexion. The long-term objective of these and other efforts should be seen in dynamic terms, as a way of breaking the social barriers which characterize the situation of most migrant workers and their dependants, even when their material standard of living comes close to that of the autochthonous population. Real opportunities for upward mobility can be provided only through long-term programmes of education and training, by adapting working conditions and the structure of the labour market to the changing situation entailed by the continuing presence of foreign labour, and by opening up possibilities for enlarged social and political participation by migrant groups, in forms which meet the particular situations and aspirations of both the host communities and the migrant groups themselves.
