

Panacea for International Labor Market Failures? Bilateral Labor Agreements and Labor Mobility

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Low-Skill Labor Mobility is Controversial

- ▶ Receiving Country
 - ▶ Labor market, social, and fiscal concerns
 - ▶ “There is nothing more permanent than temporary foreign workers”
- ▶ Sending Country
 - ▶ Concerns about abuse by employers abroad
 - ▶ Government promoting low-skill labor mobility at the costs of worker rights and conditions

Low-Skill Labor Mobility is Beneficial

- ▶ Receiving Country
 - ▶ Alleviates excess demand of labor as population age
 - ▶ Retain firms that would instead move their production processes abroad
 - ▶ Tax revenues
 - ▶ Winning elections
- ▶ Sending Country
 - ▶ Relieves excess supply of low-skill labor
 - ▶ Supports political and social stability
 - ▶ Generates remittances
 - ▶ Highly resilient in recessions
 - ▶ Exceeding Foreign aid, portfolio investment, and FDI in many developing countries

Triple-Win?

- ▶ Bilateral Labor Agreements (BLAs) recently touted as an example of formal international cooperation that can lead to “triple-win”
 - ▶ Memorandum of Understanding (MOUs) or Memorandum of Agreement (MOAs)
 - ▶ Flexible bilateral arrangements that specify cost assignments, the terms and conditions of employment, recruitment and grievance procedures and social security benefits
- ▶ Under BLA-governed migrant worker programs, receiving countries, sending countries, and migrants can all reap the economic benefits of **higher cross-border labor mobility** while mitigating the political costs
 - ▶ For receiving countries, ensured return of migrant workers
 - ▶ For sending countries, better protected working conditions for migrant workers sent
 - ▶ For migrant workers, the opportunity to accrue location wage premiums and accumulate human capital

Do BLAs Facilitate Cross-Border Labor Mobility?

- ▶ Large literature links international institutions and higher cross-border mobility of **goods** and **capital**
- ▶ Few studies offer systematic evidence linking international institutions and higher cross-border mobility of **people**
- ▶ Mixed evidence among recent empirical work
 - ▶ Positive, negative, null

Main Problems

- ▶ Country-level data confounds country effects with migrant worker effects
 - ▶ Different workers work in different destination countries
 - ▶ Filipino nurses in UK vs. construction workers in UAE
 - ▶ Heterogeneous BLA effects on labor mobility conditional on individual-level characteristics
 - ▶ Skill level

Goals of the Paper

- ▶ Contrasts theoretically the effect of international agreements on people flows against goods or capital flows
 - ▶ Bilateral agreements actually **introduce additional costs on the mover** in labor migration (migrants) in contrast to lowering barriers and costs for the mover in trade (goods) and investment (capital)
- ▶ Proposes a theory that reconciles extant mixed findings
 - ▶ Skill level **mediates** the effect of BLAs
 - ▶ BLAs **reduce** mobility for low-skilled workers but **increase** mobility for high-skilled workers
- ▶ Test empirically the theoretical implications with new dyadic skill-level Overseas Filipino Worker (OFW) data
 - ▶ More fine-grained and relevant population for BLAs

Theories of International Institutions

- ▶ Literature finds positive effects of international organizations and agreements on cross-border goods and capital flows
- ▶ Help reduce state-level market failures due to problems with 3“C”s:
 - ▶ **Communication**: transparency and signaling device that reduces language miscommunications and asymmetric information
 - ▶ **Commitment**: commitment device that induces audience and reputation costs for renegeing
 - ▶ **Coordination**: coordination device that reduces vacancy and screening costs by delegating
- ▶ Therefore, if BLAs parallel PTAs or BITs in their effects, BLAs should promote labor mobility

Theories of Migration Costs

- ▶ Instead of simply **reducing** costs related to market failures, BLAs are unique in which they **shift** costs to sending state governments, receiving country firms and employers, ultimately passed on to migrant workers
- ▶ E.g. transportation, insurance, health, legal, administrative fees or costs

Implications for Labor Mobility

BLA $\xrightarrow{\text{Skill Level}}$ Labor Mobility

- ▶ Low-skill migrant workers are more vulnerable to BLA-induced costs
 - ▶ High debt, little market and bargaining power
- ▶ BLAs can further reduce receiving country firm demand for foreign low-skill labor
 - ▶ Minimum wage requirements
- ▶ High-skill labor are less vulnerable to BLA-induced costs
 - ▶ Fees waived, more savings, access to financing, regulated under GATS mode 4
- ▶ High-skill labor benefit from BLA-induced positive externalities
 - ▶ Public goods such as human rights, working conditions, and minimum wage

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1

Holding all else equal, the existence of BLAs mitigate international labor market failures and **increases** the mobility of BLA-regulated labor migrants, mainly the low-skilled.

Hypothesis 2a

Holding all else equal, BLAs increase migration costs for low-skill labor migrants and **decreases** their mobility.

Hypothesis 2b

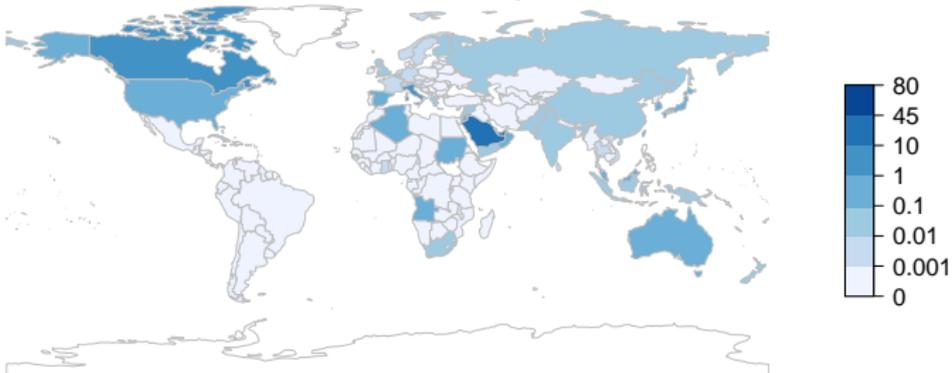
Holding all else equal, high-skill labor migrants are less vulnerable to BLA-induced migration costs and may even benefit from positive BLA externalities, which **increases** their mobility.

Data and Operationalization

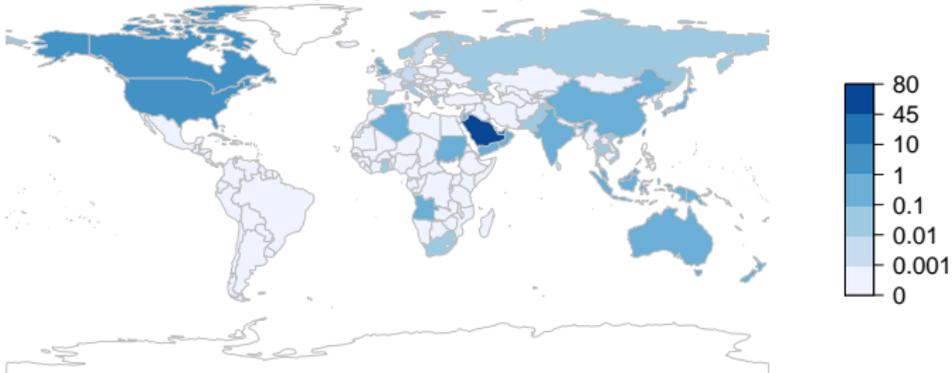
- ▶ Unit of analysis: skill-destination country-year
- ▶ Universe of analysis: Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW) to 173 destination countries from 1992-2009
- ▶ Outcome of interest: **OFW Mobility**
 - ▶ OFW new hires for a given skill level, destination, and year as % of total OFW new hires in the same skill level and year
 - ▶ Mckenzie, Theoharides and Yang (MTY 2014)
- ▶ Key Covariates: **BLA, Skill Level, BLA*Skill**
 - ▶ Dichotomous variables
 - ▶ Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) and MTY (2014)
- ▶ Control Covariates:
 - ▶ Various individual-level, destination country-level, dyad-level time-varying characteristics

OFW Mobility in 2009

2009 Low-Skilled OFW Mobility



2009 High-Skilled OFW Mobility



Philippine Bilateral Labor Agreements

| <i>Country</i> | <i>Year of First BLA</i> |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Bahrain | 2007 |
| Canada | 2006 |
| Indonesia | 2003 |
| Iraq | 1982 |
| Japan | 2009 |
| Jordan | 1981 |
| South Korea | 2004 |
| Kuwait | 1997 |
| Lao People's Democratic Republic | 2005 |
| Libya | 1979 |
| New Zealand | 2008 |
| Norway | 2001 |
| Papua New Guinea | 1979 |
| Qatar | 1997 |
| Spain | 2006 |
| Switzerland | 2002 |
| Taiwan | 1999 |
| United Arab Emirates | 2007 |
| United Kingdom | 2002 |
| United States | 1968 |

Model and Methods

Bayesian generalized linear mixed model with varying intercepts for destination countries and years.

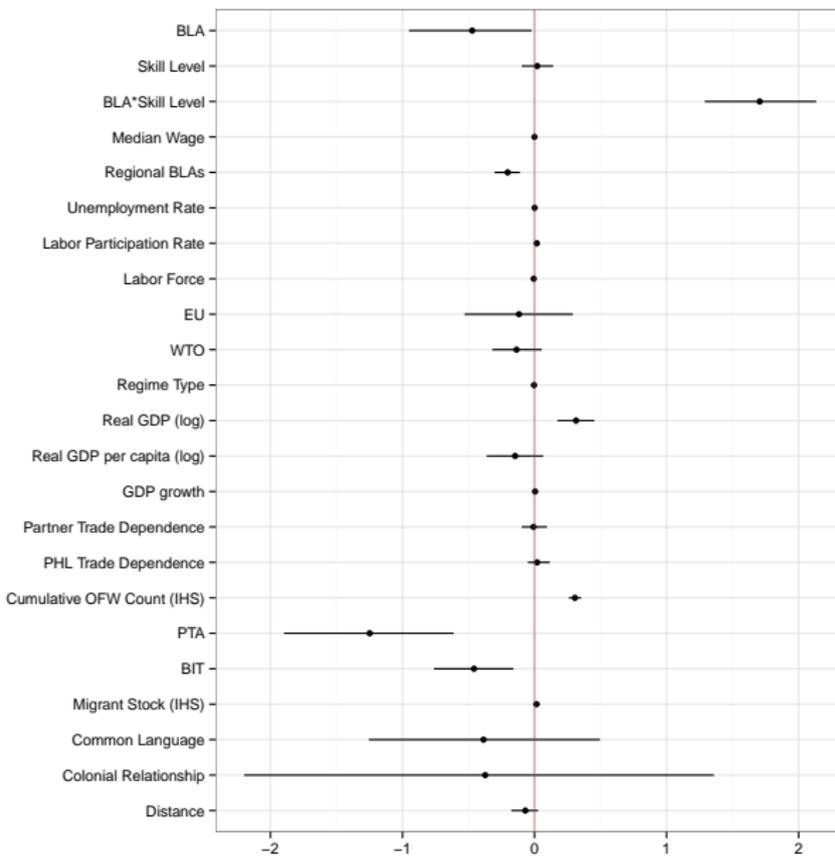
$$Mobility_{ijt} \stackrel{indep.}{\sim} \mathcal{N}(\delta_j + \lambda_t + \beta_i BLA_{jt} + \zeta skill_i + \gamma \mathbf{X}_{jt}, \sigma_y^2)$$

$$\delta_j \stackrel{i.i.d.}{\sim} \mathcal{N}(\delta, \sigma_\delta^2), \lambda_t \stackrel{i.i.d.}{\sim} \mathcal{N}(\lambda, \sigma_\lambda^2), \beta_i \stackrel{i.i.d.}{\sim} \mathcal{N}(\alpha_0 + \alpha_1 skill_i, \sigma_\beta^2),$$

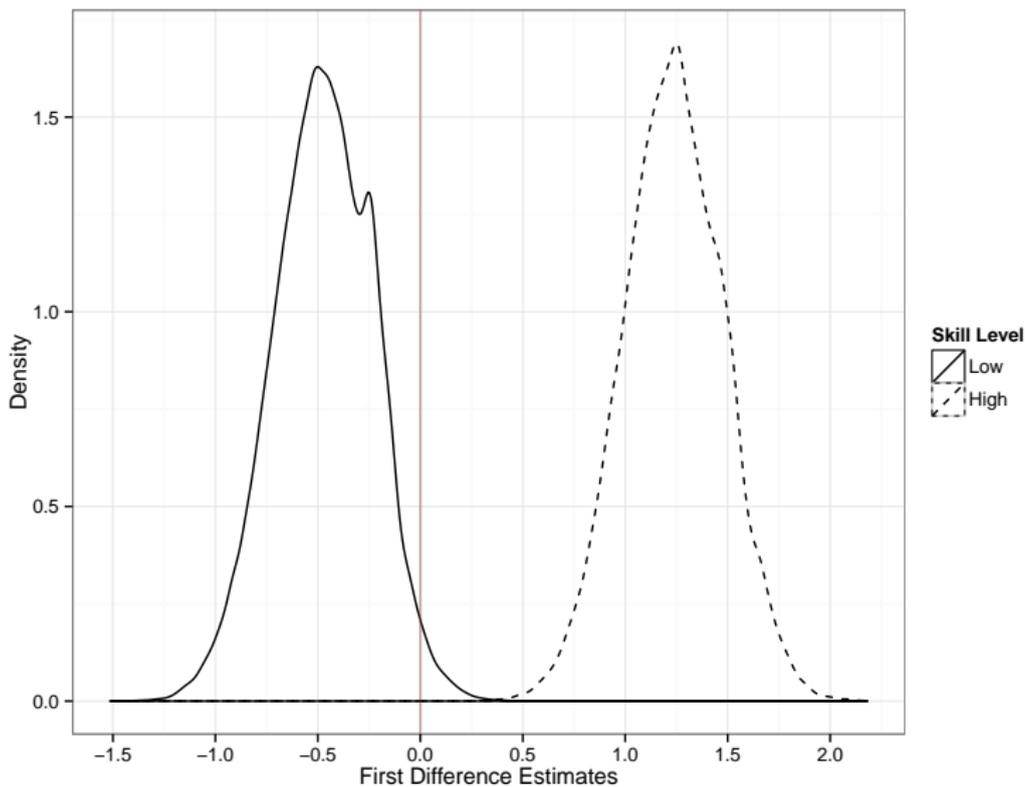
$$\zeta = (\zeta_1)^\top, \gamma = (\gamma_1 \gamma_2 \dots \gamma_{19})^\top,$$

$$\mathbf{X}_{jt} = \left(\begin{array}{l} region.BLA_{jt} \quad unemploy_{jt} \quad labor.par_{jt} \quad labor.tot_{jt} \quad EU_{jt} \quad WTO_{jt} \\ regime_{jt} \quad gdp_{jt} \quad gdp.pc_{jt} \quad gdp.growth_{jt} \quad p.trade_{jt} \quad phl.trade_{jt} \quad cumulate.OFW_{jt} \\ PTA_{jt} \quad BIT_{jt} \quad mig.stock_{jt} \quad language_j \quad colony_j \quad distance_j \end{array} \right)$$

Coefficient Posterior Means and 95% Central Credible Intervals



BLA Effect Heterogeneity across Skill Level



Concluding Remarks

- ▶ The premise that international institutions promote cross-border economic integration by mitigating problems with market failures is central to the political economy literature
- ▶ My findings using OFW data suggest a more complicated picture:
 - ▶ The effect of BLAs are **mediated** by the skill level of migrant workers
 - ▶ Unique nature of BLAs: help solve state-level market failure problems by **shifting** costs to migrant workers instead
 - ▶ **Reconciles** some of the emerging negligible or mixed BLA effect findings

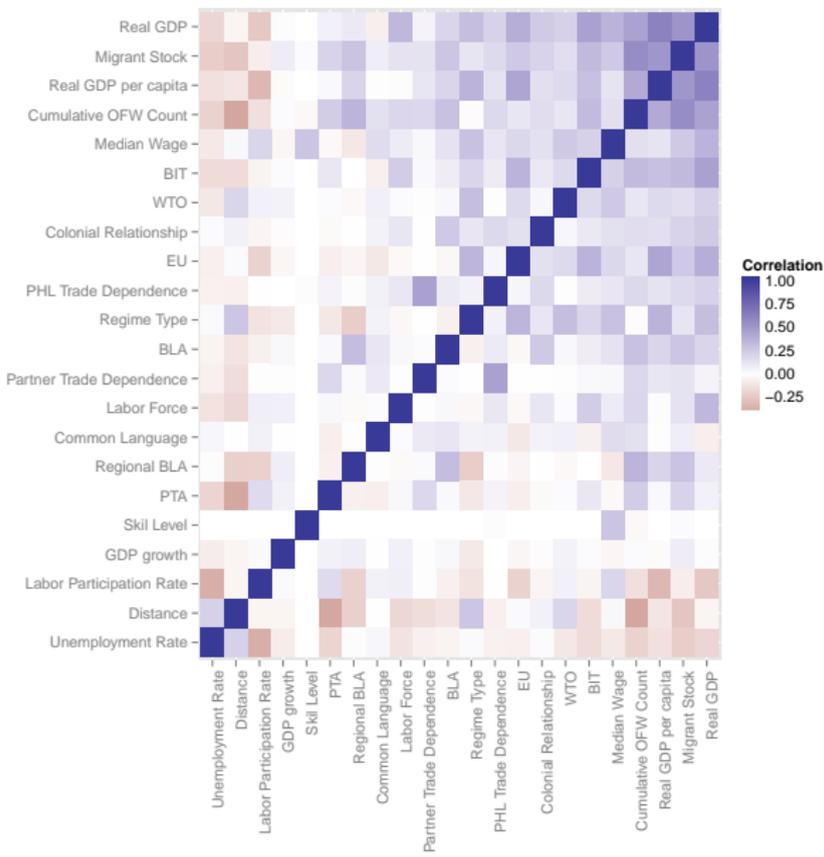
Broader Implications

- ▶ The study of formal international cooperation in migration introduces an additional layer of actor preferences absent in the literature.
 - ▶ Migrants have preferences while goods and capital don't. Complicates interaction between state and firms.
- ▶ The importance of examining whether migration policy and agreement effects match their intentions
 - ▶ Political economy explanations about migration policy outcomes rely on fundamental assumptions about how policy effects shape actor preferences
 - ▶ Yet, little empirical work has been done to verify whether such assumptions hold outside of experimental settings
- ▶ The heterogeneous treatment effect of BLAs shows the benefits of incorporating as fine-grained data available
 - ▶ Especially important in political economy research on migration where individual characteristics can often confound state or dyad-level characteristics studies are interested in

Variables, Operationalization, Sources

| <i>Variable</i> | <i>Operationalization</i> | <i>Source</i> |
|--------------------------|--|---|
| OFW Mobility | Count of OFW new hires for a given skill level, destination, and year as percentage of total OFW new hires in the same skill level and year. | Constructed based on MTY (2013) |
| BLA | Destination country and PHL have a signed BLA (MOU or MOA) in a given year. 1 = yes, 0 = no. | POEA |
| Skill Level | Skill level of OFW? 1 = high (MTY 2013's level 3 and 4), 0 = low (MTY 2013's level 1 and 2). Average years of schooling for low and high-skill are 12.2 and 14.45, respectively. | Constructed based on MTY (2013) |
| Median Wage | Median wage of OFW for a given skill level, destination, and year. | Constructed based on MTY (2013) |
| Regional BLA | Number of Philippine-involving BLAs existing in same region of the destination country at t - 5 years. | Constructed based on POEA and UN data |
| Unemployment Rate | Destination country total unemployment as percentage of total labor force. | WDI augmented with TWN National Statistics Data |
| Labor Participation Rate | Destination country percentage of total population ages 15+ and economically active. | WDI augmented with TWN National Statistics Data |
| Labor Force | Destination country people ages 15+ and economically active, total in millions. | WDI augmented with TWN National Statistics Data |
| EU | Destination country EU membership. 1 = yes, 0 = no. | EU official website |
| WTO | Destination country WTO/GATS membership. 1 = yes, 0 = no. | WTO official website |
| Regime Type | Destination country Polity Score 2. | POLITY IV |
| Real GDP | Destination country log GDP (constant 2000 USD). | MTY (2013); WDI |
| Real GDP per capita | Destination country expenditure side real GDP at constant 2005 PPPs (in million 2005 USD)/total population in millions | Constructed based on PWT 8.0 |
| GDP growth | Destination country GDP growth (annual %). | WDI |
| Partner Trade Dependence | Bilateral trade of goods (exports + imports)/ destination country expenditure side real GDP. | Constructed based on UN Comtrade and PWT 8.0 |
| PHL Trade Dependence | Bilateral trade of goods (exports + imports)/ Philippines expenditure side real GDP. | Constructed based on UN Comtrade and PWT 8.0 |
| Cumulative OFW Count | Destination country cumulative count of OFW in the same skill level since 1992 (IHS). | Constructed based on POEA data |
| PTA | Destination country PTA in force with PHL. 1 = yes, 0 = no. | Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), PHL. |
| BIT | Destination country BIT in force with PHL. 1 = yes, 0 = no. | UNCTAD |
| Migrant Stock | Stock of PHL-born population in the destination country (IHS). | WB Global Migration Database; POEA; TWN National Statistics |
| Common Language | A language is spoken by at least 9% of the population in both PHL and destination country? 1 = yes, 0 = no. | CEPII |
| Colonial Relationship | Dyad ever in colonial relationship? 1 = yes, 0 = no. | CEPII |
| Distance | Thousand kilometers between most populated cities of dyad (log). | CEPII |

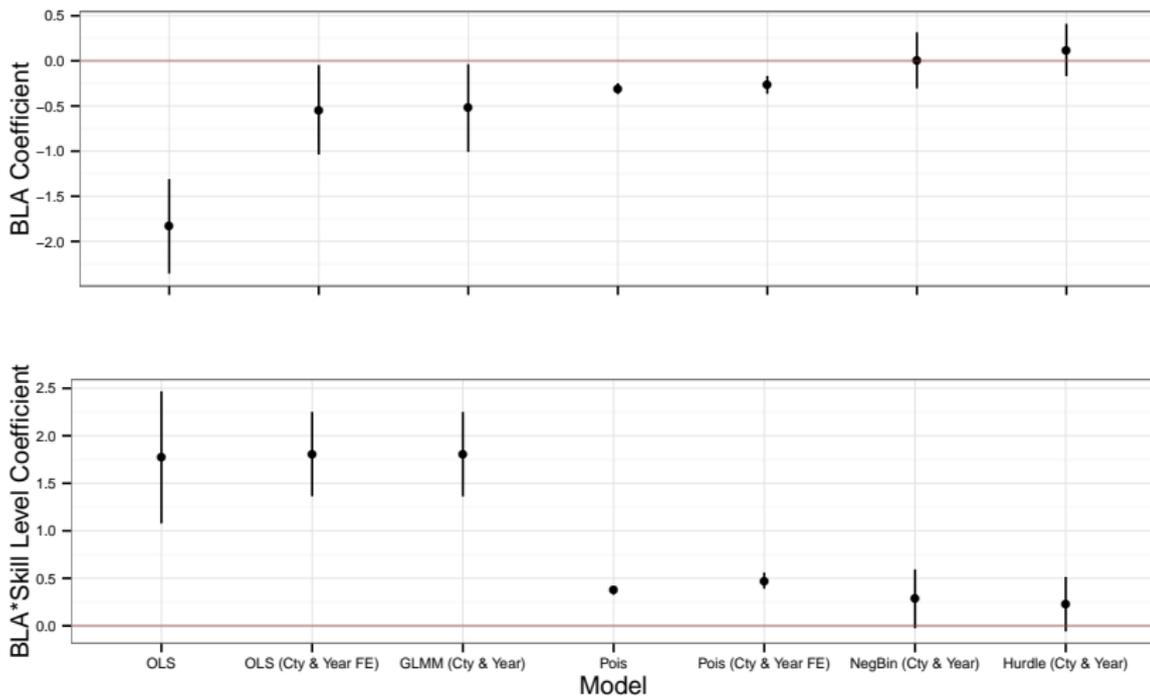
Covariate Correlation Matrix



Descriptive Statistics

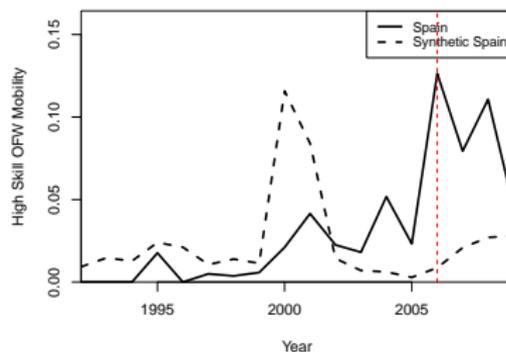
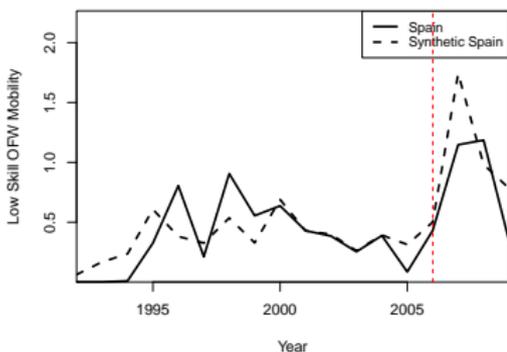
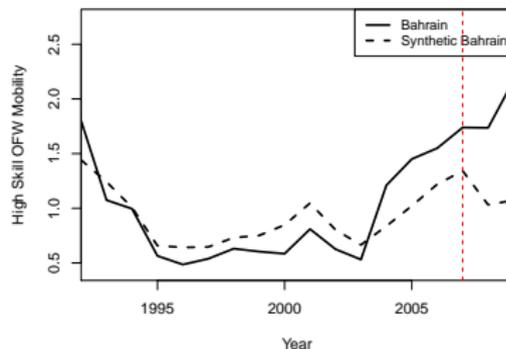
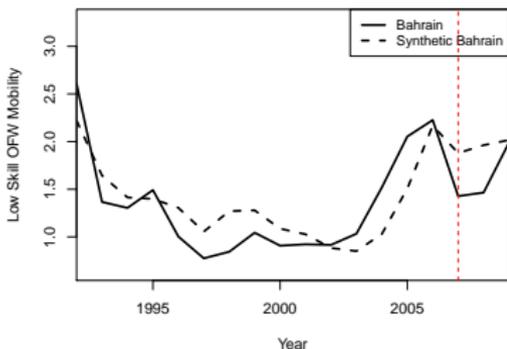
| Variable | \bar{x} | Min | Max | n | #NA |
|----------------------------------|-----------|--------|------------|------|------|
| OFW Mobility | 0.58 | 0.00 | 79.26 | 6228 | 0 |
| BLA | 0.06 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 6228 | 0 |
| Skill Level | 0.50 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 6228 | 0 |
| Median Wage | 763.81 | 200.00 | 2632.79 | 1327 | 4901 |
| Regional BLA | 0.57 | 0.00 | 6.00 | 6228 | 0 |
| Unemployment Rate | 8.85 | 0.30 | 59.50 | 3332 | 2896 |
| Labor Participation Rate | 63.52 | 39.80 | 90.00 | 6120 | 108 |
| Labor Force (millions) | 16.11 | 0.06 | 802.22 | 6114 | 114 |
| EU | 0.10 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 6228 | 0 |
| WTO | 0.59 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 6228 | 0 |
| Regime Type | 2.84 | -10.00 | 10.00 | 5694 | 534 |
| Real GDP (ten millions) | 18923.29 | 9.22 | 1170000.00 | 5992 | 236 |
| Real GDP per capita (thousands) | 10.55 | 0.15 | 116.42 | 5616 | 612 |
| GDP growth | 3.80 | -50.25 | 106.28 | 5968 | 260 |
| Partner Trade Dependence | 0.14 | 0.00 | 4.23 | 3082 | 3146 |
| PHL Trade Dependence | 0.23 | 0.00 | 7.32 | 3400 | 2828 |
| Cumulative OFW Count (thousands) | 5.67 | 0.00 | 793.34 | 6228 | 0 |
| PTA | 0.05 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 6228 | 0 |
| BIT | 0.11 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 6228 | 0 |
| Migrant Stock (thousands) | 18.49 | 0.00 | 2836.49 | 3796 | 2432 |
| Common Language | 0.27 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 6228 | 0 |
| Colonial Relationship | 0.01 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 6228 | 0 |
| Distance (thousands) | 9.94 | 1.11 | 19.03 | 6228 | 0 |

Robustness Checks



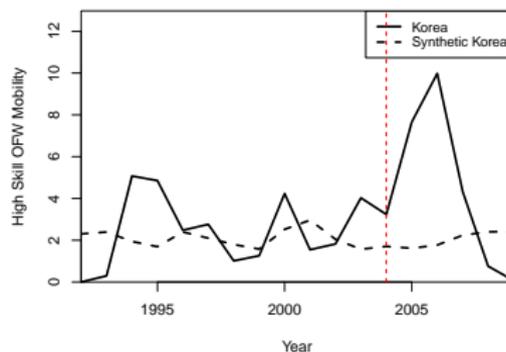
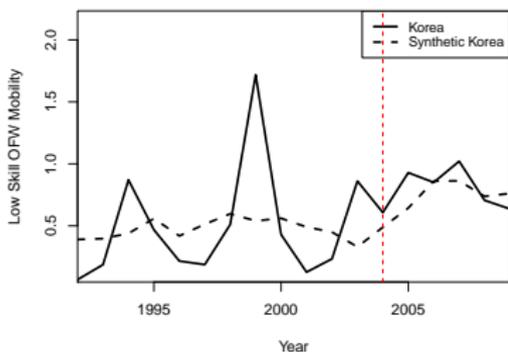
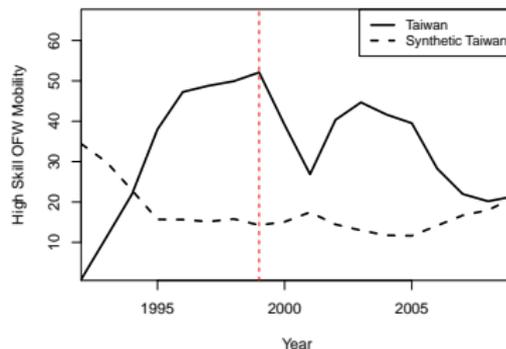
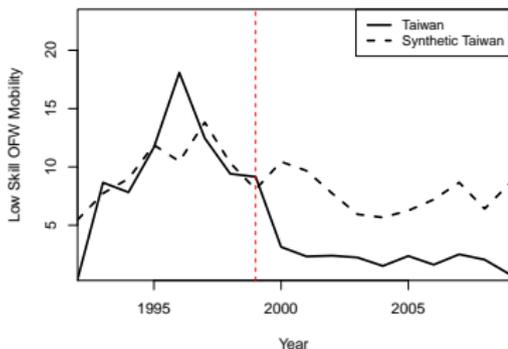
BLA Effect Heterogeneity across the Treated

The Synthetic Control Method: Supportive Cases



BLA Effect Heterogeneity across the Treated

The Synthetic Control Method: Ambiguous Cases



BLA Effect Heterogeneity across the Treated

The Synthetic Control Method: Contradicting Cases

