

Executive summary

Global study on recruitment fees and related costs

Second edition



In 2014, in recognition of the critical role recruitment plays in establishing decent work, the ILO launched the Fair Recruitment Initiative. At the 2018 Tripartite Meeting of Experts on Defining Recruitment Fees and Related Costs, the ILO's Governing Body negotiated and subsequently adopted the first internationally agreed upon Definition of Recruitment Fees and Related Costs (hereafter, ILO Definition). In advance of these negotiations, a Global Study on Recruitment Fees and Related Costs (hereafter, Global Study) was produced, which examined how recruitment fees and related costs are defined in legislation, policies, bilateral agreements and private sector initiatives, and whether such fees and costs were prohibited or regulated. Five years after this study and the subsequent adoption of the Definition, the ILO has commissioned a second Global Study to review the progress made and challenges encountered, and to identify regulatory gaps that still need to be addressed. The results of this second Global Study are presented in this report.

According to the ILO General Principles and Operational Guidelines for Fair Recruitment and Definition of Recruitment Fees and Related Costs: "the terms recruitment fees or related costs refer to any fees or costs incurred in the recruitment process in order for workers to secure employment or placement, regardless of the manner, timing or location of their imposition or collection". Guided by international labour standards, the approach to recruitment fees specified in the ILO General Principles and Operational Guidelines "recognizes the principle that workers shall not be charged directly or indirectly, in whole or in part, any fees or related costs for their recruitment".

Based on the above, the second Global Study examines trends over the past five years (2018-2023) to provide an updated picture of the status of efforts on tackling recruitment fees and related costs through regulatory work or other types of action. The overall objectives of the Global Study areto:

- **1.** Analyse the extent to which governments, multi-stakeholder initiatives and the private sector have integrated the ILO Definition into their laws, policies and practices.
- 2. Shed light on the progress made, challenges encountered, and regulatory gaps to be addressed.

3. Update the data collected on recruitment fees and related costs five years ago under the first Global Study while analysing new information and trends.

Methodology and limitations

The overall methodological approach taken was qualitative in nature and primarily comprised of:

- desk research of relevant literature and a law and policy review; and
- semi-structured interviews with relevant key informants.

Literature review

In the first stage of the research, 123 relevant publications produced by the ILO and published on www.ilo.org between September 2018 and 7 May 2023 were compiled and reviewed. From this review, relevant law and policy developments in several countries were identified. The review also informed the list of additional countries to be added to the database. In addition to ILO-produced literature on the topic, the team also reviewed other relevant literature on the topic of recruitment fees and related costs.

Law and policy review

The second Global Study reviewed the laws and policies of 110 countries, including labour laws, migration laws, anti-trafficking laws and other laws and policies related to recruitment and employment. The study reviewed the database of the first Global Study, which was compiled in 2018 to identify countries with any possible law reforms regarding recruitment fees and related costs. In the next step, the scope of the identified laws and policies was assessed to determine whether they covered all workers or specific sectors or groups, such as migrant workers or domestic workers, and whether they applied to national recruitment, international recruitment or both. In the final analytical stage, the texts of the relevant laws and policies were examined to determine, firstly, whether recruitment fees were explicitly prohibited or limited. We then examined the specific regulatory approach adopted and the extent to which their laws and policies were in line with the ILO Definition. Finally, we examined whether any



sanctions were in place to address recruiters who did not comply. The final analytical stage built on the analysis conducted for the first Global Study, but in certain areas the team was able to examine the policies in even more detail (such as regarding sanctions), allowing for more of a focus on these aspects in this report.

Interviews

The desk-based work was supplemented by primary data collection from purposively selected key informants. The interviews took place between 20 June 2023 and 28 July 2023. Key informants were selected based on their expertise on the topic of the report.

Limitations

The methodology employed in this study encountered several limitations. Firstly, our ability to access primary sources was constrained by language barriers. Although we were able to review documents in English, Dutch, French, Spanish and Portuguese, the exclusion of other languages (such as Arabic) may have limited the comprehensiveness of our analysis. For countries where the legislation was only available in a national language different from the above mentioned, we had to rely on machine-translated documents. Secondly, the search for original documentation in legal files proved challenging, resulting in potential gaps in our data.

Key developments in the recruitment landscape

Across the board, the desk review and key informants pointed to a number of relevant developments concerning recruitment fees and related costs in the past five years. Several key trends have emerged concerning the acceptance and implementation of the ILO Definition, which seems to be broadly accepted and used as a reference by relevant actors, both public and private.

Another notable development is the increasing attention given to different types of recruitment costs and their contextual variations. According to interview respondents, there has been a shift towards breaking down the various components of costs involved in the recruitment process. However, when we examine the legislative picture, we do not see a notable increase since 2018 in the number of countries that have a detailed breakdowns of costs in their legislation, with this being the case in 23 per cent (n=21) of the 2018 sample and 24 per cent (n=26) of the 2023 sample. Therefore, the observations of interview respondents likely reflect a potential discursive shift on recruitment fees and costs that has not yet manifested in the legislative landscape.

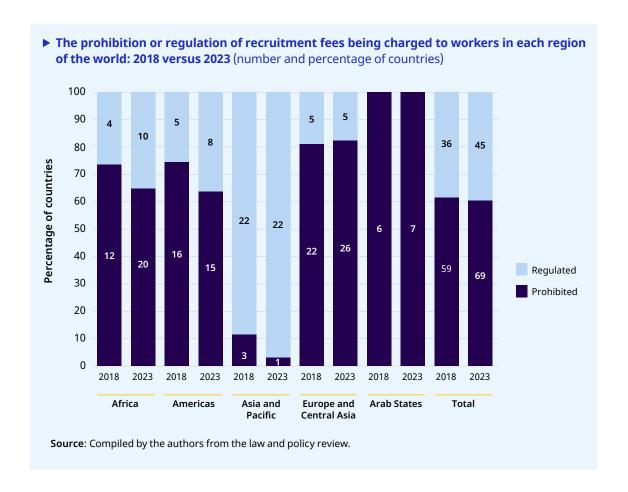
One relevant observation to monitor for empirical evidence is that, in some countries, recruitment fees have been prohibited, but related costs are ultimately still being charged to workers (for instance, by charging for skills certificates). Hence

it is plausible that when costs are eliminated from one aspect of the recruitment process, they reappear elsewhere, indicating the complex and interconnected nature of recruitment expenses.

Review of national law and policies on recruitment fees and related costs

The second Global Study, compared to the first of 2018, extended the review of law and policies from 90 to 110 countries, – 69 of which have legislation in place to prohibit recruitment fees (for at least some categories of workers or for at least certain costs), and 45 of which have legislation

in place to regulate recruitment fees (for at least some categories of workers).1 Although not fully representative, some regional differences do emerge that are not distinctly different from those reported in the first Global Study (see figure below). In Asia and the Pacific there is a tendency towards regulation; while in Europe and Central Asia and the Arab States, recruitment fees are more likely to be prohibited. However, in Europe and Central Asia these prohibitions often only apply to temporary employment agencies, and in the Arab States they often do not include costs incurred in the country of origin. The policy landscape in the Americas and Africa show a much more mixed picture, which can also be explained by very different regional dynamics.



¹ These numbers exceed 110 because four countries were identified as having different rules in place for migrant workers and national workers, and therefore were coded as both prohibiting and regulating recruitment fees.

Overall, the legislative picture that has emerged from the second Global Study is not dramatically different from that of 2018 (see figure above), with the notable difference in the total number of countries covered. In absolute terms the number of countries already regulating recruitment fees and costs or explicitly prohibiting them is very high, confirming the importance and growing recognition of the relevance of the issue. Over the last few years, as reported almost unanimously by the interview respondents, there has been progress, particularly in terms of awareness of the ILO Definition. Evidence of this can be found in steps being taken to align national legal frameworks with the ILO Definition (such as through legislative reviews), as well as other efforts, including the preparation of guidelines and codes of practice by private sector and other stakeholders.

Africa

The first Global Study reviewed 15 African countries, reflecting at least one country from each subregion, with the exception of Central Africa. The general picture that emerged was diverse, with the majority of countries prohibiting fees. Some countries did, however, allow certain costs to be transferred to the worker. Very few set limits on what could be charged.

A similar picture emerges from the second Global Study. For the second edition of the Global Study, an additional 15 African countries were reviewed, resulting in the most comprehensive overview to date of legislation relating to recruitment fees and related costs in Africa, covering 30 out of 54 countries on the continent. Of the 30 African countries reviewed, 9 have ratified the ILO Private Employment Agencies Convention, 1997 (No. 181).² While not official, interview participants did indicate that a few additional countries have expressed interest in ratification in the future.

Two-thirds of the countries reviewed (n=20) had at least one law or policy prohibiting recruitment fees (for at least some categories of workers or for at least certain costs). The remaining 10 countries regulated recruitment fees (for at least some categories of workers). The general trend in the region is for policies to cover both national and international recruitment processes; though in Uganda, Kenya and Tunisia, legislation on recruitment fees and related costs only applies to international recruitment.

When examining the regulatory approaches taken to enacting these laws and policies, further differences can be observed. For instance, in the original sample countries, we can see that having a general statement prohibiting the charging of fees to workers was more prevalent, as was the outlining of detailed costs. In the sample added in 2023, we identified more countries where only some costs are prohibited – mostly transportation-related – but fewer countries had a policy stance of overall prohibition. The capping of recruitment fees was also much more prevalent across the entire 2023 sample; although it is a less frequently employed regulatory approach, evident in only 6 of the 30 countries reviewed.



² These nine countries are (as of 24 January 2024): Algeria, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Zambia.



Compared to other regions, it was more common in Africa to identify laws that prohibit charging workers very specific costs – most commonly transportation. While transportation does often capture a large part of overall recruitment costs, legislative reform to cover other costs would still be required to achieve full alignment with the ILO Definition.

As noted, a more comprehensive examination of the types of sanctions for violating legislation relating to recruitment fees and related costs was conducted for the second Global Study than for the first. In Africa, fines and penalties were the most commonly cited sanction, identified in 50 per cent of the sample (n=15), followed by the revocation or suspension of the recruiter's licence in slightly more than a third of countries (n=11). Penal sanctions – largely imprisonment – were also mentioned in the laws and policies of 9 out of 30 African countries. It is of note that one country – Sierra Leone – also specifies compensation for migrant workers under their elaboration of sanctions.

Since the last review, five countries – Djibouti, Ethiopia, Ghana, Sierra Leone and Uganda – had made specific policy changes concerning recruitment that brought them more in line with the ILO Definition, but none of the five brought their legislative frameworks into full alignment. In addition to specific legislative reforms, the relevance of the ILO Definition was also evidenced by an increase in requests to the ILO to provide support and technical assistance on how to bring national law and practice more in line with the ILO Definition. This includes several countries seeking ILO assistance to review legislation and draft regulations concerning the operation of recruitment agencies.

While the study did not involve a full analysis of bilateral labour migration agreements (BLMAs) signed since the preparation of the first Global Study, several interview respondents highlighted that BLMAs are increasingly being used in Africa to govern recruitment between countries and often contain details relating to recruitment fees and related costs. While most of these agreements are non-binding memoranda of understanding (MOUs), BLMAs can still represent an important step forward in regulating recruitment fees and related costs.

Trade unions in Africa are actively pursuing the topic of recruitment fees. Further, there is an increase of MOUs being negotiated between trade unions, both within Africa as well as across regions, enabling them to better support migrant workers. There were also several examples of efforts to develop tools and guidelines for recruitment agencies and employers. For example, recruitment agencies in Ethiopia, Uganda and Kenya have developed codes of conduct, and Nigerian recruiters have updated their code since the previous Global Study. Tunisia is also supporting the establishment of a federation of recruitment agencies.



Of the **22** countries in the Americas included in the review, 15 have at least one law or policy prohibiting recruitment fees (for at least some categories of workers or for at least certain costs), and 8 have laws or policies regulating recruitment fees (for at least some categories of workers). Among the 15 countries with at least one law or policy prohibiting recruitment fees, only 4 also provide a detailed breakdown of what these costs entail. However, in several countries, limitations to prohibitions against fee charging were identified, with these limitations often being sector-specific.

The general trend in the region is for no distinction to be made between national and international recruitment, although there are some exceptions. Similar to Africa, fines and penalties were the most commonly cited sanctions (n=16), followed by the revocation or suspension of the recruiter's licence (n=10). Penal sanctions – largely imprisonment – were also mentioned in the laws and policies of five countries in the Americas.

There is growing recognition of the responsibility placed on employers to assume the costs associated with the recruitment and hiring process within the Americas region, as well as an increasing demand for employers to bear the costs for advertising job vacancies, conducting interviews and other recruitment activities. However, despite this, the legislative picture has remained similar to

how it was during the first Global Study, with only two countries – Canada and Guatemala – having implemented legislative reforms; although Brazil also seems poised to introduce such reforms in the near future.



All seven countries in the Arab States included in the review had at least one law or policy prohibiting recruitment fees (for at least some categories of workers or for at least certain costs); however, these often do not apply to costs incurred in the country of origin, and accordingly, many migrant workers in the region still pay for their recruitment. The most common regulatory approach was the inclusion of a general statement of prohibition, with only two countries providing more details on the specific costs that were included in the prohibition (United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia).

Similar to other regions, fines and penalties were a commonly cited sanction (n=4); however, unlike other regions, penal sanctions – largely imprisonment – were equally prevalent (n=4). Two countries mentioned the revocation or suspension of a recruiter's licence, one mentioned worker compensation, and one included no reference to any sanctions in their legislation.

As in the regions above, few reforms have been made since the first Global Study to better align legislative frameworks with the ILO Definition. The most notable reforms were found in the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia. In 2022, the United Arab Emirates introduced a Federal Decree-Law concerning Domestic Workers that prohibits the charging of any recruitment costs or fees to domestic workers, unless otherwise specified by law or regulation,³ and stipulated that recruitment agencies that violate the law may have their licence suspended or revoked. In Saudi Arabia, the Government has stipulated the recruitment fees/costs that employers of domestic workers are required to pay, set a fine for non-compliance, and made it so recruitment fees cannot be deducted from domestic workers' pay.

While not considered as part of this review, interviewees for this study shared that several BLMAs have been signed by Arab States and countries of origin in Asia and Africa, and many of these contain provisions on recruitment fees and costs. In addition, guidance tools that address recruitment fees and related costs in line with the ILO Definition have been developed for the construction industry across the Arab States (2019)⁴ and for the hotel sector in Qatar (2020).⁵

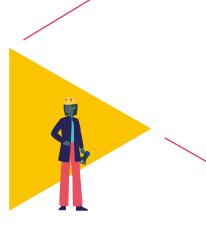
Asia and the Pacific

The overall legislative picture in Asia and the Pacific was quite different from the other regions. Of the 22 countries in Asia and the Pacific reviewed for this study, all 22 had at least one policy regulating fee charging; however just 1 country (India) had a policy to prohibit the charging of recruitment fees, but only for national workers. Consequently, the most common regulatory approach to recruitment fees evident in law and policy was the capping of recruitment fees (14 countries). In several countries only a general statement on the regulation of fees was identified, without a clear indication of the level of at which such fees were capped (n=5). A number of countries permitted certain costs (n=5). We identified nine countries that provided a detailed definition and breakdown of recruitment fees and related costs.

Concerning sanctions, the most common approach was fines and penalties (n=15), followed by the suspension or withdrawal of a recruiter's licence (n=13) and penal sanctions, notably imprisonment (n=11). Other forms of sanctions in the region included the reimbursement of the costs incurred by workers (n=5), as well as one country indicating that the recruiter's name will be published in an open register (China) and another permitting a range of other possible sanctions, including education, remediation and recruitment caps (Australia).

Asia and the Pacific saw the largest number of countries instituting legislative or policy reforms concerning recruitment fees and related costs since the first Global Study, with such reforms observed in seven countries. In terms of greater alignment with the ILO Definition, the most substantial reforms were found in:

- ► Thailand, which introduced zero recruitment fees being charged to migrant workers (albeit with caveats);⁶
- Mongolia, which prohibited worker-paid recruitment fees; and
- Indonesia, which prohibited fees and related costs during the placement process for selected types of workers, and specified what these costs entail.



- 4 By the ILO and the International Organisation of Employers.
- 5 By the Ministry of Labour and the Qatar Chamber of Commerce and Industry with support from the ILO and the Institute for Human Rights and Business.
- 6 These include a lack of application to fees charged in the country of origin and the relevant law only applying to migrant workers who are recruited under an MOU process with selected countries of origin.

Many of these changes in legislation were facilitated by ILO technical support, and other countries in Asia are currently in the process of revising their national migration legislation and policies with ILO support to include specific provisions on fair recruitment practices. Civil society organizations, trade unions, employers' and agency associations, and other partners are also very active in Asia and the Pacific in promoting fair recruitment practices and the rights and overall well-being of migrant workers.



Europe and Central Asia

Of the 29 countries in Europe and Central Asia reviewed for this study, 26 had at least one policy prohibiting fee charging, with 25 applying this prohibition to both national and international recruitment and 1 applying it to only international recruitment (Uzbekistan). In three countries (Israel, Poland and Switzerland), recruitment fees are not prohibited, but are instead regulated for both national and international recruitment. In terms of sanctions, all but two countries (Hungary and Uzbekistan) outlined the sanctions that the government may impose should a violation occur, with the most common being fines and penalties (n=23), followed by the suspension or withdrawal of a recruiter's licence (n=13) and penal sanctions, notably imprisonment (n=7). In two countries (Germany and Sweden), refunding the migrant worker and providing compensation were also listed as possible sanctions. The only relevant legislative change since 2018 concerning recruitment fees and related costs was identified in Uzbekistan, which in 2020 prohibited recruitment agencies from charging fees to jobseekers for placement to work abroad.

Review of business-led, trade union and multistakeholder initiatives

The first Global Study examined ten voluntary guidance documents that address the risks of forced labour in global supply chains as well as two surveys on recruitment fees and related costs. Since the publication of the first Global Study, all ten of the platforms and initiatives reviewed

have continued their advocacy of promoting fair recruitment practices. They have endorsed the ILO General Principles and Operational Guidelines for Fair Recruitment and the ILO Definition and incorporated them into their guidance documents, memos and/or standards of practice. Furthermore, some platforms and business initiatives have explicitly adopted and integrated the ILO Definition into their work.

In 2019, the ILO Global Business Network on Forced Labour undertook a <u>review of definitions</u> of recruitment fees and related costs by nine selected industry initiatives and the US Federal Acquisition Regulation and compared them to the ILO Definition. While the majority of initiatives were found to be mostly in alignment with the ILO Definition, there is noticeably more variation and limited alignment of policies when it comes to related costs.

Overall, the various stakeholders consulted for this report consistently recognized that since the introduction of the ILO Definition, there has been an increased visibility and awareness among actors involved in recruitment of recruitmentrelated abuses and the need to address them effectively. The ILO Definition has provided stakeholders with a clear reference point to an internationally accepted standard. In the last five years, there has also been an increase in company policies and codes of conduct explicitly including provisions on recruitment fees and human rights due diligence more broadly. There has also been growing interest in capacity-building, and many companies are keen to provide training courses to educate employees and partners on the importance of aligning practices with international standards. The impetus provided by companies is vital, as they can leverage their influence to promote legal compliance and responsible business conduct among their suppliers.

However, there is also consistent recognition among stakeholder that despite all of the legislation, self-regulation efforts, rules of conduct and guidelines that have been put in place, **workers still pay**. Some do it knowingly in an attempt to better position themselves to secure employment; while others pay unwittingly or unwillingly because of abusive and deceptive practices still commonly perpetuated.

"Promising practices"

In addition to increased recognition of the ILO Definition and the need to promote fair recruitment practices, the study identified two initiatives that many interview participants mentioned as having made a "significant impact" and that many describe as "promising practices", namely:

- 1. repayment of recruitment fees and costs; and
- 2. withhold release orders.

In the last couple of years, many multi-stakeholder initiatives have shifted focus to the repayment or reimbursement of migrant worker-paid recruitment fees and related costs. This is in accordance with the principle that businesses have the responsibility to provide remedies when any harm or wrongdoing towards their workers is identified. Impactt Limited, for example, has developed guidelines on repayment, and also proposed a Remediation Bond, an innovative social impact finance mechanism that will leverage the involvement of the finance sector to drive positive human rights outcomes. The idea behind the bond is that it provides loans to employers, enabling them to swiftly repay workers and liberate them from debt bondage, thus facilitating market access.

Withold release orders (WROs) refer to the suspending of the imports of goods in case of human rights violations, including violations related to unfair recruitment practices. For example, US Customs and Border Protection has the authority to issue a WRO for specific goods, which result in the detention of imports from locations and businesses suspected of rights violations. In order for the goods to be released, documentation needs to be supplied that traces the supply chain from the goods' origin, production and processing of materials, as well as other products derived from those materials, up to the time the merchandise was imported to the United States. The aim of the WROs is to promote the use of good labour and recruitment practices, and there have been recent examples of success in this regard, such as with the glove manufacturing industry in Malaysia.

Considerations for the future

Despite some noteworthy new legislative provisions in selected countries, this study reveals that since the release of the first Global Study in 2018, legislative changes on the regulation of fees and costs have not been dramatic. This is not particularly surprising, as legislative changes are usually the result of lengthy processes that can be difficult to measure over a period of just five years.



Yet, this is by no means a sign that progress has not been made over the last half-decade.

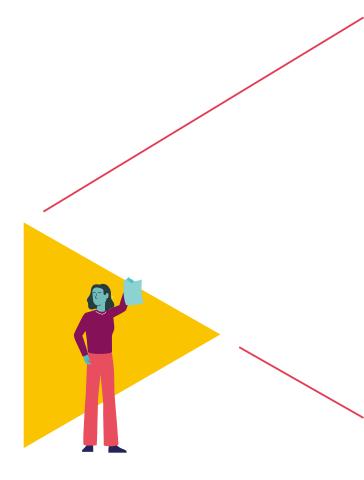
To the contrary, as demonstrated throughout the report, awareness on the risks associated with worker-paid recruitment fees and related costs have never been as high, and action to address those risks is happening in law and practice across regions. Going forward, there are a number of important considerations for the future:

- 1. Decent work and human rights. The issue of recruitment fees and related costs cannot be disassociated from the broader issue of forced labour and modern slavery, which demands a more holistic approach to decent working conditions for all workers including migrants. It is essential to continue raising awareness on the linkages between recruitment fees paid by workers and fundamental rights, including freedom from forced labour, as a first step to upholding human and labour rights in law and in practice. Governments and social partners should continue to work together to fully empower and protect migrant workers.
- 2. Adopting a flexible approach to recognize emerging realities and challenges related to new migration corridors and sectors. It is important to remain vigilant to changing migration dynamics to ensure that the adoption of laws and policies prohibiting recruitment fees and related costs does not lead to the recruitment of migrant workers from less regulated markets. New sectors are also emerging for which regulation is necessary, as in the case of migrant drivers and other workers in the new digital platform economy, who may end up in precarious situations as they are often subcontracted without a clear employment relationship and outside the scope of existing recruitment regulations.
- 3. Strengthening national legislation and its enforcement in line with the ILO General Principles Operational Guidelines for Fair Recruitment and the ILO Definition. National regulatory frameworks are the main means through which governments can fulfil their responsibilities to protect (migrant) workers' rights, including at the recruitment stage. The design, adoption and effective enforcement of legislative provisions aligned with ILO standards and guidance, including the ILO Definition, should be promoted and accelerated.

- 4. Strengthening the monitoring and enforcement capacities of relevant authorities. The study highlights that even when relevant regulatory provisions are in place, challenges remain widespread with regard to their practical application and enforcement. In line with the ILO General Principles and Operational Guidelines for Fair Recruitment, capacities - both in terms of the relevant expertise and operational capacity of enforcement authorities, and in particular of labour inspectorates, should be enhanced to detect and appropriately address recruitmentrelated abuses. Development of practical tools, such as "checklists" for the identification of recruitment-related risks and abuses, should be developed.
- 5. Fostering more proactive and less reactive private sector practices to prevent abuses. Many companies adopt policies or implement remediation efforts, including large-scale repayment processes, in response to violations that put them in the public eye. Yet, more work is required to take a proactive position by strengthening the inclusion of fair recruitment into due diligence processes, particularly in countries where regulations and enforcement mechanisms are weak.
- 6. Taking advantage of digital capabilities. As many migrant workers now have access to mobile internet, the use of technology or digital platforms may be useful in addressing the issue of information asymmetry, and in supporting monitoring and grievance and redress procedures. The utilization of technology can streamline recruitment processes, reduce costs and enhance transparency. Governments can build and share databases that can facilitate fair recruitment with functionalities that can reduce dependence on intermediaries, provide information on available jobs, check contracts and wages, and enable workers to connect with authorities to report abuses and violations. Online platforms and digital tools can connect employers and workers directly, reducing both reliance on intermediaries and the information asymmetry between workers and recruiters. There are also opportunities to enhance the information available to companies to better understand risks in recruitment and to respond accordingly. However, there is also a need for adequate awareness about the potential for misinformation and the current proliferation of online recruitment fraud.

- 7. Promoting data collection for evidence-based policy decisions. Enhanced data collection efforts, improved data collection methods, and greater dissemination of available data are all necessary steps to gain a comprehensive understanding of recruitment fees and costs, allow for their measurement over time, and design appropriate policy responses. Robust data can inform evidence-based policy decisions and monitor progress towards addressing the issue effectively. Standardization of methodologies and definitions to the extent possible will also facilitate the comparison of data and the exchange of information among stakeholders.
- 8. Adopting and implementing anticorruption laws and policies and increasing transparency of processes. Corruption still poses a significant problem when promoting the non-payment of recruitment fees and costs by migrant workers. Improving public accessibility to relevant information concerning licensed recruitment agencies, recruitment procedures and applicable regulations is an essential

- first step to reducing opacity and limiting the opportunities for corrupt actors to engage in illegal acts with impunity.
- 9. Conducting further research. This report did not analyse the practical implementation of legislative and policy measures. Therefore, there is a need for future research to go deeper into the analysis of the institutional and capacity-related challenges that impact the implementation, monitoring and enforcement of existing law and policies. Selected impact assessment studies of relevant practices would also be beneficial (among others) to explore the "business case" for eliminating recruitment fees and costs for workers. Similarly, this study, due to time limitations, could not go into much detail on the use and effectiveness of BLMAs to govern recruitment between countries. Interviews suggest that use of BLMAs to govern labour migration, including recruitment practices, is very much in vogue. It would be relevant to further analyse these agreements, specifically in relation to their focus and practical impact on recruitment fees and related costs.





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